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G. E. Darrell

CHRONICLES

OF

THE BUILDERS

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH

Historical Character Study

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

VOLUME VII

SAN FRANCISCO
THE HISTORY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
1892

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CHRONICLES OF THE BUILDERS.

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Elsewhere in this work I have sketched the development and condition of traffic in three of the principal commercial states of the Pacific coast, together with the career of some of the merchants and capitalists through whose agency their prominence has been attained. Resuming my narrative, I will turn once more to the northwestern section of the coast, where, especially on the shores of Puget sound, are cities destined ere long to rank among the leading emporia of the west.

The commencement of American commerce on Puget sound dates from 1850, though at this date the number of United States citizens did not exceed one hundred. In 1859 a steamboat was placed on the upper Columbia. From that time maritime commerce increased rapidly, until in the four months from July to October 1880, 66 American sailing vessels cleared from Port Townsend with a tonnage of 46,244;

for the corresponding months in 1881 the tonnage of this class was 65,393. The number of American vessels entering from foreign ports in the same months for 1880 was 62; for 1881 it was 115. The number of American steamers entering from foreign ports in the same months of 1880 was 30; in 1881 it was 72. In 1880, 33 cleared, and 73 in 1881.

During the years that have passed since the *Orbit* sailed up the Sound, comparatively few vessels have been wrecked. Mention should be made of the loss of the steamer *Southerner* near the mouth of the Quillehuyte river in 1854, which afforded an occasion for a display of courage and determination on the part of H. T. Sewell, of Whidby island, who, crossing the mountains to the scene of disaster to save the mail, was taken prisoner by the Indians, but finally succeeded in his undertaking. Sewell was the first white man to cross the Olympian range so far to the north. Though several disasters occurred, yet the general escape of vessels from shipwreck before a system of pilotage and lighthouses was established in the Sound is somewhat remarkable.

The legislature of 1867-8 called into existence the pilotage system. E. S. Fowler was chairman of the first board, and James G. Swan secretary; but this service was never deemed important owing to the depth of water and width of the straits. It was otherwise with lighthouses, and as early as 1849 appropriations were made for the erection of lighthouses at Cape Disappointment and New Dungeness. In 1884 there were ten lights on the entire Washington coast, including the strait of Fuca and Puget sound.

Nowhere, perhaps, on the Pacific coast has the growth of population and of industrial and commercial interests been more steady and permanent than in the state of Washington. In 1853 the number of inhabitants did not exceed 4,000; in 1860 it had increased to 11,000; in 1870 to 23,000; in 1880 to 75,000, and in 1890 probably exceeded 300,000. Thus it will be seen that during the last 20 years the gain has been more than twelve-fold; nor is it at all improbable that a large rate of increase will be maintained for many years to come.

For 1881 the value of her exports was estimated at $5,550,000, or about $70 per capita of the population. Of lumber 170,000,000 feet, worth $1,700,000 were shipped to San Francisco, Australia, and the Sandwich islands; and of coal 200,000 tons were forwarded to various destinations. The export of wheat was in round numbers 100,000 tons, worth $2,500,000; of hops 5,000 bales, worth $250,000; while 160,000 cases of salmon were exported to foreign countries from the Washington side of the Columbia river. In view of her agricultural, mineral, and manufacturing resources, her many eligible sites for towns and cities, and her numerous harbors capable of accommodating a vast commercial marine, it may safely be predicted that the trade of this section, yet in its infancy, will ere long form a considerable factor in the commerce of the Pacific coast.

Idaho first presented itself to civilization as a game preserve under the control of the Hudson's Bay company, with posts in eastern Washington and Oregon, and at Fort Hall, though with frequent but irregular competition from American trappers, who descended from the Rocky mountains or entered from their rendezvous in Utah. Captain Bonneville held awhile a post on Green river. The increasing migration, chiefly for Oregon after 1834, assisted to sustain Fort Hall, and to present opportunities for traffic with the more civilized tribes on the lower Snake river.

Here, as elsewhere on the Pacific slope, the discovery of gold paved the way for industries and trade. The earliest developments toward the lower part of Snake river favored intercourse with Portland and her advance posts, partly by way of the Columbia route to British Columbia. With the opening of Boisé the frontier trading-posts of Walla Walla now poured in their goods, but Utah made a strong effort to share the profits of so near a market, and obtained the advantage, for the former had to bear the additional charges of steamboats and middlemen. An attempt was even made to carry merchandise from Salt lake to Lewiston. This proved unsuccessful, owing to the obstructions in the river, but it served to open a new route to Boisé by way of Umatilla landing, which absorbed the traffic from Walla Walla. The excitement in the Beaverhead country drew a vast amount of freight from St Louis in 1863, and in due time a portion found its way to Idaho. Shovels sold at Boisé for $12, while certain other articles became a drug. In 1864 routes were opened from Yreka via Klamath lakes; from Red Bluff via Ruby city, and from Washoe by way of the Humboldt mines and Owyhee, the first being an easy road, and frequently travelled. With the formation of mining districts in the south-east Utah naturally regained the ascendency, although the transcontinental railway soon opened a more direct communication with the eastern sources for merchandise in general.

Trade has to submit to the vicissitudes overtaking camps and districts, as in the depression of 1865 and subsequent years, though a revival occurred during the past decade. The frequent Indian outbreaks fell heavily on the goods' trains, and tended greatly to increase the value of commodities, and to check development by keeping away both men and machinery from many a section. Disorder is now at an end, and improved roads permit the passage of wagons, where formerly only pack-saddles were used. Steamboats form connection along the different navigable sections of the rivers, and railways are opening to the territory sources and outlets toward the western ocean no less than eastward, to the reduction of prices, and the encouragement of local production.

At the opening of the past decade, nearly twenty years after the discovery of the Boisé mines, with which begins her history as a separate and independent territory, Idaho was still an isolated region, without markets, without manufactures, and almost without means of transport. Nor was it until the construction of the Oregon Short Line railroad, which pierced from east to west the inhabited portion of the country, that any perceptible impulse was given to the development of her manifold resources. In 1884 her population had increased to 75,000, and in 1887 to nearly 100,000, while the taxable value of property, apart from mines or mining output, which are non-assessable, was estimated at $15,497,598 and $20,441,192 for the respective years.

For many years the Montana trade, after settlement began, consisted of large importations of all kinds of merchandise, while exports were restricted almost entirely to the precious metals. Indeed, the territory can hardly be said to have possessed any other article of export until the opening of the railroads. Buffalo robes, skins of different animals, hides, a little wool, and some cattle were exported, it is true, but in such small quantities that in 1874, after ten years of territorial existence, they only amounted to $608,750, of which $327,500 represented the value of buffalo robes, and $121,250 of cattle.

The import trade was competed for by several outside centres of distribution, each of which offered inducements by reduction of freight charges. The Portland merchants, in 1865, issued a circular to the business men of Montana, offering them every inducement to purchase goods in that city, to be forwarded by way of the Columbia river and the Mullan road, while improvements were promised in the navigation of Lake Pend d'Oreille. Some progress was made in the following year toward opening this route, which was as follows: from Portland to White Bluffs on the Columbia by the Oregon Steam Navigation company's boats, thence by stage road to Clarke fork, from which a steamer would convey passengers and freight across the lake, and up that branch to Cabinet landing, where was a short portage, and transfer to another steamboat, which would carry them to the mouth of the Jocko river. Thence land travel was resumed for one hundred and twenty miles to Helena, and from Helena to Virginia City ninety miles. It was proposed to carry freight from Portland to the Jocko for thirteen cents per pound, which was a considerable abatement on the charges by the Missouri steamers to Fort Benton. The San Francisco merchants also tried to secure the Montana trade, averring that freight could be delivered overland at a cost of from fifteen to twenty cents per pound, according to distance. Chicago merchants competed as well, taking the overland route from the Missouri, while St Louis shipped goods up that river to Fort Benton. Meantime Montana received merchandise from all quarters, taking whatever came by any route.

With regard to exports, the year 1883—when the railroad era may be considered to have begun—must be regarded as the time when the shipping of domestic products first became a source of wealth. In that year 2,637,000 pounds of wool were exported, while 50,000 head of cattle and 10,000 sheep were sold for between $2,000,000 and $2,500,000. Add to these the exports of butter, cereals, fruits, and vegetables; of copper, lead, and the precious metals, which are annually increasing in volume, the yield amounting for the year 1890 to $40,000,000, and it will be admitted that such resources, with careful administration of territorial and county affairs, cannot fail before long to be the means of placing Montana in the rank to which she is entitled by virtue of her agricultural and mineral resources.

Under the stimulating influence of admission to statehood and of a rapid increase in population, Washington, Idaho, and Montana have, within recent years, made wonderful progress in the unfolding of resources and the development of industries. The taxable wealth of the first increased from $825,000 in 1853, the year of her admission as a territory, to $217,596,000 in 1890, the year following her admission as a state. The principal exports of Washington are lumber, coal, fish, hops, and wheat, with a lumber cut for the forty years ending with 1890 of 8,350,000,000 feet, a coal production at the rate of more than 100,000 tons a year, and an annual yield of fish valued at more than $1,000,000.

The growth of the leading commercial cities of Washington is one of the most remarkable features in the annals of the coast. Though first settled in 1852, the population of Seattle was, as late as 1870, little more than 1,000, increasing by slow degrees in the following decade to about 3,500. In 1890 it was 43,500, with a trade of $35,000,000, or more than double that of the preceding twelvemonth, with clearances amounting to $54,000,000, and manufactures to $12,000,000. During that year nearly 2,000 new buildings were erected, at an aggregate cost of $6,000,000, and with real estate sales of $23,000,000, or more than two thirds in value of those recorded in San Francisco, a city with seven times the population of Washington's metropolis. This, however, is in part accounted for by the fact that at Seattle transactions were largely of a speculative nature.

As late as 1887 Tacoma was but a straggling village, with a few hundreds of inhabitants, one of the most dormant settlements in all the northwest. In the following year the place was quickened into life through the advent of the Northern Pacific railroad, here making connection with ocean steamship lines. In 1890 it contained about 35,000 citizens, with a wholesale trade and manufacturing output each of from $12,000,000 to $14,000,000, and with property assessed at more than $20,000,000. In 1889 1,400 new buildings were completed at a cost of nearly $6,000,000, with street improvements in 1890 amounting to $2,000,000, and 30 miles of electric and other street cars in operation. At Tacoma is the terminus of all the larger steamship companies operating on the sound, with steamer lines to San Francisco, Vancouver, Victoria, Seattle, Sitka, and other terminal and intermediate points.

At Spokane Falls, where now stands a city of 30,000 people, there was not, in 1875, a single human habitation, save perchance for the wigwams of some roving band of Indians. Even in 1881, when the Northern Pacific railroad reached that point, its population was less than 1,000; in 1887 it had increased to 7,000, and in each of the two following years Spokane more than doubled its number of inhabitants, its taxable wealth, its volume of trade, and its banking capital.

In Idaho and Montana progress was less remarkable, though with a very perceptible increase in values and in the volume of commerce. In 1889, a season of drought and depression in Idaho, taxable property was assessed at nearly $25,000,000, an increase of 16 per cent over the preceding year, and representing but a fraction of the actual wealth of the state, since on lands unpatented and on mines and mining output there is no taxation. For the year ending June 30, 1890, there were imported 184,000 tons of merchandise, and exported 202,000 tons. Few sections have shown, within the last decade, a larger relative increase in population, from 32,600 in 1880 to 84,400 in 1890, and with a corresponding growth in agricultural, mining, and manufactured products.

From 39,000 in 1880, the population of Montana increased to 132,000 in 1890, with taxable wealth assessed in the former year at $18,600,000, in the latter at $100,123,000, and with $50,000,000 as the yearly product of her industries. The first among mining states, the mineral products of Montana for the ten years ending with 1890 have been estimated at $250,000,000, divided between the precious and base metals about in the ratio of two to one. Though the best watered of all the Rocky Mountain states, with water sufficient to irrigate her entire agricultural area, less than 15 per cent of that area has been occupied. As a stock-raising region, however, she ranks among the foremost, with nearly 1,500,000 cattle, some 3,000,000 of sheep, and of horses about 250,000. In 1880 the only means of conveyance was the stage-coach, and that of most primitive pattern. In 1890 three transcontinental railroads ran through Montana, with branch lines leading to all the principal mining and agricultural centres.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century trappers and traders had penetrated into Wyoming, whose borders adjoined the Missouri highway of the Canadian fur companies. In 1743–4 Sieur de la Vérendeye and his sons approached the Rocky mountains by way of the Yellowstone and Bighorn rivers, proceeding as far as Wind river. Here they turned back, warned by the Shoshones against the warlike tribes that guarded the South pass. It was proposed to push forward the eastern trading posts to this vicinity, but the war between France and England resulted in the transfer of the Gallic territory to the British, and the advance was made in a more northerly direction.

The Spaniards, meanwhile, found their way up the Missouri, and A. Matéo, a Portugese, is said to have established a peltry station at the head of Powder river. Ruins certainly exist in this neighborhood, and affirm by their condition the story that the Sioux laid fierce siege to the place on one occasion for sixty days. Shortly afterward Manuel Lisa founded a post at the mouth of Bighorn river, which drew its peltry from the territory extending thence into Wyoming.

The acquisition of Louisiana, and the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, indicated the designs of the United States on these western regions, and thus stimulated the enterprise of American fur-hunters and traders. They had, indeed, already pushed their way into the heart of the Rocky mountains. Among the first of whom there is any record were Dickson and Hancock, from Illinois, who trapped beaver on the Yellowstone in 1804. Two years later they were joined by J. Colter, from Lewis and Clarke's party, who skirted the range in several directions, reaching Green and Wind rivers.

The story is current that Colter was captured by the Blackfoot, and as was the custom of the tribe in dealing with their prisoners, was accorded a chance for his life by running the gauntlet. Stripped and turned loose upon ground covered with the prickly pear, he was pursued by several hundred Indians. After a fierce struggle he gained the river, with the flesh torn from his feet, and blood gushing from his mouth and nostrils. Here he concealed himself beneath a mass of driftwood, until darkness permitted him to set forth toward Lisa's post, where he arrived seven days later, almost in a dying condition.

In 1807 an expedition to the valley of the Yellowstone was led by Ezekiel Williams, for the purpose of restoring to their tribes certain of the natives who had accompanied Lewis and Clarke. This done, Williams moved southward, trapping on his way, though exposed to frequent attacks from the Indians, which reduced his twenty followers to one fifth of that number. In 1808 A. Henry, an agent of the Missouri Fur company, composed of Lisa, Choteau, and others of St Louis, ascended the Missouri for the purpose of establishing posts, and opening trade with the Indians west of the Rocky mountains. Deeming it unsafe to remain in the vicinity of the Blackfoot, he crossed the range, and erected Fort Henry on the headwaters of the Snake. After two years of varying fortune the company dissolved, but was revived later by Pilcher, Lisa, and others, who carried on operations along the Yellowstone and parallel streams.

In conducting the Astorian party to Oregon, W. P. Hunt crossed the territory from the Black hills by way of Powder and Wind rivers to the Snake. In 1822 W. H. Ashley, once lieutenant-governor of Missouri, or Upper Louisiana, established a post on the Yellowstone for the North American Fur company, in which enterprise he was associated with Astor. Driven back at the first attempt, he returned in 1824 at the head of three hundred men, explored and named Sweetwater and Green rivers—the latter called after a member of the expedition—and erected a fort on Utah lake. Two years later he withdrew, disposing of his interests to the Rocky Mountain Fur company, composed of Jedediah Smith, Sublette, and Jackson, who brought the first wagons through Wyoming, on the way to the Pacific slope. Other companies took the field, and in the beginning of the thirties there were several hundred trappers and traders in Wyoming and the adjacent territories. Most of them were recruits picked up at the outskirts of the settlements, adventurers and vagabonds, whose decimation from hardship, accident, vice, and Indian hostility attracted no attention, and caused not even a regret in the homes from which they had cast themselves adrift.

In 1832 Captain Bonneville led a band of a hundred trappers across the Rocky mountains in quest of profit and adventure, bringing the first wagons through the South pass and down the western slope. While in the neighborhood of the Bighorn and Powder rivers, he displayed to the natives a varied and tempting stock of goods, which were stored for awhile at Fort Bonneville, near the sources of Green river. This was the first fortification within Wyoming proper, for so far the traders had merely entered the territory from posts chiefly located on the Missouri water way. The erection of a fortified post was now a matter of necessity, on account of the growing rivalry, and the insolence of the natives, which was further augmented by the acquisition of firearms.

The first permanent fort, however, was the one erected in 1834 by William Sublette and R. Campbell, near the confluence of the Laramie and North Platte rivers. It consisted of a palisade, eighteen feet high, with bastions in two diagonal corners, and a few small adobe houses in the centre. It was first called William after Sublette, then renamed John, and finally received its present appellation of Fort Laramie from the name of a trapper who had been killed on the banks of the stream. Sublette and his successors quickly drove out all rivals from Wyoming, with the exception of the American Fur company, with which they presently combined. The fort passed into the hands of the government in 1849.

The second permanent post was Fort Bridger, a block-house erected in 1842 by J. Bridger, on the delta of the Black fork of Green river. In the same year was begun the never completed station of Sabille, Adams, and company, near Laramie. Bridger was a native of Washington, but from an early age his life was passed on the western frontier. His tall, thin, and wiry frame was well fitted for forest life, and he became the most reliable of guides to the mountains. He was esteemed also for his generosity and bravery, which stood revealed in his frank and independent expression of countenance. The Mormons objected to a gentile trader on their borders and compelled him to abandon his post with heavy loss, whereupon he retired to a farm near Westport, Missouri. Soon, however, he came back to his beloved mountains, and there remained until old age forced him to return once more to the farm, where in 1881, being then in his seventy-fifth year, he breathed his last.

These several stations served as resting places for the early migration along this route to Oregon and California. Here the wayfarers could replenish their stock of provisions, and form new alliances for mutual aid and protection. The establishment of military posts gave an impetus to traffic by increasing the demand for transport and supplies, while adding to the feeling of security by the frequent passage of escorts.

Thus from a mere fur-trading region Wyoming became a way-station on the great transcontinental route, and so remained until the gold discovery on Sweetwater river, attended by the influx of several hundred miners, and the founding of camps and towns, attracted traders for local custom. Among the first were Noyes Baldwin and Warden Noble, followed by a number of others. Close upon the heels of settlement came the transcontinental railway, which not only reduced the cost of transportation and inspired greater confidence, but at its own stations, laid the foundation of towns and cities, around which presently arose machine shops and other evidences of industrial progress. Increased security and ready communication directed the attention of stock raisers to the excellent pasture lands, and in the wake of cattle farming followed agriculture, to contribute its quota to the incipient commerce of the territory.

Cheyenne, the principal town and also the capital, contained in 1869 a population of about 4,000, with some two dozen stores, of which one-fourth carried goods to the amount of from $25,000 to $40,000 each, supporting several newspapers with their advertisements, after some fluctuations. In 1880 the city mustered at least 7,000 inhabitants, with a proportionately larger business, and with four banks, of which the pioneer institution, the First National, was founded in 1871 by A. R. Converse. The Black hills excitement assisted to revive the territory from a period of stagnation, and now with her manifold, though yet undeveloped, resources, and with the spread of settlement northward, the prospects for the commerce of Wyoming offer no cause for discouragement.

In 1890 the commerce and industries of Wyoming were in a healthy condition, notwithstanding a depression in her stock-raising interests, the oldest and still one of the largest in this recently admitted state. It was not until the summer of 1890 that the boon of statehood was conferred on the territory, though long solicited by its inhabitants, mustering at that date more than 100,000, with an actual property valuation of at least $100,000,000, and with moral worth and intelligence in keeping with their new responsibilities. In the absence of navigable streams, the commerce of Wyoming depends on her railroads, of which, in 1891, there were more than 1,000 miles in operation, though still insufficient to afford an outlet for her products, and to bring population to her irrigated valleys.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE OF FRANCIS EMROY WARREN.

A Builder in Wyoming—Ancestry, Parentage, and Education—Early Career—Army Experience—A Railroad Maker—In Business at Cheyenne—Wife and Children—The Warren Live-stock Company—Business Blocks—What He has Done for Cheyenne—Mayor—Governor—The Riot at Rock Springs—Reports—Second Administration—Appearance and Character.

In studying the history of our leading centres of wealth and population, it will be found that their earlier development was due mainly to a few individuals, who, at the right moment, gave to them the impulse and direction which secured their future greatness. It was only through the superior enterprise and boldness of a limited number, a score at most of her principal merchants and capitalists, that San Francisco wrested from her rival, Benicia, the control of the shipping and commerce of the coast. To a half-dozen of the most public-spirited among her citizens, Portland owes her position as the metropolis of the oldest among the Pacific sisterhood of states. And so it is with the capital of Wyoming, the youngest of all our political divisions. Some twenty years ago Cheyenne was little more than a deserted village, though one whose appearance by no means recalled the immortal idyl of Goldsmith. Toward the east lay an expanse of bleak and desert plains, now covered with farms and herds, but whose value as a grazing and agricultural region was then entirely unsuspected. In all the broad lands of Wyoming, the eighth in area among the states and territories of the union, there were less than 3,000 inhabitants. Her resources were unknown, or at least undeveloped, and her only important industries had been brought into existence by railroads, paid for though not owned by the government.

Gradually there came to Wyoming a more enterprising class of settlers, men who foresaw that this vast domain could not be much longer unoccupied, and that Cheyenne, the natural gateway of this region, the natural centre of its railroad system, must eventually take its place as one of the commercial towns of the west. Among those who cast in their lot at Cheyenne, during the spring or summer of 1868, was Francis Emroy Warren, who during the Arthur administration was appointed governor of the territory, and was the first of Wyoming's governors after her admission to statehood. In 1868 this territory formed a portion of Dakota, and, as was then believed, a most insignificant portion, its lands being considered almost as valueless as are now the frozen plains of Alaska. In 1890 it contained a white population of more than 60,000, with a property valuation assessed at over $30,000,000, with a score of banks, and more than threescore factories, with perhaps 2,000,000 cattle and 1,500,000 sheep, with mines of gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, and coal, the output of the last being estimated for 1886 at 1,000,000 tons, and with petroleum deposits that bid fair to rival the great oil districts of western Pennsylvania. Such are a few of the yet almost undeveloped resources and industries of Wyoming, and in no small degree are these results due to the efforts of Governor Warren, not only as head of the executive and as ex-mayor of Cheyenne, but as the promoter of numberless enterprises tending to build up the community with whose interests he has been so long identified.

Hinsdale, in western Massachusetts, was the birthplace of Mr Warren, and the day the 20th of June,

1844. His ancestry is traced in direct line to the Warrens who landed on these shores during the years of hardship when the pilgrim fathers were painfully laying the foundation of the great republic. Few names occur more frequently in the earlier annals of the state, and to-day many of their descendants are still numbered among the leading families of New England. To this stock belonged, among other noted men, General Joseph Warren, the hero of Bunker hill.

His father, Joseph S. Warren, was a well-to-do farmer, trader, and contractor, of the true New England type, shrewd, active, enterprising, and economical. At the age of nineteen he married, and of the five children born to him by his first wife, Francis was the eldest. Though himself a man of fair education, he considered that anything beyond a common-school course would be only a detriment to his children, preferring rather that his boys should be trained to habits of industry and self-denial, encouraging them to feats of strength and physical endurance, and giving more heed to their bodily than to their mental development. Above all things they must display nerve and courage, depending solely on their own efforts, and putting aside all childish timidity. "There was nothing," he constantly repeated, "that a farmer's lad should not be able to do, and that without help from others."

His wife, Cynthia E. Abbott, was a refined and sensitive woman of sound principles and superior culture, a church-member of the methodist persuasion, and one whose greatest care was the welfare of her children. Long before her death, which occurred from consumption, during Francis' childhood, her mind was continually fixed on their future; and speaking to them as one already on the threshold of another world, she gave such counsel as could not fail to guide them aright, whatever their career in life.

At the age of three years Francis began his education at the district school, and at eight found himself near the head of a class of pupils, some of whom were nearly double his years. Thereafter his services were required on the farm, on account of his father's business reverses, and attendance at school was limited to a few weeks in the middle of the winter. Meanwhile he continued his studies under the direction of his mother, who, among other accomplishments, was an expert mathematician, with a thorough practical knowledge of arithmetic.

At fifteen, after the death of his mother, he began to feel the need of a more liberal education, and on complaining of his limited opportunities was offered the chance of earning the means for himself. To a dairyman of the neighborhood, who would be glad to give him employment, his father was slightly indebted. If he would work for him during the coming summer and pay off this debt, then he should be his own master so long as he retained his good habits, and gave no cause for uneasiness. Should he desire to return, through sickness or for other reasons, he would always be received with welcome.

It was a rough, laborious calling in which the boy thus made his start in life, rising at four in the morning to milk from one to two dozen cows, with the same task to perform at night, besides taking his share in the general work of the farm. But this was to him no hardship, for in all the country round there were none of his years more capable of severe and continuous labor. At sixteen he was nearly six feet in stature, with a weight of 160 pounds, wiry, supple, muscular, and able to do a man's work without in the least over-taxing his strength. On one occasion when returning from a country store with a load of dairy salt, his fellow-workmen twitted him with his youthfulness, one of them remarking, with a sneer, that he supposed he must help him to unload his burden. In reply he declared that he would carry on his shoulder to the top of the stairs the heaviest bag in his wagon, weighing more than 400 pounds, and there empty it into the barrel. This feat he accomplished.

Deeds of daring were to him a pastime, and never did he give way to fear, or lose his presence of mind. Twice his right arm was fractured, and many a bone was broken in taming wild horses and oxen, which he would never let go until he had them under control. On one occasion, after he had been severely bruised and his clothes torn from his back in subduing a fractious animal, his father said to him: "If you had not controlled that brute, I should never have owned you as my son." Such a training was of more value in the battle of life than all the college education in the world.

With the labors on the farm he was fairly content. He had but one grievance, and this was that while earning the best of wages—$13 a month—there was still one man who received $2 more than himself. At the end of the season, after cancelling the debt as agreed upon, and purchasing some necessary clothing, he had about $5 left, with which to pay for his winter's schooling, together with $25 due for work on his father's farm. But this he would not touch, for it was his capital, and must be preserved intact. Meanwhile his grandfather offered him a home while attending the Hinsdale academy, and this he accepted, but only on condition that he be allowed to pay for his board from the savings of the following summer. From these savings also he was to refund the money for a suit of clothes, costing, with an overcoat—the first outer garment he had ever worn—the sum of $11.50. Thus his capital was already mortgaged; but he was a self-reliant youth, full of expedients, and there was little danger of his falling behind in the race of life.

Before Christmas Francis was lodged in his grandfather's domicile, in a small chamber under the roof, but with no want of light and warmth, the latter from a stovepipe passing through his apartment. From Monday morning until Friday afternoon he attended the academy, and then walked to his home, six miles distant, working on Saturdays in the neighboring forest with the loggers and wood-choppers. Thus he earned enough to pay in part for his board, and in the following spring found himself but little in debt.

In April he again accepted employment on a dairy-farm, and its owner being stricken with partial paralysis, was placed in charge, though still only in his seventeenth year, and younger than any of the men under his control. So efficient was he as a manager that he was asked to promise his services for the following season, and to this at the time he was nothing loath, for he was treated by the family as one of their sons, and by his employer with the utmost consideration. During the summer he earned sufficient to pay off all his debts, to provide for the winter term at the academy, and to give him besides a surplus of some $50. This was to him the proudest moment of his life, and perchance the happiest. That he had accomplished these results, meanwhile receiving the highest wages paid for such work, was indeed a source of more genuine satisfaction than all the triumphs of his later career in the arena of business and politics.

At this period Francis had many misgivings as to his future. He had been trained to the idea that farming was the only honorable calling that was sure to be rewarded with at least a moderate success, and that to adopt any other would bring on him the contempt of all his neighbors, and what was worse, his father's condemnation. But still he could not rest content with such environment. He longed for some wider sphere, in which the powers of which he was conscious could find room for their exercise and development. He would wait, however, at least until he had finished his education, and saved enough money to engage in some bolder venture. But first of all an experience awaited him in which were tested to the utmost the courage and endurance fostered by his early training.

It was now the time of the civil war, and Francis had long been eager to join the union ranks, though warned by his father that, if he enlisted before the age of seventeen, he would surely apply for his discharge. As his seventeenth birthday approached, he arranged with his employer to release him from his engagement and keep the matter a secret, meanwhile working extra hours in return for the privilege. On the 20th of June, 1861, on which day the regulations would permit him to enlist, a meeting was to be held in the hall of the Hinsdale academy, for the purpose of securing recruits. But there he heard for the first time that a bounty had been offered, and for a moment he hesitated, his first impulse being to leave the building and return to his home. His intention had been to serve his country without other compensation than the regular pay, and by entering the army under present conditions he might incur the imputation of having sold his services. Soon, however, he changed his mind, for conscious of the purity of his motives, what cared he for the opinions of others? When the call was made for men to come forward and sign their names, he started at once for the stand. Here he was touched lightly on the elbow, and facing sharply round was confronted by his father. "Emroy," he said, "I knew you would be here, and I knew you would enlist. Further, I know that I cannot stop it. To tell you the truth, I should have been very much disappointed if you had not been here, and as it is I am proud of it, and have no objections to offer. On the contrary, I will do all that I can to aid you."

Francis was assigned to Company C of the 49th Massachusetts volunteers, his battalion being ordered for training to Pittsfield, and afterward forming a portion of the 19th army corps. During his first engagement, at Plains store, the column in front of him was routed, and the men fell back on his own regiment, disorganizing its ranks and causing a partial stampede to the rear. It was a sight that would have tried the nerves of the stoutest veteran, as the remnant of the 49th came into action, emerging from the cover of a wood, behind them their flying comrades, and the ground in front covered with the dead and dying, with men and horses horribly mutilated, and with broken wagons and tumbrils. The air seemed filled with a hail of iron, and the hoarse scream of shot and shell, and the whistling of bullets, mingled with the piercing cries of the wounded and the awful rebel yell, paled the cheek of the boldest among this gallant but untried soldiery.

There are moments in a battle when even the bravest men on either side, after putting forth their utmost efforts, feel disposed to run. Such moments a skilful commander readily detects, and it is by taking prompt advantages of them that victories are won. Many a soldier, whose courage had never before been questioned, has on these occasions turned his back in an instant of panic, and thereby forfeited his reputation and self-respect. As for Francis, it must be confessed, and that by no means to his discredit, that his first impulse was to withdraw with all haste to safer quarters. But quickly he recovered himself. After all, I imagine, he reasoned with himself that it was but a question of nerve, and never could he again hold up his head, never could he meet his father's gaze, if he should now be found wanting in the hour of trial.

At Donaldsonville he was also present, and at the engagements before Port Hudson. During the siege of the latter the 49th was ordered to furnish a contingent from each company, for the dangerous duty of preceding the column of attack, and filling up with fascines the ditch in front of the earthworks. For this service volunteers were invited, and it need hardly be said that among those who stepped forward was Francis Warren. On the morning of this day the guns of the fort were silent, the effect, as was supposed, of a vigorous shelling ordered by General Banks. But when Francis and his comrades—the forlorn hope as they were termed—entered the field, fire was opened from all the batteries, and in a moment the air was filled with a storm of missiles, so that it seemed as if no human being could face it and live. General Bartlett was struck by a bullet, while riding at the head of the 49th.

The colonel who led the forlorn hope fell dead, as did all the officers who in turn succeeded him, and three-fourths of the rank and file were killed or wounded. The fascine which Warren carried was struck by a cannon ball, and though not seriously injured, he fell stunned near the trunk of a prostrate tree, where for hours he lay unconscious.

On being mustered out of service he returned to his native town and accepted employment as superintendent on the stock-farm of George T. Plunkett, a former schoolmate at the Hinsdale academy. Here he remained until the spring of 1868, receiving about the largest salary paid in Massachusetts for work of that description, his principal duty being the care of thoroughbred horses and cattle. Meanwhile he had become expert in other crafts connected with the working of a farm, as grading and ditching, mill work, carpenter and blacksmith's work, etc. At twenty-three years of age he had money enough to tide over the experimental period in some other line of business, and, if he was to carry out the half-formed projects for bettering his condition, which he had proposed to himself before the war, there was no time to be lost.

At least he could no longer be content with a farmer's life in western Massachusetts. He would either adopt some other calling in one of the eastern states, or he would go west, where his own occupation was more liberally rewarded. But as yet he had no definite plans; only he would break loose from his present environment, and watch for the opportunity which always comes to those who work and wait.

Of the business judgment which he displayed in his later career, Mr Warren had already given proof, as will appear from the following incident. On returning to civil life, before he had reached his majority, a question arose as to the disposal of his savings, and he decided in favor of the 7-30 bonds, which were then selling at 92. From this his father, who was a democrat but a stanch union man, tried to dissuade him, expressing doubts as to whether the government would be able to carry its tremendous load of debt, and advising him to lend his money on some first-class note of hand or mortgage. "But," Francis replied, "when the government cannot pay its indebtedness, I know of no real estate that has any value, or of any mortgage that would be good security." The credit of every citizen, he reasoned, depended more or less on the credit of the United States, and if the government were not solvent, then no one had any real financial standing. His deductions may not have been altogether logical, but for one of his years they showed remarkable power of generalization.

On the very day when he had decided on making a change, an opportunity occurred, or rather, he made for himself an opportunity. It chanced that an old friend of the family, named Carson, was leaving for Des Moines, where he was to superintend the construction of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific railroad, and meeting him at the Hinsdale depot, Warren asked that he would let him know if any suitable opening should occur in the west. "You will hear from me," replied the other, "as soon as I reach Chicago, and see that you make no other arrangements." Soon afterward came the offer of a position as foreman of one of the working parties.

Almost at the same moment another prospect was opened to him. By Charles Converse, he was offered a position in a store at Cheyenne, the property of his son, who on account of ill health needed a manager to attend to its affairs. In no one else, he said, had he such confidence, and he trusted him to make no further engagements, but to start westward as soon as he should be at liberty.

Warren found himself in a dilemma. Here were two men anxious for his services, neither of whom would listen to a refusal. But this was not all, he knew nothing about such business. Whichever appointment he filled, he would be expected to take charge of men and affairs in a position which he had never occupied before, and for which he had not the least experience. He had been trained to the idea that, before being intrusted with the management of a business, one should serve a thorough apprenticeship, and the responsibility that would now be placed on him he regarded with far graver apprehension than when he had confronted the death-dealing batteries of Port Hudson. Finally, being still undecided, he wrote to Mr Carson that he would visit him at Des Moines and see what could be done; and to Mr Converse he made answer that probably he would soon be at Cheyenne.

But that which he did not venture to determine on his own responsibility, Mr Carson took on himself to decide. On reaching Des Moines, he followed the line of construction a few miles westward, to the point where the men were engaged. "And so you have come to work?" was the superintendent's greeting. "Why, no," he replied, "I am only here on a visit." But on the second day he was fairly captured, through the skilful strategy of his friend. As he passed up the line, he found himself in the midst of a group of men, who were laying ties on the track. "Now, Warren," said Carson, "it is one o'clock, and your services as foreman of the tie gang begin at that hour. Get your line up to that curve; then strike out from the curve and get in the joint ties, and string your men beyond, in time to keep out of the way of the iron gang." There was no alternative. He must either go to work, or place the railroad builder in a false position before his own men; and this he would not do, at least until he had given him a chance to explain. Throwing off his coat, therefore, he took up his level, and putting himself at the head of the workmen, proceeded to the task of railroad building as if it had been the business of his life. True, he did not know even the names of many of the tools; but this difficulty he met by using in jest such familiar terms as occurred to him at the moment. Meanwhile his knowledge of grading and various mechanical handicrafts stood him in good stead, so that none of his hands suspected him to be other than an experienced foreman.

In the evening he expostulated with the superintendent, who, he considered, had taken him at a disadvantage; but on this score he received but scant satisfaction. "I have known you some years," he replied, "and now I have put you in the position where I want you to be, and I expect you to stay until you have a sure opportunity of doing better. I am your friend, and whenever a better chance offers will allow you to leave just as abruptly as I put you to work, though I shall still remain your friend."

For some two months Mr Warren remained at his post, and although frequent letters from Cheyenne offered superior inducements, he had almost resolved to become a railroad man. Clearly he foresaw the great future of the vast region that lay west of Iowa, and with the Union and Central Pacific then nearing completion, and other lines and branches soon to be built, there would surely be no lack of opportunities. With his redundant health and power of endurance, with his training as a farmer, and his army experience he was fully assured of success.

But presently there came an urgent letter from Cheyenne, stating that the younger Converse was left alone in his sickness, without even an assistant to take charge of his store; that he hoped Francis would join him immediately, for friendship's sake if not as a matter of business. He notified the superintendent, telegraphed to Converse, and the next morning found him on his way to Wyoming.

It was a June day in 1868 when the train which carried Mr Warren and his fortunes slowed into the depot at Cheyenne. At that date it was a city of tents and cabins and covered wagons, without a single graded street, a crossing or sidewalk, or even a drain. The most pretentious building was the episcopal church; but far better patronized were the gambling-houses, or rather the covered vans which served the purpose, around which the music of rival bands attracted the unwary. The vigilants were at work, and as the saying went, there was "the usual man for breakfast," or more often several men. The people were of the migratory class, and every one believed that, now the railroad had left it behind, the existence of the place was but a question of weeks or months. Houses were being taken down and moved elsewhere in sections, and already the population had dwindled to less than 1,000 souls, against five times that number in the previous winter. But in this feeling of depression Mr Warren did not share. Here was a town located midway between Omaha and Ogden, surrounded by a vast and then unoccupied domain, where, on the plains toward the east, was pasturage for countless herds of cattle. In time it must become an important commercial centre, and among the first to perceive its advantages of location, or at least to turn them to account, was the future mayor of Cheyenne.

On reaching his destination Mr Warren found that his employer was not in the least improved in health, and anxious only to remove to some milder climate. The condition of affairs at Cheyenne Mr Converse explained by saying that the change had come upon them rapidly, and was altogether unexpected. His store—in the line of crockery and house-furnishing goods—was, however, still in a prosperous condition. As soon as Warren had mastered its details he wished to be relieved from all further responsibility. Meanwhile he would give him a partnership, not only here, but wherever he might later deem it advisable to remove or open a branch. This he at first refused, thinking that before accepting a partnership he should know more about the business, and more also about his own intentions for the future.

On the following day he entered upon his duties, having already made himself at home, sleeping soundly on a couch wheeled from beneath the counter, with its frame-work of packing-boxes, and under his pillow a pair of revolvers; for at any moment of the night or day a raid might be expected. Then the business became hopelessly dull. It seemed as if there was nothing in the store for him to do; and most men would have done nothing; would have passed their time in lounging and smoking, making only the merest pretence of work. But Warren was a man of different stamp. If there was nothing in the store to keep him busy, then he would find something to occupy him outside of it; and first of all he would put the stock in better shape. In the yard it was almost impossible to move among the piles of empty packing-boxes, barrels, and crates. These he chopped up into fire-wood. Then he unearthed a dozen or more crates of crockery, which had been overlooked and was now in a soiled condition, cleaning it and placing it on the shelves.

Some three months later Mr Warren went westward, to find a more favorable location for the business; but with the result that he determined to remain in Cheyenne, where the situation was now beginning to improve. About this time he made frequent trips to Denver, which resulted in opening up a trade with several houses in furniture and other lines of goods. A railroad to that town was about to be constructed from Cheyenne, and, as elsewhere related, wrought a wonderful change in its fortunes; but meanwhile the place was half deserted, and but a shadow of its former self. Those who remained apologized for their presence by saying that they were so encumbered with real estate, with debts and other obligations, that no alternative was left, though hope had long since departed.

Late in 1871 Mr Warren bought a half share in the business, which was then conducted under the style of Converse & Warren, and so remained for a period of six years, when he purchased the other half. In 1879 he admitted into partnership his brother, Edwin M. Warren, and his confidential clerk, under the firm name of F. E. Warren & company. Two or three years later the business passed into the hands of the present corporation, known as the F. E. Warren Mercantile company, the stock being held by himself and his wife, his brother, his wife's brother, and his former clerk.

Of Mrs Warren, née Helen M. Smith, a native of Middlefield, Massachusetts, to whom he was married in 1871, it may here be stated that her lineage is traced to one of the oldest families in New England, and that, possessing rare attractions in mind and person, she exercised a marked influence for good on western society.

Between 1873 and 1880 Mr Warren devoted much of his time to the raising of sheep and cattle. During this period were successively established for this purpose the firms of Guiterman & Warren, Miner & Warren, and Post & Warren, the property of the first being afterward disposed of for $110,000, and of the last for $400,000, while the operations of the other returned a profit of from 30 to 40 per cent per annum during the five years of its existence. After dissolving the partnership of Miner & Warren he retained much of the stock and many of the ranges, which, in 1883, passed into the hands of the Warren Live-stock company. The corporation was the largest of its kind in Wyoming, its possessions including from 90,000 to 110,000 sheep, with 3,000 head of cattle, nearly as many horses, and more than 100,000 acres of land in fee-simple, in addition to the control of other tracts, amounting in all to more than 250,000 acres, and forming an unbroken range extending for many miles on either side of the Union Pacific. It was divided into some 50 ranges, the principal ones being connected by telephone with each other and with the company's offices at Cheyenne.

The value of the land, which is of excellent quality, has been greatly improved by the construction of nearly 100 miles of ditches, with reservoirs for storage, and a large number of windmills, placing almost the entire area under irrigation. At several points hay is raised in large quantity, the crop for 1888 being about 1,800 tons. Lands planted in alfalfa return a good yield, and oats are harvested as winter feed for stock. But the principal feeding station was at Duncan, Nebraska, where sheep and cattle were fattened for market, the sales of beef and mutton sometimes reaching $50,000 per month.

Of wool, the clip for 1888 was nearly 500,000 pounds or 25 car-loads. It was of fine medium quality, and commanded a ready sale at remunerative prices in Boston and other eastern markets. In former years only high-grade merinos were raised, but soon it was found that a larger mutton and a better description of wool was produced by crossing with the Shropshire buck. In the mountainous portions of the tract some 2,500 head of Angora goats were herded. The cattle were of the Hereford breed, and the horses included the Clydesdale, English draft, and French coaching stock, with mares of selected Oregon grades. Herds of Berkshire and China swine, with poultry of all kinds, and the finest of vegetables were to be found on the farms. On one of them was a herd of tame antelope, and on another buffalo. Finally there is a vein of bituminous coal, ten feet in thickness, at present used only for home consumption, but capable of furnishing an almost unlimited supply.

Elsewhere, not only in Wyoming, but in Montana, Dakota, Nebraska, and Colorado, Mr Warren is largely interested in lands and live-stock, paying taxes in nearly all the counties in Wyoming and in many of the counties in adjoining states and territories.

With other enterprises Mr Warren became identified, as the Electric Light company, the Cheyenne Gas company, the Cheyenne Carriage company, and the Opera-house company.

By him were erected some of the most substantial buildings in Cheyenne, and that at a time when the future of the city was by no means assured. First of all was the Warren block, with its four spacious stores occupied by the Mercantile company's establishment. In March 1884 this structure was destroyed by fire, together with its entire stock of merchandise, causing a loss to the company of more than $250,000, with less than $90,000 insurance. It was afterward rebuilt, and near its site, but covering a larger area, was erected the Warren emporium, a brick edifice 180 by 132 feet.

Perhaps Mr Warren never appeared to better advantage than on the occasion of this disaster. The fire broke out at one o'clock in the morning, and in less than an hour the flames had burst through the upper stories, dooming the Warren block to destruction. Adjoining it was the Inter-ocean hotel, which was in imminent danger, and as his property was being swept away before his eyes, Mr Warren cried out to the firemen: "Boys, save the Inter-ocean and I'll be satisfied." Then he entered the burning building and drew together and fastened the connecting fire-proof doors, a task which had been forgotten, and which none but he now dared to undertake. For himself he seemed but little disturbed, expressing more admiration for the heroic conduct of the firemen than of regret for his misfortune. Though a few days before he had received from some miscreant an anonymous letter, marked with a skull and cross-bones, and with threats of vengeance, he suspected no one, and believed himself merely the victim of accident.

Let us now consider to what extent the progress of Cheyenne has been due to Mr Warren's enterprise and foresight. At the date of his arrival in the summer of 1868, the ephemeral growth which had followed its first settlement in the previous year, and which gave to the city its title, had already been succeeded by despondency and collapse. It was, as we have seen, a mere village of huts and tents, containing but a few hundred inhabitants, most of them railroad builders, with a sprinkling of merchants and miners, and a larger admixture of gamblers and prostitutes. In the entire territory which then formed a portion of Dakota, there were not 5,000 people, and the Wyoming of to-day, with her immense cattle-ranges, her railroad system, and her varied industries was not even thought of by the few who still had confidence in her future. But among the more hopeful was Mr Warren, whose faith remained unshaken amid all this depression, for to him Cheyenne already appeared as one of the natural gateways of the west, one of the natural points of distribution, holding the same relation to the surrounding country as did Ogden, Omaha, and Kansas city to the several regions for which they were the established entrepots.

Here then he remained and gradually built up the business which became the largest of its kind in Wyoming, meanwhile opening commercial relations with all the neighboring states and territories. As funds increased, his surplus means were invested in stock-raising, aiding to develop this industry, and making others rich, affording occupation to hundreds, while expending large sums in improvements. Then he built a number of costly business structures, owning as early as 1881, when the city contained less than 4,000 inhabitants, no less than 14 stores completed or in course of erection. Thus he gave confidence to his fellow-citizens, who, knowing that he had come among them a poor man, and had made his way by his own energy and forecast, were not slow to profit by his example.

Finally he took a leading part in the various enterprises to which Cheyenne was so largely indebted for its material and social development, such as aiding in securing for it the location of the Union Pacific workshops, which furnished employment for an army of men. And during all these years every dollar that he earned, every dollar that he saved, was invested in a manner that would directly benefit that city, would add to the volume of her industries and commerce, to her natural and acquired resources.

To such men is due the prosperity of Wyoming's capital, with her 12,000 inhabitants, her property assessed at nearly $4,000,000, her four banks with deposits exceeding $3,500,000, her five lines of railroad, her extensive water-works, her spacious and shaded avenues, her stone-flagged sidewalks, her substantial business blocks, her tasteful residences, her opera and club houses, her dozen or more of churches, her excellent schools, fire department, and electric-lighted streets and buildings. Such, in 1889, was "the magic city," still, it is true, almost a miniature city, but the abode of men who, in the cattle business alone, represent an aggregate of nearly $100,000,000.

In conclusion let us turn to Mr Warren's political career, which is connected with some of the most interesting events in the territorial history of Wyoming. His first experience in this direction was in 1872, when, as in the following year, he was elected to the office of city trustee. Then we find him in the upper house of the legislature, of which he was president before reaching his thirtieth year, being again elected a member in 1883. In 1884 he refused the nomination for congress, though tendered by a unanimous vote of the republican party, on the ground that his business interests would interfere with a conscientious discharge of his duties. For six years he was treasurer of the territory, and in January 1885 was elected mayor of Cheyenne, after serving as one of the city council during 1883 and 1884. In all these positions, and also as chairman of the territorial republican central committee, his record was of the highest, no less for his faithfulness and integrity than for his comprehensive grasp of public affairs. But it was in a still higher sphere that he was destined to win for himself the reputation which he now enjoys as one of the foremost of Wyoming's statesmen.

In February 1885, during the last days of the Arthur administration, Mr Warren, while still mayor of Cheyenne, a member of the legislature, and territorial treasurer, was appointed governor of Wyoming. His friends had interested themselves to procure his nomination, partly with a view to obtain from the president a recognition of the principles of home rule for the territories, for while the platform which elected Arthur was silent on the question, the one which was adopted during the candidacy of Blaine was expressly committed to this policy. Though Blaine had been defeated, it was believed that Cleveland would indorse it, and would appoint some democrat within the territory.

The selection had been made in the face of the strongest pressure from congressional delegations and eminent public men in behalf of a score of candidates, among them being prominent republicans from

New York, Nebraska, and Iowa. That Mr Warren should have been chosen after the nomination had long been held in abeyance, and when his firmest supporters had begun to lose hope, was therefore accepted as a compliment, not only to himself, but to the entire community. By many this choice of the executive among the citizens of Wyoming was hailed as the first step toward statehood, a step that prepared the way for further progress until the goal of independence should be reached.

One of the first important measures of Governor Warren was to issue a proclamation, establishing a quarantine in Wyoming against all the states and territories where pleuro-pneumonia existed or was supposed to exist. From such localities it was forbidden that cattle should be brought into or through the territory except by rail, and they must be unloaded at the quarantine station provided for that purpose, and subject to the restrictions and regulations there in force.

On the 2d of September, 1885, occurred the anti-Chinese riot at Rock springs, an outbreak which, though premeditated by a few of its ringleaders, came, says Mr Warren, on the rest of the community as lightning from a clear sky. For his prompt and decisive action in this emergency, the governor was warmly commended, not only by his fellow-citizens of Wyoming, but by the people and goverment of the United States, and most fortunate it was that at this juncture a man of his determined character was at the head of affairs.

At Rock springs and its neighborhood were coal mines whence the Union Pacific procured its main supply of fuel. At first they were worked by white labor for which were paid the highest rates of wages, and only when the workmen struck for still higher wages, demanding more than the output of the mines was worth, did the company change its policy. Gangs of Chinese were then introduced, until, at the beginning of September 1885, there were several hundred on the ground. Soon the white miners displayed a jealous hatred of the Asiatics, saying that to them had been given places in the mines, from which the largest earnings could be secured by the prevailing system of piece-work; but for this complaint there appears to have been no real foundation. In a chamber of one of the mines a quarrel occurred, during which four Chinamen were wounded, one of them fatally. Thereupon work was abandoned, and the miners gathered in the streets to the number of 150 or more, armed with rifles, shot-guns, revolvers, knives, and hatchets. Meanwhile a flag had been hoisted by the Chinese as a warning to their countrymen, all of whom fled to their quarters.

The miners then advanced on the Chinese quarter, first sending a committee of three to warn the Asiatics that within an hour they must leave the camp. This they agreed to do, but before half the time had elapsed the white men were upon them, shouting and firing their guns, at first in the air, and then at the bodies of their victims. Without offering the least resistance, the Chinamen fled with such of their effects as they could lay hands on at the moment, scrambling down the banks of the adjoining creek, through the sage-brush, across the railroad, and only coming to a halt when they had reached the shelter of the neighboring hills. And as they fled, many fell beneath the bullets of the miners, whose rifles continued their deadly work until the fugitives were out of range.

Not satisfied with this outrage the mob of white ruffians set fire to the buildings where lay the sick and wounded, and in this hellish task were assisted by their wives. Those who were able to crawl forth issued from their burning dwellings, stifled with smoke, and throwing around them a blanket, their only protection from the miners' bullets, followed their brethren to the hills. Many were pushed back into the flames, where perished all the more feeble and infirm, save those to whom a friendly bullet brought a more merciful death.

In all more than thirty lives were lost and at least as many were wounded. Fifty of the railroad company's buildings had been destroyed, together with the entire Chinese quarter. Then in full sight of this sickening holocaust, and with the scent of their roasted victims still in their nostrils, the miners offered to return to work—provided they received an advance in wages.

The first intimation that the governor received was from an official of the Union Pacific, who, on the afternoon of September 2d, applied at the executive office, in behalf of the company, for assistance in quelling the outbreak. Thereupon he adopted the only course that was open to him, one that was clearly in his line of duty, and was afterward fully indorsed by the president. As there were no territorial militia at his command, he telegraphed to General Howard, then in charge of the department of the Platte, asking for protection for life and property at Rock springs. An hour later a second despatch was forwarded in response to an urgent demand for troops from the sheriff of the county. On the same day he rode to Fort Russell some three miles distant, and obtained from the commanding officer a promise to hold a sufficient force in readiness, pending the general's answer. In the evening came still another message requesting military aid, this time from the traffic manager of the railroad at Omaha; whereupon he appealed to the secretary of war. At midnight, as reports of further and more serious trouble continued to arrive, he ordered a special train for Rock springs, and during the trip kept himself informed as to the condition of affairs, each telegram increasing the gravity of the situation. At some point on the road General Howard's reply was handed to him, suggesting that he apply direct to the president, and this he did at the next station connected by wire with Washington.

On the morning of the 3d, Governor Warren arrived at Rock springs, and this is what he saw, as related in his annual report to the secretary of the interior: "Nearly a score of the dead bodies of Chinamen (or the dismembered parts of bodies enough to make that number) had been picked up where shot on the plains, or had been exhumed from the ashes, and from the earth that had fallen in from the dirt roofs, where they had been roasted to death in their own homes; and the opinion prevailed that fully as many more were yet under the ruins. Not a living Chinaman was left in the town, where 700 to 900 had lived the day before, and not a single house, shanty, or structure of any kind that had ever been inhabited by a Chinaman was left unburned. The smell of burning human flesh was sickening and almost unendurable, and was plainly discernible for more than a mile along the railroad, both east and west. A small number only of the Chinamen had received a few moments' notice in which to leave the town, but a larger number had none whatever, and no time to pack up and secure their household effects and clothing, nor, in fact, their money. A great many were attacked at the mouth of the several mines as they came out—half naked as coal-miners sometimes work—and they were obliged to run for their lives into the sand-hills surrounding the town, some being killed and many wounded by gunshots as they ran. The Chinese quarters and their persons had been robbed during and subsequent to the trouble."

The crisis was indeed a serious one, and called for instant and vigorous measures. The law-abiding among the towns-people were completely terrorized, and there were not a dozen men who dared to denounce the massacre, the remainder being either non-committal or in open sympathy with the mob. Thus it was impossible to form a posse strong enough to arrest any of the rioters, or even to restrain them from further outrages. They were almost without an exception of foreign birth, few of them naturalized, and for the most part imported from the collieries of Wales, men who would compare in ignorance and brutality with any that wear the guise of human beings. "No Chinese," declared this gang of ruffians, "should ever again live at Rock springs; no one should be arrested on account of the riot, and destruction would fall on any who attempted to interfere."

On the evening of the 3d, the governor received a message from Evanston, where more than 500 Chinese had taken refuge, stating that a repetition of the Rock springs outrage was threatened, and asking for a company of troops. There he arrived in person on the following day, and finding that a riot was imminent, once more telegraphed to General Howard, who replied that he was still awaiting instructions. At length, late in the afternoon, came a despatch from Washington; but alas for red tape! Before action could be taken, it said, he must first make formal application to the president, and that in such manner as would preclude all hope of timely relief. Meanwhile, to protect the interests of the government, he was directed to send a small force to Rock springs, and thus prevent interruption to the United States mails. On the same night two companies of the seventh infantry reached the seat of the disturbance, while a detachment under Colonel Anderson passed through en route for Evanston.

But soon the purpose for which troops had been sent became known to the miners, who had gathered from the surrounding camps until it was said that 400 armed men were assembled at Evanston. And now they prepared to drive out the Chinamen without fear of hindrance from the soldiery. For several days the gravest apprehensions prevailed. By the more prominent of the law-abiding citizens anonymous and threatening letters were constantly being received; to the Chinese came frequent warnings to leave the town, under pain of death; meetings were held at one of the public halls; resolutions passed, and committees demanded of the railroad officials and others that no Chinamen should be employed. At this juncture Governor Warren again sent an urgent message to the president. "The moral effect of the presence of troops is destroyed. If it were known that the troops had orders to assist the sheriff's posse in case of its being driven back, I am quite sure the civil authorities could restore order without the actual use of troops; but unless the United States government can find a way to relieve us immediately, I believe worse scenes than those at Rock springs will follow."

At last came the desired relief. On the 8th of September the governor received a despatch from the adjutant-general directing him to send to the points where violence existed or was threatened a suitable military force, and if necessary to use it in protecting life and property, and in aiding to arrest offenders and preserve the peace. The effect was instantaneous. The civil authorities at once regained control, and on the following day the refugees from Rock springs returned to their homes, or rather to the smouldering ruins which marked their site. The outbreak was now virtually at an end; but the troops remained on the ground, and long afterward a close and vigilant watch was necessary. About twenty of the ringleaders were arrested; but though the grand jury met only a few days after the massacre, and when the excitement was at its height, not a single bill of indictment was found against the malefactors, each one of whom was beyond a peradventure guilty of murder, arson, and riot. In their report, made on the 7th of October, is the following: "We have diligently inquired into the occurrence at Rock springs on the second day of September last, and though we have examined a large number of witnesses, no one has been able to testify to a single criminal act committed by any known white person on that day. We have also inquired into the causes that led to the outbreak at Rock springs. While we find no excuse for the crimes committed, there appears to be no doubt of abuses existing there that should have been promptly adjusted by the railroad company and its officers. If this had been done, the fair name of our territory would not have been stained by the terrible events of the 2d of September." The abuses referred to consisted, as we have seen, in the refusal of the company to pay such extravagant wages as would have prevented the profitable working of their mines. To this may be added the further grievance that, on the day after the massacre, they declined to pay the rioters $1 a car for loading, an advance of more than 40 per cent on the rates for which they had worked for years without complaint.

The story and sequel of the Rock springs tragedy, as here presented to the reader, have been gathered mainly from official reports, from the despatches of the governor, and the answers received from the chief executive and the general in command of the department. It was only, as will be observed, through his urgent and constant appeals, and at his own personal risk, that he succeeded in protecting the Chinamen from further outrages. The arrival of the troops, though delayed by formalities, was most opportune; but was not a moment too soon. That it prevented the loss of more lives and the destruction of more property cannot for a moment be doubted. But for the timely appearance of Colonel Anderson's command at Evanston on the 5th of September, it was believed that on the same night an outbreak, exceeding even the atrocities at Rock springs, could not have been prevented. And yet, in the face of these facts, there were many, not only among the friends of the miners, but among the people of Wyoming, who indorsed the finding of the grand jury.

Warren was in favor of connecting with the north and northwest the railroad systems of Colorado, Mexico, and Texas. In his judgment the mines of the Black Hills and of Colorado should be provided with direct communication, and a line should be built, independent of existing corporations, from Mexico to the British possessions along the eastern pass of the Rocky mountains. These and other matters were presented in his able message to the legislature. As the result, measures were enacted which led to the building of the Cheyenne Northern railroad; a university was authorized for Laramie city, an insane asylum for Evanston, and for Cheyenne a capitol building, to be completed at an expense of $275,000.

In his report for 1885 he had called attention to the hardships entailed by the land policy as administered by Commissioner Sparks. Sympathizing as he did with those who wished to make their homes in Wyoming, the land laws, so far as they applied to settlers, appeared to him inapplicable, and their construction, under the existing administration, harsh in the extreme. In his report for 1886 he criticised still more sharply the policy of the land-office. Admitting that here as elsewhere frauds had been committed on the government, he argued that "the crimes of the dishonest should not cast suspicion, inconvenience, and, as sometimes happens, outrage upon the honest but poor settler who is struggling to comply with the laws of his land, and does comply as nearly as his best efforts and the physical conditions of the lands of Wyoming will admit of. It is not fair to virtually stigmatize as a thief every settler upon the public land, nor to consider representations made in proving up fraudulent, whenever it is sought to obtain land settled upon, because there may have been dishonest entries and fraudulent proofs. As a citizen of Wyoming, and an executive officer, I most respectfully represent that I believe land matters are misunderstood and misjudged, in a great degree, by congress and by the interior department, in whose charge these matters are placed."

He then urged that the secretary of the interior, or some one appointed by him, should investigate the physical conditions of the territory with reference to its public lands, the conditions that should be imposed on entries, the location of lands within the arid districts, their classification as mineral, timber, agricultural, desert, etc., with a view to harmonize existing complications. More than three-fourths of the rejected land proofs affected the poorer classes, whose entries were made in perfect good faith, though on arid lands they were often unable to support their families, make improvements, and confine themselves entirely to their homesteads, as required by law. To secure the means for these improvements, and even to provide himself with food, the settler must often leave his claim and work for wages. Months of patient labor were required to bring water on the land, and years might elapse before crops could be produced. While the United States received full value or more for its lands in Wyoming, nowhere and at no time had the rules been so severe, or had so much been required to secure a patent, and with such precarious chances of receiving the fruits of labor. It was to be regretted that congress was narrowing the privileges of the settler, and seemingly begrudging him his portion of land, because of the rapid decrease in the public domain, while, as a fact, such decrease was largely due to the extravagant subsidies granted to railroads. During the year only two patents, covering 120 acres, had been issued in Wyoming. In refusing to issue patents the government had been guilty of default, to the discouragement of honesty, industry, and promptness on the part of the settler. The man who buys a farm from an individual, and pays for it, expects a deed, and usually obtains it without unnecessary delay. It should be the same with the government.

Not only on the land question, but on a variety of topics, on the physical features of Wyoming, her fauna and flora, her climate, her mineral deposits, the condition of her several counties, her finances, her agriculture and live-stock, irrigation, manufactures, railroads, schools, churches, and other matters, these reports are filled with valuable facts and suggestions. They contain indeed more information on the resources, industries, and social status of the territory than any book that has yet been published, while their arrangement, style, and wealth of valuable statistics give abundant evidence of the care devoted to their compilation.

While criticising the policy of the land-office, in language more truthful than complimentary, the governor was of course aware that his reports, and especially that of 1886, would probably cost him his office. This he in fact desired, for his friends and party would be better pleased by his removal for such a cause than by his resignation. He was not disappointed. On receiving his second report Commissioner Sparks insisted on the immediate removal of governors Warren of Wyoming, and Hauser of Montana, the latter of whom, together with Governor Stevenson of Idaho, had expressed similar views on the land question, though, being democrats, they had been less severe in their criticisms. For the moment no change was made in the land policy, but a few months later the commissioner was himself brought to task and removed from office on the very grounds set forth in Warren's report.

Still Mr Warren continued to urge with his usual vigor the home rule policy outlined by Wyoming and other territories. Meanwhile he threw the weight of his influence in favor of Dakota, Washington, and Montana, in their struggle for statehood. As a delegate to the Chicago convention, he was one of those who secured the nomination of Harrison, and who added to the platform of his party the promise of home rule and statehood. Almost immediately after the president's inauguration, though again without solicitation on his own part, his name was sent to the senate as governor of Wyoming, and the appointment was made.

On the 3d of June, 1889, Governor Warren issued a proclamation ordering that an election be held for the choice of delegates to a convention to assemble at Cheyenne the first Monday in September, for the purpose of framing a state constitution and submitting it to the vote of the people. After a thirty days' session the task was completed, and among the several provisions the following is worthy of note: "The rights of citizens of the state of Wyoming to vote and to hold office shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. Both male and female citizens of this state shall equally enjoy all civil, political, and religious rights and privileges." On the 5th of November an election was held in accordance with the governor's proclamation, and the constitution was adopted by 6,272 out of the 8,195 ballots that were cast, the smallness of the vote being caused by inclement weather, and by the fact that the result had been anticipated almost as a foregone conclusion.

In March 1890 a bill for the admission of Wyoming was passed by the representatives; in June an amended bill was passed by the senate; a few days later it was indorsed by the house; on the 10th of July it received the president's signature, and Wyoming was at length admitted among the sisterhood of states. Meanwhile her governor had worked incessantly to bring about this long-desired result, working not only within the territory, but by his presence at Washington, at whatever sacrifice to his business interests, assisting Wyoming's representative to bring to pass the measure which he held so near at heart.

Under the law of admission, which provided that, until state officials should be elected and qualified, the territorial officers should continue to discharge their duties, Mr Warren became the first governor of Wyoming. Within five days after the passage of that law he appointed an election for September following, and on himself, while suffering from a dangerous illness, fell the choice of the republican convention, a choice which the people indorsed by a majority of more than 1,700 votes.

In taking our leave of Governor Warren's administration, let us glance once more at his reports, which, as I have said, are worthy of more than passing notice. In the one for 1889 he calls attention to the enormous increase in the wealth of the territory, as shown in the assessment rolls, though the statements contained therein represent no more than one-third of the actual value. In 1870 the assessed valuation of all property was $6,924,357, in 1880 it was $11,857,344, and in 1888, $33,338,549. In 1889 the assessment on railroad property alone exceeded the entire valuation of all property in 1870, and the aggregate wealth of Wyoming could safely be estimated at $100,000,000, or more than $1,600 per capita of her white population. The finances of the territory were in the soundest condition, with a balance of nearly $48,000 in the treasury, without floating indebtedness, and with her six-per-cent bonds selling at a premium of twelve per cent. Neither in the payment of bonds nor interest had the territory, or any county, city, or school district, been at any time in default. No national bank had gone into liquidation; there had been few mercantile failures, and individual credit was of the highest order. In 1871 there was but one national bank in the territory, with a capital of $75,000, with loans and discounts of $77,000, and with deposits of $55,000. In 1889 there were nine national and eleven private banks, the former with a total capital of $1,175,000, with loans and discounts of $2,419,000, and with deposits of $1,731,000.

Out of a total of 62,645,120 acres—the entire area of Wyoming—about three-fourths had been surveyed. The recent action of the land department in issuing numerous patents, for years wrongfully withheld, had greatly improved the condition of land matters, so long hampered by the disposition of those in authority to regard with suspicion intending settlers on the public domain. The land laws of the United States, originally framed with a view to settling the more fertile prairie sections, worked great hardship and injustice to actual settlers, when applied to the mountain regions of Wyoming, where crops could seldom be raised without irrigation. In the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, where the rainfall was plentiful, 160 acres, located almost anywhere, were considered sufficient for a farm; but in Wyoming, except for the limited area along the banks of her streams, such a holding would barely support five full-grown domestic animals. Still the citizens of that territory had been held to the same regulations as the people of the western states, and had been compelled to pay the same prices for their inferior lands. As the result, apart from the land subsidies of the Union Pacific railroad, less than 3,000,000 acres had been disposed of in all Wyoming, leaving over 40,000,000 acres still open to settlement.

The report then gives an exhaustive summary on the land question, on irrigation, on railroads and telegraphs, on agricultural and live-stock interests, on mining and forestry, on education and social progress, on civic divisions, and countless other matters, closing with a copy of the constitution which was ratified by popular vote in November 1889. The report for 1890 was less elaborate, for then had been achieved one of the leading purposes for which these documents were framed—the admission of Wyoming to statehood. A feature in all of them is a number of terse and pithy sentences, in which are briefly set forth the resources of Wyoming, her physical features, her industrial, commercial, and social condition, forming a compendium of information such as cannot fail to interest those whose attention is turned in this direction.

On the 12th of November, 1890, was convened at

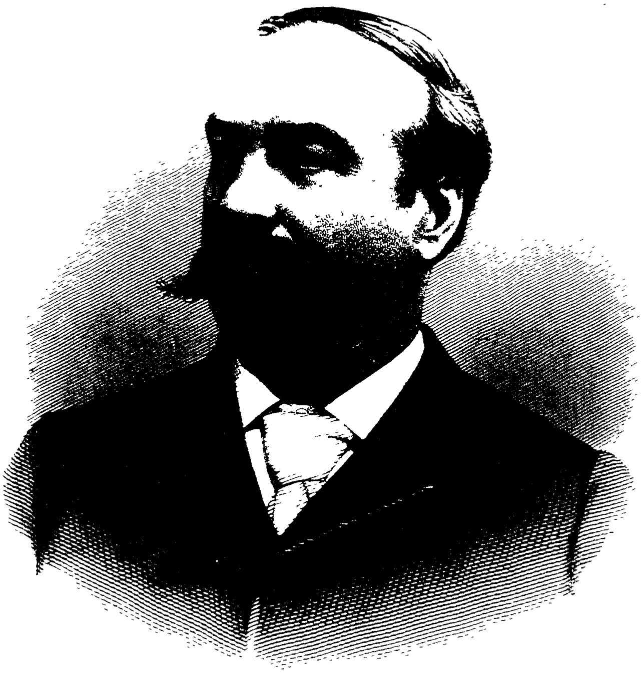
Cheyenne the first legislative assembly of the state of Wyoming. In his message the governor recommends that no unnecessary offices be created or continued, and that salaries be reduced to the lowest possible limit consistent with faithful and efficient service. Among other recommendations are those for the better management and support of public institutions, for the selection of state school lands, for the disposition of the agricultural college fund, for the maintenance of state and county libraries, and for the regulation of the grand jury system.

Among the first duties of the assembly was the election of two United States senators, to be sworn into office on the 1st of December, 1890, and their terms decided by lot, as is the custom in newly admitted states. The choice fell on Joseph H. Carey and Governor Warren, the latter of whom drew the short term, expiring on the 4th of March, 1893. The short remaining session of three months at the end of the fifty-first congress gave to the senators for Wyoming little opportunity for action; but among the measures introduced by Mr Warren was one providing that the government should cede all arid lands to the states in which they are situated. Liberal appropriations were also secured, including those for an agricultural college and experimenting station in connection with the Wyoming university, for the Wyoming national guard, for the establishment of agencies on Indian reservations, for the enlargement of military posts, and for extensive surveys of public lands.

Thus we have traced the leading incidents in the career of Francis Emroy Warren, from the time when, as a farmer's son, he trod barefoot through the snows of western Massachusetts, until we find him to-day representing in the national legislature the state with whose interests his own have been so long identified. Arriving in Cheyenne at a time when the only frame building which it contained was the little store in which he worked and slept, he has lived to see that city develop into a commercial and industrial centre, the future greatness of which is now abundantly assured. At the time when he invested his means in costly business structures, and in founding the various enterprises to which that city so largely owes its prosperity, not one man in a thousand would have taken such chances, for as yet there were few who had faith in its stability. But it cannot be said of Governor Warren that he incurred any risk, or that his wealth is in any sense the result of accident. It was acquired rather by the exercise of judgment and foresight, and never, even in the most trying seasons of commercial disaster, have his possessions been imperilled. In the crash of 1887, for instance, when from over-speculation and loss of stock, caused by a succession of severe winters, men before reputed wealthy, and whose standing had never been questioned, were reduced to a condition of penury, he escaped almost uninjured from the general collapse. He had foreseen it, or at least he was prepared for it, and the financial whirlwind which to others brought absolute ruin made but a slight impression on the superstructure of his own well-guarded fortune.

Those who are personally acquainted with Governor Warren, who have observed his powerful physique, his force of character, his tireless energy, his rare executive ability, and the ease with which his manifold duties are performed without sign of flurry or excitement, cannot fail to recognize in him a natural leader of men. Tall of stature, an inch or more over six feet in height, his frame is massive but well proportioned, his average weight exceeding 200 pounds, and that without any superfluous flesh. Square-shouldered, deep-chested, and large of limb, in carriage erect and graceful, notwithstanding his herculean build, there are none among the citizens of Cheyenne whose appearance will so quickly arrest the attention of the observer. His features are regular and strongly outlined, with broadly arched forehead, hair of a light brown hue, and clear gray eyes, in whose fearless gaze may be read the courage and determination of the young volunteer who faced the batteries of Port Hudson, when before their withering volleys the stoutest veteran quailed.

In manner he is affable and courteous, always making friends of those whom he grasps by the hand. Though somewhat deliberate in speech, his conversation is fluent and entertaining, and he possesses in a remarkable degree the faculty of moulding men to his own opinions. To the good which his administration has wrought he has largely added by his own dexterity and tact, for there are few who possess a clearer insight into the mainsprings of human action. The sentiments of the various classes of the people he has ascertained from personal contact, and there is not a corner in the state with whose needs and interests he is not thoroughly acquainted. By his practical knowledge of Wyoming's resources and requirements, by his skill in the management of public affairs, by his singleness of purpose, and above all by his fealty to the land of his adoption, he is admirably fitted to represent in the councils of the nation the youngest and one of the most ambitious of all our United States.



Watson C Squire

CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF WATSON C. SQUIRE.

VERSATILITY OF TALENTS—RALEIGH A TYPE—GOVERNOR AND SENATOR—PHYSIQUE—ANCESTRY—LOVE OF LITERATURE—MILITARY SERVICE—THE REMINGTON ARMS COMPANY—WITH STANLEY IN PARIS—VISIT TO THE PACIFIC COAST—GOVERNOR OF WASHINGTON—SQUIRE'S ADMINISTRATION—UNITED STATES SENATOR—MRS SQUIRE—A SUCCESSFUL LIFE.

THE theory that a man must work within one groove, in order to achieve success, is not exemplified in the career of our eminent western men, for western America has produced a new type. This type is apt to be a combination of the teacher, farmer, soldier, lawyer, business man, and statesman; and is opposed to that narrow-minded, old-world type, which will expend the energies of a life-time upon the manufacture of heel-taps or pin-heads. The truth is that the world needs versatility quite as much as it needs concentration, although from the Elizabethan era down to the last decade of the nineteenth century, it has been the fashion for English writers to preach against wasting one's capabilities by dividing them into various channels. If the stream be small it is undoubtedly better to limit its scope, but if it be a Mississippi or a Nile, let it divide into branches and fertilize the plains.

While many writers graced the spacious times of great Elizabeth, there was but one versatile Raleigh. He is the universal hero who pleases the queen by his gallantry, forms a club of dramatists at the Mermaid tavern, interests the court in the author of the *Faerie Queen*, captures Spanish galleons filled with the wealth of the Indies, spends a fortune in an attempt to found English colonies, and nothing daunted by misfortune writes a history of the world while a prisoner in the white tower. On the eve of his execution he composes a stanza which poets have admired for more than two centuries. So that if we except Shakespeare and Bacon he was the most useful man of his time, and the world could better spare a Ben Jonson or a Spencer than a Raleigh.

In every period men of the Raleigh type are needed, men who, availing themselves of the knowledge gleaned by specialists in their chosen fields by their creative genius and powers of organization, weld the seemingly discordant elements of society into one homogeneous whole. Such a one is the many sided man of varied experience and large achievement, Watson C. Squire, United States senator, representing the infant state of Washington. That commonwealth may well consider it a happy event, that gave her for territorial governor, and later for senator, a man who as collegian, teacher, lawyer, soldier, farmer, builder, and foreign business manager of one of the largest establishments in the United States, had been trained and developed as few have ever been for the positions in public life which he was called upon to assume.

Senator Squire is yet in the prime of physical and mental vigor, possessing the much desired union of *mens sana in corpore sano*. His ancestors were stalwart men, priding themselves not a little on their muscular development; he is tall and well proportioned, with a broad forehead, heavy eye-brows, piercing eyes, a nose that indicates both strength and fineness, and a mouth and chin, also indicative of great will power.

His remote paternal ancestors were English, whose estates were situated on the debatable border land between England and Scotland, while his maternal ancestors were among the early puritans who settled in Massachusetts and Connecticut. He probably inherited his coolness in emergencies and his taste for a military life from his maternal grandfather, Colonel Ebenezer Wheeler, who served with distinction in the war of 1812. His paternal grandfather was a wealthy architect, who failed in business in consequence of endorsing his friends' notes, so that his son, Orra Squire, the father of our senator, although destined for the ministry, was deprived of a collegiate training. He nevertheless acquired considerable proficiency in Greek and Latin, and at the age of twenty-seven joined the Oneida conference of the methodist episcopal church. Three years later he married Enetta Wheeler. Four children were the fruits of this marriage, Watson, Mary, Frances, and Ella. Mary, the eldest daughter, died the year that Watson was graduated. His remaining sisters, Mrs Frances E. Joslin and Mrs Ella Parks, lived in Crawfordsville, Indiana, while the senator's parents were at Clyde, Ohio. The mother was remarkable for her retentive memory, her superior intelligence, and her sound common sense. She might have served as a worthy representative of one of the best and most characteristic types of American womanhood, the wives of methodist ministers, upon whose lives and labors during the formative period of western civilization volumes might profitably be written.

Watson C. Squire was born May 18, 1838, at Cape Vincent, New York. He was a precocious lad, and was early taught that opportunities were golden and must not be wasted. His first large school was at Falley seminary, Fulton, New York, where he distinguished himself in Latin and Greek, holding the foremost place in languages in a class of twenty. When but fifteen years of age he began to teach Latin, earning enough in winter to enable him to attend school in the spring and fall. Young as he was, he had quite an aptitude for teaching Latin; but finding that mathematics was also required, he resolutely studied geometry and trigonometry. At that time he had no particular taste for these studies, the reflections of maturer age showing him the worth of mathematical knowledge. At sixteen he taught classes in chemistry, Latin, and geometry in the Union school at Marcellus, New York, during a part of the year receiving a fair salary for those times. The remainder of the year he attended the Fairfield seminary.

When about seventeen years of age his eyes failed him from over study, and he was forced to leave books and teaching and go to work upon a farm. But by the time he was eighteen he had recovered his sight, and was admitted to the sophomore class of the Wesleyan university at Middletown, Connecticut. One of the unvarying laws of nature is that reaction always follows strain, and there inevitably comes to the precocious student a time when either his mind ceases working or flies from the prescribed circle. A mild reaction came while Mr Squire was in college. Speaking of this period, he once said: "I do not think that I worked as hard in college as I did in the preparatory schools, because I felt as if I had gone through a mental gymnasium before I went there, and did not feel inclined to study the regular course with as much zest as I did at Falley and Fairfield seminaries. I devoted much of my time to modern literature." The failure of his eyes for a year was probably a blessing. At fifteen he had attained a man's stature, and this rapid development of the mind and body might have been too great but for the mental rest imposed by this temporary loss of vision. Since the college curriculum included some works that are now obsolete, it is not to be regretted that he spent much of his time in studying modern literature instead of contesting for honors.

He was already familiar with the works of such authors as Addison and Irving and had studied Spanish in order to read *Don Quixote* in the original. In those days, young collegians were supposed to know Emerson, Carlyle, Macaulay, and Goethe almost by heart. John Morley has said that a traveller in Australia noted that in cabins where the people were too poor to have more than two books, those were the bible and *Macaulay's Essays.* Carlyle had a like popularity in this country. No student of Carlyle at that period could avoid being attracted by the new German literature. His masterly sketches of the Nibelungen Lied, of Jean Paul Richter and of Goethe lifted the mists that hid a wide expanse from English eyes, and Emerson was peculiarly the prophet of New England. It is impossible to explain to this generation the exhilarating effect that these four authors produced upon the minds of American youths. They felt all the enthusiasm of

"some watchers of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken."

Nor can we describe with what anxiety thousands of people on this side of the Atlantic waited for the monthly installments of *Vanity Fair*, nor how old and young wept over Dickens's *Little Nell.* But although the young student was inspired by all these writers, he drank still deeper draughts from the well of wisdom to be found in the pages of Hawthorne, Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, Lowell, and Holmes. His heart was American, and it beat higher when in American than in foreign authors. Often he felt himself lifted up by some noble sentiment or wise suggestion. It perhaps showed unusual literary appreciation that while it was the fashion to slight the works and genius of Edgar Allan Poe, he read and quietly admired them, thus anticipating the verdict of that school of French poets, of whom Charles Baudelaire was one of the most eminent, and whose translations of Poe's works are among the master-pieces of the translator's art, an art in its perfection so difficult and so little appreciated by the great majority of those who profit by it.

Although not contending for honors, as I have said, he stood well in his class, winning a prize in declamation in his sophomore year, and writing a play called 'The Anti-Mahomet,' which was acted at one of the college entertainments. In his senior year he was president of his class, and was to have delivered the senior oration, but was prevented by the sudden death of his sister Mary, in New York.

Not wishing to make teaching his profession, in his last collegiate year he began to study law. After he was graduated he spent six hours daily reading law at Herkimer, borrowing money to pay his expenses from Mr Pitkin, who was afterward governor of Colorado. But an offer from the superintendent of schools at Utica to take charge of an episcopal academy, called the Moravian institute, was too good an opportunity to be rejected by a young man of limited means. It is remarkable that he anticipated the modern system of teaching by wholly excluding text books from the school-room. He had classes in this academy in higher arithmetic, algebra, geometry, Latin, and chemistry. His life as teacher in this academy was so pleasant, and his popularity with parents and pupils so great, that notwithstanding his predilection for the law he might have settled quietly among them, wasting his talents in an obscure town and finally ending his life in a professor's chair, but for the breaking out of the civil war.

When the first call came from President Lincoln for troops, a meeting was held in the town of Moravia at which Watson C. Squire presided. He was anxious to enlist at once, but the trustees of the Moravian institute refused at first to accept his resignation. Finally, yielding to his determination to enter the army, they released him from his engagements, and he was at once elected captain of his company. Conscious of his ignorance of military tactics he declined the offer, accepting the position of first lieutenant. His regiment was the 19th New York infantry, commanded by Colonel Clark. It was drilled by West Point officers, was at first assigned to the command of General Banks, and afterward to that of General Thomas. The regiment saw some active service, and it was engaged in several skirmishes in Virginia and Maryland. But the soldiers had enlisted for a limited period, and when the order came from General Thomas for mustering into the service, and it was discovered that some of them would be degraded in rank, dissatisfaction was manifested, and Lieutenant Squire felt that the regiment had lost its esprit de corps. Those who reënlisted were required to serve for two years, and the regiment was to be transformed into an artillery regiment. As the change was not wholly satisfactory, seven of the officers concluded to accept their discharges, all of them receiving letters of recommendation; Mr Squire intended to enlist in another regiment and returned to New York for that purpose.

His father's family had meantime moved to Ohio. With much practical wisdom his mother, seeing that there was no immediate opening for him in the army, and that no more troops were needed at that time, said to him: "You have served your term, and there is no occasion for you to enter the army at present. If there is another call for troops you can reënlist, but I think you had better give up the army for a while and continue your legal studies." Many young men would have thoughtlessly ignored the good advice, but instinctively Mr Squire seems to have known throughout his checkered life when to take advice and when to wait and take advantage of occasion.

> "Since time began
> Occasion runneth in advance of man,
> Small pace at first, but ever quickeneth,
> Nor stays for gifts, or vows, or powerful breath;
> Some fall behind, some leap into the van."

Acting upon his mother's counsels, he became a member of the law school at Cleveland, Ohio, entered the office of Rufus P. Ranney, and in the following June was admitted to practise in the supreme court of the state of Ohio.

During the summer there was a call for more soldiers, and the secretary of war authorized the governor of Ohio to raise ten companies of sharp-shooters. This was the occasion for which Mr Squire had waited. He first commanded the seventh independent company of Ohio sharp-shooters, and subsequently a battalion of Ohio sharp-shooters. The battalion saw some active service, since it was under the command of General Rosecrans, while he and the confederate general Bragg were contending for the mastery of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the northern part of Georgia.

The seventh independent company of sharp-shooters reached the valley of the Cumberland just after the battle of Stone river, that terrible contest which was fought during the winter holidays of 1862-3. Soon afterward the battalion was sent to Winchester, across the Tennessee river, but by September it had crossed Lookout mountain and was at Chichamauga in the northern part of Georgia. During the battle a line of sharp-shooters and skirmishers was formed, commanded by Squire, which was the last to leave the field, thus protecting the retreat of the federal right and centre. He was also present at that battle of Titans at Chattanooga, the line of battle extending for six miles on Missionary ridge and five miles on Lookout mountain.

And now occurred an event which his mother little anticipated when she advised him to continue his legal studies. This was his appointment as judge advocate of Tennessee, by General Rosecrans. His headquarters were near Nashville, and during the time that he held this position, he tried over twenty-seven hundred cases. So satisfactorily did he fill this position that General Rosecrans said to him, "I wish to say that I have noticed the thoroughness with which you are doing your work, and I shall have to depend upon you and put all the responsibility upon you." The judge advocate did not thereafter participate in any other engagement in the field except at the battle of Nashville, although he served on the staffs of major-generals Rousseau and Thomas. Upon the surrender of Lee, terminating the war in August 1865, our soldier doffed his uniform and adapted himself to the piping times of peace.

One might surmise that with his natural predilection for the law, and after his extensive practice as advocate-general, he would devote himself to the bar. But he was twenty-seven years of age, and it might be ten years before he would be able to build up a lucrative practice—so slowly does remuneration and appreciation come even to the most talented young lawyers. The best part of his youth had been given to teaching and to the service of his country. With admirable good sense, he changed his plans with the changed conditions, and accepted a position as agent for the Remington Arms company.

Thus we see a man with capabilities singularly adaptive, since throughout his life, whenever he has been called upon to fill a new position or to act under new circumstances, we find him as if by intuition master of the situation. Things technical were quickly grasped, and detail acquired in a way that marks the man of practical ability. As there were over thirty different kinds of arms manufactured by Remington and son, and subsequently many kinds of agricultural implements and other machines, Mr Squire was obliged to familiarize himself with their mechanical construction, and to pay attention to the law of patents and of contracts. His career while with the firm was creditable both to himself and to the company. Philo Remington, the head of the firm, recognized Mr Squire's capabilities, and endeavored to turn his energy and talents as a business man into the Remington channels. The firm at that time was doing an immense business, and it needed a man full of force and varied accomplishments for its manager. Philo Remington had a singularly retentive memory, and could at a glance comprehend the most complicated contract. He was an efficient mechanic, had much practical ability, and was generous and honorable in his dealings. Although fifteen hundred men were regularly employed, there were no strikes among them; they were contented and happy.

After the civil war, several European wars followed one another in rapid succession, as the seven weeks' war between Russia and Italy on the one side and Austria on the other, the Franco-German war, and the Russo-Turkish war. In all these wars the various governments bought large quantities of guns which were technically known as breech-loaders. The war which took place between Prussia and Austria, which culminated at the battle of Sadowa, gave an impetus to all kinds of gun-making, it being a recognized fact that the Prussians owed their success to the superiority of their needle gun. After the battle of Sadowa the Remington gun was adopted by several governments on account of its simplicity. Shortly after Squire became their business manager, the Remingtons supplied Denmark, Sweden, Cuba, Mexico, the South American republics, and Egypt with arms. When the Egyptian government failed, it left them with 75,000 stand of arms on hand. But the Franco-German war began, and not only the whole stock on hand was sold, but contracts were made with the French government by Mr Squire on behalf of his own and other firms for the supply of something like eleven million dollars' worth of arms. The magnitude of this transaction may be illustrated by the fact that during its progress, at least, eleven thousand dollars were expended for cable dispatches. Large contracts were also made with Spain, and in 1877 the Russian government was on the point of making a large contract with the Remingtons when the battle of Plevna, followed by the peace of St Stefano, terminated the war. In 1878 he represented the Remingtons in the French exposition, and obtained for them three gold medals.

During this last trip to Europe he met a number of celebrated people, among whom may be mentioned the African explorer, Stanley. While in Paris he gave a dinner in honor of Mr Stanley, at which the host scored a social victory comparable with his business triumphs in the French capital, and was the recipient of acknowledgments from Stanley couched in most complimentary phrase. While in St Petersburg Mr Squire studied the Russian language with Colonel Hawthorne, secretary of the legation. Notwithstanding his facility in the acquisition of languages, he says that he has no hesitation in declaring that the Russian is the most difficult of all languages to acquire.

He had in 1868 married Miss Ida Remington, daughter of Philo Remington. In 1876 he sold out his interest in the Remington company to his wife's father, and received in part payment the large interests which Mr Remington held in Washington territory. He still, however, continued to represent the firm in Europe and elsewhere as occasion required. But he was tired of working in one groove, and desired to make a more ample provision for his family. He had performed great and long-continued labor for the company, and had been far more regardful of their interests than of his own. Upon the conclusion of the business in their behalf in Paris, he represented the firm in Mexico, and in the spring of 1879 went to San Francisco to look after their interests at that point. His wife accompanied him, and they were both greatly interested in the Pacific coast. To use his own off-hand expression, "It seemed to me that there was the making of a very rich country there, although it was a great way off." They took the steamer from San Francisco for Puget sound, and then went to Seattle to see the large property which he had bought from the Remingtons. Mr Squire travelled through Washington territory and became interested in the people and in the general character of the country. He began farming on a large scale about twelve miles from Seattle, and invested largely in buildings, wharves, and warehouses. He soon became very popular in the territory, and its best citizens urged his appointment as governor. President Arthur, who had become acquainted with him previous to his residence on the Pacific coast, nominated him, and he was promptly confirmed by the senate. Upon assuming the office he at once began a compilation of a report of the territory. In order to do this accurately and thoroughly, not wishing to depend upon second hand information, he personally visited every part of the country, and examined into products and capabilities, paying special attention to the utilization of its immense lumber supplies, and considering comprehensively its flora and fauna. In the report he gave a description of the country geographically, and an accurate account of the different branches of business, particularly the cattle and grain interests. This was the first detailed report that had ever been made of the territory. The government printed five thousand copies, and the Northern Pacific railroad company published a special edition of five thousand more. Mr Teller, secretary of the interior, referred to it in these terms: "This report of Governor Squire is the best report that has ever been given by any governor of any territory." It immediately attracted the attention of capitalists to the vast resources of Washington, and it may be said that the real development of the country began from that date. Hitherto eastern people had regarded it much as we now regard Alaska. The second year of his governorship another report was called for, and the third year still another. The third report he regarded with the natural pride of an author who has had an opportunity to verify his statements and figures from authoritative sources.

In all these reports he urged the necessity of restricting Chinese immigration. Notwithstanding the protests of the people of the Pacific states, congress took no active measures to prevent the influx of Mongolian laborers, until the feeling against their continued importation by the Chinese companies rose to fever heat. Business was much depressed during 1885-6, and the laboring classes who were unable to obtain employment felt that they were shut out from many fields of labor because of their debasement through the association therewith of coolie service. An anti-Chinese league was formed, and the people who employed Chinamen were systematically boycotted in California, Oregon, and Washington. In many places the Chinamen were evicted without proper warning, and there was much danger of bloodshed throughout the coast. These sudden and extreme measures were disapproved by the better minded and more prosperous members of the community, for the conditions of society on the Pacific coast are such that there are few families who have not at some time been obliged to have work performed by Chinamen.

At this crisis Governor Squire acted with his usual promptitude and discretion. He gave the sheriffs of four or five counties written instructions as to the course which they were to pursue in case any outrages were committed. At Olympia, the seat of government, the Chinese were driven out, notwithstanding the assurances of thirty of the leading citizens that they would maintain order. At Seattle the Chinese quarters were fired and the inhabitants driven to the docks and aboard the vessels lying there. Governor Squire paid for the passage of eight of them to San Francisco, but the steamer could not take all that were willing to go. Thereupon he ordered out the territorial troops to escort the Chinese back to their quarters, but the troops were attacked by the mob, their arms taken from them, and thus became thoroughly demoralized. The mob was fired upon by the home guards, the effect of which was merely to increase its fury, and attempts were made to lynch those who had done the shooting. A justice of the peace was induced to issue a warrant for their arrest, by which device they expected to accomplish their designs. The governor, fully realizing the folly of temporizing with these lawless elements, declared martial law, and in less than three quarters of an hour the streets were cleared. He telegraphed to the president for troops, closed all places of business, permitted no one to go out after five o'clock, and organized a staff with G. O. Haller as chief.

The president sustained the governor, approved his action in every respect, and sent him troops from Vancouver. The national guard of the territory drilled every night, and proved to be a splendid troop for the emergency. Martial law continued for ten days; when at the expiration of that time the mayor and the chief justice of Seattle were of the opinion that they could maintain order the reign of martial law was terminated. Although the United States troops remained at Seattle, their interposition was not required, their mere presence being sufficient to prevent further outbreak or disorder.

The governor, in this critical condition of affairs, acted upon the principle that no peaceful inhabitant of the territory, whatever his nationality, should be denied the protection of the law. The moral as well as physical courage displayed by him in the performance of his duty at the risk of his popularity, may be likened to the defence by John Adams of the British soldiers engaged in the fatal affray known as the Boston massacre, who were accused of murder, the advocate braving popular resentment in the performance of his duty, notwithstanding his own sympathies and prejudices were on the side of the accusers.

As for our governor, he thought that his political career was ended; but when the popular excitement had subsided, and men looked calmly back to that period of terrorism, recalling the deeds of outrage and crime perpetrated by mobs whenever they had exercised their power unchecked, and realizing how the governor by his prompt action had prevented bloodshed and averted the permanent injury and disgrace to the community in general which would otherwise have resulted, there was a general reaction in his favor, and it was again acknowledged that he had been the right man in the right place at the time. He retained his office as territorial governor until April 23, 1887, many prominent democrats petitioning President Cleveland not to remove him. He was retained longer than any other republican who had been appointed under President Arthur's administration, serving two years and two months under Cleveland's administration. In addition to his efforts to develop the territory and his successful labors in the suppression of lawlessness and in the maintenance of peace and good order, he established the state penitentiary and the insane asylum. In fact, as it has been remarked by others, he did more than all his predecessors to attract capitalists as well as the average seekers for new fields of labor and advantages to the wonderful resources of Washington.

Upon retiring from the gubernatorial chair, he quietly returned to his farms, interested himself in the construction of several important buildings in Seattle, and was generally regarded as one of the chief promoters of important business enterprises. During his administration he had steadily urged the advantages which would accrue to the people of Washington by the organization and substitution of a state in place of a territorial government. Consequently, when the movement which was started in 1888, resulted in the assembling of a territorial convention in the city of Ellensburg in January 1889, it was but natural that he should take a leading part in it. The convention of which he was president prepared an address to be circulated among the people of the territory, and adopted a memorial to be presented to congress. Before adjourning, the convention chose a committee, of which Mr Squire was chairman, giving it full authority to do whatever it might deem necessary to secure the admission of Washington as a state. Through his efforts, chiefly, petitions were signed and forwarded to congress from different parts of the territory, in addition to his own personal correspondence with members of congress, he leaving nothing undone which fertility of resource might suggest or force of will accomplish for the attainment of their end. The result was, the admission of Washington into the sisterhood of states upon an equality with the best of the old thirteen.

At the first session of the legislature of the new state, Watson C. Squire was elected senator upon the first ballot, his colleague being J. B. Allen. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the United States, the eight new senators from Washington, the Dakotas, and Montana were divided according to the length of their respective terms, decided by lot into periods of two, four, and six years respectively. Senator Squire drew a short term, while his colleague, Senator Allen, drew a medium term. Senator Squire was assigned to the following committees: coast defences, public buildings, and grounds, fisheries, and emigration and naturalization. His position in the last mentioned committee enabled him to promote such further legislation against the immigration of Chinese laborers in such a manner as to wisely and effectively promote the best interests of American labor, while not to hinder or diminish our commerce with China, a task of great difficulty and delicacy, demanding of the legislator a clear comprehension of both end and means. That he was strongly opposed to Chinese immigration may be seen from the following statement of his views upon the Chinese question:

"Although the development of the new state of Washington can be greatly promoted by immigration, I am in favor of a process of selection. Granted that we have been able to assimilate the English, the Irish, the Scandinavian, and to a limited extent the Latin races without detriment to the healthy growth of our institutions, still it does not follow that we can do the same with a heathen people largely governed by superstition, and with modes of life wholly antagonistic to our Aryan civilization. We cannot afford to swing the gates wide open for millions of Mongolians to pour in and submerge our laborers. Their non-assimilative natures may be likened to bilge water. It is neither agreeable nor wholesome. You cannot swallow it, and there is too much of it. But our proximity to China, and the benefit to be derived from an extensive interchange of products, make the whole subject a difficult one upon which to legislate. The present restriction act was adopted as a mere sop to the Pacific coast. At whatever cost, however, that coast must be protected from an Asiatic horde that would overrun it, and drag down the standard which we have hitherto maintained. The people of a great state or nation cannot afford to lower their level. All our efforts on the Pacific coast should tend to develop manhood, ability, character, and intellect. These are the necessary factors of a great republic. The mission of America is to build up and to develop, and it cannot afford to have its civilization endangered and its principles of government subverted by admitting a horde of Mongolians belonging to the lowest strata of Chinese heathendom to degrade labor and to introduce among us manners and ideas alien to our religion and institutions. What is the object of our whole system of a protective tariff? Is it not for the purpose of holding up and developing America, and is not the

Chinese question akin to protection?"

In respect to a separate navy for the Pacific coast, he says: "I do not know who first formulated the idea of a specific navy for the Pacific coast, but the necessity in case of war is so apparent that there ought to be no question in respect to its expediency. One division of a fleet cannot coöperate with another at a distance of eight or ten thousand miles. There are two great seaboards to be protected, and the Pacific is quite as important as the Atlantic. We ought to have immense shipbuilding plants in San Francisco and Puget sound. The commerce of the Pacific coast is peculiarly its own. We have our own consumers and our own producers, independent to a great extent of the east: why then should we not have a navy adapted especially to our own needs and adequate to our protection?"

From early manhood Senator Squire has been a straightforward consistent republican. The anti-slavery doctrines, which were the germs of republicanism, first took root in the country towns of New England and the North Atlantic states. His first presidential vote was cast for Abraham Lincoln, for whom also his second was given, while confronting the enemy at Chattanooga. Since that time, he has steadily followed the varying fortunes of the party to which republicanism, in fact as in name, has been a rallying principle and a sentiment.

Senator Squire is a member of two fraternities, the masons and the loyal legions, in both of which he has attained high rank. He is a man of the world in the best sense of the term; is fond of society, and in his intercourse with men seems to reach a correct knowledge of individual character, instinctively. A connoisseur in art, he at one time began a collection of American paintings, but found that the money they would cost was needed in his business, and that he could not afford such a gratification without injury to his children's prospects.

Mrs Watson C. Squire, née Ida Remington, was graduated at Cazenovia and Sans Souci, two celebrated seminaries, which were in high repute before Harvard annex and Newham hall were founded for the higher education of women. Mrs Squire shared her husband's ambitious aspirations in respect to the future of Washington. Although she is now one of the most accomplished women of the brilliant society in the federal capital, she contentedly left her friends in Paris and New York to follow her husband's fortunes in the new north-west. Mr and Mrs Squire have four children. Remington, the elder son, attended the Wesleyan university at Middletown, Connecticut; Adine, the elder daughter, named after the Princess Suwarrow, has quite a talent for recitation, and has written some graceful verses which were thought worthy of publication; the second son, Shirley, inherited his grandfather Remington's taste for mechanics, while Marjorie, the youngest, the pet of the household, is a charming little maid of ten summers.

The senator retains all the freshness and enthusiasm of youth. Much contact with the world has not made him blasé, but has rather quickened his powers of enjoyment. As we have seen, he has taken an active part in many of the greatest events that have stirred the world since 1861,—our civil war, the Franco-German war, the French exposition of 1878, the development of the new north-west; and to them were given the enthusiasm of youth, and the mature strength of manhood. Life with him has been a perpetual struggle, but it has been lifted above the dead level of common experience. Heavy burdens have been heaped upon him, but he has borne them bravely and cheerfully.

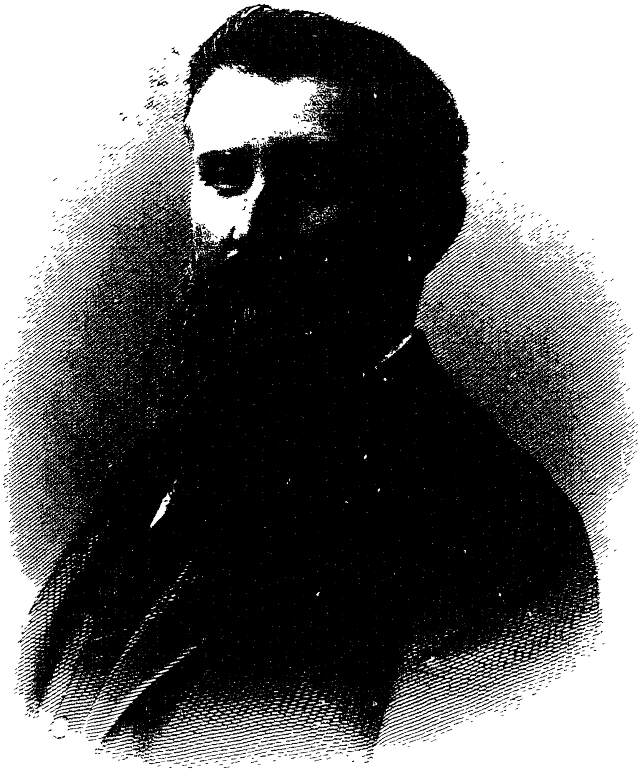
CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF GEORGE W. HUNT.

MIGRATIONS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS—THE STRUGGLE FOR SUCCESS—INEXORABLE AND ALL-CONQUERING LABOR—INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENT—THE MOTHER—LEAVING HOME—IN THE COLORADO MINES—FREIGHTING AND STOCKRAISING AT DENVER—OFF FOR IDAHO—PERILS OF THE JOURNEY—RETURN TO COLORADO, AND THEN TO IDAHO AGAIN—FREIGHTING AND MERCHANDISING—MARRIAGE—MRS. HUNT'S CHARACTERISTICS, ANCESTRY, AND FAMILY—RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION—TRIALS AND VICISSITUDES—CHARACTERISTICS.

THE causes that enter into and the results that flow from the migration of men from one remote part of the earth to another, or from one locality to another within the same country, offer to the historical enquirer a most attractive and useful field of study. The history of the Pacific coast with all its curious interest is but a story of migration, change of residence, modification of life, and development of industry, society, and government under new conditions. The story is that, however, of the last land in the direction of the setting sun toward which humanity may move, and upon which the eastern current of humanity flowing continuously for ages past will be forever stopped.

The reclamation of the wilderness and the building up of empire on the western borders of North America has been, if we except Central America and Mexico, the work of a comparatively few years. All that is so notable in the evolution of the new world in the west has been achieved within the last forty or fifty years. Was ever so much accomplished in so brief a space of time in any other part of the world? The



Geo. H. Hunt

question suggests its own answer. Many men who were witnesses of the birth of this empire still live to see it assuming in its comparative infancy such proportions in wealth, power, and resources, that it overshadows and dwarfs in some respects Asiatic and European nations, which reckon their age in round periods by hundreds and thousands of years. Throughout a vast region inhabited fifty years ago almost exclusively by savages we see the land occupied by a thrifty intelligent population. We behold farms scientifically cultivated yielding wealth and comfort at home, and supplying the land of our forefathers of the old world with bread and meat. We see mines developed to a greater depth and with better machinery than was ever known before. Manufactures have started up, the products of which, on account of their staple character and adaptableness by invention, find a ready market in all parts of the world. Towns and cities dot the land as so many hives of industry; fleets of vessels on our great rivers and matchless harbors tell of the industrial activity which prevails everywhere. Railroads, the greatest civilizer of all, cover the country as with a net work. Facilities of travel and communication are in use in their most advanced stages of improvement. Those educators of the heart and mind, the churches and the schools, evince by their number and vigor the moral and mental life of the community, amidst monuments of material progress which rise on every hand.

By whom has all this been brought about? Every one who has contributed industry and talent to the general result, if only in the smallest measure, is entitled to his share of the credit. The masses of men, however, are governed and their energies are directed and controlled by a few men of larger intellectuality and dominating spirit. It is in the thoughts and acts of these as the exponents of the rest that we find their own history, and that of the community of which they are a part. In them is concentrated and expressed the experience of many about them. A study of them involves not only a description of what they build, but of that which is of more importance for the lessons it conveys, their own nature and character as builders. These paramount forces, agencies, or factors, as might be inferred, were men of distinct individuality, as different from one another as are the sections of the coast on which they settled and have lived are varied,—as different from one another as are the various departments of activity in which their energy has been displayed. It would seem as though the Pacific coast offers so great a variety of locality and environment that almost every man can find the place and circumstances which afford him the opportunity which he requires for the development of himself and the country about him, according to the conditions of his previous life, his talents, and his adaptability. Let the following life speak for itself.

George W. Hunt was born on the 4th of May 1842, near the town of Dewitville on Chatauqua lake, Chatauqua County, New York. On the paternal side his ancestry were English, few of whom came to the United States; on the maternal, Scotch, the Maxhams, a name not frequently met with on this side of the Atlantic. His progenitors were well-conditioned, respectable people of good stock, strong and sound of body and mind, strictly moral and noted for their religious proclivities. Unimpaired in native force by the lack of the comforts of wholesome living, on the one hand, they were not on the other hand enervated by the self-indulgence and excesses that attend opulence. They were representatives for generations of the physique and mental character of that sturdy, well perserved, middle class of Britons from among whom fresh blood is continuously in requisition for the revitalization of the ever deteriorating upper classes. Caste represses the body of the people as with steel bands, else his progenitors might have risen to higher positions. They were less lacking in ability, perhaps, than in surroundings conducive to distinction. Their inherent power to overleap social barriers remained untried. The possibilities of the family were stored up awaiting the fullness of time for self-assertion in a new country under circumstances favoring individual development. In America personal expansion is more rapid; every man stands or falls regardless of name or ancestral prestige, according to his own individuality; the weak, whom artificial supports cannot sustain, go under, and the strong rise in the struggle. The fittest survive ultimately everywhere; but in our growing country, this process of selection shows results in a generation which in an already fixed state of society are attained only in a century. Among us, those who are the best equipped and strive the hardest lead and control; but those to whom these conquering spirits leave the spoils of victory must in turn enter the lists for themselves or else when their career is run they will leave their progeny to struggle at the foot of the hill. We are cut loose from the entailment of estates, that hallowed device intended for the preservation of posterity against want but which is inimical to action.

It is not ordained that all shall succeed in the superlative sense of the word; in fact, if such success were possible to all the word would lose its meaning. Every one who labors to succeed — the majority do not — accomplishes within the limits of his ability results proportionate to the energy he expends, and he is as much to be commended therefore as another who, with greater talent and better opportunities, excites universal admiration by his achievements. Still, the more comprehensive such achievements, the more available they are from which to deduce lessons of life and character, the more expedient, economically speaking; for from such a subject material is available which cannot be obtained from ever so many smaller sources.

George W. Hunt's father was a farmer, whose children were six, four boys and two girls, George being the second in order of birth, a sister preceding him. The farm was a large one, for that time and locality, and the children as they grew up and became able contributed according to their strength and intelligence toward making it the support and prosperity of the family. The necessity that they should work, the girls within the house and the boys without, was not absolute; but their help was needed, and it was never questioned that it was better they should work. There was much that they might do to promote the household economy, and there was not only no reason that they should be idle, but every reason why they should be employed. The question was probably never argued, however, for the community was one of labor. A life of ease was to be found only in activity. The promptings as well as the requirements were in the direction of hard work. It was essential to "getting along;" industry and thrift were the dominating idea and habit.

There was schooling for the children, such as then in vogue; but book-learning was not so much set off by itself that brain exercise should interfere with manual training. George was precocious, and starting to school in his fourth year he was kept at his books until he was eight; but he was not exempt from lending a hand in the house and doing such chores as he could out of school hours.

After his eighth year he went to school no more except in the fall and winter months, when he could be better spared from the farm. Toward the end of his sixteenth year his course of study ended, and he had acquired the muscular strength of more than an ordinary man, as appears from his cutting and piling two cords of wood a day. How better could he arrive at the proper estimate of the value of money than by earning thus by the sweat of his brow fifty cents a cord? It is related of him that while employed during the daytime upon this wood-chopping contract, he worked sundry nights by moon-light for the district school, splitting and piling wood for twelve and a half cents a cord. Nor was his mental less than his physical vigor. His fibre was that out of which men are made, and he possessed the laudable ambition to vitalize it. In his early manifestations of a masterful spirit, accompanied by unusual strength, endurance, and tenacity of purpose, the man was prefigured in the boy. He was predisposed to toil, doubtless by predilection derived from a thrifty, laborious ancestry, but his environment fixed the impulse and made occupation the desideratum and the essential condition of his being. He learned how to do by doing, and if one learns thoroughly the lesson of labor, what other is there for him to learn? Labor is the *sine qua non* of value in all things; it underlies every intelligent effort; it is inseparable from life itself whether considered as the means of a livelihood or the instrumentality of the highest intellectual performance. It is all-conquering; it is more important than acquisition, the ability and habit of working with mind and heart, soul and body, upon whatever we should best do. If some college should teach this philosophy it would become the ideal seminary of knowledge. It would not need to look further for the philosopher's stone, if it framed its tuition so as to save the larger part of its alumni from a life of indefiniteness, confusion, and mediocrity. It would be the pioneer in an era of utility in education, making it practical and available.

Young Hunt grew up habituated to doing to the maximum of his ability, what he had to do, which if intelligently considered will be found to be the key to every problem that he solved during his career. His knowledge of books was derived from such tuition in the public schools as intimated. He applied himself to study with vigor and singleness of purpose; it was contrary to his disposition to do anything in a perfunctory manner. Earnestness and intensity were inbred in his nature. That he was an exemplary and successful pupil may be inferred; but he was of that class of intellects which are seen at their best in productive labor, in putting thought and work into material form, in applying energy to the creation of value. He spent during the later years of his school study a year at one academy and two terms at another, earning his tuition by manual labor, then as ever afterward making his own way independently. When fourteen years of age he worked on a neighboring farm during spring and summer for $3, the next year for $5, and the next year for $10 per month. The farmers for whom he worked wanted him again. His last employer left him to map out his own work, and intrusted the supervision of the farm to him when he was absent. But when fall came, and he was in his seventeenth year, he told him he would never again work for him or for any other man. After a lapse of thirty-three years he met the farmer, who called this pledge to mind and commended George for having adhered to it. The majority must work for others, but advancement does not generally originate with wage-workers; progress is of the mind, and springs from those who devise, who apply their own and the energy of others to ends beyond the requirements of the day. He had promised himself that, sooner or later, he would strike out among men in active life, where opportunities existed or could be created for his future.

To portray a human being as we find him is a sufficiently delicate task. To analyze the subtile forces that enter into the composition of character requires investigation into the influences of environment and heredity upon his organization. The explorations of science in this realm of inquiry have not been attended with results altogether specific or precise, nor are they without some degree of speculation and uncertainty, yet knowledge has been obtained therefrom that is definite enough to be available. If such information as we have were put to use for the improvement of the human race with the painstaking and study devoted to the breeding of horses; if men's concern for posterity were as lively as their interest in genealogy, if their contemplation were not limited to their own generation, the horizon of their aspirations circumscribed to the possibilities of their own lifetime; in a word, if human beings could be governed and controlled with reference to their continuous development, as they restrain and cultivate the animals under their mastery, the results that might be produced would not be less admirable than those we are familiar with in the history of the field and turf. The man of future centuries, as compared with our best exemplar of the present, notwithstanding all our pride and boastfulness, would be as Pegasus evolved from the horse at the plow. But only those of elevated sentiment cherish the thought of such a consummation ever to be hoped for, poets or philosophers who delight in fancy or in metaphysics.

How few persons have ever contemplated the possibility suggested, or find any attraction in it! Yet the ideal is one worthy of being cherished as a standard of present conduct; it stimulates in the right direction, leading to higher views of mankind and engendering nobler individual ambitions. Parents do a grand work for the betterment of humanity, who having first obtained the government of themselves, teach the same to their children, who in turn transmit their moral agency to their children's children. Should it ever be, as now, that the degrading influences incident to community life undo personal effort at improvement and vitiate popular sentiment, the good that may be done is lasting nevertheless; this much is true at least, and that virtue is its own reward is denied by the vicious only. There have been many men and women strong and good, who have transmitted the excellent traits which distinguished them. These traits confirmed in a new life constitute character, which is the supreme force of the moral universe. If its power has not been great enough to reform, it has at least been sufficient to prevent retrogression; that it has never been able to do more is because men of excellence have never been in the majority. The potency of a human life is as one to billions numerically considered; yet has this single human atom ruled in the minds and hearts of large masses of mankind. The one above all the great who have held temporal sway and who are to him as infinitesimals are to the infinite, demonstrated the indestructibility and sovereignty of character. Without question of his divine nature, I allude purely to his character as a man, who as described by Renan, the chief of agnostics, was "the most perfect man that ever trod this earth, the sweetest of all teachers, the best of all socialists, the bravest of all humanitarians and the prince of philosophers." But by those who prefer a narrower view of human life, to whom these ideas appear transcendental, let the matter be viewed only in its immediate and palpable aspects; for within the allotted three score years and ten one reaps pretty much as he sows. He produces according to the forces that are within him, and that environ and form him. In estimating the credit to which he is entitled, it is not essential whether he was endowed with one, five, or ten talents. Whatever the measure of his achievements he is a great man, and worthy of all honor, because he is exceptional, if he does all that he can and ought to do.

Young Hunt was singularly fortunate in the domestic and neighborhood conditions and surroundings of his early years. He lacked none of the essentials to the development of his individuality, to the healthful unfolding of his strength and faculties. He had grown up in an atmosphere of good morals and healthful work. His discipline had been that of doing and thinking combined, of theory and practice blended in the performance of the tasks before him with the least waste of time and energy.

On his father's and neighbor's farms, a community of rudimentary social activity and knowledge, he had adapted himself to the performance of those things which have to be done in ordinary industrial life, simple things truly, yet involving the elements of all useful labor. A master of these elements, he could not be at a loss in any field in which he might encounter them differently combined in new forms of enterprise. Healthy in mind and body, bold, enduring, self-reliant, and adaptable, he was independent, progressive and ambitious, and admirably equipped for the exigencies of pioneership. He owed his manhood in a measure to himself and to natural causes; yet unquestionably his mother's influence entered largely into the formation of his character. She was a woman devoted to duty, conscientious in the discharge of every domestic and moral obligation. The bible she believed to be inspired and infallible, and her highest personal ambition was to live in accordance with its teachings. It was to her a never failing source of light and comfort. Her familiarity with scripture was remarkable, enabling her to imprint precepts upon the minds of her children at every point with apt quotations from its treasures of more than earthly wisdom. Believing that it is "not all of life to live nor all of death to die," her conduct was framed upon principles of that inspiration. Although she had only an elementary education, she possessed great natural intelligence. Her executive ability was remarkable. She could organize, and by her fertility in expedients and tact, govern in her sphere smoothly and without jar. Her practical judgment or common sense was superior to that of most men. Of tireless energy, she never wearied in work, being occupied always in those labors which crowd upon the mother of a large family in moderate circumstances. Planning, economizing, and striving that her children might attain to the highest usefulness and virtue, her charity went as far beyond her household as her means and opportunities permitted, for she delighted in doing good. A beautiful woman when young, later in life her large and regular features became strikingly prominent, and seemed to bespeak the power of her spiritual being. Her influence upon her son was by virtue of her exalted sentiment and force of character, for he saw that the question of right and wrong was supreme in her mind, beyond which all else was secondary however pressing it might appear as a matter of expediency. That her nature should be reproduced in him is not surprising, for "impressions derived from the mother are like letters cut in the bark of a young tree which deepen and widen with age." Says George Herbert, "one good mother is worth a hundred school-masters."

George's father was a man of good mind and enterprising disposition; of fine physique; active and laborious. Sound in the Christian religion, he led the life of an exemplary citizen of that day. Though he was a man of more than ordinary ability, well informed, intelligent and agreeable in conversation; he lacked the originality and personal force that characterized his wife.

George's home was always agreeable. He began life for himself much younger than compelled, but when the time came that he felt he could be spared, his father and mother were not unwilling that he should go out into the world on his own account. The occasion that called him from the routine of the farm was the Pike's peak gold excitement. Two of his schoolmates at Ellington academy, Kansas boys, told him about this movement, and it was agreed that they too should emigrate. This was in the spring of 1859, and George had been at the academy since the preceding fall. He was now about to leave it to return and resume his studies in two years. So he planned! Going to St. Louis and thence to Leavenworth the outfitting point for the journey across the plains, he there rejoined his school friends, with whom and three others was formed a party of six. They bought an outfit of two yoke of oxen and a wagon, provisions and mining tools, and started out over the new Smoky hill route for Colorado in the current with many others in quest of fortune. Of this abnormal hegira I have written elsewhere at length. In the year mentioned a backward wave had brought thousands home to the Missouri river, and had left many skeletons and piles of abandoned goods to mark the disastrous route; but travel westward, though not then in multitudes, was persistent, and Colorado, the chief objective point, continued to attract constant though scattering immigration. There were still hardships and troubles enough in the search for gold to be washed out of gravel or scraped from the surface of dry creek beds, but men were blinded by the yellow dust and laughed at privations and danger. Parties of four to six would start out afoot dragging a hand cart, to which they harnessed themselves in turn, and thus tramp along for hundreds of weary miles over a treacherous desert. One of these human teams, consisting of three brothers and a cousin, started out in advance of the Hunt party, with all they had in a little cart which they hauled each in his turn. After consuming their stock of provisions, and being reduced to starvation, the brothers fell upon the cousin and devoured him; then, the uncontrollable pangs of hunger seizing upon the three survivors, one of them became food for the other two; then one of these two ate the other, and was picking his bones when a band of Indians came upon him. The unfortunates had stopped in despair, three hundred miles from civilization on either side, though only forty miles from a stage station, of which they were not aware. The wretched survivor was taken to this station by the Indians and sent thence to Denver. Brooding over the horrors through which he had passed, he became insane.

The Hunt emigrants before they left Fort Riley joined a company of ten wagons, formed a company, chose a captain, and advanced in security, though suffering such hardships as were unavoidable on such a trip. They reached Denver on the 17th of May, 1859, about forty-five days from Leavenworth. Hunt and two others of his party, detaching themselves from the rest, footed it about forty miles with their blankets on their backs into the Jackson diggings. On the 6th of May a party of Chicago men, headed by George Jackson, for whom the claims were named, had made this rich discovery on a branch of Clear creek. Jackson diggings, or Chicago bar as it was sometimes called, overflowed with anxious gold-seekers, many of whom were compelled to look further for want of room. Hunt and his two associates prospected there for a few days, and as it had been arranged that they should do, returned to Denver to report. When they got back there was considerable excitement over Gregory diggings, on the mountains west of Jackson bar on the north fork of Clear creek, the richest ever found in Colorado, and one of the richest in the world. Five of the party, the sixth remaining in Denver, struck out with wagon and oxen for these diggings. There was no road, and in many places they had to "snub" their wagon going down the mountain sides, and hitch ropes around it which they held on to, to keep it from tipping over. On arriving near Gregory they cut away timber and camped on what was called Spring gulch, almost on the site of the present town of Central City. They struck a ledge of gold quartz and worked on it for two weeks when Hunt and one of his companions sold their interest for a span of mules and $200. The Gregory diggings, discovered on the 10th of May, had been monopolized by the first comers, who adopted such rules for the government of the camp as to practically exclude all but themselves and their friends. Hunt and his partner went back to Denver, and having put their mules out to pasture in the neighborhood, returned to Gregory's and afterward walked back again to Denver, a distance of forty-five miles, in a day. On the road they picked up a memorandum book which contained notes regarding a placer discovery in South park, with a description of the locality and the names of the discoverers. In Denver they found one of the party and gave him the book, and received in return an invitation to join his party then outfitting for the diggings, which they accepted. It was supposed that only fourteen persons knew of the discovery, but when the party was prepared to start it was found to number twice as many, and was followed by hundreds of others. The camp proved to be rich. Two of his original associates came in by wagon road from Pike's peak and joined them at South park, one of the party remaining at Spring gulch to hold several claims they had taken up; another falling sick was sent to Denver. Hunt then went over to Spring gulch to look at the placers his partners had located there, but he did not like the situation. They then bought a dry claim and two yokes of oxen, and hauled the dirt down to the diggings to wash, and continued at this until fall, when, the water freezing they had to give up work. The party then consisted of four men, or rather boys, one sick in Denver. Cleaning up and making settlement, they found that their mines had not paid, and Hunt decided that he could find other pursuits for which he was better adapted. Returning to Denver he and another turned over their interest in stock and, teams to the two others, as they needed the property most, one of them being sick and both anxious to return home. He and the partner, now with him, rented a cabin on Laramie street, later the site of grand business blocks.

The first evening after their occupancy of this domicile, the latter came in and said he had got a job for both. "What is it?" asked Hunt. "Shingling a livery stable. What do you think of it, will you take the job with me in the morning?" "No." "Why?" "I didn't come out to this country to shingle and I am not going to shingle." "Well then what are you going to do?" "I'll go out and find some business to go into." The prospective shingler was somewhat impatient over this reply, for he could see no immediate future for himself and companion apart from the job he had secured. Said he: "All right, just as you please, but I'll not work to earn grub for you and me both." "Never mind," was the quiet rejoinder, "you go ahead, I'll take care of myself." In the morning they parted for the day, the former going to his job of shingling. Hunt walked out of the cabin; it was a beautiful morning in autumn, such as one rarely sees outside of Colorado, not knowing what would turn up, but confident and cheerful as to his future. He met a man on crutches, the occupant of the cabin next to his. There was but little ceremony on the frontier. Stepping up to the stranger Hunt asked him what the matter was. He found that his neighbor had come in late in the previous year, had wintered there without vegetables and had been disabled by the scurvy. He was getting better but was not yet able to work. He said he had two yoke of cattle, which he could not use and would like to hire out. He would let them for a dollar a day for each yoke. A bargain was struck; Hunt went at once and hired a wagon at a dollar a day, and thus was begun a life in the transportation problem of the west, in the industrial development of which no other has been more comprehensive individually,—a life in some respects remarkably original and conspicuous.

The details of such a beginning are worthy of note, for in the life of many a man, these first steps are the most important,—worthy of memorial, because they are part of the foundation. He went to some men who were keeping store at Mountain city, between Central city and Black Hawk point, with whom he had had dealings and who knew him well. Would they give him freight? Yes, gladly, all he wanted, right along, at five cents a pound, a hundred dollars a ton, for the forty mile haul. Among them were M. M. Storms, and Jack Keller, sheriff of Arapahoe county, well known in early Colorado. Getting his cattle and wagon he loaded up and by sunset was on the road. He drove sixteen miles that night, to Golden city.. There he found that his team was loaded too heavily. Early the next morning he began looking around for another yoke of cattle to help take the load into Mountain city. A German whom he had known in the mines, who was putting up a bakery, asked him what he was doing, and being told, said: "I have a pair of oxen I'll sell you." "But I have no money to pay for them." "Never mind that, I'll trust you." He thus secured the cattle, and by driving by daylight and moonlight he made the round trip back to Denver in three days and a half, clearing money enough to pay for the yoke of cattle. He then hauled bricks in Denver for one of the men he began to freight for, at $10 a day. Thereupon, seeing how well he was getting along, his cabin-mate who had gone shingling wanted to go into partnership with him. "I have but one team," said Hunt. "Yes," said he, "but you can rig up another." "I can,' replied Hunt, "but hadn't you better stick to the shingles; you know I had no money to start with." But not willing to act ungenerously he hired some cattle, fitted out another team, and put the carpenter in charge of it. Thus the business of freighting grew, and it was not long before Hunt had fourteen yoke of oxen and three wagons all paid for, and a cash capital of $1,000 besides. A small exchequer and small transportation outfit, compared with his means at a later day, but did he ever afterward accumulate a degree of force in his factorship as a builder of commonwealth that was more significant? Hardly; for here was the demonstration of his capability to adapt means to ends, the establishment of self-confidence, that expansion of faith and hopefulness which removes doubt and difficulty in transactions involving millions.

As with spring emigrants began to come in with their teams, and the price of freighting dropped, Hunt stopped hauling for a time. The two partners who had returned east came back and desired to join fortunes with him again. He inspired them by his enterprise and activity, and they desired his leadership. He agreed to the partnership. He rode down the Platte river, nearly to the mouth of Clear creek, and located a horse farm, on which he left two of his associates, he and one other making a few more freighting trips; and then he planned to take up some land, in connection with other work, and go into farming and stock raising. In pursuance of this project, with one of his partners he went into the Cache la Poudre river, which empties into the Platte sixty miles below Denver, and located four tracts, one for each in the partnership, about six miles from the mouth of the river, they being the first to take up land in that section of country. Removing the stock thence, and closing out the horse farm, he commenced to put up hay. Leaving two partners in charge of them, he took two yoke of cattle and a hired man and a load of hay and started for the mines at Mountain city, where quartz mining had been considerably developed in the summers of 1859 and 1860, making quite a demand for teams to haul ore to the mills constructed in the latter year. He ran seven teams in the fall of 1860, and did a prosperous business; started a hay yard; had the partners on the farms put several large teams to hauling in hay, and as the draft cattle became worn down they were sent to the farms to recuperate. He added to these industries a toll bridge and wholesale and retail butcher business, going to the valley and buying and driving in beeves to sell to other butchers as well as to supply his own shop. And so he worked until the spring of 1862. In the meantime he collected on his farms a hundred yoke of oxen and some stock cattle, many of which belonged to heavy pioneer freighters, caught in the country during winter, and who were obliged to remain until spring. In this way he was enabled to dispose of his surplus hay at good prices.

In the spring of 1862 occurred the mining excitement of Florence district, in the Salmon river country, Idaho, and thousands were drawn thither from all parts of the coast. The placers proved immensely rich on the surface, though the gold was not of the finest, ranging from $12 to $17 an ounce, and the furore passed away, with the deposits, in a year or a year and a half. The different gulches in the district yielded per day to the rocker from $30 to $250. Some great strikes were made, as when Weiser took out of Babboon gulch $6,600 in one day, and half that amount another day, one panful of dirt yielding $500. Prospecting began about the middle of May. In the latter part of June there were thousands of men ranging the country in every direction. In the fall, after the emigration from California and the east was all in, there were 20,000 persons in the mines of Clearwater, Salmon, Powder, Payette, Boise and John Day rivers. The previous winter had been one of great severity, the snow deep and the cold intense. Nothing but gold could have induced men to undergo the hardships involved in wintering among the placers at Florence at an altitude of 8,000 feet. By the last of January 1863 nothing to eat could be purchased except flour, and that at $2 a pound. Some of the miners earned enough to keep them alive by warming water to wash out gold from earth obtained with much exertion by digging through several feet of snow. The consequence of this, and of insufficient and improper food, was rheumatism, scurvy, and diseases of the chest. During the latter part of the winter the snow was from seven to ten feet deep; yet some who lived on a scanty supply of bread and weak coffee without sugar were compelled, in order to get enough money to pay for this sustenance, to remove this snow to get at the gold dirt. It was not until May that pack trains could come within ten or twelve miles of Florence. For the remainder of the distance goods were carried in on the backs of men, at forty cents a pound, and the starving were glad to perform this rigorous labor for these wages.

These were but incidents of mining life, however, and did not deter men from undergoing whatever might have to be endured in order to try their fortunes in this El Dorado. Hunt was not unaware of what lay before him when he proposed to make a trip to the Florence placers, for swollen rivers, precipitous mountains and trailless routes had little terror for him. He was inured to the rigors of heat and cold, accustomed to outdoor life; his weight was 160 pounds, his flesh as hard as wood; he was powerful and active on foot or horseback. He left his partners behind to carry on the business he had established, and plunged into the new field of enterprise. He took with him an outfit consisting of two good yoke of oxen, a cow and a saddle horse, provisions and supplies to last him for six months, two men to drive the team and help. He started on the 2d of April from Mountain city for Denver for supplies, and left there April 10th for Florence, going up the Cherokee trail through the Laramie plains crossing the Platte river and going through Baker gap to Sweetwater, there striking the old California and Oregon emigrant road. At that point he encountered a good many teams resting for a few days. He knew some of the men who were from Colorado and elsewhere, and they organized themselves into a company, taking along a guide, old Tim Goodale, a mountaineer who had been living for years in the plains among the Indians, and had taken a native for his wife. He knew a shorter route than that over the emigrant road by the way of Soda springs, leaving the old South pass and going over the road which General Landers had made a few weeks before. The year 1862 was a high water year, the meaning of which is clear to those who are familiar with mountain travel on the frontier. There were no ferries or bridges across the high-running streams, or else they had been swept away by the spring floods, and the company had to provide its own means of transit. By felling a big tree across the smaller streams they were usually able to get their wagons over by hand, swimming the horses and cattle. At the North Fork and Green rivers they built rafts, and made boats out of their wagon beds, and in this way effected a crossing.

There were only seven in the party who could swim, and upon them fell the dangerous part of this sort of transportation. Hunt was one of this number, a bold and expert horseman and an excellent swimmer. Never without a good horse, and being alert and willing, it fell to him to do much in testiug the difficult crossings. At Pine creek the stream, closely confined to its bed, seemed to dash out of the body of the mountain. The water was nearly as cold as ice, and they had a good deal of trouble in getting across the creek the first time, and as in its winding course they would have to cross it again, Hunt rode forward to prospect for a ford. Rider and horse getting suddenly into deep water were borne away by the current. The horse recovered himself, however, and carried his rider bravely across the stream and back again four times before a footing could be found on the steep banks, which were lined with a dense growth of willows. This narrow escape of one of their number caused the company to exercise more care in exploring their route, and to cut out roads through the timber to obviate the dangers and delays of repeatedly crossing the same meandering stream.

They proceeded without much further trouble until they reached Thomas Fork, where they went some distance down the river and found a wide place which they could ford. The next difficulty was on Snake river, above Fort Hall. There they found some five hundred teams camped waiting to cross; it was during the last week of May; the river was high and the emigrants congregated there were depending on the completion of a ferry which was nearly finished. The Hunt party, having accustomed themselves to crossing rivers in their own way, and feeling secure in their own means of transit, that is rafts and wagon boxes used as boats, were not disposed to wait and take their turn to cross by the ferry. Hence they made preparations to transport themselves and belongings as before. About noon the next day they were ready, and proceeded to take over the teams and the running gear of their wagons first, so that on the other side they could haul their boats up stream about three quarters of a mile, the distance allowed for drifting, and effect a landing conveniently. The river was so wide and rapid that it was impracticable to ride the horses across, and they and the other stock had to be led over two at a time with each boat. They were getting along quite well until nightfall, when, the moon being full and the travellers anxious to advance, they concluded to work as long as the moon was up. The boat which Hunt navigated, when about to be loaded for the last trip, was found to have sprung a leak, and he determined to wait till morning before attempting to cross again. The men in the other boats, however, said, as they were a trip behind, they would go over and back once more. One of the men in Hunt's boat being needed on the other side of the river, was prevailed upon to embark with them, though he consented to do so reluctantly, because he could not swim. Soon after the craft had started, cries for help were heard. Hunt and those with him who were preparing to retire to their tents for the night, ran to where the ferry builder had a boat. Breaking the lock they leaped in and took the current in the direction whence the sounds had come. When they came opposite the landing they halloed to those on shore to know what was the trouble, and learned that the boat had sunk, that one of the three men in it had swum to shore, and that another boatman and the passenger who could not swim had got on to the bottom of the capsized craft and had floated down the river out of sight, while the third man when last seen was going down stream clinging to the head of a drift pile. Hunt and his two companions who went to the rescue proceeded down to the head of the rapids, nearing which the roar of waters convinced them that it would be suicidal to advance farther. They went ashore and one of the party walked along the bank of the river, feeling his way in the darkness, for the moon had gone down. He had not proceeded far when he came upon the two men who had been carried away on the bottom of the upset boat. They had been swung into an eddy and as their boat was being carried out again into the channel they felt her gunwale scrape on the sand. The boatman who was a swimmer jumped down, steadied the boat and by the aid of the passenger who found a footing, they got her right side up, and by means of one ore which they had held on to, paddled to the bank. The company spent all the next day searching for the lost man, but his body was never found.

This incident cast a gloom over the camp, and the army of emigrants who had thought of crossing the river in the manner of the Hunt party, changed their minds and waited for the completion of the ferry. The former proceeded without delay by the way of

Lemhie, an abandoned Mormon settlement, where they were told they could not get through with wagons, but would have to pack their goods and go forward on horseback, as others before them had done. But for a good price they secured the services of an old mountaineer and proceeded into Dear Lodge valley where they struck the Mullen road. They camped on the present site of the city of Deer Lodge toward the last of June. There were no settlers there at that time except a man by the name of Johnnie Grant, a half-breed, who had a large herd of cattle on virgin ranges unsurpassed anywhere perhaps in the world. From him they obtained beef, and feasted also on mountain trout, which were easily caught in abundance. The mining outlook seemed flattering; they found the Beaver head and Big hole mines, but Hunt, clinging to his original purpose, eschewed mining, preferring its concomitant industry, transportation. He sent his team by the Mullen road to Walla Walla, and some of his party being destitute, he bought a horse and provisions and took them with him across the Lo Lo trail to the mines in the celebrated Oro Fino district. Members of his party which had become disintegrated at Deer Lodge went in there and fell to work at once at $6 a day. Hunt remained and looked around for a day or two, and then started for Walla Walla. On his arrival at that point, finding thathis team had not come in, he went to Snake river to meet it. With a friend he loaded up two teams with flour and potatoes for the mines at Auburn, about seventeen miles from Baker city, Oregon, at ten cents a pound freight. Then they began freighting from the Dalles to Auburn at twelve and a half cents a pound. He was in the midst of mining excitements, opportunities of the most profitable kind offered superior to those at Florence, but there was no communication with those whom he had left in charge of his business except by the way of San Francisco and thence overland by stage. This was a long wait for news and becoming solicitous for his interests in Colorado he sold out his teams and wagons, notwithstanding the Boise, Idaho gold excitement and high freight rates to that point. He must settle with his partners, and clean up his affairs in Colorado, then he would return to Idaho. Going horseback to the Dalles, which point he reached in the second week of December, he there sold his horse and took boat for Portland. The San Francisco steamer having sailed the day before his arrival, he had to wait for the next steamer and did not reach San Francisco until New Year's morning, 1863. The rough voyage and sea-sickness caused him to give up the idea of going east by way of Panamá, visiting his relatives in New York, and returning to Colorado. On the third day of the new year 1863, he left San Francisco for Sacramento, whence he took the stage for Denver, via Carson city and Salt Lake, the only railroading then being twenty miles from Sacramento to Folsom. Getting off at Carson, he went up and examined the mines of the Comstock lode. He reached Denver January 23d, whence he proceeded to the farms on the Cache La Poudre river. As soon as he could effect a settlement with his partners, there, he rigged up teams for Idaho city, taking passengers at $60 each, and loading up with such goods as he knew he could dispose of to advantage at Salt Lake city in exchange for flour, butter, and eggs which would sell readily at his destination in the mines. The butter he sold at Idaho city for $1.00 a pound, the eggs at $1.50 a dozen, and flour at $30 a hundred weight.

After a careful review of the situation in regard to different lines of business, Mr Hunt concluded to resume transportation, and set to work hauling goods from Umatilla landing to Idaho basin, there being several active mining camps at that time in that vicinity; and for this purpose he purchased additional teams from emigrants recently arrived in the country. For his first load to Idaho city he was paid twenty-five cents a pound freight, and for the second, to Boisé city, a load of flour, twenty-two cents a pound. These rates as compared with those of the present time are rather suggestive. His next trip was with a load of flour and potatoes from Grande Ronde valley to Boisé, early in the year, before it was practicable to freight across the Blue mountains. In this instance, the rate was ten cents, the distance being 170 miles. While in Boisé he bought from Durell and Moore, a firm doing business in Boisé and Owyhee, six large freighting teams, consisting of six yoke of cattle to the wagon, or "prairie schooner," the purchase price being $15,000. Of this sum, he paid $3,000 in cash, and by one round trip of freighting for them from Umatilla reduced the balance to $1,500, which he paid out of the profits of the next trip. He continued freighting for others through the season of 1864. Rates being rather low the next season, after the first trip, he hauled his own goods, selling them in the mines himself. In his business he handled large sums of money and often carried from $15,000 to $25,000 in gold dust with him in cantinas on horseback, from Idaho city to Umatilla, a distance of about 300 miles; and sometimes he crossed the Blue mountains, and other parts of the road, at night, alone or with a single companion, in order thus to avoid the "road agents" who had committed most of their robbing in daylight. Sometimes being unable to close out his stock, he would leave the remainder to be disposed of on commission. He finally bought a store and went into the wholesale and retail merchandise business in Idaho city, in connection with his freighting business. In 1866 he sold his wholesale and retail dry goods and grocery business to Wm. J. Pollock, now superintendent of the free delivery mail system, Washington, D. C., from whom much of the data relative to the life and adventure of Mr. Hunt have been obtained, as Mr. Pollock was acquainted with Mr. Hunt in his pioneer days, in Colorado, and later in Idaho, Washington and Oregon.

In the meantime, having disposed of his heavy freighting outfit, in October he bought the Bluff Station ferry and farm on the Payette river from Orange Gaylord, whose daughter Leonora he married at Bluff station on the fourth of November following. From the time of this union, which has proved most happy at every point, the husband and wife have been one in thought and purpose, in complete sympathy with each other in all respects, thus making their marriage experience one of ideal wedlock. In all his labors and trials, his ups and downs, she has been his partner, doing and enduring with the true wife's loyalty and zeal. In all things in which an earnest and thoughtful woman can assist her husband, by her courage, fortitude, and encouragement, and above all in making home comfortable and cheerful by the full discharge of wifely duties, she has been a pronounced factor with him in all his great work since their marriage. Mrs Hunt has a mind well balanced; self-controlled, and even tempered, she is remarkable for her great common sense. Profoundly religious, the inspiration of her life is the highest source of virtue and goodness. A charming feature of her womanhood is her devotion to her husband and children; her moral force and unselfish sweetness are best shown in her domestic relations. The world of comfort and duty for her centers there. Patient, trusting, and sympathetic, she possesses

"An inborn grace that nothing lacks,
Of talent or appliance,—
The warmth of genial courtesy,
The calm of self-reliance."

Mrs Hunt's mother's maiden name was Sarah E. Stout, whose ancestors were worthy people of English origin; her father, Orange Gaylord, came from a family which traces its origin centuries back to the nobility of France, whence some of the family removed at an early day to England. From the latter descended the Gaylords, who came over to America, Mary and John landing at Nantucket, May 30th, 1830. "They were of good family and good estate." The name, spelled in different ways and varied also in pronunciation, is met with in all parts of the United States. Many of the Gaylords or Gaillards, this being the spelling of the branch in the southern states, are cultivated leading citizens, and have occupied and still occupy important positions in society. The great-grandfather of Orange Gaylord, a man of courage and education, whose name was Aaron, was chosen to the command at Fort Wyoming, which in colonial days the people of that fated Pennsylvanian valley built and took refuge in from the Indians. When the news came that the savages were advancing, his counsels were not heeded, and under Colonel Butler of the regular army, who succeeded him in command, the settlers went out to another Braddock's defeat, resulting in one of the saddest massacres in American history. Aaron Gaylord seeing Butler's folly, and anticipating the consequences, called his family about him, and bade them farewell, as he said, for the last time. Seemingly certain of his fate and that of his comrades, he repelled the suggestion of those near and dear to him that he should not join the excursion, saying: "I'd rather go out and die than be called a coward." Says an old poem:

> "Next Aaron Gaylord unto death did yield
> With Stoddart Bowen on the tented field."

Lemual Gaylord, one of the ancestors of Mrs Hunt, enlisted in the revolutionary war at the age of fifteen, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown. Mrs Hunt was born at Magnolia, Illinois. Her father was a farmer and stock-raiser in early life, but had learned the carpenter's trade. He emigrated with his family to Oregon, starting across the plains in May 1852, when his daughter Leonora was four years old, making the trip with horse and ox teams. He had come out previously and spent eighteen months prospecting the country for a home. Being favorably impressed with the Willamette valley, he joined with a party made up from the best people of Putnam county, and migrated with his family to Oregon. The Gaylord party escaped attack from the Indians, though the child Leonora, not to mention her elders, was much affected by the sight of graves all along the roadside, some of them not long since dug. They were five months on the way, a trip made in very good time, as it seemed then, but which would appear interminable at present, when made by rail in less than five days in palace sleeping-cars and sumptuous dining coaches. No incidents of a serious nature occurred during the journey, but the young folks of the party, men and women now, will not forget the hurricane which, among its other freaks, took up a feather bed and whizzed it through the air to parts unknown. As they wended their way over the plains the children saw a buffalo that had been killed, but they had not seen or heard these singular beasts in motion. When they first beheld a herd of these wild cattle, with heads down and shaggy shoulders high in air, a child exclaimed: "See, here comes a bundle of buffalo for us to pick the feathers from!" Mr Gaylord, wife, and children, arrived safely in Oregon city, then the capital of Oregon, in October. A worthy man of intelligence and energy, he was occupied at first as a builder of houses, and afterward in farming. His family consisted of six children, two sons and four daughters, of whom Mrs Hunt was the third.

Orange Gaylord's wife was a helpmeet for a pioneer; laborious, thrifty, and charitable, she was domestic in taste and habit, finding a wide enough sphere of life in her own household. It would be better for the character of families if the mothers were more numerous who do not find the experience of home narrow and irksome, and who cannot content themselves out of the swirl of society. When the Gaylords came to Oregon there were not many schools or churches; but the early settlers were people of superior character, and appreciated moral and intellectual culture; their children were carefully disciplined and taught in things practical and directly useful. To say the least, Mr and Mrs Gaylord were not an exception to this rule. Mrs Hunt was educated in the public schools of Oregon and Idaho, not elaborately, perhaps, but thoroughly. The five surviving children of Mr and Mrs Hunt, are Charles William, born December 19, 1868; Lee Gaylord, June 25, 1870; Clarence Clyde, July 24, 1872; Lillie May, October 25, 1878; and Guy Lloyd, January 16, 1881. The two last mentioned, though quite young, have already given evidence of originality and unusual cleverness. Guy is a precocious boy, possessing a comprehension and discretion rarely observed in one of his years, accompanied by a decided literary taste, a considerable knowledge of substantial books and a talent for language such as I have never observed to be so highly developed in any other boy of his age. Lillie is a girl of strong will, with a passion for study, especially of music and art, and a marked fondness for mathematics. The elder boys show their father's business proclivities, are bright, wide-awake, self-reliant, manly fellows of good habits. Clyde has evinced some inclination for professional life, but will probably follow in the footsteps of his father. The general trend of all the sons is toward the broader field of battle among men, rather than to confinement among books, although they are well educated. When Mrs Hunt first knew her husband, he was already in commanding position in merchandising and freighting, owning a large fleet of "prairie schooners," ships of the plains, which, in his service, sailed, also, over mountains as well. During the first thirteen years of his married life Mr Hunt was forced by the nature of his business to be much of the time away from home. While he was away Mrs Hunt had charge of the farms, ferry, and household, and also of the post-office on the Payette, of which he was postmaster. In the discharge of these duties she manifested the prudence and caution of her sex, and the self-reliance and executive ability of a man. In the government of the elder boys, who were growing up on the frontier, requiring wise and firm parental guidance and control, she was called upon to fill the place of father as well as mother. That she has done her whole duty to all her children, at all times, can fairly be said in her praise.

Shortly after his marriage Mr Hunt increased by purchase his mule and horse teams to the number of about 125 head, and took government contracts to supply the military post at Camp Lyons in the Indian war of 1867, during which General Crook was in command. The Indians stole 120 mules from him, but he and his hired men pursued them so vigorously that they abandoned the animals, all being recovered but those which had been shot with arrows. He freighted during that season, at the close of which he sold the most of his teams. He spent the next season in developing his farm, attending to the ferry, and from the fall of 1867, until May 1880 was occupied on farm and ferry, and in the cattle and stock business, together with freighting and other enterprises, during which time he built bridges across the Weiser river, and put the road in good travelling condition at Bluff station and Old's ferry, Farewell bend and Snake river. In May 1880 he sold his ferry and farm, and went into the freighting business again. In the autumn of 1882 he loaded nearly 100 tons of freight at Kelton for Boisé city. As the freight came irregularly to that station he could send out only two teams at once; by the time the last two left, the first ones were arriving at their destination. He was detained at Kelton, therefore until the first day of December, when he boarded the stage for Boisé city, stopping en route a day at Albion to attend to some business; the next evening the stage was loaded inside and out. He had to ride on top of the stage or be detained another day. It was snowing hard, and the night was bitter, but he had never been sick and he exposed himself to the storm. The snow turned into sleet during the night and the cold became intense. He suffered frightfully, from the effects of which, added to overwork, his system gave way. He was prostrated with rheumatism shortly after his arrival at Boisé city, and from the 26th of December, until the 11th of March following, he was confined to his house. He passed through a terrible illness to which he would have succumbed but for his splendid vitality and his determination to live.

When he was able to get around with the help of a cane, he took from the Oregon short line, which was being built through the country at that time, a contract to construct the road from Payette river to Crystal springs. This was his introduction into railroad building. Though he was not yet able to put on or take off his coat without assistance, he went by stage to Shoshone, where he superintended the loading of the wagons with supplies so as to commence work. After loading the teams and getting them started back to Boisé, he returned thither and bought grain and other supplies. When his teams arrived he proceeded on to the Payette, and commencing the road on the first day of May completed his contract by the first of September. After this, he moved his plant to Union, Oregon, from which point he built for the Oregon construction company to Pyle cañon; the next June, this contract being nearly completed, he was invited to go to British Columbia to take a contract on the Canadian Pacific;

but after going and viewing the work, investigating the cost of moving his plant and the duties on the same into Canada and out again, he declined the offer. On his return from British Columbia he entered into a contract with the Oregon Pacific to construct sixteen miles to connect their line from Yaquina bay to Corvallis. It was heavy work, but he completed the contract within the time specified, that is, December 31, 1884. The next year there was but little railroad building in the Northwest. Wintering his stock and plant in and about Corvallis, in the spring he rented two farms on which he utilized his stock that season. Late in the fall he built for the Oregon railway and navigation company 16 miles of road from Riparia to Pomeroy, they moving his extensive and complete outfit from Corvallis to the work and back again. In the spring of 1886 he built a portion of the line from Colfax to Farmington, an extension of the O. R. & N. branch. In June he took a contract on the Cascade Division of the Northern Pacific, and built thirty-eight and one-half miles, a portion of which was as heavy work as was ever done in the Cascade mountains, completing the same in March of the following year.

His next venture was more important both to himself and the public. The business men of Pendleton in 1887, having organized the Oregon and Washington territory railroad company, he took a contract to construct the line from Wallula to Pendleton. He took the contract in April 1887, on the assurance of their financial responsibility, and that the Northern Pacific would guarantee their bonds; but he took the precaution, nevertheless, to look carefully over the section through which the road was to run. He saw that it was rich in possibilities, and would sustain a road as soon as it was ready for operation; and that should the proprietors of the road be unable to meet their obligations, he would not lose if compelled to take the road. Commencing in May he had already done considerable work when he was informed by the vice-president, Oakes, and C. B. Wright, both directors of the Northern Pacific, that they could not guarantee their bonds; but Wright told the general manager of the O. & W. T. R. R. that his company would loan them a half million dollars on which to go forward. On this promise Hunt continued to grade the road, and when he had completed grading thirty miles or more he found that Wright and his associates would not loan the money promised. He saw then that he was too much involved in the enterprise to stop. The O. & W. T. R. R. company, however, promised him that they would make other arrangements for money. He went forward with the work until he had finished the grading of forty-five miles, the company in the meantime having ordered ten miles of rails. He paid for the rails and the freight on them and laid most of them, and when the company told him they were unable to pay him he paid his men off and shut down the work. He afterward negotiated with the company and bought them out becoming owner of all the stock with the exception of a few shares.

Thus far he had paid for all that had been done and the road was not in debt, nor was he. His next step was to get out bonds on the road on which to secure a loan. In Philadelphia he made arrangements with Wright and his associates to take one half interest in the road. The secretary of the company being ill could not follow him to New York, where the bonds were being engraved, and he returned with them himself to Pendleton, Oregon, to have them signed by that officer. During the time consumed by Mr Hunt, who was vice-president and acting president, in making the journey west and back to Philadelphia, Wright withdrew from his agreement, saying that as there was no contract signed he did not feel bound in the matter in any way. He stated besides, that the board of directors of the Northern Pacific and of the Union Pacific wanted to make a joint lease of the O. R. & N. R. R., and that he as a director of the latter company could not join him in building any road, as that company wished to buy out what he then had. Villard, Billings, and Oakes subsequently waited on him as a committee from the board of directors of the Northern Pacific company and proposed to buy him out. Feeling then under moral obligations to the people along the line to complete it as an independent enterprise, he declined to sell. Later he negotiated with Wright and C. M. Tower of Philadelphia $800,000 of the bonds, and to W. S. Ladd of Portland $200,000. Thereupon he proceeded to complete the road and laid the track on a line from Hunt's junction to Centerville and Pendleton.

The country south of Snake river, in the new state of Washington, is comparatively an old settled region. Its first occupancy by farmers was back in the fifties, and by the end of the following decade a number of promising towns had been started, the oldest and largest of which was Walla Walla. The next decade brought the beginning of railway enterprise on a line known as Dr Baker's road, which ran from Walla Walla down to Wallula on the Columbia river. Grain shipped over the road was transferred to boats at Wallula, portaged around the Dalles on a narrow-gauge, loaded on boats again below the rapids, once more transferred to rail for a portage around the Cascades, and finally embarked again on the river for a voyage to Portland and a market. All these handlings and transhipments left but little money for the farmer who raised the grain in the Walla Walla valley; still, Dr Baker's road was a benefit to the country. In a few years it was absorbed by the advancing lines of the Oregon railway and navigation company, which was then under the control of Henry Villard, and which displayed great energy in occupying the wheat region with numerous lines. The O.R.& N. had greatly stimulated the development of the region in question, and for a time its roads met the needs of transportation, but as population increased, and farming extended to new lands, the surplus wheat crop became too large for the corporation to handle with satisfactory promptness. The sacked grain stacked high on the unprotected platforms of the country stations would often remain for weeks and even months before cars could be obtained to move it. The freight rate was high and there was general dissatisfaction with the service. Besides, when the Northern Pacific was built over the Cascade mountains in 1887, opening a line from interior Washington to a wide water port within the territory, there grew up a sentiment that Washington farmers should be allowed to send their grain to the Washington seaport of Tacoma, on Puget sound, if they preferred, instead of to the Oregon metropolis, Portland, on the Columbia river. The O. R. & N. ran to Portland, and of course would not consent to divert any of its freight by the Northern Pacific's line to Puget sound.

While building the road to Pendleton, Mr Hunt made a careful study of the condition of affairs in the entire region, and came to the conclusion that a more extensive system of new roads competing with the lines of the O. R. & N. and connecting with the Northern Pacific could be made to pay. The new system, he believed, should reach all the important towns in the region, but should not parallel the existing lines any more than might be absolutely necessary from the conformation of the country. It should secure traffic belts of its own in the rich farming country by running through districts not immediately contiguous to the old lines, keeping along the divides instead of following the course of the streams. In pursuance of this idea Mr Hunt filed amended articles to the charter of the O. & W. T. company. As a point of departure from the Northern Pacific he selected a convenient place for yards and other terminal facilities one mile east of Wallula and twelve miles west of the great Snake river bridge. The

N. P. gave to the new station the name of Hunt's junction. By this arrangement the Hunt lines drained the country toward Puget sound, under traffic arrangements which were so favorable as to offer considerable advantage to ship to a market by that route. The transportation rates were the same to tide water, whether to Portland or to the sound; but ship charters were less from the sound than by the way of the Columbia river. This first line of the O. & W. T. ran to Pendleton, forty-two miles, with a branch nearly due south to Centerville, renamed Athena, fifteen miles long. Both towns are in Oregon, a little south of the boundary between that state and Washington, and both are in the same remarkably productive wheat belt as Walla Walla. Athena has one thousand inhabitants and Pendleton forty-five hundred. For about six miles out from Hunt's junction the country is mainly sagebrush and sand; then come ten miles of the Vansycle cañon through which the road climbs to the high rolling plateau which skirts the base of the Blue mountains. Once out of the cañon the country is all wheat as far as the eye could reach. The cañon itself runs through a wheat region, but it is upon the top of the cliffs, out of view from the road. These cliffs reach up with their basaltic walls only to the general level of the country, which is heaved up in long ridges and ranges of rounded hills, highly fertile on slopes and summits and all covered with the broad wheatfields. Mr Hunt's second line, begun in 1888, started from Hunt's junction in a southeastern direction for Eureka flat, a fertile wheat country which had no railway facilities. The farmers hauled their grain to the old railway at Prescott, or to Snake river, where the O. R. & N. company took it off in boats. One season the boats had more business than they could attend to, and thousands of bushels from the flat were left on the river bank to be ruined by the winter snow and rain. The O. R. & N. tried to head off Hunt with a road of their own, but he occupied the country before their graders had fairly got to work. The distance from Hunt's junction to Pleasant View on Eureka flat, the present terminus of this line, is forty-two miles, and except for the first ten miles of the distance the whole country traversed is productive.

Before this road was commenced the citizens of Eureka Flat and Walla Walla urged Mr Hunt to build from Hunt's Junction through Eureka Flat and to Walla Walla. They had long agitated for a road to compete with the O. R. & N. It was agreed by the people of Eureka Flat and Walla Walla that they would give Mr Hunt a bonus of $100,000, right of way, depot grounds and terminal facilities if he would build this road. Mr Hunt responded to this offer by promptly building from Eureka junction on the Eureka flat line, and completed his line into Walla Walla in December, and his trains ran into the garden city of the Pacific northwest, hauling coal from Roslin and lumber from the sound, and taking the grain and fruits of the Walla Walla valley to Tacoma.

In the summer and fall of 1888, he built for the Northern Pacific from Cheney to Davenport, a distance of 57 miles, the Central Washington, and during the same year, for the Seattle Lake Shore and Eastern, from Gilman to Raging river, ten miles, a road which cost $240,000. This made 127 miles of road built during 1888 for himself and others. Being strenuously urged by the citizens of these places thereto, his next move was to extend the Walla Walla road to Dixie, Waitsburg, and Dayton, a distance of thirty-five miles. This made an aggregate of 165 miles of road that Hunt had completed and financiered without partnership or assistance, and without the sale of bonds except $1,142,000, the excess of cost above this amount being derived from his own means and personal credit. The controlling idea with Mr Hunt in the location of his lines was not to find the shortest routes between the principal towns, but to surround, penetrate, and secure as much good freight producing territory as possible. His lines were primarily farmers' roads, run so as best to serve the interests of the wheat-growers of the region south of Snake river. They were popular as passenger roads, but they were built primarily for freight business. They increased the price of wheat to the farmers in all the districts they traversed, and cheapened the cost of coal and lumber in the towns. They were all well built, with fifty-six pound rails, sawed fir ties, and broad solid road bed, hence his trains could make high speed with safety. Mr Hunt did not believe there was any economy in building cheap roads. He insisted that all material should be first class and that the road bed should be as solid and broad as that of the trunk lines in the east. His views and policy in this respect were identical with those of his great contemporary C. P. Huntington. At the same time his skill and resources as a builder enabled him to secure these results at a cost not as great as that of many inferior roads built by a system of multitudinous contracts and sub-contracts. He owned the best plant for grading, track-laying, and bridge-building in the Pacific northwest; he sawed his ties and timber in his own mills; and he wintered his stock on an extensive grazing and hay ranch on the Umatilla meadows in the Umatilla valley owned by himself and W. W. Caveniss. In all important matters he was his own business man, and saved the profits of contractors and middle men.

The people of Waitsburg and Dayton were enthusiastic over the project of his building to their cities, and they agreed to give him a bonus of $35,000 and $60,000, for building respectively to Waitsburg and Dayton. From the people of Walla Walla he had received but one-half of the bonus subscribed, and up to 1892 had to arrange for and purchase depot grounds and terminals at his own expense. Of his agreement with the people of Waitsburg, the same. The county commissioners, according to agreement signed by nine-tenths of the people of the county, issued warrants to him to meet the $60,000 Dayton bonus, but neither had the money been paid on these warrants up to 1892 nor had the agreement been met otherwise; nevertheless, Mr Hunt fulfilled all of his agreements in every particular, which information I derive from citizens of the country through which he built his roads. This should not be considered as a general reflection upon the integrity of the communities interested, but rather upon men among them who brought their communities under the reproach of bad faith by their mercenary tactics of obstructing the course of honor and justice. But such obstacles could not deter one of Hunt's caliber and purposes. He was made only the more careful thereby to render his future contracts for subsidy legally impregnable.

It is in order to refer to him as he appeared at this time "in his working clothes." A northwestern journal describes him as follows: "Mr Hunt is a busy man, and his working day, which extends over the best part of the twenty-four hours, seldom finds him disengaged. It is a matter of comment among his friends that he can work hard all day and sit up all night without perceptible effect upon his health and spirits. In personal appearance, Mr Hunt looks just what he is, a go-ahead, progressive business man, alive to the importance of his work and with an appreciation of the elements necessary to accomplish it. His features are well chiselled, and every line in his face denotes character. His hair is of a grizzly grey, as well as his pointed well-trimmed beard. Blue-grey eyes, of a keen steel lustre, look out with restless activity from the shadows of heavy eyebrows. He is a good talker and a good listener, noting accurately what is said, and replying to the point. He employs the simplest terms and leaves no doubt of his meaning.

Hope is ever buoyant with Mr. Hunt. He is not one of those who say :

> "In this world each ideal
> That shines like a star on life's wave,
> Is wrecked on the shores of the real
> And sleeps like a dream in the grave."

The winter of 1889 and the spring of 1890 found him involved in preparations for several great projects. In the spring of 1890 he had begun work on a road from Walla Walla southward and eastward, close by the foothills of the Blue mountains to Milton and Weston, and across these mountains into the Grande Ronde valley, on a subsidy of $160,000, right of way, and depot grounds, and had graded some twenty miles, when he was compelled to abandon the enterprise for reasons that will appear later.

In the winter of 1890 the people of Gray's harbor, Hoquim, Aberdeen, and Centralia offered him a bonus in land to the amount of $600,000 to build a road from Centralia to Gray's harbor. After their proposition had been put in proper shape and binding form he accepted it. He then went to New York to negotiate the sale of bonds that were still unsold on the road that he had completed on the O. & W. T. In about thirty days after his arrival in New York he negotiated the sale in London, the bonds to be paid for in the following June. On the strength of that sale he ordered work to be commenced on the proposed line of about thirty-five miles. While this work, and work on the road to the Grande Ronde valley, was going on, strong railroad corporations that wanted his property and were opposed to his building, developed a quiet but overwhelming opposition to the negotiation of his bonds, and caused the sale in London to fall through. Following this, negotiations with other parties failed of fruition from the same cause. Nevertheless, work was still progressing on the Gray's harbor line. The road was pushed forward vigorously and heavy expenses piled up. No money coming in from the sale of the bonds, he at last ordered work suspended and the men paid off. The money panic following soon after caused stagnation in finance and made the sale of his bonds impossible. During the months of October, November, and December 1890, it will be remembered the money market of the United States and of Europe was greatly disturbed and depressed. In the spring of 1890 the people of Portland agreed to take $2,000,000 worth of bonds to extend the O. & W. T. from Hunt's junction to Portland, and were to take the bonds as the road was completed in ten mile sections out of Portland. The proposed road was to be about 220 miles, and would make Portland the western terminus and headquarters of the Hunt system, which then, having its own outlet to tide water, would be independent, and bring to Portland the advantages of distinct competition in railway transportation. It was reported that the Northern Pacific made a proposition to Mr Hunt to buy out his system of roads whereby he could retire with $2,000,000, but he never felt that he had a right to deprive his constituency of the Hunt system, because he felt that he was under a moral obligation to them to maintain an independent line and carry out the projected enterprise.

During the spring and summer months the line was being located on the proposed route, but for the financial reasons stated there was no grading ever done. While all his work was going forward, and when his personal presence, experience, and supervision were so sorely in demand, he was wrestling with questions of finance of the most vital consequence in New York, —embarrassed, delayed and harassed, days of extreme value to him, ran into months and months into more than a year. Owing to his inability to sell the bonds of his road, as explained, and receiving a proposition from C. B. Wright of Philadelphia to buy him out, the sale was consummated by Wright's taking fifty-one per cent of the stock and the unsold bonds and the rolling stock, Hunt still retaining forty-nine per cent of the stock in the road.

The soil of the territory commanded by the Hunt system between the Blue mountains and the Columbia and Snake rivers is of exceedingly fine texture, turning to a powdery dust under the rays of the summer sun, though in the driest season it holds its moisture close under the surface, drawn upwards by capillary attraction. It is said to be composed mainly of disintegrated basalt, though by what process so great a quantity of volcanic rock became disintegrated and deposited over so extensive an area of hills and hollows is not satisfactorily explained. The soil is very deep. In some of the heaviest railway cuts the dirt is said to be much the same at the bottom as at the top. On the oldest farms the use of artificial fertilizers has scarcely ever been resorted to. On a farm near Athena, an old resident for the first sixteen years harvested never less than twenty-five bushels of wheat, the seventeenth year a drouth reducing the average to twenty-two bushels. With the exception of the plains of Sicily, also volcanic, it is, perhaps, the most fertile wheat soil in the world. In 1889, a year of remarkable dryness, the country around Athena, in a radius of fifteen or twenty miles, averaged twenty bushels to the acre, though some fields averaged forty. As much as sixty bushels and upwards were sometimes produced throughout extensive fields. While grain, and especially wheat, is the product for which that country was best suited, there is no lack of the proper conditions for producing a great variety of the ordinary farm crops, sweet potatoes, peanuts, hops, sorghum, melons, and the finest of general fruits. Peaches, apples, pears, nectarines, and all small fruits are grown. While *par excellence* a land of the golden grain, it is also the home of fruits and flowers, not inferior to California. The variety as well as the luxuriance of vegetation was phenomenal. Corn matured well on the bottom land.

Thousands of acres were planted, and more was going to be put to this cereal. All garden vegetables were raised with slight care. Potatoes of superior flavor yield enormously. This wonderfully prolific wheat belt followed the crescent-like course of the Blue mountain range for a distance of about seventy miles, and had a width of about thirty-five miles.

The land falls off from the foothills toward the Snake and Columbia rivers at the rate of sixty or seventy feet to the mile, and as it descends it grows poorer in grain producing capacity, until in the vicinity of those mighty streams it becomes a flat sagebrush desert, valueless without irrigation. The best farms are those high on the slopes of the foothills.

Both in its natural and cultivated state the country affords pleasure to the eye and mind. On the way from Pendleton to Athena at a station aptly named Grand View, there is a broad and beautiful outlook over the whole Walla Walla valley, from the mountains to the Columbia and Snake rivers. The confluence of these two mighty streams can plainly be distinguished, though each looks like a narrow ribbon of silver glistening in the far distance. The city of Walla Walla, some thirty miles away, appears like a forest in the midst of cultivated fields, and only by sharp scrutiny of the green patch upon the checkered brown and golden landscape does one perceive the spires and roofs of a few tall buildings. The boundary of the landscape to the east and southeast is the sombre pine-clad summits of the Blue mountains, and to the northeast the view is limited by the upland prairie known as Eureka flat. The whole scene save the mountains and the far away plains by the river is a remarkable picture of farming life, all the land being occupied by farmers, harvesting with huge headers pushed in front of six horses being in progress in a hundred fields within the near range of vision, threshing machines at work here and there and threshing outfits moving like caravans across the yellow lands along roads concealed by the tall grain. Such is this region now; that it is so, how much is due to Mr Hunt? He had the foresight; and being sure of its possibilities, he staked his all upon the most potent agency of civilization, railroading, to develop it. It is a conservative statement that every mile of the road, except possibly within five miles of Hunt's junction, affords paying local patronage. In other words, there is not a single mile, with the above exception, that is dead road. The land immediately around Hunt's junction will probably never be available for anything but for grazing, so that it will not afford transportation business equal to the farming lands. All the rest of the territory penetrated by this road is richly productive, or may easily be made so by cultivation

Mr Hunt built up his personal fortune but what are his belongings acquired thereby, compared with the wealth he brought to the land? He helped forward that which was already under cultivation, he brought under tribute other wide tracts. He made it too valuable for the original stock raisers to hold, so that they found greater profit in selling it to farmers. It is speaking within bounds to say that no one man has contributed more to the development and progress of the northwest than George W. Hunt, no man is more intimately identified with its welfare. He remained faithful to the country and to the people, to whom he felt he was under obligations, tacitly at any rate, to maintain an independent railroad system, to save them from the tyranny and distress of monopoly, and he held out as long as he could. At one time many people became fearful that the system in which they had placed so much confidence was about to pass into other hands and become an agent of extortion. Should their fears be realized, which is not true at present, it will not be through any connivance on the part of Mr. Hunt, nor did he part with the control of his system until he had been overwhelmed in the midst of his plans for still greater developments.

At the beginning of 1891 Mr Hunt began to settle up his previous business preparatory to going into new enterprises. His character and reputation caused numerous enterprises to be presented to him, some of which he could see were tangible, and one of which he was disposed to undertake as soon as he could put his former affairs in order and collect funds due him. Railroad propositions were made to him which he is not inclined to take hold of for the present. He was invited by a syndicate of capitalists of London to build 200 miles of road in South Africa. He regards the future great in Africa for railroad building, as well as in South and Central America. He holds, in his adversity, to the same courageous and confident assurance that characterized him throughout his brilliant career, that a man of energy, will, and inclination to labor zealously with well defined purpose, can select from many things ripe to be done and only waiting for such a laborer, by which he can build up his own fortunes and benefit others. This state of mind throws strong light upon a strong character. Such a man impresses his individuality upon and inspires those about him, as is shown in the following incident. When the panic came, accompanied by temporary embarrassment which caused him to dispose of the controlling interest in his roads there was necessarily a degree of unrest and anxiety in the household of the great railroad builder, and the effects of the reverse could be seen on the mother's grave, calm face, Charles Hunt spoke up: "Father, you are all right. You have only learned what I have wanted you to learn for some time. You have placed too much confidence in other people. You have trusted others too far; now you begin to realize it. But you are a young man yet, full of hope, energy, and force. You can recommence life right now and be more successful than nine-tenths of the men in the world." The son's speech was complimentary to his father because it was true. He expressed genuine Americanism, the spirit of our country, where, "who so wisely wills and acts may dwell in broad-acred state, with beauty, art, taste, culture, books, to make his hour of leisure richer than a life of fourscore to the barons of old time."

Mr Hunt spends all the time he can command from business with his wife and children at their charming residence at Walla Walla. It is a home in which the spirit of truth, loyalty, and affection prevails. Doubtless enough has been set down to show what manner of man George W. Hunt is in his usefulness as a citizen and in the greatness of his achievements. The builders of the Central Pacific railroad, the pioneer line across the continent, accomplished a tremendous enterprise. They, especially certain ones of them, are entitled to the credit given them ; yet their work, national in character and stupendous in magnitude, they did not do singly or unaided. Without derogation from their praise, and without, least of all, disparagement of their achievement; without ascribing more of their success than is due thereto to the enormous subsidies granted them in government money and lands out of which they became millionaires, it must be considered that Mr. Hunt worked alone and almost unaided, that while the members of the Sacramento syndicate each filled a place and performed particular functions in railroad building, Mr. Hunt was the beginning and end of his enterprises, financier, contractor, constructor, the soul and body of his system, from inception to conclusion, his every work promoting civilization by developing the wealth and producing capacity of nature and the communities he was identified with. In him were its genesis, its unfolding, and its consummation.

Possessing wide mental range and vigor of ideas, supplemented by a faith practically unlimited, and all his faculties deriving life and form from an intense and tireless creative force of intellect and physique, he could but plan and execute on a large scale. Small things with contracted possibilities did not attract him. He is typically American in the go-ahead trait of his disposition and his nature craves progress. One of the evidences of the gauge—broad and liberal as his own road beds—upon which he is constructed and established by experience, is that he relishes those undertakings from which most men turn away with forebodings as hazardous or impracticable. He was thus inevitably a promoter, developer, organizer, ever opening a way and making plain and smooth for the others to travel over. Details he would gladly leave to others, yet when called upon to attend to minutiæ, he brought to bear dispatch and a clearing up system that swept them away as débris. Choosing others through whom to multiply himself, he showed as a rule good judgment, for with a comprehensiveness of observation and a keenness of perception such as make him the man he is, it would have been singular had he not been able to weigh and measure others regarding their fitness to do what he had planned. Yet, he made mistakes, but that he did so was because he did not get down to the level of his adversaries, whom, perhaps, he was disposed to measure too liberally by the standard of his own structure.

And yet in putting forth the strength of a strong man struggling with mighty force, having always faith enough, the apparent ease of his movements, caused by the symmetry and harmony of his build and faculties, was such that the magnitude of his labors was not conspicuous. "It often happens in this world that the work which is done the best conceals the merits of the worker. The bridge which springs so lightly and so gracefully over the Mississippi river at St Louis is a truly wonderful structure. It is finished so thoroughly and so smoothly, however, and fulfills its purpose with so little jar or friction, that the magnitude of the difficulties overcome by the engineer is not observable. No one would suppose, by looking down upon the three steel arches of this exquisite bridge, that its foundations are one hundred and twenty feet below the surface of the water, and that its construction cost six years of time and nine millions of dollars. Its great height above the river is entirely concealed by the breadth of its span. The largest steamboat on the river passes under at the highest stage of the tide, and yet the curve of the arches seems to have been selected merely for its pictorial effect."

Sanguine in temperament, and in hopefulness overstepping ordinary bounds, the tendency of his aspirations is toward the sublime, and he enters the battle with Titans as his predestined antagonists. Reverential, and considering his fellow-men with reference to a common divine origin, he is sympathetic, regarding all the world as kin though less than kind. His friendships have been as wide and deep as his intellectuality; and therein doubtless he has been injured. Cautious enough to calculate and execute so far as depends on himself, his breadth of spirit lays him open to the trickery and undermining of small souls, meager in principle, time-serving and dishonest, though powerful in cunning. With such he was ever at a disadvantage. He began life handicapped as against such, who however, are so numerous that the wise man cannot ignore them in his calculations; but being himself straightforward and frank, he could not spend precious time looking for crookedness and indirection in others. This phase of self-protection, nature's safe-guard against human nature, he has had to learn against his will. Like Gil Blas, though later in his career, he is reluctantly forced to realize that while the golden rule is excellent, we should not only do unto others as we would they should do unto us, but we should see that they do not unto us what we should not do unto them.

Mr. Hunt in common with others engaged in great industrial enterprises has been deceived time and time again, so often, in fact, that he would be forced to doubt whether there is any faith in mankind, were it not that he has proved certain men to be true and loyal under such trying circumstances as would overwhelm the majority who are not actuated and sustained by principle to whom all else in this world is secondary in importance to truth and honor. "Virtue and honor I love, and rejoice that truth's verdant laurels no fading destroys." Mr Hunt repudiates that sentiment of Goldsmith's hermit:

"What is friendship but a name,
A charm that lulls to sleep,
A shade that follows wealth and fame
And leaves the wretch to weep."

To him, man is a microcosm or little world within himself, and although there is a divinity which shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may, he believes that to a great extent man is the artificer of his own fortune and it is for him to make himself a pantheon full of gods or a pandemonium full of demons.

From those whom I have made careful investigations regarding Mr. Hunt as a pioneer factor in the development of the Northwest I have abundant evidence concerning his experience and character all of which goes to show that throughout his career he has been a representative or exponent of the best element of moral and mental force to which we owe the real progress of the Pacific coast. Before he was seventeen years of age he assumed all the responsibilities of mature manhood and if he be judged by his conduct from that time forward, if not from an earlier period of his life, it would seem as though his career were without any season of ordinary boyhood. Life has been always earnest with him, though none the less cheerful and comfortable on that account, and he has no years of frivolity to look back upon and regret. From the time he began his journey across the plains, throughout his experience in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Washington and Oregon, especially in the earlier days of frontier struggle and excitement, he was continuously in the midst of men, the most of whom threw off the restraints of civilization for the time and abandoned themselves to drink, gaming, profanity and the other demoralizing vices that have attended the settling up of new country in the west. If it be regarded remarkable that he did not fall, that he was not carried away in the swirl with the majority who succumbed to degrading associations, let it not be overlooked that he went out into the world fortified by wholesome early training at home and that he inherited an unusual power to resist evil from an ancestry distinguished for sterling moral character. His natural inclinations and his early teachings, his mother's influence being ever present with him, were in the direction of truth and right. Striving always, according to the injunction of St. James, to keep himself unspotted from the world, he passed through all the wildness and dissipation about him, master of himself, temperate and sound in body and mind. Nor was he disposed to condemn others, but rather to do all in his power to assist those over whom he had any influence, to resist degrading temptations. His heart went out to those who could not help themselves, he was a friend to the friendless, which is true of all men who strive to walk in the broader and higher sphere of moral life. There are many who to-day acknowledge acts of disinterested kindness and material assistance rendered them by him in their hour of embarrassment or distress. They testify that he helped them not for any advantage to himself but out of the actual goodness of his heart. His guide in all matters has been his conscience—his sense of right and wrong. As showing this, it was cited that he declined to join the vigilance committee in Idaho in 1864-65, because, although he realized that there was good work at that day for such an organization to do, still he dreaded the excesses into which they might be led, in their endeavors to rid the country of bad men, and to his mind it was better that ninety and nine guilty men should escape rather than one innocent man should perish. As an indication of his fairness in this respect, it is said that on one occasion, when excitement ran high in Idaho, learning that a body of vigilantes were about to be attacked in the dead hour of night by a large force of anti-vigilantes, who had been ordered out of the country, he mounted a fleet horse and rode forty miles and warned the former that the latter were approaching and would be upon them within two hours. Thus at imminent risk of his own life he doubtless saved the lives of many other citizens.

A gentleman who occupies a high position in the service of the United States government and who knew Mr Hunt, intimately, during his earlier pioneership in the west, writes to me as follows, in response to my request for information: "From my long acquaintance with Mr Hunt, and from what others who have known and observed him tell me, you can make no mistake in ascribing to him these rare qualities of heart and mind that render a man deservedly conspicuous. His love of truth, honor, temperance and all the rarer virtues he seems to have inherited and to have cultivated, as I know he practiced them in all his rough and rugged journeyings on the frontier."

From the lessons he has learned from experience, others may learn partially from him without experience, in the development of the aggressive faculties for labor, as well as in the cultivation of the habit of caution and defense. But speaking without note of the judgment of the selfish and sordid world, the chiefest of his attainments, after all, has been to learn to govern and maintain himself in his integrity toward God and man, for he prizes the maxim: He that rules his spirit is greater than he who takes a city. Recognizing, after duty done, the inevitable, his faith in the model upon whom he strives to fashion his life precludes sourness. Of reserved but abundant humor, showing itself oftener "in quiet smile than laughter loud," he makes no terms with melancholy. Deeply religious, believing without the shadow of doubt in the inspiration of scripture, he works while there is yet day, uprightly, with all his strength, and in the full assurance that the greater the usefulness of his labors now, the greater the credit he will have for the beginning of life in a higher sphere hereafter. He is all the more practical in his daily walk and conversation, by reason of his religion, for he has a higher aim than that of selfishly accumulating only where moths corrupt and thieves break through and steal.

CHAPTER V.

LIFE OF MILO A. SMITH.

BUILDERS AS DISTINGUISHED FROM TENANTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH—AUTHOR AND SUBJECT—SMITH'S EARLY LIFE—WESTERN EXPERIENCES—SUCCESSES AND CHARACTERISTICS.

THE genius of every progressive community selects instinctively the men and measures best adapted for the special form of expression desired. If the progressive idea be mining, farming, city-building, or intellectual development, then those who engage in these pursuits or any of them, in what may be at the time and place the dominating idea, are most conspicuous and influential. In other words, the manifest destiny of a people is in its own hands, the course it takes being always the resultant of inherent and perhaps unconscious forces. If in any city there are men entitled to distinction some above others, it is obviously those who have made the city. After the city has been built or has even been started, others may enter and enjoy: but these, however they may adorn or benefit society, however important they may be as factors of civilization, are not in the proper sense builders of the commonwealth, but rather tenants enjoying that which their fellow-man has called into existence.

Denver is a well-built city, and they who built it may justly be proud of their work; the builders are entitled to all honor, and their names are written on the stones which they have laid. Few in Denver

Yours with respect,
H. L. Smith.

have done more to make it what it is than Milo A. Smith, who came here in 1880, bringing with him integrity, ability, energy, and some money. The result, arising from the conditions here existing, would need no prophet to predict or writer to record. Mr Smith built up the city and the city built him up. The reciprocal relation existed from the first. Our efforts may be based upon selfishness; the happiness of humanity and the edicts of the Almighty are based on the principle of self-helpfulness; noble efforts engendered by a noble selfishness, or rather self-helpfulness, produce the greatest results. It is worthy of note, as showing how events sometimes come about in the midst of this intricate and interminable woof and warp of western development, that the author and subject of this sketch, hitherto unknown to each other, were brought together in mid-continent, the one going there to do his work from the shores of the Pacific, the other having achieved that laudable distinction which rendered it proper and important that the work should be done—that these two men, thus happily meeting, spring from almost the same spot of earth, having been born within six miles of each other, Mr Smith having the advantage of the author in the matter of time, however, to the extent of some twelve years.

Central Ohio is a magnificent place in which to be born, and with the wealthy west unoccupied and undeveloped, a good place to get away from. A great many good men have come out of Ohio, and more will come. I can only say further, that among the sweetest and most tender recollections of my childhood is this same Newark, the metropolis of my early days, whither, as a great treat, I used on rare occasions to go with my father in the springless lumber-box wagon, innumerable, strange, and interesting sights imprinting themselves on my memory. One of these I remember as if it were but yesterday, occurring four years before Mr Smith was born; it was joining in a grand electioneering procession from Granville to Newark, in the time of the first Harrison, when the campaign song was

"Tippecanoe, and Tyler too,"

and dugouts and log cabins on wheels were conspicuous in every line of the presidential canvassing parade.

Newark was the birthplace of Milo A. Smith, and the day of his birth the 24th of October, 1844. His grandfather, Jesse Smith, was known to fame as one of the heroes of the war of independence, and was one of the most prominent men in Jefferson county, New York, where was published a history of his life. His father, Henry Smith, was engaged in manufacturing at Newark, where he was connected with one of the largest machine-works. He was a man of means and influence, of sterling integrity, of remarkable energy, perseverance, and power of will, combined with rare business tact and ability. His death occurred in 1880, at the age seventy-eight. Milo's mother, née Lucinda Salisbury, was also a woman exceptionally gifted, not least among her gifts being a strong physique and mental faculties, which at the age of seventy-eight were still almost unimpaired. Except for an occasional attack of asthma, she was then in excellent health, and nowhere could be found a brighter and more entertaining conversationalist. All of her children inherited in a marked degree their parents' intelligence and force of character, receiving every advantage in the way of training and education, and being permitted to select for themselves their path in life. As a proof of their intelligence, it may be mentioned that one of them, named Jesse M., who completed his education at the central school of Paris, graduated third in his class, though entering that class without knowing a word of French.

Milo's education, begun at the district school, was continued at a higher school at Gambier, Ohio, where we find him at the outbreak of the civil war. It was then his intention to enlist, and from this he was only dissuaded by his parents' expostulation. But if his youthfulness prevented him from enlisting, he served his country by inducing others to enlist. On one occasion, when a recruiting officer was trying to persuade a German of his father's employ to enroll as a volunteer, the man turned to him in doubt as to the officer's statement concerning bounty money, and inquired whether it was true. "Yes, it is true," said Milo; whereupon the latter at once wrote down his name. Other instances without number might be given of the confidence reposed in him even at that early age, not only as the son of Henry Smith, but for the reputation which then as ever afterward was his for truthfulness and honor.

Instead of going to the war Milo went to Kenyon college, Ohio, where presently matters became somewhat disarranged, the president taking his leave of that institution to accept the colonelcy of a regiment. He then entered the military school at Fulton, Illinois, where by his energy and perseverance he won his way from private to first lieutenant, receiving his commission from the Governor of Illinois, and completed his education at the Troy polytechnic institute, where in 1867 he graduated as a civil engineer.

His first occupation was as assistant engineer in the United States lake survey under Colonel Craim, by whom he was ordered on survey work, at the mouth of Huron river. But in this, as in most government occupations, there was little profit and little prospect of promotion. Resigning his position, therefore, he entered a manufacturing establishment at Detroit, in which his father held an interest, and where he was first placed in charge of the stock, and afterward appointed secretary and treasurer. But for Mr Smith the real estate business had more attractions than the one in which he was engaged, and to him the purchase and sale of land, the building or buying and sale of houses, was ever a fascinating occupation. His first transaction was an act of charity, and like other charitable deeds, it brought its own reward. At a time when the foreman of the factory was an inmate of the hospital, his wife requested him to find a purchaser of certain lots located at a distance from the city, and therefore slow of sale. As the woman was in need, after looking in vain for a buyer, he bought them himself, and in due time realized a handsome profit from his investment, by building houses, substantial in character, attractive in appearance, and convenient in arrangement; the money realized from the sale of this property was reinvested in other city lots, and more buildings, which continued up to 1880. The class of the houses built by Mr Smith, and the beautiful adornment by trees and lawns, gave character to the locality, which is now one of the handsomest parts of Detroit.

In 1880, when first he visited Denver, Mr Smith was the possessor of property valued at some $40,000, all acquired by his own efforts, for though his father was wealthy, he would not accept from him a single dollar, preferring to make his own way in the world. Many were the capitalists who desired him to handle their property, offering the strongest inducements to remain, while in the political arena, place and preferment awaited him. But all was of no avail. To Denver he would go, as a better field for the ability and enterprise of which he could not fail to be conscious.

On reaching Denver, there was about the city so healthful a business atmosphere, so much of activity and hopefulness, that at once his confidence was established and his plans were formed. Within twenty-four hours after his arrival he had bought a block of land in western Denver, and within thirty days had in course of construction eight houses, disposing of all, with one exception, at a goodly profit, even before they were completed. In 1883 we find him a well-to-do if not a wealthy man. It was in that year that the cattle interests assumed such large proportions, and disposing of a large amount of real estate he invested the proceeds in live-stock, securing two tracts of land on the border of Arizona and New Mexico, in all of only 5,000 or 6,000 acres, but controlling by means of water rights 1,000,000 acres. This he stocked with cattle, and made his residence in Arizona, removing his family there to live. Cheerfully and without complaint they underwent the trials and hardships incidental to such a life.

There were robbers and rough characters abroad, including hostile Indians, but Mr Smith thought little about the matter, and was never molested, though frequently riding alone and unarmed from his rancho, 200 miles to the nearest railway station, carrying only his blankets and a little flour and bacon. Many was the dangerous journey which he undertook, against the expostulation of friends and neighbors, for a man of high moral rectitude is usually a brave man physically, and so it was with Mr Smith.

But such a career had but few attractions, and realizing that city life and the real estate business were best for him, he returned to Denver in October 1886. And now it was that the handsome fortune of which he became the possessor began to accumulate more rapidly, for he was never slow to see and improve his opportunities. He had still some vacant property, for which he had paid $250 a lot, and which was now worth more than three times that amount. He bought more land, and continued to buy, until in and around Denver he became the owner of 4,000 acres of land, some of it worth $1,000 or more an acre. He laid out an addition on Eastern Capitol hill, others following his example with new additions. He bought a piece of property on Colfax avenue for $8,500, which, at prices ruling two years later, was worth $140,000. He was the first to purchase in Rohlfing's addition, buying out one of the heirs, and so obtaining lots at $90 which he sold at the rate of $200, though retaining some which are worth at least to-day $1,200. The Eastern Capitol hill property was a tract of 200 acres, of which, after subdivision, he disposed of a portion. It was a beautiful site, but on account of its elevation, water could not be obtained from the city water pipes. This difficulty, however, he overcame by sinking an artesian well, the largest in the state, and equipping it with steam-pumps, and laying out a regular system of water pipes, and among other improvements he built an electric railway at his own expense to connect with the electric road on Colfax avenue. In conjunction with others he also laid out Arlington grove addition of 320 acres, locating there a railroad station, and for water supply throwing a dam across Cherry creek, whose flow was in places subterranean. By building the dam from bed-rock the water was forced to the surface, and thence conveyed to a reservoir for distribution.

Among other enterprises in which Mr Smith has engaged are the building of the University park electric railroad and the Colfax avenue electric road, of both of which he was elected president. The first impetus was given to the cable system of rapid transit in the city of Denver by Mr Smith's energy and perseverance and liberal donation, although he took no active part in the construction. Mr Smith was the first to conceive the idea of taking water from under the bed of Sand creek, a 'dry stream' some fifteen miles east of the city, by means of underground conduit pipes, and after thorough examination demonstrated that a flow of pure water existed eighteen feet below the surface of the ground. The East Denver Water company was organized by Milo A. Smith and five other gentlemen, and work commenced and pushed to completion, by laying a line of pipe three miles in length, to a reservoir constructed upon a high tract of ground, from which the distributing pipes were laid to the city; thus supplying water to a large territory that could not otherwise have been utilized for building purposes. So great were the obstacles to be overcome, that more than three years passed from the time the plan was first conceived until the work was finished, showing what continuous and well-directed efforts can accomplish.

In the future of Denver he has unlimited confidence. Within a decade he has seen her population increase from 35,000 to 130,000, and in his opinion a further increase to at least 250,000 is but a question of a very few years' time. To her climate the queen city of the plains is largely indebted for her marvellous growth, and every train brings with it invalids of whom numbers make their home amid this health-giving atmosphere. Said an eastern capitalist to Mr Smith, "There are enough men situated as I am, who have accumulated fortunes and cannot live anywhere else, to make this a large city and to support it."

If at times speculation in real estate has been carried beyond reasonable bounds, this has not been the case with the more substantial citizens, and certainly not with Mr Smith. In no sense has his success been the result of speculation or of accident, but rather of intelligence, energy, and fair dealing. He never attempted to dispose of outside lands to credulous people, making believe that the city would grow over them. But observing carefully in what direction the drift of population tended, he would purchase a tract or a cluster of lots within reasonable bounds, would erect on them a number of sightly and substantial dwellings, and bringing to them water, gas, electric lights, street-cars, and other conveniences, build up a suburb which presently became one of the favorite residence quarters. "What makes you go out into the country to live?" his friends inquired, when in 1880 he was preparing for himself his elegant home on Sherman avenue; but that is now the most fashionable part of Denver.

To Mr Smith this home on Sherman avenue is the pleasantest spot on earth, and here in the company of his wife and children are passed the few hours of leisure that his business cares permit. While a student at Troy he made the acquaintance of Miss Henrietta E. Dauchy, to whom on the 1st of December, 1868, he was married. A refined and educated lady, Mrs Smith is also a woman of remarkable force of character and strength of will, a will as indomitable as that of her husband, though in all their twenty-one years of married they have worked together with a single purpose. While possessed of rare business ability, she is essentially domestic in her tastes, given to charity, and one of the most worthy and devoted members of the episcopal church.

Of their three children the oldest son, named Edward Salisbury, has inherited all his parents' business capacity, and with excellent habits and a sturdy physique his future is full of promise. Bradley Waterbury, his younger brother, is of a quiet, retiring disposition, with a great deal of natural dignity, a fine student of very bright mind, with rare judgment and knowledge of business details for one of his age; and Grace Dauchy, his only sister, displays all her mother's refinement and strength of character. His children Mr Smith treats as companions, going hunting and fishing with his boys and discussing before them his business affairs, while by all the mother's counsel is sought, and no important enterprise undertaken without consulting this most faithful of advisers.

Though a member of the episcopal church and a founder of one of the principal churches in Detroit, Mr Smith takes no delight in theological dogmas or sectarian entanglements. Yet he is in the highest sense of the word a moral man, a man of the purest morality, pure as the business integrity which has won for him his high repute in the city and state of his adoption. While not without enemies, he never wittingly injured his fellow-man, and many are those whom he has befriended, whose wants he has relieved, and whom from their abject condition he has raised to one of comfort and independence. Among his plans for the future is the founding of a free hospital at Denver, where the sick and indigent may be cared for, without being cast as a burden on the county. He was a liberal contributor to St Luke's hospital, and is a member of the board of managers of that institution.

Now in the prime of life, with strength and faculties unimpaired, we have in Mr Smith a goodly specimen of hale and vigorous manhood. Of medium stature and slight and sinewy but well-knit frame, his appearance is that of one who has taken his full share in the work of life, and yet will take a greater share.

The features are finely moulded, their expressions frank and pleasing, and in his appearance, no less than in his speech and manner, there is that which inspires confidence. To whatsoever he may lay his hand, people are assured that he will succeed, for once he engages in an enterprise the word "failure" finds no place in his vocabulary. A man of quick penetration and of the keenest perceptive powers, he trusts largely to first impressions, and in doing so has seldom been deceived.

The lesson of his life is indeed a most instructive one, and few there are who may not profit by his example. It teaches the value of self-reliance, of firmness of purpose, of persistent and well-directed effort, and above all of integrity and truth. Though others may not achieve an equal measure of prosperity, such qualities, when favored by opportunity, cannot fail to insure not only fortune, but that higher success which is the noblest aim of man's ambition and crowns his life with honor.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMERCE—BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ALASKA.

TRAFFIC OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN SHIPS—INTERIOR TRADE AND BARTER—GOLD DISCOVERIES—TRANSPORTATION AND TAX—DIVORCE OF GOVERNMENT AND MONOPOLY—EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENT AND CIVILIZED TRAFFIC—COAL EXPORT—ALASKA FURS—THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COMPANY—ALASKA COMMERCIAL COMPANY—TRADE, RESOURCES, AND INDUSTRIES.

THE occupation of British Columbia was prompted, as we have seen, by fur-traders, whose operations, covering half a century, constitute the second of the several epochs in its history. English vessels opened the traffic along this shore, only to yield to United States rivals, which had the advantage of free entry into Chinese ports, and of Spanish friendship. The latter could reach only a narrow strip of coast line, however, and the fur companies in control of the larger interior field, with posts and organized methods and forces, were soon enabled to outstrip all competition, outbidding even those who ventured to glean the field regularly scoured by themselves.

About the time that British Columbia was separated from Oregon to form a distinct province, the Hudson's Bay company held undisputed sway throughout its breadth, their forts extending beyond the southern boundary of Alaska. Upon a continental apex stood Fort St James, the capital of western Caledonia, and the centre of a number of forts radiating from the southern end of Stuart lake. Twenty-five miles southwest was Fort Fraser, eighty miles northeast Fort McLeod, sixty miles southeast Fort George, and one hundred miles northwest Fort Babine, all save Fort George situated on lakes bearing their names. Fort Thompson lay on Kamloop river, and Fort Alexandria on Fraser river, the point of departure for the northern brigade; Kootenai was an outpost of Colville, which lay below the southern border, in the Oregon country; Kamloop figured as the capital of the Thompson river district. Fort Langley was the first sea post in the province; Fort McLoughlin was built on Milbank sound, and Fort Simpson held in subjection some of the most dangerous savages along the shore of the ocean. Add to this a few minor stations in the interior, and those leased from the Russian American company in Alaska, or erected upon the rivers, such as Tako. The inexperienced officers and drunken, indolent men of that association, with the consequent wasteful management, could not prevail against the economic and energetic Scotch, who from this new foothold gained a further vantage for competition.

All these establishments depended upon the headquarters at Fort Vancouver, whence supplies were sent by boat up the Columbia, or by ship to the coast stations, both connecting with horse trains for remote districts. As the result of the Oregon question became apparent, it was resolved to remove the central depot to British soil, to a site which might serve also as capital for prospective settlements, after the decline of fur trading. Fraser river presented itself as the natural route to the interior, with a considerable quantity of arable land, timber, salmon, and other resources. Fort Langley was founded to form such an entrepôt, but Governor Simpson preferred a sea port, which should serve as a rendezvous for the whaling fleet. Royal bay, at the southern end of Vancouver island, attracted attention by its fine harbors, its inviting soil, timber and water power, its clear water, mild climate and central position for general communication. Here accordingly was founded, in 1843, Fort Camosun, subsequently renamed Victoria, forts Tako and Mc-

Loughlin being abandoned to provide it with men and material. It was at once made a port for direct traffic with England, owing to the dangerous bar of the Columbia, which had already driven vessels to Puget sound to load and discharge. The first shipment arrived in 1845 by the Vancouver. Whalers also began to frequent the place, but soon the superior conveniences of the Hawaiian islands prevailed and the visits and profits dwindled.

With the occupation of the Columbia river by the United States, custom-house regulations rendered it troublesome to tranship from Fort Vancouver, and Victoria was made the supply station for British Columbia. To this end routes were opened from the Fraser to Alexandria and the upper Columbia, boats carrying the merchandise to the head of Fraser navigation, where Fort Yale arose as an entrepôt. Soon afterward a better route was surveyed to a point a few miles below Yale, and here Fort Hope maintained itself as shipping post for a dozen years. Colville was moved inside the British lines.

The California gold excitement brought no inconsiderable profits to the fur company, by opening a market for its large reserve stock of goods and for its agricultural products, particularly from the Puget sound farms, gold being accepted at eleven dollars an ounce in payment for merchandise at very high prices. Timber, fish, and coal were added to the resources which brought revenue to the company and workers to the country, and in their turn gave encouragement to settlers. The first coal field gave rise to Fort Rupert, and in connection with later and better developments arose towns like Nanaimo.

These and other beginnings, and above all the stimulus given to immigration from the United States, indicated that the colonization so dreaded by the fur-traders was approaching much faster than expected. The company had in the previous decade sought to obtain as a grant the entire province, so as to hold back any wave of immigration that might flow from Oregon. This was refused, but Vancouver island was ceded in 1849 for a term prolonged to ten years, on condition that settlers should be introduced. The company yielded to this as inevitable, trusting to direct the influx to its own advantage, at least to neutralize any antagonism. It placed, for instance, a high price upon land, secured the best tracts for itself, and hampered occupation with so many restrictions that few could be induced to immigrate, and a portion of these departed for the adjoining territories, where land could be had for nothing. Nevertheless there appeared a few mills and other adjuncts of settlement, and the colonists managed to obtain a certain share in supplying the southern markets by paying tribute to the company. Those, however, who, like James Cooper, sought to trade independently, were crushed by the corporation, which cut them off from the sources and means of traffic. The force employed by the company in different industrial capacities was sufficient to warrant the laying out of Victoria as a town in 1852, with a view to assure centralization at this point.

In 1858 a transformation was effected by the disclosure of gold fields on the mainland. The large influx of diggers brought with it the development of industrial pursuits; foremost traffic and trade, the transportation of men and supplies, and an active demand upon the reserve stock of goods held by the company and upon the hitherto neglected produce of the farmers. With the migration came supply-laden boats, pouring up the Fraser, on which a six and twelve dollars' "sufferance" tax was levied, besides ten per cent *ad valorem* duty on the goods, for the benefit of the long-stinted treasury. Governor Douglas of Vancouver island assumed authority over the Mainland, and being governor also of the Hudson's Bay company he naturally sought to favor its interests by giving it control of all trade, on the strength of the exclusive rights conferred by the charter. He forbade the entry of vessels into British waters without license from the company and the custom-house, and proposed to arrange with the Pacific Mail Steamship company for a steamer to carry into the Fraser only the fur company's goods and passengers provided with permits. He forgot that the company's privilege embraced exclusive trade only with Indians, and that strangers were free to enter and engage in any pursuit not encroaching upon that limitation; nor could license tax be imposed upon any but actual miners. Douglas nevertheless enforced the restriction until the home government reminded him of those points, and the intended arrangement with the steam line failed.

The removal of monopoly restrictions came too late to give any perceptible impulse to trade, for the first exploitation in the mines proved disappointing, and the reflux of the mining population exceeded the influx. Nevertheless the excitement had already effected a wonderful transformation, in one sense from the peaceful domain of harmless savages to a pandemonium of lawless gold-hunters; but also from a wilderness to a field budding with material unfoldment, spreading from camps and incipient towns along the southern water-channels, and in due time even beyond the limits of the fur-posts.

The principal current of migration, and at first the only one of magnitude, came from the southern coast, Oregonians preferring to follow the Columbia upward, while the more numerous bodies from California turned to Victoria. The obstacles here encountered in the lack of transit accommodation, together with the enforcement of license taxes, tended to direct a large portion of the stream to harbors on Puget sound, favored by speculative town builders. The Pacific mail line at first prepared to build up Port Townsend, but this being too remote, Whatcom and its annex

Sehome, were chosen as rivals of Victoria on United States soil. Many paddled their way thence in boats and canoes along the coast and up the Fraser, but most penetrated overland direct to the mining field, along the line on which a road was being cut for freight trains. The hopes of the routes rested wholly upon the supposed impossibility of navigating the Fraser. This idea was quickly controverted by some enterprising skippers. The result was the abandonment of the new towns and the half finished trails, and Victoria regained the ascendency as a shipping point, assured to some extent also by the location here of the license office and other government departments. Steamboats connected here with ocean lines for regular trips to the head of Fraser navigation. American vessels obtaining the chief portion of the traffic. From their terminus opened different routes to the leading districts, constructed partly by traders, partly by miners under the auspices and with the aid of the government.

Trade across the frontier continued, however, for Oregonians found the cheapest route for their varied supplies to be up the Columbia, and the duty levied on the coast approaches led to brisk smuggling operations along the unguarded frontier, of such extent as to be one of the many causes for the commercial depression of 1860–1. Indians figured as substantial customers, notwithstanding the monopoly of the fur company and the prohibition against selling them whisky. They gathered much gold as independent or hired diggers, and haggled little about prices. Away from the rivers pack-trains prevailed for carriage, the rugged and thickly wooded country permiting wagons only on sections of the constructed routes.

Warned by the significance of the westward migration started by the California gold fever, and by the northward advance of the miners, the Hudson's Bay company sought a renewal of its trade monopoly several years prior to the expiration in 1859, of the old lease. This time the opposition found support in the failure of island colonization under monopoly auspices, and in the augmented value of resources in timber, fish, and coal, which suggested the expediency of introducing settlers. The protracted discussion came to an end with the Fraser river gold discovery, and with it the charter of the company, revoked on that account in 1858. Although exclusive trade was thus revoked, the advantages which still remained in their line of posts, their organized forces and their experience in routes, methods, and Indian intercourse, left the corporation little to fear from interlopers in the richer fur districts of the north. The same advantage permitted it to compete profitably for the control of transportation and trade in the lower country. The company also sold to the government its rights in Vancouver island for £57,500, retaining only a small area of farming land and town and fort sites. By 1863 the stations had been reduced to thirteen. Eight years later the organization was modified by the increase of factors and traders, with shares on commissions, and a reduction of the salaried force, so as to lessen expenses in proportion to operations. Meanwhile Canada purchased the territorial rights of the company on the eastern slope for £300,000, leaving to it only a small tract around each fort, and the United States awarded it $600,000 for property in the Columbia river region.

The Mainland was in November 1858, proclaimed a colony under the name British Columbia, with Douglas as governor for the Mainland as well as the Island, in consideration of which he relinquished his position with the fur corporation. Now followed appointment of magistrates, gold commissioners, and other officials to enforce regulations for mining, trading, and the like. Their central seat was at the capital, located, after some changes, at New Westminster, which, in June 1859, became a port of entry.

The first flush of the mining excitement was followed by comparative stagnation for two years, and by the business depression of the winter of 1860–1, charged by some to excessive smuggling, by others to over importation. Now the Quesnel mines were disclosed, followed by the Cariboo, creating a marked reaction, attended with the opening of new routes, the extension of traffic over a wide area, and a notable, if not very large, influx of miners. During the winter of 1861–2, freight was conveyed to Cariboo by the dog sleds of the fur traders, which raised the price of flour to $72 a barrel. Four years later a wagon road had been completed, permitting goods to be transported from Yale for 10 cents per pound and less. On the upper Columbia, so accessible from Oregon, living was exceedingly cheap. The comparatively steady yield of the mines gave, for some years, stability to trade, and promoted the introduction of steamers upon the inner waters, on the upper Columbia, as far as Death rapids, on the Thompson, and on several of the lakes, a canal being subsequently projected to unite the Shuswap and Okanagan lakes. A business depression toward the close of the sixties was relieved by the disclosure of the Skeena river mines and those of Cassiar, or Stikeen river. The latter, opened properly in 1872, were rendered accessible from the coast, for light steamers ascended the Stikeen for 170 miles, and from Dease lake a little flotilla of boats passed up the tributary streams. In later years a steamboat was hauled through the cañons of the Fraser, a semi-weekly service was inaugurated between Olympia and Victoria, and there was a fortnightly intercourse with San Francisco. The transit through Alaska to the mines on the Stikeen is a source of trouble to the United States, whose officials are compelled to exercise great caution, and often interfere in a manner calculated to arouse dispute and reclamations.

The coal fields had meanwhile been developed, notably at Nanaimo, worked by three companies, and at

Comox, where the facilities permitted a reduction in prices, which added greatly to the export and consequent activity. The yield in 1874 was 81,000 tons. Ten years later it had risen to 394,000 tons, more than two-thirds going to San Francisco, where Vancouver island supplied nearly 30 per cent of the total import. Already in 1871 there were 14 saw mills, 11 flouring mills, besides sash and furniture factories, foundries, and workshops, which added their quota, partly to foreign trade, though mainly to inland traffic, and increased yearly in number and production. The six tanneries of 1884 alone sent a considerable amount of ware to California. The fisheries formed by this time one of the leading sources of wealth, their yield in 1882 being placed at over $1,800,000, of which $1,400,000 pertained to 20 canneries. They employed, during the season, fully 5,000 men, nearly 1,000 boats and 26 larger vessels.

In 1870 exports included 21 articles of home production, besides gold, valued at over $1,800,000, while imports reached only $1,600,000 leaving a balance in favor of the colony of $250,000. By 1884 the exports had risen to more than $3,000,000, while the imports stood at $4,000,000, embracing a large quantity of material for the transcontinental railway. These figures were highly respectable for a colony of only 60,000 inhabitants, being more than double to the head of population as compared with the trade of the dominion of which the province formed a part, The exports consisted mainly of coal, gold, fish, fish-oils, peltry, hides, and lumber, of which Great Britain purchased to the value of $870,000, three-fourths being salmon, the United States $1,690,000, and Australia $257,000.

Shipping has more than kept pace with this increase, owing to the demands of inland traffic. In 1871 the entries in British Columbia ports numbered 292 vessels, with a tonnage of 132,000. In 1880 471 ocean vessels arrived at Victoria, measuring 366,-

000 tons, of which 319 belonged to the United States and 315 to British owners. Steamers preponderated, leaving only 73 sailing ships. Five steamboats were flying on the lower and upper Fraser, and an additional number on other rivers and on lakes, ministering to a series of flourishing ports and towns.

Victoria, for instance, which, during the first flush of the gold discovery, claimed a population of more than 12,000, had by 1861 almost settled into its former groove, with 3,500 inhabitants. Two years later the Cariboo excitement nearly doubled the number, distributed in some 1,500 buildings. At that date there were five banks, five churches, a theatre, and several substantial warehouses and hotels. In 1886 she again claimed fully 12,000 souls, not counting the floating population of Indians.

The fur trade has been the dominating factor in Alaska. It opened the gate for colonization and intercourse with the natives, and constituted for over a century the sole medium for foreign commerce.

Its value was reported by the Russian-American company to have increased to such an extent that the dividends for the period 1821–41 rose to 8,500,000 roubles, or nearly double the amount for the two preceding decades, and for 1841–61 to more than 10,000,000, besides a growth of the capital from 724,000 roubles in 1799 to nearly 14,000,000. The receipt from all sources during this last term exceeded 75,000,000, including some profits from the China traffic and other sources. During the previous term the total was 61,400,000 roubles. This enables us to form some estimate of the trade, licensed and clandestine, carried on during the half century prior to monopoly sway. A virgin ground then tendered freely its undisturbed riches to plunderers, who nevertheless stopped not at any excess or outrage to satiate their enormous greed. Despite their vigilance the

Russians were compelled, moreover, throughout their occupation, to yield a share to foreign captains, who engaged ostensibly in barter. Their competition reduced not only the profits of the monopoly in different directions, but raised the price of furs, and gradually rendered the natives more independent and untractable.

The Russian-American company held practically the same position here as the famous East India corporation in Asia, and through its manager controlled the welfare of thousands. Although required by charter to colonize the territory, it naturally limited its operations to carrying out its own purposes, in controlling trade and keeping in check the Indians entrusted to its guardianship. Settlements were erected in a number of promising localities, some fortified and provided with garrisons, while amoug the more peaceful tribes, like the Aleuts, camps were formed within their villages. Most of the hunting was performed by Aleuts, who excelled in skill, notwithstanding their inferior physique. They were impressed under the privilege conferred upon the company to exact tribute, or else they enlisted at the low wages of from 60 to 150 roubles a year, while clerks received from 600 to 4,000. These rates were subsequently increased, with the addition of clothing and rations, the latter gradually including other articles in addition to the fish and seal meat which formed the staple diet of the aborigines. The leaders of expeditions were usually Russians, who supervised operations, watched over the catch and the traps and other implements. In some cases, especially with suspected tribes, hostages were taken to ensure the safety of scattered parties and of the effects entrusted to Indian hunters.

Their services left the regular company employés with little to do beyond camp duty, permitting them to spend much time and most of their pay in carousing, till in later years restrictions were imposed upon the sale of liquor Artisans contributed their efforts to provide for many wants and to reduce certain imports. Shipwrights transferred their skill at times from mere boat-building to the construction of sea-going crafts in imitation of Baranof's first ship the *Phœnix.*

The possessions of the Russian company in Alaska, represented in buildings and vessels, implements and stores, formed a large proportion of the capital of nearly 14,000,000 roubles, as estimated in 1861. What remained of these in 1867 was purchased by Hutchinson, Kohl, and company, a firm which, together with Williams, Haven, and company, of New London, and John Parrott and company of San Francisco, was subsequently consolidated to form the nucleus of the Alaska Commercial company. This association was incorporated in 1869 with a capital of $2,000,000 and obtained a lease for 20 years of the Pribylof islands, the most valuable of the seal grounds, for a rental of $55,000 a year and a tax of $2.62½ on each fur-seal skin, the catch here being limited to 100,000 skins annually, taken from the bachelor seals so as not to interfere with the perpetuation of the species. The company enjoyed also the lease of some Russian islands.

The concession involved the employment of vessels and a large force of men, and the maintenance of the purchased establishments of the former monopoly; all of which gave it a decided advantage for engaging in trade and enterprises in different parts of the territory. Hence its sway extended in a measure all over Alaska, although the entire country, except the island groups named, is open to the world. The Hudson's Bay company, indeed, shares in the continental fur-trade, particularly through Indians who enter from British Columbia and repair mainly to the Yukon region. Several minor associations, devoted chiefly to mining or salmon canning, engage also in the trade in furs and other commodities.

Under the new régime the natives are obtaining a larger proportion of the gains, partly through the competition of so many rivals for their produce, at least in peltry and fish, for they excel as hunters and fishermen. In addition to seals, obtainable at different places, they take annually over 5,000 sea-otters whose skins are the most valuable of peltry, save perhaps that of the rare black fox. A number of silver gray and blue foxes, martens and beavers are also caught. The Pribylof islanders, nearly 400 in number and working for the Alaska Commercial company, were under the government charter entitled to 40 cents for each seal-skin, and to goods at not more than 25 per cent above San Francisco wholesale rates. They labored under their own chiefs, and earned $300 to $450 for a three or four months' season, besides receiving free rooms, fuel, oil, and fish, so that they were able to yield for the remainder of the year to their bent for indolent hibernation, sleeping, eating, and celebrating the numerous festivals transmitted to them by the Greek church. Their condition exhibited a vast advance upon the semi-slavery of former days, with sod huts, scanty fuel, coarse rations, and frequent starvation. The general restriction on the sale of liquors, under the official prohibition, tended to promote order and to encourage tastes for the more harmless comforts of life. Thus monopoly served here a good purpose in elevating the natives, in husbanding resources for the government and for coming generations, while contributing to the world's trade and to the requirements of fashion, no less than in promoting colonization and assisting to unfold fresh sources of wealth.

Aside from peltry the export trade is small, amounting in 1880 to less than $100,000. Imports averaged, on the other hand, fully $400,000, chiefly flour, tobacco, tea, and sugar, western Alaska taking about one half, and most of the remainder going to the mines of the southeast, and into British Columbia. The revenue from dutiable goods is much smaller than the cost of collecting it and of guarding the coast, for large quantities are clandestinely introduced. Smuggling is favored by the vast extent of coast and frontier line, accessible from Asia as well as from the east. The Hudson's Bay company and other English traders find special facilities in this direction from the free use of the rivers passing through Alaska, and in the exemption from duty of effects claimed by Indians, who are constantly migrating across the border. The feeble revenue service is powerless, even against the most brazen infractions of the law, and illicit distilleries and other abuses abound throughout the territory. The result is a depression in legitimate trade. The mines, fisheries, and other interests are, however, opening ever wider markets, and Oregon and California have special advantages for supplying staple requirements, so that the prospects are promising for a growing business under American control.

Between 1870 and 1890 there were sold in London, the world's market for furs, more than 2,200,000 seal-skins, of which nearly 2,000,000 were credited to the Alaska Commercial company. For these was received a total of at least $33,000,000, and for other peltry about $15,000,000, or some $38,000,000 in all. Of salmon the pack increased from 13,000 cases in 1880 to 697,000 cases in 1889, selling in the latter year for $2,787,000. Of gold the yield for 1889 was $955,000, against $9,000 in 1880. With increasing population came an increase of imports, amounting in 1890 to $1,897,000, exports, apart from peltry, consisting mainly of provisions and supplies in transit for the mines of British Columbia.

Before taking leave of the northwest, I will here present the biography of one of its leading business men, one whose operations, though largely centred in Oregon, have made their influence widely felt beyond its borders. His name is Bernard Goldsmith.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE OF BERNARD GOLDSMITH.

BIRTH, PARENTAGE AND ENVIRONMENT—HIS RECORD AS AN AMERICAN—A QUIET MAN AMONG THE BUILDERS—HE DID MORE FOR THE COUNTRY THAN FOR HIMSELF—A CHARACTER WORTH STUDYING.

BERNARD GOLDSMITH was born at Oettingen, a small ancient town situated half way between Nuremburg and Munich, Bavaria, November 20, 1832. His father, Abraham Goldsmith, who was born July 4, 1800, and died October 1888, was a woolen merchant in the above-named place, where his ancestors had resided for nearly three hundred years. He was a man of excellent reputation, honest, upright, and very charitable, for although he was only in moderate circumstances, he gave one tithe of his profits to the poor every year. His wife, Esther, was a woman of exalted character, whose life was devoted to the duties of her household, the chief of which was the welfare of her children, of whom there were ten, two girls and eight boys. Seven of the latter came to the United States, mainly through the influence of the oldest son, Bernard, and became useful citizens. Bernard enjoyed the advantage of such rudimentary education as his native town afforded, but his progress as a student was not marked until, at thirteen years of age, he was put under the care of a private tutor. His advancement thereafter was rapid, and he soon

E. Goldsmith

acquired a thorough knowledge of arithmetic, which has been of great value to him in later life. Although a boy, he took an intelligent and manly view of the situation. In order to have the opportunities required by a laudable ambition he must leave his birth-land, which was torn by revolutionary strife, and in which his people, the Jews, were persecuted and downtrodden. Through correspondence with relatives in this country he had obtained information enough in regard to the United States to induce him to emigrate. His father furnished him the necessary means, and in his sixteenth year he sailed for New York city, arriving there August 1848. He experienced a sensation of profound relief and gratification when, for the first time, he stood on free soil, and realized that he was in a country in which a man is judged by what he is, in which all are equal in the eyes of the law, and no aristocracy is recognized save that of character. His appreciation of American institutions was immediate and intelligent, and years of experience have served only to intensify his Americanism. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has always been as if to the manor born, or better, a most excellent citizen. In a jewelry establishment conducted by his cousin he learned the trade. December 1850, having an ambition beyond what seemed to be within his reach in New York, and somewhat influenced by the wonderful tales he had heard of the gold-land, he sailed for California by way of Panamá. In crossing the Isthmus he met with many weary and heart-sick adventurers returning from the gold-field. Noticing his boyish appearance, they warned him: "For God's sake turn back! The mines are all worked out and the country is all dried up. It will not support a grasshopper." But he was not to be deterred from his purpose. Arriving in the harbor of San Francisco in January 1851, he waited until he could go ashore in the captain's boat, as he had not ten dollars left wherewith to pay his transportation to the city. On shore he met Michael Reese, who had formerly been in the employ of his father. Michael, a well-known man on the Pacific coast as a money-lender, came to his young friend's relief, and loaned him enough money to pay his way up to Sacramento in April. Having clerked there until July, he went to Marysville and helped load and unload steamboats for ten or twelve dollars a day, until he had enough money to buy three mules and a horse with which to start a pack-train between Marysville and Rich bar on the Feather river. During the winter he earned about $8,000. The next spring he went to San Francisco and started in the jewelry business with one of his brothers. In the fall of 1853, having lost nearly all the money invested, he got a stock of goods on credit and started a store at Crescent city. This proving remunerative, he induced one of his brothers to go up and start a branch in Yreka, and another one to locate in the Rogue River valley.

During the Indian wars he was first lieutenant of Roseborough's company of volunteers, and also served with Colonel Buchanan of the regular army in his attack on Big meadows. During this fight, after much long-range shooting, the soldiers managed to get a mountain howitzer into position, and this was more than the Indians could stand. They had never seen such a machine before, and soon after the firing began they hoisted a flag and surrendered, saying they could stand a gun that fired once, but not one that fired twice. It was also greatly through his influence with the savages that a second outbreak was prevented. They came to him and complained of the treatment they were receiving at the hands of the government agent. He made a trip to San Francisco, and conferring with Colonel Henley in their behalf, secured an adjustment of their grievances.

In 1858 he went to the Rogue River country, exchanging places with his brother, and in the year 1859 took a trip to Europe and visited his parents.

He returned to California in 1860, sold his interests in the Rogue River valley, and went to Fraser river; but not liking it there, he came to Portland, 1861, where he established a jewelry business and assay office, and bought gold-dust. Being quite successful in this, he started two of his brothers in the wholesale dry-goods business. He was elected mayor of Portland in 1869, and it was through his efforts that the city purchased the admirable site of the city park. This transaction occasioned much comment; efforts were made to dissuade the mayor from his purpose, and he and the council were denounced for the purchase, an act for which the people are now grateful, as the tract of forty acres is worth more than ten times the amount paid for it. Mr Goldsmith was strongly in favor of the purchase by the city of an additional tract of land adjoining this, in order to make the park all the more attractive. It was also through his suggestion that an ordinance was passed requiring shade-trees to be planted along the streets, which was done, adding greatly to the beauty of the city. The ordinance accomplished this result by its moral sense, for the council had no right to enforce it.

Mr Goldsmith was early engaged in cattle-raising on a large scale; was the first to import Durham stock into Oregon, thereby improving the breed throughout the northwest and adding greatly to the material wealth of the country. He was the pioneer in this enterprise, and did more toward raising the standard of beef cattle than any other man in Oregon. He also imported Cotswold and Merino sheep.

During the war he held large government contracts for furnishing horses and mules and supplies to the soldiers quartered in the north Pacific, and he had also the contract for carrying the mails between the Dalles and Rock point on the Central Pacific railroad.

Among the numerous enterprises with which he has been connected, that which has probably been of the widest benefit to Oregon, especially Portland and the Willamette valley, was the building of the locks at Oregon City on the Willamette in 1872. Prior to that time goods had been first transferred from one side of the falls to the other by teams, and later by means of a tramway or incline plane, connecting the lower part of the falls with a basin built on the east side of the river. Both of these means were expensive, besides occasioning a great loss of time. Mr Goldsmith and his associates, aided by a subsidy of $200,000 from the state legislature, undertook the construction of the locks; but the contractor failed and they were compelled to complete the work themselves, the cost being double the amount appropriated by the state. But his troubles did not end there; the People's Transportation company refused to use the locks. This forced him to build boats; and he organized a company under the name of the Willamette Locks and Transportation company, which reduced transportation fifty per cent below previous rates. This brought about the consolidation of the People's Transportation company and the Oregon Navigation company. In order to compete with this corporation it was necessary to build more and better boats and run a line of steamers to Astoria, also to buy and sell grain and build warehouses. He did so, and made a gallant fight, in which he should have had, and did have later, the sympathy of the people, of whose cause he was the actual champion, but the odds were overwhelming. There was nothing left for him to do but to sell out to his competitors at a great loss. He was the only loser, however, for in the Willamette locks, which will endure as a monument to his public spirit and enterprise, the people of the Willamette valley have secured forever immunity from excessive railroad charges and discrimination.

Mr Goldsmith and others shipped in 1868 on the sailing vessel *Sallie Brown* the first cargo of wheat from Oregon to Europe. It went to Liverpool. The experiment cost about $4,000. The English millers, unacquainted with the plump Willamette grain, condemned it as swollen, but bought it at a reduced price and ground it up with English wheat to give whiteness to the flour, since which time they have understood its value. This was the primary movement in the direction in which an enormous trade has grown up. In 1868–9 30,305 bushels of wheat and 200 barrels of flour, worth $36,447, were shipped direct to Europe; in 1874 the exports of flour and wheat from Oregon exceeded a million dollars, and for the year ending July 31, 1889, considerably over five and a half million.

Another enterprise in which he was one of the five original projectors was the Oregon and California railroad, the value of which in a local sense to Oregon or in a general sense to California and the entire northwest is incalculable. He with the several others who originated and promoted this scheme had not their own immediate pecuniary advantage in view. His idea was that it would enlarge the industrial activity of the state and advance its development. He could not have calculated better had he been a prophet or the son of one. It was incorporated and operations commenced on the reasonable expectation that the necessary amount of capital would thereby be induced to come in and push the work to completion.

He was associated with four others in establishing in Portland the first national bank on the Pacific coast, which is at present among the foremost banks of the northwest.

He was one of the members of the first board of directors, and by them chosen treasurer, of the library association of Portland, which was founded in 1864. He is a life-member of this association.

In 1874 the state board of immigration was created by the legislature, the members of which were appointed by the governor to the number of five. They were to act without compensation, under rules of their own making. Upon recommendation of this board, of which Mr Goldsmith was one, the governor appointed twenty-four special agents—ten in the United States, ten in Europe, two in New Zealand, and two in Canada. The results were soon apparent. Nearly 6,000 letters of enquiry were received in the eighteen months ending September 1876, and a perceptible movement to the northwest was begun. The eastern branch of the state board at Boston expended $24,000 in the period just mentioned for immigration purposes. Half-rates were secured by passenger vessels and railway lines from European ports to Portland, by which means 4,000 immigrants came out in 1875, and nearly 12,000 in 1877. The later work of the commission was equally successful in inducing thrifty, intelligent homeseekers to come to Oregon and build for themselves and the country.

When the Cœur d'Alêne mining country was opened Mr Goldsmith was the first man from Portland to manifest appreciation of the remarkable district by engaging in the development of silver and lead and gold mines. He keeps up his interest in this industry still, and owns mining property that is on a paying basis.

He is engaged in large real estate operations, and he also fills the very important and responsible office of agent of the German Loan association of California, to whose capital, borrowed at very reasonable rates of interest, much is due for the industrial development of the country.

Although Mr Goldsmith has devoted great energy to various enterprises, the principal of which have been referred to briefly, every one of them being of advantage to the community though not always to himself personally, he has always contrived to have leisure for reading and study, for deliberation and attention to social questions, and he has taken delight in assisting to ameliorate the condition of his fellow-beings.

In San Francisco in 1863 he married Miss Emma Frohman, a native of the country in which he was born. As a result of this union there are six children living, four boys and two girls, all of whom were born in Oregon. The eldest son, James S. Goldsmith, was born in May 1864. He attended the Bishop-Scott school in Portland until thirteen years old; went from there to Benicia, California, and thence to Lawrenceville, New Jersey. After completing his course of study he went to work as a clerk in a wholesale grocery and hardware establishment in Seattle, and at the end of four years had made himself so useful that he was admitted as a partner in the business. The second son, Louis J. Goldsmith, was educated in New York city, and afterward took a position in his uncle's store in Portland. The third boy, Milton M. Goldsmith, after completing his education in New Jersey, went to work for his uncles, a silk firm in New York city. The youngest son, Alfred, and the two daughters, Alice and May, are attending school, the latter near Philadelphia.

Mrs. Goldsmith is a woman of excellent qualities, and universally esteemed and beloved by the best people in the society of Portland; for while an exemplary wife and mother, she does much in the cause of practical charity. She is a member of several societies for the care and relief of the helpless and suffering, and is an active and distinguished member of each of them. The home of the Goldsmiths is one of great hospitality and happiness.

Mr Goldsmith has taken an active part in politics. He was a strong union man during the war, and worked for the republican party, believing that the government must be upheld at all hazards. After the war, however, he resumed his affiliation with the democratic party, the economic policy of which in the main he preferred. He was an alternate delegate to the national convention which nominated President Cleveland in 1884, and might have attended the convention in 1888 had he allowed his name to be used as a delegate. In 1886–7 he was chairman of the democratic state central committee, and it was largely due to his management of the campaign that the democrats elected their governor.

As regards religion, he entertains a due reverence for the traditions and faith of the church in which he was reared, and especially does he esteem the moral lessons it teaches, but he takes a broad view of theological questions and is rather a rationalist than a ritualist. He belongs to the masonic order and to various benevolent organizations, in which he takes a lively interest. He is a man of generous sentiment and full of human sympathy. He is interested in whatever concerns mankind; is of social temperament, and active always among those who devote themselves to the general good. A volunteer fireman in 1853 in San Francisco, and later in Crescent City, from the beginning up to the present he has never had to be urged to do his part in the community wherever he has been. Possessed of good judgment, a strong will, progressive ideas, and a reputation above reproach, it is not singular that he has been a most useful and exemplary citizen. His life is a lesson of straightforward, manly endeavor; and though perhaps for lack of greater selfishness he is not at present a millionaire, this may yet be, but if not, he has that which money cannot purchase, the entire respect of his neighbors and complete self-respect.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMERCE—NEVADA.

TRAPPING AND FUR TRADING—EARLY MARRIAGES IN NEVADA—COMING OF THE AMERICANS—THE MORMONS ESTABLISH TRADING POSTS IN CARSON VALLEY—INCREASE OF SETTLEMENTS—LIFE OF MURRAY D. FOLEY—BANKER—STATE SENATOR—CHARACTERISTICS.

THE first trading in Nevada, aside from barter among the Indians, was by the fur hunters, who, in 1825, first began to frequent this region. As they usually caught their own game, the trade was intended rather as a means to conciliate the natives, and to secure themselves and their effects from molestation.

The pioneer was Peter Skeen Ogden, the son of a chief justice of Quebec, who, after some years of service under the Pacific Fur and Northwest companies, had joined the Hudson's Bay company as a chief trader, in which capacity he was leading a party in quest of furs through Idaho to the Humboldt river.

To this stream was applied the name Mary, as elsewhere related, in honor of a Shoshone damsel whom the prudent trader married, that is to say bought, in order to assure greater safety for the party, as well as to secure a temporary wife, servant, and beast of burden for himself. Thus marriage became a profitable speculation with the trappers, though, as a rule, the bond was quickly severed. Ogden, after whom the river was also named at this period, returned to the north, there to become, in due time, a chief factor and joint manager in the great corporation. He died at Oregon city in 1854, at the age of sixty. The second town in Utah now bears his name.

The American trapper, Bridger, entered during the same season from Utah, with a medley composed of various nationalities in his train, and meeting the Scotch Canadian party in this wilderness, he held high jubilee with them, enlivened by Ogden's inexhaustible fund of humor.

In the following year the country was crossed by the expeditions of Ashley and Jedediah S. Smith, the latter on returning from California in 1827 being the first white man to traverse the state in its entire breadth, not in the usual course of empires, but from west to east, a doubling of progress upon its path, like a ray of intelligence flung back from the ocean.

Others extended their tour to the same region, and in the thirties Wolfskill, Nidever, and Bonneville figure among the trappers. The detachment of Bonneville was led by Joe Walker, who, after a severe conflict with thieving Shoshones and other adventurers, penetrated to California, but returned empty-handed to his chief. He figured later as guide to Frémont and others, and after him, in commemoration of his services, were named a river, lake, and pass.

Emigrants then began to tread the paths thus opened, meeting with many bitter experiences in the way of hardships, and encounters with savage foes. Their wants becoming known at Salt Lake City, some enterprising Mormons hastened in 1849 to establish trading posts along the route, and especially in Carson valley, where the famished and exhausted wayfarers could recruit their strength and replenish their supplies. The first post was opened on the present site of Genoa, by H. S. Beatie, a native of Virginia, and a prominent Mormon. He was then on his way from California, where he had purchased a stock of provisions, which he disposed of at a good profit, and thereupon returned to the city of the saints, his store being transferred in 1851 to John Reese.

Reese, a native of New York, and now some forty-three years of age, was a member of the trading firm of J. and E. Reese, of Salt Lake City. He came with ten wagon-loads of provisions, and first tried his fortune at Ragtown, at the eastern end of Carson valley; but soon afterward moved to Beatie's post, henceforth known as Mormon station. Ben Holladay, later famed as a stage owner, appeared as his rival, but was bought out, and Reese remained as the leading trader for several years thereafter.

Meanwhile, however, other competitors appeared, and in 1850 there were in Carson valley alone, a score of trading posts, chiefly opened by men from California.

Thus were formed the nuclei for settlements, which gathered support from the mail and stage service inaugurated in 1851, and from a few straggling parties of miners.

Toward the close of the fifties the mining excitement broke out in Gold cañon, toward Mount Davidson, and in the train of the gold seekers came the usual traffic, to assist in building up camps and towns throughout the country, centring around the county seats.

Prior to the advent of railways, the snow blockade in the Sierra rendered it necessary to make preparations for winter, and to keep a large stock of provisions on hand. Supplies continued to come chiefly from California, partly because the railway, for its own benefit, so regulated the rates of freight as to make it cheaper in many respects to buy in California than to import from the Atlantic coast. Shipments through San Francisco, by sea and short railway conveyance, are also comparatively cheaper than by entire rail route from the east.

Until after the discovery of the Comstock lode, the commerce of Nevada was of insignificant amount, and for many years thereafter fluctuated with the varying fortunes of the mining camps. Of late, however, the progress made in agriculture and stock-raising has given more stability to trade, though its volume still depends largely on the condition of the mines. In a state which within a single year has produced more than $50,000,000 of the precious metals, and within thirty years at least $400,000,000, it is, of course, to be expected that a large aggregate of wealth would remain in the community. In 1880 the actual value of real and personal property, apart from mines and mining products, was estimated at about $70,000,000, or nearly $1,200 per capita of her inhabitants; and now, with a largely increased population, it is probable that this average has been somewhat increased.

There is no mining town on the Pacific coast, and there are perhaps none elsewhere in the world, that have attained to such prominence, not only as commercial centres, but as centres of wealth and luxury, as did Virginia city, where the average wages of labor are still higher than in any other portion of the union. If at times there have been long periods of depression, new discoveries in the world-famous lode have given a fresh impetus to her trade and industries. With a reasonable prospect of further developments, with the immense deposits of low-grade ore still existing on the Comstock, and awaiting only cheaper milling facilities, it may indeed be said that to the metropolis of Nevada belongs almost the permanence of a manufacturing or commercial city.

In 1891 Virginia city was suffering from one of these intermittent periods of depression, caused by the decreasing output of the Comstock, which, from more than $5,000,000 in 1889, fell in that year to less than $3,000,000, with only two dividends, amounting to $216,000, and those from a single mine. For 1877, the year of the greatest production, the yield of bullion was more than $35,000,000, and in dividends nearly $23,000,000. But faint-heartedness cannot be classed as among the failings of Virginia city's inhabitants, and still they wait and hope.

Apart from mining, Nevada is, from an industrial standpoint, one of the most backward of all the Pacific states, and yet with the resources needed to produce and manufacture nearly everything required for her own consumption. Take, for instance, the articles of nitro-glycerine and candles, so largely used in the mines. Nevada sells her tallow at about five cents a pound, and buys it back in its manufactured state at from twenty to forty cents. While raising some of the finest wheat in the world, she imports more than half her flour, and so with other commodities, the production of which is entirely neglected, through the extravagant habits engendered in by-gone days, when men made fortunes in a month and lost them in a day. Though capable of sustaining at least tenfold her present population, it is not probable that any large increase will occur until her mineral resources shall have been more fully developed. Meanwhile excessive freights almost forbid competition with the more favored regions to the east and west in agricultural, horticultural, and manufactured products, few of which can be profitably introduced in other than local markets. Of gold and silver Nevada produced, up to the 1st of January, 1890, no less than $550,000,000, and at that date was still producing at the rate of several yearly millions. Apart from the precious metals, the principal exports are live-stock, borax, and lumber, more than 90,000 head of cattle and sheep passing over the Central Pacific in 1889, with 2,700 tons of borax, 9,000 of lumber, and a gross amount of freight for that year of 105,000 tons.

Among those who have contributed largely to the welfare of Nevada, as a merchant, a banker, and as one of the most able and upright of her statesmen, is Murray D. Foley, to whom it is but due that more than passing mention should be made of his career.

MURRAY D. FOLEY was born October 22, 1849, in the province of New Brunswick, of Irish-Scotch lineage. His father was a man of strictest business habits, well informed, practical and having a deep interest in public affairs, one who was acknowledged as a leader in the society and politics of his neighborhood. His mother, now a resident of St. Paul, Minnesota, was a highly cultured woman of deep religious convictions.

Mr Foley's boyhood was uneventful, years spent in acquiring a practical education, in systematic application to work, varied with healthful outdoor sports, laying the foundation for future good health and habits.

To his father he is indebted for a most valuable part of his education. He was required to act as amanuensis for him in writing all sorts of business and political letters, and at times was exercised in original topics.

Gifted with great vitality, with a persistence and determination that nothing could withstand, an extraordinary capacity for work, and an ambition that regards the attainment of its immediate aim merely as a stepping-stone to the achievement of some other and higher aim, it seems a natural consequence that the boy should decide to strike out for himself, in a wider and more promising field than New Brunswick offered at this time, where he hoped to find scope for these qualities.

Thus at the outbreak of the White Pine excitement we find him at Hamilton, Nevada, in his nineteenth year. There he was engaged in prospecting for mines and was also employed by Woodruff and Ennor's Stage company. In August 1870 he removed to Eureka, where he continued to reside, dealing in real estate, buying and selling, and sometimes working in mines.

In 1877 he first became connected with the Richmond Mining company, which was then in litigation

W. A. Foley

with the Eureka Consolidated, the matter in dispute being the celebrated Potts chamber, an enormous body of rich ore.

He made himself familiar with all the facts, and with much of the law involved in the dispute; also with the geological and mineralogical questions entering into the case, so that his services as a friend of the Richmond were of great value. Both companies were required to furnish heavy bonds, and he became, by request of the Richmond, one of its sureties.

After the termination of the suit he concluded with Mr Probert, the manager of the Richmond mine, a contract to supply the flux required for mixing with their ores for smelting purposes. This contract lasted several years, and then a second contract was made to furnish charcoal for the reduction works. The magnitude of these operations can be realized by the fact that since 1872, when the mine was sold to an English syndicate, it has produced, in gold, silver, and lead, more than $30,000,000, of which over $5,000,000 have been paid as dividends to stockholders.

In conjunction with others he obtained in 1881 a charter to build the Eureka and Colorado River railroad, with the intention of constructing to Salt Lake City. The franchise was sold to the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad company, but after the expenditure of over $200,000 in surveying and grading, on account of trouble with foreign bondholders, the company was forced to abandon work.

In 1881 he entered into partnership with Remington, Johnson, and company, a well-known grocery and hardware firm, which two years later purchased the long established and historical house of Walker Brothers, Salt Lake City. It is now the largest business next to the Mormon coöperative institution in the Utah metropolis.

Mr Foley's attention was next attracted to the banking business, and in 1885, in connection with

Daniel Meyer, of San Francisco, he bought the banking firm of Paxton and company, Eureka, and established the Eureka County bank, with a capital of $100,000, of which institution he was elected president. Two years later he, with Mr. Meyer and others, organized the bank of Nevada, at Reno, with a capital of $300,000, and he was also elected president of this bank. In the same year he became interested with the cattle kings Russell and Bradley in the Auburn mill and rancho, on the Truckee river, near Reno. He has been active in this work, and its success gives him and others confidence in the agricultural capabilities of the state. In 1889 he became one of the chief stockholders and officers of the Reno Water, Land and Light company. Ever since his business career in Reno began, he has been a leader in all things of public spirit, devoting time and energy to promoting the best interests of town, county, and state.

Mr Foley's political progress is no less striking than his business advancement. As a boy his interest in our country's history and politics was first awakened by the political contest of 1860, which resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln, and also by the issues involved therein, which were a daily topic of conversation at his father's fireside; to that source can be traced his present political faith, that of a staunch and earnest republican.

In 1874 he was elected to the state convention, and has been a delegate to every subsequent convention of his party, during most of the time serving as a member of the state central committee. In 1880, 1884, and 1888 he was delegate to the republican national convention. In 1880 he was instrumental with others on the committee on credentials in breaking up the unit rule. In 1884 he was on the same committee, and in 1888 was one of those on the committee on permanent organization, who secured for a Pacific coast man, M. M. Estee, the permanent chairmanship of the convention. On every occasion he has occupied an influential and leading position. In 1882 he was elected to the state senate, and was re-elected 1886. His first important act as senator, by which $30,000 was saved to the state per annum, was a revision of the old extravagant fee bill. As chairman of the judiciary committee in 1885 he introduced the bill re-organizing the judicial system, which effected an annual saving of $40,000, and was of great benefit to the public otherwise. The measure was a most wholesome reform. During the same session he took a leading part in revising the constitution, and the most important amendments proposed have since been adopted. Mr Foley possesses the advantage of being a ready and fluent speaker, logical in his thinking, rapid, clear, and sharp, and has proved himself an able champion of every movement to promote the public welfare.

His name has been freely mentioned as that of a man well fitted to represent his constituency in the national legislature, and should such an honor be conferred upon him, his past career gives ample promise that he would prove an energetic, capable, and conscientious representative. While not a member of any sect or denomination, Mr Foley is known to entertain the most profound regard for the wholesome moral teachings of the Christian doctrine, and to the needy or unfortunate is ever ready to extend a helping hand.

He is in good standing, and lends his characteristic energy to the advancement of the fraternal societies of which he is a member.

In November, 1883, he was married by Bishop Kip to Miss Minnie E. Griffin, the daughter of one of the earliest of Nevada's pioneers, and a man greatly respected in social and business circles. Her charms of mind and person, her accomplishments, and the culture displayed in her often brilliant and always sprightly conversation have made Senator Foley's home the centre of the best society.

In frame and feature Mr Foley is a man about six feet in height, broad shouldered, deep chested, and of herculean build. He is endowed with a magnificent physique, prodigious muscular power, and a constitution unshaken by sickness or excess. In his massive but clear-cut features, his restless blue-gray eyes, and his spacious well-developed forehead, may be read some of the qualities of mind and character which have stamped his career in life, his power of will, of intellect, of memory, his quickness of perception, his versatility, and the eager ambition, which to effect its purpose hesitates at no sacrifice or effort, and never stops short of its accomplishment.

With an easy, frank and cordial manner Mr Foley is a man of singular reticence and discretion, qualities to which he owes much of his success in life. If in a word I should attempt to describe his character, that word would be, force—a harmony of conquering elements, which have enabled a boy of nineteen, without other aid or advantage than his dauntless courage, unceasing energy, and tireless application, to win his way in a new country, and achieve before his fortieth year what few men attain in a lifetime. His friends and admirers are numerous, and include the strongest and best men of local and national standing. In making my estimate of his character I have been influenced somewhat by the estimation in which he is held by such excellent judges, but more by his record as a business man, a statesman, and a citizen, a record of which he has every reason to be proud.

CHAPTER IX.

COMMERCE—UTAH.

PASSAGE OF THE CALIFORNIA PILGRIMS THROUGH THE WILDERNESS—THE SAINTS HAVE PITY ON THEM AND SUPPLY THEIR WANTS—EARLY MORMONS NOT MERCHANTS—GENTILES SECURE THE TRADE—ORGANIZATION OF ZION'S COÖPERATIVE MERCANTILE ASSOCIATION—HIGH PRICES OF MERCHANDISE—GOLD COINAGE—BANKING—INSURANCE—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

THE studied seclusion of the Mormons extended even to their trade. The leaders at first sought to discourage commercial intercourse with gentiles, partly because they objected to their presence, and to what they considered the demoralizing influence of such contact, and partly to train the people to trust to themselves in the development of their resources. But it was impossible to resist the tempting opportunities for traffic presented by the migration of gold-seekers to California, and also the profitable markets that were afterward opened in the surrounding mining regions. Utah, as the great half-way station for overland travel and for the mail service, had inevitably to accept the good things forced upon her, and, of course, the saints failed not to make the most of the opportunity. Even the Utah war was turned to advantage, in purchasing at nominal prices such supplies, munitions, and equipments as would otherwise have been abandoned by the troops.

There were few men with business training among the Mormons, who, for that matter, had been taught to look with distrust upon non-productive middle-men. Hence, two years elapsed after the pioneers entered the valley before the first store was opened at Salt Lake City, and that by a gentile firm. Others followed, and Mormons naturally joined in securing a share of the large profits, Main street becoming the centre for business, and influencing in no small degree the expansion of the city. Their operations increased with the growth of settlements, and in 1864 there were several houses which purchased goods at New York, St Louis, and Chicago to the value of $250,000, or more at a time.

The large proportion of trade absorbed by gentile merchants, and the insubordinate tone of certain Mormon dealers toward the leading churchmen, prompted the latter to organize, in 1868, the Zion's Coöperative Mercantile institution. The capital was placed at $1,000,000, in $100 shares, which were quickly absorbed among 700 to 800 stockholders, who found strong inducements in the benefits of a coöperative system. This, indeed, was the main reason for its establishment, and it at least served a good purpose in obliging rival traders to reduce their hitherto excessive prices. Brigham Young, with several of the apostles, were the principal shareholders, and they continued at the head after the institution passed from the more immediate control of the church to be managed simply on business principles. It was incorporated in December 1870, though opened for business on March 1, 1869. The substantial main building on East Temple street was 318 feet long by 100 feet wide, and provided with elevators and safety appliances. In 1883 its sales exceeded $4,000,000, and from the profits a half-yearly dividend of five per cent was declared, besides an addition to the reserve fund, which then amounted to $125,000. It imported at least one third of all the merchandise consumed in Utah, and fully two thirds of the Mormons patronized it or its leading branches, especially those at Ogden and Logan, whose sales reached $800,000 and $600,000 respectively. Besides these branches, independent coöperative stores were opened in every town and settlement, nearly all of which dealt with the parent institution. The latter suffered somewhat from financial disturbances, particularly during the crisis of 1873, to which several of the tributary stores succumbed. Others failed through opposition and imprudent management, but most of them still survive, and are esteemed not only as a benefit to the people, but as an additional bond to the community.

The credit of Utah merchants in general is exceptionally good, owing to the large proportion of cash employed in their transactions, and to the fact that the bulk of the business is transacted by a few firms with ample capital. It is worthy of note that the average number of failures for the eight years ending 1883 did not exceed fourteen, with liabilities averaging $11,000; and yet in the business operations of the community the volume of imported goods alone amounted to some $15,000,000 a year.

Distance and isolation added to the risk and cost of introducing goods before the advent of the railroad, and prices ruled high despite competition. In 1855 coffee and brown sugar were still quoted at 40 cents per pound; tea at about $2, and calico of inferior quality 25 cents a yard, while flour sold at $6 per cental. These excessive rates were partly due to the want of a proper circulating medium. The small change brought by the immigrants speedily disappeared, and in 1849 bank bills were issued in the denominations of fifty cents and one dollar, signed by Brigham and others, the notes of the defunct Kirtland bank being added, and subsequently the paper of a company known as the Deseret Currency association. Gold-dust from California was also coined, although with insufficient alloy and other defects, which caused it to disappear from circulation. All these mediums, termed by the saints valley-tan, or home-made, proved insufficient, and barter and the due-bill system prevailed for internal trade. The settlers seemed to prefer serviceable commodities in exchange for their surplus, though much trouble occurred in securing from the dealer the required articles. Eggs, cabbages, flour, and the like were freely received for tuition, at the theater door, by employés, and, of course, by storekeepers.

This primitive fashion obtained until the railways introduced a change, as they did in many other respects, by diminishing the risk, delay, and cost of imports, opening new markets for produce within and beyond the territory, and fostering a wealth-creating and enlightening intercourse.

The failure of the first banking experiment under the supervision of the prophet had no doubt a discouraging effect upon similar enterprises in Utah. It was not until 1871 that Brigham Young ventured to establish an institution so needful to the community by taking part as president in the business started two years before by Hooper Eldridge and company, and transforming it into the bank of Deseret, with a capital of $100,000. Several prominent men participated, and in the following year the capital was doubled, and the title changed to the Deseret National bank. Others were afterward established by various Mormon and gentile firms, and in 1883 there were twelve private and five national banks in operation, six of them at the capital, three at Ogden, two at Logan, and one each at Provo, Corinne, St George, Richfield, Silver reef, and Park city, together with Wells, Fargo and company's agencies and Zion's savings bank, with John Taylor as president. Their aggregate paid up capital was given at $1,000,000; their deposits at $3,500,000; loans $3,000,000; and the exchange business at from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000. There was at the same period a large number of insurance agencies with risks on buildings amounting to $500,000, and on merchandise to $3,500,000.

The California fever caused the inauguration of a mail service with the east in 1850, and in 1851 a monthly connection was made with Independence and Sacramento on the respective slopes of the continent, besides trips to the Dalles, Oregon, and to interior settlements. In 1856 the Independence contract was awarded to a prominent Mormon, and Brigham Young organized the B. Y. Express Carrying company to assist the undertaking, but the project collapsed owing to the difficulties with the federal government, which brought about the Utah war. The southern rebellion caused the California mail service to be transferred from the Arizona route to Utah, through which it continued to pass until the railroad established daily communication.

During the years immediately preceding the advent of the railroad, the imports of Utah seldom exceeded 12,000 tons, while the exports were of trifling amount. Supplies were drawn chiefly from St Louis and San Francisco, and paid for with the money obtained from emigrants, troops, and stage lines. By 1871, however, this volume of imports and exports had risen to 80,000 tons, and subsequently increased to 125,000 tons, of which two-thirds were imports, nearly one-half being mining material. The value of imports for 1882 was estimated at $11,400,000, and of exports at $11,500,000, the former embracing dry-goods, groceries, clothing, lumber and other building material, agricultural and mining implements, leather and leather fabrics. The lack of hard and finishing woods make the territory dependent upon the eastern states for the supply needed for the manufacture of furniture, wagons, and other articles; but the import of leathern and woolen goods is decreasing, and that of iron ore and charcoal has practically ceased.

Exports consist of gold, silver, lead, copper, live stock, beef, wool, hides, pelts, furs, and tallow, metal alone forming $9,000,000 of the total. Exportation is restricted by the exorbitant freight charges demanded for transport to the coast. Two experiments on a large scale were tried in 1878 by forwarding cargoes of wheat to San Francisco, but the result was not encouraging. Probably not over 1,000,000 bushels of grain have been sent out of the territory. The extra cost and labor connected with irrigation is another obstacle to competition with the fertile valleys of California, with their easy gang-plow cultivation, volunteer crops, and proximity to the sea, while neighboring territories, comparatively more productive than Utah, give little hope for profitable markets. But in addition to mining, there are many resources which can be unfolded for sustaining outside trade, and meanwhile internal traffic is receiving an impulse from the progress of settlements, of manufactures and other industries, which promise to add to the contentment and comfort of the community, if not to enrich them by a brisk exterior commerce.

Though less marked than in some other sections of the Pacific coast, the progress of Utah for the decade ending with 1890 was on a very considerable scale, fostered by the steady increase of the gentile element in her centres of commercial and manufacturing enterprise. Against 144,000 in 1880, her population was stated at 208,000 in 1890, a gain of nearly 45 per cent. Of this increase more than one third belonged to Salt Lake city, whose population grew from 21,000 in 1880 to 45,000 in 1890, Ogden showing even a larger relative growth, from 6,000 to 15,000, and Provo from 3,100 to more than 5,000. Except for a few towns and villages along the line of the Rio Grande Western, and these for the most part called into existence by the railroad, settlement has elsewhere made but little progress. The truth is, that in the direction of agriculture there is little room for expansion, since the banks of the streams or irrigating canals, where crops can be raised, have long since been fully occupied, and pending congressional action few additions have been made to the irrigated area. In manufactures, however, growth has been more decided, if not in the establishment of new enterprises, at least in the building up of those already established. Mining was also in a healthy condition, with a total output, up to 1890, of about $100,000,000, and for that year of nearly $10,000,000. Considering the drawbacks of distance from available markets, of an arid soil, of a faulty system of education, and of a more faulty system of national government, the progress of Utah has been encouraging, with brighter prospects for the future than were ever before unfolded.

For 1889 the freight business of Utah railroads, including goods in transit, was little short of 850,000 tons, about one half of it consisting of coal, and the remainder, in the order named, of merchandise, ores and bullion, building stone, fruits and provisions, hay and grain, live-stock, and salt. About one third of this traffic passes through Salt Lake city, which has ever been, and probably will ever be, the distributing centre of the territory, with no present rival to the east or west between Denver and Sacramento, a distance of 1,500 miles, and none to the north or south for at least 300 miles. Few cities enjoy greater natural advantages as commercial entrepôts than does the city of the saints, the source of supply for a region greater in area than all the Atlantic states. If for several decades her growth was slow, with little that was worth the chronicling, save for the incoming and outgoing of Mormon converts, within recent years her progress has been excelled only by that of Denver and of the more favored cities of the northwest.

CHAPTER X.

COMMERCE—NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, AND TEXAS.

Spanish and Native American Barter—Caravans—Adventures of McKnight—Santa Fé Trade—Freights and Prices—Passage of the Gold Seekers—Roads and Railroads—Mining Requirements—Live-stock—The Commerce of Arizona—Commercial Possibilities and Condition of Texas—Traffic, Smuggling, and Privateering—Imports and Exports.

After the settlement of New Mexico by the Spaniards, trade between the colonists and wild Indians was rapidly developed. This traffic was conducted wholly by barter, and annually the Comanches and other tribes assembled at Taos, about the middle of the year, and traded with the people of New Mexico, who thither congregated from the different settlements. At this fair the Indians exchanged their buffalo hides and deer skins for knives and iron ware, horses, blankets, beads, and trinkets. A knife was bartered for a skin, and a horse for 12 or 15 skins, but weapons, as also mares, mules, and asses, were not allowed to be sold. The New Mexicans in turn disposed of the hides and skins at Chihuahua, whither caravans went at the close of each year to attend the fair held at that city in the following January. The same system of barter was also observed there, the return goods consisting of cloths, groceries, and articles required for the Indian trade.

Down to about 1800 there was no coin or money of any kind in New Mexico, but the traders in order to keep an account of their transactions, and the comparative values of articles, invented an imaginary monetary system, which consisted of four kinds of dollars, representing respectively eight, six, four, and two reales.

The profits gained under this system were very great, as the traders in their transactions with the Indians valued their own articles at the higher figures, and those of the Indian at the lower. The ignorance of the natives as to the true commercial value of the goods which they received, and their passion for baubles, were of course turned to advantage, and the gains in transactions often amounted to 500 and 600 per cent, occasionally reaching thousands per cent.

Señor Trebol once purchased a gaudy plumaged macaw for eight dollars, and bartered off the brilliant feathers for skins which realized him $492. The Pueblos and the poorer class of settlers also became victims of the rapacious traders. Advances made of a few necessaries, or the indulgence in a little spirituous liquor on credit had to be paid for with such ruinous interest that the natives became practically slaves through debt. New Mexico, in fact, gained nothing by this trade, the profits being swallowed up by the merchants at Chihuahua. The traders who carried on the traffic were principally agents of these merchants, and such as were not were ever in debt to them.

This method of internal trade continued uninterruptedly down to the beginning of the 19th century. The great caravans departed southward in the autumn of each year, being more divided in time at El Paso, where parties would separate for different markets to avoid competition and uphold prices. Before 1800 no trade existed between Louisiana and New Mexico, though a lucrative traffic with Indians was carried on from both directions. After that date, however, attempts were made from Louisiana to open trade with Santa Fé. In 1804 William Morrison of Kaskaskia sent Baptiste Lalande up the Platte with instructions to take his goods to that town. Lalande was arrested before he reached the capital, whither he was conveyed with his merchandise. He liked the country so well that he settled there, and the appreciation in which his goods was held gained for him a welcome reception.

In 1806 Zebulon M. Pike, a lieutenant of the United States infantry, was sent to explore the Red and Arkansas rivers, but having trespassed on Spanish territory, believing that he was on the Red river when in fact he was on the Rio Grande, he was conveyed with his party to Santa Fé. After some detention he was finally sent home, and in 1810 published a narrative of his experiences, in which he gave an account of the Mexican countries through which he travelled. His description of New Mexico attracted attention, and in 1812 Robert McKnight, with a small party and a quantity of merchandise, boldly proceeded to Santa Fé, where they were all arrested and their goods confiscated. They did not obtain their liberty till 1822, when they were released by order of Iturbide, after the overthrow of Spanish power in Mexico.

McKnight's ill luck, however, did not deter other commercial adventurers. Auguste P. Choteau and Julius de Mun went with a large party to the upper Arkansas to hunt and trade with the Indians. In the following year the two partners visited Taos and Santa Fé, where they were kindly received by Governor Mainez, who offered no objection to their trapping and trading east of the mountains and north of Red river. Having retired to that region, they were arrested in 1817 with twenty-four men of their party, by order of Allande, who had succeeded Mainez as governor, and whose views regarding the presence of the strangers were widely different from those of his predecessor. More than this, their caches on the upper Arkansas were opened, and goods to the value of over $30,000 were taken with them to Santa Fé. There they were tried by court martial, and after a detention of two days in jail were dismissed. Their property, however, was not returned to them.

The Santa Fé trade with the United States began with the independence of Mexico. In 1821 and 1822 captains Glenn, Becknell, and Stephen Cooper severally visited Santa Fé with small parties, and realized large profits on their goods. Becknell made two trips. Major Cooper was still living in California in 1886. These adventurous expeditions, which were attended with much hardship and suffering from thirst, through the traders' ignorance of the best route, led the way to a great future trade. After the end of Spanish rule in Mexico there was no further opposition on the part of the authorities to traffic with the United States. The trail along which the trains and caravans travelled corresponded nearly with the route of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé railroad. Down to 1831 the eastern rendezvous was Franklin, Missouri, and after that year Independence. In May of each year great caravans of wagons, drawn by horses, mules, or oxen, usually four pairs to each wagon, set out for the New Mexican market, arriving at Santa Fé in July. Each load was about 5,000 pounds in weight, and consisted of cotton goods and a miscellaneous assortment of dry goods and hardware, the first named being the staple article of commerce. The average selling price was about 100 per cent above the cost, and after the payment of ad valorem duties ranging from 25 to 50 per cent, the trader generally netted a profit of from 20 to 40 per cent, though occasionally on some cargoes a loss was incurred. The selling prices, however, were sufficiently low to control the market against foreign goods imported through Vera Cruz; indeed, a considerable portion of the merchandise was sent south from Santa Fé, chiefly to Chihuahua. Payment for the goods was made principally in gold and silver coin, with some quantity of peltry and blankets; sometimes wool formed a portion of the return cargoes, as the export duty on products was remitted in 1823 for seven years in favor of New Mexico, and the exemption was afterward renewed.

Pack-animals were used exclusively at first to carry the freight, but in 1824 a successful experiment having been made with wagons, the former method of conveyance was no longer employed after 1825. The success of the experiment attracted the attention of wealthier men than those who had hitherto engaged in the trade, and the United States government was petitioned to afford protection to this new and rapidly expanding commercial industry, by entering into treaties with Indians, marking out a road, and appointing agents at Santa Fé to protect the interests of the traders, and prevent extortion in the collection of duties. Senator Benton brought the matter before the senate, and in January 1825 a bill was passed appropriating $30,000 for these purposes. The same year a treaty was made with the Osages, and the survey of the road begun, to be completed in two years from Fort Osage to Taos. This road struck the Aakansas near Plum Buttes, and led up that river to Choteau island; thence it turned south to the Cimarron, up which it extended 87 miles; continuing westward, it entered the mountains near the source of Ocate creek, and terminated at Taos. The United States commissioners were: Benjamin Reeves, George C. Sabley, and Thomas Mather, the surveyor being J. C. Brown. This route, however, does not seem to have been much used by the traders, who preferred the old trail.

Henceforth trade rapidly increased, so much so that, whereas in 1824 the value of merchandise imported into New Mexico amounted only to $35,000, in 1828 it reached $150,000, in 1831 $250,000, and in 1843 $450,000, $300,000 worth of the last year's goods being destined for Chihuahua. During the years intervening between 1831 and 1839 the figures varied from $180,000 to $90,000. Mention should be made of the fact that Spanish merchants of Santa Fé soon began to engage in this commerce of the prairies, and annually fitted out caravans for the eastern rendezvous, controlling thereby no small portion of the trade.

Enjoyment and hardship, excitement and danger were connected with these commercial expeditions. For days as the long, straggling caravan slowly pushed its way through prairies abounding in game, the pleasures of the chase made life most enjoyable. But this was not the only phase of existence which presented itself during the long journey, which was over eight hundred miles. As the weeks rolled by, waterless deserts were encountered, and the suffering from thirst sometimes became terrible, especially during the earlier years, before the most convenient watering-places were known. Moreover, the Indians gradually became hostile, and were ever on the watch to attack small parties separated from the main train, stampeding their horses and mules, and driving off their cattle. In 1826, one party lost five hundred horses and mules, and another, in 1828, more than one thousand animals, besides having three men killed. The government was asked to afford protection, in the form of military escorts, and the caravan of 1829 was guarded by Major Riley into Mexican territory; but though the appointment of escorts was recommended by the committee on military affairs, it was not continued.

In 1831 Josiah Gregg made his first journey, and to him we are indebted for an excellent account of the Santa Fé trade, and also a description of the country, the people, and customs of the northern states of Mexico, as found in his work, *Commerce of the Prairies*. Gregg made no less than eight expeditions, and in the one above referred to Jedediah Smith, Sublette, and Jackson were chief owners of the caravan. While in search of water, and separated from the main party, Smith and another man were shot by Comanches. J. J. Warner, a member of the same caravan, was still living in California in 1886. During the two following years several men were killed, and thereafter an escort was again furnished by the government.

In 1837 a custom-house was opened to foreign trade at Taos, and thenceforth the Missouri traders exerted their best efforts to establish a custom-house on the Missouri river, with the privilege of drawback on foreign goods; but it was not until 1845 that a bill was finally passed in their favor. Meantime the Santa Fé trade was not left entirely undisturbed by the schemes of commercial speculators. Aided by H. Connelly, an American merchant, some Mexicans of Chihuahua, in 1839, endeavored to divert the course of trade from Santa Fé direct to their own city. A caravan was despatched thence through Texas, and returned without mishap to Chihuahua, but this was the first and last attempt. In August 1843, President Santa Anna closed the custom-house at Taos, thereby putting an end to the Santa Fé trade, but the obnoxious decree was repealed in March following, and did not interfere with the trade.

Apart from the caravan traders proper, there were others who resided permanently in Santa Fé or elsewhere in New Mexico, and may be regarded as local distributors. There were, moreover, a number of fur-trading trappers and adventurers who, attracted to a central market for peltry and produce of the chase, made Santa Fé their objective point after incursions into unexplored districts of the wildest nature. Volumes could be written of their perils, adventures, and escape from death by thirst, starvation, exposure to heat and cold, and the cruel Indians' ceaseless antagonism.

One such adventurer was James O. Pattie, who, with his father and others, arrived at Santa Fé with the caravan of 1824, and for four years engaged in the occupation of trapping. Their journeys carried them beyond the limits of New Mexico and Arizona, and the story of their long journeys and romantic adventures is told in *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky.* In 1828 the Patties went to California, where the elder died, the son continuing his adventurous career. Another pioneer was Benjamin D. Wilson, who as trader and trapper was a marked character in New Mexico, Arizona, and Sonora. Wilson finally settled in California. In 1830 José Antonio Vaca visited California, and Ewing Young, with a party of trappers, hunted for furs in the western valley. From this time regular communication with Upper California began. In 1831–2 three trading parties, under Wolfskill, Jackson, and Young, went to that country, the former opening the trail from Taos north of the Colorado river, a route used long afterward. The traffic consisted in the exchange of New Mexican blankets for mules and horses. Most of the trading parties were made up of vagabonds, whose object was to obtain animals by whatever means, and theft and connivance with hostile Californian Indians were often employed. Under these circumstances the traders soon earned a bad reputation. There were, however, many honorable exceptions, among them being John A. Sutter, who afterward became a central figure in the early history of California. The result of the trade opened with California was that many families from New Mexico settled in the former territory, among whom were the Vacas, Peñas, and Armijos, while a number of well-known California pioneers passed several years in New Mexico, Kit Carson being one of them.

After the opening of railroads, the old Santa Fé trade across the plains came to an end. Before its destruction, however, by the new means of conveyance, it had increased greatly, amounting in 1876 to more than $2,000,000. Later it consisted mainly in supplying mining camps and towns with merchandise brought in from the outside for the use of the people generally. Flocks and the produce of the mines were the only exports, and though immense quantities of freight were annually conveyed through the territory to Mexico and the Pacific states, they formed no part of New Mexican trade proper.

Within the past decade the progress of New Mexico has been more decided, especially in the direction of mining, with an output for 1890 of about $4,000,000, chiefly from silver-producing ores of the smelting variety. The live-stock industry has also largely increased, with shipments of beef cattle to various markets at the rate of 150,000 a year, and an annual wool clip of 12,000 to 15,000 tons. Under the stimulus of railroad building, with three trunk lines running through the territory and a thousand miles of road in operation, numbers of towns have sprung into existence, of which Albuquerque is the largest, superseding the old city of that name, and indeed all others, as a distributing centre.

In Arizona commerce has not until recently assumed large proportions, trade comprising merely the importation of goods and their distribution among the towns and mining camps. Each of about a dozen large centres had wholesale establishments whence commodities were despatched in all directions to the settlements, where were stores for the supply of local demands. By the larger firms considerable business was done, and many fortunes have been made. Before the building of the transcontinental railroads a certain amount of freight was brought by mule-teams from the terminus of the Denver railroad, from Austin, Texas, and from Guaymas, Sonora, but the bulk of the freight came from San Francisco, via Los Angeles, across the desert, or by way of the gulf and Colorado river to Yuma.

The growth of Arizona within recent years may thus be briefly stated. In 1880, when the Southern Pacific was first opened for traffic in her territory, there were less than 400 miles of railroad; in 1890 there were at least 1,100, with nine distinct roads, two transcontinental lines, and a total freight business of some 200,000 tons. Meanwhile her population had increased from 40,000 to 60,000, with property assessed at $30,000,000, though really worth more than double that amount. In 1880 the area under cultivation did not exceed 40,000 acres; in 1890 it was 300,000 acres, with 700 miles of irrigating canals and ditches. In 1880 there were less than 100,000 head of cattle in Arizona; in 1890 there were more than 600,000. In the former year there were not 1,000 acres planted in fruit; in the latter, 10,000. All these industries contributed, together with mining, to swell the volume of her commerce.

As a border state lying between two great republics, Texas is destined to become the entrepôt for a large volume of trade. So far the realization of such hopes has been frustrated by various circumstances, as by the sparse population of the adjoining Mexican regions, and the remoteness of the present manufacturing centres of the United States, which favor maritime routes for the exchange of products. In former times the prospect was much brighter, and drew the attention of enterprising merchants and far-sighted statesmen. Indeed, prior to the permanent occupation of the country, it loomed forward as a transient point for commerce between Louisiana and Mexico, as instanced by the operations of the French lieutenant, St Denis, early in the eighteenth century, which savored more of smuggling, however, than legitimate traffic.

The energy and commercial instincts of St Denis served to stimulate the Spanish colonial government to reoccupy a territory which for lack of the precious metals and other resources had failed to attract sufficient settlers. Jealousy of France caused Spain to offer liberal inducements to immigrants, but the colony once established, narrow trade restrictions checked development. Cut off from foreign markets, which alone could stimulate them to exertion and provide them with comforts, the settlers were compelled to drag out a miserable existence on the scanty returns from occasionally driving cattle into Mexico, and a feeble traffic with Indians. The rare shipments by way of Vera Cruz were so hampered with duties and regulations as to present little advantage over consignments by the long and costly land route.

The discontent roused by such obstructions served to encourage smuggling. This was favored by the position of the province on the borders of enterprising colonies, a circumstance which brought hither an adventurous and reckless class of sea-rovers, who, especially during the Spanish-American revolution, made this central yet isolated region their rendezvous. As privateers and pirates they cared nothing for the flag or the adherents of his catholic majesty, and at times their zeal blinded them even to the nationality of their prey, so that on more than one occasion the United States was compelled to take measures against them. Although Spain would gladly have aided in their destruction, she feared that the intrusion of her aggressive neighbor might lead to a permanent foothold in the colony, and discouraged such intervention. Thus favored, the marauding hordes held their ground, and occupied the peaceful intervals with contraband traffic with Mexico, and with the introduction of negro slaves into the Anglo-American states.

The larger portion of these adventurers were from the northern republic, and their description of the fertility and advantages of the province induced further immigration, under the prospect of separation from Mexico, and of a profitable field for enterprise. As the fears of the Mexican government were roused, further restrictions were imposed on trade, as well as on other privileges; heavy duties were exacted, smugglers were closely watched, and ports were closed, save one or two. This stringency added to the grievances which fed the revolutionary spirit, and led to segregation from the southern republic.

Under the new condition of affairs immigrants poured in rapidly, and trade expanded, particularly with the United States. At first the river and coast routes received the bulk of the traffic, but later railways absorbed the larger share, in the interior, as well as in the direction of New Orleans and other entrepôts for the north. The attempt, early in the forties, to open commercial relations with New Mexico, by conquest or agreement, proved a disastrous failure. Missouri here established her control by means of railroads, but a portion of the imports of adjacent Mexican states fell in time to the share of Texas, which also continued to profit by smuggling, the practice of which appeared indeed to be almost irrepressible.

Texas supplies vast herds of cattle and other animals, together with large quantities of agricultural products, among which corn is the foremost. Timber of choice varieties, and also minerals, promise to swell the list, and manufactures are so rapidly increasing as not only to satisfy many local requirements, but also to compete in southern markets for supplying cotton fabrics and other merchandise. The foreign commerce centres at Galveston, through which in 1883 passed fully seven eighths of the exports, and about one half of the imports. Next in rank followed Corpus, Brazos de Santiago, and Saluria, whose shipments stood in that year at $2,000,000, $1,100,000, and $870,000, respectively, and their receipts at $710,000, $800,000, and $100,000. On the Rio Grande were several entrepôts, and flourishing centres exist along the interior rivers and roads, all of them aiding the development of hitherto dormant resources.

Before presenting in a later chapter the general features and condition of commerce, and especially of the commerce of California, I will here relate the biographies of some of her more prominent citizens and business men.

CHAPTER XI.

LIVES OF ASA D. CHILDRESS—ALBERT H. DENNY—JEROME CHURCHILL.

Asa D. Childress—Parentage and Birth—Education—Merchandising and Banking in Texas—Los Angeles City Bank—Summary of Career—Albert H. Denny—Descent, Parentage, and Youth—Experience in California—Mining, Farming, and Merchandising—Jerome Churchill—Nativity and Early Training—Mining, Freighting, and Merchandising in California—Characterization.

A scientist and philosopher who could be recognized by what he says, Herbert Spencer, gives it as his opinion that history, in its best and only worthy form, is identical with descriptive sociology; which science concerns every individual, because it deals with facts and affairs which interest men universally. The character and experience of selected men involve the life of their times and environment. From a knowledge of the labors and thoughts of Junípero Serra we derive a picture of the early missionary regimé on the Pacific coast. Then, later, take Sutter's fort—or Sutter, which is better still—as a basis of research, and we find this province of Mexico grown into touch, hide and tallow being the chief consideration, with the outside traffic world. The discovery of gold varied labor and multiplied types of character. First mining and miners ruled; three decades later farming and farmers controlled. These two industries are now seeking a compromise for mutual advantage; while horticulture as a branch of agriculture is, and ever will be, superior to both. The lives of the following men contain suggestive facts regarding the growth of farming.

There ever has been in the south a class of people distinguished for intellectual strength, literary culture, refined manners, chivalric honor, and generous hospitality; but the people of the south were not as devoted to material development as those of the north, nor was it believed that they possessed equal talent and energy in business affairs.

The casualties in the late war were very great on the southern side and deprived the south of a large number of her bravest and best men. Their property was to a great extent consumed or destroyed, and the labor system was not only deranged but revolutionized. When the war closed the condition was not assuring, and it was feared that discouragement would rest upon the south like a pall.

Happily such was not the case. The southern people did not lose spirit or energy. They at once went to work to repair their broken fortunes. Recovery from the blow that had been dealt them was rapid. In the development of resources and extension of business enterprises which have been so marked in the last twenty-five years the southern people, and especially the young men, have shown themselves not inferior to any in the country, and many are distinguished for their business and financial accomplishments. Asa Dabner Childress is among those from the south most distinguished for energy, industry, ability, and success.

His ancestry is North Carolinian and Virginian, and his blood is Scotch, Irish, and English. The families from which he is descended have been in this country from an early date, and they are distinctively American. They are the Joneses and Carothers of Virginia; the Childresses, the Thompsons, Townsends, Peebleys, and Howells of the Carolinas. These families are among the best of the southern people, and have ever been noted for strong physical and intellectual powers, and for their energy, integrity, and moral force of character, and for their religious sentiments and exemplary conduct.

The father, William Townsend Childress, was born March 13, 1824, at old Fort Hampton, in Limestone county, Alabama, and was reared and resided on a farm until 1849, when he began the study of medicine. Having completed his professional education and gained experience from practice, he removed to Wayne county, Tennessee, where he remained from 1852 to 1862 in medical practice. He served for a time as surgeon in the Confederate army and in the latter part of 1862 removed to Sulphur springs, Texas, and pursued his professional labors for about four years, when he engaged in merchandising for about ten years in the firm name of B. M. Childress and brothers.

In 1869 banking was added to the business. In 1876 the firm removed to Terrell, Texas, and continued in the banking and mercantile business.

The father is a man of medium stature, strongly and compactly built, possessing energy and good judgment, firm and tenacious of purpose, moral and religious in character and conduct, and conscientious and honest in every relation of life. The mother's maiden name was Rhoda C. Thompson. She was of medium size, thoughtful, intelligent, and devoted to her husband and children. Both parents had dark hair, eyes, and complexion, and gave their children excellent training both by instruction and example. In the son are blended the physical qualities and mental and moral characteristics of both parents, those of the mother perhaps predominating.

Asa Dabner, the son, was born in Wayne county, Tennessee, November 2, 1859. What has already been said concerning the father discloses the circumstances which surrounded him in his boyhood days. As was generally the case in the south, Dr Childress was broken up financially by the war, and the son was environed by the influence of the vigorous, persistent and successful exertions of his father to recuperate his fortunes. This influence had a powerful effect in developing in the son those qualities which have made his career one of unusual achievements, for one of his age, in business pursuits.

He was a boy of unusual observation and thoughtfulness. In childhood he was familiarized with the spirit and activities incident to war. Though so young he was far from being oblivious to what was going on around him. Its very presence inspired courage and vigor. Though not apparently strong physically, he was tough and sinewy; possessed a large and active brain, and was so intellectually constituted that he had little taste for the sports which are engaged in by those of more exuberant physical qualities and less reflective powers.

He began attending school at an early age, was an apt scholar and loved books. His father being a merchant, on days when there was no school he went voluntarily into the store and waited on customers. Thus early he evinced a taste and talent for business. As his physical powers were unequal to his mental, he was frequently sent into the field to hoe corn and do other work that he might gain bodily strength. He gained the attachment of his teachers and bestowed respect in return. When very young he developed an unusual talent for speaking, and possessed in embryo the qualities of an orator. His teachers recognized this and encouraged their development. He continued to attend the common school until he was twelve years old, when he was sent to the high school at Sulphur springs, of which Professor Morgan H. Loony, a brilliant educator, was the principal. At the age of sixteen he had completed the English branches, Latin, and the higher mathematics. In 1876 his parents removed to Terrell, and young Childress engaged for some time in selling goods. He attended Johnson's commercial college in St. Louis and graduated in 1877, having taken the regular course.

Mr Childress had great fondness for literature, and an ambition to become a lawyer, for which he was well adapted, especially in the qualities of an advocate. It was the intention of both his father and himself that he should acquire a collegiate education, and he went to Georgetown university, in southern Texas, with that object in view, but was displeased with the appearances and returned home. His father was very desirous that he should become a business man, although he would not throw any obstacle in the way of his ambition to enter the legal profession. Upon full reflection he concluded to pursue a business course, especially as it was agreeable to his father. In brief time he accepted the position of book-keeper in the banking-house of B. M. Childress & Bros. at Terrell, and shortly had entire charge of the clerical work of the institution. His uncle, who was manager of the bank, was a good financier, but had little knowledge of systematized methods of keeping books. The accounts had been loosely kept, and no one except the manager of the bank could make anything out of them.

Mr Childress was orderly and systematical by nature, and he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the most approved methods of book-keeping. He straightened out matters and gave system and perspicuity to the accounts. He commenced this work in the latter part of 1877, and his uncle and he were the only officers in the institution. He was very steady and industrious; in fact, he was a man in characteristics and taste while he was yet a boy in age.

A. J. Childress, the uncle, was a man of excellent judgment and good management, and was highly respected by the people where he lived. The firm had been unusually successful at Sulphur springs, and removed to Terrell, as the Texas and Pacific railroad had just been built to that point, in order to have a wider field of operations. It carried on an extensive mercantile and banking business for a town of a few thousand people. In the latter there was active competition, and Mr Childress made such changes in the appearance of the office and in the methods of doing business that patronage rapidly increased. He worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day, and the business under his efforts became exceedingly prosperous.

During the cattle boom in Texas, B. M. Childress & Bros, became interested in the stock business in western Texas. Soon after this the partnership was dissolved. Dr W. T. Childress, the father, bought the interest of his brothers in the banking business, and taking in Jim Harris, an old pioneer of Texas, organized a bank under the name and style of the Childress & Harris bank, with a capital of $75,000. Mr Childress, the son, was made manager and cashier, which position he held until 1885, when the partnership was dissolved. The business had been very successfully managed.

Dr Childress had a strong desire to engage in the cattle business, but his son had displayed so much talent in the management of two banking institutions that on his account he decided to remain in the business. Having received a salary during his service with B. M. Childress & Bros., and a quarter interest in the profits of the business of the Childress and Harris bank, he had acquired several thousand dollars, a considerable achievement for one so young and in a comparatively unimportant place. Mr Childress had acquired a thorough knowledge of banking, both in general principles and in detail.

Dr Childress had sold his interest to Mr Harris, and both father and son were favorably situated for removal to some other locality. Hearing of the development of southern California, a party made a trip thither, and Mr Childress being greatly charmed with appearances and prospects, at once resolved to make southern California his future home. After visiting various places he made up his mind to locate himself in Los Angeles. Having been confined to close work for several years, he concluded to operate in real estate, and opened an office for that purpose. Though he made something in real estate transactions, he did not like the business, and made up his mind to return to banking, a business, which was agreeable and which he understood.

The Childress Safe Deposit bank was organized by his father and himself in Los Angeles in 1886, and continued in successful operation until July, 1889, when the City bank was organized with a capital of $300,000. Of this bank Mr Childress is president, and it is recognized as one of the solid institutions of the city, and is doing a good and increasing business. It was in connection with this new organization that Mr Childress gave an evidence of the determined perseverance that forms so large a part of his character, and the display of which, in this instance, secured for him the universal commendation of his fellow-citizens, and for the City bank, of which he is the head, a standing in his city unparalleled by any financial institution of its age. For a long time the possession of the public funds in the treasury of the city of Los Angeles had been controlled and monopolized by a combination formed for that purpose, and consisting of a number of the oldest and strongest moneyed institutions, representing, in aggregate strength, the major part of the financial and individual influence of the community. In a competitive bidding for the possession of the public funds the City bank made an offer which entitled it to be chosen as the depository for them. In this it was strenuously opposed by the powerful combination mentioned. After a long and bitterly contested competition, in which all the power of financial standing and personal influence was wielded by its opponents in a struggle, which extended from the council of the city through the courts of the state, Mr Childress' bank, single-handed and alone in the contest, succeeded in overcoming all opposition, and obtained possession of the public funds of the city as the authorized legal depository of the same. The determination, pluck, and fearless confidence in what he believed to be the right of his position displayed by Mr Childress in this unequal contest, which, from the public character of its subject, attracted the universal attention of the people of his city, secured from them a large meed of praise and congratulations, of which those who had so strongly opposed him accorded a generous share to their successful rival. He is also connected with many other corporations and business enterprises.

In December 1883 Mr Childress was married to Miss Mary Mildred Stone, of Galveston, Texas. Her father, Colonel D. C. Stone, was formerly mayor of that city, and president of the cotton exchange, and was a man of prominence and influence. The family are North Carolinians. Mrs Childress was educated at St Mary's, North Carolina, and is a woman of culture and refinement. Mr Childress has three daughters. Ione, aged six, Mary four, and Catherine aged two years. His residence is on West Adams street in Los Angeles.

In religion Mr Childress adheres to the faith of his family, which is that of the methodist church, south, and is a member of the order of knights of Pythias. He is a strong believer in public schools, and thinks those of California are excellent. He has the highest opinion of the population of southern California for order, intelligence, and refinement.

On the most important issue to-day between the democratic and republican parties he says as follows:

"In the matter of commerce encouragement does not mean protection. A nation's true policy is to relieve itself of paying tribute to other nations, but to do so without the humiliating assistance of custom houses and prohibitory laws. Manufacturing industry depends solely upon itself; competition is its life. Protect it and it goes to sleep, it dies from monopoly as well as from tariff. The nation that succeeds in making all other nations its vassals will be the one which first proclaims commercial liberty. It will have enough manufacturing power to supply its productions at a cheaper price than those of its rivals."

The above clearly indicates that in politics Mr Childress is a democrat. He believes in prohibiting Chinese immigration. He thinks that the late "boom" in Southern California was beneficial, though succeeded by reaction and depression, because it has given the country population, buildings and improvements twenty years ahead of the time it would have acquired them by the slow process of natural development.

Mr Childress is five feet eight and one-half inches in height, slightly built, and weighs one hundred and thirty-five pounds. Hair and eyes are black, and complexion dark. He has a tough and sinewy frame, and possesses great powers of application. His head is large and well rounded, and he can endure an immense amount of mental work. His mental operations are clear and correct; his judgment is sound, and he is admirably adapted to business, especially that of a financial character. His habits and character are above criticism, and as a citizen he holds a high position. Mr Childress began life with no means, and by his industry and foresight he has accumulated a handsome fortune, and gained a high place among the business men of Los Angeles. Few men anywhere have accomplished as much at his age and under similar circumstances. He is devoted to his father, who resides in Los Angeles, and he is a model husband and father. His future is bright with promises of great success and usefulness.

A. H. Denny

As one of our argonauts, as a leading merchant and farmer, and one of the most valued citizens of Siskiyou county, Albert Hendrickson Denny may be termed in the truest sense of the word a builder of the commonwealth. A native of New Providence, New Jersey, where he was born on the 27th of February, 1835, Mr Denny is of English descent, the home of his ancestors, whence certain members of the family set forth for America some two centuries ago, being still among the ancient landmarks of a small town in the north of England. His great grandfather was distinguished in the revolutionary war and a man of prominence in the councils of the state. His grandfather, David Denny, a native of Leicester, Massachusetts, removed after attaining his majority to Vermont, where he became one of the most prosperous farmers in the township of Northfield, Washington county.

Amasa Denny, his father, was a native of Vermont, and by profession a teacher. He was a man of imposing presence, nearly six feet in height, erect in carriage, dignified in mien, and in appearance extremely prepossessing. Though of slender frame he was a strong man, strong in mind and body and force of will, a thorough teacher, a thorough student, but like most teachers and students somewhat lacking in business ability. His wife, née Sallie Ann Hendrickson, a native of Long Island but of German descent, to whom he was married at the age of twenty-eight, was in some respects of a different temperament, thrifty, money-making, and an excellent manager not only of household but of business affairs. She was of handsome appearance, with blue eyes, beautiful brown hair, and the most expressive features, with all the highest qualities of wife and mother, and a thorough Christian by training and belief. Of their eight children Albert is the only survivor, except for one daughter, Mrs Jenny Eddy, now residing in Siskiyou county.

Albert's earliest recollections are of a place called Summit, about twelve miles from Newark, New Jersey, where at the age of five he first attended school. Three years later the family migrated to Wisconsin, where through reverse of fortune their father arrived with barely sufficient means to convey his family to their western home. At first that home was a log cabin a short distance from Milwaukee, and in the midst of a small clearing abandoned by its former owner. In the following spring they removed to the farm of an uncle some twenty miles away, which they worked on shares, and where the father taught school. The next year another change of residence was made —for now the latter could afford a homestead of his own—and soon afterward built thereon a hotel with money inherited by his wife. The result of this venture was unfortunate, and at the beginning of 1852 he again found himself in financial difficulties, and with the mortgage on his property foreclosed.

After their father's embarrassment, Albert and his elder brother Edgar resolved to seek their fortunes in California, whither they set forth on the 29th of March, 1852, their worldly affects consisting of two yoke of oxen, a lumber wagon, a slender outfit and a more slender stock of cash. In October of this year they reached the golden state and at Yreka on the Sabbath after their arrival, sat down to the first indoor meal since taking leave of home. Here also we find them on Christmas day of 1852, with their joint funds amounting to $1.50, and that with flour at one dollar and beef at forty cents a pound. Their first occupation was cutting hay on the rancho of George Heard, one of a party whom they had met with at Humboldt meadows, and for their five days' labor—further work being interrupted by the rains—they were paid only as many dollars. But even this they were glad to receive, for now they were almost destitute. By Mr Heard's advice they were induced to try their fortune at the mines on Deadwood, where they procured on credit a small stock of provisions and a slender outfit, amounting in all to $50, flour costing $22 per sack. Making their headquarters in a deserted cabin some two miles up Deadwood creek, they set to work to make their fortune, Albert earning the first day $1.50 by baling out water for one of the miners. Little gold was found, and at a claim in a neighboring cañon, taken in exchange for one of their horses, they worked for several weeks in the rain and snow without gathering a pennyweight of gold. However, it eventually turned out rich and but for the floods they would doubtless have collected a goodly store of dust.

But it is unnecessary to continue further the narrative of Mr Denny's mining experience. Suffice it to say that at the age of twenty he found himself failing in health, with a threatened attack of consumption, and with little else to show for some three years of hard and incessant toil. In the autumn of 1855, therefore, he resolved to change his occupation, and though at the time engaged in a promising mining operation, he made a present of his interest to his partner, and with some $800 in his possession, the joint proceeds of Albert's and Edgar's three years' work in the mines, set forth for Shasta valley. Purchasing a few cows, for which he paid $60 a head, he drove them to a camp named Wild Cat, near the south fork of Scott river, and there sold milk to the miners at seventy-five cents per gallon. At the end of two years he owned 100 cows, the business being conducted in partnership with his brother, and in August 1858 bought a farm in Norris valley, which he secured with forty head of stock for the sum of $800. In 1861 he disposed of his dairy, of which by that time he was heartily tired, passing the next two years at Coffee creek, where he was the owner of a pack train and had other business interests. Here, however, as he relates, there was less money to be made than at any camp in northern California.

Returning to his home in the summer of 1864, after a brief visit to Vermont, Mr Denny found his two younger brothers, Thomas and Joseph, in charge of what was known at Callahan's as the Lacy store, in which at first Edgar was one of the partners. More capital was required in the business, and at their invitation Albert joined them in the spring of the following year, transferring to his elder brother all his interest in the farm. But with his usual self-abnegation, as the trade was not sufficient to keep all of them busy, he was content to remain at first a silent partner, engaging meanwhile, in freighting to and from Red Bluff.

And now of the business career of Mr Denny little more remains to be said, except that his later ventures were all successful, and that the fortune which he accumulated was in no sense the result of accident but rather of sound judgment and careful painstaking effort. Within two or three years the trade of the store increased enormously. At the mining camp of South fork a second store was purchased, and the three brothers found themselves with no idle moment on their hands. In 1875 the interest of Thomas Denny, who had begun with less than $1,000 of capital and whose death had occurred some six years before, was purchased from his widow by the surviving partners for $9,500. After some further changes J. V. Brown, the father-in-law of Joseph, also deceased, was admitted as a partner in the firm, the business at Callahan's being first conducted by Denny Brothers, then by Denny & French, then by A. H. Denny, and finally by A. H. Denny and company, the sales between 1865 and 1890 amounting to over $1,000,000, and that with a constantly increasing volume of trade.

Meanwhile he had engaged in still another mining venture. About the year 1871 the firm of Denny

Brothers—Albert, Joseph, and Thomas Denny—located on the south fork of the Scott river the Montezuma placer mine, from which, after building a flume and working the claim for five years without realizing a dollar, they developed one of the best properties in northern California, taking out one hundred ounces in a day. This claim was afterward sold for $50,000.

In 1864, during his visit to Vermont, Mr Albert Denny was married to Miss Eliza Webber, a native of that state, and possessed of most estimable qualities. Of their nine children, Albert Alpha, the eldest son, a young man of excellent promise, was born to them on the 23d of November, 1867. Joseph Amasa, whose birthday was the 29th of December, 1869, is entrusted with the management of a store belonging to his father's firm. Karl Vandewater, born the 17th of November, 1876, and so named after his grandfather on the mother's side, is a bright, intelligent boy, to answer whose questions sometimes evokes all his father's sagacity. Of the two younger sons, Robert Roy was born on the 9th of August, 1878, and Edmond W. born on the 29th of November, 1880, died six months later. Emma Jane, the eldest daughter, whose natal day was the 1st of April, 1865, is now the wife of C. O. Sharp, the superintendent of schools for Siskiyou county. Mary Alma, born on the 26th of April, 1866, married Alexander Parker, junior, and Phœbe Ann, born on the 1st of September, 1871, and Eliza Webber, on the 28th of July, 1873, were in 1890 completing their education.

In 1881 Mr Denny had the misfortune to lose his wife, whose death was caused by pleuro-pneumonia. About two years later he married Miss Gertrude A. Cadwell, a teacher by profession, a native of Shasta county, in every way most highly esteemed by a large circle of friends. Of their four children the only son, named Harvey, died in infancy, and of their three daughters, named Mildred, Ethel, and Gertrude, they have every reason to be proud.

In 1886, when Mr Denny admitted two partners into the firm, he virtually retired from business, though still retaining a share. He was also owner of a farm in the neighborhood of Callahan's, of which he placed 600 acres under cultivation. Here he engaged in a variety of farming, raising horses, livestock of all kinds, among them a fair proportion of thoroughbred cattle, and as the product of his dairy about 8,000 pounds a year of butter. Had he made money-getting the prime object of life he would doubtless have been a much wealthier man, and that but with little effort, for he is possessed of excellent business habits and business ability. But to Mr Denny the prime object of life is happiness, rather than the acquisition of riches, which he values only so far as they contribute to his happiness, to the welfare of his family, and of those whom he wishes to assist.

A man six feet in stature, with a slight but well-knit frame, a ruddy complexion, with blue eyes and brown hair, he is known among his friends as a thoroughly upright and straightforward man, one of a social and contented disposition, dignified in bearing, and in conversation pleasing, though deliberate and precise, expressing his ideas in apt and simple phrase, without the slightest tincture of affectation or display. No one in his county or indeed in northern California, is more respected; and this is right, for it is through the aid and influence of such men that communities prosper and grow in all material, moral, and intellectual development, and that our western commonwealth has attained to its present rank among the sisterhood of states.

To the citizens of Siskiyou county, and especially of Yreka, the name of Jerome Churchill has long been familiar, not only as one of their most successful merchants, farmers, and financiers, but as one whose aid and encouragement have ever been freely offered in all matters pertaining to the common good.

The lineage of the Churchills is traced back to a period long antedating the Norman conquest, when, toward the close of the tenth century, there were born to Gitto de Leon, the patriarch of the family, two sons, named Richard and Mandril. Richard, lord of Montleban, was married to Yoland, countess of Luxemburg, and Mandril, lord of Courcelle, espoused Isabella de Teoza, their eldest son, Rowland, serving under William of Normandy, and for his gallantry on the field of Hastings receiving goodly estates in four English counties, one of them, in Somersetshire, named the lordship of Churchill. Rowland, who wedded Gertrude, the daughter of Sir Guy de Torbay, was the ancestor of all of the Churchills, the first of the family who came to America being Josias, who, in 1636, settled at Wethersfield, the oldest town in Connecticut. From him is traced in direct descent the pedigree of Jerome Churchill, through a long line of ancestors noted for their manly attributes, their sterling worth, their power of will and mind and body, their energy, perseverance, and stainless integrity. In his own branch of the family are not a few such men, whose names are long since recorded in the pages of history as among our most eminent lawyers, scholars, and soldiers, and in collateral branches are the names of John Charles Churchill, judge of the supreme court of New York, professors John W. Churchill, of Andover and Henry Churchill, of Oberlin college, and General Sylvester Churchill, the peer in military renown of Harrison and Scott and Taylor.

Nathaniel Churchill, the grandfather of Jerome, is known to fame as one who fought in some of the fiercest struggles of the revolutionary war. Mather Jesse Churchill, his father, of Scotch descent, was born at Cornwall, Vermont, on the 18th of November 1796, and in early infancy was taken with the family to Elizabethtown, New York, where were passed the years of his youth and earlier manhood, and where, on February 11th, 1826, was born to him a son, Jerome. During the war of 1812 he joined the Elizabethtown regiment of state militia, serving throughout the Plattsburg campaign, and taking part in the action of that name. He remained in service until 1830, when he resigned his commission, as is attested by a document of which the following is a copy, and of which the original, now yellow with age, is still in the possession of the family:

"STATE OF NEW YORK, BRIGADE ORDERS.
"ELIZABETHTOWN, August 25, 1830.

"Brigadier-general Joseph S. Weed has accepted the resignation of Jesse Churchill, captain of the Thirty-seventh Regiment, Fortieth Brigade, and Eleventh Division of the Militia of this State, and he is hereby, and at his own request, discharged honorably from said office.

"JOSEPH S. WEED,
"Brigadier-general Fortieth Brigade."

A few years later he settled in Chicago, or, rather, on the site of that metropolis, whose marvellous growth he witnessed during a busy and eventful career of well-nigh half a century, and where, at the age of fourscore and ten, he quietly passed from earth. His wife, *née* Martha McCauley, survived him but a single year, her decease occurring in 1887. All of their four children are still living—Jerome, the only son, and their three daughters, Jane, Caroline, and Eliza.

During the early childhood of Jerome his parents removed to Canandaigua, which event he distinctly remembers, though occurring nearly sixty years ago. Here and at Chicago he attended the public schools, working on his father's farm during the summer months. Considering the time and opportunity, his education was by no means of a superficial character, especially in mathematics, for which he had a special aptitude and taste.

At sixteen we find him earning his own livelihood, working on a neighboring farm, at first for the wages of eight dollars a month; and whatever his wages, he made it a rule to save half of them. It was his parents' wish that he should learn a trade, but to this he was averse, preferring an outdoor life, no matter how hard the toil, and to this day passing most of his time in the open air, for the confinement of an office neither health nor inclination would permit.

The year before the gold discovery he resolved to try his fortune in California, and in May 1849 set forth across the plains, his train being organized at St. Joseph, and reaching the Sacramento valley on the 1st of September. The trip was a pleasant one and without incident that here needs mention.

Mr Churchill was now a young man twenty-three years of age, of a wiry and well-knit frame, and of the stature—some five feet eight—that is best adapted to sustaining privation and fatigue. His appearance was pleasing, with ruddy complexion, dark brown hair, and eyes of a bluish-gray; his health was perfect, and his habits irreproachable, free from all taint of vice, as might be expected in one of his parentage and training. He was, moreover, possessed of rare industry, persistence, and capability for work, with a strength of mind and body and will that more than justified the confidence and self-reliance on which success so largely depends in the battle of life.

Mr Churchill went from Sacramento to Mokelumne river, where he was taken ill and lay on the bank of the river about ten days, but as soon as he was able to travel he returned to Sacramento, and from there journeyed northeast to Auburn, where he built a cabin four miles from the town, and during the winter of 1849–50 engaged in mining and freighting.

In the spring he removed to Trinity, whither he packed goods from Humboldt bay, and in the autumn of 1850 started a hay and feed business in Sacramento, in conjunction with a partner, to whom, soon afterward, disliking this occupation, he disposed of his interest. He had now accumulated about one thousand dollars, and this he gave to a friend for safe-keeping; but with the result that he saw little more of his friend or of his money.

Nothing discouraged he resumed his freighting business, making his first trip to Yreka in May 1851, when the mines in its neighborhood were attracting a large influx of gold-seekers. Here he established a general merchandise business, his store on the corner of Miner and Main streets being the second one opened in that town. At Humbug city—so named from the disappointment of a prospecting party on the neighboring creek—he also opened a store and was one of its earliest merchants.

At Yreka Mr Churchill remained until 1859, meanwhile being the owner, in partnership with another, of pack-trains between that point and Red Bluff, Shasta, Crescent City, and Scottsburg, and making one trip from Portland to Scott bar, where he had a third store in operation. Except for mule-trains there was no communication with Yreka between 1851 and 1854. Early in 1853 he was for several weeks detained by floods with his trains between Colusa and Tehama, reaching Yreka in February, after the people had subsisted for most of the winter on a diet of fresh meat. As a business centre the place was a lively one, especially on Saturdays and Sundays, when the miners came into town for supplies, or to spend their earnings. At first freight was forty cents per pound, the rate being gradually reduced to ten cents; and even at the latter price there was a good margin of profit, though with abundant competition, as was shown by the number of pack-mules—sometimes as many as three hundred—that at all hours of the day were loading and unloading on the principal street. On some of his goods Mr Churchill made as much as one dollar a pound; and thus from his freighting and merchandising, he had accumulated by 1859 from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars.

During these years, or at least until 1856, the only trouble was with the Indians, who, notwithstanding all the vigilance of the drivers, stampeded the mules, on one occasion driving off from twenty-five to thirty head. The camp was frequently attacked, though guard was kept both day and night, and often in the morning a number of animals would be found killed or wounded by arrows, the object of the savages being to cause their abandonment and thus secure them for food.

Since 1859 Mr Churchill has retired from active business, devoting his attention to the affairs of the bank of which he is president, and to the management of three large ranchos of which he has since become the owner. He carries there a large quantity of stock, on one of them horses and on another mainly cattle. In the welfare of his adopted town he has always taken an active interest, being for many years president of the board of city trustees, and one of the prime movers in the building of the Yreka branch railroad to Montague, of which he was chosen president in 1889. In politics he has never taken an active part, though always casting his ballot at elections, usually for the republican ticket, but for local offices voting for the candidate whom he considers most deserving.

In November 1861, during a visit to the eastern states, Mr Churchill married Miss Julia Patterson, a native of Lockport, New York, with whom he had been acquainted from childhood. Her ancestors were among the heroes of the war of independence; one of them, her great-uncle, Joseph Patterson, being commissioned lieutenant for gallantry at Ticonderoga. Another, her grandfather, Moses Patterson, married the daughter of Ethan Allen, and a third, named Warren, her father, was wedded to Parnelia Pierce, a descendant of Thomas Pierce, an Englishman who came to America in 1583, and the progenitor of such distinguished men as General Pierce of revolutionary fame, and of his son, President Benjamin Franklin Pierce. Still another, George Franklin Pierce is known to fame as grand-nephew to the count of Rumford, but more as an eminent lawyer, statesman, scholar, and writer. Warren Patterson, Mrs Churchill's father, of Scotch, or rather Scotch-Irish, ancestry, removed in 1846 to the neighborhood of Littlefort, Illinois, where for a time he engaged in farming. Soon afterward he established himself in business at Chicago, but suffering reverse of fortune through the dishonesty of his partner, settled at Waukeegan, a beautiful town overlooking the waters of Lake Michigan. Her mother, *née* Parnelia Pierce, was of English descent, a member of the established church, and a firm believer in its doctrines. In addition to her earnest, devotional nature Mrs Churchill inherited from her parents intellectual powers of no common order, together with rare literary tastes and ability.

Her educational advantages were good, the last year at school being passed at the Rockford seminary. Further studies were interrupted by a temporary affection of the eyes, and this overcome, it was her intention to continue them, when matrimony claimed her for serious duties of life. Reaching San Francisco with her husband, in the winter of 1861–2, she found the entire middle portion of the state inundated by the disastrous floods of that season; and by boat from San Francisco to Red Bluff, thence by stage, mule back, dead express wagons, and over Scott's mountain in a sleigh, she reached Shasta valley, at the extreme northern end of which, enclosed by sheltering hills and snow-clad mountains, lay the town of Yreka. To Mrs Churchill the silent grandeur of the surrounding scenery has ever been a source of inspiration, for since girlhood nature has been her especial delight.

A constant reader, especially of ideal and metaphysical subjects, Mrs Churchill is herself known to the world of letters as a writer of established repute, and as one whose works, both in prose and verse, give earnest of still greater achievement. As an artist, though modestly claiming only the rank of an amateur, her talent and originality entitle her to a place among professionals, and had her attention been earlier turned in this direction she would doubtless have won for herself a fame at least commensurate with that which has long been conceded to her writings. She also possesses great dramatic and elocutionary talent and ability. In all philanthropic and reformatory movements, as well as in all local projects of charity and benevolence, she has taken an active part, as the seclusion of her mountain home permitted. Gifted with strong mental and moral attributes, and with the personal attractions that are but their outward form and expression, there are none more highly respected in circles of society, of which she is one of the brightest ornaments.

Of her two surviving children, Jerome P., now twenty-four years of age, and a young man of strong artistic tastes, is a graduate of the Berkeley gymnasium, was admitted to the California university as a student of chemistry, and is also a graduate of the Philadelphia college of pharmacy. Jesse W., who is two years his junior, is of a mechanical turn, with a special aptitude for the science of electricity and kindred branches, teaching himself telegraphy, and at nineteen constructing and putting in working order a full set of telephones, and while at school setting up telephone lines for the entire neighborhood. Both have received a thorough education, first at Yreka and afterward at Berkeley, the younger son completing his studies at the Worcester institute of technology in Massachusetts; both having also been allowed to follow their tastes, though trained to habits of industry and economy, and, like their father, free from all vicious habits. Their adopted daughter, Edna, who is now fourteen years of age, is a child of great promise, and will receive every advantage of education which love and money can bestow.

In concluding this brief sketch of the Churchill family, it is but just to state of its father that, while the nature of his business involves the loaning of money, and while the holder of numerous mortgages, he has always been most lenient to those indebted to him, assisting them by every possible means to build up and restore their fortunes. Having fought his way upward from first principles, he is of plain and simple tastes, preferring, as he says, life in a log cabin in the mountains to an existence fettered with the gilded shackles of society. Above all he is a moral man, a most dutiful son, and a model husband and father, a practical business man withal, one whose modest fortune has been accumulated by his own energy and thrift, and that after many a loss by flood and fire. One of Yreka's pioneers, one who, for more than the span of a generation, has ranked among her foremost citizens, to such men is due the substantial prosperity of northern California, with its large yield of grain and fruit and gold, and with a future of greatness whereof no man can foretell.

CHAPTER XII.

COMMERCE—GENERAL FEATURES.

Commercial Development—Exports and Imports—Shipping—Supremacy of San Francisco—Early Trading and Prices—Progress of Trade—Modifying Factors—Backwardness of Manufactures—Capital and Labor—Speculation—Sacramento—Stockton—Oakland—Vallejo, Port Costa, Martinez and Benicia—Los Angeles—San Diego—Summary.

Elsewhere in this work are presented in detail sketches of the commerce and commercial condition and progress in the Pacific states, together with banking, insurance, and other kindred topics. In the present chapter I shall touch briefly on the general features of commerce, with some mention of its records, the industries on which it depends, and such other matters as may serve to illustrate the process of its development.

It is in truth a marvellous unfolding that has occurred on these western shores, from the days when a few thousand dollars' worth of hides and tallow, bartered in exchange for articles of wear, represented the trade of the Pacific coast, until, in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, San Francisco ranked fifth among the commercial cities of the United States. Seldom has there been seen such rapid revelation of resources, such growth of industries and of commercial intercourse. The results obtained in the eastern states, as the outcome of centuries of productive toil and enterprise, have here been reached in the lifetime of a single generation. All sources of production have been explored and utilized, until the yield of mine and farm, of forest and fishery, has developed such volume and variety of commerce as to attract the attention of the civilized world. Already five transcontinental railroads accommodate the enormous traffic and travel between east and west, while an ever expanding ocean and coast trade reaches along the entire western shore of the continent, and carries our products across all seas to the commercial emporia of either hemisphere. Such is the change that four decades have wrought, a change such as has never before been witnessed in the annals of the human race, and never shall be witnessed again.

As to the progress of what is properly termed the Pacific slope, or the section lying west of the Rocky mountains, the following statistics may be of interest. In 1850 the population of this region, in area more than one-third of the entire national domain, was but 117,000 souls; in 1890 it was little short of 3,000,000. In 1850 the total value of real and personal property was estimated at $28,211,000; in 1890 at $2-957,607,000, California showing the largest increase, though in other states and territories, considering their relative conditions, it was no less remarkable. Meanwhile the product of gold and silver exceeded $1,600,000,000, or more than one-half of the total output of the union. From 181,000 acres of improved land in 1850, the acreage had increased to 14,367,000 in 1880 and in 1890 to nearly 20,000,000. From $844,000 in 1860, our exports of wheat and flour increased to $28,000,000 in 1890, with an aggregate for the six years ending with 1890 of $167,000,000, or somewhat over 25 per cent of the entire exports of the union. The value of live-stock was estimated in 1890 at $164,000,000, against $2,000,000 or $3,000,000 in 1850, with a wool clip in the former year of 40,000 tons, or 30 per cent of the wool product of the United States.

Between 1848 and 1890 the products of California alone were estimated at $3,131,000,000. First among them was gold valued at $1,347,300,000, and next came wheat representing $756,000,000, followed by dairy products $213,500,000, barley $193,000,000, wool $167,000,000, fruit $126,000,000, lumber $104,000,000, quicksilver $75,000,000, wine and brandy $64,000,000, base metals $52,000,000 and silver $34,000,000. Within recent years the value of the wheat crop has been nearly double that of the gold production, while the fruit crop realized, in 1889, about $16,000,000, against $14,000,000 as the yield of gold.

The growth of commerce has fully kept pace with the development of our various industries, far exceeding in ratio of increase that of the United States. There are no reliable data as to the foreign commerce of this coast until 1854, for which year imports of merchandise were stated at $8,456,000 and exports at $3,466,000 or a total of $11,922,000. Though with many intervening fluctuations the figures for 1860 show but little change, with an aggregate of $12,350,000 of imports and exports. In 1890 the total was $30,888,000, showing a gain of 151 per cent, while during the same period, the gain in the imports and exports of the United States was but 20.6 per cent. In 1880 there was a further increase to $74,560,000 and in 1890 to $96,354,000, an increase of 141 and 29 per cent in the respective decades, against 81.4 and 9.5 per cent for the entire union. During the entire period under comparison, from 1860 to 1890, the foreign commerce of the Pacific coast increased from $12,350,000 to $96,354,000 or 680 per cent, while that of the United States increased from $687,192,000 to $1,647,139,000, or 140 per cent. In the former year the imports and exports of the Pacific coast represented less than two per cent of those of the United States; in the latter they were nearly six per cent.

In 1880 our largest imports were from China, amounting to $12,016,000, followed by Japan with $9,080,000; the Hawaiian islands, $4,606,000; Central America, $2,700,000; Great Britain, $2,366,000;

the British East Indies, $1,164,000; and British Columbia, $1,086,000, other countries representing each less than $1,090,000. The bulk of our exports was to Great Britain, which took from us $25,528,000; Hongkong, $2,815,000; the Hawaiian islands, $1,889,000; and Mexico, Central America, British Columbia, and France, each somewhat over $1,000,000. In 1890 imports from the Hawaiian islands had increased to $12,314,000; from Japan to $11,920,000; from Great Britain to $5,413,000; from Central America to $2,938,000; from British Columbia to $2,406,000; and from the British East Indies to $1,745,000, while those from China had fallen to $4,885,000; Australia being accredited with $1,715,000; the Philippine islands, $1,606,000; France, $1,586,000; and Germany, $1,123,000. For the same year exports to Great Britain differed but slightly in value from those of 1880. To the Hawaiian islands they increased to $4,242,000; to Hongkong, $3,100,000; to Mexico, $2,014,000; to British Columbia, $1,756,000; to Central America, $1,410,000; while Australia took from us $2,335,000. The large increase of trade with the Hawaiian islands was due to free imports of raw sugar, under the treaty of 1876, and to the export of machinery and supplies to the sugar plantations. The decrease of traffic with China was attributed to the partial diversion of the tea and silk traffic to the steamship and railroad lines of the Canadian Pacific. Both with China and Japan the balance of trade has been more against us than with England it has been in our favor, exports consisting mainly of specie shipments, and merchandise forwarded to both countries in 1890 being valued at less than $800,000.

In 1890 the principal articles of merchandise exported were in order of magnitude; breadstuffs, $29,040,000; fish, mainly canned salmon, $3,580,000; lumber and manufactured woods, $2,380,000; raw and manufactured iron, $1,700,000; a total for these articles of $36,700,000, or more than 80 per cent of our entire exports of domestic merchandise; breadstuffs alone, nearly all in the shape of wheat and flour, representing more than 65 per cent. A feature in the commerce of recent years has been the increasing exports to Australia, consisting largely of canned salmon, lumber and manufactured woods, with the prospect of a steadily growing demand from a country which with less than one-tenth the population of the United States has almost an equal area.

With the development of commerce came a corresponding increase in the number and tonnage of vessels entered and cleared from Pacific ports. From 609,000 tons in 1860 the tonnage increased to 4,262,000 in 1890, or a gain of 600 per cent, against 112 per cent for all United States ports. In 1860 the entrances and clearances at Pacific ports were 905, with 609,000 tons; in 1890 they were 4,476, with 4,262,000 tons. Meanwhile the permanent registered tonnage had increased from 18,000 tons in the former year to 157,000 in the latter, the temporary tonnage from 20,000 to 68,000, and the steam tonnage from 19,000 to 71,000. Shipbuilding, meanwhile, notwithstanding some drawbacks, had made satisfactory progress, a number of large steel and iron vessels being constructed within recent years.

Such has been the growth and direction of commerce from the earliest date of which we have any authentic records until the opening year of the present decade. Already, as I have said, San Francisco holds a prominent rank among the commercial centres of the union, wanting only a few millions of imports and exports to outstrip Philadelphia, which in 1890 was the fourth in order. Before the close of this decade it is probable that the metropolis of the Pacific coast will be second only to the metropolis of the United States. So, at least, indications point, for every year her commercial facilities are being enlarged, while the rapid development of the industries of the state, her farms and factories, her orchards and vineyards, is constantly swelling the volume of traffic that passes through the golden gate.

In this age of booms there are scores of cities, towns, and even villages, which, if we can believe their occupants, are destined to become rivals of San Francisco as business centres; but in none of these cities and towns of destiny do we find the same conditions as exist in the metropolis. Here is the natural outlet for products, not only of the fertile valleys of California but of a vast tributary region; here is an established financial, railroad, shipping, and manufacturing centre, and here such opportunities for enterprise and capital as can be found neither in the older communities of the east nor in the mushroom settlements of the west. The mere gathering together of a number of people at a given point, the inflation of real estate values, the erection of costly and pretentious buildings to supply imaginary needs, will not develop an emporium of trade or advance a town to metropolitan rank. Estimates based on present results and the records of the past are more to be relied on than those which are founded merely on anticipation, and business men will not readily lose faith in a city which has so rapidly won for itself a leading position in the business world, has outstripped in two score of years cities which claim two centuries or more of growth. Among other seaport and interior towns, as Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma, Sacramento and Stockton, Los Angeles, and San Diego, the trade of San Francisco may in the future be more widely distributed, and to such these remarks do not apply. As with the eastern, so with the western metropolis, the tendency in recent years has been to divide with other points a portion of their traffic. But apart from certain interior cities, whose location perhaps in mid-continent forbids any just comparison, there are none which can hope to wrest her commercial supremacy from the city by the golden gate.

Of the total imports of the Pacific slope for the year 1890, more than 95 per cent, and of the total exports more than 81 per cent passed through the port of San Francisco, her share of trade in former years being even in greater ratio. Although the figures for the entire coast have already been given, it will be necessary to state them somewhat in detail for its metropolis, in the growth of whose commerce are many features deserving of notice.

For the period 1850–56 the bulk of California exports, including shipments to eastern points, consisted of treasure, reaching in 1853 what was then its maximum amount of $57,300,000. It was not until the following year that exported cereals became a factor in the commerce of the state, and then only to the extent of some three-score thousand bags of flour, and an insignificant quantity of barley, wheat, and oats. From about 60,000 bags in 1854, the exports of California flour increased in 1890 to 1,200,000 barrels for San Francisco alone, and that apart from overland shipments. Of wheat about 13,000,000 centals were exported in the latter year to the value of more than $17,000,000; of other cereals a large amount; of oranges, 4,000 carloads; of green and dried fruits, more than 80,000 tons, and of wine more than 4,000,000 gallons.

According to official statistics the foreign imports of San Francisco amounted for 1857–8 to $8,985,000, increasing rapidly, but with some fluctuations to $48,766,000 in 1880, and in 1890 were estimated at $46,200,000, a decrease of several millions over the preceding year. It is among the most encouraging features in the commerce of the golden state that, with a rapidly increasing population, and with exports increasing every year in volume, her imports have remained for many years almost at a stationary point. Nor can it be said that this is due to any considerable reduction in the rates of wages, the tendency of which in some directions has been toward higher values. In part it is caused by more economical habits, reducing nearer to a level with eastern and old-world standards the extravagant modes of living that prevailed in argonaut and after days; but among its leading causes is also the steady growth of manufactures, from a total value of $23,500,000 in 1860 to $66,000,000 in 1870, to $116,000,000 in 1880, and at least $160,000,000 in 1890. Thus with a seven-fold increase within a space of thirty years, has been in a measure fulfilled the prediction of political economists that the manufactures of California would exceed both mining and agriculture in aggregate wealth.

Another feature in the commerce of California, and one that may be accepted as an illustration of her credit, is the small amount of capital on which her commerce, reaching far into the hundreds of millions, is conducted. The entire circulating medium of the territory west of the rocky mountains is probably less than $50,000,000, and that for a region whose output of the precious metals may according to moderate estimates be stated at from $3,000,000,000 to $3,500,000,000. In other words the circulation of the Pacific coast is to its yield of gold and silver metals about in the ratio of one to seventy.

In common with other sections of the United States our western commonwealth suffers at times from the policy of her government, which for reasons that cannot readily be explained, locks in its vaults a very considerable portion of the circulating medium of the nation, purchased at a premium of nearly thirty per cent bonds that were issued at par, and, by placing a fictitious value on silver, affords, as it were, a dumping ground for the surplus silver of the world. Thus we have the singular phenomenon of a country burdened with a surplus for which there is no profitable outlet, and yet at whatever sacrifice to its commerce, persists in redeeming a debt the burden of which might justly fall on one or more of the coming generations in whose behalf, no less than for those now living, it was incurred.

It was not until after the gold discovery that commerce in its proper sense existed on the Pacific coast; but no sooner was this region wrung from the grasp of our southern neighbors than, as if under the wand of the magician, the slopes of the Sierra began to yield their marvellous treasures. Then with this sudden unfolding of wealth came a throng of adventurers from old world and Atlantic shores, and with them a commerce as unique and singular as is the history of the people by whom it was developed. Year after year, for half a decade at least, the mines gave generous welcome to our argonauts, whose average earnings, without apprenticeship or skill, were $10 to $12 a day, with $50 to $100 as no uncommon return. Such conditions offered no opportunity for agricultural or manufacturing enterprise, for there was not an article of consumption or wear but could be imported at a fraction of what would then be the cost of home production. There were neither farms nor factories, and all that men used was imported by sea, from a box of matches to a ready made store or dwelling. Never was a community more dependent on foreign sources of supply; nowhere was commerce so active and nowhere occurred such extreme fluctuations in the prices of staple commodities.

From $4 the hundred-weight in March of 1848, the price of flour advanced within a few weeks to $12 and $15 in San Francisco and before the close of the year sold at some of the mining camps for almost its weight in silver. From about two cents a pound, the price of beef and pork advanced to 30 and 60 cents, with sugar and rice at $1 a pound, and wines and liquors at $5 to $8 a bottle,—these as metropolitan rates. Then came a reaction to less than one-third of these prices, followed a few months later by a rise of several hundred per cent. At the mines there were no established rates, provisions, tools, and clothing selling at such figures as the needs of the purchaser or the conscience of the storekeeper dictated. At Coloma, for instance, where gold was first discovered, blankets were sold in the winter of 1849 at $30 to $35 apiece and boots at the same price a pair. On the Yuba $1 a pound was the usual charge for provisions, on the north fork of the American river $5 the pound, and in the southern mines, as on the Stanislaus, $20 was freely paid for a bottle of liquor, and for a glass—two dollars.

As the result of such prices an excitement was created in the commercial centres of the world, second only in intensity to that which brought to these shores their throng of treasure-hunters. Without any thought as to what would be needed, without the least regard to the state or suitability of the market, the merchants of the east and of Europe shipped to this modern El Dorado their cargoes of damaged and shopworn goods. For these western wilds anything was deemed good enough that could be raked from dusty shelves and packed in bulk on shipboard. As for business judgment and calculation, they were simply cast to the winds, articles of prime necessity being out of a market glutted with goods of no local value. Thus in place of blankets and sombreros would come a shipment of broadcloth and silk hats; for woolen shirts and water-proof boots the finest of linen and hand-sewn shoes, with female apparel and costly furniture in a land where family life was unknown; with children's potions where there were no children, temperance drinks in place of strong liquor, and bibles perchance for playing-cards.

Nevertheless from the first shipments to San Francisco enormous profits were realized until from Atlantic and trans-Atlantic shores came cargo after cargo of goods for the most part unsuited to the local demand. Wharves and warehouses were few, and those with storage at $5 to $10 a ton per month, and money commanding on choice securities from one to two per cent a week. Except at auction, goods were unsalable, and were often sacrificed at the merest fraction of their cost. Many a costly freight was left to rot with the vessel that brought it into port, for sailors deserted their craft, and none could be found to take their place. Others cast forth from warehouses, as at the moment worthless, were used for street and foot pavements, men passing to and from their stores and offices over a sidewalk formed of bales of tobacco and other unmarketable commodities.

Thus trade continued for several years with alternate periods of inflation and depression, the latter at times preceded by a severe commercial panic. Still the fluctuation of prices was extreme, flour rising, for instance, from $8 to $9 a barrel in the spring of 1852, to more than $40 before the close of that year, and a few months later returning to about its former rates. For pork as much as $50 a barrel was paid in the autumn of 1852 against $10 at the beginning of that year, and in many other articles the changes in value were in proportion.

But presently it became apparent that our increasing crops of grain would more than suffice for home consumption, and meanwhile there had been a steady growth in our stock-farming interests. From 740,000 bags in 1853, imports of grain fell to a few thousand bags in 1856; of beef in the same period from 16,000 to 9,000 barrels; of pork from 51,000 to 28,000, and of butter from 94,000 to 9,000 casks. Instead of importing, California began to export wheat, her crop increasing to nearly 6,000,000 bushels in 1860, under the stimulus of high prices and the facilities for shipment afforded by incoming fleets, which must else depart in ballast. Gradually wheat attained to a leading rank among articles of export, shipments rising by 1881 to their maximum figure of nearly 1,000,000 tons, but with a falling off in subsequent years due to lower prices and the growth of horticultural industries.

During the decade beginning with 1860 came two important factors, largely modifying the conditions of trade. These were the civil war and the opening of our first transcontinental railroad. By the former, which largely increased the cost and risk of transportation, the Pacific coast was thrown more largely on its own resources, both agriculture and manufactures developing with rapid strides. The effect of the completion of the Central-Union Pacific was at first to retard somewhat the growth of home industries by fostering the demand for eastern goods; but this was merely temporary, for in the two following decades rapid progress was made in all directions, and in a ratio that was but slightly diminished. Meanwhile, contrary to all expectation, there was a steady gain in imports by sea, caused by the continuous accession of wealth and population, these imports increasing from less than $20,000,000 in 1869 to more than $50,000,000 in 1889.

To estimate with accuracy imports and experts by rail is almost impossible, for such goods are only accounted for by weight, amounting in 1890 for exports alone to more than 400,000 tons, but as to the value of which we have no reliable basis of calculation. Among the leading articles shipped by the Southern Pacific system, to which fell the bulk of the carrying trade, were 55,000 tons of sugar, nearly 40,000 tons of canned goods, 25,000 of wine, 21,000 of dried fruit, and 12,000 of wool.

Among other features of business in California may be mentioned the high rates of interest in pioneer days, from five to ten per cent a month, remaining for years at two to three per cent a month, and in 1890 not less than seven per cent a year for prime commercial paper. Complaints have been loud and frequent that such rates retard our commercial and industrial development; but it is, of course, the business of a banker to lend money at the highest rates obtainable on good security, and in doing so he merely follows the custom prevailing throughout the financial centres of the world. The money market is not controlled by sentiment, and capital flows toward the most profitable outlet as surely as the needle turns to the pole.

Another drawback is the want of many kinds of factories and the limited markets for the products of those which exist. Notwithstanding the vast increase in the volume of our manufactures, they consume only a small proportion of the raw material produced on this coast. In former years it was not uncommon to import flour from eastern points to which wheat had been shipped only a few months before, thus virtually sending our grain nearly twenty thousand miles to the mill. So with wool and other raw produce, the bulk of which is still sent abroad to be returned in the shape of fabrics, and in many instances at four-fold value, with all the added charges of manufacture, freight, and commissions. On most of our wool clip, freight is paid even on the grease and dirt which it contains, shipments of wool in the grease from San Francisco amounting for 1890 to more than 8,000 tons against some 2,600 tons of scoured wool.

For this condition of affairs the causes are not far to seek. Chief among them are the high rates of wages, the independent spirit of the working classes, the prices of fuel and water, and the necessity of importing many descriptions of supplies. Other causes were the restrictions imposed by the new constitution, placing on capital a heavy burden, and resulting only in driving it from the state, with corresponding injury to those in whose interest this pseudo-legislation was enacted. Certainly the fault was not with capitalists, for as a rule manufacturing has been less profitable than any other branch of industry, often resulting in a loss, and where remunerative, in a profit averaging less than six per cent. Especially were losses incurred in earlier years, when the peculiar conditions of our coast and of its climate, the quality of our raw material, and the nature of the local demand differed so widely from those of eastern centres that the experience of Atlantic manufacturers counted for nothing; and here they must acquire their knowledge afresh, often paying dearly for the lesson. Moreover, many of these enterprises were premature, and were maintained simply because the capital invested in buildings and machinery could not be utilized for other purposes without a heavy sacrifice. Some were simply abandoned, and as late as 1889 the largest woolen mill on the Pacific coast, producing a few years before at the rate of $1,500,000 per annum, was closed as no longer profitable. Thus it is that on the Pacific coast there are probably not a dozen manufacturing companies whose stock the banks would accept as security for advances; in Massachusetts and New York there are as many hundreds.

Assuredly it is not for lack of enterprise that we have so few manufactures outside of California, and that in California they have met with indifferent success. Nor can it be said that the fault lies at the door either of the capitalist or of the operative, that the one has demanded too much for his money or the other for his labor. If higher rates can be obtained for money advanced on farms or mines or merchandise, for such purposes will capital be utilized, and not for establishing factories. If labor commands better prices in other directions, then will it not be largely available for manufacturing purposes; for both labor and capital are to a certain extent in the nature of commodities, seeking the highest remuneration that the market affords. Nor is it here intended to hold up California as a model of enterprise, as superior to other Pacific states, but rather as their type and representative. If she has thus far accomplished more than others, it is because she is the oldest among the sisterhood of states, because of her greater ceeding *per capita* that of any other portion of the population, and her superior facilities for rapid development. Her people differ not from those of Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and other sections, except perhaps so far as the most able men are attracted toward the largest centres of wealth and activity. Among all our Pacific communities is the spirit of enterprise and wholesome, manly endeavor, and few there are which do not contain a fair proportion of settlers from the golden state.

Just as there is no section of the United States where fortunes have been so readily accumulated as on the Pacific coast, so there is no city in that section which contains in relation to numbers so many millionaires as San Francisco. Nowhere else are there in proportion so many rich men who began life in poverty, so many poor men who began life in comfortable circumstances, or so many who have alternately encountered the extremes of affluence and want. There are not a few among our wealthiest citizens who began their career on this coast by handling a pick, by driving a wagon, by serving as clerks in retail stores, or even as waiters or barkeepers. If some of them are ashamed of their early condition, such false shame has merely served to make them a target for public ridicule; but for the most part they are by no means loath either to acknowledge such experiences or the associates among whom it was encountered.

And what is the influence that this accumulation of wealth has exercised on the commerce and industries of our coast? Surely it is not, as communists would have us believe, that the sources of wealth have been monopolized to the enrichment of capitalists and to the impoverishment and degradation of the masses, that the possessions of the few have been acquired through the destitution of the many. If here as elsewhere there has been an unequal distribution of wealth, of an aggregate of wealth ex-world, this is explained, as in older commonwealths, by the fact that most of us either fail to earn more than we need, or squander the surplus on extravagant tastes and habits or on injudicious investments. It is not because capitalists have taken advantage of them that the majority of our people are poor to-day; but because they lacked the superior foresight, diligence, and economy which capitalists possessed. The largest fortunes in California have been accumulated at the expense of other communities, if at the expense of anybody, and while these fortunes have been gathered, the poorest in the land could earn from twice to thrice as much as those of the same class in eastern or European countries. But we need not dwell further on the absurdity of the proposition that wealth should be evenly distributed. It has long since been accepted almost as a postulate that it is better for riches to be in the hands of a few than that there should be no accumulation of capital, for without such accumulation there can be no such thing as commercial and industrial progress.

In concluding this sketch of the business annals of California and her metropolis, it may be said that for many years the phenomenal growth of the city and state, together with their almost uniform prosperity, caused the lessons of prudence to be cast to the winds, and the teachings of experience to be disregarded. With a central position with a virtual monopoly of the commerce of the coast for more than 1,000 miles in length, with mines, within a radius of 200 or 300 miles, producing in three or four decades more than $1,500,000,000, most of these mines largely owned in San Francisco, their treasures passing through her gates, and swelling the volume of her commerce, it is no wonder that our merchants became intoxicated with success. At brief intervals this excitement was further intensified by active speculation in mining stocks and real estate, in which the majority of the merchants' customers participated, and too often the merchants themselves. Thus risks were assumed which were almost unknown in more conservative communities, and in a measure were unavoidable, for he who would not accept them could not remain in business. Hence in part the large percentage of failures, probably more than one-half of our San Francisco merchants having passed through insolvency once at least in their career.

Second among the commercial cities of California is Sacramento, one of the railroad centres of the Pacific coast, the site of the construction and repair shops of the Central Pacific, and with advantages over the metropolis in some directions, as in cheaper storage, rents, and freights. In 1880 the volume of her commerce and manufactures exceeded $30,000,000, in 1890 it was probably not short of $50,000,000, including large shipments of green and dried fruits, of canned goods, wines, and raisins. Stockton, the principal inland centre of the wheat traffic, at the head of navigation on the San Joaquin river, except for vessels of light draught, has within recent years enjoyed her full share of the general prosperity. A notable feature has been the increase in her manufactures, especially in the line of foundries and machine-shops. Still more remarkable has been the progress of Oakland within the last decade, with its railroad pier extended into water deep enough for vessels of the heaviest burden, with a population increasing from 34,000 in 1880 to 52,000 in 1890, with 80 miles of macadamized roads, with its entire business quarter remodelled within less than a score of years, and ranking to-day among the principal manufacturing centres of the Pacific coast. Of the shipping trade Vallejo, Port Costa, Martinez, and Benicia receive a considerable portion, the first with a steadily increasing volume of manufactures.

In southern California, Los Angeles is the principal commercial city, its population increasing from about 11,000 in 1880 to more than 50,000 in 1890.

No less remarkable is the increase in property valuation from some $10,000,000 in the former year to $48,000,000 in the latter. As to the growth of this, our southern metropolis, the following statements and figures may be of interest. In 1880 it was a quiet and unpretentious Spanish-American town, with few but adobe buildings, and almost without a single pavement, little changed in appearance from the days when Don Pio Pico, the last governor of California under the Mexican régime, surrendered his badge of office. In 1890 the city had been practically rebuilt, with scores of brick buildings from three to four stories in height with hundreds of handsome residences, with seventy or eighty miles of paved and gravelled streets, and with cable or horse-cars on all the leading thoroughfares. In 1880 hides and wool were the staple products of the county, with a few orchards and vineyards as in mission days, most of the deciduous fruits being imported for local consumption. In 1890 there were more than 10,000,000 fruit trees, of which a large proportion were in bearing, and with an orange crop alone estimated at 2,500 car-loads. Other shipments for that year to eastern points included 10,000 tons of vegetables, 7,500 of dried fruits, 2,000 of wool, 1,100 of honey, and 5,000,00. gallons of wine. With ten lines of railroad centreing in Los Angeles, of which two belong to transcontinental systems, and with two seaports, in one of which an artificial harbor has been constructed, the future of the city as a commercial centre is sufficiently assured.

No less phenomenal is the growth of San Diego, from a population of 2,600 in 1880 to nearly 20,000 in 1890, and mustering during an interval of real estate excitement not less than 30,000. As late as 1884 there were not a dozen buildings in the city which could boast of more than a single story; there were neither street-cars nor electric lights, and on the peninsula across its bay, where now stands a thriving winter resort with one of the largest hotels in the world, was a waste of chaparral, unrelieved by a single human habitation. Then came a transformation almost as sudden as that which was witnessed in the city by the golden gate. Within a few years were seen business blocks almost as costly and pretentious as those of the metropolis, with street-car, cable, and motor lines extending to points more than twenty miles distant from its centre, with a system of wharves sufficient for all the shipping of southern California, and with manufactures of many descriptions, from soap and ink factories up to the shipyards where are built the steam ferry-boats for harbor navigation. In 1880 there was neither agriculture nor horticulture in their proper sense in all the region tributary to San Diego, and it was not until the following year that the first box of raisins was packed in that county. In 1890 shipments amounted to 2,000 tons with 70 carloads of citrus fruits, of honey 1,000 tons, and of cereals nearly 1,000,000 sacks. Already an important railroad centre, and with one of the finest harbors in the world, deep, commodious, and secure, the prospects of San Diego, now that she has fairly recovered from the effects of her speculative mania, are brighter than ever before.

Among all our transmontane states and territories the year 1890 was in the main a prosperous one, though closing with a slight financial stringency, caused by the state of the money market in eastern and old-world centres, rather than by our own business condition. In San Francisco there were no general grounds for complaint among merchants and manufacturers, though shipments of grain were below the average, caused in part by scarcity of tonnage and high rates of freight. Perhaps there is no better indication of the steady increase in our volume of commerce than in the earnings of the Southern Pacific, which, in relation to trade, are somewhat in the nature of a barometer. From $20,500,000 in 1880 these earnings increased to $48,500,000 in 1890, or an average of some $8,000 for each of the 6,000 miles included in its overland system. On many local roads the increase was in proportion, as on the San Francisco and North Pacific, from $362,000 in 1880 to $775,000 in 1890. Meanwhile, however, the mileage on both systems had been more than doubled.

For the year 1891, the exports of California were valued at $53,000,000, an increase of nearly one-third over those of the preceding year. Imports at $52,500,000, an increase of 14 per cent. Clearing-house operations were reported at about $900,000,000, a gain of some $50,000,000 over 1890. Bank deposits were stated at $186,000,000, or $15,000,000 more than in 1891, and the assessed valuation of property at $1,242,000,000, a gain of 24 per cent. on 1890, and nearly double that of 1880. In the main the year 1891 was fairly prosperous, and if with increase of trade there was in proportion a slight diminution of profit, this was but the natural tendency of the commerce of the coast, now that its commercial metropolis is connected with the commercial emporia of the world.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOCIETY—PAST AND PRESENT.

Spanish-Americans—Aztec Nobles and Lower Orders—Society in the Vice-regal Period—Its Present Condition—Diet, Dress, and Amusements—Aversion to Foreigners—The Franciscans in California—Life at the Missions—Neophytes and Padres—Food, Attire, Pastimes, and Dwellings in Pastoral California—Effect of the Gold Discovery—The Argonauts—Absence of Home Influences—Women—The Present Generation.

In the term society I propose to include in this section not only its component elements, its manners, morals, customs, amusements, and other kindred topics, but also religion and education, science art and literature, tracing them back from their inception, and through all their stages of development, finding here as we do at this day from Panamá to Alaska a group of nations and of states many of which compare not unfavorably with the older communities of Europe or of the Atlantic states.

In Mexico, probably, society, in the modern acceptation of the word, first existed on this continent, and from the original elements blended in her modern population, through a contact of races extending over a period of nearly four centuries, have arisen innumerable combinations, which cannot be fully traced or classified. The main ingredients were, ~~however, the~~ Spaniard, the Nahua, and the African, the offspring of the first two being termed a mestizo, of the last two a zambo or chino, and of the first and last a mulatto. Only among the Nahuas, and more especially among the Aztecs, was there anything that can be compared with the civilization of European nations at the time of the Spanish conquest.

The Aztec nobility was divided into several classes, each with its own privileges and badges of rank, some of the titles being hereditary, and others conferred only for life, as a reward for military or other service. As some chronicles relate, there were in the realms of Montezuma thirty great lords, each of whom controlled a hundred thousand vassals, and three thousand other lords, who were also very powerful. Army officers of high rank were included among the privileged classes; usually, indeed, they were of noble birth, and during the reign of Montezuma II. this was always the case.

In the earlier years of the Aztec dynasty the lower orders of free citizens appear to have been an important factor in the body politic. They were represented in the royal council; many held office at court, and the wishes of all were consulted in affairs of moment. Gradually, however, their privileges were curtailed, until, before the time of the conquest, they had been deprived of all positions that were not absolutely menial, and driven from the palace.

During the vice-regal period was developed what may be termed a new race, sprung from the union of the proudest of European nations and the most advanced of the native races of America. The former was itself somewhat of an anomaly, containing, as it did, the physical and mental characteristics of half a dozen nations, from the sturdy Goth to the lithe and fiery Arab; the latter was evolved amid the rise and fall of empires, whose records are entombed in the most imposing monuments of the continent.

In Mexico, at least, men in whose veins was the largest admixture of Spanish blood were held in most esteem. Class distinctions have ever been jealously guarded in Spain, and, proud of his race and country, the Spaniard in early days looked on the foreigner somewhat with the contempt of a Greek for those whom he termed barbarians. Such ideas could not fail to be intensified in the new world, where the Castilian trod the soil as the conqueror of dusky and half-naked races of Indians, whose possession of a soul even was questioned. Education, wealth, and honors centred almost exclusively in the Spaniards. They held all the best offices, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastic; they controlled the professions, controlled the leading branches of trade and manufacture, and owned the richest mines and the largest plantations. Between them and the castes lay an immense gulf. To be of the former was to be of a noble race; to be of the latter was to be branded.

The term creoles, or native-born Americans of European parentage, acquired a tinge of reproach on account of their indolent habits, whereby they were prevented from competing with immigrants in trade or industries. Climate had much to do with this failing, but the cause must also be ascribed in part to their training and their superficial education. They were spoiled by home indulgence; the frugality of their ancestors disappeared; forethought and prudence were cast to the winds, and the saying, "The father a trader, the son a gentleman, and the grandson a beggar," became general in application.

In Mexico of to-day there are but two classes of society—those who work to live, and those who live by the labor of their fellow-man, the one including all the wealth and intelligence of the country, members of the professions and public officials, and the other consisting only of those who serve. Between the two there is an almost impassable gulf, for the poor are hopelessly poor, and looked upon with contempt, while the high-born, if reduced to poverty, prefer starvation to manual labor. As yet there is no great and powerful middle class, though such an element is being gradually evolved through the social and material progress of the country. There is not, as in most of the countries of Europe and in the United States, a great body politic, consisting of farmers, traders, and artisans, many of them owning the land which they till, the wares which they sell, and the shops and dwellings which they occupy. This most important factor in the community, forming as it does the very backbone of a nation, is still in process of development. Thus, the term lower classes signifies in Spanish America something different from its meaning elsewhere on this continent, and perhaps elsewhere in the world.

The present condition and status of the lower classes are matters easy of explanation. Given as a base the conquered natives, originally in a condition of slavery, and afterward merged into innumerable castes by intermarriage with Africans and Europeans; steep them in ignorance and superstition; grind them for centuries under the heel of political, ecclesiastical, and social despotism, and the result is exactly what might have been expected.

Among the upper classes in Mexico may be found all gradations of caste, in addition to the pure-blooded European and the pure-blooded American. In point of ability, education, wealth, comfort, and refinement, the former are by no means behind the other civilized nations of the world. Here, as elsewhere, riches, education, and gentility are the principal passports to society; but the mere possession of riches does not win recognition for their owner, and, on the other hand, all who are but one or two degrees removed from the brute condition of the peon have rights which are duly respected, although they may not possess a dollar in the world.

As to the diet, dress, and amusements of the Mexicans, so much has already been written that only the briefest space will be given to them in this chapter. In their mode of life they have adopted for the most part European customs. The desayuno, or first breakfast, consists simply of coffee or chocolate, with cakes or rolls, taken soon after rising. After two or three hours of horseback exercise comes the breakfast proper, served between nine and twelve, and consisting of a great variety of dishes. The dinner hour, depending on professional or other duties, is between four and six, followed by supper at eight, after which come chocolate and cigars. While the rich eat more than is good for them, the poor are underfed, their diet consisting principally of fruit, tortillas, and frijoles; though with a piece of meat and a few vegetables they can set forth half a dozen dishes of excellent quality.

In female attire the lower classes adhere as a rule to the national dress, covering the head, if at all, with a *rebozo*, or scarf, woven of cotton or wool, or sometimes of silk, wrapped round the head and chest, and with one end thrown over the shoulder. In color it is usually black, and, according to the means of the wearer, may be a mere rag or of such expensive material as to be worth its weight in gold, and of texture so fine that it can be drawn through a finger-ring. Corresponding to this is the *serape* of the men, of a thick, blanket-like substance, sometimes of striped material, and sometimes of a plain color. In the centre of those worn by laborers is a slit through which the head is passed, the garment hanging loosely from the shoulders. Underneath is a blouse made of cotton, with a white shirt and pantaloons, usually of the same material, a pair of leathern sandals, a sombrero, and a bright-colored sash, tied round the waist, completing the costume.

Among the wealthier classes the men are, as a rule, more gayly attired than the women, the cavaliers especially being fond of displaying their gaudy dress and equipments on the paseo. One of the neatest costumes is that of the country gentleman at his hacienda, or when riding in the city. It consists of black cloth pantaloons, with rows of gilt or silver buttons, over them being drawn top-boots, with the inevitable Mexican spur, a white, ruffled shirt, a black cloth jacket and vest, both of the same length, the former with rows of buttons, often trimmed with fur or embroidered in gold or silver; a sombrero, elaborately ornamented and with the wearer's monogram.

Apart from gambling and the bull-fight, the favorite amusements are the drama, music, the song and dance, the first of which has several times received substantial support from the government. The Mexicans are natural musicians, every city and town having one or more bands, whose members receive little regular instruction. The son learns from his father the rudiments of the art, and the leader does the rest, the result being that in hundreds of plazas excellent music may be heard throughout the soft, tropical evenings. Dance music, with its weird and rhythmic movement, is most in favor, and is played in perfect time and tune, for the ear of the musician is remarkably correct, and his taste almost faultless. The national dance, resembling somewhat the Cuban *habanera*, has a slow, swaying motion, conforming to the strains of the orchestra, and the songs are of the same description, a striking feature being their melancholy tone. In fact, Mexican music is as individual in its character as are the Neapolitan airs or the German *Volkslieder*.

A noticeable feature among the Mexicans is their aversion to foreigners, and especially to Americans, of whom there are in all perhaps 30,000 in the entire republic. As a rule, Europeans are not in sympathy with Mexican institutions, holding themselves apart, frequenting their own clubs and places of resort, and regarding the natives with offensive superciliousness. Moreover, European merchants have sought to monopolize the trade of the country by spreading false reports, by smuggling, and taking advantage of official corruption, and by helping to keep the masses in poverty and ignorance, while charging the evils produced by their own selfishness to the faults of a government which they openly despise.

From central and southern Mexico catholic missionaries gradually made their way into the northern provinces, and thence into lower and upper California, into which latter country civilization was introduced by the Franciscan fathers. Those who first arrived were for the most part men of rare practical ability, entering into intimate relationship with the natives, both mental and material, putting themselves in their place, seeing with their eyes, thinking with their thoughts, and weighing and measuring their every idea and idiosyncrasy. First of all they perceived that their material condition must be improved, for a savage can best appreciate the benefits of religion when it feeds and clothes him. Abstract future blessings he cannot understand, but food and present comforts, appealing to his reason, the seat of which is the stomach, he readily appreciates.

So complete was the authority which the padres acquired over their converts, through kind and judicious treatment, that a single priest, aided by four or five soldiers, often controlled several hundreds of neophytes. The Indians worked simply for their maintenance and clothing, which consisted of a blanket and shirt for the men, and for the women a rebozo and the stuff wherewith to make *enaguas* or petticoats. The neophytes were divided into cuadrillas or gangs, some being laborers afield, others hunters, herdsmen, or artisans. The men were instructed in trades, as that of the blacksmith and carpenter, or in weaving and the making of blankets and carpets. The women were taught how to spin and sew, together with various domestic duties, some of them being also employed in harvesting, in cutting grapes, or in cleansing and weaving wool. Perfect order prevailed, and the routine of their labor was never varied except on Sundays, or on feast-days and holidays.

At the sound of the morning bell the neophytes were required to attend church, where they offered a short prayer. The second ringing summoned them to the *pozolera* for their breakfast of *atole*, or porridge, made of barley, roasted, ground, and sifted. At sunrise the bell sounded for the third time, when all the cuadrillas went about their daily work, singly or in groups, to the places assigned them. An hour before noon a refreshing drink was served, consisting of vinegar and sugar or lemon and sugar. About mid-day they repaired to the pozolera for dinner, which consisted usually of beans and maize boiled together, and after a brief rest resumed their labors until sundown, save that thrice each day, at the sound of the mission bells, a prayer was uttered, all standing bareheaded, and work being meanwhile suspended. On returning to the mission buildings there was a supper of atole, followed by more prayers, after which they were locked up for the night, the bachelors and spinsters in separate edifices, the keys of which were given to the padre.

As for the padres themselves, they fared more sumptuously, at least after the labors of their neophytes had furnished them with the means for luxurious living. Breaking their fast with chocolate and toast, at eleven they took a glass of brandy, with a piece of cake and cheese. At noon came dinner, of rice or vermicelli soup, followed by an olla of beef or mutton and ham, with beans, lentils, Spanish peas, and greens, the last course being of fruit and sweetmeats, with wine ad libitum. Between seven and eight a light supper was served, consisting of roast pigeons, or other delicate food, with chocolate. Extra dishes were provided when guests were at table, and they were also furnished, free of charge, with fresh horses and provisions to continue their journey. This practice afterward became general throughout the country, hospitality being limited only by the means of the owner.

The diet of the rancheros was even more liberal than that of the priests, though it cannot be said that either were given to gluttony or drunkenness. In the latter vice there was indeed little opportunity for indulgence, for salutary regulations limited the sale of liquors and rendered them costly. If we can believe Pio Pico, brandy was exceedingly scarce at the northern settlements, even at the missions, and when any was sent thither from the south it was as the smile of providence. Thus, temperate in their habits, but with well-nourished frames, and with abundant outdoor exercise, the people of pastoral California suffered from few diseases, and were for the most part men of robust and vigorous constitution, living to a good old age and leaving behind them a numerous progeny.

The orthodox dress of the pastoral Californian about the year 1835 consisted of a short silk or figured calico jacket, open-necked shirt, richly embroidered vest, pantaloons of velveteen or broadcloth, gilt-laced and open at the side below the knee, dark-brown deerskin shoes, a broad-brimmed hat of dark color, lined with silk and with a gilt or figured band, a red sash round the waist, and a poncho or serape, the latter being of any material, from broadcloth with velvet trimmings, down to a coarse blanket, according to the rank or wealth of the wearer. The women were attired in gowns of silk, cloth, or calico, with short sleeves and loose waist, without corset, bright-colored sashes or belts, and shoes of kid or satin. They wore no bonnets, the hair hanging loose or in long braids, and covered when in the house with a kerchief, or when out of doors with a large mantle, drawn close around the face.

To pass the time joyously and pleasantly was one of the main objects of life among the Californians of what may be termed the golden age, preceding the age of gold. As with the Mexicans, to which nationality most of the gente de razon belonged, their favorite pastimes were music, song and dance, with bull and bear baiting, and *paseos al campo*, or picnics. In the last several families joined, each contributing something to the feast, as chickens, turkeys, tamales, while the bachelors furnished the wines, and often a fat calf was killed and roasted in the open air. As a rule all were on horseback, the married and elderly females on their own saddles and the younger women riding with their beaux, the man seated behind, with his arm around the damsel and his hat on her head, his own head being bare or bound perhaps with the kerchief of his inamorata. On reaching the ground they alighted, and under the trees the entertainment began, first with eating and drinking and then with dancing, singing and games, followed by rambles and flirtations among loving couples, as is inseparable from such occasions. Returning to town a ball was given at the house of one of the party, with a midnight supper, and lasting usually until the following morning.

At this era dancing was a pastime indulged in by people of all ages and conditions, from the padre to the peon, and from infancy to senility, grandmothers and grandchildren often dancing together. Their houses were indeed constructed with special regard to this amusement, for most of the interior space was appropriated to the sala, a large barn-like room, the only furniture of which consisted of a few chairs and a wooden settee. Though all joined in the dance, so great was the respect shown to parents that in their presence young men would not participate until their permission was granted.

With all their good qualities, however, and there were few more moral, happier, or more contented communities than the Californians of this period, home and home life were but little understood. They lived in the open air and in the sunshine, their low one-story dwellings of adobe with their gleaming white-washed walls and bright tile roofs being used only for meals, sleep, and storage. Around them were no creepers, no infolding grove, no shade-trees, not even a garden fringe to relieve the bare and desolate aspect of their habitations, and this was further increased by the absence of all architectural decorations. Among the poorer classes the furniture consisted of a few benches, a half dozen of chairs plaited with rawhide thongs, a single table, and for bed a stretcher with a covering of hide, sometimes curtained off in the absence of walled partitions.

There was, however, a better class of houses, built after the Spanish fashion, in squares, with a small inner court, filled with luxurious plants watered by a fountain in the centre. Around the court was a corridor upon which opened the large, low-ceiled, half-lighted rooms, luxuriously if not tastefully furnished, with large mirrors, handsome bureaus, and tables inlaid with shells, imported from China or Peru. In the homes of the wealthy were always rooms for strangers, who, in some instances, however, were not allowed to enter the family apartments, though in others the house was called his own and its inmates his servants, while on retiring to rest all united in pronouncing a benediction and in invoking in his behalf the protection of the saints.

Such was pastoral California, and never before or since was there in all the Americas a community that enjoyed life more thoroughly, with less of wear or toilsome labor, with less of care or trouble, and with less of wickedness. Social, hospitable, and amiable, they were by no means a strong community, either physically or politically, and hence it was that as the savages faded before the Mexicans, so faded the Mexicans before the Americans. Great was their opportunity, exceeding great, had they but known it, to build up a prosperous commonwealth; and even later no less marvellous, had they possessed the energy to avail themselves of the work of others.

But suddenly on this western Eden burst like a thunderclap from a clear sky the news of the gold discovery at the Coloma sawmill, and within a few months vessels landed on her shores their human freight, composed of as motley a multitude as was ever assembled beneath the sun. There were men and women from every land in Christendom, and not a few from other lands, of divers colors, and strange of speech. There was the lean, thin-visaged Yankee and the tall, angular, western man; there were cattle-drivers from the north and negro-drivers from the south; there were dignitaries and disappointed office-seekers; there were Texan rangers and veterans of the Mexican war; there was the portly, supercilious Briton, the dapper, nimble-witted Frenchman, the shrewd and stolid German, the fiery Castilian, and the omnipresent Jew. Worst of all, there was some admixture of the criminal element, mostly from the English convict settlements. There were gentlemanly rascals from every quarter, but by far the greater part of these adventurers were good and honest men. Of the better class some were fresh from the endearments of home, from the embrace of mother, sister, or wife; as to the rest, they were utterly indifferent as to their past or future lives, so that their present desire for gold might be satisfied.

Since the days of Adam there was never held up to man a more faithful mirror, one which more faithfully reflected him in his true light, stripped of all shams and conventionalities, than that which was now presented to the members of this heterogeneous community. Leaving behind them all home restraints, everything that bound them to long-established customs and habits, many of these latter-day argonauts on entering this new El Dorado sunk even their name and identity. They were no longer their former selves; they were born and baptized anew, and in their midst arose a social organism at once complex and peculiar, whose growth was at each succeeding phase a new development.

For many years there was not in California either home or home feeling, for men's purpose was simply to gather gold, and then to return in all speed whence they came. There were no home associations; there were no aged or other relatives; there was nothing around them hallowed by an indistinct past; there was nothing older than themselves. All that they saw had grown up under their own eyes, and for these things of their own creation they had no reverence.

Thrown together by accident as were these argonauts, utter strangers to each other, strangers in ideas, speech, and traditions, without the substratum as a social foundation which can only coalesce as society gradually develops, it is no wonder that they were found wanting in some of the fixed attributes of older and more settled communities. Even at this day society is merely in process of formation, and is not as yet society, but only materials for society, though in the main materials of excellent quality, for nowhere are displayed more generous impulses, nowhere will the people unite more heartily and readily for the public good, nowhere are they more intelligent, charitable, sociable, and more free from the apings of fashion.

Woman played her part in early California annals, her influence being felt as much by reason of its absence as its presence; for the almost entire absence of respectable women had a strange effect upon the men, although perhaps they were not themselves aware of it. Religion they could dispense with, while dwelling for a time in the wilderness; but that all bonds of association should be limited to a community of men was indeed a new experience. It was like a void in nature, a missing element in their existence.

As riches increased, and men became more reconciled to the country, women of the better class—the wives and daughters of the argonauts, and others under their protection—became more plentiful, though even yet they number little more than two-thirds of the male population, while as early as 1852 there were more than 27,000 of the gentler sex. At the latter date, and for several years afterward, life in California was for woman a severe and constant trial, her health and strength, her love and pride, her religion, and even her honor being brought to the crucial test. In the golden state a fastidious woman was somewhat out of place, unless she were one of those whose hearts nothing but a golden key could unlock.

The absence of all home influences, the medley of nationalities, the quickening clime and environment, and the migratory habits of the people, have stamped the Californians with many distinctive traits. Moreover, distance and other considerations largely restricted the inflowing population to the more desirable class of immigrants, the destitute and helpless being deterred by the cost of the journey. Those who came here were for the most part men of energy, self-reliance, and adaptability, men of a practical nature, careless of form and appearance, who cast aside the conservatism of older communities, and sought out for themselves new and independent channels. Wit, muscle, and gold—but above all things gold—were supreme; and though class distinctions gradually acquired some influence, they have never been closely drawn, and are as yet free from the absurdities common to eastern and European communities. Character and enterprise, if promising and practical, take also a leading rank. In education and intelligence the masses are at least on a par with other peoples, though among the so-called upper class the lust of wealth and the pride and pomp of fashion have too often overshadowed all tendency to the higher intellectual culture.

The remarks that have thus far been made on the population of California apply in a measure to other states and territories, for most of them were settled and developed under similar conditions. But for the purposes of this work sufficient has already been said of other sections to indicate the general tone of society on the Pacific coast.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION—GENERAL REVIEW.

Educational Anomalies—Iberians and Puritans—Treatment of the Aborigines—Anglo-Saxon and Spanish Rule—Nahua and Maya Training—Influence of the Catholic Priesthood—Education in the Colonial and Republican Eras—Docility and Impatience of the Hispano-American—School Systems Elsewhere on the Pacific Coast—Land Grants—Women as School Superintendents—Church Control in Utah—Influence of the Press.

Education shares in the anomalies connected with the occupation and settlement of the Pacific coast. The migration to these shores embraced a large proportion of the superior classes, for distance and the cost of the journey held back the poorer and lower element. This applied in a measure both to the original influx from the old world and to the westward movement from the Atlantic shores. Both slopes became a refuge also for the younger sons of reputable families, and especially for those possessed of energy and ambition. Thus among the hard-fisted miners, mechanics, farmers, and stockmen of to-day may be found a number of college graduates, whose uncouth appearance as a rule belies their early training and environment. The standard of education among the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants is in fact higher on the western slope than in the older states or in Europe. Nor is education in general backward, as distinguished from information, albeit occupying a lesser plane, though breeding and demeanor have naturally suffered from the unsettled conditions of frontier life.

The first immigrants to America were deficient in general information, though well advanced in such branches of education as were then in consonance with the spirit of the times. The puritans were, however, relatively more advanced in knowledge than the Iberians, who excelled only in the more superficial attainments. The descendants of both have inherited their predilections, those of the former displaying all the energy, thrift, and enterprise of their forefathers, while the others remained passive and inert under the burden of indolence and of ecclesiastical shackles. In the one case climatic and race conditions have favored a church selfishly intent on sustaining its domination; and in the other, obstructions have been caused by the eagerness for material advancement, which, prompting to the formation of isolated settlements and to the rapid extension of the frontier, placed the pioneers beyond the reach of educational advantages.

The wild and semi-cultured aborigines suffered in a greater degree from their white masters through falling into the wrong hands. The roaming Indians would have felt less the effects of Spanish superstition than did the budding civilization of the Nahuas and Mayas, which was stamped out by priestly iconoclasm. Indeed the former would have fared better under the more sympathetic sway of the Castilians than they have at the hands of the cold and selfish Anglo-Saxon, who on the other hand would have treated with more consideration the imposing social structures on the southern table-lands.

The Anglo-Saxon was too much occupied with his own affairs to care for the poverty-stricken natives around him. Even the little attention that was given to him was misapplied, being directed so largely to the care of his soul, rather than to the material and social transformation requisite as a basis for new conditions of life. Less cruel and scornful than the Spaniard, his pride of race is nevertheless as strong, and this has raised a barrier between himself and the red man, forcing the latter back into communities of their own or to a life of want and misery on the government reservations.

Thus the Indian, whose condition is that of an outcast, feels little desire to avail himself of the means of education. There are exceptions, however, as among the Cherokees in the east, and in this connection may be mentioned the admirable results of the Duncan mission on the bleak Alaskan border, where a degraded tribe has been transformed into a prosperous community, with school, church, and other institutions. Its success clearly demonstrates the necessity for industrial training as the basis for further improvements; but this can be applied with effect only when they are removed from all contact with the vicious element among the white population.

With the aborigines the Spaniard adopted a system contrary to that of the Teuton, and one equally at variance with their requirements. Clerical and political officials united in a policy of repression which blighted a culture that was full of promise. The Nahuas and Mayas had colleges wherein a number of arts and sciences were taught, as music and astronomy; history received much attention, and likewise the study of picture-writing, which permitted the record of abstract ideas, political codes, and so forth. Girls were taught spinning, featherwork, and other artistic and domestic handiwork under the supervision of nuns and priestesses. Those of inferior birth were also admitted into temple schools, but with a very limited range of instruction, as in singing, mythologic and historic tales, and gymnastics, their chief training being in religious duties and discipline. The drawbacks here, as with the catholics, lay chiefly in the restrictions of the priesthood, which controlled education, and established esoteric schools for a favored circle. Another obstacle lay in the writing, which, notwithstanding its phonetic grade, was unwieldy, and could not be widely practised.

The wild tribes northward, like the mediæval knighthood of Europe, took pride only in feats of arms and physical exercises. The lessons which they received fell from the lips of warriors around the camp-fire, and consisted of tales of daring achievements and cherished legends and traditions. They sank deep into the mind of the youth ambitious for renown, whose memory, unspoiled by the modern method of cramming and of desultory reading and writing, presented as firm a tablet for such inscription as that of the Homeric audiences.

The first missionary fathers of the conquest period entered with fervor into the task of teaching the neophyte a multiplicity of branches, while giving preference to religion. The readiness with which the natives acquired information, until they utterly eclipsed the great majority of the Spaniards, pricked the vanity of their masters, and the government was roused by their representations to regard with alarm such enlightenment among a people doomed to enslavement. Thus in later years only a favored few were permitted to share with the colonists in a certain range of studies and handiwork, while the great mass were not allowed to receive any instruction, save oral lessons in the doctrines of the church.

To this retrogression from even the aboriginal standard contributed foremost the illiterate ecclesiastics who succeeded to the pioneer fathers. The friars, in particular, being comparatively ignorant, objected to placing themselves in a position where they might suffer by comparison with their neophytes, and were glad, besides, to be relieved of the labor of teaching. Few of them cared even to learn the tongue of the natives under their charge, and were content with the mechanical performance of rites, and the recitation of a few prayers and doctrines. In some regions, as along the frontier from California to Texas, their chief aim was to keep the Indians at profitable labor, to the enrichment of the mission, and to their own comfort and dignity. The neglect is the more to be regretted as their pupils frequently evinced remarkable ability and application, as displayed in the excellent choirs organized among themselves.

The Spaniards and mestizos were held under corresponding restraint. During the colonial period education remained almost exclusively in the hands of ecclesiastics, partly with a view to guard the population against heretical influences, which might infect also their loyalty to the mother country. Thus the great masses were left in ignorance, the grades above them being only in a slight measure relieved from illiteracy. It was not considered advisable to raise them above the standard presented by so large a proportion among the robed mentors of the convents. Here, also, young women might find a home, under the care of nuns, who imparted a few elementary branches. For the higher classes existed a few private schools, under due supervision, and some colleges pervaded by an antiquated scholasticism, with little attention to languages or mathematics, and less to elegant literature and applied sciences. Even these might never have been attained but for the Jesuits, who entered Spanish America toward the end of the sixteenth century, and were largely entrusted with the training of youth. A number of the richer people sent their sons to Spain, less for the acquisition of any wider range of knowledge than for social prestige, and also in obedience to the desire to inculcate loyalty among colonial representatives by proper environment and supervision.

Toward the end of the last century began to be felt the reaction originated in France. Scientific theories crept in, and modern philosophy found entrance. The government itself had to yield to the popular pressure, and order the establishment of elementary schools, as well as the improvement of colleges, although little was actually accomplished. The disorders of the revolution were followed by a half century of civil war, the struggle between the champions of superstition and of enlightenment, marked by the overthrow of administrations in rapid succession, which gave no opportunity for the many admirable measures of the liberals to take root. Finally the latter gained the upper hand. The clergy was reduced to a subordinate position, with no further power to interfere with instruction, and compulsory education was introduced, though with lax enforcement, to compensate for the long delay. Although quick to learn, the Hispano-American is too impulsive and impatient to submit to a thorough training, and too much attracted by superficial gloss to seek even a solid elementary basis on which to build the superior structure, being content with the merest smattering of knowledge. The so-called colleges in the different states are, as a rule, unworthy the name of ordinary grammar schools, albeit embracing courses of studies above this grade.

Northward several causes have interfered with the higher and more thorough education at which the Anglo-Saxon aims. The fur-traders sent their sons to Hawaii or even to England, and set herein an example to parents of the Mexican frontier provinces. A similar course was pursued during the mining period in different states, and to some extent still prevails, owing to the difficulties in founding efficient colleges. Common schools suffered likewise from the paucity and unstable character of the population. Nevertheless the efforts in this direction are fully in consonance with the advanced intellectual conditions here prevailing.

Another marked contrast between the Latins and Teutons lies in the example set by pastors as well as congregations in founding schools, especially of a higher grade, and for the most part unshackled by sectarianism. The local authorities seek on their side as among the foremost duties, to establish the common school, and legislatures have assisted also by means of compulsory laws, as in Wyoming, Nevada, and British Columbia. Enforcement is less needed than in the Mexican states, and therefore neglected in nearly equal degree. The federal government evinces its interest by munificent land grants for universities and common schools, although unfortunately official jobbery has been allowed to commit sad havoc with some of these endowments, as in the case cf Washington territory, leaving the citizens to condone for their folly by increased taxes. Colorado, on the other hand, has exhibited a praiseworthy management of her school lands, so much so as to increase their value by many millions. In Wyoming the regulation of the schools and their system is intrusted to a board of teachers. Here and in other territories the participation of women is appreciated as a beneficent factor in education, and properly so in view of her wide and ennobling influence in the home circle and in society. Thus the election of women as superintendents of instruction or as joint trustees or directors is gaining ground in many directions.

Clerical intervention is on the contrary abating, in keeping with the exclusion of sectarianism. In British Columbia clergymen are not permitted to figure as either teachers or trustees of schools. The evil of church interference finds striking illustration in Utah, where for several decades the system of instruction was so meagre as to indicate a design on the part of the leaders to keep the people in ignorance. They even took the trouble to invent a special alphabet, with a view to exclude all gentile literature. Fortunately the project miscarried; otherwise the rising generation would have found itself in a still deeper slough of despond. In New Mexico also illiteracy has been sustained by the catholic clergy, and the prevalence of two languages has served to obstruct the establishment of common schools. In Alaska the Greek clergy were more liberal-minded, but so slothful that the fur-traders undertook of their own accord to maintain for a time a superior school for the children of their employés.

The projects for collegiate institutions have ever been in advance of actual requirements. The Mormons planned a university even before they entered Utah, and Washington and Nevada made a beginning at an early period, though their universities have not yet attained even to the efficiency of a good high school. Colorado has made rapid strides in this direction; Oregon is still further advanced, and California rejoices in the one complete university on the coast, with the promise of another of even wider scope. The ancient institution at Mexico was never allowed to reach a liberal plane in colonial times, and since then the chaotic state of affairs in that country has seriously impaired its limited usefulness. Not many years ago it was replaced by a series of scientific and industrial colleges. Semi-industrial institutes have also received special attention in most sections of the United States, notably for instruction in mining and agriculture.

The press fulfills here its high mission in diffusing knowledge and there is hardly a village without its own journal, while in the leading cities the newspapers vie with the foremost eastern periodicals. The Spanish-American region is as yet too indifferent and backward to appreciate the news-agent. Papers are there issued only in the leading towns, and rely greatly for sustaining popular interest on feuilletons, published in imitation of the French.

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATION—MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

The Wild Tribes of Mexico and Central America—Training of Aztec Children—Their Punishments and Diet—Their Schools and Seminaries—Methods and Subjects of Instruction—Education among the Mayas—The Franciscans in Mexico—The Jesuits and their Expulsion—Schools and Colleges in the Viceregal and Republican Eras—Education in Central America—Costa Rica—Nicaragua—Honduras—Guatemala—Colombia.

There is little to be said as to educational matters among the wild tribes of Mexico and Central America. Taken as a whole, education was at a low ebb among them, though it cannot be denied that a few of the tribes exhibited traits of character and customs resulting from a higher development of intelligence, and a higher order of individual training. By some of those tribes, at the time of the Spanish conquest, considerable progress had been made, and a portion of them continued their intellectual advancement under the new civilization, while others, after the destruction of the old civilization, relapsed into barbarism. It is in many instances difficult to draw the line between civilization and savagism as regards another class; but aside from the superiority of the Christian religion over that of the Nahuas and Mayas, we may say, basing our assertion upon the evidence transmitted to us by the old authorities, that those nations, and the subordinate civilizations surrounding them, were but little lower than the contemporaneous civilizations of Europe and Asia.

In one of the Aztec paintings is exhibited the mode of training a boy and a girl from the time they were three years of age. Half an oval. divided in its breadth, shows that at this age they were allowed half a cake of bread at each meal During their fourth and fifth years the boys were kept at light bodily labor, while the girls were instructed in the use of the distaff by their mother. Their ration of bread was then a whole cake. During the sixth and seventh years their parents began to make them useful. The boy, carrying a light load, goes with his father to the market-place, where he is occupied in gathering up grains of corn or other trifles that have been dropped around the stalls. The girl is spinning, closely watched by her mother, who instructs her at the same time. The allowance of bread is now a cake and a half, which is continued until the children are in their thirteenth year. Another painting shows how unruly children were punished. When eight years old they were merely shown the instruments of punishment as a warning; at ten, disobedient or rebellious boys were bound hand and foot, and pricked in different parts of the body with maguey thorns; girls were pricked only in the hands and wrists; if this did not produce the desired effect, they were beaten with sticks. An unruly boy or girl of eleven was held over a pile of burning chile, and forced to inhale the smoke, which caused great pain; the girl would, on occasion, be made to rise at midnight and sweep the house. From the age of thirteen the allowance of bread was raised to two cakes. Between the ages of thirteen and fifteen the boys were employed in carrying wood, catching fish, etc.; the girls in grinding corn, cooking, and weaving. At fifteen the boy was placed in charge of the priests to receive religious instruction, or of the *achcauhtli* to be trained as a soldier. Many boys were, however, turned over to the priests between the ages of six and nine.

The instruction of the young of both sexes was entirely in the hands of the priests, the schools and seminaries being annexed to the temples. The boys were taught the branches suitable for their future vocation. All were instructed in religion, and their morals and good behavior received due attention. No women were allowed in a boys' school, and the latter might not be brought in contact with the other sex. Various kinds of food must be abstained from at certain seasons.

In the *telpochcali,* or schools for children, of the common people, of which there was one in each quarter of the city, the parents in each district must enter their children at an early age. At the *telpochtlato* they were taught to sweep the temple, to replenish the fire in the sacred censers, to clean the schoolhouse, to do penance, more or less severe according to their age, and to go in parties to the forest to gather wood for the temple. The pupils took their meals at their homes, but all slept in the schoolhouse. At night the children were taught singing and dancing. At these schools they were also exercised in the use of arms. At the age of fifteen or sixteen the boys were usually taken from the telpochcali, and put to learn a trade or profession. Those intended for the priesthood were placed in the *calmecac,* or monastery, in charge of the *Tlamacazqui* order, where they were instructed in the arts and sciences, in history, and writing and reading in hieroglyphics. While at college boys were trained to the strictest morality, and every transgression or neglect was severely punished. Those who displayed a special predilection or aptitude for the military profession were made to realize the hardships of camp life, and received a scientific and practical training.

There were seminaries for the daughters of princes and nobles, presided over by matrons or vestal priestesses. The girls were trained to the strictest morality, and to the practice of every maidenly virtue. Sweeping the precincts of the temple and attending to the sacred fire were among their duties. They were taught the tenets of their religion, and how to draw blood from their persons when offering sacrifice to the gods. They likewise learned every kind of female handiwork known in the country, such as to make feather-work, to spin and weave mantles. The daughters of nobles entered the seminaries at an early age, and left them only to be married.

Military men instructed their sons in the use of weapons and the art of war, endeavoring to inspire courage and love of country. Lying, negligence, disobedience, or disrepect to parents or elders were very severely punished. Parents carefully inculcated industrious habits and the fulfillment of every duty in life. Much stress was laid on the following instructions: 1st. To propitiate the gods, giving them the whole body and soul. 2d. To endeavor to live at peace with all men, treating every one with respect and deference; to be kind and affable, and yet not too familiar, or free of speech; to slander no man; to be patient, and return good for evil. 3d. Not to be wasteful of goods or time, but to be diligent in every good and useful work.

Among the Mayas the same educational system prevailed, as well as the same code of morals. Boys and girls were taught to respect old age, to reverence the gods, and to honor their father and mother. In fact, according to Las Casas, they enjoined a strict observance of principles very similar to those embodied in the ten commandments. In Guatemala there were schools in every important town the principal one being a seminary in which were maintained seventy masters, and where from 5,000 to 6,000 children were educated, and provided for at the expense of the royal treasury. Children as they grew up were required to labor, and assist their parents. Mothers watched closely the conduct of their daughters, never losing sight of them. In Guatemala and Yucatan boys were kept separate from their elders, as it was considered improper that they should observe the conduct and hear the conversation of married people.

The first article a child made with its own hands was dedicated to the gods. In Yucatan children went naked till they were four or five years old; in Guatemala till they were eight or ten. At the age of seven they were taken to the priests to be instructed in religious observances.

Soon after the Spanish conquest the education of youth engaged the attention of rulers and priests, and particularly of the Franciscan fathers. The first schoolhouse was built by the latter close to their convent. The first school was founded by the celebrated Friar Pedro de Gante, or Ghent, a lay-brother, who, though a man of a high order of attainments, and said to be nearly related to Emperor Charles V., never accepted preferment, nor even the priesthood; remaining a lay-brother until his death. The Aztec nobles were called upon to send their children there to receive instruction, and promised to do so; but a number of them held aloof, partly from devotion to their old faith, and for their own children substituted those of their servants. This deception proved to their disadvantage, for the latter though of low origin, afterward received preferments which would have probably been given to the offspring of the nobles.

The instruction was confined, at first, chiefly to the memorising of prayers, and participation in frequent religious exercises. Then were added reading, writing, and other branches; music, both vocal and instrumental, proving especially attractive to the pupils, who soon gave evidence of proficiency. In course of time, as the friars became more familiar with the native languages, and the number of educated youths increased, new schools were opened in the capital and other towns. It is recorded that Luis de Velasco, the second viceroy, on his assuming office in 1551, urged upon teachers the education of the young, not only in letters but in morals, assuring them of his protection, which was always afforded. Shortly afterward were established and endowed in the city of Mexico under royal orders, schools for the children of the poor. The higher branches of education were also taught and a university opened at the capital in January 1553. The subjects of instruction were grammar, Latin, Greek, philosophy, rhetoric, theology, law in all its branches, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and the Otomi and Mexican languages. It is understood that there was also a chair of Mexican antiquities.

In 1572 the Jesuits entered Mexico, and, finding that little had really been done for the education of the Spaniards themselves, began to found colleges in the cities and principal towns. By a stroke of policy —educating the young Spaniards, and preaching against the covetousness and other vices of the adult ones—they indirectly contributed to the spiritual conquest and happiness of the native race. At this date the latter were rapidly disappearing, while the Spaniards were increasing in number and power. To control the education of the Spanish children was therefore of far more importance than to have charge of those of the Indians. Under the king's commands they were in duty bound, however, to convert the natives, nor did they neglect this duty. By educating Spaniards, a large number of missionaries could be provided for that work; and this plan proved successful. Instruction of a superior order was imparted, and in a few years there were many Mexicans, both white and Indian, who were engaged in the task of teaching white boys and girls, and in converting and instructing the natives on their missions. Meantime the order waxed rich and powerful, and continued their labors on a larger scale, every day becoming wealthier and more influential, until their expulsion from all the Spanish dominions in 1767. This action of the Spanish crown was no doubt a heavy blow to the cause of education.

Under the control of the clergy, public instruction drifted into a mere antiquated scholasticism, which continued in force until the end of the colonial period.

Not even the Jesuits, during the time of their power and with their superior methods, had succeeded in counteracting this tendency. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, Spain experienced a revival which found an echo in her American possessions, introducing modern philosophical ideas and scientific theories, and impelling rulers to order the establishment of schools for the masses. But owing to the opposition of the higher class, these orders, like many others of a progressive nature, came to naught. Many of the provinces, having no facilities for superior instruction, sent their children to the capital; and yet this centre of culture in the northern portion of the Spanish continent had, in 1790, only a little more than 600 alumni in its eight colleges. The long struggle for independence, and other causes, checked the march of progress, though an effort was made later to elevate the poorer classes, the Lancasterian and other methods of instruction being received with favor. But little progress could be made, however, in a country subjected to constant political disturbances, with repeated changes of administration, and a chronic depletion of the exchequer.

After the suppression of the university in 1865 colleges were established in its place, as already stated, the most popular being that of jurisprudence, and the one most in repute that of medicine. There are also schools of engineering, agriculture, and arts, all of which are meeting the purposes for which they were founded. The conservatory of music figures among the institutes that receive support from the government. About forty per cent of the attendance is of females. The schools of arts and trades for the poor are largely attended.

The number of colleges existing in the republic in 1875 was 54, of which the federal districts had 12, Vera Cruz 5, Jalisco and Yucatan 4 each, Guanajuato, Pueblo and Sinaloa 3 each, and Campeche 2. In every other state, with the exception of Tlaxcala, there was one college. In all of them primary instruction is also given. The subjects taught include the branches useful for professional and mechanical pursuits, together with nautical and military science, commerce, agriculture, and other industries. The total attendance at those colleges was 9,337 pupils. There were also 24 ecclesiastical seminaries with 3,800 alumni. At the same date the educational establishments for females numbered 15; Durango, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Oajaca, Sinaloa, Vera Cruz, and Yucatan having one each, while Vera Cruz and the federal district possessed four each. The total attendance was about 2,300. Convents and other ecclesiastical buildings are used as schoolhouses. In 1875 there were also eight normal schools, Durango having one, Guanajuato two, one for either sex, New Leon one, and San Luis Potosí and Sonora two for each state. There was also a superior school in the federal district, which might be considered a normal school.

Mexican children are apt scholars; but their natural indolence and petulant impatience must first be overcome. The advancement made in ten years has been very encouraging. In 1875 there were throughout the republic 5,843 public primary schools, 603 of them supported by the federal and state governments, and 5,240 by the municipalities. There were also 2,260 private schools of the same class, and, including 117 supported by the clergy, the total number was 8,103 with an attendance of 349,000 pupils. In 1884 there were at least 8,586 primary schools, of which 2,116 were for girls. The attendance was 441,453, of whom 115,147 were of the female sex. There existed, besides, 134 public establishments of higher grade, including colleges. In the fiscal year 1883–4 the national government expended $353,080 upon public instruction and kindred branches; the sum appropriated for 1885–6 was $701,420.

The remarks made respecting public instruction in

Mexico during the Spanish rule have an equal application to Central America. In the last years of that domination some interest was manifested by the government in the education of the masses, but the system being religious rather than secular, little real progress was made. After the country became independent, and while the liberal party prevailed, considerable attention was paid to the diffusion of knowledge among the people. But after the dissolution of the federal union, some of the states fell under the control of an oligarchy, composed of aristocrats and ecclesiastics, and became lukewarm in the cause. Costa Rica was perhaps the only exception, providing, according to her limited resources, public schools in all the towns. The university at San José has chairs of Spanish and Latin grammar, philosophy, mathematics, law, medicine, and pharmacy. Public instruction was, however, more or less under ecclesiastical control until 1881, when it was placed under the supervision of the national executive. Unfortunately the results of government and municipal efforts have not been satisfactory; for in 1883 less than 15 per cent of the population could read and write. But the labor of instructing the masses continues unabated and with hopes of better success in the near future.

In Nicaragua the government has fully recognized the importance of education. The supervision of public instruction is in the hands of the executive and of local boards. Within recent years the number of primary schools has been largely increased. In 1872 there were only 92 schools for boys and 9 for girls, some of them being private, and one was a missionary school in Cuapa, attended by 3,871 boys and 532 girls. There were no schools for adults, and no professional institutes. The university at Leon had but three chairs and 66 alumni. Since that date there have been established schools of agriculture, arts, and trades, together with a number of colleges and a national library. Competent teachers of both sexes have been introduced from abroad. In January 1885 the executive felt hopeful as to the prospect, though primary instruction was still in a backward condition, through the want of trained instructors. There are no data as to the number of those who can read and write, or as to the intellectual condition of the population.

Salvador has ever warmly advocated public instruction. Attendance at school has been made compulsory, and instruction has been brought within the reach of almost every Salvadoran. In 1875 there were already 333 primary schools for boys, 50 for girls, 23 mixed, 29 high schools, one normal for men, one for women, one lithographic, one telegraphic, and one academy of fine arts. Secondary and higher instruction are free. The republic has three universities, a seminary, schools of agriculture, design, medicine, and a military academy.

The cause of public instruction in Honduras was neglected until recent years. The Lancasterian system was introduced here, as in the rest of Central America, early in the confederation period, and has been continued since with some modifications. There may be about 400 schools in all the state, with an average attendance of 25 pupils in each school, or about 10,000 pupils among a population of from 350,000 to 400,000 souls. Of late the government has shown a disposition to instruct the masses, and competent teachers have been provided, as well as larger appropriations of funds.

Until the last two decades the cause of education in Guatemala found no advocates among the ruling class. Indeed, the government rather favored the policy of keeping the masses in a state of ignorance. The Jesuits, the university, and a few private colleges provided instruction for the upper class; but there were few primary schools, and in those the curriculum was limited to reading, writing, the first four rules of arithmetic, and the Christian doctrine. But after the change of government in 1871, the new régime gave due attention to this important branch of duty. Primary schools were established, as fast as the condition of the treasury allowed, in every town and village. In 1876 their number had reached 600 and progress continued uninterrupted after that year. Early in 1884 the primary schools numbered 844, a little under one-third of them being for girls, and including 47 night schools for men, one for women, one Sunday-school for women, and 16 mixed schools. The attendance of pupils was close upon 40,000 of both sexes. Secondary and professional instruction had also been provided. There are three national institutes of secondary instruction for males, and two for females, a normal school for training teachers, also several for special branches, such as agriculture, design, arts, and trades; one for the deaf and dumb, two of law, one of medicine, and one of engineering. Since 1882 schools of mines and elocution and a mercantile academy have been added.

The politécnica or military academy affords a liberal education, comprising English and French, and a thorough course of science, including drawing, together with the specialties required for the military profession. In addition to those placed there by the government to be trained as officers, the academy admits pupils who pay their own expenses, and are not obliged to join the army. The national university has been for some years under regulations consonant with the ideas of the present age. Formerly it existed under the by-laws of Cárlos II., surnamed the Bewitched, who ruled in Spain in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The old Sociedad Económica has undergone improvements, and now affords instruction in agriculture and the mechanical arts. It has also a school of drawing, painting, and modelling, a night school for artisans, and proposes to establish a school of chemistry. The expenditure of the government for education in 1879–83 amounted to

$1,773,899, and of the municipalities, to which had been ceded the urban tax, $36,242, whereas the whole expenditure for public instruction from 1860 to 1870 did not much exceed $60,000.

The isthmus of Panamá, while under the central régime prior to 1860, afforded better facilities for education than after it became a state of the Colombian confederacy. The funds of the government, under the latter system, were not sufficient even to satisfy the greed of political leaders, and to pay for the support of a military force. Public instruction suffered in consequence, and the primary schools in the interior, and even in the capital, have been sometimes closed for the want of funds. Since 1873 some improvement has taken place, much of it due to the enlightened efforts of one of Panamá's gifted sons, Manuel I. Hurtado, a member of an old and wealthy family, who was educated in England. Several educational institutes have been established, including a normal school, and one for girls under the direction of a religious order. In 1874 there were in the state 17 primary schools, with 1,065 pupils. The number steadily increased till 1882, when the schools were 59 and the pupils 2,167. Most young men possessed of means complete their education in Europe.

CHAPTER XVI.

EDUCATION—NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, AND TEXAS.

EARLY LACK OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN NEW MEXICO—THE FIRST SCHOOLS—DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM—CATHOLIC COLLEGES—ILLITERACY—WANT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN ARIZONA—SCHOOL TAXATION—STATISTICS FOR 1884-5—THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA—EDUCATION IN TEXAS UNDER MEXICAN AND AMERICAN RULE—EFFECT OF THE CIVIL WAR—BIOGRAPHY OF A. T. MCKINNEY—THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION—BENJAMIN F. BAKER—CONDITION OF SCHOOLS IN 1884-5—THE UNIVERSITY—GEORGE THOMAS TODD—THE AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE—GEORGE PFEUFFER—NEWSPAPERS.

AT the opening of the nineteenth century New Mexico possessed few educational facilities. There was neither public school nor college, and a few private teachers in the larger towns afforded to the more wealthy and enlightened class the only means of obtaining instruction for their children. The great mass of the people were utterly uneducated. From 1806, however, a school seems to have been maintained at El Paso, the attendance at which was considerable, and by the end of the first quarter of the century some little interest was aroused in educational matters. Primary schools were undoubtedly in existence at most of the principal towns from 1827 to 1832, but in 1834 it is on record that there was no school at Santa Fé, and presumably such was the case elsewhere. All writers note the prevailing ignorance of the New Mexicans and the absence of books.

This lamentable condition continued during the whole period of Mexican rule, and even after the territory came into the possession of the United States progress was extremely slow. The census of 1860 shows that of the total population of 80,567, 32,785 adults could neither read nor write, while other returns give a very much larger proportion. According to the educational reports for the same year, the attendance of pupils at 4 colleges or private academies and 17 of the public schools amounted only to 600. One of the main causes of this indifference is to be found in the influence of the priests, who, though friends to education in theory, practically opposed a common-school system. In the session of 1859–60 an act of the legislature was passed providing for the establishment of a school in each settlement, to be supported by a tax of fifty cents for each child; the justice of the peace was to provide a teacher, and the probate judge to act as county superintendent. This system continued in force for many years, with but very slight modifications, and still smaller results. In 1868 the governor in his message reported that there were still no schools in existence, and that no school tax was collected. Even in 1880 New Mexico had only 162 schools, with an attendance of 3,150 pupils, and this with a largely increased population.

By various acts of the legislature, a public school system has at length been established which, when made thoroughly effective, will insure educational progress. A final act was passed in 1884, by which one or more public schools were established in each district, under three directors, and with a county superintendent. One-fourth of all taxation is devoted to the support of the schools; and in 1886 the sum thus set apart amounted to $100,000. Hitherto the apathy of the native population, the fact that two languages are spoken, and the intolerance of the priesthood, have combined with other causes in retarding progress. With the increase of immigration, however, these influences will disappear, and there is already noticeable a decided movement in favor of education. In the larger towns there is a considerable number of private institutions, including several Catholic colleges, under the direction of the Jesuits, Christian brothers, sisters of Loretto, and sisters of charity. The most prominent are the Jesuit college at Las Vegas, the college of Christian Brothers at Santa Fé, and the academies at Albuquerque and Las Vegas.

At Santa Fé was published, in 1847, the first newspaper printed in New Mexico in the English language, and except for the *Crepusculo,* issued at Taos for a single month of 1835, the first one in any language. It was named the *Republican,* and was followed in the same city and in the same year by the *New Mexican.* As an instance of the illiteracy of the population while under priestly rule, and before the inauguration of the public school system, it may be stated that after 1847 these were the only publications until 1860, and that at the latter date their joint circulation did not exceed 1,150 copies. In 1885, when, through the operation of the public schools, perhaps three-fourths of the population could read and write, there were 39 newspapers, of which 8 were issued daily, 27 weekly, and the remainder semi-weekly or monthly. In quality they compared favorably with those of other territories, several being published both in English and Spanish, though most of them were printed only in the former language.

With libraries New Mexico is but poorly supplied. The territorial library, founded in 1850, is a mere assortment of law books, consisting in 1885 of about 7,600 volumes. At Las Vegas and other colleges there are collections of religious and miscellaneous works, varying in number from a few thousand to a few hundred volumes.

The remarks that have been made as to the condition of education in New Mexico during Spanish and Mexican rule apply with equal force to Arizona. After the territory was organized under the United States government, the first legislature provided, in 1864, for the establishment of common schools, and appropriated small sums of money for their support at the larger towns. But with the exception of a private school maintained at Prescott out of this appropriation, nothing was accomplished, and in 1871 the governor announced that not a single public school existed in Arizona, although there were 1,923 children of school age. In 1868 an act was passed levying a tax of 10 cents on each $100 of property for the support of public schools, and creating a board of education composed of the governor and probate judges, and territorial and county superintendents. Governor Safford was conspicuous by his efforts in this direction; and, after the close of the war with the Apaches, progress was more rapid. In 1875 the tax was increased to 15 cents and a county tax of 35 cents, afterward increased to 50 cents, was also imposed. Various supplemental acts were passed from time to time, and in 1883 and 1885 new school laws were framed, though without effecting any very radical changes.

In 1885 there were in this territory about 130 schools, with an average attendance of 4,232 out of a school population of 10,220, an increase in the attendance of nearly 1,000 over the preceding year. For 1884 the expenses were $107,879 and the valuation of school property $212,385. Of 148 teachers 92 were women, whose average salary was $87.84 a month. For its liberal remuneration to the members of this arduous profession the school system of Arizona is at least to be commended.

Provision was made in the session of 1864-5 for the establishment of a university, and regents were appointed, but nothing was done till 1881, when congress granted for that purpose 72 sections of government land in the timber region of the San

Francisco mountains, in the centre of Yavapai county, just north of the Atlantic & Pacific railroad. Subsequently the legislature passed an act in 1885 to organize such an institution near Tucson, with a board of six regents, including the governor, who was ex-officio superintendent.

Tubac in 1758 established a presidio for the protection of the Bac and Guevavi missions, and in 1858 a prosperous mining town in southern Arizona claims the honor of publishing in the latter year the first newspaper in that territory.

In 1860 it was removed to Tucson, and in the following year, somewhat abruptly, as was the fashion in those days, its existence came to an end, the office furniture, consisting of two revolvers, being advertised for sale. Meanwhile the weekly *Arizonian*, for thus it was named, was freely quoted by its confrères on the Pacific coast. The pioneer press used by this journal was afterward transferred to the Tombstone *Nugget*, and a few years later was destroyed by fire. In 1884 there were in all 28 newspapers in Arizona, all of which, with one or two exceptions, were published in the English language.

As for the libraries of Arizona, at present it can only be said that the most extensive collection in the way of general literature is that of the prison library at Yuma, containing in 1885 some 2,500 volumes. In the territorial library there were at that date about 5,000 law-books, and at the public libraries at Tombstone and Tucson there were small miscellaneous collections.

In Texas under the Mexican régime little attention was paid to education, which, receiving neither the support of the government nor the countenance of the friars, was at an extremely low ebb at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even when the country began to be occupied by Austin's colonists it was long neglected, for these hardy pioneers considered that if their sons learned how to ride a horse, to wield an axe, and to handle a rifle with dexterity, they had received all the education which their position in life demanded. Nor was other instruction possible as regards the majority of the colonists who were scattered over a great extent of country, and almost without means of communication. A few private schools were, however, established in the larger towns, and in 1829 the first protestant Sunday-school was opened at San Felipe de Austin by T. J. Pilgrim of the baptist church, but was soon closed as being in violation of the colonization law.

Until Texas had gained her independence the colonists could do little toward the education of their children, and one of the grievances set forth in the declaration of independence was the failure of Mexico to establish a system of public instruction. No sooner, however, had Texas thrown off her chains than the congress of the young republic was charged with the duty of providing by law for a system of public schools. Between 1839 and 1861 divers enactments were passed and large appropriations were made for this purpose. Great progress had already been made when the civil war broke out. Then followed a period of retrogression; the school fund had disappeared; most of the schools were closed; and when the strife was ended all had to be begun anew. The public domain supplied the means of repairing the mischief, and in the several constitutions framed, liberal grants were donated for the purpose of establishing a permanent school fund, till finally by the constitution of 1876 one-half of the public lands were appropriated to that object.

The clause, under which this donation was made, was introduced by A. T. McKinney, who was a member of the constitutional convention of 1875. Born in Illinois, March 18, 1838, he went to Texas with his family in 1850, but was educated at Princeton college, graduating in 1858, and being admitted to the bar in 1861. For two years he served as a private soldier in the confederate army, and on his return to Texas practised his profession at Huntsville. In 1882 he was regent of the state university, and on being elected to the house of representatives took his seat in January 1883. In the 18th legislature he introduced the measure which endowed the university with 1,000,000 acres of land. McKinney made various suggestions for the improvement of the public school system.

Under the constitution of 1876 a state board of education, composed of the governor, comptroller, and secretary of state, was permanently established. In 1883 this board was authorized to appoint a secretary, and the first to fill that place was Benjamin F. Baker, who in the following year was elected by an immense majority the first state superintendent of public instruction. Baker devoted all his energies to his work, and through his suggestions many improvements in the school system were effected. Migrating to Texas from Alabama, in 1876 he was chosen to the 15th legislature, being then only twenty-five years of age. He was reëlected, and served during the 16th and 17th legislatures. In 1884 school communities of colored people, which had been made distinct and separate from those of the whites, were granted the right to select trustees of their own race. The framer of this law was A. J. Chambers, who, after ten years' experience in teaching, was elected in 1882 to the 18th legislature.

For the school year 1884–5 the average daily attendance at the public schools was 103,433, out of an enrollment of 233,721, of whom 54,719 were colored and 179,002 white children. At the same date the entire number of children of school age was 301,025. Thus it will be seen that the attendance for this year was less than 45 per cent of the enrollment, and also less than 35 per cent of the school population. Of schools there were 2,151 for white and 1,122 for colored persons; of teachers the number was 6,369, of whom only 1,957 were women. The expenses were defrayed from the interest of the permanent fund, from legislative appropriations, and from a poll-tax of one dollar on all male residents between the ages of 21 and 60. In incorporated cities and towns a rate of not more than 50 cents on each $100 of property may also be levied at the option of the tax-payers.

At Huntsville the Sam Houston normal school, and at Austin the Tillotson collegiate and normal institute offer to teachers a professional training. At the latter city and at Houston there were high schools, both of which were but poorly attended, and in various portions of the state there were academies and colleges, some of them dignified with the title of universities, where could be obtained a classical, scientific, or commercial education, the course lasting from two to five years.

At the Texas institution for the deaf and dumb the inmates were instructed in the common school branches, with natural philosophy, and also in some mechanical art or trade, as printing and shoemaking. At the public institute for the blind are also taught the common school and some higher branches, with vocal and instrumental music. Its special feature, however, is the mechanical department, where many of the pupils become expert in broom, mattress, and pillow-making, in the seating of chairs, or the tuning and repairing of organs and pianos.

The state university at Austin was not opened until 1883, though provision was made for its establishment as early as 1839. In 1881 a board of regents was organized, a bill being passed providing for the erection of buildings and the purchase of a library. The framer of the bill was George Thomas Todd, who in 1843, when only four years of age, accompanied his father to Texas, where his mother organized and for many years conducted a female educational institute at Clarksville. He completed his education at the university of Virginia, and on his return practised law. During the civil war he served in Hood's Texas brigade. In 1886 he was a member of the board of regents. The first university board was composed of Ashbel Smith, president, T. M. Harwood, T. D. Wooten, E. J. Simkins, M. W. Garnett, James B. Clarke, M. L. Crawford, and B. Hadra, with A. P. Wooldridge as its secretary.

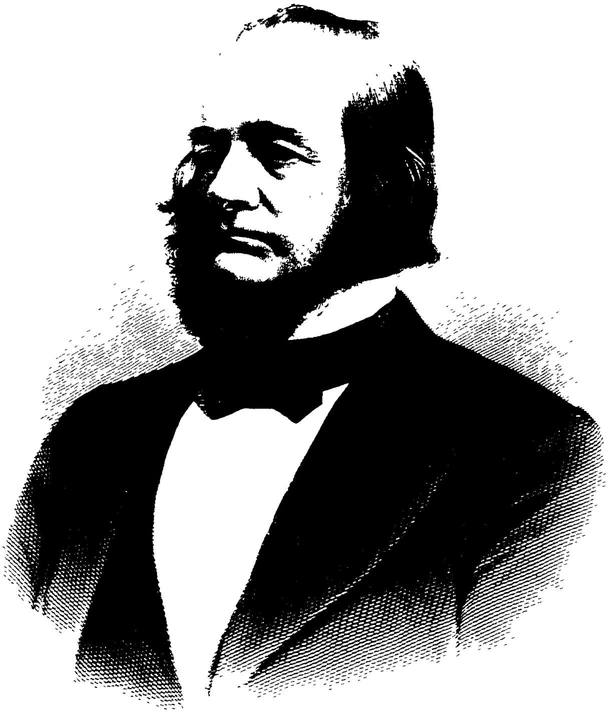
The agricultural and mechanical college was incorporated in 1871. This institution is greatly indebted for its prosperous condition to the exertions and able administration of George Pfeuffer, who in 1886 and previous years, as president of the board of trustees and chairman of the senate committee on education, secured for it ample endowments and appliances, and raised it to a high position. Pfeuffer, a Bavarian by birth, migrated to Texas in 1845. Being a man of great ability, and with broad, comprehensive, and enlightened views, possessed, moreover, of untiring energy, he soon won for himself a foremost rank among the community.

The first printing-press was introduced into Texas by a man named Long, in 1819, and was used for the publication of laws and proclamations issued by the short-lived government which he established at Nacogdoches. It was under the management of Horatio Biglow. Ten years later the first regular newspaper was published at San Felipe by Godwin B. Cotten, bearing the title of the *Cotton Plant.* Several others were published previous to the independence, notably the *Telegraph*, by the brothers Gail and Thomas H. Borden and Joseph Baker, at the same town. On the approach of Santa Anna, in 1836, the press and type were moved to Harrisburg, where they were seized by the Mexicans, and thrown into Bray's bayou.

After the independence the number of newspapers published in Texas increased rapidly, the first daily being the *Morning Star*, issued by Cruger and Moore from about 1840 to 1844. According to the census of 1880, no less than 280 newspapers and periodicals were being published at that date, against 112 in 1870, their total circulation in the latter year being 55,250, or the somewhat low average of 493 to each journal.

Texas is fairly supplied with libraries, though as yet the state contains no extensive or valuable collections. In 1885 the largest was that of the supreme court at Austin, containing about 8,300 law-books. The state university had at the same date some 5,000 volumes of miscellaneous literature, and there were forty other collections, varying in number from 5,600 at the Galveston public library to 300 in that of the Young Men's Christian association at Dallas.

Before touching on educational matters in California I will first relate the career of him by whom was founded and afterward presented to the state university the first of her medical colleges. His name was Hugh Huger Toland, a name that has long been a household word in San Francisco, not only as that of one who ranked among the most skilful members of his profession, but whose life was so largely devoted to the greatest of all professions, the profession of doing good. A fitting sequel to his biography will be that of William Fletcher McNutt, professor of the principles and practice of medicine in the medical department of the university of California.



W. H. Leland

CHAPTER XVII.

LIFE OF HUGH HUGER TOLAND.

ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE—EDUCATION—EARLY PROFESSIONAL CAREER—FIRST MARRIAGE—REMOVAL TO CALIFORNIA—SKILL AS A PRACTITIONER—THE TOLAND MEDICAL COLLEGE—MEDICAL WORKS—HABITS—POLITICAL VIEWS—SECOND MARRIAGE—MRS TOLAND'S POEMS—DEATH OF DOCTOR TOLAND—APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER.

OF DIOTIMA, a famed Arcadian prophetess, Socrates related that on a certain occasion she explained to him that love and impulse of whatever kind is merely the desire in man that good should be ever present. This desire for good she claimed to be the foundation of all our desires, of which our very impulse is but a particular form. Though to most of us the prophetess may appear somewhat of an optimist, her statement is doubtless true, at least, in individual cases. Such a man, for instance, was Thomas Starr King among divines, such was John Deane among merchants, and such among the medical fraternity was Hugh Huger Toland, whose biography, not only as a surgeon and physician, but as a patron of science, and as the founder of the first medical college on the Pacific coast, it is now my pleasing task to lay before the reader.

On the father's side Doctor Toland was of Irish descent, his ancestry being traced in direct line to John Toland, a native of Londonderry, who, early in the eighteenth century, was the confidant of Harley, earl of Oxford, and was known to the world of letters and politics as an author and politician of repute. The doctor's father, also named John, was born at Newton Stuart, in the north of Ireland, but settled in early manhood in South Carolina, where he became the owner of a large plantation, a banker, and a man of wealth and influence, acquired in no small measure through the assistance of his wife, née Mary Boyd, of ancient Scottish lineage, and an excellent manager of business no less than of household affairs. Though an austere man, none were more highly respected and esteemed than John Toland by all who knew him, from the rich and long-descended families of the south down to the lowest menial on his estate.

On this plantation Doctor Toland was born on the 17th of April 1809, the fourth of a family of ten children. At the age of four he began his education, and at six gained the first prize for reading in a class of forty children, most of whom were his seniors. Though at this time educational facilities were somewhat restricted, he brought to his work ambition, aptitude, and diligence, and thus he readily acquired a thorough English education, together with a fair knowledge of the classics. At sixteen he began his medical training under Doctor George Ross, one of the leading physicians of South Carolina, and accompanying him on his professional visits, while devoting all his spare hours to study, became so proficient that his services were often preferred to those of his principal. After some eighteen months of close application to his duties and his studies, he entered the medical college at Lexington, Kentucky, where he graduated first in a class of one hundred and sixty, and was especially complimented on his knowledge of chemistry.

At Pagesville, South Carolina, he began the practice of his profession in 1829, and with such success that, although only twenty years of age, he had soon more patients than he could attend, often riding seventy or eighty miles a day before completing his round of visits. At the end of two years he had accumulated some $3,000, and with this sum in his possession proceeded to Paris to finish his medical education, first, however, spending a winter in Lexington, where much of his time was passed in the dissecting-room. Returning to his native state in 1834 he soon after formed a partnership with Doctor Thomas Wells, of Columbia, his reputation steadily increasing until his practice yielded an income of $15,000 a year.

In 1852 the political dissensions which culminated in the civil war were already casting their dark-looming shadow over the land, and to escape the coming storm, which a few years later swept with the fury of a tornado through the fairest portions of the union, he resolved to set forth for California. Another inducement was the failing health of his wife, for he had now been twice married, first to Miss Mary Goodwin, and again in 1844 to Miss Mary Avery. The latter, however, died at Stockton on the 22d of September, 1852, only a few days after reaching the golden state.

At this time his family consisted of two daughters, the eldest, Mary, being married soon after her arrival in California, to Mr John Sime, the well-known banker. At his decease five sons were left to mourn his loss, one of whom soon afterward also passed from earth. Lucie, the second daughter, was joined in marriage to Mr Andrew Glassell, a member of a prominent law firm in San Francisco, and who later amassed a large fortune in Los Angeles, where he had the misfortune to lose his wife in childbirth. Her six sons and three daughters all survive her, and in common with all who enjoyed her intimacy revere the memory of one whom nature had endowed with the noblest attributes of womanhood.

Doctor Toland's journey across the plains was one of the shortest on record, being accomplished in seventy-six days from the banks of the Missouri to

San Francisco. After a brief experience in mining in Calaveras county, where he erected a quartz-mill shipped from the east, he returned to the Pacific coast metropolis, whither his reputation had preceded him, and where he entered on a practice which for more than a quarter of a century was attended with almost uniform success. During all these years his career was one of ceaseless activity, his outdoor patients alone often numbering from forty to fifty, while over a score of huge volumes, containing the files of half a million prescriptions, attest the magnitude of his practice. In the course of that practice he performed some of the most delicate and difficult operations known to surgical science, and in this department was almost without a rival in a community which contains an unusual number of skilful practitioners. His operations were performed with marked rapidity, so rapidly indeed that to the bystander they sometimes appeared to be executed rashly, though in fact they were the result of deliberate reasoning and of the swift and decisive action of his mind. By those who knew him best he was regarded as a most careful and painstaking surgeon, one with a thorough knowledge of anatomy and physiology, who never kept his patients too long under the knife, and in their after treatment guarded against the dangers of inflammation, hemorrhage, and nervous prostration. Though bold and fearless, his method was by no means open to the charge of haste or rashness, but rather the result of confidence and manual dexterity acquired by a long and successful experience, and of a perfect acquaintance with the scientific principles involved in each individual case. In his diagnoses of decease he was seldom at fault, in his treatment seldom met with failure, and thus he built up for himself his well-earned reputation.

Soon after his removal to San Francisco, Doctor Toland was elected physician and surgeon of the county, or, as it was then termed, the state marine hospital; and in 1854 was appointed to the same office in the United States marine hospital. He was also a member of the first board of health, which position he retained until the day of his death. All these offices he assumed, not for their emoluments or for his own self-advancement, for within two years after his arrival his private practice amounted to $20,000 a year, and within eight years to more than double that sum; but he accepted them for the good which he could thus accomplish in the cause of his fellow-man and in the cause of his favorite science.

Almost from the day when he first set foot in his adopted state it had been Doctor Toland's ambition to establish here a medical college, and this he did in 1862, erecting in the northern portion of San Francisco at a cost of $1,000,000 the institution which bears his name. In 1873 it was transferred without money or other consideration to the university of California, of which it forms the medical department, the doctor being appointed professor of surgery and president of the medical faculty. From his own funds he contributed largely to the support of this college, and these benefactions he bestowed solely to encourage the study of medicine and as an expression of his devotion to medical science, without hope or desire of benefit to himself save perhaps as a memorial. Certain it is that the Toland school has been the means of stimulating not only the study of that science, but of scientific investigation connected therewith; that it has afforded a thorough medical training to hundreds of young men who would otherwise have gone east or to Europe for their education; that it has harmonized and advanced the standard of the profession, causing a better feeling to prevail among its members at the present day than was ever the case before.

From 1863, when the college was completed, almost until his decease in 1880, the doctor lectured continuously both on clinical and didactic surgery. By his pupils these lectures were valued as extremely interesting, and at the same time eminently practical. His style was conversational, his enunciation distinct, and his manner deliberate, without attempt at oratorical display. Whether in the halls of his college or at the bedside of a patient, where his clinical lectures were delivered, he was heard with marked and respectful attention, his pupils gathering close around him and hanging on each word that fell from his lips.

By the students he was frequently urged to prepare a text-book; but this he declined, for his engagements prevented him from devoting to it the time required for thorough scientific accuracy. Thereupon a stenographer was engaged to reproduce his lectures on the principles of surgery, as illustrated from his own experience. The result was the publication in 1877 of his *Lectures on Practical Surgery*, a work that passed through three editions, and at once met with the approval of the medical world. By the press it was also well received, though here and there meeting with unfavorable criticism as not up to the standard of a systematized text-book. But this it was never intended to be. While containing a large amount of useful knowledge, expressed in convenient form and in graceful and entertaining style, it is merely a reproduction of his clinical lectures, and almost without revision, except for the correction of the printer's proofs. To the leading medical journals he was also an able contributor and especially to the *Pacific Medical Journal*, of which he was for ten years the proprietor.

And now it will be asked how did the doctor find time for all of his manifold duties—the care of his numberless patients, his lectures at college and hospital, his contributions to medical literature, and the management of his personal estate? First of all it should be said that he was extremely regular and systematic in his work and in his habits. Rising about seven o'clock, the hour from eight to nine was devoted to his lecture, and the remainder of the morning passed in attendance at his office and in professional visits, including his visit to the hospital. Returning home to luncheon, he spent a short time in reading, though three in the afternoon always found him again at his office, whence at five he set forth for his second round of visits. After dinner another hour was given to reading, when he repaired once more to his office, where at ten he concluded the labors of the day. Thus while keeping himself abreast of the times in professional lore, his daily task would have been simply appalling even to men who deem themselves industrious.

In justice to the doctor's memory it should be stated, in concluding this sketch of his professional career, that his success was due, not, as some have asserted, to what men call intuition, but first of all to a thorough knowledge of the underlying principles of surgical and medical science. The lessons which he had acquired as a student from lectures and hospital practice, first at the college at Lexington and afterward in Paris, gave to him a solid foundation, on which many years of experience and study reared the superstructure of his ample and varied knowledge, so that in his special department he knew "the best which has been thought and done in the world." In the boldness of his operations there was no chance work; there was nothing of the speculative; they were, on the contrary, the results merely of settled purpose and definite resolve, exercised by one who weighed his reasons rapidly, and as rapidly came to a conclusion. There can be no better evidence of a man's ability than that he has undertaken and carried to a successful issue cases that have been refused as hopeless by other physicians. Many are the instances where this was accomplished by Dr Toland, and hence perhaps the jealousy of certain of his fellow-practitioners. Even to these, however, he was more than generous, and never could he justly be accused of discourtesy, for none had a stricter regard for what may be termed the ethics of his profession.

In truth he wrought some marvelous cures, among them being the reproduction of bone by treatment, a process which, it is said, he was the first one to discover. But to describe his more famous operations would be a matter of professional rather than general interest, and with this we are not at present concerned. It may, however, be remarked that in all his career he was never once known to lose his presence of mind, and here we have another secret of his success, for in surgical treatment there are moments when the slightest loss of nerve on the part of the surgeon would result in the death of his subject. To the confidence which knowledge and experience give, he added the self-reliance born of native ability ; and this confidence he inspired in his patients not only by his reputation but by his manner, his promptness, and decision. No wonder, therefore, that he soon acquired the largest practice on the Pacific coast, and that, not through any small ambition to outstrip his competitors, but because he was wanted here, for here was a position which at that time no one else could have filled. It has been said of Napoleon that his presence on the battle-field was alone equal to forty thousand men. It may be said of Doctor Toland that his presence at the bedside of the sick would go far toward working their cure.

If ever a man was in love with his profession, worked in that profession heart and soul, not for its fees or its honors, but because it was in him so to work, that man was Doctor Toland. Often he would return to his home, after passing the whole night at the bedside of a patient, smiling and content that he had made some unfortunate sufferer happy. To the call of the poor, no less than of the rich, he was always ready to respond, and never would he forsake a dying patient, so long as he could be of service.

Some years after his death, an Irish laborer whose family he had tended, and who meanwhile had been saving money for the purpose, called on Mrs Toland, saying, as he handed her a bag full of gold and silver, "Well, ma'am, I have come at last. The doctor was so good to me and me childer that I always intended to pay him." It need hardly be said that the honest fellow's offering was refused. "Why," answered the lady, "do you suppose I would take it after my husband has declined to charge you. No, keep your money."

For money, indeed, the doctor cared but little, and still less for luxury or display, living in the most simple and unostentatious fashion, with little regard for appearances, and with a just contempt for the inanities of the fashionable world. One taste indeed he indulged without stint, and that was for fine horses and equipages, his span being noted as among the handsomest in San Francisco. Like most professional men, he was somewhat lacking as a financier, and with all his vast income could never be ranked as a millionaire. But this was largely due to the extent of his charities and to the expenses of his college. In the Sacramento valley he purchased a tract of 13,000 acres of land, which he managed so skilfully that it soon became known as one of the best wheat farms in California. Most of it was rented out to tenants, in holdings of from 500 to 1,000 acres, with all the necessary improvements; but a considerable portion he reserved for himself, and here he found his only relaxation from the cares of professional life.

In politics Doctor Toland was a firm adherent of the democratic party, and among the leaders of that party, though never himself taking an active share, he exercised no slight influence. To society he gave but little of his time, through want of leisure and also of inclination, and only during the last year of his life was he known to attend a theatre. The brief moments of leisure that remained to him were passed in the company of his wife and their only son, Hugo, for on the 6th of October 1860 the doctor was married to Mrs Mary B. M. Gridley, née Morrison, a young widow, on the father's side of Highland, on the mother's of English, descent, and a native of West Dresden, Maine, on the banks of the Kennebec. The home where she was born was one of the few surviving landmarks of the old continental days, and formerly the residence of Colonel Taylor of revolutionary fame. As this lady has a career of her own, apart from that of her husband, and is known to the world of letters as the authoress of several beautiful poems, most of them of a romantic and legendary character, it is but fitting to give to them at least a passing mention, and the more so as in the nature of her studies and the style of her works she stands alone among the literary celebrities of the west.

The first one, entitled *Stella*, was published soon after her marriage, which took place at the residence of her cousin, J. W. White, the manager of the Ophir mine, in the company of whose wife she was visiting California. Though written merely as a rhythmic story for the amusement of her boy, it passed through several editions.

While Mrs Toland was preparing to visit the centennial exhibition it chanced that two of her young lady visitors drew from its lurking place the first canto of an unfinished poem, and for their amusement she promised to complete it. The result was *Sir Rae*, a highland story narrated with remarkable delicacy of touch. Though published anonymously in 1876 the work was afterward acknowledged by its writer. Her signature has since been, at the doctor's request, M. B. M. Toland.

In *Iris: The Romance of an Opal Ring*, a portion of it written on the banks of the Kennebec, the scene is her early New England home, and in *Onti Ora* (the Indian phrase for the Catskill mountains), dedicated in 1881 to the memory of her husband, we have some spirited descriptions of scenery on the north Hudson, together with excellent character sketches, especially that of the gypsy queen in the latter volume. The *Inca Princess* was inscribed to Bishop Kip, one of her most intimate friends. *Ægle and the Elf*, which the authoress terms a fantasy, was written in four hours and in a peculiar and original metre. It was published in 1887, and in the following year appeared *Eudora, A Tale of Love*, in five cantos with figure drawings by Siddons Mowbray, and landscapes by Hamilton Gibson.

But perhaps of all her poems, and certainly of all her minor poems, the one which will attract the most attention is the *Legend of Laymone*, published at the beginning of 1890 and the scene of which is in Lower California. It is a beautiful story, admirably described, one full of melody and the gentle pathos which gives its warm coloring to all the works of this accomplished writer. The metre is identical with that of the *Ægle and the Elf*, and is well adapted to the legendary character of the tale. Among those whom it describes is Father Junípero Serra, who as the deer

"Entered a valley with stream purling there,
That ran on
Through cañon
Of wild beauties rare.

"'Neath sycamore hoary, in mission retreat,
Sat reading,
Unheeding
The sound of their feet."

All these poems are beautifully illustrated, the drawings in the *Legend of Laymone* being the productions of no less than ten of the most prominent artists of the day. As to the mechanical portion of the works it is only necessary to state that they were published by the Lippincotts, and that they are among their finest specimens of workmanship. Some of them have already passed through several editions, and that they have been fully appreciated by men and women of culture is to the authoress her only reward, for the entire revenue derived from their sale is devoted to the relief of poor authors and artists.

But of her charities, numbered almost by the days of each returning year, no further mention need be made. Since her husband's death her time has been devoted to writing and to study, and it may indeed be said that she lives among her books, so that ere long we may hope to receive from her pen some further contributions to the slender store of literature with which, in the proper sense of the word, the Pacific coast is accredited. As an artist also Mrs Toland's paintings and pen-pictures have met with the appreciation due to one who, almost from childhood, has been a lover and a thorough student of this art, one who has herself studied under acknowledged masters, among others Toby Rosenthal, whose lessons she valued on account of his German style.

Between 1881 and 1885 Mrs Toland made a tour of the world in company with Hugo, on whom the mantle of his father had descended not unworthily. The most affectionate of sons, and with all the advantages of his parentage and training, he is gifted by nature with a strong intelligence, as appeared during their four years' ramble when, though merely a child, there was not a spot where his foot had rested of which he would not write in his boyish fashion.

To the social circles of the metropolis, though from society she has in a measure withdrawn since the doctor's decease, Mrs Toland is known as a large-hearted, sympathetic woman, and as a wife and mother none could be more devoted. In all their married life, extending over well-nigh a score of years, no angry word was spoken, no angry look interchanged. Of her poems there was no more appreciative critic than her husband, none more ready to encourage her to literary effort. For work completed his approval was always freely bestowed, while at times gently chiding her for work that he deemed neglected.

Thus their time was passed in such content and happiness as seldom falls to the lot of wedded pair, and in the hope that both would long be spared to enjoy what was to them a foretaste of eternal peace. But this was not to be.

Returning to his home on the night of February 26, 1880, Doctor Toland appeared somewhat dispirited, as indeed he had good reason to be; for now, after founding the medical college at his own expense; after conducting it for nearly twenty years largely at his own expense; and after filling the chair of surgery for all these years with acknowledged ability and zeal, an effort was being made to remove him in favor of a younger man. It was to him almost as the bitterness of death, and indeed, as his wife relates, it was his death-stroke. In the morning, after delivering his usual lecture at the college, while being driven to his residence he called to the driver: "Go a little faster. I don't feel well." On reaching the house, he said to his butler, whom he met in the hall, and who was an old and privileged servant: "Bring me some brandy. I never felt like this before." But ere his lips could touch the glass, he dropped to the ground in a fit of apoplexy, and a moment later he was dead. Thus one whose lifetime had been devoted to relieving the sufferings of others was spared the tortures of a lingering death, and at the age of three-score and ten passed almost painlessly to the silent and unknown shore.

In appearance the doctor was a man of commanding presence, over six feet in stature, and with a slender but well-proportioned frame, fair in complexion, but with dark blue eyes and jet-black hair, in which no streak of gray betokened the touch of time. His features were regular, symmetrical, and strongly defined, the massive chin indicating his strength of will, and the lofty, capacious forehead his power of intellect. In carriage he was dignified and stately, in manner modest and unassuming, a man of most delicate sensibilities, of the nicest sense of honor, and of the strictest integrity. Though making but few friends and acquaintances, there were none more loyal in their friendships, and by those few he was justly esteemed as one whose ability, experience, and maturity of judgment, whose boundless charity, whose lifelong sympathy and labors in behalf of his fellowman, whose greatness of mind and soul, entitled him to a foremost rank among those whose names will never be effaced from the annals of our western commonwealth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WILLIAM FLETCHER McNUTT.

A RIGOROUS CLIMATE AND STIMULATING ENVIRONMENT—A STALWART AND LOYAL ANCESTRY—HIS DETERMINED STRUGGLE AND SINGULAR TENACITY OF PURPOSE—A LAUDABLE AMBITION REALIZED—WIDE EXPERIENCE IN THE SCIENCE AND PRACTICE OF MEDICINE—ANALYSIS OF A CONSPICUOUS AND WELL-KNOWN FACTORSHIP IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY—AN INDIVIDUALITY COMPELLING RESPECT AND INVITING STUDY.

WILLIAM FLETCHER McNUTT was born March 29, 1839, at Truro, Nova Scotia, a place in the central part of the province, at the head of the waters of the bay of Fundy. In this region of extreme tides and rigorous climate, nature yielded her products grudgingly to toil and ingenuity. But it was an excellent country to grow up in. A man developed in such environment, capable of success under such conditions, could not fail to stand out among the men of power on the hospitable soil of California.

On his father's side of the house his ancestry are Scotch-Irish and Irish; on his mother's side Scotch-Irish and Scotch. From one of his great granduncles the well known family of McNutts in Virginia are descended, among them being the first governor of Mississippi.

The father of W. F. McNutt was a farmer, and for many years a commissioner of tide lands and highways. His position was one of respectability and influence. He possessed two distinct traits of character; sound judgment, and absolute integrity. Fletcher's mother was a woman of great energy and remarkable executive ability. Under her control the management of the large household was perfect. She was a Scotch presbyterian of most earnest and uncompromising character, and there were few men, even among the clergy, who were more familiar with the principles of the Christian religion than herself, or who could discuss theology with greater cogency or power. While but little interested in literature generally, she knew the bible, and such works as those of Jonathan Edwards, from cover to cover.

Young McNutt was reared on a farm. His road to learning was not a royal one. At 15 years of age, he walked four miles a day and back, with the thermometer at from 10 to 20 degrees below zero, to take lessons from a Scotch mathematician. In this way he prepared himself in mathematics in which he excelled, and in the languages, for a college course, in what was called the presbyterian seminary of the lower provinces, now Dalhousie university. During his last year at college, he lived with and assisted the celebrated surgeon Dr Samuel Muir in his surgical operations. Having finished the curriculum he went to Boston when he was about 20 years of age, and attended lectures for two terms in the medical department of Harvard. Thence he passed to the university of Vermont, where he graduated as a physician in 1862, at the head of his class.

His next step was to visit the Philadelphia hospitals, and he then matriculated at the college of physicians and surgeons, New York city, where he completed his course. In the spring of 1863, he passed his examinations in Brooklyn as assistant surgeon in the United States navy, and was ordered to report to Admiral Porter at Vicksburg. During the Deer creek expedition, he volunteered as Admiral Porter's staff surgeon, and he and his party were hemmed in and came very near being captured, but were relieved by ten thousand men sent to their assistance by General Sherman.

McNutt was saving and frugal during his service in the navy, and with the several hundred dollars that he laid by he went to Europe, and studied part of the time in Paris, part in London, and part in Edinburgh, where he finally gratified his ambition by obtaining a diploma from the Royal college of surgeons, and one also from the Royal college of physicians. It is interesting to note, as an evidence of what may be accomplished by one devoted to his ideal, and tenacious of purpose, the straits through which he passed in Europe while completing his education. In Edinburgh he managed to live almost on nothing; that is from sixpence to a shilling a day, but when he graduated and came to London, the question of subsistence was a serious consideration. He passed an examination for the British army at which there were 16 vacancies and 44 applicants. It was by far the most severe to which he had ever been subjected, but he was successful. It was rather an empty achievement for him, however, as his money was exhausted, and he had no means of obtaining an equipment for the service, uniform, etc.

At this crisis he accidentally met on the streets of London, an old sea-captain from home, whom he knew well, and with whom he returned to Nova Scotia. He went immediately to work, making his first visit the evening of his arrival. Next morning, at sunrise, he was several miles away, visiting another patient. For two years he was driving night and day almost constantly, through a dreadful country, and poor at that. Fifty cents a visit, and the doctor furnishing his own medicine! Acting on impulse, back of which, however, there was the good reason intimated, he packed up his books, sent them to Halifax to be shipped by steamer to Boston, and drove off with his pair of fine horses to Boston, a distance of 750 or 800 miles. There was eager competition in the transportation of passengers from that point to San Francisco. Everywhere he saw the legend placarded, "Steamers to California. Passage $100." This seemed to be a notice served upon him, bidding him go where there would be relief from the rigors of Nova Scotia, and where his destiny was to be wrought out in the medical profession.

He sailed on the 1st of April 1868, landing in San Francisco, after a twenty-three days' trip, with sixteen dollars and a few cents in his purse. His struggles to get a foothold here were essentially a repetition of his experience in Edinburgh and London. One little room served him for lodgings and office for nearly two years. To pay rent for these humble quarters and to subsist was a vital problem. Ordinarily, one two-bit meal a day, with a little cold food in the office to appease the wolf on the threshold, was all he could allow himself. He could not afford to ride in street cars, for tickets were then sold only four at a time for twenty-five cents. But patients began slowly to call for his services, and after a lean and trying period, which was not brief, a small practice was established, and the clouds began to disappear. Toward the end of these hard times, what was then a windfall came to him; he was called to attend a man who had broken his thigh, for which he received a fee of $350. Though heretofore earning only the barest subsistence and not seeming to grow into practice, he was, nevertheless, laying a foundation deep and broad upon which to build a certain and brilliant future. The first substantial recognition of his character and skill was an invitation, in the latter part of 1870, to become the partner of Dr R. T. Maxwell, now deceased, and who ranked among the most excellent physicians then residing in San Francisco.

A few months after his arrival, he began to contribute to medical literature, and, with Dr Bennet and Dr Shorb, edited the *California Medical Gazette*, which was published by Roman and company. Dr McNutt remained in partnership with Dr Maxwell about four years, after which he continued to practise alone.

In addition to attending with earnest activity and studious care to an always increasing, and, at this day, the largest and most lucrative general practice in San Francisco, which means, on the coast, Dr McNutt, by systematizing his time, has been able to do much for the advancement of medicine outside of his practice, although the good that he has accomplished lies mainly in the wide scope of his personal experience as a practitioner. He has written frequently for the medical journals of California, the eastern states, and Europe, on subjects in medicine, surgery, and gynecology, to the last of which branches he has given particular study during later years, and is now president of the San Francisco gynecological society. He has made several able reports to the California state medical society, notably on leprosy, medical education, and the practice of medicine. For the ninth international medical congress, he prepared at short notice a valuable practical brochure regarding the mineral and thermal springs of California. He is also author of a comprehensive treatise on the diseases of the kidneys and bladder.

In 1875 Dr Toland donated his medical college and its equipment to the state university; the college was reörganized, and thus constituted the medical department of the state university, and ceased to be or to be referred to as the Toland college. This new departure may be called the second epoch in the medical profession in California. Graduates from the new state school of medicine, the character of which was above cavil or slur, encountered but little opposition in their work, and ere long, they and others began to consult with each other without prejudice. The standing and work of the medical department of the California university have been good and thorough. It was one of the first, if not the first medical college in the United States to require three full terms, of nine months each, of study, for graduation. When it took this action, all the medical colleges in the country were requiring but a two years' course of lectures, and a goodly number of these have since adopted its plan. The standard of the school is high, and it has attracted a number of students from Japan, Mexico, Canada, and Victoria, in addition to a large list of pupils from this state and the coast generally. Upon the transfer of the Toland medical college to the state university, Dr McNutt was chosen to the professorship of the principles and practice of medicine, which he has held ever since. This is a principal chair in all medical schools, and the doctor enjoys the reputation of having made it what it ought to be. While he does not aspire to be called a great lecturer, he is what is substantially better, a good teacher. His work is a labor of love, and that his lessons have borne good fruit is manifested by the success of many of his pupils, and the estimate they place upon his services.

Many of the best intellects of the older states and Europe have been and are still numbered among the physicians of San Francisco, and first-rate talent is being constantly added. It is fair to assume that they stand on a par with the most advanced practitioners on the Atlantic sea-board, which is equivalent to saying that they are on a par with English practitioners, who are of the first rank.

If it be asked how Dr McNutt has arrived at a commanding position among men of such caliber and attainments, an outline of his career may be offered as a partial answer. He inherited physical and mental force; nature was generous to him personally, and he grew up in surroundings that sharpened his wits. His equipment for his profession was thorough, while his characteristics were such as compel success. It is unnecessary to say that he has a clear knowledge of the principles of medicine, which is the first and main thing, and that he possesses the capacity, and adaptability required in its practice. Given these three factors, the practitioner may be wanting in some respects.

He may be lacking in address, in tact, or in personnel; but if he be strong in the essential requirements named, he cannot fail. And I should take Dr McNutt to be wanting in few if any of the minutiæ that are sometimes expected in men of his calling. He has been a tireless worker. During a period of twelve years he never rested a day. But he prescribes for himself the economy and preservation of energy and vitality; he keeps himself in the best of health, and labors methodically. Besides a world of ordinary experience in over twenty years of continuous practice, the doctor has treated many cases that have been recorded as celebrated, especially in abdominal surgery, in which his skill and success are unquestioned.

At the time of Dr McNutt's arrival in San Francisco, the condition of public health was about as bad as was possible. There was no systematic sewerage; independent water-closets and sink holes were still in use. There was no city board of health, and the state board of health had no recognized existence. When the small-pox broke out in the latter part of 1868, it made a clean sweep. Many lives were lost; the trade of the city was paralyzed; and the damage to business alone amounted to millions of dollars. Besides deficiencies otherwise, there was no small-pox hospital, no city physician; there was no surgeon to attend the jails, no place to which a patient who was injured could be taken directly for treatment. In a year or two after this plague, a board of health for San Francisco was provided by an act of the legislature. The subsequent improvements in the hygienic condition of the city are due largely to this body, and if we have not now a system which is first-rate, it is still not as bad as it might be, and certainly not as bad as it has been.

Owing to the west winds from the ocean, which sweep through the city, the death rate of San Francisco is lower than that of any other large city in the world, being as low, sometimes, as 16 to 18 in a thousand; while London, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia show about 25 per thousand, and the great continental cities of Europe, 27 to 30. Our climate is conducive to longevity. Deaths among children in San Francisco are few as compared with the large cities of the east and Europe. The second, or so-called freeholders' charter, proposed for San Francisco, in the promotion of which Dr McNutt took an active part, provided a general system of drainage through Market street to the bay, but it was not adopted. Nevertheless the health department of San Francisco in time became fairly organized.

In 1872 the anatomical law was amended so as to facilitate the study of practical anatomy. It is never too warm nor too cold in San Francisco for convenient dissection, and there is no other place in the world in which surgical operations can be performed with such degree of immunity from heat and cold the year round. These and other wholesome improvements were brought about by the persistent efforts of the city physicians, among whom Dr McNutt was always active. He strongly advocated the removal of burial places beyond the city limits, another radical idea of reform which afterward forced itself upon the attention of the community. He has never feared but there will be enough of sickness and disease to keep the doctors busy.

In his practice he has found that the grade of typhoid fever on the coast is not so low as in the eastern states, England, or France. The course of other diseases here he has found to correspond nearly with that of diseases elsewhere. As regards the unfavorable report that pneumonia, heart disease, and aneurism are in excess here, he finds the contrary to be true. As to consumption, patients die of it in San Francisco, but in many cases they bring the disease here. He notes it as a well observed fact that not nearly so many young people between the ages of 15 and 25 die of tuberculosis on this coast as in the older states, or in Europe, which is doubtless due to the evenness of our climate, and to the spending of much time in the open air. No malarial diseases found here are peculiar to the coast.

Dr McNutt entertains the highest expectations regarding the future of the people of California, based largely upon the superiority of our climate which is exempt from miasma and the extremes of heat and cold that are incident to other parts of the United States and the world. The hygienic conditions are conducive to the best physical development of men and women—upon which development depends a corresponding expansion of the intellect. Time spent in the open air is at the maximum here, where the sun does not blister nor water freeze. The atmosphere, usually mild, and always exhilarating, stimulates to industry, and renders necessary a check upon the prevalent tendency to over-work; this is a danger which he considers should be guarded against. As to the claim that a sharp division of the year into seasons is required for the production of the strongest and brightest men and women, and that the uniformity of the weather in California is monotonous and tends to enervation and a repression of individuality and originality, he regards the idea as a mere fancy. The state is not yet old enough to offer a complete record in this respect, but certainly a healthier, more intelligent, or promising generation of young people cannot be found anywhere on the face of the earth. The pioneer stock from which the first native sons and daughters come were the select of the eastern states and Europe, and their offspring are their peers. If there should be any falling off from this standard, it will not be due to natural environment, but in despite of it. He anticipates a prodigious growth of the state, and believes that the population of California in 1910 will be equal to that of New York in 1890.

Dr McNutt is a close observer, reads much, within the sphere of his professional studies and beyond; he has clear and comprehensive views on all the great economic and political questions of the day. To our immigration and naturalization laws he has devoted much thought. He is struck by the monstrous hurry of the people of the United States to fill up the country by inviting and offering premiums to all men, save those with yellow skins, to come and share the soil with us and participate in our government. In the non-assimilating Chinese he sees the source of a local, circumscribed disease to our body politic—a disease, which however bad it may be, is not constitutional and can be eradicated. The degraded class of emigrants from Europe, however, those who are either paupers or criminals, who are shipped away from their native countries by cheap and rapid transportation, as an alternative preferable to their maintenance or reformation, and dumped upon our shores, have been received with open arms. With the greatest expedition they are transformed into citizens, and regardless of any proper test of their eligibility, they are made rulers at the ballot-box. They thus become an integral part of our government, and inseparable from it—an organic and malignant disease, which infects all our institutions, and would totally undermine them but for the prodigious assimilating vitality of our republic. Formerly only the better class of immigrants came, those who had means, and they came when there was more room for them, distributing themselves widely about the country. Now, they congregate in large cities, band together as nationalities; are filled with incendiary ideas, and being antagonistic to the government which shields them, they demoralize labor, paralyze capital, and breed anarchy. The power of this element is manifestly such in politics at this time that only the exceptionally bold and independent senator or congressman dares propose legislation looking to the modification of the laws out of which the evil has arisen. But when the

American people come to a realizing sense of this emergency, they will arise and assert their right to protect themselves. It is his idea that a general compulsory educational law, aimed specifically at the anarchical class now banded together in our great cities, should be enacted and rigidly enforced, requiring their children to attend the public schools, in which the principles and spirit of our institutions should be thoroughly inculcated in their minds—thereby generating a powerful corrective force.

Dr McNutt, except as a director of the state prison during one term, and as a freeholder on the second city charter submitted and rejected, has taken no personal part in politics, beyond the discharge of his duty in common with other citizens. He became a republican, because opposed to every form of slavery: his war record confirmed him in this faith, and he continues steadfast in it because, on the whole, he regards republicanism as the best policy for the country. Owing to his recognized capacity and public spirit, his name has been prominently mentioned in connection with the mayoralty of San Francisco, and the governorship of the state, but he has been too much engrossed in the practice of medicine to give serious attention to any matter that is not in the line of his profession.

Dr McNutt married in August, 1871, Mary Louise Coon, daughter of H. P. Coon, a prominent man in the commerce of the city, a regular physician, and for two terms mayor of San Francisco. Mrs McNutt is a woman of great culture and refinement, whose strength of character and position in society have rendered her in every way a help-meet for her husband in his great work. They have four children, two boys and two girls, who are as fine specimens of physique and mind as the doctor need offer in verification of his faith in the capabilities of California for producing good stock. In rearing them he is guided by the ancient maxim, of the value of which his intimate knowledge of mankind convinces him, *mens sana in corpore sano.* Health the first and the supreme consideration. Take the cue from nature; foster but do not force the intellectual growth of the child.

Dr McNutt has but little leisure to spare for social relaxation, though he is identified with a number of clubs and associations, namely, the Pacific Union and Bohemian clubs, the Harvard college association, the Saint Andrews and Caledonian societies, and the Canadian association; he is a knight templar and an odd fellow; a member of the grand army and of the loyal legion.

The doctor's religion is rather free from form or observance. His experience has taught him to judge men by their acts, not by their creed. There is very little of the pharisee about Californians, nor yet do they accept the rôle of publican and sinner. They are neither better nor worse than other men. The doctor was brought up on Boston's *Fourfold State,* Baxter's *Saint's Rest* and Matthew Henry's *Commentaries*; and while it is true that there is scarcely any mental influence from which men are so slowly emancipated as that of a religious dogma, he is not a religionist. I apprehend, however, that he has been none the less moral, charitable, and useful on this account. His energies have been devoted to the amelioration of human suffering, primarily for his own benefit, of course, but on the whole with greater profit to his fellow-men than to himself. His way of living has been exemplary; his reputation blameless, and deservedly so. While, perhaps, he has not always had the poor with him, he has never hesitated, regardless of his honorarium, to respond to their calls, night or day, and give them the comfort of his skill or his purse. Such patients as these, as well as the rich and influential of whom his clientele is largely composed, all find in him a considerate and sympathetic friend. To proficiency in surgery, as in the art of healing, he adds a gentle earnestness of manner that makes him a welcome visitor at the bedside. The confidence which he inspires and maintains is remarkable. He is largely the physician of physicians, being frequently called upon to attend his fellow practitioners in their illness. On account of his faculty of getting directly at the root of disease, he is in demand for consultation constantly. Capable and disinterested critics credit him with the utmost skill in diagnosis, his rapid and accurate analysis appearing, at times, like intuition. I should rather ascribe his singular proficiency in this respect to his gift of discrimination, strengthened by long study and wide experience.

The accompanying portrait gives a fair view of the doctor's face and head, with a facsimile of his peculiar signature. But for details, the bust of Hippocrates, which ornaments his office mantel, might readily be taken for that of McNutt; with the Greek head, however, he has not the massive Greek features. In figure he is tall, graceful, and active; in complexion, quite the Scot, as a scion of the clan McKnight should be; and yet he is as thoroughly American, in the best meaning of the word, as though born on this soil. Such men contribute substance and character to our civilization. They give more than they receive. Their lives are a most substantial and agreeable feature of our history.

CHAPTER XIX.

EDUCATION—CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA.

MISSIONARY EFFORTS AND EARLY EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA—THE FIRST SCHOOLS IN SAN FRANCISCO—THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM—INTERIOR SCHOOLS—SCHOOL LANDS AND TAXES—HIGH AND NORMAL SCHOOLS—STATISTICS FOR 1884-5—THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA—THE STANFORD UNIVERSITY—MEDICAL AND POLYTECHNIC SCHOOLS—THE LICK OBSERVATORY—OTHER OBSERVATORIES—DENOMINATIONAL AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS—THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES—THE ACADEMY OF DESIGN—LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM—PUBLIC AND OTHER SCHOOLS IN NEVADA—LAND GRANTS—CONDITION OF SCHOOLS IN 1884—THE STATE UNIVERSITY—NEWSPAPERS AND LIBRARIES.

THE missionary fathers did much admirable work in reclaiming the Indians from their wild roaming life and imparting, if not a high degree of culture, at least many excellent principles, with superior ideas of morality, and a taste for the conveniences of settled and civilized life. Much good was thus accomplished, which will ever redound to the credit of the church and her self-sacrificing apostles. Isolated as they were at the missions, however, the padres could give little attention to the Mexican settlers. Education was therefore almost neglected, since few there were to impart it, save the friars and occasionally retired officers and men from the army, of slender requirements. There was one petty establishment at Monterey under the pretentious appellation of normal school, as appears on the title-page of the tiny *Catecismo de Ortologia*, issued here in 1836 by its director, J. M. Romero. The simplest rudiments were all that could be expected, with the usual extravagant proportion of religious lessons. Hence the ambitious youth must supplement his course with more or less desultory study at home from the few books obtainable. In this manner Governor Alvarado and General Vallejo managed to acquire a very respectable amount of knowledge. A few children, chiefly those of foreigners with non-catholic proclivities, received their education abroad. A large proportion of the humbler classes remained illiterate, as shown by figures in the census of 1850, which apply almost entirely to the Spanish-Americans, natives, or immigrants.

With the entry of the Anglo-Saxons a demand for schools at once arose, and in April 1847 a private school was opened at San Francisco by a fairly educated Mormon named Marston, who obtained a score of pupils, out of nearly treble that number of children then resident in the town. Impressed by their duty to the rising generation the town council appointed a committee to take measures for establishing a public school. A building was erected on the plaza, dignified by the name of public institute. Here a school was opened on April 3, 1848, under Tom Douglas, a graduate of Yale, with a salary of $1,000. Hardly was it in working order, however, before the gold fever carried off the inhabitants and turned official attention into other channels.

In April 1849 the Reverend A. Williams found time to open a school with two dozen pupils, and speedily several private establishments appeared. At the close of the year J. C. Pelton organized a free school, which in the following April was taken under the patronage of the city, with his wife for assistant, at a combined salary of $500 per month. During the first term 148 pupils were admitted, half of them foreigners. Nine months later the number had risen to 174, including 75 girls, and an increased proportion of foreigners and very young children. By the middle of 1851, 300 stood enrolled, requiring two additional teachers. Owing to a misunderstanding the school closed in September of that year. Meanwhile others had entered the field. T. J. Nevins organized a class in 1850 in Happy valley, which the town adopted. He subsequently erected a large building on the Presidio road. To him was due the proper organization of the public school system in 1851.

Under an amended ordinance dividing the city into seven districts, and providing a board of education, three schools were opened in 1851, the Happy valley under J. Denman, the North Beach under J. Trace, and the Washington street grammar school under E. Jones. The next year four schools were added. By 1856 there were 24 in San Francisco, embracing 7 grammar and 9 primary, with an average daily attendance of 2,516, out of 3,370 enrolled pupils. A loan was raised, and the tax rate for the city and county was increased from 28 cents to 43 cents on each hundred dollars of property, in order to replace the rented halls with special buildings. In 1855 the total expenditure was $335,000, nearly half of it for salaries, the state contributing only $64,000. After this the less essential expenses were reduced. In 1888 the school census reported 81,600 children of school age in the city.

In the interior a small class is said to have been taught on Cache creek in 1847 by one Tyler; and Wheaton soon after opened one at Washington, opposite Sacramento. The Rev. Willey taught a public school at Monterey in 1849, and the same year Professor Shepherd built a schoolhouse at Sacramento, wherein C. H. T. Palmer taught a dozen of the thirty children of the town. After a futile attempt on the part of Rev. J. A. Benton, the Rev. J. Rogers met with more success, and for two years conducted a flourishing institute. Miss Hart taught in 1850, and Miss Spear opened a girls' school in the following year. At Stockton Mr Weber provided a building in 1850 for a class opened by C. M. Blake. Mrs Woods established a select school shortly afterward, and in 1851 W. P. Hazelton started a free school. Henceforth progress was rapid. In the same year the first English school was founded at Los Angeles by Wicks and Nichols; at Grass Valley Miss Farrington taught, and at Benicia and Sonoma public schools existed. Santa Bárbara had one in 1850 and also a private school. The census for 1850 enumerates only eight schools outside the three leading counties, with about two hundred pupils, yet a much larger number claimed to attend school. In 1856 there were 321 schools, 392 teachers, and a daily attendance of 8,500, out of 15,000 enrolled pupils and a total of 30,000 children of school age.

The first school law for the state was drawn up mainly by G. B. Tingley. The fund depended at first on the proceeds from the sale of 500,000 acres of schools lands, on escheated estates, poll tax, and a levy of five cents on each hundred dollars of assessed property. The local fund was derived from a percentage on property, gradually increased from three to 10 cents and in cities to twenty-five cents. The contribution from the state fund to that of San Francisco amounted in the fifties to about one-fifth of the total expenditure. In 1886 the total state fund apportionment exceeded $2,000,000, while the total expenses of the public schools exceeded $3,000,000. In 1853 the usual school land grant was made to California, of the 16th and 36th sections. The total grants reaching 7,250,000 acres. The value of the escheated estates amounted in 1855 to fully one million dollars.

It was not until 1856 that a high-school was organized in San Francisco, affording relief to many who had so far been obliged to attend sectarian establishments or to go abroad. A normal school had been provided in 1857 by the efforts of John Swett and superintendents A. J. Moulder and H. B. James, with G. W. Minns as principal. Five years later the legislature was persuaded to endow it as a state institution. Ten years afterward it was removed from

San Francisco to San José, where land had been donated for the purpose. It was burned in 1880, but rebuilt immediately. By this time nearly six hundred students had been admitted, from forty-five counties. A branch was established at Los Angeles in 1881.

During the school year 1884–5 there was an average daily attendance of 116,028 at the public schools of California, and of 19,519 at church or private schools, a decrease in the former of 8,686 on the preceding year, and an increase in the latter of 1,566, this being probably due to the insufficiency of the public school funds, and the dilapidated, ill-furnished, and badly ventilated school buildings in portions of the state. The total number of children of school age was 250,097, of pupils enrolled 184,001, and of teachers 4,242, of whom about three-fourths were women. In the preceding year the school fund of the state amounted to nearly $2,000,000; the value of school property was estimated at about $8,000,000, and the expenditure was $3,364,224. Notwithstanding this large outlay, amounting to thirty dollars a year per capita of the average number of scholars, there were more than 57,000 children who did not attend any school.

By act of 1885 the state board of education was required to have compiled for the use of the public schools a series of text-books, the matter contained in the readers beginning with the simplest expressions of which the English language is capable, and by regular gradations advancing to the choicest specimens of the great masters of prose and poetry. For the compilation of these text-books $20,000 was appropriated, and for the plant and material $150,000. As to the former work, it may be remarked that if competent men and not mere favorites had been employed for the purpose, it could have been accomplished with double efficiency at about one-half the cost.

The university of California had its germ in the

College of California, founded in 1855 at Oakland, chiefly by presbyterians and congregationalists, yet free from sectarianism. This school was in charge of Henry Durant, a graduate of Yale, but for some years led a precarious existence. In 1862 an act was passed by congress to form schools of agriculture and mechanic arts, and California accepted its share of land to this end. Durant now conceived the idea of infusing fresh vigor into his establishment by uniting it with the new project. He accordingly donated a tract of land on the Berkeley slopes with a view to bring about the union. A number of influential men lent their aid, and the site was accepted as unsurpassed for beauty and salubrity. On March 23, 1868, a bill was passed to organize the university of California, at the instance of J. W. Dwinelle, and previous recommendations by commissioners being duly considered, five colleges were projected, namely, those of agriculture, mechanic arts, civil engineering, mining, and letters. The initial exercises took place at the Oakland college on September 23, 1869, under the presidency of John Le Conte, professor of physics and industrial mechanics. Four years later the new buildings at Berkeley were occupied. Durant was temporarily appointed president until D. C. Gilman, from Yale, accepted the position, in 1872. Le Conte replaced him in 1875, and was followed by presidents Reid and Davis. The endowments aggregate about $2,000,000, while other gifts have already reached nearly double that amount. In 1882 the expenditure was $95,000 and the income $98,000. The institution has not of late been so successful as was expected, and vigorous efforts are made to overcome the obstacles in its way. Public attention is now widely drawn to another university, the Leland Stanford, Junior, which has been erected in memory of the only son of the founder, and is to be sustained by a munificent endowment. It will offer a large number of free scholarships to deserving aspirants.

In addition to these establishments there are special colleges of medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, and law in San Francisco, together with the polytechnic school endowed by H. D. Cogswell, and several superior schools in the interior. To the university of California belongs the observatory on Mount Hamilton, erected in accordance with the designs of James Lick, at an elevation of 4,200 feet, and now acknowledged as the best equipped in the world. It was completed and transferred to the university in 1888. As an endowment fund Mr Lick set apart the sum of $700,000, and also donated $540,000 toward an institute of mechanic arts at San Francisco, which in due time will be transferred to the university.

Several small observatories exist for astronomic study. Professor Davidson has a 6.4-inch object glass in a portable observatory, provided by the supervisors for the use of the coast and geodetic survey, as the standard telegraphic longitude station of the coast. The Chabot observatory, with an eight-inch glass, was donated to Oakland in 1882, with a small endowment. The same city has two private observatories, the Buckhalter, with a ten and a half inch glass, and the Blinn, with a five-inch glass. The university has also a students' observatory, with a refractor and other glasses. Mills college has a five-inch lens, and the University of the Pacific, at San José, a six-inch telescope.

Select schools have been founded at various dates under the auspices of different denominations, many of which are still in existence, though in San Francisco the excellence of the public school system almost debars the competition of sectarian or private institutions, the catholics alone maintaining their foothold. Among private schools the Mills seminary holds the foremost rank as an institute for young women. It was founded at Benicia in 1857 by Mr and Mrs C. T. Mills, transferred to Brooklyn in 1871, and six years later was deeded to a board of trustees on behalf of the people. Oakland is so well provided with schools of a high grade in and around the city that she ranks as the Athens of the coast. They depend largely on the patronage of boarding pupils, from the metropolis as well as from the different counties, and this is likewise the case with colleges at Benicia, San José, and other towns. At San José the prominent institutions are a methodist university and a Jesuit college. At San Francisco are several colleges under catholic auspices, and a few other denominations sustain such establishments, as the university college, founded in 1860 by the Calvary church, but now in the hands of an unsectarian board.

In 1859 was founded a state reform school at Marysville. It was broken up nine years later, but finds a substitute in the industrial school at San Francisco. Near Oakland is the institute for the deaf, dumb, and blind, located on a beautiful site in the neighborhood of the university, and supported at the expense of the state.

An academy of sciences was organized in San Francisco as early as April 1853; and to this institution stability has also been given through the benefactions of Mr James Lick. The city has also an academy of design, which for years has struggled for existence with only such aid as pupils and local artists could afford. That no endowment has yet been conferred on this institution seems to indicate a want of appreciation for art, and that in a community which has already more than one painter of world-wide celebrity.

For letters there is more taste in California than for the fine arts, although, perhaps, in either the general taste of the public will not bear too close a criticism. While it cannot be said that the state possesses, as yet, what may be termed a homogeneous literature, there are probably few portions of the union concerning which so many and execrable works have been given to the world. A few weeks' or at most a few months' sojourn in this state, the time being occupied in sight-seeing, with a visit to the Yosemite valley and perchance, en route, to a few mining camps, was considered a sufficient provocation to inflict on the surfeited reader yet another book. But among all the mass of ill-considered and ill-digested material no truthful, vivid, and lifelike sketch of this country with its limitless resources and its interesting and cosmopolitan society has thus far made its appearance as a book of travel. Such a description, if it ever be written, will probably be from the pen of one who, without being flattered and feasted, without being bored by the profuse hospitality for which her citizens are proverbial, has quietly taken their measure, and after much thought and study holds up to them at length their mirror.

But for the books of travellers we are none of us responsible; and if they choose to journey so far and see so little, they rush to and fro and let us hope that they, also, "rush into print" at their own risk and expense. Meanwhile, considering her youth, California has no reason to be greatly ashamed of her own literature, for of her magazines and newspapers, and of the few books that have yet been published, no small proportion are edited and written with as much ability as those of older and more settled communities. Of the last it may be said that for the most part they have been produced mainly to satisfy the demand for information on local topics. A few works there are on science; a few of somewhat commonplace biography; a volume or two of mediocre verse; with now and then a novel or a novelette; but little has yet been attempted calling for the exercise of creative talent or of purely philosophical research. For the paucity and sometimes inferior quality of our books and magazines, one reason is the small number of purchasers and their inability or indisposition to encourage local literature; another is the impossibility of competing with eastern and European periodicals. From the present, however, little can be judged, although it is not without promise, for among the native-born writers of the future many may prove more able and industrious than those of to-day.

Among descriptive writers may be mentioned Clarence King, whose *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* first appeared in the numbers of a California magazine and was written amid the scenes depicted. Worthy of mention, also, are Turrill's *California Notes*, Avery's *California Pictures*, Powell's *Wonders*, and Truman's *Semi-Tropical California and Occidental Sketches*. In Evans' *A la California* and Seward's *Our Sister Republic*, Lloyd's *Lights and Shades in San Francisco*, Isabelle Saxon's *Five Years Within the Golden Gate*, Mrs Bates' *Four Years on the Pacific Coast*, Kirchoff's *Reisebildes*, and Fisher's *Californians*, are sketches of society and institutions, most of them displaying considerable ability. The *History of the Big Bonanza* by Dan de Quille (Wright) is a curious medley of historic facts and the more humorous phases of life in mining camps. Among works pertaining to travel are Stillman's *Seeking the Golden Fleece*, the *Log of an Ancient Mariner*, and Stephen Powers' *Afoot*, the last relating mainly to pastoral California.

Of the hundreds of California manuscripts in my Library one of the most valuable is the *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* by Peter H. Burnett, the first governor of the state. Williams' *Pioneer Pastorate and Times*, Willey's *Thirty Years in California*, and Woods' *Recollections of Pioneer Work* relate to religious and educational matters. In O'Meara's *Broderick and Gwin* are skillfully described those well-known political leaders.

The first *History of California* worthy of its title is the one published by Franklin Tuthill in 1862. A similar and recent work, but on a large scale, is from the pen of Theodore Hittell, whose brother John S.

Hittell, the leading statistician and formerly one of the leading journalists on this coast, is the author, among other works, of *A History of San Francisco* and *A Brief History of Culture*, written with special attention to industrial development, and at my request edited *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific States.* In physical science the most elaborate work is Professor Davidson's *Marine Manuals*, and in political science the most successful one is Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, in which are revived some of the doctrines enunciated by Quesnay and De Gournay.

In religious literature one of the most popular authors is Bishop Kip, several of whose works have reached a number of editions. Another prolific writer is W. A. Scott, whose *Moses and the Pentateuch* was written in reply to Colenso. Thomas Starr King's *Christianity and Humanity, Patriotism and Other Papers* is a collection of sermons and addresses full of thought expressed in picturesque and well-chosen language. Taylor's *Street Preaching* ably depicts the scenes which its title indicates.

In fiction the most pleasing writer is Bret Harte, whose earlier tales, originally published in the *Overland Monthly*, have won for him a world-wide reputation. As a humorist the first position is usually assigned to Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) whose works are doubtless familiar to the reader. A high place must also be assigned to Prentice Mulford, whose style is more pointed and epigramatic. Swift, whose *Robert Greathouse* and *Going to Jericho* are in a measure imitations of Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, and *Innocents Abroad*, and A. Delano, who will be remembered under the *nom de plume* of Old Block, also rank among our professional humorists, while in some of the writings of Ross Browne is a strong facetious vein, and in those of Dan de Quille a somewhat painful attempt at facetiousness. All of them appear to have borrowed to some extent from George H. Derby (John Phœnix) whose works received a warm welcome not only on this coast but in the eastern states.

To all the world Cincinnatus Heine Miller (Joaquin Miller) is known as the author of the *Songs of the Sierras*, and other poems. A native of Ohio, though his early manhood was passed in Oregon, to the literature of which state his earlier productions properly belong, he was at first regarded as a mere literary Bohemian, and for a time his writings gained for him nothing but ridicule. Gradually, however, it was admitted that his defects were more than atoned for by his rich and striking imagery, and impartial critics abroad have recognized that, however unpolished, the diamond had the true sparkle of genuineness. Of other versifiers, among the most prominent are E. Pollock, C. W. Stoddard, W. A. Kendall, Mrs F. F. Victor, Ina Coolbrith, Carrie Carlton, and Mary H. Field.

Of early California literature, consisting of less than three-score works in all, and of which only seven were published in book form, all of them issued between 1833 and 1846, in the former of which years the country first possessed a printing-press, mention is made in my *Essays and Miscellanies*.

It was not until after the American occupation that the first newspaper appeared in California. It was named the *Californian*, and was published at Monterey under the auspices of Walter Colton and Robert Semple, the first number appearing on the 15th of August 1846. For printing it the old and rickety press of 1833 was taken from a lumber garret, while the type was worn and deficient, and for paper rough foolscap sheets were used. It was issued mainly in the interest of the military authorities, one of its proprietors being the chaplain of the United States frigate *Congress*. In January of the following year was published by the Mormon elder, Sam Brannan, the first number of the *California Star*, a larger and neater, though less able, sheet than its contemporary. On the 4th of January 1849 both of them were merged into the *Alta California.* Four months later appeared the *Placer Times,* and thenceforth newspapers began to multiply rapidly in towns and mining camps, every party and nationality being represented.

The progress of journalism will best be indicated by the following figures: In 1850 there were but seven newspapers in the entire state. In 1860 the number had increased to 121; in 1870 to 201, and in 1880 to 361, of which 58 were issued daily, 250 weekly, and the remainder semi-weekly, tri-weekly, monthly, semi-monthly, or quarterly. In the last of these years nearly 73,000,000 copies were issued, California ranking seventh among the states and territories in the volume of her newspaper circulation.

Efforts have been made to establish purely humorous, critical or literary journals, some attempting to fill all of these rôles. The first one, the *Golden Era,* published weekly, dates from December 1852, and though its pages contained a large proportion of newspaper matter, none have equalled it in popularity. In March 1854 appeared the *Bon-ton Critic,* an able but short-lived publication. The *News Letter,* issued some years later, is still in existence, as are a number of others, among which is the *Argonaut,* which under the management of Frank Pixley, a terse and pungent writer, has become an established favorite.

The first monthly publication worthy of the name of magazine was the *Pioneer,* issued between 1854 and 1856, under the editorship of F. C. Ewer. Descriptive and semi-historical pieces were interspersed with short tales and poems, closing with a review of society, art, and science. In the latter year appeared, under the parentage of James M. Hutchings, the *California Magazine,* containing a large proportion of light reading, with special attention to humorous sketches. After an existence of five years it succumbed to its rival the *Hesperian,* established in 1858 as a semi-monthly journal of literature and art. Under the editorship of Mrs F. H. Day it was issued as a monthly, and acquired considerable popularity until, in 1863, its name was changed to the *Pacific Monthly*, when, under less able management, it soon afterward expired.

In 1868 appeared the first number of the *Overland Monthly*, which, under the editorship of Bret Harte, then rising into fame, was at once acknowledged as the best magazine ever issued on this coast, and the only one that would bear comparison with eastern publications. Although the contributions of the editor were its main feature, and largely created its circulation, it called into play a large amount of slumbering talent, among the leading contributors being W. S. Avery, afterward its editor, Clarence King, Joaquin Miller, W. C. Bartlett, W. Stoddard, Clifford, Cremony, Scammon, Victor, Coolbrith, and others. At the close of 1875 it was suspended, to be revived four years later under the title of the *Californian*, which in 1883 was merged into a second series of the *Overland Monthly*. Its object has been to aid in the development of the country by devoting a large proportion of its space to instructive and descriptive articles concerning the Pacific coast. Its influence has been less marked in directing public taste, which is controlled rather by the newspapers and by eastern periodicals; but it has rendered good service in fostering local talent and bringing new writers into notice, even beyond our borders.

Journalistic enterprise in California has more than kept pace with the phenomenal development of the country, and in no state in the union is there so large an average of newspaper circulation among its inhabitants. To-day, as in earlier periods, the press is somewhat partisan in character, the medium of cliques rather than of the public, often rising and falling with the parties and interests which it represents. This instability has, of course, prevented any high standard of honesty, learning, or originality among our journalists; nor have they been chosen from the fittest ranks, but from all grades of society. This is painfully apparent in the quality of the materials furnished, chiefly prepared with a view to serve some personal end or prejudice, containing more of slang than of grammatical phrase, and aiming always at the sensational. Taking up, for instance, at random, a copy of one of our San Francisco dailies—and one that enjoys a very large circulation—its headings read as follows: "A Fight to the Death;" "Bogus Money-makers;" "The Gay Burlesquers;" "Poisoned by Pastry;" "A River Horror;" "Among the Mediums;" "Consecration Services," etc. Such pandering to a vicious popular taste is simply nauseous and worthy of all condemnation; nevertheless, there are in California many newspapers of a higher order, many of them bright with promise.

As to the number and character of her libraries, California will not suffer by comparison with the older portions of the union, ranking seventh among the states and territories in the aggregate of her public collections, which included in 1888 more than 1,000,000 volumes. In 1850 a bill was passed by the legislature for the purpose of establishing a state library, to which five years later a law department was added. The San Francisco law library was first opened to the public in 1870. In 1851 the first general library, the Mercantile, was opened to the public in Sacramento. Its namesake in San Francisco was not organized until two years afterward, although its origin dates back to 1851, when the vigilance committee, then disbanded, contributed a large number of books, which formed the nucleus of its present collection. Of late the foremost place has been taken by the Mechanics' library, established in 1855, though the free library, opened many years later, is outstripping all others, through the generous aid extended from the public funds and from contributions. Next in rank is the Odd Fellows', established in 1854. There is also in the metropolis a number of minor collections, as those of the California Pioneers, the Academy of Sciences, and the Young Men's Christian association, while in all the larger towns there are either libraries or reading-rooms, that of the state university containing from 35,000 to 40,000 volumes. Among private libraries there are many containing the rarest and most attractive works which have ever been published. There are also several large collections on special subjects.

In Nevada the common school laws display a broad and liberal spirit, while providing in a measure for compulsory education. The slow growth of population did not encourage teachers to enter the field until the winter of 1854–5, when Mrs Allen opened a school at Mott's house in Carson valley. Others prepared to join her, and in 1856 the court ordered the formation of four school districts, one schoolhouse being erected at Franktown; but in the following year the withdrawal of the Mormons, who formed a large proportion of the population, put an end for the moment to all progress in this direction.

The mining excitement brought about a revival, and at Virginia City Miss Downing opened a school in 1860, which was followed by a second one under Miss Gregory. The first public school was organized in 1862, with Mr McCoille as principal. Within a year the attendance rose from 17 to 360. In 1884 the school districts of Nevada numbered 137, with 205 schools, and an average daily attendance of 5,227, or about 54 per cent of the number of children actually of school age, though nearly 67 per cent of the enrollment. Of teachers there were 230, of whom 170 were women, and it is worthy of note that the salaries paid were higher than in any state in the union, the average for males being about $140 and for females $96. The total expenditure for the year was

$162,011, derived from the interest of the state school fund, a school tax of half a mill on each dollar of taxable property, and a county tax of from 15 to 50 cents on each $100. Where these resources were insufficient to maintain the schools for at least six months in the year, a further tax must be levied by the trustees of the district where the deficiency occurred.

There were probably about one thousand pupils in attendance at church and private schools and colleges, among which may be mentioned Bishop Whitaker's episcopal seminary and the catholic girls' school at Reno, and also the school and orphanage founded by the catholics in 1864 at Virginia City.

Nevada received the usual government grant of seventy-two sections of land toward a university and 90,000 acres toward a college for mining and kindred sciences, besides exchanging the 16th and 36th sections, set apart for common schools, for 2,000,000 acres, to be selected from any vacant non-mineral land.

Reno has been selected as the site of the university, though its original location was at Elko, a small railroad town, remote from centres of population. At first this institution was merely an academy, opened in 1874 by D. R. Sessions, of Princeton college, a man whose tact and ability afterward won for him the post of state superintendent of schools.

The newspapers of Nevada present an imposing list of titles in different counties, founded chiefly in the latter half of the sixties and in the following decade, but most of them have disappeared, revealing in their vicissitudes the restless character of the mining population and the varying fortunes of the camps and towns, a number of which have dwindled from populous centres to petty hamlets, or disappeared altogether.

The first journals appeared in manuscript as early as 1854, the *Scorpion,* edited by S. A. Kinsey, being issued at Genoa, and the *Gold Cañon Switch*, editor J. Webb, at Johntown. They were humorous and satirical, and aiming to instruct. In December 1858 the first regular newspaper, the *Territorial Enterprise*, was published at Genoa, by W. L. Jernegan and A. James. It was removed to Carson City, to be issued as a small weekly, with interesting historical matter.

The *Silver Age*, another weekly, took its place, and in 1861 was issued as a daily, sustained by public printing. This was also removed to Virginia City to appear there as the *Daily Union*, and several other changes took place ere both disappeared from the state. A number of journals succeeded each other at Carson City, with intervals during which none were issued, for those of Virginia City were preferred at the capital as well as in the more remote settlements and mining camps of Nevada.

A state library was provided for by the first territorial legislature, a fee of ten dollars being collected for this purpose from every person licensed to practise law, and later a fee of five dollars from state officials. In 1878 the number of books exceeded 10,000, and of newspaper files fifteen. A circulating library was opened at Eureka in 1872; another at Wadsworth in 1879. The Miners' union established a library in 1877, which by 1880 contained 2,200 books. A literary and scientific society existed at Gold Hill in 1865, and in 1878 a medical association was formed.

Before proceeding further I will here present the biographies of some of the leading promoters of education and science in California.

CHAPTER XX.

LIFE OF MARION M. BOVARD.

THE HUGUENOTS—MR BOVARD'S FRENCH AND AMERICAN ANCESTRY—BIRTH AND EARLY TRAINING—ANALYSIS OF CHARACTER AND CONDITIONS—TEACHING—ENLISTMENT—STUDY AND PRACTICE OF MEDICINE—ENTERING THE MINISTRY—MARRIAGE—UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

THE persecution and expulsion of the Huguenots resulted in an incalculable evil to the French nation. The diminution in stature and physical strength among the people of that country has been ascribed to the Napoleonic wars, but it is a conceded fact that the Huguenots were the best element in physique and mental power as a whole that France ever produced. The worst feature of that crime against humanity was that it despoiled the French nation of almost the only class which possessed sincerity and stability of convictions, individuality, and personal independence. Under their inspirations and efforts France was rapidly gaining renown in literature and eloquence, and few subsequent military chieftains equalled the great Condé, as Napoleon called him, and since the massacre of St Bartholomew no French naval commander has been the peer of Coligny.

The loss to France was gain to the countries to which the Huguenots immigrated, and America has been most benefited by their accession. Many of the best men the nation has produced were of Huguenot lineage, and all are proud of their blood who can justly claim that descent.

M. M. Bovard

Though the Bovards in America emigrated to the country immediately from the north of Ireland, they are of French origin, having fled to that country to escape persecution and death for opinion's sake. In France the name was Bouvard. The astronomer of that name, who is distinguished for his discoveries in connection with the planet Uranus, belonged to the same family, and the botanist Bouvard was of the same family of our present Marion. Generally the Huguenots were unable to take from France very much property or money, and when they emigrated they were in destitute circumstances, and whatever they subsequently achieved was the result of the employment of their great physical and mental powers, and of their indomitable spirits.

The Bovards came to America about the close of the revolutionary war. The grandfathers of Marion were farmers by occupation, and in religion presbyterians. The paternal grandfather was born in Ireland, came to this country when young, and was reared in the state of Ohio. In sternness and uprightness he illustrated the characteristics of the Huguenots of the olden time. The father, James Bovard, was born in Tuscarawas county, Ohio, and removed to Indiana in early life. The mother, whose maiden name was Sarah Young, was of New England origin and was born near Cincinnati, Ohio. The parents were married in 1844. They began life with little except their excellent natural endowments, which were both physical and mental. The father was especially strong intellectually, was industrious, instructive, and kind to his children, generous and liberal in his feelings, but would not in any case tolerate or condone a wrong. The mother was a woman of strong build and above the medium height, indomitable in perseverance, forcible of character, but possessed an exuberance of spirit. She cheered her husband and children by her songs while at work. Both parents desired that their children should be educated and pursue honorable careers in life. They were exemplarily religious, and gave their children excellent training. The father still survives, but the mother died in October 1888.

Marion McKinley Bovard, whose biography is here presented, was born January 11, 1847, in Scott county, Indiana. He was second in birth of twelve children. An older brother died young, which left him the senior of those who survived. He was in consequence looked up to by the younger brothers and sisters, and most relied upon by father and mother.

Scott county was new, the soil poor and easily washed by rains which were frequent and abundant. Markets were distant and prices of products were low. The same labors of the parents in any good country would have given them a fortune, but in Scott county, to get a living was as much as the best could accomplish. The childhood of Marion was spent in a log cabin. Later a larger log structure was erected, containing several apartments. The industrious mother made rag carpets for the floors, and kept everything in order, and cleanly. The children were as well dressed as was possible under the circumstances, and their apparel was as tidy as that of the children of the rich people of the cities. The mother was a model housewife for the chance she had. The children were all set to work as soon as they were old enough, and being the oldest the brunt was thrown upon Marion. He was a strong and healthy boy, and was obedient to parents and kind to his brothers and sisters. He was marked in his neighborhood, and was a natural leader among his playfellows. If his moral and religious training had not been of the highest character he might have gone widely astray and drawn many after him. Where there is great force and vigor it is necessary that the training should be more careful and rigorous until firmly established in the proper channel, when it becomes a potent agency for good.

The principle exactly fits the case of Marion McKinley Bovard. His extraordinary natural endowments were turned in the right direction when he was young, and in manhood he became a power for the right. He was ambitious, and felt confined and cramped in that isolated neighborhood. Having an indefinible impression that beyond the horizon of his boyhood there was something higher and better, he had an irresistible impulse to get out and see what it was. He made his way out and opened the passage for five brothers to follow him, as will hereafter be disclosed.

Many of his boyhood associates still remain where they were, but Marion Bovard rose high in position and the world's esteem. Why was he so distinguished from others in achievements? It is true he had the encouragement of parents which the others may not have had, which is a great aid to an aspiring boy; but the real explanation is that in some are born a principle or quality which no trammels can restrain and no obstacles can appall. He possessed this quality in a high degree. His advantages were substantially the same as those of other boys in the locality. He was bright and possessed a retentive memory. He gathered knowledge from what he saw and heard, and from every available source. His perceptive and reflective faculties were naturally strong. He was first taught at home, and began going to the district school at five years of age, and continued summers and winters till he was ten. Thereafter his schooling was confined to the winter terms, and the balance of the year he worked on the farm till he was sixteen. When at work on the farm he read all the books he could obtain and his father aided him in getting them. When he was quite young a township library was established under the control of the trustees. It contained about four hundred volumes, comprising histories, biographies, works of fiction, and upon scientific subjects. He obtained special privileges at the library, and was particularly interested in biographies, as they taught him the means through which men become successful and distinguished in the world, which was a great stimulus to his ambition and gave him a knowledge of character. When twelve or thirteen years old he obtained a copy of Shakespeare, in which he was profoundly interested. In school he usually stood at the head of his classes, and carried away prizes in competition with his schoolfellows. He taught for a short time nominally as an assistant because of his immature age, but as a matter of fact he performed the part of the principal, so thoroughly had he conquered the branches which he had studied.

There is an interesting episode in his youthful career. He was but fourteen years old when the war of the rebellion broke out. The family were antislavery and union in sentiment. He had been taught patriotism and to love freedom, and when he was fifteen he enlisted in the 12th regiment Indiana volunteer infantry, with the consent of his parents, but on account of his extreme youth he was discharged, much to his chagrin. His father soon afterward enlisted and served during the war, leaving his son at home to aid the mother in caring for the large family of young children.

From sixteen to eighteen years of age young Bovard taught school and greatly enjoyed imparting knowledge. At the latter age he began the study of medicine with an uncle who was a practising physician and continued three years, attending one course of lectures at the Cincinnati Medical college, and at majority, following the advice of his uncle, he began the practice of his profession. Dr Bovard joined the methodist church when he was thirteen years old, and lived an exemplary and Christian life thereafter. He intended to complete his medical education by attending another course of lectures and then follow that profession for life, but he became impressed that it was his duty to preach the gospel, and gave the subject much anxious thought. Finally he decided to continue the practice of medicine until he could gain a reputation, that it might not be said that because he was a failure in one calling he abandoned it for the clerical profession. During the year after he made this decision the country was severely afflicted with malarial diseases, and he rode far and near to professionally administer to the sick. He rose high in reputation and was regarded as the promising physician in the future of that country.

The idea that it was his duty to preach more and more impressed itself upon his mind. He had been active in sunday-schools, and did some work in a sunday-school convention which attracted attention; and he so impressed a friend with his ability and effectiveness that he urged Dr Bovard to engage in preaching. This settled the matter, and turning his library and medical equipment over to his uncle he accepted an assignment to a circuit for the remainder of the year. His clerical labors now made his deficiency in education apparent to himself; he determined to take a classical course, and immediately started off to Greencastle, Indiana, for that purpose. He entered the college in one of the lower classes, but was soon admitted to the freshman, for the reason that he had acquired a considerable knowledge of Latin in his medical studies. Though he was compelled to teach a portion of the time in order to get money with which to pay his expenses, at the end of four years, and when he was twenty-six years old, he graduated with high honors, and received the degree of bachelor of arts. Later the degree of master of arts was conferred on him, and in 1887 he was made doctor of divinity.

In the spring previous to his graduation Dr Bovard joined the northern Indiana conference, and was appointed to a circuit. He went out and preached Sundays, and returned in time for his recitations or exercises on Mondays, so as not to retard his studies.

As he was learned and experienced in the medical profession, it occurred to those in charge of the foreign missionary work of the methodist church that he would be especially adapted to that service. Being sounded as to his willingness to go to China as a missionary he readily assented, and made some preparations to that end, but circumstances prevented the execution of the plan. In October 1873 Dr Bovard married Miss Jennie Allen, an estimable and educated young woman, who has given her husband much aid in his work.

The missionary board in New York decided to send Dr Bovard to Arizona instead of China, and on the 4th of November 1873 he and his wife arrived in Los Angeles on their way thither. In consequence of Indian raids and other unfortunate conditions, he was instructed to remain in southern California, and was immediately appointed to Riverside to organize a church, and there he preached for the remainder of the conference year, having in the mean time been entirely relieved from missionary work. He was then appointed to Compton, where he labored for three consecutive years. Thence he was sent to San Diego, where he served one year, and then he was given the Fort street church in Los Angeles for two successive years.

The work of Dr Bovard in so many places in southern California gave him an extensive acquaintance in that part of the state, and a thorough knowledge of the educational as well as the religious wants of the section. The advantages for acquiring a higher education were of the most meagre character, and the condition demanded that something should be done. He presented the subject to several men of character, force, and wealth, and the matter was discussed fully and favorably as to the establishment of an adequate educational institution. Judge Widney and other strong men joined heartily and effectively in the cause. It was decided to found a university which should afford means of education on the broadest and most useful scale, and in 1879 the university of southern California was chartered and Dr Bovard elected its president. Its growth and usefulness will be comprehended from the following statement:

The headquarters of the university are in Los Angeles. It comprises seven colleges, an observatory, and three preparatory academies. At Los Angeles are the colleges of liberal arts and medicine, with fifteen professors in each, and a college of law is also about to be opened. There is the Chaffey college of agriculture at Ontario, with six professors; the Maclay college of theology at San Fernando, with four professors; and the college of fine arts at San Diego, the preparatory school being already open; also the Freeman college of applied sciences at Inglewood, in process of construction, and a preparatory school at Escondido, San Diego county; also the Spence observatory, to be located, and a further college or department which shall include post-graduate work being in contemplation. The institution is out of debt, and owns property valued at one million dollars, and there are five hundred students already in attendance in its various branches. Dr Bovard continued in the presidency to the day of his death. In organizing and building up the university he had able assistance, but was the active and managing mind, and its remarkable growth and prosperity is due to his exertions and supervision. In addition to his labors in this connection, he preached nearly every Sunday to the churches in Los Angeles and vicinity. His crowning labors have been in connection with this university, and are the monumental work of his entire life.

President Bovard's views of southern California were founded upon the best intelligence, and are interesting.

While he believed that here are the best agencies for developing mental power, and for promoting physical happiness, still, he thought the conditions and indications forbade a severe moral struggle, and in anticipation of this struggle when population becomes more numerous, the university of southern California was originated and organized as a citadel of religious and moral power. The colleges are wisely separated, and located at convenient points. The university is under the patronage of the methodist church, and through its efforts religious and moral influences are thrown around the theological, classical, legal, mechanical, and agricultural student alike. He believed that education in all its branches is an indispensable auxiliary to the highest growth in religion and morals. He was as fixed and unalterable in his convictions as were his Huguenot ancestry; and by reason of his thirst for knowledge he forced himself through the environments of early life, and what is more, he opened the way and drew after him five younger brothers, all of whom are ministers in the methodist church, of high standing and of great future promise.

In 1887 Dr Bovard was elected a delegate to the general conference, the highest council of the methodist episcopal church. Here as elsewhere he took high rank and was assigned to important work on the leading committees, being at the same time on the committee on episcopacy, which reviews the administration of the bishops, the committee on book concern, which reviews the publishing interests of the church, and the committee on education, where most of all he felt at home. This committee brought forward a plan for the unification of the educational system of the methodist episcopal church, contemplating uniform courses of studies in the academic, collegiate, and university curricula. Under such an arrangement students could pass from one academy, college, or university to another without losing their grade. The doctor was exceedingly active and successful in carrying these measures forward, and the sagacity and good judgment shown during the session of the general conference won for him a place on the general missionary committee, by which are distributed annually over a million dollars to various methodist missions throughout the world.

To Dr Bovard was also given the oversight of the methodist missions on the Pacific coast, together with the foreign missions in China, Korea, and Bengal. He was obliged to familiarize himself with all these stations. His prodigious memory gave him great advantage in the representation of his district, and the result was that all its stations received advanced appropriations. In this work he became well known to the whole church, and won a reputation as wide as the region under its influence. Though one of the youngest he was also one of the strongest men on the committee. His fairness in debate, his accurate knowledge of details, his readiness and tact in the use of data, made him wellnigh irresistible in the plea for additional aid. All this work for his church was gratis, and all in addition to his arduous duties as president of the university. But the tax on his vital powers was greater than he could bear. His friends warned him, but to no purpose, and it was on one of his visits to the east that he first felt his health giving way under the strain. The board of directors immediately gave him a vacation of twelve months, and a purse of two thousand dollars with which to go abroad; but his nervous system was so thoroughly broken down that he was unable to endure the journey. Though battling resolutely with illness, he gradually sank into his grave, and on new year's day of 1892, at the early age of forty-four, he quietly passed away.

President Bovard was marked in physique, being five feet ten and a half inches in height, and weighing two hundred pounds; his eyes were blue, hair dark brown, and complexion florid. His chest was deep and broad, and he possessed a vast stock of vital force.

His expression, though self-possessed and determined, was kindly and benevolent. His manners were natural and genial, and he at all times manifested a readiness to engage in any honorable work to advance the cause to which he had given his heart. He believed that so long as man is on the ground he should be willing to do ground work whenever necessary to accomplish good results. In addition to his literary attainments, he had an organizing mind and great business adaptabilities. He was clear-headed, cool, deliberate, industrious, and persistent. He took a deep interest in public affairs, and believed in the dignity of American labor and the prevalence of American ideas. He advocated temperance and sobriety, and understood the fact that it is good for mankind to be comfortable and independent in property affairs, and took a profound interest in material development. He was patriotic and charitable, and aided in all possible ways the young men in straightened pecuniary circumstances in gaining an education. Being at the head of an institution of so much usefulness, he was a power in his influence in moulding the characters of the many who seek its advantages.

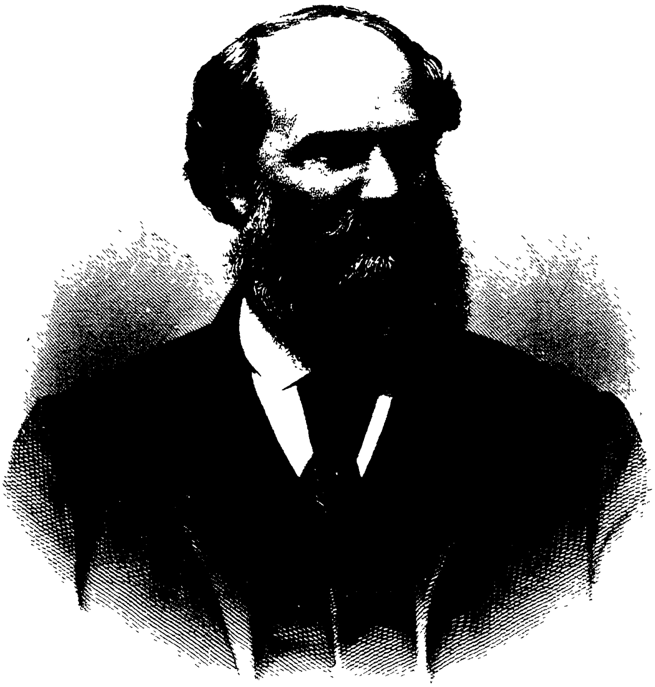
Considering his brief span of life, there are few men who have accomplished so much for the human race as President Bovard, and few there are who have made so many strong and enduring friendships. He was a man of culture and true refinement; in disposition genuine, frank, and open-hearted, in sympathies broad and tender. Young and old, rich and poor, were alike ready to follow him. In addition to his eminent scholarship, these personal qualities made him a model college president. The students not only obeyed him, but became deeply attached to him. He gave himself up to them as a father would to his own children. They came and went to and from his office and home with the greatest freedom and at nearly all hours. He watched at the bedside of the sick, listened to the misgivings of the humblest student, and was patient and kind with the backward. There was an unstinted love for the student, a sunny cheerfulness in his government, that disarmed all rebellion and dispelled all mischief. When a young man teaching in the public school he never had any so-called rules. He was the embodiment of good government; always controlling himself, he easily controlled others.

Dr Bovard was not only a model president on the inside of the university, but even more so on the outside. Among other qualifications, he possessed in an eminent degree the art of securing money for buildings and endowment. He could make men see the moral value of money. He had access to all, whether of the same faith or not. He raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the university of southern California, not only among the members of his own denomination, but among Catholics, and even among Jews and non-believers. He had not only the faculty of inducing men to promise, but of persuading them to sign deeds and checks. Religiously he was quiet and undemonstrative, without the least semblance of cant, regarding noisy and high professions with deep disgust. One of the themes which he liked to talk about most was that "Christianity was first a life, and after that a doctrine." He always did his best to keep the church from pietistic tendencies, and taught the manly, genuine, and practical side of religion.

Mentally he was intuitive, going as straight to the mark as a beam of light. He was seldom under the necessity of changing his convictions or conclusions; yet he was far from being stubborn or dogmatic. He seemed to see the conclusion without following the ordinary formulas. He was one of the few thinkers who are independent of the syllogisms or the tedious processes of ratiocination, and hence was always original, vigorous, and fresh.

As an orator he was convincing, using facts and principles in their simplest forms. There was nothing florid or ornate about his style. His theory was that ideas are more effectual without "prismatic hues," and that thought would travel best along the line of the least resistance. There was no rank growth of rhetoric in the institution over which he presided. Manuscript was always in his way; in fact, he was so infatuated with extemporaneous speaking that he never used a note or line in his most elaborate sermons or addresses. He read omniverously, and prepared with great attention to detail. Facts once found were never forgotten. The retentive and orderly character of his memory made him a master in extemporaneous oratory. Contrary to most ready speakers, he had no use for anecdote or personal incidents, but relied wholly upon the strength of his proposition and the clearness and force of well-chosen words for the charm of his address. There were no sharp thrusts at an opponent in debate, but a series of masterly movements on the chess-board, in which pawns, knights, kings, and queens were swept into disastrous defeat.

Though Dr Bovard was an educator of the first rank, he was a natural pastor, and was exceedingly loath to leave the pastorate for the presidency of the university. The charm of good fellowship and love of doing good specially fitted him for the pastorate. His great popularity never made him less humble, patient, and full of thoughtful care for his people. He was the Monseigneur Welcome among all classes, and of all his high qualifications none shone out with more of the living light of the diamond than his utter unselfishness. The summary of his life and the cause of his early death might be expressed in one brief sentence: He lived for others.



L. Reeve, M.D.

CHAPTER XXI.

LIFE OF DANIEL REAM.

PHYSICIAN AND STATESMAN—BIRTH, ANCESTRY, AND PARENTAGE—BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION—A YOUTHFUL PRACTITIONER—JOURNEY TO CALIFORNIA—INDIAN ADVENTURES—MEETING WITH CAPTAIN JACK—PROFESSIONAL CAREER—THE GLUE BANDAGE—PUBLIC AND POLITICAL LIFE—STATE SENATOR—MARRIAGE—HENRY BELDEN REAM—APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER.

AMONG the oldest citizens of Yreka, and the foremost of its medical practitioners, is Doctor Daniel Ream, who, during an experience extending over more than the lifetime of a generation, has witnessed its growth from a mere cluster of tents into a prosperous settlement, with its score at least of stores and factories, its banks and warehouses, its churches, schools, and newspapers, and all that pertains to the development of a busy and thriving town. But not alone as a surgeon and physician is the name of Doctor Ream familiar, almost as a household word, to the people of Yreka, and indeed of northern California; as a statesman and a party leader he is no less held in repute, not as one whose policy is confined to party distinctions and platforms, but as one who would secure for all their proper rights and privileges, as one who has always helped to guide the ship of state in the pathway of progress and of sound constitutional government.

The birthplace of Doctor Ream was in the neighborhood of Hagerstown, in Washington county, Maryland, and the day the 20th of June, 1830. His grandsires on either side served in the revolutionary war, and his grandfather on the mother's side, named Chrisley Coffman, he remembers well as one to whom he listened with breathless interest, when relating stories of that war, especially of the battle of Brandywine, the last in which he took part. His father, Henry Ream, was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the 15th of May, 1804. He was a man of goodly presence, six feet two inches in height, broad shouldered, of massive frame, and though of nervous temperament, a strong man mentally, morally, and physically, one possessed of firm convictions, of rare perseverance, and remarkable capacity for work. His mother, née Nellie Coffman, a native of Washington county, Maryland, and some two years younger than her husband, was also gifted with a strong physique and character. Both were religiously inclined, the father somewhat strict and at times severe as to family discipline, while the mother, though by no means over-indulgent, was always ready to take her children's part, a woman of kindly and sociable disposition, given to hospitality, and ever on the best of terms with all her neighbors. For Daniel, her eldest son, she desired nothing better than that he should succeed in his chosen profession, and that she lived to see this wish fulfilled was a lasting source of comfort in her declining years.

In a three-storied house of stone, some ten miles from Hagerstown, with a spacious meadow in front, and in the distance the verdure-clad hills of Maryland, the doctor's childhood was passed. Of his three brothers, David, the next in order of birth, is the only survivor; Jeremiah died in 1844 of typhoid fever, and George was killed at the battle of Pea Ridge, while fighting for the union cause. Of his five sisters, named Mary, Margaret, Delilah, Sarah, and Isabella, all were married, and except for Isabel, who was called to her rest on the 26th of October, 1887, all are residents of the state of Iowa.

Among Daniel's earliest recollections is the removal of his family to the adjacent village of Tilghmanton, where his father, originally a carpenter by trade, though duly qualified for his later calling, opened a drug-store and practised as a physician. Here, a year or two later, when about the age of seven, he was sent to a public school, where an incident occurred which may serve to illustrate a certain phase in his character; for even thus early in life the boy gave evidence of the qualities inherited from either parent. While returning from an errand, some distance beyond the school-house, night overtook him, and as he passed through the woods, in which shone the phosphorescent lights known as jack-o'-lanterns, then attributed to supernatural agencies, he saw in front of him what seemed to be a moving object. As he drew nearer he looked at it more intently, but the more he looked the more it appeared to move, until the child began to think himself in the presence of a ghost. Changing his path, he made the best of his way home, and, as may be imagined, in as short a time as possible. Now, most children would have at once related such an adventure, and perhaps have boasted of it; but not so with Daniel, who for years afterward said not a word about it. On his way to school the next morning, he determined to see what it was that had thus frightened him from his propriety, and found it to be merely a stone, about four feet high, placed there probably as a land-mark. Ashamed of his fright, he resolved that he would never again run away from anything until he knew what it was, and if he has since run away from real or fancied danger, his friends have yet to know of it.

When Daniel was about the age of eleven, his father set forth westward, settling first at Springfield, Illinois, where for two years he practised his profession, removing thence to Lick creek, in Sangamon county, where his sons engaged in farming, and he continued to practise, and again in 1846 to Wapello county, Iowa, where he purchased a tract of timber and prairie land. During all this time the boy attended the public schools, where the course included only what are termed the three r's, with perhaps a smattering of grammar and geography. Thus, like many other successful men, he is almost entirely self-taught, though later giving himself a higher and far more valuable education than is to be had at college or university. But while attending school he was required to work throughout the summer months, and in his leisure hours at all seasons of the year, his first money being earned by gathering sheaves of wheat, and taking care of horses. At Lick creek, and in Wapello county, he was employed at severer tasks, as ploughing, chopping timber, making rails, and building fences, varied at times by trapping mink and other fur animals, then abundant in the west. All this he did with the aid of his brothers, and for the common welfare of the family.

With such a training, and amid such environment, Daniel developed, as might be expected, into a sturdy and vigorous youth with all his father's manly fibre and firmness of resolve, with all his practical common sense, with all his powers of endurance and self-denial, and yet with the softer traits of character inherited from his mother, her gentleness of manner, her large-hearted sympathy, and her buoyant, sunny temperament. It would indeed be difficult to imagine a more suitable preparation for the battle of life, for bringing into life's great struggle the nobler qualities of manhood, and for playing well one's part in that struggle, however lowly or exalted the sphere.

At sixteen Daniel began to prepare for his profession, still working by day and studying by night under his father's direction. At eighteen, whenever the latter was away from home, he was called on to take his place, his first case being that of a woman bitten by a rattlesnake, whose cure he wrought most effectually Soon afterward he was required to prescribe for a child suffering from bilious fever, and this he did somewhat unwillingly, for as yet he had no great confidence in himself. Returning home in dejected mood, he told his father what he had done, remarking, "The child, in my opinion, is very sick, and I would like to have you go over and see it." "No," was the answer; "I shall not interfere; what you have done is perfectly right." With extreme reluctance, and even with dread, he repeated his visit the following day, expecting to hear that the child was dead, and as he came in sight of the house, looking to see whether the bed-clothing was out airing. But no bed-clothing was there; the patient was better, and within a few weeks was fully restored to health.

Still another instance was that of a little girl attacked with erysipelas, whose father and two others of the family had died of the same disease. Dissatisfied with the physicians in attendance, the mother had sent for Doctor Ream, in whose absence, at her urgent request, Daniel acted as a substitute. He found the girl's face much swollen, and with the eyes completely closed; but, remaining for three days at his post, was so successful in his treatment that on the morning of his departure he left the patient seated at the breakfast-table.

And now Daniel, or Doctor Ream, as henceforth we will call him, had acquired a certain degree of confidence, the confidence born of success, and henceforth had no hesitation in accepting any case that might be intrusted to him. He still enjoyed the benefit of his father's experience and advice, and together, at the opening of 1852, they had built up a considerable practice in southeastern Iowa. It was now the desire of the elder Ream that his son should complete his medical education at some eastern college. No occupation that he had thus far engaged in was so much to his taste as the practice of his profession. Soon after that date the California gold fever was sweeping over the land with all the virulence of an epidemic, and among its victims was

Doctor Ream the younger, who, then at the age of twenty-two, resolved to cast in his lot with the argonauts.

It was on the 12th of April, 1852, when he set forth westward from the town of Abingdon, in Jefferson county, whither some two years before the family had removed, and where in 1890 resided his mother, at the age of eighty-four. The train which he accompanied consisted of ten wagons, to one of which he acted as driver, his own effects consisting of a medical outfit, a moderate stock of clothing, a single horse, and in cash the sum of $40. Bear river was reached without incident worthy of note, and at Soda springs the party separated, some bound for Oregon and others for California, Doctor Ream being one of the former. Snake river was crossed at Salmon falls in true pioneer fashion, and indeed in the only fashion possible in those days, the wagon-beds for ferry-boats, and by swimming the horses and cattle across. Here John Moxley, later sheriff, lay ill of typhoid fever, and to this day acknowledges that his life was saved by the skilful treatment of Doctor Ream. Soon afterward the cholera broke out, one party burying nine corpses in one grave before breakfast. His services were again in request. Among his own company no death occurred from this scourge, nor from other causes, except for one who died of mountain fever. His instructions were, that at the first symptoms they should apply to him for medicines, which never failed to give relief. Others were less fortunate, notwithstanding his successful treatment, and thus again the road was strewn with those nameless graves that marked the pathway of the pioneers.

Travelling by way of the Boisé river and the Dalles, about the middle of September Doctor Ream and his comrades reached the town of Portland, or rather the site of that town, which then consisted of a few small cabins scattered over the narrow space between the banks of the Willamette and the verge of the primeval forest. Thence he journeyed on foot to Yreka—then spelt as it is still pronounced, Wyreka—intending to try his fortune at the mines. Soon after, he returned to Oregon, and in the neighborhood of Jacksonville engaged in placer mining with fair success. In the spring of 1853, in partnership with two men named Hall and Smith, he purchased a band of cattle, driving them to the rich pasture-grounds on Applegate creek, where with other parties they lay encamped. Here an incident occurred which well-nigh put an end thus early to the Doctor's career.

One morning while at breakfast, a messenger from Jacksonville announced that the Indians had broken out in the Rogue river valley. Seizing his rifle and revolver, Doctor Ream at once set forth to gather in a band of horses pastured on the opposite side of the stream, a mile or more distant. There he found a band of six Indians in the act of driving them off. Pursuing them until they passed out of sight, for he was mounted on a mule, he came to a spot thickly overgrown with chaparral, where three of the party rose on him, two armed with bows and arrows and the third with a gun. A moment later a bullet passed through his hair and an arrow through the rim of his hat. But the mule and his rider stood firm, and returning the fire, Doctor Ream shot one of his assailants in the back as he started to run, the others seeking the cover of trees. Around these trees he circled for more than an hour in the vain attempt to dislodge them, and then, having almost exhausted his ammunition, came back into camp with only two of the stolen animals.

Here he found the entire company, numbering in all from sixty to seventy, building a temporary fort, some two hundred yards from the corral where at night the cattle were penned. While this was in progress, Doctor Ream and his partners kept guard at the corral, one keeping watch while the others slept. When on sentry, about four o'clock one morning, the doctor heard what seemed to be the chirping of birds; but this it could not be, for it was not yet daybreak, and there was nothing to disturb them. Gliding noiselessly to the spot where his comrades lay, he warned them that Indians were around. "Where, where?" said Hall, an excitable man, rising up quickly. "Lie down and keep quiet," answered the doctor, "if you don't want a bullet through your head." For a moment the chirping ceased, but presently was renewed. Doctor Ream was on the point of firing a shot in the direction of the noise, but this he did not do, fortunately for himself, for a few minutes later a volley was poured into the fort, whereby three men were killed and at least a dozen wounded.

Still another adventure occurred a few days later, when Doctor Ream, with Smith, a man named Duncan, and two or three others, were on their way to Jacksonville. When passing through a gorge enclosed on the one side by mountains and on the other by a dense growth of chaparral, the doctor urged them to quicken their pace, for here was the very spot for an ambuscade. "Well," said Smith, jokingly, "I will give you a race." Thereupon the two started to run, while the others, unheeding, followed at leisure. To this race both may have owed their lives, for no sooner had they passed through the ravine than a volley was heard, and returning they found Duncan lying dead, and already shorn of his scalp.

Such are a few of the doctor's Indian adventures; and did space permit, a score of others, no less hazardous, might here be related. While mining on Rogue river with eight others, all who cared to risk their lives in this perilous time, the party slept at night on the hillside, rolled in their blankets, and with loaded rifles close at hand. Returning to their tents at daylight, they found them riddled with arrows. In the summer of 1855, when a band of Klamath and other Indians massacred eleven of the settlers on the Klamath river, Doctor Ream was elected captain of one of the companies organized to set forth in their pursuit. On reaching the reservation at Fort Lane, Oregon, where the offenders took refuge, their surrender was demanded, in accordance with resolutions framed by a committee composed of one person from each of the volunteer companies present, and passed at a meeting of the same. In case of refusal, it was the intention to arrest them on their own responsibility, and from this they were only deterred by the arrival at the fort of an artillery force composed of regular troops. Here may be mentioned a false and sensational report then current in the newspapers, that the volunteers had intended to capture the fort and to hang its commander, Captain Smith. Soon afterward, when returning from a visit to his patients at Cottonwood, the doctor found himself covered by the rifle of an Indian, and preserved his life only by the quickness with which he drew and fired his revolver, causing the frightened savage to jump several feet in the air. His numerous escapes he attributes mainly to his carefulness and presence of mind, and also to the fact that he never displayed or felt any symptoms of fear. Thus while returning from his rancho near Alturas, on the eve of the Modoc war, he fell in with Captain Jack and a party of his braves, encamped on Lost river. At once approaching them, without sign of alarm or hesitation, he requested the captain to help him across the river, as the ford was several miles up stream. "Very well," said the Modoc chieftain, "I will tell some of my men to swim your horse across, and I will take you over in my canoe."

And here may be related a conversation which passed between them, as tending to throw some light on the causes of the war. By Captain Jack the doctor was requested to intercede with certain influential men at Yreka, to prevent the troops being sent against him. To this he replied that he thought there was no danger. "O yes, there is," said the

Modoc; "they threatened to fight me if I did not go back on the reservation." "Well," answered Doctor Ream, "why don't you go? They will give you plenty to eat, and blankets, and all you need." "No," rejoined the other; "they told me that before, and they nearly starved my people to death. They gave us very little to eat, and the agent, in dealing out the blankets, would take a pair and cut them in two, giving one half to me and the other to my wife. He would then take half a blanket, cut it in four pieces, and gave one to each of the children. We were forced to remove to some place where we can make a living for ourselves. Here we get fish, game, hides, and furs, and can live in comfort without disturbing any one. There are only a few settlers, and none of them complain. I want to remain here in peace." The doctor was too late to intercede, for next day Major Jackson arrived with his command, and then the Modoc war began. But among all the tribes with whom he came in contact, the doctor met with the utmost kindness, and was regarded somewhat with awe, as "the great medicine-man of the white-faces."

When the Indian troubles had in a measure subsided, Doctor Ream engaged in mining on Rogue river, fashioning with his own hands and lining with rawhide the first rocker he had ever seen. Thus he realized from $10 to $20 a day. At Humbug creek another claim repaid him handsomely; but now his repute as a physician, which hitherto he had purposely concealed, became generally known, and erelong his services were in urgent request. Thus between 1856 and 1860 we find him established at Deadwood, whence, in the spring of the latter year, he removed to Yreka, where he was soon acknowledged as the leading practitioner in medicine and surgery.

Entirely a self-made man, Doctor Ream is also a self-made physician, and, it may be added, a natural-born physician, as is attested by a most successful practice, extending over more than forty years, and one that has long since placed him at the head of his profession. As he himself remarks, "in medicine and surgery science teaches facts; facts are truths, and truth makes the man." He holds a diploma granted after examination by the Eclectic Medical institute of Cincinnati, Ohio. He is also a member of the state medical society, and for sixteen years served as a resident physician and surgeon to the Siskiyou county hospital. He is, moreover, a constant reader of scientific works, and in medical literature and medical discoveries there is no one more thoroughly abreast of the times.

As a practitioner he is essentially original in his method, and himself the author of not a few inventions. Among them may be mentioned that of the glue bandage, which, when applied in cases of fracture, obviates the necessity for a splint, and gives entire ease to the patient. It is also cleaner than plaster of Paris; and after using it for thirty years, the doctor has yet to meet with the first instance where it has failed to work.

Many are the remarkable cures wrought by the doctor, among others that of a man stabbed in the lung at little Klamath lake, so that in breathing the air passed forth from the wound. This he treated by hermetical sealing, and with his usual success. During the journeys made in the course of his practice, he was often in peril of his life, from marauding Indians and vagabond whites, from swollen torrents, from blinding snow-storms and treacherous snowdrifts, encountered amid the mountain solitudes. Many also were the hardships that he suffered, and marvellous the power of endurance that he displayed. During the winter of 1865–6 he was an entire week on horseback, with but the briefest intervals for food and rest, never once taking off his clothes or even his boots. Returning home one night, while conversing with his wife, a knock was heard at the door. "I will tell them you are not at home," whispered the latter. "O no," was the answer, "see what they want and ask them in." A few minutes later he was on his way to visit a patient at Scott bar, setting forth, weary as he was, through the driving rain, and with the snow deep on the mountains that lay between. After crossing the range, sleep overtook him in the valley below, and though conscious that it might be the sleep of death, he tried in vain to shake it off, inclining forward as a man naturally would do when asleep on horseback. At this juncture, no doubt, the horse stopped, and the next thing the doctor was conscious of was that he was standing in the road, with the halter strap in his hand, and vainly attempting to tie the horse to an imaginary post. Fortunately no harm resulted, and awaking refreshed, at four in the morning he reached his destination. At six he was again in the saddle and on his way homeward.

And now let us return to Doctor Ream's public and political life, for as a statesman, and as one who in office has served his country well, his reputation is not inferior to that which he so justly enjoys as among the foremost of the medical fraternity. And first of all it may be said that he is a democrat, casting his first presidential vote for Buchanan in the election of 1856. He is of course in favor of free-trade, believing that such a policy would multiply the avenues of employment, would improve the market for home productions, and make our people more prosperous and contented. He is opposed to Chinese and pauper immigration, and a strong opponent of monopolies and all extortionate charges, as in the case of freights, believing that the provisions of the interstate commerce bill should be strictly enforced and even still further extended. In educational matters he takes the deepest interest, and in public schools would raise the standard of scholarship to the highest practicable limits.

The doctor's first office was that of coroner, being elected in 1859; elected sheriff in 1861; elected foreign miners' tax collector in 1867—all of Siskiyou county. In these positions, as may be imagined, he met with many adventures, to narrate the half of which would fill several times the space allotted to this biography. In 1877 he was elected, by a majority of five hundred, state senator for the four northern counties of Siskiyou, Modoc, Shasta, and Trinity, all of which he carried against a powerful and influential opponent. Perhaps the most important service which he rendered during his term was as chairman of the committee on hospitals. In this capacity he made a thorough investigation, visiting San Francisco and other cities before preparing his report. The appropriations he found to have been devoted to the benefit of individuals, merely increasing the salaries of officials and of those engaged in hospital work, without the least advantage to the patients or to the state. By his clear and lucid exposition of the facts, and also by his personal influence, he secured a reconsideration of the appropriation bill then pending, and thus saved the state some $40,000 of worse than useless expenditure. As a member of the committees on education and on engrossment he also served with credit, and to him is largely due the measure for admitting with discrimination the members of all the three great schools of medicine—the allopathic, the homœopathic, and the eclectic. While in former years a party leader, and often leading his party to victory, he was never an office-seeker, and when urged by prominent men in congress, during the Cleveland administration, to send in his name for any position that he desired, replied that he wished no other than the practice of medicine and surgery. All offices of public trust confided to his care were faithfully discharged with credit to himself and honor to the people whom he represented.

As an illustration of his tenacity of purpose and determination, I will here relate an incident that occurred while Doctor Ream was serving as sheriff in 1861–2. A miner from Oregon used to visit Yreka, and purchase provisions from the various store-keepers on credit; he would pack them to the mines and dispose of them, but would not pay the merchants. At one time he left Yreka during a heavy rainstorm, and on a Sunday. The several merchants requested Doctor Ream to serve an attachment on the man several hours after he had left the town. In order to do this, he was compelled to leave during the rain, and with a heavy south wind blowing; the rivers were swollen, in places overflowing their banks. Doctor Ream arrived at the ferry on the Klamath between three and four o'clock in the morning, and the ferry-boat having been swept away a few hours before, was compelled to swim the river at the greatest risk of life. After several hours further of hard riding, Doctor Ream overtook the miner, and served the papers, but upon payment of the debt and officers' fees the doctor released the goods attached and returned home, having accomplished his mission, the entire journey being more than one hundred miles, over a rough road, and made without stoppages.

In private life Doctor Ream is a man of refined and simple tastes, passing the few leisure hours that remain from his professional duties in the perusal of scientific and especially of medical works, and in gathering and arranging specimens, both modern and prehistoric, for his private museum, one of the choicest collections in the state. Novels he never reads, nor any other works but those which contain solid and useful information. An early riser, usually astir at six in the morning, and retiring between eleven and one, he accomplishes an amount of work that few men of half his years would care to undertake.

Doctor Ream has been twice married; first, on the 12th of September, 1864, to Miss Alice Augusta Belden, a native of Akron, Ohio, whose decease occurred on May 7, 1867. She was a woman of great presence of mind, admired for her musical talent, both vocal and instrumental, fond of poetry and useful information, and always took delight in making her home happy for the family and all who came in contact with her. Her loss was greatly deplored by the community in which she lived. On October 13, 1875, he was married to Miss Laura Virginia Calhoun, a native of Yreka, and the eldest daughter of David Robert Calhoun, born at Middlesburg, Ohio, on the 16th of January, 1818. His second wife is a lady of rare culture and refinement, richly endowed with all the graces of womanhood, and universally respected and esteemed in the circles of society of which she is one of the brightest ornaments.

The doctor's only child—a daughter having died in infancy—is the son of his first wife, named Henry Belden, whose natal day was the 3d of July, 1865. Educated at the Yreka high school, his first occupation was as a surveyor in the employ of the Southern Pacific railroad. He resides most of the time at Sisson, with his grandmother on the maternal side, Mrs S. J. Fellows, for whose comfort and welfare he is most solicitous. A young man of sterling character, absolutely without any trace of vicious habits or tastes, of pleasing address, and with all his father's energy and industry, his strength of will and firmness of purpose is one of whom his sire has good reason to be proud. On April 9, 1890, he was married to Miss Amelia Hattie Kiefaber, of St Louis, a young woman of culture and refinement. To this union a daughter was born June 1, 1891. They have a beautiful home near Yreka.

At the age of sixty-one, but at least a decade younger than his years, Doctor Ream is a man of striking and distinguished presence. Six feet in height, less a fraction of an inch, and with an average weight of some two hundred pounds, his frame is squarely built and compact, large in proportion, but without superfluous flesh. His features are strongly outlined, but regular in contour, with a lofty and massive forehead, clear gray eyes, and a plentiful growth of hair and beard, originally of a dark brown color. In conversation he is quick and incisive, and yet cool and collected; in manner extremely gentle, though with an air of quiet self-possession and resolve that never fails to inspire confidence. For the work that he has done, for the good that he has accomplished, for the stainless purity of his public and private life, for his services as a statesman no less than as a medical practitioner, for his zeal and ability no less than for his integrity and his perfect sense of honor, there are none more highly respected, not only in the city and county of his adoption, but throughout the broad expanse of northern California.

Nathaniel Gray

CHAPTER XXII.

LIFE OF NATHANIEL GRAY.

EARLY LIFE—THE SCHOOL OF ENVIRONMENT—STONE-CUTTER AND HUMANITARIAN—PHILANTHROPIC TENDENCIES MANIFESTED IN YOUNG MANHOOD—BUSINESS AND BENEVOLENCE IN CALIFORNIA—FRIEND OF MORALS AND RELIGION—A LIFE SPENT IN GOOD WORKS—A FACTOR OF OUR CIVILIZATION.

I LOOK upon California as the future land of promise. I believe that on this soil the ultimate and best civilization will be wrought out. There is no other region reserved that is so conducive to this realization by virtue of physical superiority and attractiveness, and peculiar location. The human tide that has been flowing hitherward continuously during the ages is arrested on the Pacific shore. This tremendous movement of mankind must have its equivalent counter movement. The reacting force is already developing, and I perceive in the prevalent and wholesome sentiment of restriction that it is recognized, and will be studied and controlled. It appears to me manifestly designed that California shall teem with a population that will assimilate and mold into a superior type the best elements of other nationalities of the earth; that here shall be a university of the human kind comprehending all experience.

The discovery of gold accelerated our material progress, but moral advancement was checked by it.

Out of this gift of Mephistopheles came exhilaration, fever, delirium; and then followed homelessness, abandon, demoralization. California in her Cups, a picture of deep and general intoxication! Mammon reigned, and society was chaos. The wholesome ties which ordinarily restrain and unite the living were cast aside, and the duty of the living to the dead neglected or ignored. A "stake," and then away to God's country! As though heaven ever smiled upon a fairer land than this! Few of the argonauts returned home satisfied; of the majority who stayed, many drank to the dregs of dissipation; many, too, learned better things; a few passed through the ordeal sober and steadfast. But there is compensating good for every evil. Nature, embracing human beings as well as animals and things, is an organism. It readjusts and perfects itself. Its law is order and virtue. When, for the reformation of society, the instrumentality required is men of special character, they are forthcoming.

I have now to inquire into the life of one who was a positive factor in this respect, whose acts and example constitute an indestructible force, an ever-living agency for good. To the continuously accumulating spiritual power of such recreating spirits, I look chiefly for that consummation in California of which I spoke in the beginning, not as a fancy, but as a conviction. Nathaniel Gray was born July 20, 1808, in the town of Pelham, Massachusetts. His ancestors had lived there for seven generations, and many of his relatives still reside in that locality. His grandfather, Nathaniel Gray, a soldier in the revolutionary war, died at the age of thirty-two years, leaving a widow and three children, named John, Nathaniel, and Polly. John lived to be seventy-nine years old, and left eight children, one of whom is the subject of this study. On the old homestead there was a quarry, from which the stone used in the construction of the Amherst college buildings was donated by John

Gray. Young Nathaniel drove the team that hauled the first load, and it is probable that this led to his becoming a journeyman at eighteen years of age. His education was such as he could obtain in the district school of Pelham, supplemented by a single term in the academy at Amherst. But I take it that his best schooling was his environment. He was brought up by thrifty, laborious, strong-minded, honest parents, in a community in which industry, economy, and justice were the rule of conduct. The region was hard and unfriendly, yielding a mere subsistence only as the reward of a struggle—a necessitous region, in which are bred men of resource and invention, men strong of mind and body, and fitted to be chiefs among the builders in a less difficult country. The soil was so rocky, so the legend goes, that if the sheep's noses were not sharpened in the spring, they could not get at the grass between the stones. The fact was noted several years ago that seven young men, who migrated to the west from Pelham, had become so successful in business, Mr Gray being one of the seven, that their combined estates were worth more than the whole town.

At the age of twenty-four Mr Gray married Miss Emeline A. Hubbard, the daughter of a neighboring farmer, and a descendant of George Hubbard, who came from England and settled in Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1634. Soon after their marriage they removed to New York city, where for six years he worked at his trade of stone-cutter. He then accepted the agency of the New York tract society for the ninth ward of the city. The object of this service, to which he devoted over twelve years of his life, was to improve the moral condition of the people, through the medium of the church and Sunday-school, by encouraging and organizing religious meetings, and otherwise cultivating and promoting religious sentiment. His duty involved, also, the care and relief of the sick and destitute. He was a natural philanthropist, and his charity went out to suffering humanity without regard to race or prejudice. Several slaves fleeing from bondage in the south he assisted to escape. Isaac Wright, a fugitive slave, appealed to him when he was about to start for California, and he brought him out here. From here Isaac went to Australia. After Mr Lincoln's proclamation of freedom, he returned to San Francisco, whence Mr Gray, at his own expense, sent him to rejoin his wife and children, whom he found living in Maine. When Mr Gray's family had increased to five children, his meagre salary as agent of the tract society, $600 a year, was inadequate for their support and proper education, and in 1849 he became a partner in an undertaking business. In February 1850 he was sent by his firm to San Francisco to establish a branch house, and he brought out a stock of funeral supplies. Two weeks after his arrival his goods were consumed in the great fire June 22, 1850. He saved nothing but his trunk and a few hundred dollars. Compelled to act, and that at once, he purchased for $2,500, a small part cash, the only undertaking outfit in the town, and a rude and sombre outfit it was, consisting of two black mules, and a black wagon fitted up with black muslin for a hearse, 12 coffins, 300 feet of pine lumber, a small lot of trimmings, carpenter's tools, and a canvas tent. He hired a coffin-maker for $600, and a hearse-driver for $300 per month, and rented a place and fitted it up at a proportionate expense. What a transformation since then in this city, both in the circumstances and the cost of placing the departed in their last mortal resting-place! Perforce the city of the living must provide for the inevitable city of the dead. In November 1849 the town council set apart the triangular lot now occupied by the New City hall, as a cemetery, Yerba Buena, which was enclosed by a poor brush fence during the following year. It was a most inhospitable quarter, its dreary aspect relieved by a solitary manzanita with blood-red stalk in the midst of stunted shrubbery. The city paid twenty-five dollars apiece for pine coffins in which to bury its dead, and charged those who could pay twenty dollars for the privilege of a grave. The deep sand, the heavy rains, the poverty of the immigrants, and the destitution caused by fires, made it burdensome and nearly impracticable at times for the friends of the dead to reach this burial-place, then so remote from the centre of population and business. The same may be said of the old Mission Dolores cemetery, which was nearly a mile farther out. Market street remained ungraded until 1856. In the spring of 1851, a plank toll-road was built on Mission street, from Third street to the Mission Dolores, in which some interments were made. This was a partial relief, but the inconvenience was still a burden, especially so as everybody was intent on money-making. In most cases, the sick being without friends and far from home, were neglected. Neighbors or fellow-lodgers noticed the death, but had no time or money to expend upon the dead stranger. The nearest graveyard was sought for. If one grave had been dug on Russian hill another soon appeared near it. Hence the God's acre, or potter's field, there, at Clarke point, in Happy valley and on North beach. No death record was kept; no inquest made as to the cause of death. In vain did mother or sister, wife or children, beg for information regarding the lost pioneer. Such were the conditions of life and death when our undertaker began the business. Accustomed as he had been to sympathize with the suffering, to relieve the poor and needy, and to administer consolation to the dying, he could hardly divest himself of all reverence for the remains of the human dead. In the thoughtful and reverential mind there exists a close and holy sentiment of fellowship between souls departed and spirits awaiting only the inevitable hour. From time immemorial there has been universally a solemn importance attached to the formal observance of obsequies—not less as a mark of respect to the deceased than as a duty of the living to themselves. At the open grave or at the funeral pyre, whether subdued by the teachings of scripture, warned by the mysteries of natural religion, or forced back upon themselves by a mere common-sense recognition of mortality in its stripped and helpless state, men halt and think. Under the hallowing influence of such an hour many a moral revolution has begun, many a character reëstablished, many a soul recreated. The death of friends, especially of those dear ones who by blood and association have grown into our hearts and minds, is a terrible burden and affliction; but the compassion of appreciative souls when dust is given back to dust and ashes to ashes lightens the gloom and softens the blow. Mr Gray came between the living and the dead as a ministering angel, sympathetic, thoughtful, and generous. How precious must have been the offices of such a friend in those hours of confusion and anguish, when bereavement was isolation among strangers, or, not less cruel, when the bereft were far away. He made it his duty to become an obituary historian, to whom the friends of those who died in the city could apply with assurance for accurate information. Such for years was the only record kept in San Francisco, there being none provided for by law. It shows 963 burials from July 1 to December 31, 1850, and from July 1, 1850, to April 24, 1889, the date of Mr Gray's death, 30,549. In 1853, Yerba Buena cemetery being evidently too small for the future, Mr Gray sought for a larger and better cemetery—a more eligible field of rest for the city, one that would be sufficient for many years. He rightly judged that the people could be awakened to a proper appreciation of the care of their dead. But it was no small undertaking. The public had to be educated up to it. Families were few, and they did not look upon California as home. They all fancied that they would soon get rich and run away, and they were disposed, whenever able, to send the remains of deceased relatives east, to be buried there in the old family churchyard. And then there was no title to the land which it was proposed to purchase, and as yet no road to reach it. But Mr Gray persevered. He interested a few friends with him, and finally secured Laurel Hill cemetery, which was formally dedicated, with impressive ceremonies, May 30, 1854. The physical charms and sacred associations of this cemetery render it a sightly necropolis, a most humanizing institution. The memory of those dear ones, whose graves we decorate with flowers, softens our hearts, elevates our thoughts, and gives us nobler objects to live for. The cultivation of this influence by Mr Gray had its effect in encouraging and sweetening home life, and in checking the profanity and lawlessness which were almost universal when he came to San Francisco. But his efforts were not limited to the inculcation of reverence for the dead, outwardly manifested by an orderly funeral and decent interment at a suitable place, a memorial head-board, a brief record of the deceased, and a suitable notice to distant relatives. The living had often to be cared for, and in this his charity was ample. Widows and orphans left helpless must be provided for. It was not enough that father or husband, however poor, was never refused the means to bury wife or child. Full of pity and thoughtful generosity, the bereaved found in him a friend upon whom they could lean in their trouble. No nationality, or condition, was denied his services, whether paid for or not. Protestant, catholic, and pagan, saw exemplified in him the universal brotherhood of man—that charity which compasseth all.

As husbands died leaving helpless families, brothers leaving sisters penniless, and wives arriving here in quest of husbands, who had gone to the mines, or had died unknown, there arose a necessity for organized effort to protect and care for helpless women and children. Perhaps the undertaker encountered more such cases than any other person. To meet this necessity Mrs Nathaniel Gray, his wife, a helpmeet in the noblest and best sense, joined in the organization of the Ladies' Protection and Relief society, of which she was president from its inauguration until her death, January 20, 1887, a period of thirty years.

At first this society opened an intelligence office on Sacramento street, to which girls and women could apply for employment; then it was found necessary to establish a home where they could be cared for when sick or unemployed, and where children could be left and cared for while their mothers were at work; and from this small beginning has grown the institution on Franklin street, between Post and Geary, which is now a recognized agency for benevolence in this state. Mrs Gray established a school for the education of Chinese girls, which is yet in successful operation. She contributed to several of the kindergartens, to the Ladies' Protection and Relief society in Oakland, to the Young Women's Christian associations, and to the Sheltering Homes.

As soon as Mr Gray had determined to remain in San Francisco, he connected himself with the First Presbyterian church, then a small, struggling society. They had been worshipping in a tent, and, by great effort, had secured a church edifice upon a lot on Stockton street, between Pacific and Broadway, when the fire of June 1851 burned it to the ground. The present prosperity of the organization, its wide usefulness, its wonderful agency in the cause of good morals and religion, and its grand house of worship on the corner of Sacramento street and Van Ness avenue are very largely due to his earnest and self-sacrificing devotion. He was an elder in the church nearly thirty-nine years, and was twice sent east to represent California in the general assembly of the presbyterian church for the United States.

In politics he was a whig, an anti-slavery man, and finally a republican. He was a member of the first republican club formed in this state, when Henry H. Haight, F. P. Tracy, and Gilbert A. Grant were members. The club at first was so small that it frequently met in his office, where, it was said, he had more coffins than there were republicans in the state of California.

Although a man of public spirit, and taking an active interest in government, he never allowed himself to accept office from the people of San Francisco, except once as coroner, and once as member of the legislature.

At the close of the war of secession Mrs Gray, from her own purse, paid the entire cost of the erection and furnishing of a schoolhouse for freedmen in North Carolina,

To educate the young men of California Mr Gray gave the San Francisco theological seminary five thousand dollars toward the endowment of a professorship, and also property which is now valued at thirty thousand dollars; and to educate the young women of the state, he gave to Mills seminary, in Alameda county, ten thousand dollars, and to the same institution another sum sufficient to establish a scholarship, whereby at all times at least one young woman can obtain free tuition; he also gave to the hospital for children and training school for nurses the site of their hospital building; an institution in which young women are trained in the art of nursing, and enabled to earn their own living. These munificent donations have been frequently mentioned, but the smaller gifts would aggregate a much larger sum.

Nathaniel Gray was a humanitarian. His labors for the relief of the needy and distressed; for the care and education of helpless young people, who needed his assistance to become useful members of society; for the inculcation of sound morality, of which his own life was an exemplification; for the promulgation of that divine truth which embraces all good and is love itself—his labors to this end began, I take it, when he first became capable, and terminated with his death. A history of his benefactions would fill a volume, but the better part of his giving lay in the spirit attending his gifts. Those whose lives were sweetened and made better by his unobtrusive generosity and goodness, and who had only a "God bless you," for acknowledgment—they alone could place a just value upon his beneficence, for their appreciation was less of the mind than of the heart. But he was not a millionaire who could be generous without sacrifice or labor; he had to earn in order to give. Fortunate it was for his beneficiaries that he was a sagacious man of affairs. His official duties in the various benevolent societies and institutions were a severe tax upon his energies, but he attended to the details of a large private business continuously up to a short time before his death. Solomon says: "The man that is diligent in his business shall stand before kings." Here is a man who filled the measure of diligence, and whose nobility and great-heartedness were more than royal. His home life was simple and frugal; his family relations happy and serene. No affectation of hospitality, but under his roof there was always room and welcome for the stranger and the houseless. The regulation of all his domestic affairs was upon the basis of religion, strict and precise, yet always sunny and cheerful. In all goodness his wife was identified with himself in thought and deed. The fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, which was celebrated at their dwelling in Oakland, December 29, 1882, was marked by notable features, and above all by the affection and love evinced by a host of friends. The wedlock had been real and the golden wedding was a peculiarly touching and appropriate commemoration of two lives typically blended and made one in faith and benevolent experience. Mr Gray strove to do right himself, but he was not dogmatic; he never quarreled with others because they did not think or act as he did. He was unobtrusive, unpretentious, reasonable, and practical—hence his acts corresponded with his profession of faith. He was thoroughly consistent, straightforward and honest. He was the same man in all places and at all times. With a mind consecrated to the truth and abhorring deceit, he was outspoken, fearless and uncompromising in the discharge of his obligation as he knew it. In this he was no respecter of persons, considering himself last of all. In hours of emergency his humility and self-denial were equaled only by his exalted purpose and unconquerable will, either in council with his associates or in the actual fulfillment of Christian or manly duty. His unselfishness, patience, and self-control in trying times like these, as well as at other times when the very evenness of life tests the spirit, showed him to be at heart and in fact a faithful disciple of "the only perfect gentleman that ever lived." His life was an open book—a counterpart of that of his namesake of old, in whom indeed there was no guile. And yet, though he would have thought it more profitable to sacrifice his life than to yield a principle, he was uniformly sweet-tempered and kind. It may be said that love was the life, the inspiration, and force of his life. At his funeral the colored man and the Chinaman gazed upon the dead face, and each said in his heart, "He was good to our people." The whole community bowed in sorrow, and said, "A good man is taken from us." All had experienced his love, kindness, and sympathy, and none could remember a harsh or impatient word from him. And yet it was not weakness that made him gentle, for he was a man of superb moral courage. Never did he ask or allow an employé to do anything that he was unwilling or afraid to do himself. When in active business, if there was dread of contagion he assumed the risk and did the dangerous work with his own hands. But as though shielded by a special providence, in the discharge of duty, he walked without fear in the midst of disease, and it was powerless to harm him.

Intellectually he possessed strong common sense—a harmony of the mental faculties. While he had not received a college education, he was a great reader, and retained and used what he read. His habit was to extract and preserve from newspapers such articles as interested him, or pertained to the subject he then happened to be studying. He was clear-headed, and had a good memory. His will was strong, and when he believed he was right he was tenacious of purpose. His vigor, both intellectual and physical, was remarkable. He placed a very high estimate upon liberal culture, which largely accounts for his gifts to educational institutions, for he hoped thereby to afford to other young men, and to young women, the opportunities which he had been denied.

Nathaniel Gray lived to the mature age of eighty-one years, and died on the 24th of April 1889, at his late home in Oakland, California, surrounded by his family and devoted friends.

He was, as has been well expressed in the resolutions of the board of trustees of the Old People's home of San Francisco, of which he was president at the time of his death:

"An able factor in every charitable cause in which he took part. He possessed a robust constitution, and the mind of a pioneer of this city of his residence; he possessed business qualifications which made him the peer of the business men of his day, both in worldly accomplishments and success. At the same time he possessed a religious fervor, an eminently pious character, and a most benevolent and charitable disposition to the poor, the aged, the sick, and the oppressed, which commanded from him respect alike in business circles and in Christian brotherhood."

Yours Respectfully,

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CHAPTER XXIII.

LIFE OF WILLIAM FRANCIS EDGAR.

THE WESTERN COMMONWEALTH — SOLDIERS OF NEW EMPIRE — WILLIAM FRANCIS EDGAR — ANCESTRY, EARLY LIFE, AND EDUCATION — ENTERING THE ARMY — MARCH WESTWARD — EXPERIENCES AMONG THE INDIANS AND ON THE FRONTIER — ILL HEALTH — MARRIAGE — RESIDENCE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

THOUGH among the youngest in the sisterhood of states, there is no section of the union from which have been graduated so many able and gallant officers as from our own western commonwealth. If here was not their *alma mater*, here was their actual training-school; here in the early days of Pacific coast settlement, they acquired the skill and experience, the coolness and contempt of danger which they afterward turned to such excellent account in the struggles of the civil war. Here it was that Kearny first gathered the laurels which well-nigh gained for him the highest position within the nation's gift; here Grant and Sherman, Hooker and Ord gave earnest of the qualities which in the darkest hour of their country's trial foretokened the final triumph of her cause.

But not among the warriors of his age was he whose career is now to be portrayed. While suffering in person more hardships and dangers than commonly fall to the soldier's lot, never except in self-defense did he raise his hand against his fellow man; never was he guilty of what some have stamped as legitimized murder! To save life and not to destroy it was his vocation, though in the exercise of that vocation he was ever ready to sacrifice his own. On the list of our army surgeons, for to this branch of the profession he belonged, there are few, if any, who saw more active service than William Francis Edgar, whose twenty years or more of duty was passed, except for the briefest intervals, and during the civil conflict, on the frontiers of Oregon and California, sharing the hard fate of those by whom our western empire has been established and by whom it has been preserved.

On the father's side Mr Edgar is of Scotch-Irish and on the mother's of English descent. His grandfathers on both sides were military men, one being a captain of light cavalry in the war of independence and the other an infantry captain in the war of 1812. In the latter war also served his father, William Hamilton Edgar, a native of Virginia, who, enlisting at the age of seventeen, was honorably discharged at Ellicott's mills, soon after the burning of Washington. When peace was declared he went southward, making his home first in Kentucky and then in Missouri, where he purchased a farm adjoining the town of Fayette, removing afterward to the neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth, and finally to the site of St Joseph. He was a man of remarkable energy and force of character, honest, industrious, temperate, impressing on his children, by example as well as by precept, the advantages of a pure and well-ordered life. His decease occurred at San Bernardino in 1866, followed some two years later by that of his wife, who died at William's residence in Drum barracks, near Wilmington, the seaport of Los Angeles county. Of their five children William was the oldest son and is now the sole survivor, his only sister dying in infancy, one of his brothers, a soldier, at Santa Fé in 1846, another a lawyer, at Los Angeles in 1862, and a third in 1874 at the Edgar rancho at San Gorgonio, California.

At a farm house in Jessamine county, amid the blue-grass pastures of Kentucky and surrounded with locust and poplar trees, William was born in the year 1823. At the age of eight his education was begun at a log schoolhouse nearly three miles distant, to which twice a day he travelled alone and on foot by a narrow path cut through the dense, dark forest. On the family's removal to Missouri he attended a school of somewhat higher grade, completing his non-professional course at the Bonne Femme college in Boon county, where several of the pupils became noted men in after life, among them John T. Hughes, the author of *Doniphan's Expedition*, a work accepted as the standard authority on the campaign which it describes.

But like other boys in his station of life most of William's time was given to farm work, with all the details of which he made himself familiar. At seventeen he could plough and hoe, could cut hay and grain with a scythe, and was entrusted with the care of live-stock, and especially of horses, of which from boyhood he was an excellent judge. One part only of his education he regarded as deficient, and that was in skilled mechanical handicraft, longing as he did to gather knowledge of every kind that concerned his relations to the world in which he lived.

At this time William was a goodly specimen of youth, just ripening into early manhood; and a man he was already in appearance, action, and character, inheriting from his father all the traits that I have mentioned, and from his mother a hopeful but serious and philosophic temperament, though tinged with a strong vein of humor. Even at this age were strongly developed the will power and strength of purpose, the perfect integrity and the sense of honor which have been to him as the beacon-light of his career. Early in life he laid well to heart and adopted as his motto the lesson contained in the following lines:

"Honor and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part; there all the honor lies."

It was at this time also that he joined an amateur dramatic society, making such progress in the histrionic art that his friends began to predict for him the career of a Kemble or a Kean. To such a career he did not aspire; nor would his parents have permitted it; but the appreciation of his fellow members, together with the natural bent of his disposition, encouraged him to exert to the utmost the powers of which he could not fail to be conscious. In some legitimate business or profession he would rise above the common herd of men, would emerge from the crowded ranks of mediocrity, and make for himself a fortune and a name.

William's career at the Bonne Femme college was cut short by one of those business reverses which accompanied the financial panic of 1837. When the family removed to St Joseph he entered a drug-store, with a view to prepare for the medical profession; but now he was seized with intermittent fever, for which a change of climate was prescribed, and the following year he passed in New Orleans, returning home with health restored though somewhat poor in purse. After another twelve-month passed in a drug-store, studying medicine and chemistry, besides attending to his duties, and meanwhile saving almost his entire salary, he entered the medical department of the university of Louisville, from which in due time he graduated with the highest honors. Here with two of his fellow students he was appointed at the beginning of his second session assistant demonstrator of anatomy, which appointment he held until he entered the army.

While living on the frontier of Missouri, Mr Edgar was frequently brought into contact with Indian traders, trappers, and mountaineers, and especially with the men of the American fur company. Then it was that his schoolboy fancy for a free and adventurous life first assumed tangible shape. In the neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth, where for a time was his home, he saw much of army life, and making the acquaintance of one or two army surgeons, decided to follow that branch of the profession, as the one best suited to his tastes and inclinations. After taking his degree therefore he presented himself before the New York army examining board, and among a crowd of candidates, mostly college graduates, was one of the four who succeeded in passing the test.

And here an incident may be mentioned which will serve to illustrate his independence of character and his perfect sense of honor. As funds were lacking for the journey, he stated his situation to a kinsman with whom he had not before been acquainted, but who at once tendered him the money required. This he accepted only on condition that his relative should take as security a promissory note, with interest at ten per cent a year until it was redeemed. From his pay of about $1,000 a year he saved in a few months the sum of his indebtedness, and this he forwarded to the man who had befriended him. But the remittance miscarried or more probably was stolen, and soon afterward his relative died. Eight years later the note was forwarded by his executor to Dr Edgar, then stationed in Florida; and though the total had then been swelled to $500,of which the principal was but $150, he at once forwarded a draft for the entire amount. Such deeds are rare, rare as that noblest work of the almighty, an honest man.

It was in the spring of 1849 when Dr Edgar received his appointment as assistant surgeon in the United States army, and on the following day we find him en route for Jefferson barracks, near St Louis, where he was assigned for duty by the commanding officer to a company of the second dragoons. then under orders for Fort Leavenworth. On reaching that post he was transferred to the regiment of mounted rifles, two companies of which set forth on the 1st of May for Oregon, travelling by steamer to old Fort Kearny, near the present site of Omaha. But on board the vessel was an unwelcome guest, in the shape of Asiatic cholera, the scourge which strewed the path of the argonauts with nameless graves, in '49 each day claiming its victims. Following the track of the California-bound emigrants until it diverged from the Oregon route, the command was never out of sight of their caravan and it seemed as if all the inhabitants of earth were moving westward to the land of gold. Many a sick and disabled wayfarer the doctor tended during this toilsome journey, freely giving his services to all who needed them, without other recompense than that which rewards all charitable deeds.

A point on the Snake river, some five miles east of the Hudson's Bay company's station of Fort Hall, was selected as the winter quarters of the command. Here the men were put to work, cutting down the stunted cottonwood trees, of which, when hewn into shape and covered with mud, their huts were built. To this camp was given the name of cantonment Loring Late in the autumn they were visited by Captain Stansbury and party, en route for their survey of Salt Lake valley; and accompanying the escort furnished by the mounted rifles, Edgar visited the principal settlements of the latter-day saints. Thirty-two years later he passed over the same ground in the cars of the Central Pacific, and of both these journeys, including historic data connected therewith, he furnished a most interesting description to the editor of a Los Angeles journal.

Slowly passed the winter at cantonment Loring, with two or three feet of snow on the ground and the thermometer ranging from twenty to thirty degrees below zero. Hundreds of oxen, mules, and horses perished from hunger and cold, their only food being cottonwood brush, and at times a handful of corn. Provisions ran short, and, but for the antelopes caught in the snow, the men would have shared the fate of their animals. For lights they had the fat of wolves, taken in traps around the encampment.

The post, which was in the midst of the Shoshone and other Indian tribes, was established for the protection of the Oregon route; but so cold and sterile was the country, that in the spring of 1850 the camp was abandoned, and the command removed to Fort Vancouver. In December of this year Doctor Edgar was ordered to the Dalles, for which point he started, amid a heavy snow-storm, in a Hudson's Bay company's bateau, manned by a crew of Chinooks. On reaching the Cascades he was drenched to the skin, the clothes in his trunk were frozen into a solid lump, and in this plight he was compelled to encamp for a week or more, for the crew were weather-bound. After making the portage the journey was continued in a flat-bottomed boat; but the first day's work found them only at a point known as Cape Horn, a windy headland on the bank of the Columbia. Here they camped for the night, and at daylight Dr Edgar, tiring of this slow progress, set forth on foot along the northern side of the river, with a Canadian Frenchman as his sole companion. While crossing the mountains, covered with two feet of snow, they lost their way, and now, as they thought, their travels were ended, for, if sleep overcame them, it would be the sleep that knows no waking. But toward night-fall they came in sight of the river, on the bank of which was an Indian dug-out, and in the stream below a large canoe, in which, toward midnight, they found their way to the Dalles.

In the spring of 1851 orders were received that the officers of the rifle corps should return east, to recruit a new regiment for service in Texas, and that what remained of the rifles should be consolidated with the first dragoons. Soon afterward Major Philip Kearny, of the dragoons, was sent from California to organize the skeleton companies into a battalion, for an overland expedition, to investigate, and, if possible, improve the route between that state and California. Of this expedition, with its Indian campaign of four months in southern Oregon, including the battle of Table rock, no details need here be given. Suffice it to say, that in the March of the following summer the remnant of the mounted rifles, including Edgar and such of the officers as had not left by sea, arrived at Benicia, and thence were ordered to the military headquarters at Sonoma, California. Here were stationed men who were afterward numbered among the most able and gallant soldiers of the civil war, such as Joseph Hooker and George Stoneman, not forgetting our friend Lieutenant Derby, whose laurels, however, were won with the pen rather than the sword. And here, also, we will take our leave of Major Kearny, who, ten years later, when in command of a division, fell at the battle of Chantilly.

After a few months' stay at Sonoma, and a few weeks at the medical director's office in San Francisco, Doctor Edgar was ordered to camp, afterwards Fort Miller, on the headwaters of the San Joaquin, where were stationed two companies of the second infantry to hold in check the Indian tribes between the Kern and Merced rivers. In the summer of 1852 these troops were despatched to the Yosemite valley, to investigate, and, if need be, to avenge a reported massacre of mining prospectors. In the main the report proved true, for all the prospectors had been slain except one, who hid himself behind the falls of El Capitan. Many of the Indians were captured, and after investigation some of them were shot; among them their aged chieftain, who, expecting to be shot also, thus through the interpreter addressed the commanding officer: "Ah! you have me at last and you can kill me; but among these mountains my voice will ring for many a year to come."

Toward the close of 1853 Edgar was ordered to Fort Reading, where now stands the town of Redding, and a few months later partly as a relief from a malarial locality, to the Indian reservation at Tejon, where, with a company of the first dragoons, was established the fort of that name. Pitching his tent under one of the tall umbrageous oaks with which the site abounded, he found carved on its flat-hewn surface the following unique inscription: "I, John Beck, was killed here by a bear, October 17, 1837." As this was the first instance that had come to the doctor's knowledge of a dead man writing his own epitaph, he decided to investigate the matter, and, inquiring among the Indians, arrived at the following facts. Many years before a band of trappers had passed through the cañon at a season when the acorns were ripe, and as a consequence bears were plentiful in the neighborhood. While hunting alone one of the party brought to the ground a huge grizzly, and thinking that he had the monster at his mercy, ran up to give him the *coup de grace.* But the trapper was mistaken; the bear had him, and, only slightly wounded, stretched the hunter on the ground with a blow of his paw. A moment later he was dead, and on the tree, under which the tragedy occurred and where he was buried, his comrades inscribed their legend.

Edgar was now about thirty years of age. Then came one of those untoward incidents which so often change a man's career in life or give to it a new direction. Roused from bed one chill December night, while suffering under the depressing effects of chronic malarial fever, he set forth in a blinding snowstorm to attend one of the command who had met with an accident in the mountains, some five miles distant. The trail was dark and slippery, in places dangerous in the extreme, and while descending the mountain side his horse fell upon his knees, throwing him astride the pommel of a dragoon saddle, and, in recovering his feet, struck the doctor on the head with his head, knocking him off on a stone and hurting him badly, to which at the time he paid no attention. In addition to other injuries the man was found with a broken leg. and was carried by the doctor and two others to a deserted hut, where by the light of some dry chips and a little beef tallow, they dressed his hurts as best they could. It was daylight when Edgar reached his tent, numb with cold, exhausted, and with garments wringing wet. While searching his trunk for a change of clothing he was seized with vertigo and fell unconscious to the ground, where he remained until the bugle sounded the surgeon's call. As he did not make his appareance, an officer came to see what was the matter, and found him lying on the floor, stricken with paralysis.

Relieved from duty by the commandant, he was conveyed to the house of a friend in the Tejon valley, and here, with careful nursing, by the end of March, he was so far recovered as to be able to walk. Thereupon, in obedience to orders, he at once set forth by way of San Francisco for New York, where he was granted three months' leave of absence, which he passed mostly in Kentucky and Missouri, and then reported for duty at Jefferson barracks, near St Louis. He was assigned to the second United States cavalry, a newly organized corps, of which the four principal officers were destined to enact a leading rôle in the great drama of the civil war. Their names were Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, William J. Hardee, and George H. Thomas. The regiment was under orders to proceed overland to Texas, and as Dr Edgar was still an invalid he travelled by water, narrowly escaping shipwreck, for the vessel was caught in a furious storm and was only saved by taking refuge in the harbor of Galveston.

After a brief sojourn in Texas, Doctor Edgar was assigned for service to Fort Myers in Florida, where was a scarcity of medical men. Here he was stationed with Lieutenant Hartsuff and Captain W. S. Hancock, then the quartermaster of the post. Toward the close of 1856 he was ordered to New

York, in company with Lieutenant Hartsuff and a party of invalid soldiers disabled by long service in the swamps of Florida. In the following year we again find him in California, and at his old post at Fort Miller, under command of Captain Ord, the hero of many a stubborn fight in the war for the union. When the sixth infantry arrived at Benicia after its journey across the plains he joined that regiment, and with a few of its men, a company of the first dragoons, and one of the third artillery, took part in the Mojave war.

In November 1861, being stationed meanwhile at various points in southern California, he was ordered to Washington with the last of the regular troops to leave the Pacific coast. Here he was promoted surgeon with the rank of major, and assigned to General Buell's command in Kentucky, where he reörganized and took charge of the general hospital at Louisville. Soon afterward he was placed at the head of the medical purveying department at Cairo, and finally, at the request of the general commanding, was appointed medical director of the district.

But now hard work, exposure, and travel, with but the briefest intervals of rest, together with the effects of a sultry and oppressive climate, had brought on a complication of ailments, among which was a partial return of the results of his paralytic affection, from which indeed he had never entirely recovered. On being asked if he could go into the field, he replied that he could not without first submitting to a surgical operation and he was ordered to Washington, to go before a retiring board, and notwithstanding his own personal protest was retired from active service and assigned to duty in the medical director's office in the department of the east, with headquarters at New York. At this time it was one of his duties to attend General Scott, then on the retired list, whom he visited every night at his rooms at the Fifth Avenue hotel. On one occasion he accompanied him to the capital. The general called at the White house during a reception given to some of the military, to pay his respects to the president, who met him at the door and offered thegeneral his arm. "I see," remarked Scott, looking across the room, "you have plenty of young commanders now Mr president! "Yes," replied Mr Lincoln. "But," he added, as the band recognizing the veteran leader, struck up 'hail to the chief,' "they have not forgotten the old one."

Soon after the conclusion of the war Doctor Edgar was once more ordered to California, and this time at his own request, for there his father and mother had preceded him, to pass the brief remainder of their days. Moreover he married the lady of his choice, Miss Catherine L. Kennifer of New York, and after sojourning, as duty called him, in every section of the union, there was no place in which he would so willingly make his home as in the golden state. At Drum barracks in Los Angeles county, except for a few years' private practice in the southern metropolis, he closed his professional career; for by act of congress it was ordered at the beginning of 1870 that no officer retired from active service should again be assigned to duty.

Meanwhile, more than ten years before this date, he had become the owner of an extensive tract at San Gorgonio, in San Bernardino county, originally granted to the trapper Pauline Weaver, and afterward transferred to the nephew of James Bridger, of Fort Laramie notoriety. Until his death, in 1874, this property was managed by his brother Francis Marion, and afterward by the doctor in person, when not engaged in professional duties. In 1881 he sold a portion of it to one who assumed the management of the remainder, and in 1886 disposed of the residue to the San Gorgonio Investment company. Since the former date, except for a year's professional visit to New York, he has made his home in southern California, and in the autumn of 1890 was numbered among the wealthy and most respected citizens of Los Angeles, in which, as the city of his adoption, he owns some of its choicest real estate.

In the future of Los Angeles he has the utmost confidence nor could it well be otherwise, for he has witnessed its growth from a village of 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants in 1858, to a town of 11,000 in 1880, and to a city of 50,000 or 60,000 in 1890. In many an enterprise tending to the physical and social welfare of his fellow citizens he has been and is yet deeply interested. Among them was the county medical society of Los Angeles, the southern California historical society, the Library association of Los Angeles, the original agricultural association and its successor the sixth district agricultural association, and the Main Street and Agricultural Park railroad company. Of all of these he is or has been a member, of some a trustee, and of the last, for more than fifteen years, a director.

Thus briefly I have sketched the leading incidents in the career of William Francis Edgar, and on the roll of our pioneers there are few whose career has been so full of self-sacrifice and usefulness. He came not here in quest of gold or fame; he sought not "the bubble reputation" which gives to the profession of arms the tinsel of its luster and glamour. The years which he devoted to the service of his country would, if applied to selfish aims and purposes, have given him wealth, position, influence, and all those things for which men toil and strive as the goal of human ambition. But these he did not covet, and if at length they were added unto him, they came not of his own seeking, but as the fitting reward of a useful and well-ordered life.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EDUCATION—UTAH, COLORADO, AND WYOMING.

OBSTACLES AMONG THE MORMONS—THE PARENTS' SCHOOL—THE UNIVERSITY—THE COMMERCIAL ACADEMY—DISTRICT AND MISSION SCHOOLS—THE DESERET ALPHABET—JOURNALS AND LIBRARIES—MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL-LANDS IN COLORADO—SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLHOUSES—O. J. GOLDRICK—THE STATE UNIVERSITY—CHURCH SCHOOLS—THE SCHOOL OF MINES—HISTORICAL AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES—EDUCATION IN WYOMING—PUBLIC AND CHURCH SCHOOLS.

AMONG the Mormons education, from the early settlement, has received the attention which might have been expected among so enterprising a community. Intent upon material development and religious affairs, and with a community composed almost entirely of earnest and honest converts, their opportunities and incentives in this direction were nevertheless limited. The ecclesiastical policy was, as a matter of course, averse to gentile teachers and methods, but the strong and persistent efforts of the leaders to establish schools have resulted most satisfactorily in regard to the rising generation.

A few primary and other schools were opened at different places after 1848, as well as classes for advanced pupils, chiefly for missionaries, but no laws were passed to systematize their operations. The lack of enough teachers became quickly apparent, and as a remedy a parents' school was established at the capital for the heads of families who might desire to educate their own children, Brigham Young himself being one of the pupils.

From the first the Mormons were ambitious in educational matters, though their efforts were not always successful. At Nauvoo a university was organized, with a board of regents and a staff of professors, the latter counting two college men. This was revived at Salt Lake City in 1850, with an appropriation of $5,000 a year, the curriculum to embrace all the living languages and sciences. But an empty treasury and other obstacles left the project unfulfilled, the few available resources being applied to the parents' school. Even this survived only for two years, and for similar reasons. Meanwhile the regents turned their attention to the establishment of elementary schools, and for this purpose valuable grants of land were made by legislature and congress. In 1867 a commercial academy was opened by the board at the council-house, and two years later classical and normal departments were added. Both sexes were admitted, and by 1870 the attendance had risen to 546, of whom 239 were females. In 1882 it was still an academy, with a normal and a preparatory department, the highest course being fully on a par with that of other places. The lack of sufficient appropriations and of suitable buildings served, nevertheless, to lessen its success, and by 1884 the attendance had fallen below 300.

The difficulties attending the management of the university extended likewise to the common schools. For over two decades they had many almost insurmountable obstacles to contend against. By this time the comparatively wealthy gentile element had acquired sufficient strength to take decisive steps in accordance with their dogmatic American ideas concerning education. Their religious congregations engaged in a strong rivalry in establishing what were called mission schools in different towns, headed in 1867-70 by the grammar school of the episcopalians, the seminary of the methodists, the collegiate institute of the presbyterians, and the academies of the congregationalists and catholics. In 1883 the presbyterians alone had 33 schools and 2,200 pupils.

Mormons availed themselves in so marked a degree of these new facilities that their ecclesiastical authorities were obliged to bestir themselves. School districts were organized, although not officially until 1880, and several higher schools were opened, notably the academy at Provo, in 1876, which four years later had over 430 pupils, and the Brigham Young college at Logan, opened in 1878 under the patronage of the president.

In 1885 there were 59 mission and about 450 public or district schools in the territory, the latter with an attendance of 18,678 out of a school population of 50,638, and a school enrollment of 29,978. At the mission schools about 3,500 pupils were enrolled, the number at each one varying from 8 to 253, the latter being for the Salt Lake academy, one of the most thriving educational institutes in the city of the saints.

The Mormons had an advantage over the mission schools in the use of their meeting-houses for schools. In 1880 the legislature authorized a tax for maintaining these buildings as legal district schools, although retaining them for religious purposes. The gentiles, whose children rarely attended them, objected to being taxed for what they called sectarian schools and churches, and many of the meeting-houses were accordingly transferred to school trustees.

One reason for the inefficiency of the schools lay in the attempt of the church leaders about the year 1853 to introduce a special alphabet, composed partly of novel characters, partly of letters borrowed from the Greek, in imitation of the golden plate inscriptions from which the prophet translated the new bible. The object was not only to promote an easy phonetic system, but to exclude objectionable literature, particularly anti-Mormon publications, and thus promote the exclusiveness characteristic of this people, who thus felt called upon by every means in their power to protect themselves from the inroads of their enemies. Type was ordered, the order being badly executed, and a primer and some religious books were issued and partly introduced into schools; but the phonetization was imperfect, and the people did not take kindly to the innovation. It is now remembered only as a curiosity.

Several secret societies and various literary associations are doing much good in their respective spheres, as did the philharmonic for æsthetic culture, while social and dramatic clubs throughout the territory infused a healthy tone into an atmosphere rendered somewhat threatening by the outbreak of religious antagonisms.

Colorado has set an admirable example to other states by her judicious management of the land granted by the nation for school purposes, which in many other states has been wasted or insufficiently cared for. To Governor Routt special credit is due, for when under the constitution a board, consisting of the governor and secretary of state, was appointed to select the lands, he displayed the utmost care and forethought in making the best use of the grant. Instead of offering the lands for sale at the low price then ruling for non-irrigated tracts, he leased them for an amount equal to the interest on their late value for pasturage and other purposes, thus securing a rental of over $40,000. Further, the legislature authorized the sale of alternate sections, on condition that the purchasers should construct ditches for the use of both sections. This raised the price of the unsold land in some situations to thirty dollars per acre, and increased the value of the grant by several millions. The government was, moreover, prevailed upon to exchange for agricultural lands such of the sections as fell within mineral regions. These measures were worthy of the aspirations of the centennial state, which includes among its inhabitants a higher proportion of college-bred men than is to be found elsewhere on the Pacific slope.

In 1885 there were 525 schoolhouses in Colorado, with accommodation for nearly 40,000 pupils, and an average attendance of 24,747 out of 57,955 children of school age. The valuation of school property was $2,052,100, and for the preceding year the total expenditure was stated at $934,727, this amount being obtained from the proceeds of the state school fund, a county tax varying from two to five cents on the dollar, optional district taxes, and the sums collected from fines, penalties, and forfeitures. The boards of management partake of the spirit displayed by the initiators of the system, and among them is found little of the ignorance, stupidity, and rascality for which such bodies are too often noted in these days of enlightenment.

Denver takes the lead in educational as in other matters. In 1886 she had twenty-one schoolhouses, costing $700,000, including a high school, preparatory for the university. The pioneer of education, O. J. Goldrich, opened here the first school in 1859. Soon afterward he became a journalist, and after a checkered career returned to Denver, in 1868, to publish a newspaper of his own, until 1882, when his decease occurred. A number of private and denominational schools, two of collegiate order, increase the educational advantages of the city. Other towns have kept pace with the general advancement, Boulder exhibiting special zeal in early erecting a superior school building. This was suitably recognized in the assignment to Boulder of the state university in 1861, although the corner-stone was not laid until 1875. A brick building of three stories was erected with the means supplied by two appropriations from the legislature, and by handsome local subscriptions in money and land. It is supplied with a library, ornamental grounds, and other accessories. The preparatory and normal departments opened in 1877, and the collegiate course began a year later, with a gradual enlargement, sustained by a direct annual assessment of one-fifth of a mill on the valuation of all property within the state, and by the income from seventy-two sections donated by congress.

At Denver is a methodist institution, known as a university, the outgrowth of the Colorado seminary established by that church in 1864. The Brinker Collegiate institute, named after its founder, Joseph Brinker, is a non-sectarian school of a high order, opened here in 1877. In 1874 the Colorado association of congregational churches proposed to erect and maintain a college on the New England plan. Colorado Springs offered a twenty-acre tract and $10,000 in aid, and a building was quickly erected, in which the preparatory department was opened the same year. Additional land and money being tendered, a superior edifice was built. In 1881 the faculty consisted, besides the president, of a professor of mathematics and physics, one of metallurgy and chemistry, one of history and political science, one of geology, and two for languages, ancient and modern. The library contained 6,000 volumes, and the collections of natural science specimens were rapidly increasing. Cañon City has a flourishing school, known as the Colorado Collegiate and Military institute, established by a stock company in 1881, under the supervision of E. H. Sawyer.

The state school of mines was by act of 1870 located at Golden, and reëstablished on a more permanent footing in following years, occupying at present a handsome brick building. In the same town is the state industrial school, located here by act of 1881, and provided in 1883 with $60,000 in appropriations, for building, machinery, implements, and library. In 1874 the legislature took steps to erect a deaf-mute institute at at Colorado Springs. The town aided with land and subscriptions, and special state appropriations followed, partly for adding a department for the blind. In 1880 a tax of one-fifth of a mill was imposed for founding an insane asylum. Previous to this the counties had taken charge of their own patients, at state expense. Later appropriations of over $140,000 were made for erecting buildings at Pueblo, under the care of P. R. Thombs. A special tax of a fraction of a mill on all assessable property in the state is applied to a number of public institutions, including the agricultural college at Fort Collins, opened in 1879. The state also aids the Historical and Natural History society. Besides this there is a State Historical society, and associations formed by different professions. In 1885 the state library headed with 8,000 volumes the list of similar institutions to be found in most towns and in connection with colleges, schools, and social and other organizations.

The fraternal societies, ever in the van of benevolent associations, were in active operation as early as 1858. The Masons then gathered at Auraria. By 1881 they claimed ten lodges at Denver alone, the Odd Fellows having at that time nine lodges, the Knights of Pythias three, and the Good Templars and the Red Cross men two each. There were twelve benevolent societies of various names, and eighteen other associations, in the same city.

Journalism in Colorado has always ranked high, many of the publications being of an order to do credit to cities much older than those of the centennial state. On April 23, 1859, two newspapers appeared at Auraria, later Denver, the *Rocky Mountain News*, a weekly, owned by W. N. Byers and T. Gibson, and the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*, of J. Merrick, which was discontinued after the first number. The *News* held its own fairly, although changing hands and politics on several occasions. In the following year Gibson started the *Rocky Mountain Herald*, as a daily and weekly. The *News* was compelled to imitate, and a brisk rivalry ensued, manifested in special issues, express deliveries to different camps, and a struggle for telegraphic dispatches, which threatened to absorb all profits. A confederate organ, the *Mountaineer*, started in 1860 by Moore and Coleman, was bought by the *News*. In 1864 the office of this paper was destroyed and the proprietors, Byers and Bailey, purchased the *Herald*. In 1867 the Denver *Tribune* was established by H. Beckurts, and became one of the great republican dailies of the city.

The union war greatly stimulated the circulation of journals in this and interior towns. The telegraph approached near enough for daily coaches to make the connection. Extras were issued on every important occasion, and when the carriers appeared, work was suspended and the people flocked from all quarters to learn the news. Prices were liberal also, and few hesitated to pay twenty-five cents for a single copy of a newspaper.

Among interior towns the first journal was established at Central City, in 1859, when T. Gibson, the founder of the *News* at Denver, issued the ephemeral *Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter*. Its press was moved to Golden City and published for one year the *Western Mountaineer*. Two short-lived papers followed the *Reporter*, and in 1862 was established the *Miners' Register*, which in the following year was enlarged to a daily. After a successful career it was absorbed in 1878 by a new paper, and appeared as the *Register-Call*, still true to its early republican ideas.

The pioneer paper of southern Colorado, the Cañon City *Times* was published for a few months only in 1860–1, from a press which had done duty in Central and Golden cities. Similarly short-lived was the *Miners' Record* of 1861, at Tarryall, and the *Journal* of Colorado City. In 1866 G. West established at Golden, the *Transcript*, a democratic journal still in existence, and with one exception the oldest paper in the state. The *Colorado Miner*, issued in 1868 at Georgetown by J. E. Wharton and A. W. Barnard, was another well-sustained paper. The same year Pueblo received its first journal, the *Colorado Chief-*

tain, which in time became a daily. During the next two decades, newspapers multiplied in the leading towns, and appeared at different camps, having but brief existence. At Leadville the first journal was the *Reveille* of R. S. Allen, who had elsewhere pioneered similar short-lived ventures.

Though a sparsely settled region, Wyoming is one of the foremost of all Pacific states in educational matters. School attendance is compulsory, with certain modifications, and to an educational institute composed entirely of teachers is entrusted the regulation of methods and the selection of text-books. The territorial librarian was ex-officio superintendent of public instruction, and to him the county superintendents of schools must report annually. Women have frequently held the latter positions in accordance with the right of franchise and of holding office conferred upon the sex.

As early as 1869 Cheyenne possessed a public school, with two departments, and two church schools, established by the catholics and episcopalians. By 1883 her graded central school alone counted 550 pupils. The total number of schools then in the territory numbered 64, with an attendance of 3,370, costing annually $46,000, the outlay for buildings reaching $100,000. Of this total Uinta county claimed 12 schools, with 620 pupils. Besides the high school there is a catholic academy at Cheyenne, conspicuous for its fine brick building, four stories in height. As the public lands devoted to school purposes were not available until statehood was secured, education was sustained by a direct tax and by contributions. At several of the schools are libraries, as well as among the fraternal societies, and the territorial library contained in 1885 about 10,000 volumes. Thus Wyoming, though the youngest of our Pacific states, possesses fair educational facilities, and it has often been remarked that among her people is an unusual degree of intelligence and culture, even the class known as cowboys containing a large proportion of college-bred men.

As regards journalism, also, Wyoming does not suffer by comparison with the younger states and territories of the Pacific slope. The sudden rise of Cheyenne, in 1867, which won for it considerable prominence, was attended by a corresponding expansion in this direction. No less than three newspapers appeared during the first half year of her existence beginning with the Cheyenne *Evening Leader* of N. A. Baker, which subsequently became a morning daily, and after various other transformations survives as a democratic organ. A month later, in October 1867, appeared the *Daily Argus* of L. L. Bedell, which was discontinued in 1869. In December O. T. Williams issued the *Rocky Mountain Star*, which lasted only for a few months. The *Wyoming Tribune* lived between 1869–72; the Cheyenne *Gazette* was first published in 1876, but passed on with the exodus to the Black hills. In 1883 there were two journals besides the *Leader;* the *Northwest Live-stock Journal*, devoted solely to the stock-raising interests, and the Cheyenne *Sun*, a transfer from Laramie, and originally styled the *Independent*, owned by A. E. Slack, who purchased and merged with it the *Daily News*, started at Cheyenne in 1875. Slack was a native of New York, who had served with credit in the union war. Coming in 1868 to Wyoming, he engaged for three years in mining and furnishing lumber to the military posts, and then turned journalist.

In South Pass City, the first town established in the territory, the first journal, named the *News*, was published by N. A. Baker in 1868. It was speedily transferred to Laramie, leaving in its place the *Sweetwater Miner*, issued the same year at Fort Bridger by Warren and Hastings to advocate immigration. At Laramie the first paper was the *Frontier Index* of the erratic Freeman. The *Sentinel* came next, introduced as a daily by N. A. Baker of the *South Pass News*, and although reduced to a weekly, managed to survive and gain fresh vitality under the able management of J. E. Yates and J. H. Hayford. Yates was a Canadian, who had served with credit in the civil war. He assisted in establishing the *Leader* at Cheyenne, and in 1870 accepted a position on the *Sentinel*, of which he became part owner in the following year, when he was elected to the legislature on the republican ticket. The *Times* of 1879 experienced several ephemeral revivals under different titles. The *Boomerang* promised to sustain itself better in opposition to the *Sentinel*. Directories were issued as early as 1873.

Before devoting a chapter to the northwest I will here give the biography of Alonzo E. Horton, the founder of the city of San Diego.

CHAPTER XXV.

LIFE OF ALONZO ERASTUS HORTON.

FOUNDERS OF GREAT CITIES — PACIFIC COAST CITY-BUILDERS — THE FOUNDER OF SAN DIEGO — ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE OF MR HORTON — BOATING — ENTERPRISES IN MICHIGAN — ADVENTURES IN CALIFORNIA — EVENTS ON THE ISTHMUS — HORTON'S ADDITION TO NEW SAN DIEGO — SALE OF LOTS — UNPRECEDENTED SUCCESS — CARE OF HIS PARENTS — PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS — MARRIAGE WITH MISS LYDIA M. KNAPP — MRS HORTON'S PAST AND PRESENT.

DID it ever occur to the reader what it is to be the founder of a city; to select a site, secure the title, mark out the streets to run here and there, and lay it off in blocks and lots for the occupation of generations to come? Who were the founders of Athens and Alexandria, of Carthage, Constantinople, Rome, Paris, London? Some of them we know, either as gods or men; but there are few cities in the world of which it may be correctly stated, that such an one began here to build a city on such a day.

In the phenominal development of the American Pacific coast there are places regarding which such a statement may be truthfully made; there are men, though but few, of whom we may say he started that town; he founded that city. Let us look about us for some of the founders of our modern cities on this western seaboard. Pass the fur-trading period, originating such places as Sitka, begun by Baranof in 1798, and Vancouver, on the Columbia, founded by John McLoughlin, the great apostle of civility in the wilds of the northwest, and come to places started for other and more legitimate purposes — for it is hardly logical or consistent to speak of forts established for sustaining savagism as centers originating civilization. The site of Victoria, at the southern end of Vancouver island, was selected by James Douglas, in 1842, Roderick Finlayson, John Work, Anderson, Tolmie, and NcNeill being his chief assistants in building the city. It was designed from the first, not alone as a fort for fur traffic, but as a future commercial metropolis, and capital of British American civilization on the Pacific side. We know further that Portland owes its beginning to Lovejoy and Pettygrove, Sacramento to Sutter, Stockton to Weber, Salt Lake City to Brigham Young, and so on. San José, or San José de Guadalupe, the first pueblo founded in California, was created by Governor Neve on the 29th of August 1776; the pueblo of Los Angeles, or more properly, La Reina de los Angeles, was ordered to be on the 26th of August 1781, instructions being issued to that effect by Governor Neve from San Gabriel. San Francisco proper begins with the birth of Yerba Buena. Setting aside the mission attendants, the presidial companies, and the gente de razon thereabout and on the Contra Costa, and we have William A. Richardson as the founder of San Francisco, assisted by Jacob P. Lease, Nathan Spear, and William S. Hinckley. Richardson, from shipmaster and trader, became a merchant, his business being to gather produce from various points about the bay for the trading vessels entering the harbor. He put up a board shanty in 1835, where later was Dupont and Clay streets. Lease, Spear, and Hinckley were partners in a similar business, and in 1836 erected a wooden house near Richardson's.

But in all the history of city-building from the time of Babel to the present day, there probably never has been a case like that of Alonzo E. Horton and the present San Diego, where one man, by his native powers of discrimination and foresight, speaks into being a populous city, and is permitted to see within his own time, and with his own eyes, thousands of buildings, dwelling-houses, and business structures, the homes of happy families, and the receptacles of costly merchandise, not to mention halls of learning, churches, and all the edifices essential to advanced civilization. The future of these cities, of this city of San Diego, its magnitude, wealth, and importance, as the years come and go, how rapidly the present tens of thousands shall become hundreds of thousands, and millions, no tongue can tell. The three millions of British subjects which during the closing period of the eighteenth century assumed self-government in America, by 1860 had become thirty-two millions, and in 1890 were over sixty millions. From this we may reasonably expect in 1910 or 1920 a population for the American nation of a hundred millions, for California five millions, for San Francisco a million, and for San Diego a quarter of a million. The city founded by Mr Horton will then be in regard to population and importance, about where, ten years ago were San Francisco, Cincinnati, Mexico, Habana, Rio Janeiro, Lima, Buenos Ayres, Edinburgh, Bordeux, Barcelona, Dresden, Rome, Alexandria, Shanghai, and Melbourne.

In these Pacific states wealth has multiplied in a ratio yet greater than that of population. Forty years ago the man worth a million would attract attention and remark anywhere in the United States; twenty years ago five-million men were more conspicuous and less plentiful than are twenty-million men to-day. The new wealth created between the Mississippi river and the Pacific ocean during the past thirty years will not fall far short of that of the whole United States prior to that time.

Sufficient attention has never been given to the founders of cities, to the circumstances attending the birth of towns, and to the qualities and accomplishments of their originators. If any knowledge is of value, to know the beginning of things is of the highest importance, for thereby alone can we form a proper idea of progress; and of all men who have ever lived, the lives of those who have originated and created are most worthy of our consideration.

He who builds a city or develops virgin lands must have ability and money. One without the other will not accomplish the purpose. And apart from the perceptive and intelligent faculties, which guide the city-builder to success, other qualities are necessary for such work; courage to overcome obstacles; perseverance in the face of disheartening circumstances; defiance of self-interested opponents; an earnest wish for the welfare of the public; industry and energy, are factors and forces which must enter into the composition of a successful founder. He must be a man of justly balanced powers, mentally and physically, of a striking type. Such a man, to a certain extent, we find in Alonzo Erastus Horton, the founder of Horton's Addition to San Diego.

San Diego, Old-Town, crawled along for years like a starved dwarf, wandering among trees laden with fruit beyond his reach. At best it was never more than an ordinary mission settlement, containing a few stores, a few soldiers, and many loafers, and was gradually sinking into a moribund condition. Some few years before Mr Horton conceived the project of establishing a city in its neighborhood, an attempt had been made by a Mr Davis and others to found a New Town, but they had met with little success. The few houses which they erected soon fell into disuse and decay. The master mind was wanting.

The circumstances attending Horton's going to San Diego with the intention of founding a town are remarkable. One evening in April 1867, while with a party of friends in San Francisco, who had met to discuss social topics of general interest, the conversation turned on the capabilities of California, and the probable locations of the great cities of the future.

As the various localities were in turn commented upon, from British Columbia southward, each received its due share of praise and criticism, until finally San Diego was mentioned, when one of the party, a Mr Jackson, began to speak in the most glowing terms of the insignificant little place. The beautiful landlocked bay, the mild and regular climate, the thriving vegetation, the fertile soil, and the abundant resources of the adjoining country, were all enthusiastically described. Mr Jackson expressed a belief in a brilliant future for the place, situated as it was on a beautiful bay, near the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. All that was needed for its development, he said, was a railroad from the east, and some man of enterprise and good business judgment to take the lead. He felt convinced that a large and thriving community would sooner or later spring up, and that a great metropolis would then grow up inferior to few of the cities on the Pacific coast. Mr Horton was deeply impressed by what this man said. It seemed to him with the settlement of the country a railroad would come, and that enterprise would be attended by development. Procuring a large map of California he studied it with the deepest interest late into the night. He slept but little, turning over in his mind the possibilities and probabilities lying about the bay of San Diego. The decision came next morning which gave to California the beginning of a prosperous city. Quick to act, having once made up his mind, Mr Horton began his preparations for departure. Selling the furniture business, in which he was engaged on Market street, he settled his affairs so expeditiously that he was able to take the next steamer to San Diego.

Embarking on board the *Pacific*, Captain Conner, Horton, with six other passengers, landed at San Diego on the 15th of April 1867, the steamers at that time plying between the two ports only once a month, and carrying passengers, lumber, and merchandise of all kinds. As he stepped ashore Mr Horton was confirmed in his belief that here was a magnificent site for a prosperous city. Before him lay the bay, tranquil and picturesque; beyond stretched the peninsula, and still further in the perspective rose the Coronado islands; to the south, reaching away in sublime grandeur, the mountains of lower California reared their summits, the entire landscape being a scene of impressive beauty. But notwithstanding his enjoyment of these natural surroundings, his practical mind recognized the commercial advantages of the locality, for as he surveyed the region he was struck with its surpassing capabilities.

"What do you think of Old Town?" asked an express agent, who had been a fellow-passenger with Mr Horton.

"I wouldn 't give five dollars for the whole of it," was the reply. "You cannot make a city there, and I don 't see how any one could ever have entertained the idea. Down nearer the point of the bay is the place."

"But there is no water."

"Water can be brought there."

The interesting events of the next few days are clearly and concisely told in Mr Horton's own words.

"When I arrived there, some twenty years ago, a man named Kanaka Davis had put up some three or four buildings; but he failed, and the buildings finally went to decay. That settlement was called Old New Town. New San Diego was laid out in lots and blocks adjoining what now is Front street, and ran down to the water's edge. Davis also put up some buildings there, but they were abandoned; I bought one of them for $300 and moved it away. At that time E. W. Morse was agent for Wells, Fargo, and company, having sold out his business at Old Town to accept the position. I made his acquaintance through business with the express company, and arranged to take my meals with him, sleeping in an old adobe building. One day I asked Morse if there was any way in which the land that I wanted could be bought, and he informed me that it could be purchased at public auction by the highest bidder.' But,' he added, 'the term of the old board of trustees has expired, and it will be necessary to elect new ones.' Thereupon I went to Mr. Pendleton, the county clerk, who refused to call an election for new trustees because he could get no pay for his services. On being told that the expense of calling an election would be five dollars, I put a ten dollar bill into his hand. The effect was what I expected it would be. He wrote out three calls and I put them up that same evening."

Nearly all the voters at that time were friends of the southern confederacy, but Mr Horton, through the influence of the catholic priest, who possessed great power in the place, succeeded in procuring the election of a board favorable to his own views. The members were, E. W. Morse, Thomas Bush, and Joseph Mannasse, thirty-two votes being polled, all for Horton's men.

The law required that ten days' notice should be given before the sale could be held, and Colonel Couts, who owned a farm about forty miles from San Diego, hearing of the intended auction, thought of buying the land himself, but was diverted from his purpose by the shrewd management of Mr Horton. Indeed he was not even present at the auction sale. The consequence was that with little opposition Horton bought what land he wanted at prices varying from one hundred dollars to fifteen dollars a section. Judge Hollister in one instance raised Mr. Horton's bid five dollars, but declared that he did so only "for fun." "The San Francisco speculators and fools," he said, "are not all dead yet. We cannot object if they will come down here and buy our worthless land. That land has been there for a thousand years and no one has built on it yet." "Yes," replied Horton, "and would remain so a thousand years longer if it had to wait for you to do it." He sold some of that land a few months later for $4,000 a block.

The people of San Diego were not a little surprised at the large investment Horton made at this sale, and began to be much interested in a man who seemed to have such confidence in himself, and in so great an undertaking. They asked all manner of questions about his antecedents, and speculated upon his apparently varied experience.

And as they turned him over in their minds intellectually, physically, and financially, they beheld a man full of vigor, a well built body, and mind of shrewd aspect, as it shone through kind and intelligent features. His hair was of a light brown, streaked with gray; eyes of dark blue, and his countenance mild and open, but capable of strong expression. A full beard without mustache gave dignity to his bearing. His height was five feet nine inches, and weight about 132 pounds when he went to San Diego, although he gained fifty pounds afterward; he was compactly and strongly built. As an instance of his physical strength, he has turned lifting scales at 700 pounds. In his younger days he was expert in athletic sports, excelling in running and jumping, and as a wrestler was unmatched by any one in the town in which he lived.

Among the families that sustained the cause of toleration and freedom during the civil war in England which temporarily destroyed the monarchy, was that of the Hortons, one member of which became secretary of state under Cromwell after the conclusion of the strife, and from this stock sprang the founder of San Diego. The ancestor from whom he claims descent on this side of the Atlantic was Barnabas Horton, a native of Leicestershire, England, who emigrated from that country in 1640, embarking on board the *Swallow*, which after a tempestuous voyage cast anchor at Hampton, Massachusetts. Five years later, Barnabas removed from that settlement, and permanently established himself at Southold, Long Island. Alonzo E. Horton is of the sixth generation in descent from this early immigrant, the names of his five predecessors in the line being: Jonathan; James (deacon); Ezra (reverend); Ezra (deacon); and Erastus, his father. The family of the Hortons has been distinguished for longevity and robustness, and for strong characteristic traits and will power. Its members have ever entertained deep convictions on the questions of politics and religion, and their patriotism has been displayed by enthusiastic participation in all the important wars in which this country has been engaged. A conspicuous example of unflinching patriotism was Deacon Ezra, the great grandfather of the present Mr Horton; he was the parent of no fewer than twelve sons, every one of whom, in his old age, he sent forth to fight in the colonial army during the revolutionary war.

Mr Horton's childhood was spent in Connecticut and New York, his father having moved from Union to Stockbridge, in the latter state, when Alonzo was two years old. The family remained at Stockbridge two years, then lived at New Haven, New York, four years, finally settling at Scriba, Oswego county, when Alonzo was eight years of age. His father was a deeply religious man, strictly honest and truthful, a member of the baptist church — a strong man in every community in which he lived. The people would rely upon his judgment in county political conventions, to which he was often sent as a delegate, though he would never accept, and never was elected, to any office. The mother was also a member of the baptist church. She was also of English descent, and belonged to a family equally distinguished for strong character. Her maiden name was Tryphena Burley. She was a strong woman, mentally and physically, tolerably well educated, and took an especial pride in bringing up her children properly, looking carefully to their health and enjoyment, and paying close attention to their moral training. Outside of the family she was highly esteemed on account of her self-denial. Liberal in her views respecting the general welfare of her neighbors, she often spent days and weeks with sick people, without accepting any reward, being always ready in her natural kindness of heart to relieve distress. She governed her children by love and forbearance, and many of her precepts, gently impressed upon their young minds, went far toward the formation of strong, noble characters. How far her careful teachings affected the career of his manhood, and how many of his achievements are traceable to his regard for his mother's advice, are shown in an incident of Alonzo Horton's early life.

"When I was about eight years old," he says, "a man gave me a young pig. Having kept it until it was about half grown, I was offered a dollar for it. I concluded to sell it, and the man paid me, but in giving me the money handed to me two one-dollar bills instead of one. I put the money away, and went quietly to bed that evening, but it was long after midnight before I could sleep. I thought the matter all over and over again. Mother, I remembered, had always told me not to take anything that did not belong to me. This extra dollar did not belong to me, and I came to the conclusion to speak to the man about it next day; then I went to sleep. In the morning I took the extra dollar, and after some explanations, returned it to the owner. 'If I did not need this dollar,' he remarked, 'I would give it to you.'" Years afterward the man told this story in a store in Wisconsin, saying that he would not be afraid to trust everything he had in the world with Horton. "From that time," added Mr Horton, "I never took a dollar that did not belong to me—never in my life; and when I think of this I feel grateful for my mother's care and kindness."

The mother not unfrequently cautioned her husband with regard to the strictness with which he treated his children, imploring him to allow them a moderate indulgence in amusements and sports. She feared that too much restraint in early life might, when they grew older, be the cause of their pursuing pleasure intemperately. But Erastus Horton was one of those who believe that to spare the rod is to spoil the child Disobedience, moreover, he could not tolerate, and with his strictly religious views, he was particular about the keeping of the sabbath. It is not surprising, then, if young Alonzo went trout-fishing while his father and mother were at church, that his offended parent should administer correction. On one particular occasion, after the son had been distinctly warned not to indulge in his favorite sport, he was disobedient. He was unusually successful that day, and as provisions happened to be scarce in the family, he took home a dozen fine trout. Detection was inevitable. "Alonzo," asked his father, "have you been fishing?" "Yes, sir," was the reply. "You know what to expect then?" "Yes, sir," said the son, who thereupon received a sound whipping. When the punishment was over, Mrs Horton said: "What shall we do with the trout?—throw them away?" Oh, no; don't do that," ejaculated the pious parent; "let us not be guilty of the sin of wastefulness." And the fish were kept and eaten. Says Mr Horton: "I laughed at father in after years about that, even after I had brought him to California."

The liberal disposition of Alonzo is illustrated by an incident which occurred when he was six years of age. He had made quite a large sum of money for so young a speculator — nearly three dollars — by putting up an old wry-necked goose to be shot at; then, no one securing the prize in that way, he raffled it, and winning it himself finally sold it. On his way home he invested the money in a shawl and a pound of tea for his mother. His coolness and presence of mind when a child were remarkable. On one occasion, when eight years old, he saved a small boy from drowning, under circumstances that required the exhibition of unusual fearlessness. The boy had fallen in a pond ten or twelve feet deep, and when Alonzo plunged in after him, the little fellow seized him by the leg and dragged him down. Remembering, however, that the roots of a hemlock-tree ran down the bank under the water, he struggled to it, and pulling himself up, saved both their lives. He was a good swimmer, having had ample opportunities of practising the art. "Our farm being on the shore, when father went to meeting, I would go in swimming, and take my flogging for it afterward," says Horton.

After the removal of the family from New Haven to Lake Ontario, responsibilities were put upon Alonzo which developed in him an early manhood. A fine quarry for grindstone had been opened, and it was hardly in good working order when his father was attacked by inflammation of the eyes, and was blind for two years. Alonzo was the eldest son, the other children being Minerva, the oldest daughter and first of the family, then Emily, Ezra, Nelson, Lafayette, and the youngest, Lucy, afterward wife of Mr Bowers, who was born when her mother was 53 years of age. After the father's blindness had come upon him, Alonzo became the head and manager, although but twelve years of age. He learned to quarry the stone and finish grindstones ready for market; and assisted by his younger brother, his work was quite successful. The boys, by observing how their neighbors were progressing with their improvements, soon learned to fell trees, trim them, and burn the tops. Thus the ten acres of land were cleared of the maple, beech, hemlock, and other native woods. In the winter they went to the district school two miles away. The proximity of the lake and the abundance of the fish, however. were an irresistible fascination, and when fourteen years old, Alonzo learned to fish with the spear at night. By his frequent visits to the lake he became so familiar with the rocks, shoals, and obstructions to navigation, that he was recognized as an efficient pilot, and could earn two dollars a night for guiding rafts. Ambitious to make money, after working all day he would often be out several consecutive nights acting as pilot. One morning, after being up nearly all night, he lay down on the sand, overcome by fatigue. Presently the sun came up and burned one side of his face until the smart awoke him; he turned the other side, and slept until that was likewise scorched. His father scolded him for his late return, but when he saw his blistered face the next day, he almost shed tears.

The school days of Mr Horton were marked by circumstances that well illustrate his strength of character and his consideration for those who were imposed upon and unable to defend themselves. At that time corporal punishment was in vogue, especially in country schools, and the success of the schoolmaster often depended as much upon his physical as his mental ability. But the temper of such a teacher was not always within his own control, and the custom of whipping children, or administering bodily pain by other methods for the correction of indecorum, was often abused. Two incidents of this severity suffice in this instance. Certain of Alonzo's school-fellows had procured a book, not out of the Sunday-school, which they intrusted to his keeping. One day some visitors called at the school-house, and hearing of the book, desired to see it. The teacher, however, could not persuade the guardian of it to give it up, and took it from him by force, Horton's coat being torn in the scuffle. Determined to resent the insult, Alonzo procured a heavy stick with which he so alarmed the teacher as to keep him inside the school-house until he obtained the assistance from passers by. During the evening, however, Horton found his opportunity, and struck the teacher a good sound blow, crushing his hat. The youth refused to return to school, and when importuned to apologize, said: "I am sorry, sir, sorry that I did not break your head." The teacher finally returned the book, and young Horton went back to school. His father said he would prosecute the teacher, had not his son punished him severely enough already.

Shortly after this incident a little four-year-old boy gave some trivial offence to the schoolmaster, who pinched the child's ear until the blood came. When school was dismissed in the afternoon the boy was told to remain. Calling a comrade, Horton seized one arm of the boy, while his comrade took hold of the other, and they hurried him out of the schoolhouse to his home. The teacher pursued, but failed to catch them. The next day the boy's father caused the teacher, to be arrested, which led to his dismissal.

School days were now almost over, but before the young man was nineteen he managed to take a six months' course at the Oswego academy. Here he also took lessons in drawing, painting, and writing. By these studies he was fitted to teach, but never took a school as a regular teacher, generally filling vacancies caused by the absence or sickness of the instructor. His experience as a schoolmaster was a success, and was no little aid to him in the management of children of a larger growth whom he met in the business world and controlled in his maturer life. In none of his school-teaching experiences did Mr Horton ever use a whip, nor show violence to his pupils. He ruled by kindness, and thereby gained their love and esteem. Indeed, this characteristic has been prominent throughout his life. "In this respect," said he, "I have been almost womanly at times. Tears would melt me. I could never be cruel, except when it was necessary to overcome cruelty."

Horton experienced other changes, however, before he left the east. He held the position of clerk in a grocery store at Oswego for several months, at twelve dollars a month, acquiring a business experience that served him well in the future. The proprietor retiring from business, Horton returned to the lake and engaged himself as cook on a sailing vessel, an occupation that was not to his taste. On another occasion he took a similar position on a large vessel, which sailed while he went home to get his clothes. Leaving him behind, however, saved his life, for the boat and all the crew were lost that night.

A contract for lumber from his father's farm on Lake Ontario next engaged his attention, all the workmen being under his charge. About this time an incident occurred that ended forever the severity which the father exercised toward his son, and demonstrated the importance of the latter in the family. With Nelson, his younger brother, Alonzo went sailing one Sunday, which so enraged his sabbath-keeping father that he struck the younger boy when he returned. "I am to blame, and not my brother," exclaimed Alonzo; upon which he, too, received a blow. "That is the last time you will ever strike me," he said to his father; "I will not live with you another hour." His mother did not blame him, but prepared his clothing, and that evening the young man went to live with his uncle. He was then fifteen years of age. The next day, however, his father came to him, admitted that he had been wrong, and besought him to return home. "On one condition," said the boy, "will I go home, and that is that you never say Sunday to me again." He remained at home five and a half years longer, and then paid his father fifty dollars to release him from the last six months, which should make him twenty-one. He went forthwith to Oswego where he bought a small vessel, the *Wild Goose*, with which he passed to Canada and traded in wheat. The net profit of the business for the first six months was over $300, aside from living expenses and payment of a balance due on the boat.

Politics now took his attention, and being old enough to vote and hold office, as well as having become a general favorite, he was put upon the whig ticket as a candidate, and elected constable. At that time not even household furniture was exempt from a writ of execution, and a poor man's last dollar could be taken to satisfy the law. This made much business for the constable, whose office was a profitable one. But Constable Horton had not the heart to sell out a poor man; rather would he too often satisfy a judgment himself; and in this way not only the fees of his office were expended but his own savings as well. At the end of his term, the losses incurred on account of his charitable disposition were such that, though urged to reëlection, he declined.

About this time he bought a contract for thirty acres of land near his father's farm. He paid only seven dollars for the contract, but sold it for $300 a short time afterward. Wisconsin at that time, 1836, was settling up rapidly; and the reports of the advantages which that portion of the country offered attracting young Horton's attention, he determined to go to Milwaukee. His health, moreover, demanded a change of climate. It was feared by his relatives that he had consumption, but a medical man whom he consulted in Oswego pronounced the ailment a liver complaint. The doctor also gave him a simple remedy, composed of paregoric and spirits of camphor and Number Six, which soon effected a cure, and according to the doctor's prediction, was the only medicine needed by Horton throughout his life. He could now carry out his intention of going to Milwaukee, and on his arrival there took up his quarters at the Bellevue hotel, where he had to sleep on the floor, wrapped in his blankets. There were not more than twenty houses in the place at the time. The streets were being graded, and in that work Horton found occupation. While waiting for the land-office to open at that point, he preferred working and earning money to being idle and spending what coin he had.

An important land sale which was presently held created a demand for Michigan state bank money. This was before the national bank certificates, and legal tenders came into circulation. Each state had its own money, and the fluctuation in the local paper currency of various banks was enormous. What was known as wild-cat banks were as common as they were unreliable. On this occasion Horton overheard a conversation about the demand that would be made for Michigan money, and having some New York funds, bought all that he could find in town. For several days he did a lively exchange business, at a premium of ten per cent. The money thus obtained was invested in a mill-site at Williams creek, some fifty miles from Milwaukee. One of Mr. Horton's chief characteristics was his quickness to make avail of circumstances, to invest money where he perceived it would yield a good return, this faculty becoming more and more conspicuous as he gained experience and confidence. With the practical knowledge which he had acquired of the business world, a judgment of values was developed, one of his most distinctive talents being the ability to discover causes that would make property desirable and useful, hence marketable, or what defects of conditions would render it worthless. This view applied to his estimation of personal as well as real property. He could fix the money value of nearly anything, and could recognize the cause of its value. These qualities naturally led him into much legitimate speculation, not because he had an inordinate desire to get rich, but because he loved to watch the action of the forces which he had called out. It is the pleasure of acquiring that fascinates the mind, not the rolled-up wealth. Only the miser, who hoards where he can see it, worships money. No one will ever couple the name of miser with that of Alonzo Erastus Horton, because, however economical he may have been, he did not acquire money for the mere sake of possession; he was guided by the nobler parts of his nature, and struggled for fortune because it was, in his case, the essence of material power for general development. Whatever he may have made in other directions, how many other virtues he may have manifested, this one trait remains. His talents of calculation and observation were faithful servants of ambition, which, in turn, was held in check, and governed, by other qualities of true manhood. Without these other qualities Mr Horton might have been a horse-trader, or an auctioneer, or engaged in other pursuits where the exchange of estimated values is a fascination, and of which the real possession is even tiresome. But his philanthropy, his solicitude for the welfare of the community at large, his unusual appreciation of deserving friendships, as in the case of his giving land and money to friends who had helped him, and expecting nothing, his desire also to enrich his mind as well as his purse,—all of these lifted him out of the category of small things into a region of broad philanthropic enterprise.

Moved, therefore, by the spirit of progression, he set out across the country to Williams creek, and bought the mill-site before mentioned. He had only a pocket compass to guide him, but he came out within two miles of the spot. An Indian pony had been hired which was loaded with luggage, and a German was taken along to work upon the property. When the travellers reached Jeffersonville, on Rock river, Horton bound some logs together, and let the German take the luggage across, while he attempted to swim the river with the pony, holding on to the mane. He ran some risk of losing his life, being drawn into an eddy, but finally reached the opposite shore in safety.

The German was so pleased with the mill-site, that he wished to purchase it, and when Horton was ready to return to Milwaukee, made an offer for it, which was accepted. Then he returned home to New York state, but not before he had, in company with six others, established a claim on Rock river, by putting up a cabin there.

He remained at Scriba for two or three years, being now in full health, and considered by all a thrifty and far-seeing young man. During this portion of his life he went frequently into society, and became quite popular as one of the social leaders of the town. Long before this, however, he had become acquainted with Miss Sally Wright, daughter of Deacon Wright, a respectable farmer and prominent supporter of the church at Scriba. The Wrights were a cultivated and intelligent family, occupying a good position in the community. Miss Wright, besides being a most estimable and Christian young woman, was well educated. She had taught school, and her manner was gentle and winning. Alonzo had always admired her, and his admiration ripened into love, which resulted in their engagement.

The firmness of the young man's character was now brought to a test. He did not doubt that he loved Miss Wright, and he felt that she returned his affection. The contemplation of her appreciation of him stirred within him the deepest emotions. The parents on both sides approved the match. When Alonzo asked the consent of his betrothed's mother and father, they not only gave it, but were anxious that he should marry their daughter. He was urged to do so before returning west, but he determined to deny himself what his heart most desired until he had secured for her a home, that is to say, a farm in Wisconsin, with a comfortable house on it. The engagement therefore remained, while Horton again started west to improve his fortunes.

When he reached Mackinaw, an opportunity presented itself that could not be overlooked. The American fur company at that place was doing a considerable business in fish, and wanted barrels. Horton understood something about coopering particularly in the direction of flour barrels; therefore he could soon become proficient in making fish barrels. His services were engaged by the company at a dollar in money for the first three barrels, and provisions for all in addition which he should make in a day. He became expert at the business, his wages soon netting nine or ten dollars a day. Finally the agent of the company learned that Horton understood the fur business, and sent him out to buy skins, in which occupation he completed the year's engagement he had made with the company, clearing between five and six hundred dollars, with which sum he continued his journey to Wisconsin.

Meantime Deacon Wright had sold his farm near Scriba, and moved with his family to Wisconsin, buying half a section of land. His near neighbors were two well-to-do young farmers, named Crane and Barrie, who soon discovered the worth of Miss Wright. The result was that they became suitors for her hand, and were favored by the deacon, who called his daughter's serious attention to the fact that either of the young men would be a more suitable match financially than Horton. He maintained that the latter, though quick at making money, could never keep it, and would never be wealthy; and finished his appeal by declaring that if they married, the support of their children would finally fall upon him. But in spite of the pressure put on her, Horton's affianced adhered to her engagement, declaring that if she could not marry her lover, who had been the companion of her childhood, she would never marry. Thus stood matters when Horton arrived on the scene; and when the girl reported to him what had been said, he declared that in four years he would be worth more than all three of the men combined.

Possibly the deacon's opinion, which coincided with that often expressed by Alonzo's own father, had some influence with the young man. He began to practise from that time thrift and economy. But the economy of Mr Horton was not a part of his nature; it was an acquired habit. With his ability for acquiring or creating wealth, he possessed a too free and liberal disposition. Economy had to be planted and nurtured in his character; and if this habit were at any time afterward carried somewhat to excess in single instances, it did not arise from the mere love of saving, but from the fact that the spend-thrift youth had grown to be in his maturity a successful economist.

A month passed by; Horton's rivals, encouraged by the deacon, continued their attentions to his betrothed, who received them on sufferance as her father's guests. Then the mother came to the rescue, and the two young people were married, but not before the mother had informed her chosen son-in-law that she did not think her daughter would live long, and that she wanted her to enjoy what happiness she could.

Mr Horton bought eighty acres of land near the Wright farm, built a house on it, and took his young wife home. But their married life was not destined to be long. Mrs Horton had shown symptoms of consumption since her girlhood, and she lived only four years after her marriage, being twenty-seven years of age at the time of her death. It is a matter of their domestic record that an unkind word never passed between them; on the dying wife's death-bed her only thoughts were about her husband. "The reason I do not wish to die," she said, "is that I am afraid Alonzo will never find any one to take as good care of him as I have done."

About three years after his marriage, Mr Horton went into the droving business, buying cattle, horses, and sheep near Springfield, Illinois. A good cow at that time was worth about five dollars, and a yoke of oxen from thirty to forty dollars. In Wisconsin they could be sold for double those prices. By thus buying in Illinois and selling in Wisconsin, he cleared $8,000 in seven months. This sum, together with $1,100 which he had earned before, and his land and personal property, enabled him to realize his boast, that he would be worth more than Wright, Crane, and Barrie, together. But the deacon's confidence in Horton had long been established, and the old man was wont to consult him instead of his own sons, in relation to business matters.

Religion now appeared in Mr. Horton's life as somewhat of a disturbing element. His great grandfather and grandfather had been presbyterian preachers; his father was a close-communion baptist. His wife was also of a religious turn of mind, and to please her he had joined the church. A circumstance occurred soon afterward which roused in him the spirit of inquiry into religious beliefs. On a certain occasion a man, eager to be converted, was present, and the congregation, numbering seventy or eighty souls, prayed for him with great fervor. But it was of no avail; the religious feeling so ardently desired did not take possession of the man, and Horton began to doubt the efficacy of prayer, and regarded the whole scheme of christianity as savoring of inconsistency. He procured a work on infidelity and read it. It was the first book of sceptical tendency that he had ever seen, and the perusal of it naturally increased his doubts. Then he obtained *Watson's Reply to Thomas Paine,* thinking still that he could answer all the objections raised in it; but when he afterward read Thomas Paine's work, to use his own words he "found that Watson's reply to Paine was nothing." For a year Horton pursued this investigation, and then, his wife having died, he decided to withdraw from the church. He had joined it with the understanding that he should have the privilege of retiring if the time should ever come when he wished to do so. The congregation could not refuse his request, but strenuous endeavors were made to keep him in the fold. Arguments, however, were of no avail. "You are in the droving business," said the elder, "and if people find out that you are an infidel they will not send money by you to buy stock." Horton replied: "Would you trust me with money any quicker when you knew I was playing the hypocrite, —when you knew I was professing to be what I am not?" The interrogation concluded the argument.

With regard to a future state, Mr Horton observes: "I should like to believe that I shall exist after death, I should like to have evidence that such is the case, but I have none. Man enters the world with little if any mind, and mind evolves, and keeps on expanding until he reaches manhood; from that time it enlarges until the body begins to decay. Then hearing and sight decline, and the faculties begin to fail, the mind keeping pace in the down-hill course with the body, until death comes, and body and mind pass away together. The tree falls and goes into the earth again; so we fall, and that is the end of us. If there is any future state I do not know it. No one ever came back to tell the story. We know nothing. We have our superstitious notions, as all nations have. Summing it all up, my principle is to be as happy as I can every day; to try to make everybody else as happy as I can; try to make no one unhappy." Mr Horton's actions have corresponded with his religious views.

Morally, Mr Horton's conduct has always been pure, and his personal habits unexceptionable. When he was about seven years old, he was returning from school one day, and found an old neighbor by the wayside in a helpless state of intoxication.

"Alonzo," said the kind-hearted old man, "you see where I am; you see how I am. Don't you ever take the first drink."

"At that time," said Mr Horton, "I formed the resolution never to drink, never to chew, never to smoke. All these resolutions I have kept since I was seven years old. I have never been intoxicated, never smoked a cigar, nor chewed a quid of tobacco."

The droving season being over Horton went to Fort Atkinson, and established a broking and banking business, lending money at a good rate of interest and discounting notes. But his enterprising and versatile mind was ever urging him forward. In 1848, just after the Mexican war had closed, he visited St Louis, and turned his attention to speculating in land. He purchased land warrants at seventy cents an acre on Wisconsin land, acquiring fifteen hundred acres in Outogamie county, a large portion of it being pine forest. Going back to Fort Atkinson, he hired a millwright, and with seven others built a dam and erected a mill on a desirable site, cut a road to it through the forest, and laying off forty acres in large town lots, called the place Hortonville. The undertaking thrived; in a year the town had a population of three hundred, and in 1890 it had a population of 2000, all owing to Horton's judicious management. To the first settlers he donated a building lot, and supplied them with the necessary lumber to build each of them a house, letting them have the material at four dollars a thousand feet instead of eight dollars, the price at which it was selling at the mill. He remained there about a year and a half, and as values in property had gone up in Hortonville, he sold the mill privilege and a quarter section of land for over $7,000. This experience in town-building proved valuable to him in respect to his far greater undertaking at San Diego.

Meantime, two of his younger brothers had moved to California, Lafayette and Nelson, who frequently wrote urging him to join them. It was a country, they said, where a young man with a little money, could make five times as much as in the states. After a three months' experience in a store, which he bought at St Anthony's falls, Horton decided to try his fortune in California; and in February 1851, having collected what money he could, and arranged with his father to sell his land in Wisconsin, he started for the Pacific coast by way of New Orleans and the Isthmus.

At Panamá occurred an incident no less characteristic of the time than of the two men destined ere long to be prominent in California, and who now met for the first time. As frequently happened with California-bound passengers in early times, Horton found no less than eighteen men—whether fools or unfortunates he does not say—without tickets to San Francisco, and without money to pay their passage. In port ready to sail was the old *Carolina*, of which William C. Ralston was clerk. Hunting him up Horton laid the matter before him.

"Well, I will take them at half fare," said Ralston.

"I will tell you what I will do," said Horton, "I will pay one quarter of full fare, if you pay a quarter, and we will take them through."

"All right," said Ralston, and it was done—done just like Horton and just like Ralston—and never a dollar was paid back to Horton, never a letter from one of the ungrateful crew thanking him for his unparalleled act of magnanimity to strangers—just like human kind generally.

Arriving at San Francisco, and not finding any special inducements to remain there, Horton joined his brother Nelson at Mud Spring, and took $2,000 worth of stock in his mine. But the mine did not pay, and half the money was lost. Horton himself cleared fifty dollars a day for a short time on another claim which he had taken up on the same creek.

Gambling houses were then running in full blast. Places of amusement were scarce. Churches had not yet been built. Women, and the refinements of family life, were absent. All kinds of wickedness were indulged in, men giving as an excuse that there was nothing else at hand to rest their minds from the fatigue and monotony of work. And, indeed, few were the men who did not frequent the drinking and gambling houses during that period of speculation and unrest.

Mr. Horton was one of the few. In the formation of his character the disposition to gamble was one of the elements which had been left out. Once, as a matter of curiosity, his brother prevailed upon him to go into one of the dens and watch the game. They were playing faro, and Horton threw down a quarter, and let it lie where it fell. The quarter won, and continued to do so, until when the game was finished he had $64.25. This money he invested in mining shares at Hangtown; but in three weeks the mine was worth nothing, which only convinced him of what he knew before, that money won at gambling brings no permanent good.

Several other ventures in that vicinity, and at Downieville, were afterward made on a small scale, none of them resulting in any great gain or loss. Horton found that he could make more money by trading in gold dust than in mining. His knowledge of the different degrees of fineness of the precious metal increased with experience, and he soon became so expert that he could tell within a quarter of a dollar how much the ounce from different mines would assay. After a few months' work at this business in Coloma, Ophir, and Auburn, he found himself the possessor of $3,000 or $4,000, which he deposited in the banking house of Adams & Co. Not long afterward a friend named Van Guilder asked Horton if he did not think that he could take care of his own money as well as another man could. "My horse is here; you had better go over there and take your money out." The word to the wise was sufficient on this occasion. Horton took his money out, and in a few days later the bank failed.

He continued to buy and sell gold dust. His operations at first were confined to Grass Valley and Nevada; but he gradually extended the range of his dealings until it covered a large territory stretching from Shasta to Sonora. At this business he sometimes made as much as $1000 a month, while others who engaged in it failed. His practice was to buy in the mountains and have the dust assayed in Sacramento, his life often being placed in jeopardy during his journeys to and fro. He usually carried from 300 to 400 ounces of gold; and his reputation as a successful dealer having spread, he became a mark for highwaymen. His precautions, however, carried him through. During a tour he never returned by the same way; when on the road he dressed in a poverty-stricken style; and he always rode the swiftest horse he could find, never, however, using the same animal more than two or three months at a time. Nevertheless he had several narrow escapes. For three consecutive weeks he was followed by Joaquin Murietta's band, but he evaded them. On another occasion he met four armed men, who took no notice of him, though they were seeking him; on his return Horton learned that a packer driving two mules had been stopped by them a little beyond the place where he had met them, and searched, in the belief that he was Horton. One day he was saved only by the swiftness of his horse.

In order to avoid being robbed he deemed it necessary sometimes to resort to duplicity; for instance, while wearing good clothes and riding a fine horse well equipped with a fine saddle and bridle, he would cover his handsome saddle with an old gunny-sack which would perhaps cause those who looked upon him to think that under the gunnysack was something still worse. He would also take off the good lines of his bridle and put on an old pair, which would cause the observer to imagine that he had picked up the good bridle and attached it to his old lines, throwing his old bridle away. He would have an old hat with a broad brim, the front part broken, which as he rode along would flop up and down ; and his good clothes he would hide under a ragged old duster and a pair of overalls. It will thus readily be seen that he would present a rather picturesque and not altogether delightful appearance, and one that would not convey the impression of a wealthy man. Then, again, by replacing his old hat and shedding his duster and overalls, and throwing off his canvas-sack, attaching his new lines and showing his good saddle and bridle, he would present the appearance of a well-to-do merchant or business man equipped for a journey.

Upon one occasion, during these adventures, he rode up to a tavern, which was a combination of a whiskey-mill and grocery, where miners stopped to play cards, dispose of their gold-dust, spend their money and have a good time generally. In those days it was considered somewhat small on the part of a guest to ask the price of lodgings, how much meals were, or how much they charged for horse-feed over night. Nevertheless Horton stepped into this place and asked all these questions, which made him an object of attention, the observers putting him down as a very green person, and they expected considerable fun among themselves at his expense. When told that he could have mush and milk for fifty cents and a good beefsteak for a dollar, he said he would take mush and milk because it was cheaper; and when informed that he could have a good room for a dollar, and a shake-down in the corral for fifty cents, he again replied that he would take the cheaper accommodation; but upon being shown to his quarters in the corral he said he had changed his mind, and that he would save the difference by having mush and milk instead of a beefsteak. Upon entering the room assigned him, he noticed that the door had no lock, and the windows were broken and without fastenings, and he said, "Landlord, there is no lock on this door." "You needn't worry to lock your door; nobody wants anything you have got."

So Horton entered his room, and while securing the door as best he could, he could hear the landlord laughing with his cronies at his expense. But when a Yankee, who had heard him tell the crowd that this man was from Connecticut, he said: "He'll get along after a while; if he comes from Connecticut he will take care of himself, and somebody else can look out; he is just from home, and a little green at first, but we have all been there too." Then the landlord said: "The fellow actually talked about taking the corral in preference to a room, and he is evidently so poor that it would not surprise me if I have to keep his horse to liquidate his score; he seems to have a pretty good horse, I don't know where he got it; but then these Yanks will always ride a good horse if it is possible to get one." After that Horton concluded that he was safe, and that no one would attempt to rob him.

He had at this time from $4,000 to $5,000 on his person in gold-dust. Next morning bright and early Horton showed himself, and, after eating his breakfast, took out a little bag, and with a few dollars worth of gold-dust, paid for the accommodation of himself and horse, and then asked the landlord if he ever bought gold-dust? "Oh, yes," said the landlord, "I trade a good deal in it." "Well," said Horton, "what is gold-dust like that worth?" "Seventeen dollars and a half an ounce," replied the landlord. "Isn't that a pretty good price?" said Horton. "That is about right for gold-dust like that," said the landlord. Horton then asked him if he got much of that quality? The landlord replied: "Not much, that is pretty good dust. Where did a man like you get hold of it?" Horton said: "How much will you buy at $17.50 an ounce?" "All that a man like you can sell me," was the reply. "We shall see," said Horton, as he drew out a small bag of gold-dust, which the landlord weighed, and paid him for. Then Horton brought forth another bag, which the landlord likewise weighed and paid him for as before. Again the performance was repeated; whereupon the landlord said: "How much of the stuff have you anyway?" Horton said he had a little more. The landlord then swung back the doors of the safe. "How much money have you got there?" Horton demanded. The man then counted out the contents of his safe, which amounted to something like $3,000, and said, "Now bring up your dust and see if you can buy that." Horton then pulled out another bag, and opening it said: "Put your money up here and weigh out as much of this gold as will equal that amount of coin," which was done.

In 1854 he discontinued this hazardous life, and opened a store at Pilot hill, dealing in miners' supplies. He also excavated a ditch to conduct water from Knickerbocker's rancho to Pilot hill, a distance of seven miles. On the completion of this work, he sold out his goods, and then the ditch, clearing on the latter nearly $4,000.

Mr Horton's mind was fertile in resources, and in the adaptation of means to ends. Believing that money could be made by bringing ice from the mountains, he paid $150 for the use of a pond at the head of Pilot creek, and in the autumn of 1855 erected there a cabin, and began to clear away the brush. He had not been long at work when an accident occurred which almost cost him his life. One morning while thus engaged, his axe slipped and cut a fearful gash on his knee, letting the water out of the joint. The pond was twenty-five miles from any house except his own, and he was alone. Crawling on his back to his cabin, his limbs benumbed, he moved a pail of water and some provisions near to the head of the bed, and then stitched up the wound. The knee by this time had recovered from the numbness following the stroke, and began to bleed so profusely that the poor man fainted. He remained unconscious for several hours; the wonder is he ever woke at all; but he finally did awake, and found that the stitches had broken, and two streams of blood had trickled from the bed to the ground and reached the door. Again he sewed up the wound, and placing at hand his revolver, as Indians were in the neighborhood, awaited results. It was now nearly dark, and the lonely man had not the slightest hope of help, when in the gloaming, through the half open door, he saw a man of his own race outside. His helpless condition was soon explained to the newcomer, who attended upon Horton until he was able to manage for himself.

In spite of this mishap, the ice-speculation was a success. Three months later Horton had put up 312 tons of ice, which he sold to a company in Sacramento for $8,000.

With his little fortune of $10,000 in gold-dust and $5,000 in coin, he took passage on board the steamer *Cortés* in the spring of 1856. The intention was to go by way of Nicaragua; but that country being occupied at the time by Walker and his filibusters, the captain of the *Cortés* decided to proceed to Panamá. At that place the passengers were detained ten days waiting for the arrival of the Aspinwall steamer. When ready to cross the Isthmus, Mr Horton landed, engaged a room at the Ocean house, and thither carried his gold-dust in a carpet bag.

One day while purchasing a couple of paroquets, which he intended for his sister Lucy, he was warned by the man who sold them that they were on the verge of a serious outbreak, and that if he had any valuables he had better provide for their safety. In this manner was Mr Horton forewarned of that violent onslaught on the white people and travellers, in 1856, which roused such anger in the United States. It is true that years of insult and injury on the part of the dominant race had engendered hatred, but innocent men could not tamely submit to being murdered.

Informing his fellow-passengers of what he had heard, Mr Horton hastened back to the Ocean house. The intention of the native populace soon became plain. The mob began to collect; brick-bats were thrown; and the old ominous cry of Down with the whites! was heard on every side. A rush was made to the Ocean house, where most of the California passengers were staying, and the rioters entered the hotel without opposition. All the guests, to the number of two hundred, had been previously ordered upstairs by the proprietor, who, relying upon the fact that his partner was a native of Panamá, thought that his house would not be attacked. Although the enemy was in possession of the ground floor, vigorous plans were being formed under the suggestion of Horton, who naturally assumed the lead, to prevent entrance to the upper story. "How many of you have revolvers?" he cried.

In that whole terrified assembly there were but two who had arms.

"Let us take our stand at the head of the stairs" said Horton to the two armed men. "We have between us eighteen charges, which should be good for eighteen men. Let us not fire all at one man, but make the most of our ammunition."

"Look out!" some one cried; "they are making a rush for the stair-way;" but after a shot or two from the head of the stairs, they retired. Again they advanced, and with the same result. Twice the attempt was made to carry the stair-case, and twice the crowd were repelled with bloodshed, Horton's revolver as he stood at the head of the stairs, playing a significant part in the deadly fray. After he had fired all of his own balls, he took from one of the other men his revolver and continued the bloody work. The rabble below carried out their dead and wounded midst unearthly howls. They were great cowards. Fifty disciplined and determined men at this juncture could have taken the city. By these energetic measures, the assailants were finally driven from the house, and Horton stationed himself on guard at the door. Presently the rioters again advanced toward the building, and Horton was on the point of firing into them, when a little boy called out, "See that man going to shoot my father and mother!" Turning around he brought his pistol to bear on the man and shot him dead. "I killed him," said Mr Horton; "I cannot say that I killed any other, because I shot at random into the crowd, but I know I killed him."

The enemy now drew off. "Make your escape to the depot!" Horton then called out. As they were attempting to make their way thither, Horton standing by to guard them as best he was able, the infuriated mob pressed closely upon them. Arrived at the railway station, it was found utterly impossible to cross the Isthmus, the place being for the most part in the hands of the natives.

Horton had engaged one Fitzgerald to assist him with his carpet-bag, which contained $10,000 of his gold-dust, after having buckled $5,000 in a belt round his body. As he was in danger of having this bag wrested from him, he asked the railway agent to put it in his safe. The man said the safe was full, but there was a back room where were stored some valuables; he could put it there. Having no other choice, Horton did as he had been advised; but when he came for his bag, after seeing the passengers, who seemed to depend upon him, to a place of safety, it was gone. He never saw it again.

Meanwhile, the city being everywhere so unsafe, the Americans were forced to return to the steamer, if they would save their lives. At the landing was the small steamboat *Tobogá*, used for conveying passengers to the large steamer two miles out.

After leaving his treasure at the railway station

Horton attempted to gain the *Tobogá* with his charge. The distance was short, yet they had but fairly started when a young girl by Horton's side had her hand shattered by a bullet, while a few steps away an old man was shot down never to rise again. Just then a bugle sounded, and firing from the mob became general. Hearing the cry, "O God! I am shot," Horton turned and helped the wounded man to the boat. This act of humanity saved his life, for all who were near him when he started on this mission were killed.

Many a life he saved that day, and the wonder was how he escaped with his own. But by almost superhuman exertions he finally got them all dragged aboard the *Tobogá*. As the captain was absent, and there seemed to be no one else to take charge he cried out "Turn on the steam!" which order was obeyed, and they finally reached the steamer, all that were left of them.

The loss of life in this riot was twenty-one Americans and forty-four natives. Moreover, a vast sum of money was stolen, as I have said, Horton himself losing his ten thousand dollars in gold-dust, which he had taken to the station after the hottest part of the outbreak was over. He saved, however, the $5,000 in coin which was secured in a belt round his body; and at a later date one-half of his claim for the value of the gold-dust was allowed and paid to him by the United States government, which recovered compensation from the government of New Granada.

The killing of so many citizens of the United States agitated the whole country, and by the time Horton arrived in New York, President Pierce and the secretary of state, Marcy, were giving their attention to the affair. A telegram was sent from Washington to the California passengers in New York, instructing them to send to the capital two or three of their number who were thoroughly acquainted with the particulars of the outbreak, and Horton was chosen to represent their interests at Washington. He was there a month, laying the matter with all its details before the president and secretary. The Spanish minister represented the New Granada government, and was especially inimical to Horton as the mouthpiece of the claimants. A commission was sent to demand reparation, and finally two million dollars was paid by the New Granada government. This was distributed among those who had suffered by the riot, but such a protest was made against Horton's claim that he was allowed only half of it. The claims were not settled until 1861, and Mr Horton had to make several trips to Washington. Being deputized by the claimants to engage counsel, he employed Sunset Cox as one of the attorneys, allowing him a percentage, which amounted to $55,000. When this business was settled, the secretary of state, Mr Seward, offered Horton any position in his department which he might feel himself competent to fill with a salary of two thousand dollars a year. Mr Cox, however, advised him to return to California, remarking that a man having once accepted office in the capital was never fit for anything else,— advice which his client followed.

Mr Horton remained in the east nearly six years, some portion of the time being spent with his father, whom he assisted in the improvement of his farm, and about other matters. During this period he engaged in a variety of speculations and business transactions, but the most important event of his life at this time was his meeting with Miss Sarah Babe, during his residence in New York. When Mr Horton first met her she was an attractive woman, about forty years of age, intelligent, sensible, and practical; quite well educated, and having an especial taste for history and poetry. In personal appearance Miss Babe was of medium height, of the blonde type, and of slight, almost fragile, figure. Her health was delicate. The impression she made upon her future husband was so strong that on his visit to Wisconsin he described her to his mother, who advised him to marry her. On June 25, 1860, Alonzo E. Horton and Sarah Babe were united in Jersey city, and a most happy union the marriage proved to be.

For two years Mr Horton lingered in the east after his marriage, but on the adjustment of his claim in 1861, and probably influenced by the suggestions of Mr Cox, he again turned his eyes toward the Pacific coast, and the autumn of 1862 again found him in San Francisco. Thence he took the steamer for Portland, and having procured a suitable home for his wife in that city, started for the Salmon river mines. Finding no prospect of engaging in any successful enterprise in that region, he went to Lewiston, and there made up his mind to cross the country to Cariboo. Having formed a party of six men, of which he was chosen leader, in the spring of 1863 they started on their toilsome journey of several hundred miles through a wild, rough, and unknown country, their food being prairie hens, grouse, and rabbits which fell to Horton's revolver, in the use of which weapon he was very expert. On their arrival at Cariboo they found rich deposits, one of which had been opened by six or seven colored men, and was called the Darkey claim, which Horton purchased of the owners, who had disagreed. His company then dissolved, and Horton set to work on his claim; but by the time it began to pay, and he felt satisfied of its richness, he was compelled to abandon it for a time on account of the approach of winter. Before leaving he turned water into the mine to prevent others from working it during his absence, and then went to Victoria, where he was joined by Mrs Horton.

While at Victoria, where they remained during the winter, the bank of British Columbia offered Horton $5,000 for his claim, which he refused. In the spring Mrs Horton returned to Portland, while her husband proceeded to the mines to continue work on his claim. After following the lead for only four feet, a freshet from the mountain destroyed all traces of it, and having spent a week in searching for it, Horton sold his claim for $200. The richness of the mine is evident from the fact that in the four feet which he worked, he took out enough to pay all working expenses, those of his return to Victoria, and the original cost of the claim.

Observing that shakes for roofing were in demand, Horton took as a partner Niles Nelson, who was with him in the Panamá riot, and began to manufacture them. The two cleared daily $100 for two months. Then Horton returned to San Francisco with his wife.

His next venture was the purchase of 160 acres of land at Rio Vista, which he broke up and sowed in wheat. With his customary energy he placed his farm in first-class order, and then, discovering that agriculture was not to his taste, he sold out, as was usual with him. Returning to San Francisco, he engaged in the last business undertaking with which he occupied his mind before devoting his talents to the one great enterprise of his life. He opened a second-hand furniture store on Market street, near Sixth, and met with fair success. The business, however, did not so fascinate him that he could not give attention to social matters, and many an evening those who met him were enlivened by his geniality, his interesting conversation, and the narration of his adventures. He could talk on religious topics as well, and the social circle to which he belonged ultimately became sufficiently organized to take up some one subject as a topic of discussion during an evening. Politics, religion, exploration, and settlement were each in turn thus treated. It was during one of these discussions that Horton's attention was attracted to San Diego, as narrated at the beginning of this record of his life.

Thus we see that aside from his great work at San Diego bay, Mr Horton's life has been a most eventful one, full of activity and romance. But his achievement in founding one of the chief cities in California so surpasses all the rest, that we are accustomed to think of him principally in connection with this work. When we dropped his history there, in order to give the details of his previous life, he had secured a large tract of land, and was laying out a town. As soon as he had procured the amount of land that he deemed necessary for his purpose, he returned to San Francisco, and opened an office on Montgomery street. At first matters dragged on slowly, for it was no easy matter to open the eyes of the public to the sources of wealth which as yet lay hidden in the vicinity of his new purchase. Finally, General Rosecrans was induced to go down to San Diego with Horton and personally inspect the neighboring country, for the purpose of forming an opinion as to the possibility of building a railroad. Rosecrans was favorably impressed with the prospects of the place; he considered that a railroad was practicable, and on his return spoke encouragingly of Horton's project. The faith of the public was gained; interest took the place of apathy, and development followed. Shortly after Rosecrans' return to San Francisco. Horton was offered $250,000 for his purchase. It was not necessary for him to keep his office open on Montgomery street for more than four or five months, when he closed it and went to reside in San Diego.

In the disposal of lots to settlers, Mr Horton displayed the same sound judgment and liberality that had made him successful in the founding of Hortonville. Some he gave away, others he sold at low prices in order to get things started. Having firmly established the fact that at no distant date a city would spring up on the site which his perception had assigned for it, he proceeded to give an irresistible impetus to the progress of the infant town. Under all the trying circumstances of opposition, failure on the parts of others to carry out their agreements, and all kinds of disappointments and difficulties, he built a wharf at the cost of $45,000 in three months. Nothing now could arrest his success. When the wharf was completed to the length of 700 feet, money poured in at a tremendous rate. "I would take in," says Horton, "from five to twenty thousand dollars a day, until I was tired of receiving it. At one time I went up to San Francisco to get rid of business. When the wharf was completed, I had more thousands than I had hundreds when I commenced to build it."

During the years 1868 and 1869 Mr Horton erected many important buildings, chief among which were Horton's hall, and the hotel known as the Horton house, the latter being completed in 1870 at a cost of $150,000. But while he was thus intent on selling lots, he did not neglect to secure those conveniences for the settlers which are accompaniments of progress. The express-office, the post-office and the court-house were at first at Old Town, but in due time these institutions were transferred to Horton's addition to new San Diego. For the use of the new court-house, Horton donated a whole block of land. Then telegraphic communication was desirable, and to obtain this he subscribed $5,000 to put up the line from Los Angeles, and found an operator and office, receiving half the earnings of the company for three years.

As soon as the Horton house was finished and furnished, Mr Horton sent to Wisconsin for his parents, his father being then eighty-two years of age, and his mother seventy-eight. The former lived five years in the home provided for him in the southwest by his son, and then died at the age of eighty-seven; he had the misfortune to have his leg broken by a savage bull, which accident doubtless shortened his life. Their remains lie beneath a monument erected by Mr Horton in the San Diego cemetery, where his own will finally rest.

About this time Mr Horton met with an accident which caused him much suffering. He was thrown from his buggy, and striking on his heel, broke the bones, besides cutting a gash in it two and one-half inches in length. He was conveyed to his home, and for six weeks was confined to a lounge. The pain was intense; nor has he ever entirely recovered from the effects of the fracture.

The end crowns the effort. To understand the character of the man, it is only necessary to look upon his work. Occupying a spot on the seashore, where, twenty-five years ago, only nature's music of wind and wave were wafted to the surrounding hills; where the herds of antelope played and flocks of quail fluttered; where all was wild and undisturbed, save by an occasional hunter, now stands an industrious progressive city of 25,000 inhabitants, contented and happy in their beautiful homes, in a country well described as the Italy of America.

The city of San Diego is at once a record and a durable tribute to Mr Horton's name; an evidence of the multiplicity of his accomplishments. In the face of discouragement and the enmity of those who are ever ready to retard instead of support a leader, he made many successes. As an engineer and commercial man, he built a wharf and established a line of steamers—a life-work for some men. As a real-estate operator, he planned and laid the foundations of a city on a spot which had seen two failures. As a builder his efforts extended far and wide. As a landlord he established a splendid hotel. A philanthropist, he gave land for church sites to various denominations; and his numerous acts of charity are well attested. He was not successful as a constable, because he could not turn poor people out of their homes. In the affluence of later years, it was a rule of his life never to refuse employment of some kind to men of family who could be trusted. As an agent of development, he was foremost in establishing schools, colleges, newspapers, a public library, railroads, street railways, stores, factories, and banks, and in expanding the commercial business of the place; and all this in a community in which without his personal efforts and financial assistance it is doubtful whether these advantages could ever have been attained.

As a financial economist he made himself rich. He did not accumulate wealth by making other people poor; he did not rob his business associates, but helped them to share in his own prosperity. Other men became millionaires hand in hand with himself, assisted by him, or following the lead of his enterprise, business judgment, and industry. Perhaps Mr Horton's chief characteristic was his ability to control forces that create wealth; this was acknowledged by friend and enemy. Friendship he appreciated with substantial appreciation and return; enmity he punished with forgetfulness.

Mr Horton's personal courage was much above the average of his time; witness his conduct in the riot at Panamá; his diplomatic ability was recognized by the secrectary of state during the settlement of the claims that arose from that event. Mr Horton was an enthusiastic republican, and not unfrequently refused to sell land to democrats, because they were democrats; and as a result of his practical assertion of his political opinions, San Diego has always been a republican city. In the campaign of 1870, he was a candidate for state senator, and carried San Diego county, but was defeated by the Morman element of San Bernardino.

Mr Horton's late years have been spent at his home in San Diego, where he has the satisfaction of beholding his contribution to the permanent establishment of civilization on this part of the Pacific coast. His life is yet full of vigor. Early training is bearing its fruit. At the age of 77 his mind is unimpaired, his physical health good. Fond of reading, he still keeps abreast of the times. He reads the daily papers and periodicals, buys the latest books of merit, and is familiar with the history of every quarter of the world. Aside from this, and some attention given to business, he meditates upon methods of making other people happy. One of his plans to this end is to build a home for old ladies, realizing the helpless condition of an aged woman in the world without friends.

On May 17, 1889, Mrs Horton was driving near the Soldiers' home in Washington city, whither she had gone to visit a sister. Her horse becoming frightened, she was thrown from her carriage and died in a short time from injuries received. Her body was embalmed, brought from Washington, and placed beside the parents of her husband in the cemetery at San Diego. On the monument in the cemetery is inscribed "A. E. Horton, founder of the present city of San Diego, died —— "

On the 21st day of November 1890, at San Diego, Mr Horton married Mrs Lydia M. Knapp, the ceremony being performed by a judge of the state supreme court. Mrs Horton was born at West Newbury, Massachusetts. Her maiden name was Lydia M. Smith. Her father, Daniel H. Smith, in early life an engineer, came to California in 1849, in the brig *Ark*, remaining two years, and coming again in 1867; he was for a time engaged with the Pacific mail steamship company's steamers on the Pacific. The mother bore a charming character of fine presence, home-loving and beautiful as she was, self-sacrificing and devoted as only a mother can be. There were three daughters in the family. Mrs Horton being the eldest. Her sisters were named Hannah B., and Mary S. The former still lives with her parents in Newburyport, devoting her life to their care; the latter is the wife of James S. Lowell, of Boston.

Home life there was always delightful; and when after the absence following her first marriage she returned home with two splendid boys, it seemed to her as if she had never been away. These boys the grandmother enfolded in her breast, and became to them a second mother, keeping them near her for a time, one in her house and one in Boston. They were named William B. Knapp and Philip C. Knapp, the former becoming a druggist and the latter engaging in the insurance business at Newburyport. Mr Knapp was a naval officer, and after his marriage was stationed at Roseville as tidal observer under the United States coast survey. There they lived for three years, investing in lots, and also at La Playa. Mr Knapp built a second house at Roseville. It was a great change for the Massachusetts girl, this intensely quiet life at Roseville, and she was glad to move into San Diego and take a more active participation in affairs. There she first encountered Mr Horton who greatly encouraged her in church matters, she being a unitarian, as indeed were her parents. Without Mr Horton's continued support, the unitarian society would have ceased to exist during these years in San Diego. This friendship covered a period of twenty-one years prior to their marriage. After a time Mr Knapp removed to San Francisco, and died there. Mrs Knapp then went east with her two boys and returned to San Diego, where she had some landed interests in 1885, when in due time she became the wife of Mr Horton.

Mrs Horton is a lovely character. Coming from the best New England stock — for her people stand high in Newburyport — her experiences in the southwest seem rather to have enriched her nature than to have borne down upon it, adding fresh interest to whatever she does. A blessing, indeed, she proves to her husband, with her thoughtful care and practical aid. By a charming cordiality, a true sincerity of manner, bright intellect, and graceful accomplishments, she captivates all with whom she comes in contact.

CHAPTER XXVI.

EDUCATION—OREGON, WASHINGTON, IDAHO, MONTANA, BRITISH COLUMBIA, AND ALASKA.

PUBLIC SCHOOL LANDS IN OREGON—THE STATE UNIVERSITY—THE FIRST SCHOOLS IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY—SCHOOL LAWS—MISSIONARIES IN IDAHO—SCHOOL FUNDS—JOURNALS—SCHOOL SYSTEM AND NEWSPAPERS OF MONTANA—EDUCATION AMONG THE FUR-TRADERS—EDUCATION AND JOURNALISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA—CHURCH AND OTHER SCHOOLS IN ALASKA—LIFE OF WILLIAM REID—BANKER, FINANCIER, AND RAILROAD BUILDER—CHARACTERIZATION—LIFE OF RODNEY GLISAN—PHYSICIAN—AUTHOR.

BY a section of the organic law of Oregon, 1,280 acres of land were conferred upon every township for the support of public schools, and one of the first acts of the legislature of 1849 provided that the interest of the money arising from its sale should be applied to purposes of public instruction. But the income derived therefrom was not sufficient for the support of the common schools, and the revised law of 1854 provided for the levying of a tax to meet the deficiency. When Oregon became a state she was more richly endowed with lands for educational purposes, whereby in 1876 the school fund amounted to over $500,000, and in 1885 to $1,000,000, while the expenditure for the school year of 1884-5 was $478,677, and the value of public school property $1,454,506.

In Portland the public school system has been more successfully developed than elsewhere, the curriculum now including seven grades preparatory to the high school course. The Central school was opened in May 1858, and in the following year 111 pupils were in attendance, the principal being L. L. Terwilliger. The second schoolhouse was erected in 1865, and opened in January 1866, with R. K. Warren as principal, and in the next year the North school was built, the first principal of which was G. S. Pershin. The high school occupied at one time the upper floor of the Park school, which was opened in 1879; but recently a three-story building of the most modern design has been erected for its accommodation at a cost of $150,000. In 1885 there were 1,169 public school buildings in Oregon, with a daily attendance of 31,005, or an average of only 27 pupils, and of 13 pupils to each of her 1,701 teachers. Of male instructors the number was 743, of females 958; and it is worthy of remark that this is one of the few states in which their salaries are about on a par, the average for the former being $48.22 and of the latter $46.75.

On the admission of Oregon into the union the general government donated 46,000 acres of land for the purpose of founding a state university. Commissioners were appointed to choose a suitable site, to select and dispose of the lands, and to erect the necessary buildings; but so much mismanagement occurred, with a corresponding waste of funds, that it was for a long time doubtful whether the university would be formed in the present generation. Through the enterprise of the people of Eugene City, however, Oregon was rescued from the consequences of her own folly. In August 1872 the Union University association was formed in that city for the purpose of founding an institution of learning of a higher grade than that of the public schools, and it was also proposed to secure for Eugene City the location of the state university. The matter was brought before the legislature, and in September of the same year an act was passed conceding this privilege, on condition that the association should provide suitable grounds and erect thereon a building which, with the furniture and site, should not be woith less than $50,000.

These terms were readily accepted and in October 1876 the institution was opened with eighty pupils in the collegiate and seventy-five in the preparatory departments. The first faculty consisted of J. W. Johnson, president, and professor of ancient classics; Mark Bailey, professor of mathematics; and Thomas Condon, professor of geology and natural history. From this small beginning was developed the Oregon State university, which in 1884 had a staff of seven professors and two tutors, with 215 students.

Among other educational institutions may be mentioned the agricultural college at Corvallis, for which congress donated 90,000 acres of land, the Oregon medical college at Portland, and the Willamette university, incorporated in 1853, by which was absorbed the Oregon institute, founded by Jason Lee in 1842. The Baptist college at McMinnville, established in 1858, is also a thriving institute, as are the girls' school opened at Milwaukee by Bishop Scott in 1861 and the St Helen Hall school founded at Portland in 1869 by Bishop Morris.

The first printing-press introduced into Oregon was the one brought to the Lapwai mission in the summer of 1839 by E. O. Hall, the printer of the Honolulu mission. He taught his art to Spalding and Rogers, and by them were printed primers in the native language, a collection of hymns, and some chapters from St Matthew's gospel. On this press was also printed in 1848 the first periodical published in the Willamette valley, namely, the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*, edited by J. S. Griffin. It was a sectarian and rabidly anti-catholic publication. The press and type are preserved in the state-house at Salem. After the missionaries the first printer in Oregon was M. G. Foisy.

In 1845 a company known as the Oregon Printing association was formed at Oregon City, W. G. T'Vault being president, J. Nesmith, vice-president;

John P. Brooks, secretary; George Abernethy, treasurer; and John H. Couch, John E. Long, and Robert Newell, directors. Early in 1846 this association commenced the publication of the *Oregon Spectator*, the first American newspaper on the Pacific coast. It was a semi-monthly journal printed by John Fleming, an immigrant of 1844. Its general aim was to denounce the Hudson's Bay company; and in this respect it may be considered the organ of the American merchant class as against the British monopoly. T'Vault was the first editor, but was dismissed at the end of ten weeks as being too lenient. He was succeeded by H. A. G. Lee who after issuing nine numbers was in his turn discharged for reflecting on the course pursued by the American merchants toward the colonists. In October 1846 George L. Curry became editor, remaining in office until 1849. In 1850 the paper and press were sold to Robert Moore, and again in March 1854 by D. J. Schnebly, who had become proprietor, to C. L. Goodrich, who discontinued it in 1855. The press was finally taken to Eugene City, where it still remains, while the type and material were carried to Portland, where they were used in the publication of the *Daily Union*, and afterward to Astoria where the *Marine Gazette* was printed.

In December 1850, when important political issues were at stake, the *Oregon Whig* was started in Portland. It was founded by T. J. Dryer, who had been city editor of the *California Courier*. In March following the *Oregon Statesman*, democratic, made its first appearance at Oregon City. In May 1851 the *Times* was published at Portland, having been first established at Milwaukee by Lot Whitcomb in the preceding year, under the name of the *Milwaukee Star*, and sold to Orvis Waterman.

About the time of the admission of Oregon as a state, numerous journals sprang into existence, most of which were ephemeral; yet the number multiplied rapidly. In 1850 there were but two newspapers published; in 1860 there were 16; in 1870, 35; and in 1880 the number had increased to 74, including periodicals.

The state library of Oregon, founded in 1850, was destroyed five years later by fire. The later collection numbered in 1885 about 12,000 volumes, consisting almost entirely of law-books, with no state documents of historic value, and but few miscellaneous works. The largest miscellaneous collection is to be found in the Library association of Portland, founded by subscription in 1864, and containing in 1885 some 13,500 volumes. The books have been selected with more than ordinary care, most of them by Judge Deady, its presiding officer, to whom is largely due the success of this institution, though hardly in less degree to W. S. Ladd, who for many years granted the free use of the spacious rooms over his bank. At the Pacific, State, Willamette, Monmouth, and other universities and colleges, there are also libraries for the use of the pupils, together with a number of more or less extensive private collections.

In the region included in the state of Washington the first school was opened at Olympia, in November 1852, by A. W. Moore, who also held the position of postmaster. During this winter a tax was levied on the Olympia precinct, and money collected to erect a public schoolhouse, which in May 1854 was placed in charge of Bernard Cornelius, a graduate of Trinity college, Dublin, and a competent and painstaking teacher. In December 1856 the methodists incorporated the Puget Sound Wesleyan institute, located on a point of land midway between Olympia and Tumwater. It was opened the same year, under the care of Isaac Dillon and his wife.

By act of 1854 it was provided that county superintendents of schools should be chosen at the annual elections, and in 1861 it was enacted that a territorial superintendent should be selected triennially by the legislature. Under the provisions of a subsequent act of 1871 this official must be elected in joint convention during that and subsequent sessions. His duties were to disseminate intelligence in relation to methods of education, to issue certificates to teachers, consolidate reports of county superintendents, and report to the legislature. Nelson Rounds was the first superintendent under this law. He was a graduate of Hamilton university, and was in the methodist ministry nearly forty years, and for four years was editor of the *Northern Christian Advocate*. In 1868 he was appointed to the presidency of the Willamette university, but resigned in 1870, and removed to Washington. He died at Union Ridge January 2, 1874.

The progress made in educational matters within recent years is worthy of the enterprise for which the people of Washington are justly celebrated. In 1885 there were 723 public school buildings, of which 102 had been erected during the preceding year. The average daily attendance was 17,504 out of a school enrollment of 26,397, and a school population of 37,156, for whose instruction 1,040 teachers were employed, at the low average salary of $45 for men and $37 for women. This remarkable growth will appear the more creditable when it is remembered that the territory had no school fund, the expenses, which exceeded $500,000, being met by a tax varying from two to as much as six mills on the dollar, together with certain special taxes, fines, and penalties, as apportioned by the several districts.

In January 1862 the university, which had received its charter in 1860, was reincorporated and a board of regents was appointed, consisting of Daniel Bagley, Paul K. Hubbs, J. P. Keller, John Webster, E. Carr, Frank Clark, G. A. Meigs, Columbia Lancaster, and C. H. Hale. The early history of this institution is by no means a creditable one. Congress had donated 46,080 acres of land in Cowlitz prairie where the university was located, but by gross extravagance and mismanagement, if not by downright fraud, this munificent endowment had been frittered away by 1867, 19,000 acres having been sold on credit without security or on securities that were worthless, and at nominal prices. Governor Alvan Flanders declared in his message that the history of the establishment was a calamity and a disgrace. The university, if such it could be called, struggled along, however, the greater portion of its pupils being drawn from Seattle. The grade of scholarship was low; nor was it until 1876 that a degree was conferred. The register for 1880 shows but ten graduates in all, only one of them, W. J. Colkett, being of the male sex. In 1876 J. A. Anderson was appointed president, and has labored assiduously to raise the standard of the institution, which in 1884 had 259 students in attendance, and besides preparatory, classical, scientific, and commercial courses, included a normal school, and departments for music and the mechanic arts.

Almost as soon as the number of the settlers in Washington had become sufficient to constitute a political community the newspaper made its appearance. The first one published was a weekly journal named the *Columbian*, established at Olympia in 1852, the initial number being issued on the 11th of September. At that time the great question was whether an independent organization should be formed out of the territory lying north of the Columbia river, and its publishers J. W. Wiley and T. F. McElroy were untiring in their advocacy of separation. In September 1853, McElroy retired and was succeeded by M. K. Smith. In December of the same year the name of the paper was changed to that of the *Washington Pioneer*. Wiley was elected territorial printer by the legislature. In January 1854 R. L. Doyle brought a press and printing material to Olympia with the intention of starting a new paper, to be called the *Northwest Democrat*, but finally consolidated with the *Washington Pioneer*, which then took the name of the *Pioneer and Democrat*. In May 1858 this journal passed into the hands of a man named Furste, and some two years later was sold to James Lodge, who, finding that it had lost prestige through the change of public sentiment, discontinued it not long afterward. The *Pioneer and Democrat* had continued to be the official paper of the territory until the republican administration of 1861.

The second newpaper published was a whig journal, the *Puget Sound Courier*, issued at Steilacoom, May 19, 1855, by William B. Affleck and E. T. Gunn. It existed only for about one year. A number of papers of like ephemeral existence were published during the period 1855–60, among which may be mentioned the *Washington Republican*, at Steilacoom in 1857; the *Puget Sound Herald*, at Steilacoom, 1858, which, under the able management of Charles Prosch, lived through several years of financial difficulty; the *Northern Light* at Whatcom, 1858; the Port Townsend *Register*, 1859; and the *North-West* at Port Townsend, 1860.

The press in Washington has undergone many vicissitudes. A number of enterprises have been inaugurated, some for special political purposes, which, after accomplishing, or attempting to accomplish, their object, were discontinued; others as speculations which quickly failed, though where able men have been in charge, their publications have been more lasting. The *Golden Age* was first issued at Lewiston, Idaho, then in Washington, August 11, 1862, by A. S. Gould. Gould had been connected with a Portland paper, and was subsequently engaged in journalism in Utah. The *Golden Age* passed into the hands of Alonzo Leland, who conducted it for many years. Under Gould it was republican in politics and democratic under Leland.

The *Olympia Transcript* first appeared November 30, 1867, and in 1870 became the property of E. T. Gunn, who conducted it down to the time of his death in 1885. In the Walla Walla valley the first republican paper published was the *Walla Walla Union*, the first number of which was issued April 17, 1869, by an association of citizens. In May, R. M. Smith and company became the publishers, and, with P. B. Johnson as editor, it was recognized as an able country journal.

The *Puget Sound Dispatch* was founded in 1869 by C. H. Larrabee and Beriah Brown. The former retiring, Brown conducted it alone in the interests of the democratic party. He was a native of Wisconsin and had been editor of a republican paper at Sacramento, and of a democratic journal at San Francisco. In 1878 the *Dispatch* was merged into the *Intelligencer*.

The public libraries of Washington are yet in an inchoate condition. The territorial library was the first one established, part of the endowment of the general government on the organization of the territory being devoted to this purpose. Governor Stevens purchased the books to the number of about 2,000. The first librarian appointed was B. F. Kendall who held office until January 1857, when Henry R. Crosbie was elected.

In February 1858 the Steilacoom Library association was incorporated by an act of the legislature. In 1860 a library was established at Port Madison, and in 1862 the University library at Seattle. At Olympia one was opened by the Temperance Tacoma lodge in 1869, and in 1870 a catholic library was organized at Vancouver, which in 1872 numbered 1,000 volumes; in the following year a library association was formed in that town; and at Tumwater, Walla Walla, and elsewhere there are similar associations.

In Idaho the first teachers were the missionaries at Lapwai, Kamiah, and on the shores of the Cœur d'Alêne lake. At Lapwai the pioneer instructor was H. H. Spalding, who, in 1836–7, established a mission on the Clearwater, under the patronage of the American board of foreign missions. In the Cœur d'Alêne country the first one was Peter J. De Smet, a Belgian by birth, who ended his days at St Louis in 1874. Among other missionaries were A. B. Smith, who left the country in 1841, and the Jesuit fathers Gregory Mengarini and Nicolas Point, who in 1846 removed the mission of the Sacred Heart, first established on the St Joseph river, to its present position on the Cœur d'Alêne river. There also P. P. Joset, who succeeded Mengarini, taught the Indians agriculture.

Apart from the efforts of missionaries, there is nothing to relate as to educational matters in Idaho until after the American occupation; nor was it until 1864 that any attempt was made in this direction. The school law of that year set aside as a school fund one per cent of all tolls and proceeds of franchises, and in 1875 fines were devoted to the same purpose Each county depended on the resources thus obtained, no aid being then given by the territorial government. Nevertheless, schools soon became as plentiful in Idaho as elsewhere on the Pacific slope, owing to the contributions of private individuals. In 1865 Lewiston and Boisé City contained graded schools, and in the spring of 1867 the Boisé Valley seminary was founded by H. Hamilton. From that date the cause of education made rapid progress, until in 1885 there were 248 schools in the territory, of which 68 were established in the school year of 1883–4. The total expenditure was $89,914, which was raised from the income of a general territorial fund, from county taxes of from two to eight mills on the dollar, and from fines, forfeitures, and the fees paid by teachers for their certificates.

For a territory whose occupation and settlement are of such recent date, Idaho is well supplied with journals, some of which will not suffer by comparison with those of the older and more thickly populated sections of the union. T. J. and J. S. Butler were the first to establish a newspaper in Idaho City. It was called the Boisé *News*, and the first number made its appearance September 29, 1863. The Butlers were from Red Bluff, California, where they published the Red Bluff *Beacon*. Henry H. Knapp accompanied T. J. Butler, taking with him to Walla Walla a printing-press, which was used later in the office of the *Idaho World*. J. S. Butler, who was engaged in running a supply train from Walla Walla to Boisé, with the assistance of Knapp, who was in the office of the Walla Walla *Statesman*, secured the old press, and started the Boisé *News*. Printing-paper was enormously dear, but men willingly paid two dollars and a half for a single copy of a newspaper, and its business was soon worth $20,000 a year. The *News* was independent in politics. Two other journals, the *Idaho Democrat* and the *Idaho Union*, represented the two contending political parties, but were suspended when the election campaign of 1863 was over. In October 1864 the Butlers sold their establishment to H. C. Street, J. H. Bowman, and John Pierce, and the new firm soon realized $50,000 from their bargain. Its management and politics having been changed several times, it was sold in 1874 to the Idaho Publishing company.

The first newspaper started in Boisé City, the capital of the territory, was published by J. S. Reynolds and company. Frank Kenyon, the public printer, attempted, somewhat later, to remove the *Golden Age* thither from Lewiston. The paper was republican, and the influences brought to bear upon him caused him to desist from his intention. The *Golden Age* had been started in August 1862 by A. S. Gould, who, being a republican, had no pleasant time with the secessionist element. When he raised the United States flag over his office, twenty-one shots were fired into it by disloyal democrats. In 1865, however, the newspaper was removed to Boisé. During the same year the *North Idaho Radiator* was published by Alonzo Leland, in the interest of a division of the northern counties from south Idaho, with Lewiston as the capital. Several newspapers were started during this period for political purposes. The *Times* of Idaho City was independent; the *Idaho Index*, first published in June 1866, by W. G. T'Vault, was democratic; Frank Kenyon issued the *Salmon City Mining News* in 1867; and in Boisé City the Boisé *Democrat* made its appearance November 29, 1867, Buchanan and Carleton being the proprietors. It was discontinued in June 1868. A non-partisan paper was the *Lewiston Journal*, issued by A. Leland and son. It suspended in 1872, and was succeeded by the *Signal*, followed by the *Northerner*, each one surviving for two years. On March 1, 1879, the Boisé *Republican* was established in Boisé. It had the largest circulation of any newspaper published in Idaho, and its prosperity indicates the change in political sentiments. In 1884 there were twenty newspapers, three of which were issued in Boisé City, namely, the *Statesman;* the *Idaho Democrat*, which was started in May 1877, by A. J. Boyakin as the semi-weekly *Idahoan*, and changed its name in 1879; and the *Republican* above named established by Daniel Bacon.

With libraries Idaho is quite liberally supplied, as apart from the territorial library, founded in 1863 and consisting in 1885 of about 5,000 law-books, there were soon after the latter date several whose collections exceeded 1,000 volumes, and before this there were five in the territory, two of them being at Boisé City, one at Moscow, and one each at Ketchum and Lewiston.

The public school system of Montana was first called into existence by the law of 1866, and in the following year there were two teachers in Madison county and three in Egerton, now Lewis and Clarke county, $7,709 being raised for their support and for the erection of schoolhouses. Since that time the standard of education has been gradually raised until it is now almost on a par with that of the school systems in the oldest states. The age of admittance is between four and twenty-one years, and a fourteen years' course is required to obtain a degree from a high-school. The law, moreover, requires that teachers' institutes be established to aid in promoting the best methods of instruction.

Within recent years progress and improvement have been made in all educational matters save one, and that one is a reduction in the salaries of women from an average of $62 a month in 1883 to $56 in 1884, while those of men were raised from an average of $80 in the former year to $86 in the latter. In 1885 the value of school property was $377,766 ; the number of schools, 308 ; of teachers, 337 ; of children of school age, 16,797 ; and of children enrolled, 9,750 ; while about 400 attended private schools or colleges, the principal one being the college of Montana at Deer Lodge, which afforded preparatory, classical, scientific, and normal courses, with a staff of seven teachers and an attendance of about 80 pupils.

As to journalism in Montana, the little that is to be said may be condensed into the briefest space. First on the list of pioneer newspapers was the *Montana Post*, the first number of which was issued August 27, 1864, at Virginia City. John Buchanan started the paper and then sold it to D. W. Tilton and Benjamin R. Dittes, the latter a native of Leipsic, Saxony. In the winter of 1857-8 Dittes bought out the former's interest and removed the paper to Helena. The change was not favorable to its success and it was suspended in the spring of 1869. Tilton and Dittes also started, July 7, 1866, the *Tri-Weekly Republican*, at Helena. It was presently removed to Virginia City, where it assumed the name of the *Tri-Weekly Post*. Second in point of time was the *Montana Democrat*, published by John P. Bruce in 1865 at Virginia City. It became a daily paper in March 1868. In March 1866 T. J. Favorite issued the *Montana Radiator* at Helena, the name of which the same year was changed to the Helena *Herald*. It was afterward purchased by the Fisk brothers, was republican in politics, and became a daily in 1867. The *Rocky Mountain Gazette*, a democratic paper, was started at Helena in August 1866, by Wilkinson, Maguire, and Ronau; and at Deer Lodge City the *Independent* made its appearance in October 1867, being established by Frank Kenyon. In January 1869 John H. Rogers purchased it, and, notwithstanding its name, ran it in the interest of the democratic party. In 1874 L. F. La Croix purchased the material and goodwill in company with McQuaid and Kerby, and removed it to Helena, when it was issued in daily form.

In 1866 was founded at Helena the library of the Historical society of Montana, the first of which we have any record, and containing, in 1885, some 5,000 volumes. At the latter date the territorial library, established in 1881, had about 7,200 volumes, of which 3,200 were law-books, and the remainder miscellaneous works. This, with two other libraries was also located at Helena, though apart from the above there were no extensive or valuable collections.

By the authorities in British Columbia it was speedily recognized that the surest way to improve the social and economic condition of the Indians lay through the school. Hence their efforts to promote missionary labors and procure special teachers for that race.

In fur-trading times education for the employés' children must be sought beyond the limits of the province, and those who had the means sent them to the Hawaiian islands or to England. The first school for white children was not opened until the arrival at Victoria in 1849 of Chaplain Staines, who was allowed £340 a year for keeping a boarding-school. A public school act was passed for Vancouver island in 1865, but as the assembly ceased to exist the following year no appropriations were made, so that the board of education had to rely upon voluntary and casual sources. The result was the gradual closing of six out of the eleven schools opened, and the turning adrift of half of the 425 children who were in attendance in 1867.

In 1869 a common school ordinance was passed for the united colonies, and a grant of $10,376 made by the government; but the people neglected to come forward with local aid, and only seven schools were opened on the island and five on the mainland, in as many leading towns and districts. The total attendance was 350, or only about one-fifth of the school population, and the teachers were appointed without examination.

In 1872 more effectual measures were adopted, under which the attendance increased within three years to nearly 1,700, or two-thirds of the school population, distributed among 45 institutions, including two high-schools. Soon afterward was levied an educational tax of three dollars upon each male resident. The consolidated public school act of 1885 excludes clergymen from the position of teachers or trustees, and provides for compulsory attendance. The thirteenth annual report of the superintendent of education for 1883-4 enumerates 57 public or common schools, including 7 graded schools and one high school, with 75 teachers and 3,420 enrolled pupils, the daily attendance averaging over 1,800. The expenses reached $66,600, three-fourths being for the salaries of teachers, which average $60. A normal school and a university are yet to be provided.

Soon after the gold discovery the population became sufficient to sustain a newspaper, and in June 1858 the Victoria *Gazette* first made its appearance, followed in rapid succession by a number of imitators. In the same year the *Colonist* was published, and with three other dailies still survives as one of the prominent journals of the metropolis. New Westminster and other towns support less frequent issues, and also subscribe largely for periodicals from England. The latter were the sole comfort of fur-trading times, when books and papers were circulated from the library maintained at Fort Vancouver. Similar service is now performed by means of reading-rooms in different places, used also for reunions, wherein debates, recitations, and music afford further entertainment. The Mechanics' Literary institute at Victoria heads, with about 7,000 volumes, the list of libraries in the province, most of them belonging to social societies, and all exerting a salutary influence, more especially on the mining communities.

In Alaska the conditions of life have been a serious drawback to civilization, the cold, wet winters which last for two-thirds of the year compelling the Indians to herd in underground dwellings, and tending still further to increase their inborn depravity of nature. Nevertheless, the schools opened in connection with churches and garrisoned settlements did much to instil the desire for improvement, as did also the tastes and example of the rising creole population. Of the several schools founded after 1785, all disappeared, or dragged out a lingering existence, with the exception of those at Unalaska and at Sitka. At the latter point the presence of so many superior employés procured the formation, in 1841, of a higher church school, replaced soon afterward by an institute, taught partly by naval officers.

The transfer to the United States brought about the downfall of this and other establishments, with nothing to take their place. Even the school fund granted by congress was left almost untouched, until the presbyterian mission applied for a portion of it to assist in maintaining schools in the Alexandrian archipelago. Other missionaries are taking steps in the same direction, and the fur company supported its own schools at the Prybilof islands. The boarding, and especially the industrial, departments at some of these institutions afford the practical training which is now regarded as the best means for improving the condition of the natives. The example set by the increasing proportion of white scholars may have a stimulating effect in one direction, while race feeling, so pronounced among Americans, may produce a certain counteraction, and tend to bind them yet longer to the customs of the Russian. By the latter, at least, churches and schools were provided, but by the United States no effective measures were adopted until 1885 to provide for the education of the 12,000 native children who at the time of the purchase were placed under her care. In that year provision was at length made for the inauguration of a public school system. In this connection it is worthy of remark that, with the exception of $30,000, which fund there were none to administer, no appropriation was made by congress for educational purposes until 1885, when, after voting nearly $1,000,000 for the schools of Indian territory, a small amount was grudgingly placed at the disposal of the authorities in Alaska.

As with education, so with journalism, the little that is to be said of Alaska may be related in the briefest of phrase. In March 1868 was issued the *Alaska Herald*, the first newspaper devoted to the interests of this territory, though published in San Francisco by a Pole, named Agapius Honcharenko. It was a semi-monthly journal, printed in Russian and English, and about twelve months after its first appearance claimed a circulation of 1,500. During the same year was published the Sitka *Times*, which was first issued in manuscript, and contained only advertisements and unimportant local items. It enjoyed but an ephemeral existence, the first printed number being issued in April 1869, and the last in September 1870.

The Sitka library, founded by Count Rezanof in 1805, contained thirty years later about 1,700 volumes, printed in the Russian, French, German, English and other languages, in addition to several hundred pamphlets and periodicals, and a valuable collection of charts. Of any local literature before the time of the purchase there are no records.

In connection with educational matters in Alaska, it may be mentioned that in 1884 the sum of $15,000 was appropriated by congress for the support and education of Indian children of both sexes at industrial schools. Of this fund a portion was paid to the presbyterian board of missions at Sitka, on their own application and contract to provide for one hundred native children. For white children there were no schools of any kind, those of the missionaries being attended only by the offspring of Aleuts.

As a fitting conclusion to this chapter I will now sketch briefly the careers of two of Oregon's prominent citizens, William Reid and Rodney Glisan. The first mentioned was for many years connected with the leading enterprises of Portland, as banker, financier, and railroad builder. Doctor Glisan was one of the leading members of his profession, and his connection with the medical societies and colleges of Oregon, and his contributions to medical and other literature, has made him widely known.

The prosperity which Oregon has enjoyed within the last two decades, and southern California within a more recent period, is largely due to the labors of immigration societies, and the free circulation of pamphlets calling attention to their resources. The mere publication in 1873, for instance, of a pamphlet prepared by Mr William Reid, entitled, *Oregon and Washington considered as fields for Labor and Capital*, was the means of attracting large numbers of immigrants, and also of causing, as will presently appear, the investment in the northwest of a vast amount of foreign capital. To him is largely due the remarkable development which this section has received of late years, and without some account of his career the history of Oregon can scarcely be written.

Mr Reid was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on the 22d of November, 1841, but on coming here he became a naturalized citizen of the United States. He is descended from an old and much respected Scottish family, and for several generations his ancestors, all of them presbyterians, were residents of the town of Dundee and Forfarshire, where his grandfather on his mother's side was a large ship-owner. David Reid, his father, was the conductor of the first railroad train that ever ran in Scotland, and was afterward for years the traffic manager of the Glasgow and Southwestern railway, and subsequently of the Caledonian railway, the largest in Scotland.

William Reid was educated in his native city, first at St Andrew's school, under Professor Neil, author of *Logic and Literature*, and other works, and afterward at the university of Glasgow. After finishing his literary course, he there studied for the bar, and subsequently, after five years' legal apprenticeship, was admitted as a practitioner in 1867. He then began the practice of his profession at Dundee, where he entered into partnership with Alexander Douglas, under the firm name of Reid & Douglas. His abilities were at once recognized and he was employed as

counsel for the United States by several American claimants under the Alabama treaty, and for the City of Glasgow bank.

In 1868 Mr Reid made the acquaintance of Mrs Mary Lincoln, the widow of the president, and by that lady was requested to prepare a portion of the *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln.* On this work he was engaged for nearly two years, and before its completion was rewarded with the appointment of United States vice-consul at Dundee, under Grant's administration, which office he held until 1874.

His frequent intercourse with Americans, and his duties as vice-consul, drew his attention to the United States, and he read with special interest the official reports published on the state of Oregon. He then issued the pamphlet before mentioned, of which 30,000 copies were circulated, and all who have read it agree that its popularity was well deserved. This work attracted the attention of capitalists, and led to the formation of the Oregon & Washington Trust Investment Company of Scotland, under the presidency of the earl of Airlie, with a capital of $250,000. Of this association Mr Reid was appointed secretary, and in 1874 was sent to Oregon to organize its business in that state. After making a tour of the northwest, he was so much impressed with its resources that he determined to remain there permanently, and at once informed the directors of his decision.

In 1876, in company with a party of Scotch capitalists, he established the Oregon and Washington Mortgage Savings bank of Scotland, with its headquarters at Portland, which was the first savings bank of deposit in the state. This institution, with its predecessor, from the first proved a success, the Scotch companies' loans averaging $650,000 a year until 1881, when they had $3,700,000 at interest. Besides paying annual dividends of ten per cent, their reserve fund amounted at that date to twenty per cent of the paid-up capital, and not a single dollar had then been lost by bad debts. In the same year they organized the Dundee Mortgage Company, with a capital of $500,000, which the directors supposed would be sufficient for their operations for at least a period of ten years. At the end of the third year, however, they had already loaned $750,000, and then consolidated with its predecessor, the Oregon and Washington Trust Investment Company, and thereafter their capital was increased to $5,000,000, the stock soon afterward selling at $160 a share. In 1882 he established and was appointed president of the First National bank of Salem, and opened an agency of the American Mortgage company of Scotland. In the following year he organized the Oregon Mortgage company. Between May 1874 and June 1885 he had made more than five thousand loans, amounting to $7,597,741, of which $6,000,000 consisted of Scotch capital. Such was the confidence reposed in him by his fellow-countrymen, and that it was not misplaced is shown by the fact that the losses incurred amid all this enormous volume of investments were insignificant. In 1882 he first introduced into Oregon "the gradual reduction process" of milling, for which he erected the largest brick mills in the state, at Salem, creating therefor the ' City of Salem Company," with a capital paid up of $200,000, and acquired and extended thereto the hydraulic powers of the Santiam river, estimated 3,600 horse-power. Finally, in the spring of 1884, he promoted the Portland National Bank, and for nearly five years was its president.

In 1874, a few weeks after his arrival in Oregon, Mr Reid, in company with Captain A. P. Ankeny, organized the Portland Board of Trade, and was elected its first secretary, which appointment he held for six years under the presidency of H. W. Corbett. Soon afterward a state board of immigration was established, mainly through his efforts, and of this he was also appointed secretary, holding that position for three years, during which period active measures were adopted to promote immigration.

Between 1876 and 1879, Mr Reid prepared several pamphlets, setting forth the resources of Oregon, which were translated into the German, French, Spanish, Fleming, and Scandinavian languages, and largely circulated at the Paris and Philadelphia expositions. In one of them, which I have now before me, entitled, *The Progress of Portland and Oregon from 1868 to 1878*, afterwards continued down to 1885, he touches on the same topics as are contained in his *Oregon and Washington*, but with many additions, the statistics being altered in manuscript so as to extend in some instances to the year 1885. The description of Oregon's resources and industries, as contained in Mr Reid's pamphlet, is certainly a flattering one, though by no means exaggerated, and to his own persistent and well-directed efforts her prosperity is largely due. The state was no less fortunate in securing and retaining the services of such a man than was he himself in being directed to such a field, so well suited to his enterprises and the investment of the vast sums intrusted to his charge.

For many years Mr Reid has been connected with the interior railroad system of the north-west, and but for his enterprise it is probable that many of the lines now in existence in western Oregon would not have been built until a much later date. In 1880, in connection with others, he organized the Oregonian Railway Company, with a capital of $2,250,000, for the purpose of building narrow gauge railways in Oregon, with their terminus at Portland. Of this company the earl of Airlie was president, and Mr Reid local president.

In the autumn of 1880, 118 miles had been completed, and in operation. Mr Reid then applied to the state legislature for power to locate his terminus on the public levee of Portland, but the bill introduced for this purpose was opposed by Villard's agents, and by the authorities of the city itself. Nevertheless, though vetoed by the governor, it was passed by a two-thirds vote on the last day of the session. The road was then pushed forward to completion, 160 miles were fully equipped and operated, and another portion graded in the direction of Portland; all at a cost of $2,000,000. At this juncture Villard made overtures to the stockholders in Scotland, with a view to obtain control of the line, and despite the opposition of Mr Reid, it was leased in October 1881 to the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, in consideration of a guarantee of 7 per cent interest for 96 years, and was stopped at Dundee, 28½ miles from Portland. Thereupon Mr Reid withdrew from the management.

In 1884, the lease was repudiated by the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company (as Mr Reid had predicted), which alleged that the legislature had not authorized the lease. The road being uncompleted, litigation ensued, and the court appointed a receiver. Meanwhile, the grant by the legislature of 1880 of the public levee had expired. Toward the end of 1884, therefore, representatives from the Willamette valley waited on Mr Reid, and requested him to apply to the legislature for a new grant of same, to complete as far as Portland the portion abandoned in 1881, and thus secure a separate narrow gauge system from the Willamette valley to tidewater. A bill was introduced, which led to another sharp contest; the city council of Portland being again among its bitterest opponents, as well as the Scotch owners of his former road. But the grant was passed, and received the governor's sanction on the 24th of February, 1885, for which he had previously incorporated the Portland and Willamette Valley Railway, which he built thereafter to Portland, and reached that city on the 24th of November, 1887, and had it subsequently extended to the terminus on the public levee, donated to his railway by the state, and connected with the uncompleted 160 miles which he had constructed in 1880 and 1881, and thus made one system. Through the completion of these roads in which Mr Reid is interested, the establishment of which is due to his energy and persistence, and partly to the investment of his own capital, the advantage of cheap transportation has been added to that of the fertile soil of the Oregon valleys. Without railroad facilities the farmer would not produce wheat for market, but would stock his farm with sheep and cattle. Assured of such facilities, he will raise ten bushels of wheat where before he raised one, and will gladly pay the moderate charge demanded by the railway for bringing his wares to market.

Such is a brief outline of the career of one of the most enterprising and successful business men and capitalists in the state of Oregon. That he is a man of untiring energy and perseverance, ready of resource, and a keen and sagacious financier, the reader will infer from the story of his life. That he is also a thoroughly reliable man, of strict honor and integrity, one who attends to the affairs of his associates as faithfully and zealously as to his own, appears from the magnitude of the interests intrusted to his charge. Gifted with a powerful and active mind, and with a remarkable capacity for work, he has the faculty of disposing of business with neatness, precision, and despatch. Of Dr Johnson, his acquaintances asked when he found time to work; of Mr Reid, his friends inquire when he has time to rest. Nevertheless, he finds leisure to enjoy the society of his friends, and in the social as well as the business circle of Portland is universally esteemed.

In physique, Mr Reid is a man a little above medium height, with a slight but compact figure, smooth clean-shaven face, piercing dark eyes, and regular, impressive features. In the broad chin and firm-set lips is denoted strength of will, and in the arched and lofty forehead intelligence and power. He is blessed with an abundance of this world's goods.

In December 1867 Mr Reid was married to Agnes, daughter of Alexander Dunbar, belonging to one of the oldest families of Nairn, Scotland. Of the five children of the former, two sons were born in Scotland and three daughters in Portland, though all are being educated in their adopted state; for, like their father, they have become thoroughly Americanized. The citizens of Oregon are only too glad to have such men in their midst, and would that there were more of them, for, as before stated, to Mr Reid's judicious investments of foreign capital, and of his own means and talent, is due in no small degree the welfare of this thriving and progressive commonwealth.

Rodney Glisan, physician, Portland, Oregon, son of Samuel and Eliza Glisan, was born at Linganore, Frederick county, Maryland, January 29, 1827. His genealogy is English, and may be traced back to the fifteenth century. His ancestry were among the first settlers of Maryland.

Having received an academical education, he entered the medical department of the university of Maryland, and was graduated thence M. D., March 20, 1849. After practising for a few months in Baltimore, he stood a competitive examination before a board of surgeons for appointment in the medical department of the army, and was one of seven successful candidates in a class of about one hundred doctors. He received his commission of medical officer May 2, 1850, and served nearly eleven years—five years on the plains, and nearly six years in Oregon during the Indian wars from 1855 till 1860.

His army life, both on the plains and in Oregon, was attended by many perils and hardships. His active military service in Oregon was mainly in the Rogue river war of 1855 and 1856, as chief medical officer on the staff of Colonel R. C. Buchanan of the

M.D.

regular army, whose command, in conjunction with the Oregon volunteers, subdued the hostile Indians of southern Oregon.

After the termination of the Rogue river war, all the Indians of southern Oregon were placed on the Coast Indian reservation, and were guarded by military posts. At one of these, Fort Yamhill, Dr Glisan was stationed from 1856 till January 1861. It was there that he had the honor of serving for about four years with Lieutenant, later general, Philip H. Sheridan, who, among other courtesies, was kind enough to assist the doctor in amputating the thigh of an Indian chief known as Santiam Sampson. Their patient was still living in 1888.

During the doctor's thirty-three years in Oregon he has had many opportunities for political preferment, but, deeming professional life more congenial to his tastes than that of politics, he has left the latter mostly in the hands of others. It may here be remarked that he is independent in politics, but affiliates more closely with democracy than with republicanism.

While in the army he was often called upon for medical services at great distances from the post where he was for the time stationed. He never, however, neglected his military duties, but was always present at sick-call, even though he had frequently to ride many miles at night in order to reach the garrison in time. The amount of money thus earned in addition to his government pay was in time sufficient to make him think of carrying out his long-formed desire of resigning his commission and settling in private life. But through the mismanagement of an agent he was left almost penniless, and compelled to defer for a while his resignation. When, however, he did resign he immediately entered into a large and lucrative practice, at first in San Francisco, but finally in Portland, Oregon.

He has performed many of the most difficult operations in surgery, but several years ago relinquished this branch of medicine. Among his most notable cases of surgery were the first amputations of the shoulder and thigh, and the second operation for strangulated inguinal hernia, ever performed on the Pacific coast north of San Francisco. He married, December 3, 1863, Elizabeth R., daughter of Captain John H. Couch, one of the founders of Portland.

Although the doctor has been a little careless of his political duties in Oregon, he has ever been ready to take part in all important matters pertaining to her advancement, and especially to the well-being of his adopted city, Portland. He has lately, as stockholder and director, taken great interest in the erection in Portland of a magnificent hotel. His attention, however, has been more especially directed to aiding hospitals and medical schools, and other things more or less connected with his profession. He was president of the Multnomah county medical society in 1872 and 1876, and of the medical society of the state of Oregon in 1875–6, and has for many years been a member of the American medical association. He was a delegate to the seventh international medical congress, held in London in 1881, and a member of the council of the ninth international medical congress, held in Washington, D. C., in 1887. His paper, read by invitation before the latter congress, elicited favorable notices in all the principal medical journals of Europe and America. The doctor has written numerous articles on medical subjects, published in the *U. S. Army Statistics*, 1856 and 1860, in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, 1865–78 and 1880, and in *Erichsen's Collection of Medical Rhymes*, Chicago, 1884. He has also published a *Journal of Army Life*, San Francisco, 1874, a *Text-book of Modern Midwifery*, Philadelphia, 1881 and 1887, and *Two Years in Europe*, New York, 1887. The latter books have met with a kind reception by the press and public.

The doctor was a professor in the Oregon Medical college, the first medical institution ever formed in Oregon, but which was after its establishment merged into the Willamette university, taking the name of the medical department of the Willamette university. He was for a long time a professor, and later emeritus professor and occasional lecturer, in the latter institution.

In recognition of the doctor's services in the Oregon Indian wars, he was in 1886 elected surgeon of the Indian war veterans of Oregon, and has been reëlected several times since.

He has traveled extensively, has visited all parts of the United States, and been three times in British and Central America, once in the West Indies, and has spent two years in Europe.

In religion he is an episcopalian, and has been warden of Trinity parish, Portland, for about twenty years.

He is temperate in all his habits, never having used tobacco or ardent spirits. He has not for over half a century refrained from duty, civil or military, for a single day on account of sickness, although exposed by day and by night, in all climates, to the inclemency of the weather.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SCIENCE, ART, AND LITERATURE—MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

The Nahua and Maya Calendars—Medical and Other Sciences—Observatories—Scientific Men—Nahua Paintings and Feather Work—Gold and Silver Work—Sculpture—Architecture—The Royal Academy of Arts—Artists—Cathedrals—The National Museum—The Conservatory of Music—Hieroglyphics—Oratory—Poets—The Press—Libraries—Native and Other Literature—Central American Science and Literature.

Science was not unknown to the more civilized native races of Mexico and Central America. Beyond a doubt they possessed a considerable knowledge of astronomy; being acquainted with the movements not only of the sun and moon but also of some of the planets. Celestial phenomena, though attributed to other than natural causes, were carefully studied and recorded. They had an accurate system of dividing the day into periods corresponding in a measure to hours. Their calendar stone, discovered in the plaza of the capital, shows their method of computing time, which for ingenuity and accuracy equalled, if it did not surpass, the systems then adopted by European and Asiatic nations. This calendar was used not only as a durable register, but also as a sun-dial. Their arithmetical system was essentially decimal, great prominence being given to the number 20. The Huastecs had simple names from one to 10, 20, and 1,000. The Otomí approached still nearer our modern system by making one hundred also one of its fundamental numbers.

The Mayas likewise had a very intelligible calendar. They divided the year into 18 months, or 360 days, adding five intercalary days to complete the number; or into 28 weeks of 13 days each, making 364 days; the missing day being provided for by the manner of counting the first one of the year. They had another division of time of 24 years, in two parts, the first being of 20 years, and the other of 4, considered as intercalary and unlucky. They had also uncompounded names for the numerals from one to 11, 20, 400, and 8,000; by the addition or multiplication of which they formed all other numbers.

As professions the church and bar above other callings were preferred in the days of Spanish domination. Mining was first taught as a science in 1783. The best treatise on mineralogy was produced by Rio. Lavoissier's chemistry was translated into Spanish in Mexico. The pages of the *Gacetas de Literatura*, established in 1788, contained much matter on philosophic and scientific subjects. The editor José Antonio Alzate y Ramirez was a man of rare attainments, and contributed many valuable papers on agriculture and antiquities. He was also a distinguished astronomer, though in this branch of science he was excelled by Joaquin Velazquez Cárdenas y Leon, and by Leon y Gama, the former being the foremost geodetic observer of New Spain, and chief promoter of the mining school. Leon y Gama, hardly less prominent as an astronomer, leaned to antiquarian research. Sigüenza y Góngora, as early as 1681 published a valuable treatise on comets. He was a man of sound judgment and high attainments.

During the present century ample provision has been made for acquiring scientific knowledge. A national academy of sciences was established in Mexico in 1857 and another in Puébla in 1861. A geological society was founded in 1875. There has been a meteorological and magnetic observatory at Chapultepec since 1878. A meteorological observatory exists also in Mexico which is the centre of all observations made throughout the republic, and maintains relations with those of foreign nations. With such advantages it is not to be wondered at that many Mexicans have become thoroughly proficient in various branches of science, and have won repute for their native land among the learned men of other nations. Several are already enrolled as members of the leading scientific societies in Europe and the United States, and among them may be mentioned the geographer, Antonio García Cubas, and the astronomer, F. Diaz Covarrubias, who a few years ago went to Japan as chief of the Mexican commission to observe the transit of Venus, and is the author of many important contributions on scientific subjects.

In the painter's art the Nahuas showed no great merit, except that they excelled in coloring. It is not known that they ever attempted to depict natural scenery, though they made maps of sections of country rudely representing mountains, rivers, etc. They sometimes made portraits of kings and nobles; but in this exhibited less skill than in representing animals, birds, trees, and flowers.

The feather-work of the aborigines has a claim to recognition as a fine art, for in its skillful blending of color it equalled the paintings of European masters. The aborigines were also noted for their exquisite work in gold and silver, which excelled anything of the kind among European nations; so much so that many of the most beautiful specimens were saved by the gold-thirsty Spaniards, and presented to the Spanish monarch. Cortés, the conqueror, declared that no craftsmen in the world excelled the Aztec goldsmiths. They fashioned animals and birds, with movable heads, legs, wings, and tongues, and all natural objects were perfectly imitated. They could cast parts of an object in different metals, each distinct from the rest, but all forming a complete whole, and that without soldering. Thus, they would make a fish, for instance, with alternate scales of gold and silver. This art, thanks to Spanish jealousy and the restrictions imposed by the crown, has been entirely lost.

In sculpture some of the Nahua figures must be placed above similar Egyptian specimens, while their architecture compares well with that of the Greeks in beauty of design.

Among the Mayas these arts seem to have been nearly identical with those of the Nahuas, albeit many of them, at the time of the conquest, at least, were not carried to such perfection. Nevertheless, Brasseur de Bourbourg, relying on the somewhat apochryphal manuscript of Ordoñez, speaks of goods of finest texture and most brilliant colors, mats of exquisite workmanship, plate that would have done honor to a Persian satrap, graceful vases of chased gold, alabaster, or agate worked with exquisite art, delicately painted pottery, etc. Some of their buildings indicate a considerable knowledge of architecture, though keystone arches were probably unknown to the builders.

The Aztecs placed the building proper upon a raised, solid, pyramidal substructure. This may have been caused by the prevalence of earthquakes, or in the city of Mexico by the swampy nature of the ground. The buildings had little elevation as compared with their extent and solidity. For decorations they had balconies and galleries supported by square or round pillars, which were often monoliths, but without capital or base. The favorite figures for cornices and stucco work were coiled snakes in low relief, and sometimes in groups. Carved lintels and door-posts were common. Glossy surfaces seemed to be to the liking of the Nahuas. The builders evidently used derricks, scaffolds, and the plummet.

Relics of ancient buildings yet exist which attest the skill of Nahua and Maya architects; but there are other structures of even greater magnitude and excellence, as to the builders of which no tradition remains. The most noted among them are those at Mitla, La Quemada, Uxmal, Palenque, Central Plateau, Chihuahua, Arizona, and the wonderful ruins of Copan.

During the colonial period was founded, in 1773, the Real Academia de Bellas Artes of San Cárlos in Mexico, the main object of which was to facilitate the study of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Among the teachers was Manuel Tolsa, the sculptor who carved the magnificent statue of Cárlos IV., which still exists in Mexico, and has been favorably compared with the finest works of its kind in Europe.

By this institution was developed a national taste for architecture; but this cannot be said of painting and animate sculpture. Lack of good models, faulty methods, and other causes, especially political disturbances, defeated the objects of the academy. It languished for a time, was revived in 1847, but finally went to decay a few years later. In 1868 its name was changed to Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes, and a new impulse was given to the study of the fine arts. Mexico has already produced not a few artists of national if not of world-wide repute, such as Baltasar de Echave, regarded as the founder of the school of painting in New Spain. Luis Juarez, his contemporary, noted for an impressive idealism, was probably his pupil. José Juarez is classed as the equal of Echave. Friar Herrera, called the divine, was remarkable for striking features of expression rather than for general merit. Early in the eighteenth century the two brothers Rodriguez Juarez, to both of whom was given the title of the Mexican Apelles, were compared with Carracci. José Ibarra, who was termed the Murillo of New Spain, though with glaring defects, stands next in rank to Cabrera, the central figure in colonial art. Cábrera, a Zapotec Indian, was sometimes called the Michael Angelo of New Spain, being also an architect and sculptor. His heads were well depictured and characterized; but there was a lack of delicacy in coloring, and he was also faulty in outline and proportion, with strained attitudes and stiff draperies. In animate sculpture there were, before Tolsa's time, the two Coras, who did some work of a high order, for which they were but poorly paid.

Architecture in New Spain may be variously classed with the later Romanesque, with the early Renaissance, and with the Rococo style. In course of time strength and beauty gave way to mere utility, without regard to the ornamental, though in modern structures the decorative element has greatly increased. The cathedral of Mexico is noted for its bell-shaped domes, its heavy reversed consoles, and other peculiarities; that of Guadalajara for its heavy steeples. At Colima there is an arcade edifice of a Moorish stamp. In the medley of styles may be seen even the Doric frieze over capitals of a different order. In private houses may be observed tapering shafts, like those of the Mayas, with pyramidal base and conic capital; in the interior of several convents, spiral, striped, and Moorish pillars. The Churrigueresco of Spain is not infrequent, and in several church buildings of this order the façades are covered with ornamentations, interspersed with niches and statuary, in the so-called Jesuit style.

Among Mexican architects the only one of special prominence is Francisco Eduardo Tresquerras, born at Celaya in 1745, and whose death occurred in 1833. He left monuments of his skill and taste in many private and public structures.

In this place mention may be made of the national museum containing many valuable works, and the only collection of Mexican antiquities worthy of the name. It was founded at the capital in 1825 and reorganized in 1831. The exportation of antiquities is forbidden by a law of 1829, the government reserving the right of purchase.

In the city of Mexico is also a conservatory of music, an institution thoroughly appreciated in a country which contains so large a proportion of natural musicians, and whose national music is as individual in its character as are the Neapolitan airs or the German volkslieder. The republic has already produced many excellent performers and not a few composers of more than ordinary merit.

Let us now turn to the literature of Mexico, both ancient and modern, for among the Aztec chroniclers was no lack of literary taste and ability. The Nahua and Mayâ nations possessed for centuries, before the coming of the Spaniards, a phonetic system of hieroglyphics, by which they were able to record all that they deemed worthy of preservation. This art was highly prized, and zealously cultivated and protected, being intrusted to a class of men educated for the purpose and held in great esteem. These records included, among other matters, national, historic, and traditional annals, religious subjects, codes, and social customs. The hieroglyphics were painted in bright colors on long strips of cotton cloth, prepared skins, or maguey paper, rolled up, or, preferably, folded fan like into convenient book form, and often furnished with wooden covers. Immense numbers of these records were destroyed, as were their idols, by order of the priests, the most famous of these iconoclasts being Friar Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico, who made a public bonfire of them, supposing them to be painted devices of the devil.

Oratory was freely cultivated and highly esteemed among the more civilized aborigines, and some of the specimens transmitted to us by old Spanish chroniclers have been greatly commended. A doubt exists, however, whether they have not been altered in the transmission.

Poets were less numerous, but equally honored. Their compositions were recited, and the best of them set to music by the Council of Music of Tezcuco. Nezahualcoyotl, the famous King of Tezcuco, was a renowned poet, and some fragments of his compositions have been preserved or rather copied in Roman letters from the Aztecs. They were later translated into Spanish by his descendant, the historian Ixtlilxochitl, and appear to have been in iambic verse. It is doubtful whether verses were written in rhyme; but due attention was paid to cadence and meter. Many compositions were intended for dramatic representation.

Mexico was the first city in America that possessed a printing-press; but during the viceregal period the books printed were, with few exceptions, either of a religious character, or vocabularies in Spanish or native languages. In 1761 there were six printing-presses in Mexico, and at the beginning of the present century only three. Newspapers were few and of little merit, but since the revolution they have greatly increased in number, some of them being very ably conducted, while not a few are noted only for scurrility or bombast. There are many political and a number of literary or scientific journals, the entire number published throughout the republic being in 1882 nearly 300, of which about one-third, with a total circulation estimated at 375,000, were issued in the capital.

During the Spanish domination collections of books were rare. Foreign works were forbidden, and none but such as had passed the censorship could be publicly sold. Light literature was excluded by the church. There were many local writers, particularly the friars, who were among the most verbose of authors. Toward the close of the last century literature received an impulse which was manifested in various ways, one being the increased number of libraries; but the war of independence and later revolutions checked that impulse, and caused the removal of valuable collections from the country. After the secularization of the estates of the church, however, the vast accumulations in the convent buildings, including many rare and valuable works, became the property of the government and of the people. To these were added modern publications in every department of literature, so that in 1882 the national library of St Augustine alone contained more than 100,000 volumes, while libraries had also been established in all the leading cities of the republic.

Several Mexicans have won literary fame abroad. The Indian race furnished a good proportion of writers, the Spanish language rendering their task easier. Foremost among them were three of the royal house of Tezcuco, surnamed Ixtlilxochitl, to wit, Fernando Pimental and his son Antonio, and Fernando de Alva. The last named has been much criticised, favorably and otherwise. The verdict of the best authorities is that he wrote at least conscientiously, compiling from authenticated documents in his possession. His faults were carelessness as to dates, and a disposition to laud his race and family; but this last is a defect observable to some extent in all the native writers. He has been called the Cicero of Anáhuac. Antonio and Juan de Tovar and Tezozomoc have contributed liberally to Aztec history. The Tlaxcaltecs found less able recorders of their annals in Tadeo Niza, Camargo, Zapata y Mendoza, Pomar, Agüero, and the brothers Ortega. The most conspicuous writers on history besides Cortés, Bernal Diaz, and others among the conquerors were fathers Sahagun, Mendieta, Torquemada, Vetancur, Tello, Mota Padilla, and Friar Beaumont. To these must be added the friars Baltasar Medina and Dávila Padilla, both Mexicans, and somewhat verbose writers. The worst peculiarities of that period are noticeable in the chronicles of the Jesuit priest Francisco de Florencia. Aboriginal traits are noted in the mestizo writers, as in Duran, *Historia de las Indias*, and Suarez Peralta, *Noticias Historicas*. Toward the close of the eighteenth century a more classic and sedate tone is manifest in the Jesuit writers Alegre, Clavigero, and Cavo, and in Mariano Veytia.

In the present century the first historical writer worthy of mention is Mier y Guerra, who exhibits erudition and research, but at the same time lack of discrimination and a strong bias. After him came a long list, including Mora, Zerecero, Zavala, Alaman, Bustamente, Suarez y Navarro, Portilla, Payno, Tornel, Filisola, Iglesias, Cuevas, Arrangoiz, Álvarez, Rivera, Ancona, Martinez, and others, some of whom have attempted general history, and others confined themselves to biography. Niceto Zamacois, a Basque who resided many years in Mexico, has furnished a very copious history, full of data, but his judgment is entirely biased by his ideas on politics and his religious fanaticism.

Many distinguished men of letters in Mexico were roused by Prescott's work on Aztec culture and the conquest to make a study of those subjects. The names of Ramirez, Icazbalceta, and Larrainzar are entitled to mention; but Orozco y Berra has given to us a work which has surpassed any native who has treated of those subjects. In common with others, he has also devoted himself to the study of Indian languages.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century figured also Leon y Gama, Velazquez, Becerra, Alzate, and earlier, Sigüenza y Góngora, most of whom have been mentioned as distinguished in other fields, as in archæology and astronomy. About the same time lived the essayist Villaroel, and Fausto de Elhuyar, a leading authority on mining and coinage.

The most noted bibliographers of New Spain were Eguiara y Eguren, whose *Biblioteca Mexicana* was published in Mexico in 1755, and Beristain, whose *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional* appeared more than half a century later.

Oratory was freely cultivated, both in viceregal and republican Mexico, and especially pulpit oratory, the discourses being interspersed with Latin quotations, metaphors, mysticisms, and occasional anecdotes, all conveyed with a florid redundancy. There are some honorable exceptions, however, such as Archbishop Nuñez de Haro, and the Cuban Conde y Oquendo, who distinguished themselves in both forum and pulpit. Within recent years the field has been greatly enlarged, and many are those who have won renown for eloquence united with purity of diction.

Spanish poetry is of a national character, though largely influenced by the Italian and French schools. The ballad retains its hold on the popular taste, and sonnets have ever been in favor, while epigrammatic verse is also held in esteem. Among descriptive poems should be mentioned *Grandeza de México*, by Bishop Balbuena, famous for his *Bernardo*, and his pastoral *Siglo de Oro*, both being among the finest in the language. Religious subjects, like the passion of Christ and the miracle of the virgin of Guadalupe, have employed the pen of the more ambitious. Thus we have *El Peregrino Indiano*, by Saavedra y Guzman, *Hernandía*, by Ruiz de Leon, the unpublished quatrains of the Zapotec Antonio Lopez, and the *Conquista de Galicia*, by the Dominican friar Francisco Parra. There is also a poem in heroic verse descriptive of the conquest of New Mexico, by Captain Gaspar de Villagrá, one of the conquerors, published at Alcalá in 1610, a very rare work, which may be commended not so much for the quality of the composition as for its historical merit.

Among the authors of shorter poems, odes, sonnets, elegies, satires, and epigrams, especial mention should be made of Francisco de Terrazas, who figured in 1574, and won praise from Cervantes. Zavala's elegy on the death of the brothers Ávila has many beautiful lines. But the most remarkable was Juana Inés Abajé y Ramirez, a Mexican lady of gentle birth, who had been a lady of honor to the vireine of New Spain, at whose court she won the admiration of all for her talents, but preferred to that a religious life, and became a nun, known as Soror Juana Inés de la Cruz. She has been compared to the great Portuguese poet Camoens, author of the *Lusiad;* and contemporaries in Spain called her the tenth muse. During the opening decade of the nineteenth century shone in the republic of letters the Franciscan, Manuel Navarrete, to whom was awarded the title of the American swan. Tenderness and purity, with religious fervor, appear in his every line.

Many other Mexicans deserve a place in the roll of poets, especially Ester Tapia de Castellanos, a poetess far superior to more pretentious and better known versifiers. Her *Flores Silvestres* appeared in 1871. Epics have been attempted, like the Anáhuac of Rodriguez y Cos. In dramatic poetry Eduardo de Gorostiza, Fernando de Calderon, and Ignacio Rodriguez Galvan appear most prominent. Among other dramatic writers worthy of note are Vela, Arriola, Salazar, and Soria, all of whom are eclipsed, however, by Juan Ruiz de Alarcon, a Mexican creole, though his works were written and published in Spain. His versification is purer than that of Lope de Vega, and he ranks indeed as a classic.

Central America does not lack for men of good attainments in science and literature, nor for writers possessed of power and elegance, especially on political topics. But no Central American has yet given to the world any remarkable work on scientific subjects, nor have any excelled as artists or in music, painting, sculpture, or architecture, though in Guatemala there are schools for the promotion of these arts.

José del Valle, a native of Honduras, and resident of Guatemala, who played a prominent part in securing the independence of Central America, acquired also some reputation as a scientist, and was in regular correspondence with the celebrated Jeremy Bentham.

In literature José del Valle, heretofore spoken of, Domingo Juarros, Alejandro Marure, Pedro Molino and his sons, Francisco Barrundia, Ignacio Gomez, Tomás Ayon, Lorenzo Montúfar, José Milla, and the brothers Diequez as poets are also deserving of credit.

The press in Central America has, however, met with but slight encouragement, and comparatively few books have been published. Of journals the supply has also been scanty, though some have been ably conducted and were not unworthy of comparison with those of the northern republic. A year or two before independence was achieved, Pedro Molina published in Guatemala *El Editor Constitucional* in defence of American rights, and about the same time appeared the *Amigo de la Patria* in opposition to his doctrines. Since that date many others have been issued, some of them aided by subsidies, though with the exception of the government organ the *Gaceta*, few have enjoyed more than an ephemeral existence. Neither in Costa Rica, Honduras, nor Nicaragua is there any national literature, and in the two former republics there are few newspapers apart from the official journal. In Salvador are many powerful and elegant writers who when not hampered by restrictions give evidence of their ability, especially on political topics. On the Isthmus the press has for many years been represented mainly by the *Star and Herald*, which forms indeed one of the principal mediums of communication between Europe and the United States on the one hand and the countries of Central and South America on the other.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHURCH—GENERAL REVIEW.

Church Influence in Spanish America—Policy of the Crown—Missionary Expeditions and Settlements—Wealth of the Church—Quarrels Among the Secular and Regular Clergy—Merits and Demerits of the Orders—Benefits Conferred on the Natives—Idolatry and Christian Worship—The Latin and Anglo-Saxon Priesthood—Protestants and Catholics—Causes for the Loss of Church Supremacy—Present Condition of the Church—The Mormons.

Religion plays an important and a peculiar rôle in the occupation and settlement of America. After impeding the efforts leading to its discovery, by opposing scientific thought and exploration, the church was only too eager to reap the benefits accruing from the discovery of Columbus. Here lay treasures not alone for the faithful, but Peter's pence for the supreme pontiff at Rome, and maintenance for thousands of barefooted monks and pulpitless preachers, besides these was the opportunity of bringing millions of souls into the true fold. It was expedient to strengthen a fabric so rudely shaken by the blows of reviving enlightenment and of the heretic Luther, born on the eve of the new world revelation.

The church speedily acquired over the destinies of the colonies an influence as all-pervading as in Spain, where it sat as the power behind the throne, the guardian of the home circle; its servants the confidants and confessors alike of prince and peasant. They ruled in and through the India council and the colonial audiencias, and even occupied viceregal thrones. The clergy held sway in towns, the friars in villages and missions, both serving to sustain loyalty and resignation as inculcated by the admonitions of the all-potential ecclesiastical synods.

The crown recognized the value of the subtle influence of the cross, as applied here in particular to the subordination of the aborigines. It was an economic pioneering device, and a strong chain for holding them in servitude, teaching humility and patience under the burdens of tribute and exaction, under outrages and enslavement. And so the government eagerly stimulated the zeal of such servants by various privileges, as of fueros, special tribunals, asylums, and exemptions, besides paying for expenses, maintenance, and church construction, unless special pious funds had been provided, as in the Californias. In Alaska a monopoly joined the supreme authorities in employing similar adjuncts for attaining security and influence, and obviating the expense of a large military establishment. In the United States, likewise, the religious method has been appreciated, as shown by the appointment of missionaries as well as teachers among tribes and reservations. At one time, indeed, the control of the Indians was almost wholly surrendered to Christian brotherhoods.

Friars entered upon their task at the very inception as explorers by sea and land, leaving their impress along the coast and in the interior. Marcos de Niza guided the expedition to New Mexico; other friars gave the incentive to the occupation of this and adjoining provinces, from Texas westward. They rent the veil which enfolded the borders beyond; they opened routes for subsequent trading caravans, and through their efforts vast territories were added to the public domain. They planted nuclei for colonization, and fostered their growth by holding in check red and white men alike by their restraining intercourse. More potent than trade or military expeditions, religion succeeded where the former had failed, as in Lower California, the stepping-stone to the upper country. Sword and cross went ever hand in hand in Spanish times; yet throughout the border the soldiers acted rather as escorts to the missionaries, who performed the real task of conquest and preliminary colonization.

The progress of their work was marked by the rapid multiplication of convents and chapels, and their organization into custodias, and finally into vast provincias, with imposing churches, numerous retainers, and large revenues. Even the California missions, which never reached the rank of a mere custodia, became so wealthy under the sole community labor of the natives as to sustain from their surplus a large military establishment, besides enriching many of the friars.

With the all-pervading selfishness of human nature the ecclesiastics strove naturally to acquire domination for themselves and for the church. In Spanish America a large portion of the domain fell into their hands, together with enormous legacies, and steadily growing contributions, partly voluntary, and partly enforced by superstitious fears. So rich was the church, even after the exhausting inroads of a prolonged revolutionary period, that it was enabled by its resources largely to supply the means for the subsequent half century of civil war, carried on mainly to oppose liberal efforts for emancipation.

The religious orders, despite their professed dedication to a life of poverty and self-denial, had joined forces with the clergy in this insidious hostility to public welfare, although otherwise at issue with them for the retention of power. As missionaries, for instance, they were expected merely to prepare the way for the secular clergy, by training the Indians sufficiently in religious and industrial affairs to become secularized and to sustain themselves and their curate. They objected, however, to surrender the fruits of their skill and toil to strangers who had done nothing toward the cause, and the richer they became the more were they prompted to retain their hold on the missions which supported them in luxury and indolence.

The orders quarrelled among themselves with similar motives, and sought to exclude rival participants in promising fields. Thus the Dominicans managed to secure sole control of Oajaca, and the Jesuits of Sonora, so that other orders found openings only in the larger towns of such districts. California, as well as adjacent border provinces, stood at times in sore need of additional missionaries, yet so jealous were the Franciscans of branch colleges, even of their own brotherhood, that they long opposed their establishment, although lacking members in their particular set.

In republican times the friars found good reasons for resisting secularization in the official corruption by which the natives were despoiled of their property and lands, and cast adrift to relapse into poverty and barbarism. In this struggle they wielded with great effect their influence over the Indians, pointing to the danger of uprisings and of the massacre of settlers if their restraining hand was withdrawn. Thus they endeavored to make their presence indispensable, and at the same time took care to teach their neophytes as little as possible beyond the routine of communal labor, in order to keep them helpless, and so postpone secularization.

Notwithstanding this wide manifestation of selfishness, the efforts of the order were in the main beneficial, not alone to crown and colonists, but to the natives. They found it to their interest to interpose a shield against the encroachments and outrages of the conquerors and settlers. To their representations were mainly due the laws issued from time to time for the protection of the natives, and where abuse was inevitable, owing to the remoteness or preoccupation of the authorities, they did much to mitigate suffering. They gave practical guidance in affairs of life; pastors as heads and counsellors of their flocks, and missionaries as teachers of the ruder aborigines in agriculture and other industries.

The change of religion was in itself a blessing, replacing as it did superstitious and cruel rites, such as the human sacrifices of the Aztecs, with the gentle and sublime teachings of Christianity. Among both wild and cultured tribes worship was widely associated with the marvellous and the monstrous, originating as it does from the fear of mysterious natural forces, in raging storm and devastating inundation, in startling earthquakes and cataclysm, in ferocious beast and poisonous berries, whose controlling genii must be appeased. Hence the priesthood among wild Indians is usually restricted to the sorcerer, whose principal duty is to banish evil spirits.

The semi-civilized tribes had a prolific pantheon, a chaotic mixture obtained partly by a forced adoption from neighbors. The Aztecs indeed coupled with their horrible Minotaurean tribute the Mahometan doctrine of religious and political submission; and thus figured peaceful Quetzalcoatl beside the gory Huitzilopochtli, and the offering of flowers and first fruits beside the reeking carcasses and quivering hearts of human victims. Though for the time these sacrifices inspired their enemies with terror, they were also a source of weakness, for the widespread detestation which attended them so loosened the bonds of Montezuma's empire as to permit its rapid overthrow by the Spaniards. The latter also followed the Saracen precepts to some extent, and their inquisitorial sacrifices on the altar of bigotry were hardly less repulsive than the tearing out of hearts. The Mayas had also a sacrifice of blood, but in limited degree and only of slaves who were esteemed as little above the condition of beasts.

While we condemn these inhuman rites of the Aztecs we should not forget that most of their deities were far gentler than their distorted images might indicate. Lares and penates guarded the household and partook of the essence of food and drink, whereof the substance was duly consumed by man. Similar gifts were made to the dead, together with animate and inanimate objects, demonstrating their belief in a spirit world. As with the catholics, their censers swung actively in honor of particular souls and angels, or of apotheosized heroes, whose greatness stood attested by recent traditions. The adoption of favorite idols gave wide reputation to many a shrine, with attendant pilgrimage from afar, as to Cozumel, or to the famous temple city of Cholula, to be replaced by the astute conquerors with the national virgin temple at Guadalupe, and other modern shrines with miraculous attributes.

The introduction of the cross was favored by the existing reverence for this symbol as an attribute of the most beloved among the ancient gods, and by the belief in his return as a Messiah from beyond the northern sea. The Spaniards also found an advantage in the traditional aspect of that deity as a white-bearded man, who had invested them with the sacred garb of his descendants. Further there gleamed through the barbaric pantheon a ray of monotheism, which, as an esoteric idea grasped alone by certain higher minds, prompted them in common with the down-trodden masses to welcome the harbingers of a new era.

As the cruel and rapacious character of the newcomers impressed itself upon the natives, a gloom settled over the newly proclaimed religion; but fresh appeals, coupled with the grant of local virgins and relics, gave strength to the revival. Other concessions had also to be made, as during the early days of christianity, and many a pagan ceremony was permitted to creep into the rites. Such devices were the more needed as the Indians could not be attracted by mere doctrinal instruction. They accepted a new worship as they would the dictates of a conqueror, but in secret they clung to their old superstitions, which appealed directly to their objective faculties. At the frontier missions conversions were made only through appeals to vanity, greed, or that most powerful of human agents—the stomach. Once fed and clad, it was not easy for the neophytes to escape from the mission with its enforced labor, and so by long habit and careful inculcation the new system gradually prevailed.

The religious influence displays itself in a different form among Latins and Anglo-Saxons. The former cast loose as it were from the spirit and admonitions of the church in starting to explore and occupy the new world, but were quickly pursued by its servants and brought more and more under its influence. The means employed lay chiefly in the discouragement of education, which not only left in the bonds of superstition and ignorance the Indians and the ever increasing mestizo classes, but affected also the upper grades of society. Colleges as well as inferior schools were, moreover, under ecclesiastic supervision and restricted to a very narrow range of studies, with particular attention to subjects tending to sustain religious predominance. The inquisition with its warnings and censorship added its awe-inspiring supervision, marked by many an auto-de-fé.

The only latitude here allowed was to the Indians, whose position as children in tutelage had touched a benign sovereign. It was a politic leniency calculated to appease a revolutionary spirit which once roused might become dangerous in distant and almost unprotected colonies, as instanced in the commotion created by the designs attributed to the son of Cortés and to Montezuma's descendants.

Ecclesiastical control was also achieved in a less pronounced degree in Canada, where religious orders had with equal zeal pushed onward in the trail of fur-hunters. They penetrated early to the northwest coast, and by planting there the symbol of Rome, joined with the political powers in staying the advance of the missionaries of the Greek church. Foremost among them the devout Jesuit De Smet raised the banner of the cross among the wild Indians of the Rocky mountains.

Between these limits was felt another religious influence, the protestant, which differed from the other in not emanating from a church intent on extending its domain, and was at first restricted to a community seeking here an asylum from persecution. It was an outcome of the agitation which, starting in the fifteenth century with scientific inquiry, had been marked by the rise of the reformation, and by many a violent outburst, to culminate in the thirty years' war, and thereafter to subside. During the influx to America which occurred at this period religious fervor was particularly strong among the leaders of the old church and among the refugee communities. While, however, the one was intent on self-assertion, the other, seeking merely to be left alone, gave little attention to the aborigines. The true religious feeling was stronger among the protestants; yet, practical in its character, it found expression in promoting colonization and advancement, and brought with it even liberation from spiritual shackles, which in the catholic provinces were welded still firmer. The movement was less pronounced among the Huguenots of Louisiana than among the puritans of New England. The latter, indeed, were tinged with a fanaticism which too often displayed itself in persecution and intolerance; but now divested of its objectionable features we still behold its impress upon American thought and habit.

Among the causes which led to the decline of church influence in the Spanish colonies was the character and conduct of the clergy and friars. Appointments to America were generally regarded in the light of exile, so that those who came were by no means among the select. Their attitude, indeed, provoked so many severe injunctions and regulations as to indicate a startling prevalence of loose morals and neglect of vows. Assignment to missions and parishes on the border figured as an additional hardship, so that thither were frequently sent in punishment the refuse from the central convents, although with an admixture of the devout, who gloried in danger and privation. Such laxity among the representatives of the church could not fail to affect the popular regard for it, especially so when glaring immorality, drunkenness, and unseemly squabbles gave occasion for stinging ridicule. The war of independence loosened the restraint still further by arraying churchmen against their former standard, with rival virgin and saints, and shameless plundering of temples. This assisted to confer strength on the liberal party in its effort to subordinate the influence of the ecclesiastics. They naturally united in defence of their position, but with such unscrupulous selfishness as to plunge the country into a civil war which lasted for half a century, with slight intermissions. The anarchy, bloodshed, and devastation which marked this period must, with rare exceptions, be ascribed to the machinations of the church and its champions, aided by their enormous wealth. The liberals were finally obliged to confiscate a property used for purposes so reprehensible, to decree the separation of church and state, to place education on a secular basis, to withdraw privileges, and even to forbid the appearance of ecclesiastics in uniform beyond the limits of their own buildings.

Elsewhere unworthy conduct has tended to lower the influence of the church, as in Alaska, where the misconduct among the Greek clergy exceeded even that of the Roman catholics. In Oregon, also, the pioneer brethren among the protestants evinced no hesitation in setting aside the main object of their mission, the instruction of the Indians, in order to devote themselves to personal aggrandizement and political agitation.

The two great incentives to the occupation of the Pacific coast, fur-hunting and gold-mining, tended greatly to abolish religious sentiment. The reckless, roaming life of the gold-seekers withdrew them altogether from the influence of the church, and, released from social restraints and duties, they indulged in revelry and dissipation, in drinking and gambling, and oath-laden converse. Preachers might visit the mines and gather occasional contributions, but little serious attention was given to their admonitions. The appearance of women was, however, the signal for religious gatherings, and as they increased in number congregations became assured. Endowed by their rarity in flush times with angelic attributes, their presence wrought a marked change of tone for the better, and by their example they revived such home customs as church attendance. The lack of refined entertainments strengthened the disposition to attend religious services, and gave impulse to the erection of temples.

The centralization of modern days, with its attendant bustle and travelling, and the multiplying attractions and dissipations of city life are having their effect. The conditions of life in the larger towns with their crowded thoroughfares and bare, dusty streets, impel the worker to seek the refreshing beauties of nature whenever leisure permits. Foreigners contribute different customs to undermine the puritan regard for the Sabbath, and thus it is rapidly losing its once sacred character to the general undermining of religious sentiment. So startling did the infraction appear to many that Nevada, for instance, passed laws for the observance of the day, but with little avail.

In agricultural towns and districts the absence of amusements favors the cause of the church, while the prevalence of family relations in farming regions is also a strong incentive, and the various benevolent projects of the congregations led by sympathetic woman form additional bonds. The presence of several small bodies of different denominations, some united by the tie of a common foreign language, often serves to produce emulation, to increase the flock and its contributions, and to aid in the erection of temples.

In this rivalry the zeal and ability of the pastors rank foremost. Hence we find that the catholics are rarely surpassed in the towns of the United States where mining, manufactures, and trade bring together any large number of that faith. Elsewhere the methodists usually take the initiative, even if excelled in time by other sects in wealth and numbers. The catholics have also the advantage in impressive rites and easy object worship, while the protestant clergy try the patience of their flocks with reiterated readings, dry sermons, monotonous and prolonged prayers, and colorless ceremonies. One of their few attractions is the general participation in the chant, but this is largely dispensed with in more fashionable churches by the substitution of a paid choir, which undoubtedly draws many a listener. The lack of inducements for children in protestant worship has given rise to the Sunday-school with its illustrative lessons, informal converse, prize cards, and other means for alluring the youthful mind. Revivals or camp meetings aim with their enthusiasm and excitement, wherein the protestant service is usually so deficient, to rouse anew the slumbering or backsliding soul, and they succeed fairly in the country districts, but seldom meet with encouragement in the larger towns.

Among the catholic orders, with their more regular mission tours, the Jesuits have excelled, as is shown by the general regret exhibited among the people at their several expulsions. The care taken by the society to assign its members according to their qualifications as eloquent preachers, zealous missionaries, or able teachers, their superior education and manners, or their adaptation to social requirements, have had their effect here as elsewhere, whether in obscure frontier fields, or in centres of population. Spanish-American governments fear too much their insidious influence over the people to allow their presence; but in the United States, where men of all religions and of no religion are undisturbed in their belief, they are not only tolerated but occupy a high position in the esteem of the people, so that their colleges and temples, as at San Francisco, are widely attended.

There is a wide field for the ministry in America, aside from the conversion of the Indian tribes, for the influx to the coast is assuming ever larger volume and embraces adherents of all creeds, from the most absurd phases of idolatry to the highest philosophic tenets. Of course credulity is still rampant, as illustrated not alone by the acceptance of miracles in the Spanish countries, but by the support accorded to salvation armies and similar abnormities.

The flourishing condition of Mormonism on this coast need therefore create no astonishment. It rose among an uneducated and somewhat credulous frontier class, but is now chiefly fed by proselytes from Europe, receiving hardly any accessions from the population of the western slope. Its professed reforms in the restoration of early Christian rites and practices merited attention, and screened many anomalies. The conspicuous spot upon the fabric is polygamy, as added later upon various grounds, and forming rather a portion of their creed than, as is commonly supposed, a mere cloak for carnal indulgence. The indignation of the gentiles threatened at one time to extinguish the sect; but like many others it prospered under persecution, and the long deplored expulsion from Nauvoo proved for the time its salvation, forcing it into isolation and security. Its main attraction for the masses lay in the coöperative idea pervading both spiritual and worldly affairs, which promised relief and comfort for the poor.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CHURCH—MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

Religion of the Aztecs—Their Idols, Sacrifices, and Feasts—Influence of the Friars after the Conquest—The Franciscans—The Augustinians—The Dominicans—The Carmelites and Others—Disputes between the Orders—The Secular Clergy—The Jesuits—The Real Patronato—Bishops and Archbishops—The Inquisition—The Struggle for Church Supremacy.

The religion of the Aztecs was one of elevated ideas, blended with barbarous rites, and indebted for its purer elements to the conquered Mayas. Some of its passages allude to the belief in a supreme being. It is recorded that the sage Nezahualcoyotl, king of Tezcuco, erected a temple dedicated to the invisible deity named Tloquenahuaque, "he who is all himself," or Ipalnemoan, "he by whom we live," who was to be propitiated, not by human sacrifices, but by incense and flowers. The Aztec also believed in the existence of a rival deity, one of evil, bearing the name of Tlacatecolotl, or "man-owl." There was also a great variety of gods of a barbaric type, the highest of whom was Tezcatlipoca, evidently an ancient deity of the race. Many attributes were ascribed to him, and he was constantly petitioned in various forms for every kind of favor. Quetzalcoatl was the ancient deity of Cholula, who inculcated gentleness and peace and abhorred the sacrifice of any living creature. Many stories are related of the rivalry existing between Tezcatlipoco and Quetzalcoatl—the latter having taught men to till the soil, to work metals, and to rule a well-ordered state—and of the arts which the former used to drive his sick and weary rival from the land, in which purpose it is said that he succeeded by causing him to drink pulque. It is difficult to trace the origin of these deities; but there were two, Tonatiuh and Metztli, the sun and moon, who stand out as distinct nature gods; and the pyramids of Teotihuacan are evidences of the manner in which these deities were worshipped. But the greatest god of the Aztec pantheon was Huitzilopochtli, the war god, of whom one legend gave a supernatural conception, and another made a deified war-chief. In Mexico is still to be seen an enormous block of basalt, on which is sculptured on one side the image of this hideous personage, and on the other the not less frightful war goddess Teoyaomiqui, or "divine-war-death." Centeotl was the goddess of maize, patroness of the earth and mother of the gods. Mictlantenctli was the lord of Hades, and ruled over the departed in the nether world. There were numbers of lesser deities, presiding over classes, events, and occupations in life. Below those were the nature spirits, who held sway over the rain and clouds, the hills, groves, streams, etc. The temples were called teocalli, some of which rivalled as well as resembled those of ancient Babylon. To some of the deities sacrifices were made only of grain, fruits, and animals, but to Huitzilopochtli and others human victims were constantly offered, their hearts being cut out while living, and the carcasses hurled down the steps of the temple, to be afterward used as food by the faithful who had made the offerings. The priests were held in awe and veneration, the high priest and others immediately under him being members of the ruling family, while none but the noble could aspire to the priesthood. The rites and observances included prayers, sacrifices, processions, dances, chants, fasting, and other austerities. Some of the victims for sacrifice were thrown into the fire as an offering to the fire god; others were crushed between balanced stones, and with these sacrifices were mingled rejoicing or sorrow, as the occasion might suggest. The type was a butchery, followed by a cannibal feast.

Information concerning sacrifices and feasts among the Mayas is less complete than among the Nahuas. The former never undertook anything of importance without first offering sacrifice. The burden of their prayers was for long life, health, progeny, and the necessaries of life. Upon occasions of distress, they drew blood from several parts of their body, as did the Nahuas. One of their most notable and solemn feasts was more a time of penance and vigil than of rejoicing. On certain occasions, which we may call lent, slaves were sacrificed, who were allowed, previous to the rite, a certain amount of freedom, though on the neck of each was fastened a ring, and to provide against escape the future victim was guarded wherever he went. On the day appointed the victims were marched in procession to the temple, and put to death with solemn though barbarous rites, the hearts being cut out. The heads of the sacrifices were placed upon stakes; the flesh was seasoned, cooked, and partaken of as a holy thing; the high priest and supreme lord received the hands and feet, as the most delicate morsels, and the body was distributed among the priests and others. The Mayas had many religious rites and observances resembling those of the Nahuas.

The Spanish conquest of Mexico and Central America abolished the religious rites, and nominally, at least, the religions then existing in those countries, replacing them with that of the cross. In some instances the symbol of Christianity preceded and in others accompanied the sword in the van of discovery and subjugation of kingdoms and provinces. The conquest once effected, the soldier became a cultivator of the soil, and the founder of a family, surrounding himself with a band of dependents and of hapless native laborers, whom he frequently maltreated. The latter were not, however, without friends to champion their cause. The humble friars proved themselves powerful champions, and travelled in all directions seeking converts for the church and vassals for the king, replacing the temples of idolatry with convents and shrines, and teaching in chants and symbols submission to the will of providence, as enjoined by the vicegerent of Christ upon earth, as well as to the commands of the Castillian monarch, affording at the same time protection to the oppressed and relief to the afflicted. Not a few in the performance of their noble work won the crown of martyrdom, which was their highest ambition.

The services of friars being greatly needed, especially during the sixteenth century, whilst the conquest was being vigorously prosecuted, the crown sent them forth and supported at its expense, supplying their convents, besides, with sacred vestments and vessels, medicines, wine, and oil. Both king and pope extended to those religious communities numerous privileges to facilitate their labors. The royal officials and the ordinaries as well were enjoined not to molest them, nor to interfere with their administration. The privileges granted these missionaries by the vatican even exceeded those of the royal government, for they were endowed with rights and powers which they had never been able to obtain in Europe, those exclusively appertaining to the secular clergy not excepted. These concessions were made the most of, and gained for the regular orders an influence with the masses that no power could easily efface. Desirable as they had been at first, they gave rise to constant collisions after the church had been more fully established and bishoprics had been created in widely distant provinces. The isolated convents after a time grew into custodias, or divisions to which several convents were subject, and later were organized the provincias, some of which were very extensive. The influence of the various orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans, brought them abundant contributions, donations, and bequests, whereby broad lands and much treasure were acquired. The old monastic simplicity vanished; luxury, assumption of authority, and abuses followed.

The chief religious orders which existed in Mexico and Central America were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Mercenarios, or friars of Our Lady of Mercy, and the order of St John of God. The Franciscans had their field in Mexico, Zacatecas, Jalisco, and adjoining provinces. In Querétaro there was established, in 1683, the Colegio de Propaganda Fide, to preach the gospel to the natives, especially in the Sierra Gorda, its members extending their labors to Oajaca and Yucatan. In later years they established similar institutions: in Mexico the Colegio de San Fernando; in Puebla, the Hospicio de Nuestra Señora del Destierro; and in Zacatecas, the Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. From these establishments and the regular convents they carried the gospel into the remotest parts of Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosí, Nuevo Leon, and elsewhere. In Yucatan the Franciscans were the only order represented. The Jesuits at one time tried to open colleges in this province, but their influence was only temporary. Less prominent than the followers of Saint Francis of Assisi were the bare-footed friars of the same name, of the province of San Diego, who spread toward the north, founding establishments in Querétaro, Zacatecas, and Guanajuato. In Sierra Gorda they also labored. In Mexico they had the college of Pachuca, and the house of Recollects at San Cosme.

The Augustinians, or Austin friars, entered Mexico in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and founded a province in Mexico, which in 1602 was separated into two divisions, the original one retaining the name of Santísimo Nombre de Jesus, and the other assuming that of San Nicolás Tolentino. The latter comprised the territories of Michoacan and Jalisco. The bare-footed Augustinians, of which twelve members arrived in 1606, established their hospital at Tlatelulco, but afterward removed to Mexico.

The Dominicans obtained undisputed possession of Oajaca, as already stated, their province being called San Hipólito. They gradually extended their influence from the capital to Zacatecas, Jalisco, Querétaro, and other parts. The Carmelites, Mercenarios, and others of minor note possessed establishments in the larger towns, such as Puebla, Vera Cruz, Valladolid, etc., but in prestige and influence were inferior to other orders.

The following facts are recorded concerning the foundation of the regular orders in Central America. Fray Toribio de Motolinia, a Franciscan, came to Nicaragua in 1528 to join certain Flemish friars who were then residing in the province, and together they successfully pursued their missionary labors. In Guatemala the Dominican, Domingo de Betanzos, founded in 1529 a convent near Santiago, but was recalled to Mexico early in the following year. In 1536 the celebrated friar Bartolomé de las Casas, who in 1532 had founded a Dominican convent at Leon, removed with his companions to Guatemala, and reopened the convent founded by Betanzos. In 1537 the order of Mercy had a convent in Ciudad Real, Chiapas, and the next year another in Santiago. Of the Dominicans there were in the province in 1550 about fifteen besides their prior. Meantime the Franciscans had entered the field, five or six of the order, who had been sent for by the bishop, arriving at Santiago about 1540. Later Motolinia came to Santiago with a considerable number of his order, and thus the Franciscans became firmly established in Guatemala; there were, however, in 1547 only twelve members in the province. The jealousy between Dominicans and Franciscans existed there as elsewhere; the bickerings which occurred, and the strong opposition offered by the earlier established order to the new-comers, were so discouraging that many Franciscans left the province, and but for the efforts of the bishop all would have abandoned the field. It was not altogether a struggle for supremacy. The two orders disagreed likewise as to the method of spreading Christianity, and in other matters. The Dominicans were unyielding in their opposition to the enslavement of the Indians, whereas the Franciscans rather favored that system. The former refused, moreover, to recognize as valid the wholesale baptisms performed by the latter.

Between 1540 and 1550 about thirty Franciscans came from Yucatan to Costa Rica to continue the work of conversion, and met with fair success. The Mercenarios also entered the province of Costa Rica. In Panamá I find that about 1578 the capital contained a Franciscan and a Dominican convent, and one belonging to the Merced order. Toward the end of the century a nunnery was established, under the name of Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion. Nunneries of various orders were founded in Mexico and Central America from the earliest days, and their number grew apace.

Such were the beginnings of the religious orders which in the course of years came to wield an almost supreme power in these countries.

The secular clergy of New Spain and Central America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contained a large proportion of members who had merely come to the new world in quest of fortune. For the most part, these adventurers were no honor to their calling, as is made evident in numerous papal bulls, royal orders, edicts of the inquisition, and the reports of viceroys, one of the latter being a distinguished prelate.

During the first two centuries after the conquest natives of America obtained preferment in the church, but in the latter part of the following century, royal decrees in their favor having become a dead letter, very few were promoted. The result of this policy was that in 1808 all the mitres except one in New Spain were worn by European Spaniards, and but few of the high positions in chapters or canon stalls fell to the lot of Americans. Most of the desirable rectorships and curacies were also in the hands of the former, the native priests receiving only the poor curatos de indios. This circumstance afterward made of the latter a powerful element in promoting the cause of independence, as the Indians then held their pastors in great reverence.

The society of Jesus, which gained a foothold in New Spain in 1572, had made great progress both as teachers and missionaries by the end of the seventeenth century, acquiring at the same time a vast amount of wealth. The order continued to spread during the next hundred years. As already mentioned, the Spanish crown resolved, in 1767, to expel the Jesuits from all its dominions, and its decree was stringently carried into effect. The order was subsequently suppressed by Pope Clement XIV., to be revived in later years, and toward the end of Spanish domination in America it was permitted to reënter, though soon afterward it was again banished from the country. After the revolution the Jesuits endeavored to force their way into Guatemala, and after considerable manœuvring succeeded, during Carrera's unique rule. Upheld by him and by his successor, Cerna, in exchange for their support, they waxed powerful and wealthy; but after the liberal revolution of 1871 their estates were confiscated, and the seventy-one remaining members were expelled. Taking refuge in Nicaragua, they were tolerated for several years, until they became obnoxious, and were driven away from that republic and from Costa Rica. All the states, including Colombia, have forbidden the Jesuits to dwell in their territory in community form, though as individuals there is no objection to their presence.

The Spanish crown, through its representatives in America, controlled the church by virtue of the real patronato, guarded by the sovereign as among the most precious of his prerogatives, as, indeed, it was, implying independence from the pretensions of the pope to be the sovereign of sovereigns, as the vicegerent of Christ on earth. No bull, brief, or other order emanating from the holy see could be made public or have effect without first receiving the royal *exequatur*.

The secular clergy enjoyed the especial privileges granted by the king, and known under the general title of fuero eclesiástico, and held their own courts, though in late years with very much restricted jurisdiction. Another prerogative was that of church asylum allowed to criminals taking refuge, before arrest, within the precinct of certain church buildings and grounds. This privilege, after causing much trouble between civil and ecclesiastical authorities, was finally brought within very narrow bounds by the sovereign, with papal assent. The first diocese created was that of Cozumel in 1523, which extended to and included Tlaxcala. The see remained at Tlaxcala till 1550, when it was transferred to Puebla. This diocese had several prelates of distinguished ability, the most celebrated being Juan de Palafox, a man who probably had royal blood in his veins. He became archbishop of Mexico and viceroy of New Spain. The next prelate in New Spain was Friar Juan de Zumárraga, the bishop of Mexico, and the iconoclast who destroyed the Aztec records, believing them to be connected with the old idolatry. In his time is said to have occurred the apparition of the virgin Mary to the Indian Juan Diego at Guadalupe. The next bishops erected the sees of Oajaca and Michoacan, followed later by those of Yucatan, Guadalajara, and others.

The church of New Spain had at the beginning of the present century one archbishop and seven bishops.

The number of sees was somewhat increased a few years later, and after 1860 several sees were subdivided. In Central America there is one archbishopric, that of Guatemala, and there are the bishoprics of Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panamá, the last named being a suffragan of the archbishop of Bogotá.

There were at one time, besides the episcopal heads and their chapters, with numerous dignitaries, canons, prebendaries, and priests both regular and secular. archicofradías and cofradías, or religious fraternities, which served a good purpose in some respects, but on the other hand drained the resources of communities, especially in Indian towns and parishes. Convents of either sex and religious fraternities are now things of the past, being forbidden by law. The aggregate value of church property, though it had been largely drawn upon, was enormous. Aside from the income of its real estate, mortgages, etc., it also derived a vast income from fees and donations.

The inquisition—declared by the church to be no part of itself, though it was entirely in the hands of ecclesiastics—was an institution intended to preserve in its purity the catholic faith; but it soon became an instrument of tyranny and cruelty. Its whole mode of existence and procedure was infamous, and its sentences and penalties a mixture of hypocrisy and brutality. Such an institution could exist only under a reign of despotism based on ignorance and superstition; and early in the present century, with the first dawn of liberty in Spain it was abolished, never again to reappear.

After the separation of the colonies from the mother country the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff was again asserted on the ground that the concession to the king of Spain had lapsed, and that the authority therefore reverted to the source from which it had sprung. The new nationalities contended on the other hand that they were the assigns of the former sovereign within their respective territories. It was a much-vexed question, and the source of infinite trouble and bloodshed, for the church, possessing immense pecuniary resources, and having at its beck the support of ignorant and superstitious populations, and of unscrupulous political leaders, who used it for their own aggrandisement, attempted to exercise an almost uncontrolled domination. The clergy and their supporters made a stubborn fight, endeavoring to keep the masses in a state of ignorance; but light gradually crept in, and the people began to perceive the hollowness of ecclesiastical pretension. At last the ecclesiastics, together with their aiders and abettors, the friends of despotism, and enemies of equality before the law, even in spite of foreign bayonets brought to their support when unable to longer maintain the conflict, were signally defeated. The wealth of the church has been confiscated and its power for evil is gone, it is hoped forever. Freedom of conscience and the free enjoyment of every religious belief based on morality are recognized by law, or at least are universally tolerated. Good and sincere catholics hope that their church in Spanish-America has of late years become chastened, and that its ministers, eschewing politics, and abandoning all pretensions to encroach upon the sovereignty of the state, will devote themselves simply to their legitimate duties. By so doing they will gain an influence based on the respect and love of intelligent men and women.

Philosophy and science have stamped their influence on every individual and production, through schools and publications, and through passive and active demonstration. The results of discoveries in science, art, literature, or in the invention of devices that tend to elevate the entire race, whether it be in printing, the preserver of arts; spinning or weaving to relieve the communities from severe occupations; improved smelting, rolling, or hardening processes of iron and other metals; the steam-engine, the reaping machine, every invention increases the human power ~~and~~ shapes the destiny of nations, but the necessities always bring forward the person who plays the conspicuous part, therefore the beginning and end of all things in live history is human nature. What men do, think, feel, and say is the soul of historical text; all else is dry bones in the narrative, however useful as framework. Before presenting the chapter discussing the early history of the religious organizations in California, I will present the biography of one of California's prominent characters.

CHAPTER XXX.

LIFE OF MOSES HOPKINS.

Ancestral History—Qualities Inherited—Early Home Education—Its Depth and Permanency—An Unobtrusive Moral Force—Its Influence Silent, but Pronounced—A Peculiar Specimen of the People—The Power of Conservation Exemplified.

Those who find fault with history as a record look upon it too much, perhaps, as a mere collection of facts, whereas the beginning and end of historical study is mankind. Man is a problem to others and to himself. Were the problem only that of keeping soul and body together, he must be, to a certain extent, original, unlike every other, and yet at the same time like every other. We feel a scientific interest in him. We feel another and an indefinable moral interest in him, seeing him engaged in a perpetual struggle as a free-will agent contending against necessity. He is our brother, not in the sentimental meaning of that word, if such a use of the term be not agreeable, but our brother in likeness of body, mind, and soul. He concerns us, it may be at bottom, because it is our advantage to know him. We may learn from him if he is stronger and brighter than we are; we may acquire strength by noting wherein he is weak. He is so much an object of sympathetic concern to us, that his living blends with ours. We live and move and breathe in him, and he in us. This fact of a common interest among men in each other I regard as evidence of the identity of the origin and destiny of the human family; it is psychological testimony, perhaps not convincing, yet hardly less satisfying than the argument of ethnology or philology.

No other test of eligibility to a place among the builders of the commonwealth commends itself to me as superior to that of character. Yet I have learned from experience that on the Pacific coast, which has been my field of historical research during the last thirty years, that if I were to appeal to my immediate constituency, asking each of them to name for me a half-dozen persons whom they regard as actual factors in the development of this part of our country, I would hardly receive from any two of them the same list of names. No two of them would judge by the same standard, nor would they be in position to determine upon such a list, though they should start out agreed as to what constitutes a builder. What, it may be asked, could cause such a difference of opinion? Mainly this, a lack of familiarity with the elements which combine to give character to the community—the actual forces that underlie the moral and material development of the coast. Among the agents whose talents and industry have contributed to this result, some have been conspicuous, occupying a large place in the public mind, others again inconspicuous. While I would expect to find more builders among the former class according to number, I would expect, nevertheless, to find among the latter many a powerful, well-defined, though comparatively silent, force. A man's part in the life of his community need not be notorious in order to be pronounced, nor obtrusive in order to be felt. Facts as ordinarily understood, that is to say, things noted and made of record, fall far short of filling the measure of human life; for though they are, in a sense, an expression of personality, they do not necessarily enter into the essence of man's living. A man may be a source of positive and ceaseless influence, radiating from him in all directions into the moral and intellectual atmosphere about him, yet his goings out and comings in may be so ordered that his agency be hidden. Such agency may be likened to that of a vein of water flowing underground, secretly, and visible only in the verdure on the surface; and if the force of such a moral agent be so distributed as to obscure its source, how much more remote from the public comprehension must we not expect to find the nature and individuality of the agent? In my study of human factorship on the Pacific coast, which has brought me into contact, and I may say into spiritual communion, with men who make history, I have somewhat unlearned the old lesson, that men are to be judged by their acts. Without due consideration of circumstances, I should feel as safe to judge them by their words as by their acts. I take it that a man's caliber may be determined fairly by his capabilities. Achievement may or may not be in consequence of ability, for much depends upon environment. Capability is a force of itself, measurable by itself. A man of comparatively small power may achieve greatness, while a man of great power may be small of stature if considered with reference to things accomplished by him. The absence of achievement is not evidence of inability. Nor is there anything new in this. It is old in the books, at least, if it is not a matter of common observation. I was struck by the remark of a friend, made in a recent conversation. "How I would enjoy some knowledge of an unknown Roman," said he; "I have heard so much about Cæsar, and the rest of his kind, that I am tired of it." This suggestion brings me directly, and I hope not too abruptly, to the threshold of a biographical study, the subject of which, though not by any means unrecognized, is not selected for these *Chronicles* because his career has been conspicuous. He is indeed tolerably well known; he is a man of substantial prominence in the metropolis of the Pacific seaboard; but he is interesting to me, and will be interesting to others, mainly on account of his character, which is fairly known to but few of my readers, and fully comprehended by none. I feel, however, that if I can present him as he has impressed himself upon me as the result of inquiry and scrutiny, they will perceive in him an individuality, a force as distinct, as unique, and as interesting as that of any other which I endeavor to portray in the *Chronicles of the Builders.* I refer to Moses Hopkins. His family name is inseparably a part of the history of the development of this western world, the honor of which name, reflected upon him, is fairly equalled by the distinction of his own personal worth.

The lineage of Mr Hopkins is traced back through an unbroken line of ancestry to days preceding the civil war in England, when his forefathers were among the active supporters of the revolutionary cause. The members of his family were also destined to exercise an important influence on the early history of New England. The first one to land on her shores was John Hopkins, a native of Coventry, England, the house where he was born being still among the landmarks of that ancient burgh. In 1635 he received the freedom of the city of Cambridge, Massachusetts, removing thence to Hartford, of which town he was one of the founders, where in 1654 he died. His great-grandson, Samuel, after graduating at Yale in 1718, was appointed the pastor at West Springfield, and was known to fame as the author of an historical work on the Housatonics, while Timothy, his brother, was in 1725 a justice of the peace at Waterbury, and later a member of the legislature. Unto Timothy Hopkins nine children were born, the eldest of whom, named Samuel, also a graduate of Yale, was one of the most eminent divines in New England, originating a system of theology which carries to its extreme conclusions the doctrine of Calvinism. The story of his life forms the ground-work of a novel from the pen of Harriet Beecher Stowe, by whom it is claimed that he was the first clergyman to advocate in the pulpit the abolition of slavery. Of his five sons, John David Hopkins became one of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of Baltimore, while Moses was a justice of the peace of Great Barrington, and for more than half a century county registrar, and also for many years postmaster. His portrait, which his descendants cherish, shows him at full length, a conservative character, still attired in the dress in vogue among the genteel folk of his youthful days—knee-breeches, square-toed shoes, and ruffled shirt-front. Mark Hopkins, one of the nine children of Moses Hopkins, became the father of seven children, named as follows in the order of birth: Augustus K., Samuel F., Henry K., William, Mark, Moses, and Ezra A. The two first named were born in Massachusetts, and the others at Henderson, New York.

Many of his ancestors on his mother's side, whose maiden name was Tacy Lukins Kellogg, were also prominent figures in the colonial history of New England. Among the notable families connected with the Kelloggs were the Otises, Ingersolls, and Whitings.

It would be like thrashing over old straw to generalize concerning the youthful environment of Moses Hopkins at Henderson, or subsequently at Saint Clair, Michigan, the former a typical town of New York, and the latter typical also of the northwest of that time. The conditions of his beginnings in life should, however, be noticed in their salient features, for a man's circumstances are the "element he is appointed to live and work in, from which by necessity he takes his complexion, vesture, and embodiment, being modified in all his practical manifestations by them, almost without limit." For, "let a man be born ten years sooner or ten years later, his whole aspect and performance shall be different." The community in which his young life was unfolded was one in which labor was general, hence respectable and dignified; the people were thrifty, intelligent, and keen. They were self-respecting, self-reliant, independent, rigid in morals, and strict in religious observance. His parents were persons representative of their neighbors in enlightenment and influence. As has been noted, the stock from which they descended was Saxon, which, having asserted itself in its zeal for principle under Cromwell, had shown itself well preserved in its distinguishing characteristics all along the line. They were long-lived; Moses Hopkins's grandmother Kellogg died aged 78 years, and his mother's sisters ranged from 71 to 83 years of age.

Of Moses Hopkins's father it may be said in brief that he was a much-respected and respect-worthy man, a man of insight and discretion, veracious and upright, honored in his calling, filling with clearness and decision the sphere which by nature and circumstances it was his lot to occupy, reverent toward God and fearless among men. Of fair complexion, he was stout, rugged, and hearty, and a leader in general athletics. Until he became a married man, after which it was unseemly according to the custom of his day and neighborhood to keep up these exercises, he was recognized as the champion wrestler. He was not identified with any religious association, but was a strict observer of religious duties. His house, in which Sunday began at sunset Saturday afternoon, and ended at sunset on the day following, was hospitable, and always open to transient preachers. He was a man of congenial temperament; nevertheless he knew how to be dutiful and cheerful at the same time. His pride was in his household and his business. He was a merchant, or trader, and although in comfortable circumstances, never acquired wealth, for his family was large, and his opportunities for gathering riches were not great. His education was superior, and he was a thorough practical surveyor. His government of his children was of a kind to encourage them to distinguish for themselves between right and wrong. He put his boys on their own responsibility, and though he seldom inflicted corporal punishment, they dreaded his displeasure, and were induced to be cautious in undertaking any questionable act. Said he to Moses on one occasion: "Don't let me hear of you picking a quarrel with another boy, but if you let him whip you, I'll whip you myself"—counsel not unlike that of Polonius to his son. If his sons asked him for permission to do what he did not think was best for them, his declination to grant the request was a judgment from which there was no appeal. He was a thorough disciplinarian, but his discipline was wholesome; decided and firm in all things, he was never harsh, and his control was free from spleen or ugliness of temper. He was of an affectionate nature, and fond of domestic animals, in which he took special pleasure; his horses, cows, pigs, and chickens, and his garden, were his pride, and were all kept in model order. He possessed a vein of drollery, or dry humor, which, together with his fondness for and control over animals, we find reproduced in a striking degree in the subject of this study. He was full of energy and vigor, and finally met his death through over-exertion in assisting some of his neighbors in Michigan in lifting a large piece of timber for the construction of a house. Thus was his life cut short on the 27th of November, 1828, at the age of 49 years, when Moses was ten years old.

There is an inward principle by which whatever may be the circumstances of a child's development will control its form and ultimately determine its individuality, yet there are influences of such power as to modify and almost reform the character, by grafting its budding life upon the paternal soul. As the mother, so the son, whenever in a normal state of society the latter unfolds in the full warmth and light of the former's sympathy and love. The mother's impressions upon the heart and mind of her boy will endure and speak to him for her when all else he has learned has faded from his consciousness. Moses Hopkins began life like his mother in personal appearance. She was of dark complexion and slender. Laborious and active, methodical and frugal, she was a model housewife, earnest, faithful, and kind; whatever worldly ambition she may have cherished excluded herself, and concerned her husband and children. Patient and self-sacrificing, her solicitude was for them. She derived no gratification from show, and took no pleasure in form. Her delight was in the perfection of her domestic duties. Unassuming, mild, but firm in manner and speech, her presence and the atmosphere about her strengthened and encouraged her boys to be truthful and manly; their reward was her confidence. One of the happiest reminiscences of her, and one of the most beneficial to her son, a stimulus and help to him all his life, is this: Some child had been guilty of a piece of mischief; a seamstress employed in the house suggested that Moses be tested to see if it was his teeth that fitted into the wax where it had been bitten off. "No," said his mother, "he has told me that it was not he who did it; that is enough." The silence of a mind like hers was a force. Moses was learning to dance; she knew that he was attending dancing-school, which was at war with her belief as to what was best for his temporal and future welfare. While waiting for her to speak to him about what he knew she regarded as indiscreet and sinful, finally the issue was made, and her only comment was: "I am sorry, but whatever you do about it must be done on your own responsibility and without my approval." Perhaps the boy was too full of youth to accept the admonition quite in the spirit in which it was offered, but his punishment could not have been more severe. She was a woman of exalted character, and of such self-discipline as not to give way to precipitate speech; actuated by an acute sense of rectitude, she met her children's wishes by deciding, first, whether it was right and proper that they should be complied with, and second, if right and proper, whether compliance would not be more expedient at another time—always propriety first and expediency afterward. With all of her seriousness she was kind, and her presence comforting. Inflexible in determination, and affectionate in her government, she possessed a force that was irresistible, rendering the control and care of her children cheerful and easy. Of even temperament, admirably self-governed, trouble could not overwhelm her, nor was she unduly elated by the gratification of even her highest wishes. Above all else, encompassing her dearest earthly interests, but reaching far beyond these for herself and those near and dear to her, her criterion and guide was the bible. She was, however, practical, reasonable, and humane in her christianity; routine or ceremony she laid slight stress upon; the great principles of the gospel were her creed. She was a devout and altogether exemplary member of the presbyterian church. "Thought, conscience, the sense that man is denizen of the universe, creature of an eternity," filled her heart. "Beautiful and awful, the feeling of the heavenly behest of duty, God-endowed, over-canopied her life." There is an inspiration in such a character; one may say in the more special sense: "The inspiration of the almighty giveth such an one understanding." It would indeed be singular if the life of such a mother did not enter into, and to an extent forever control, the thoughts and acts of her son, who was blessed with her companionship and counsel until he was eighteen years of age. The force of character derived by him from her elude measurement, but of its vitality made manifest through him there can be no doubt. She passed from this life, at the age of 57 years, on the 4th of May, 1837; hence it was not permitted her to behold the prosperity of her sons in this new and favored land. Her spirit in them was a prime factor in their advancement.

In 1824 the Hopkins family removed from Henderson to Saint Clair, that is, when Moses was seven years of age. It would be a matter of speculation as to just what extent his life had been influenced and qualified by early impressions, or indeed just what his original nature was. It is undeniable, however, that even in comparative infancy the susceptibilities of mind and heart are such that a man's destiny may be formed for him in the nursery. His nature may be likened to that of a seed; the development of the one modified by the conditions of soil and climate, of the other by the complex and subtile influences of environment. We have noted the character of the influences—the atmosphere, in which he took his first steps.

He lived at Saint Clair, Michigan, until the fifteenth year of his age; during this period, his life, not marked by any extraordinary fact, was similar in outward appearance to that of most other boys of his locality and acquaintance. He was put to school when very young, and derived that portion of his early education which he got from books, partly from a private tutor in his father's family, and partly from lessons in the elements at the public school. His school days were very much of the humdrum sort that are recalled without special interest or satisfaction. He absorbed more or less of what he was required to take in from the various primary text-books then used, along with a measure of knowledge from the lecturings of the master. It is unnecessary to say that he secured a good working comprehension of arithmetic, and learned to read and write English fairly well. If his mind did not unfold rapidly and manifest special talent, it was owing doubtless to one of two reasons, possibly both; in the first place, his intellect was of a kind that matures slowly; and in the second place, I can discern plainly the fault in his teaching, which is a fault to be observed in teaching generally: it is the error of putting all pupils through the same course, and bringing them out of the one mould as so many bullets —all alike. If the individuality of this boy had been studied and appreciated by the master, and his education undertaken and caried forward in accordance therewith, the result, if only in fostering native tendency, might have been very different. I think it would have been so, because there were features of intellectual character plainly perceptible, yet lying latent or undeveloped in him, that if duly cherished and drawn out would have made him a man of mark in any special work adapted to his taste and capability. He possessed—incidentally brought out in practical experience—a spirit and power of observation, coupled with insight into the nature of animals, which, if cultivated, would certainly have made him a man of great usefulness and success as a student of natural history. Nor could any one who understood him as he appeared in 1891, still in the possession of his faculties unclouded, fail to perceive in him an acute perception and judgment of human character —a rare faculty of analyzing the motives and purposes that control men. Thus endowed by nature, if his talents had been encouraged in the direction of their own force, there is no doubt but he would have been successful in whatever branch of literature a man is best fitted for who comprehends his fellowmen. Incidentally, it is of interest to note that not only the manner of teaching, but the school-house of his boyhood and its surroundings, were anything but attractive; a severe, restraining, gloomy institution, which, compared with the airy, agreeable public school-houses that are the rule in this generation, suggest freedom and expansion of intellect on the one hand, with intellectual melancholy and repression on the other. The common school-house of that day was looked upon by boys and girls as a place of punishment, and was sometimes used as a threat to frighten little children into good behavior.

When fifteen years old the severity and unattractiveness of this school régime was somewhat abated for Moses, who then went to live with an elder brother at Lockport, New York, where he attended school two years.

The recollection of the cheerless days he passed in the old field school-house, and his sympathetic appreciation of the moral as well as the intellectual healthfulness and permanency of right and pleasing impressions upon the sensitive minds of children, caused him, when he had acquired the means to do so, to take a substantial interest in the education of infants, and to contribute liberally to the city kindergartens. A few days even in one of these inviting schools, in which art gets its inspiration from nature, may give a waif from the street a glimpse of better social life, which will indelibly fix upon his memory the contrast between enlightenment and degradation, virtue and vice.

At the end of this schooling he entered one of the principal commercial houses of Lockport, and there passed his apprenticeship until he became of age, soon after which he went to Great Barrington, the native town of his parents, between which place and New York city he was employed in mercantile trade up to the time of his emigration to California in 1851.

In this brief sentence are summed up the mere facts of a somewhat commonplace experience—an experience which, on the surface, it would be difficult to distinguish from that of many other young men of the same time and locality. It was a period of importance to him, however, and to others; for it was a time in which his character was crystallizing into permanent form. In this school of men, in which he was an apt scholar, he equipped himself with knowledge of the highest usefulness, because it prepared him first of all to take care of himself, and hence to be able to render assistance to others. Amply informed for all practical purposes regarding men and business, and with wholesome habits firmly fixed, he was capable of being the same man in California or anywhere else that he had grown up to be in Massachusetts. If this had been true of all, or even of a very great number, of pioneers to the Pacific coast, the difference that would have resulted in the general conditions of things—industry, morals, society—would have been great. The things that have been done by the pioneers have not been done because many of them were not demoralized by the change of habitation, by coming into a land new and strange, but in spite of a demoralization which wrecked many of them, and enervated even more. He was never a man of large aspirations, hence he lacked aggressiveness. An eminent author says: "No man's life is without jostling and being jostled; he has to elbow himself through the world, giving and receiving offence. His life is a battle in so far as it is an entity at all. His conflict is continual." Still, friction costs, and it is a question well worthy of consideration, whether much of the wear and tear of the struggle for power and recognition may not be profitably avoided. Moses Hopkins was first of all a man of common sense, hence neither an Alexander nor a Diogenes. He was thorough in all that he did. He was never at a loss for employment, never idle, always commanding reasonable profit in commerce. His sphere of activity was largely as he made it, and I apprehend that it was always as large as he desired. He was at ease in this, that he was well self-governed, and also master of whatever work he devoted his energy to. He never coveted leadership, could never discover in leadership a satisfactory compensation for the toil and sacrifice that are involved in attaining it. There was sufficient comfort for him in that measure of the world's goods with leisure and freedom of mind to enjoy them, such as he could command with the least crowding and conflict. His world was complete so long as he was undisturbed in his methodical arrangements and systematic labor; he did whatsoever he did not only efficiently but with precision. Yet he was alive to opportunities for personal advancement, and was active in turning them to his advantage within the limits which he placed upon his enterprise; but he enjoyed life as he went along, and never allowed himself to be swallowed up in any undertaking that might enrich him at the cost of that happiness, which, in his case, at least, depended as much upon the enjoyment of the labor put forth to win as upon satisfaction with the thing won. He was least of all migratory in disposition, and in all likelihood he would have lived out his days in the east, but for the fact that his brother, Mark Hopkins, corresponded with him regularly, and spoke favorably of California.

The former, a pioneer of 1849, was in some respects the opposite of the latter. He was aggressive, fond of being in the front, just the man to blaze the way and clear the road for others to travel upon. In 1851 Mark Hopkins, having been successful in this state, went back to the east, and with him during that year returned his brother Moses.

In whatever the two brothers had been engaged together from boyhood, the natural place for Mark, and the place which Moses preferred for him, was in the lead. Says Moses Hopkins: "When Mark and I played together as boys he was chief, and I was perfectly willing that he should be; if he was n't at the head he was n't anywhere." So much do we differ in disposition; for having a tolerably fair knowledge of both men, I can see that the ability to lead and command was not less in the one than in the other. The capabilities of leadership in Moses Hopkins, however, were latent, lacking temper to put them into action, while the same capabilities in Mark Hopkins were the readiest of all his forces to assert themselves. The two men had each a profound regard for and thorough appreciation of the other; and though Moses preferred to follow rather than to lead in whatever he undertook with his brother, it is true also that Mark regarded Moses in counsel and in action as his peer, and as essential to his own success in whatever venture they had in common. To plan and start the work, and to keep it going and finish it, are two different things, requiring two different kinds of energy; and if Mark was fertile in conception, Moses was not less able in performance. In many things his perception and nicety of detail were superior. If there were any notable point of weakness in Mark Hopkins it was in this, that having once put his hand to the plough he could not turn back. Having determined upon a certain course to pursue, nothing could drive him out of his direction. Having fairly embarked upon any enterprise, he would see the end of it according to the policy determined upon in the outset, preferring even failure to change of purpose. It was said of Gœthe, that the grand law of his being was to conclude whatever he began; that, let him engage in any task, no matter what its difficulties or how small its worth, he could not quit it until he had mastered its whole secret, finished it, and made the result of it his own. In commenting upon this feature of the great poet's character, a contemporary remarked: "This is a quality of which it is far safer to have too much than to have too little"; certainly it is an element of the greatest capacity to surmount obstacles and to expedite business. But while a vacillating disposition is at war with all progress, the difference between the stubborn refusal to retrace one's steps, and shifting about for an insufficient or imaginary cause, is extreme. No one can tell in any undertaking what modification or compromise may be necessary to perfect it. Hence persistent adherence to any programme, purely for the reason that the original design must be carried out to the letter, may involve failure. To go forward with confidence and vigor constituted the distinguishing trait in the character of Mark Hopkins, and perhaps entered as largely into his great success as a factor in the development of the Pacific coast as any other force. Doubtless it was this fixity of purpose that characterized him in holding fast with assurance in the tremendous work of constructing the first overland railroad. Still, there are favoring circumstances that have to do with the framing of men's destinies, and while the mere doggedness of will to accomplish, simply because we have undertaken, is excellent when it leads to success, it has in it always a possible tendency to disaster. The laws of nature are unchangeable, but they are the expression of infallible wisdom. It is good, however, to have a man of Mark Hopkins's temper in control of a well-digested project, especially if he has associated with him in carrying it forward those who are ingenious and efficient in detail. Such a man was Moses Hopkins, who, though not lacking in judgment or deliberation, was disposed to take his bearings as often as occasion suggested, and to vary his course accordingly. He might be criticised for being too circumspect, over-cautious; but he was wise in this, that he would never bind himself by any iron rule. It was an element of strength in him that he looked forward to possible changes of plan as something always to be considered. As expressed by himself: "A rule for one's conduct is nothing more than a general principle of action, while each particular move must be governed wholly by the exigencies of the case. I was born with a power of perceiving the influence that trifles have on every subject; and I am governed in my opinions and actions by a general principle with a variegated edge. The rule is good enough, but surroundings make variations." His pride of judgment was involved in this idea; and I do not know that I should be wrong to characterize it in his case as an expression of moral courage.

He was induced to migrate to California by the expectation of bettering his condition financially. It was not a step that he was prompted to by ambition, that is to say, by an indefinite craving for extraordinary advancement. He did not expect to pick up riches in this el dorado, nor did it enter into his mind to crowd and elbow his way into superlative wealth and prominence; but this change of residence to one of his temperament was an affair of considerable moment, for his disposition was least of all migratory. He was doing well enough where he was, and he might not do any better, indeed he might not do so well in a field that was new and untried. His determination to take up his abode in California was made subject to trial. If the experiment proved satisfactory, he would stay; if not, he would return home for the same reason that he had gone away. He had seen men prepared to take the steamer for California repent in the act of embarking and turn back. This was a weakness of indecision of which he never could have been guilty, though if it should so happen that a good reason offered itself to him for doing as they did, he would not have hesitated to do likewise. His maxim was: "If my judgment tells me I have made a mistake, the quicker I take another course the better." When asked by his neighbors why he should want to leave home, and they ventured to tell him that it would not be long before he would be coming back, he replied that it might be so, and that if he should find that it was better to return, he would not be afraid to come back among them and acknowledge his mistake. But he believed he was right, and he was going to continue so to believe until he proved himself to be wrong; at any rate, they might depend upon it that he would not remain and punish himself in California, in case he did not succeed there, for fear that some of them would twit him on his failure.

But he found California agreeable, and he made it his home, although the face of nature and the ways of men are at variance with what he was accustomed to in New England. With the scrutiny and insight of the naturalist, he detected wherein men were really altered and wherein they only seemed to be changed by their surroundings. Immigrants from whatever quarter grew into the likeness of one another and became Californians. The tendency toward uniformity was strong; old standards of conduct and manner gave way generally to new. In a few years many persons had so conformed in habit and appearance to the new régime as to retain only the ear-marks of their former selves. This transformation, often only superficial, but sometimes going to the depths of men's moral nature, he saw and analyzed with penetration. Without so formulating it to himself, perhaps without being conscious of it, he was, from the time of his earliest thinking, given to the analysis of men and affairs. But little influenced by superficial phenomena, his disposition was to comprehend not merely that this or that was the fact, but why it was so. Nor did he see through a glass darkly; he appreciated what he saw. He was a student of the times and his contemporaries. Few men, if any, understood better than he the drama of early days. It was a feverish epoch, and the argonauts, with a few exceptions, abnormally exhilarated, acted their several roles unconsciously in the serio-comic play, which, for the want of a better title, may be called Exaggeration. The community occupied the stage as players; there were but few who stood sufficiently aloof to witness the performance without being drawn into it. Moses Hopkins was a looker-on, not idle or unappreciative, but dispassionate and philosophical. He took note of all the characters; the majority burning the candle at both ends, each in hot pursuit of a fortune, or wasting himself in whatever distractions the genius of idleness could devise. Thrown into the midst of this excitement, he avoids the swirl, and contemplates it, a self-contained spectator. How is this? Was he different from the rest—less susceptible than they to demoralizing influences? Yes, by nature he was peculiarly fortified; he was endowed with a reflective mind; his caution was large and his fondness for novelty small; the mere fact that others did something, that it was the fashion, did not tempt him to do it; perhaps quite the contrary, for he had observed that most men are like sheep; they love to be together, because they are afraid to be alone, and being dim of sight, have no choice of roads. He was not gregarious. His instinct impelled him to shun the throng, for there is apt to be great heat and little wit in a crowd; besides, he coveted nothing that could only be got by elbowing. He must live and labor in his own well-defined sphere; he would forego his wishes and suffer inconvenience in order to avoid a scuffle; though once forced into combat, let his adversary beware, for in such natures there is a sleeping devil. Careful not to offend others, and discreet in all things, it would be a problem to find a pretext for offending him. Such, I take it, was his original organization, confirmed, however, by his surroundings in youth. Made of exceptionally good stuff, he was moreover bred under influences favorable to self-control, which is the prime source of ability to take care of one's self and to be of use to others. Externals affected him slightly; his life was regulated by the force of an inner principle. He was conservative, and being anything but extravagant in aspiration or requirement, he was able to control ordinary affairs to his satisfaction. He was a philosopher in the matter of the highest present value, that is, in the practice of living. There was no reason why, because he had come to California—or if he had gone into any other strange quarter of the globe—he should revise his ideas or alter his behavior; indeed, there was abundant reason to the contrary. He changed his habitat; this and nothing more; he remained the same.

Methodical, judicious, and accurate, his business career at Sacramento was that of a quiet, self-respecting man, respected by all his acquaintance. Many knew him in the ordinary sense of that word, but few, if any one except his brother Mark, knew him intimately enough to appreciate his superior character, for he was never conspicuous if he could help it. He was known and esteemed for excellent qualities of head and heart, which he possessed in common with other worthy men, but in his originality he was unknown.

No character was ever rightly understood until it had first been regarded with a certain sympathy and fellowship of interest; we must learn to look at our neighbor as he looks at himself, study him more with the heart than with the head, or his spiritual nature will ever be hidden. To comprehend his individuality requires greater fondness for the subject and a deeper penetration than is common or casual. And if this be true as regards men in general, it is not surprising that but few persons understand the "mystery" of Moses Hopkins. He neither set his light on the house-top nor hid it under a bushel; it shone naturally. Pursuing the even tenor of his way, and instinctively retiring, it never occurred to him to manufacture sentiment in his favor, or to acquire friendships by cultivation. He was not unaware of the artifices to which men resort for preferment; he saw through the trader and his trick. A keen judge of men, he knew their secret springs of action, and pierced the disguise they assumed to cover up their motives. A diplomatist for defence, but not for aggression, the man who set a trap for him would be more than likely to be caught in it himself. Straightforward and direct, he met those who came to him in that spirit with frankness, but those who approached him with ulterior designs discovered before the game was played out that the commanding cards were not in their hands. Anything but what is called a policy man, he never troubled himself with the ambition to occupy a place in the public esteem. He had the elements of popularity in him, but he had no desire to be popular. He craved no honors, least of all unsubstantial distinction, for "no popularity and open-mouthed wonder of the world, continued for a long series of years, can make a man great. It indicates an adaptation of the man to circumstances, but it may or may not indicate anything great in the man. It is as a blaze of illumination, alas! of conflagration kindled around a man, showing what is in him; not putting the smallest item more into him; often abstracting much from him; conflagrating the poor man himself into ashes."

Moses Hopkins, I should say, was a natural man, less affected by artificial conditions than most others, having by intuition the wisdom to distinguish the truth from falsehood, reality from unreality, and the strength of character to live according to his judgment. Civilization formed upon the laws of nature he appreciated; its unnaturalness he had no patience with, and took no part in. He was not so robust as any of his brothers, but, instinctively avoiding medicines as far as possible, he relied upon nature. He loved the open country, and was never quite himself unless on a farm with animals about him, especially his favorite and friend the horse. He made up his mind that he had to live more out of doors. Twenty years of his history, so far as the fact is important, may be summed up in this: that he devoted about ten years to stock-dealing, and about ten years to farming, associated in this work, as always, with his brother Mark. Health was the main inducement to this enterprise, and he won it. As he himself remarks, "The vitality that I have is the result of my being born with a particular perception to discover what I might reasonably do in the wrong direction, or what would be better in the direction of good. My daily living, my avoidance of extremes, my waiting for rather than forcing opportunities, has equalized me in body and mind, so that I feel that I am like the one-hoss shay described by Dr Holmes. I have never had a disease take hold of me since I was old enough to stop eating green apples, and I don't like to have the professor prescribe for me until I get beyond my own faith, that whatever little is the matter will correct itself if let alone. I think a little lookout-for-yourself common sense is a pretty good prescription."

The stock business was new to him, so was ranching in California. He had to learn both, but he succeeded in them to his satisfaction. These twenty years, you may be sure, were full of incidents and suggestions of character. Analyzed and digested, they reveal a personality *sui generis*. He met men of a sort that he had little to do with before, and his knowledge of human nature stood him well in hand; nor was he lacking in that shrewdness which comes of experience in barter and sale. In the early days of his stock-dealing he was not proficient, and in order to learn, questioned those that were familiar with it. They were interested to set him wrong, and put him at a disadvantage, and they answered him in a way to promote their own benefit. Their air of disinterestedness did not deceive him. He weighed and sifted their testimony; it was useful to him, for it was quite a matter of indifference to him whether they presumed that he was ignorant and unsophisticated. It was their gratification and his benefit, that while they plumed themselves upon their superior shrewdness, he acted the part of one having everything to learn—a strong position to occupy at all times, especially when it enables us to place those having designs upon us at a disadvantage in their own game. Yet how few there are who have the moral courage to appear ignorant! In contrast with him, most men would rather be ignorant than appear to be so. Men interviewing him in business, judging by his unstudied manner and apparent freedom from suspicion, would try to get from him information that would be injurious to him in their possession, and would go away, as they supposed, with a full knowledge derived from him, without his having discovered their purpose. When the time came, however, to test their information, they found that they had gone away empty. He has been heard to say: "When a person starts to cross-question me I think I can make as much out of his questions as he can out of my answers"; yet it was his custom if honestly interrogated either to answer candidly or to decline to answer at all. He tells it as a joke upon himself, "that some of his best friends feel that anything that need not be published is not safe to be given to him," whereas, says he, "If they knew me as well as I think I know myself, they would give it to me, leaving it to my judgment whether to publish it or not." Surely what he would disclose could bring but cold comfort to the common enemy. It was a trait in his disposition to accomplish thus by stratagem, which is a generalship to be admired under the circumstances, what might not be done otherwise, unless with great effort, if at all.

Nor was his manner of speech such as to suggest the saying, attributed to Talleyrand, that the art of speech is to conceal thought. He meant precisely what he said, and in the end his meaning would be understood literally, and in the spirit of his words. He baffled his adversaries by tact. His was something of the Fabian policy, the apparent weakness of which is its strength; what might come out of it could not be anticipated.

He disliked exceedingly the scramble and scuffle of business or society; it was inconsistent with his nature to work for results in any but the quietest, if not in the quickest, way. So pronounced was his repugnance to friction, that it was his delight to so control men and animals that they would not know that he was influencing them. And upon reflection, it will be seen that there is no other way of exercising absolute control; this is a species of government without resistance. When seven years of age he could take a bridle and go into the field and catch a horse that would elude all others. Acting as though he were indifferent and without any object in view, least of all the one that brought him there, the horse soon began to feel himself at ease, and then he became curious. The boy's manner was inoffensive and inspired confidence; the horse became friendly with him and was soon a prisoner. He acquired a command over animals by understanding them, and treating them according to their several natures. Possessed of unusual fondness for observation of life in its various manifestations, whether of men or beasts, and not being satisfied to know that certain things were true unless he could ferret out the reason why, and being gifted withal with a penetrating insight into the phenomena of being, he evinced those special gifts which made Audubon great as a naturalist; and if these talents had been specially cultivated in him, he could not have failed to become eminently known in natural history. Said he: "Having practised myself in the government and mastery of animals, I exercise control over them without conscious effort. A person wanting either in natural aptitude or practice could not succeed in this to such a decree of nicety. In controlling my animals, I have always used firmness with kindness. The reason that some persons fail in dominating men as well as animals is because they are not capable of joining discipline with a kindly manner. Determination, firmness, and self-confidence are necessary. The horse or the cow, having no language, judges by gesture, the slighest movement, the tone of voice, and understands vastly more of man's thoughts so expressed than is commonly supposed. Two men walk through a field in which an angry bullock is confined; one of them, calm and self-possessed, goes straight forward taking no apparent notice of the animal, who concludes that he is all right, and makes no advance; the other eyes him nervously, and is ready to run away; the bullock will soon be in pursuit of the latter.

"If I were asked what is the source of power in a man by which he is enabled to subordinate animals and human beings, I would say I cannot tell exactly. The faculty is innate, but can be cultivated. I think that some of the essential qualifications are a consciousness of this power manifested in kindliness of manner, self-assertion without challenge, and unwavering purpose without the suspicion of change; in other words, the absence of offensive aggression, united with a resolution to stand up to anything—a resolution that will succumb to nothing under heaven except annihilation. Of course, while this principle is generally true in dealing with animals as well as men, the distinction should be made, that a man always succeeds best with his neighbors if he is charitable and avoids contention, and his power will be none the less if in the maintenance of his rights he will relinquish a benefit rather than exact it, to the injury or his fellow-man. The greatest man in the world is he who does the most good. A prime incentive to the doing of good is the old New England doctrine, that your neighbor is as good as you are, which I take to be the practical interpretation of Christ's injunction, Love your neighbor as yourself."

Perhaps the peculiar influence of Mr Hopkins over dumb creatures cannot be accounted for fully without considering his fondness for them. He was bound to them by ties of friendship little less than human. He loved them. A touching incident is related by a friend of his as follows: "Mr Hopkins has now 100 horses which he raised himself on his ranch in Sutter county. They have been tenderly cared for; and some of them twenty years old and upward are as serviceable as an ordinary horse at nine to ten years of age. A number of them were brought down to his place at Berkeley, among which was an old pensioner which he commended to his manager, saying, 'Be sure and make him comfortable.' Some months later, on going the rounds of his stable, he noted the absence of his old horse, and found that his instructions had been complied with strictly, but not in the manner he had intended. He had been brought to the end of his decrepitude by a ball through the brain. Mr Hopkins was staggered; reflected for a moment, and exclaimed, half in anger and half in acquiescence: 'Yes, I think he is comfortable.'"

In 1880 Mr Hopkins, having abandoned farming, removed to San Francisco, where he has resided ever since. The circumstances of the death of Mark Hopkins are related elsewhere. This sudden and most unexpected loss was a great blow, for the brothers were devoted to each other, bound together not only by the natural ties of blood, but by the deepest sentiment of love and esteem.

During his later years, he spent his summers at Redwood, where he owned a large tract of land well located in a delightful climate. There he had an elegant, comfortable, country home, offering him an agreeable retreat in season, where he could indulge in the rural tastes which had always been his particular delight. Without going far enough into business to be lost in its cares, he was nevertheless occupied in large enterprises, the general character and result of which was the development of the resources and the promotion of the prosperity of the state. His principal operations were in real estate, in the purchase and sale of California lands, though dealing to a considerable extent in city property. His investments, judiciously made, yielded him large profits. In 1873 he became interested in the celebrated Sterns rancho, in southern California, which consisted of some 200,000 acres, extending with more or less breaks from ten miles below the port of Santa Monica, to the mouth of the Santa Ana river, ten miles along the coast, and through the towns of Anaheim and Riverside, and extending almost to Colton, on both sides of the river. When he came into the company, it held 130,000 acres of the tract, which was reduced by sale to 80,000 acres. This splendid acreage was all paid for, the company out of debt, and Mr Hopkins owned about seventy per cent of the stock. Other real estate operations in which he engaged might be mentioned, and would form of themselves a considerable part in the life of many another man, but may be passed over as mere incidents in the history of his large estate. He displayed much interest and public spirit in enterprises, the purpose of which was primarily to encourage industry by testing the soil and climate of this state. Under this head the history of his ostrich farming might be expanded into a chapter of itself; suffice it to say, however, that he readily took the principal part in the experiment of ostrich farming at Anaheim, and succeeded in demonstrating the feasibility of the project. From the eleven pairs of birds originally imported from south Africa, the number increased to about 150. It was not a lucrative venture, pecuniarily, on account of the lack of a market for the feathers, which were much less in vogue then than at former times. But the demand for this product will recur. The credit of whatever comes of it, and I believe it is destined to have an interesting and important future among the industries of the state, will be due to him as pioneer. His investments in the beet-sugar industry were about the same in character and history as that of ostrich-farming.

While attending personally to his affairs, looking after them closely and having them under systematic control, he was not a slave to business. Perhaps there was not another man of his great wealth in the community upon whom the cares of the office rested so lightly. Sympathetic and affable, he commanded abundant leisure for other things for which most men of such wealth as his find little time. His mind was a storehouse of knowledge on the various topics in which he was interested, and there were few matters of large human import that had not invited him to study and contemplation. His charity was copious and continuous. The sufferings of mankind appealed to him directly, and he was ready to lend aid with discrimination to all institutions or enterprises devoted to the relief and betterment of his fellows. He was a friend of education, and took great pride in the public schools, considering them rightly as the bulwark of republican institutions, which rest so largely upon the general intelligence of its citizens, who are its sovereigns. Nothing so quickly aroused his Americanism as the interference with this institution.

I have intimated his disposition regarding elementary tuition in the kindergarten schools. In this feature of the mental, and particularly of the moral, development of children, he was especially concerned, for the reason already stated. One of the earliest lessons he learned in the school of his childhood was independence, and if he found anything to criticise in our public-school system, it was that it had too much the appearance of a charity. He would have considered it an improvement if the children could attend these schools feeling that they were there by their own right rather than by tolerance. Instead of a school absolutely free, it was his idea that each pupil should be permitted to enter by some tax contributed in money or physical labor, let the contribution be never so slight, if even only nominal. If the boy paid his stipulation and got a good bargain, all right; if not, he would stand up to it just the same. The Hopkins Academy, in Oakland, endowed by him and bearing his name, is one of the instances in which his participation in school affairs was conspicuous.

I speak of education without defining the term; it is a word with many interpretations. There are those who cannot separate the idea of education from knowledge of books. That is too narrow. A man may reach perfection, according to his nature, without ever seeing a book; a man's education may be spoiled by books; and yet books of the right sort, properly used, may be the means of promoting the highest form of education. In its wholesome and best meaning, education is the leading out and perfecting of the strength of mind, body, and soul. The process or medium of this development is indifferent; the result is what is important. Mr Hopkins was an educated man—one who knew what he needed of books, but who was wiser in this, that he knew what cannot be learned from books. He knew the living world, or that part of it in which he moved, and he knew himself. His ideas of education were practical and useful—a reflection of himself as regards this subject. Said he: "Practice should precede theory. If a boy is to be taught surveying, send him first of all into the field and let him carry the chain. He will thus learn the use of the instruments, and as he advances in practice, step by step teach him the mathematics of the science. Fill him first with theorems, however, and you will find him confused and helpless in the field.

"Generally speaking, set him to doing something in the line of the work he is going to follow, and make him rely on himself. The more mistakes he makes in his apprenticeship the better, if he must make mistakes, for then, when it becomes vital for him to be correct, he will be so. Don't scold him if he errs in trying; encourage him to go ahead; smile at his errors, because they are good for him. He will then be all the keener to do better; certainly he will not repeat his mistakes.

"What a boy or man learns is valuable in so far as he can use it. Many a graduate I have found comes out of college into the world of labor and business to find himself encumbered with what is miscalled education. A great deal of money and years of precious time expended on him to encumber him, he feels as did Benjamin Franklin, that he has paid too dearly for his whistle. Young men come out to my place in the country; they have the right spirit; they want to work, but they can't do anything that I want done, and I doubt if they can do anything that anybody else wants done. There is, to say the least, no economy in that kind of education. Lack of practice makes a young man appear silly. If he is to be a mechanic, educate him as such; or whatever else, educate him for it. Let him understand that the value of his information will depend upon its practical application to some useful end. His knowledge must be brought to bear in actual work, or else it will be all ornament and emptiness."

He was remarkable for his active participation in building up of new churches as well as in the maintenance of those already established. He was always among the first applied to for aid, because of the assurance that it would be forthcoming, freely and generously. His gifts to the presbyterian theological seminary materially helped to maintain that institution. He regarded churches as the great moral teacher and support of society. "The community," said he, "that is moral is safe, and the infidel must acknowledge the value to himself personally of public morality." His charities were wisely and liberally bestowed where they were the most needed, to say nothing of the continuous personal calls upon him for aid, to which he invariably responded if he deemed the applicant worthy, asking no return, only perhaps in some instances saying to his beneficiaries, who would thank him: "You can pay this back by helping somebody else, one of these days, when your turn comes." The hospitals, relief associations, lying-in asylums, and foundling homes depended with confidence upon his generosity, and he supplemented his pecuniary beneficence with words of sympathy and encouragement.

He retained his presbyterian predilections, but was not a member of any church. "Truth and honesty as the bible gives it," said he, "is the proper and best policy." What the life of man beyond the present will be, he did not feel that he could comprehend: he had no power to penetrate that mystery; but that there is a life after death he recognized to be the judgment of men of all nations and ages. This judgment, so nearly universal, he could not conceive to exist unless it were founded in truth.

While thus giving himself largely to the promotion of society's best interests, he did not participate personally to any extent or with much relish in social diversions. He enjoyed his home and friends, but took no part in the "swim"; his love of individuality, independence, and freedom from obligation to anybody kept him largely away from the assemblages intended purely for diversion and pastime. He was too sensitive to enjoy the rivalry and jostling which are not unlikely to occur, even in the highest circles, where the crowd is gathered.

Preferring to depend upon himself, and finding other avenues through which to contribute his charity, he was not disposed to affiliate with any of the secret or fraternal organizations.

His charitableness extended beyond the giving of alms, and showed itself in his consideration of others in the daily walk and conversation of life. Said he: "I have respect for and would have the patience to hear promulgated and to combat with my own judgment the very wildest ideas, so long as I am satisfied that they are honestly intended. I recognize the right of every man to entertain and to decently express his opinions, and I have no more reason to quarrel with him for not coming over to my views, than he has to quarrel with me for not going over to his. But as soon as I feel that he takes the position by chance, and argues to maintain it for the sake of argument, he may have the controversy all to himself."

On all the great public questions that occupied the thoughtful men of the day, Mr Hopkins had decided views, and brought to them a suggestiveness that was surprising in one who had not been a special student of such matters. In politics he was a very sharply defined republican and an earnest party man. On all the points at issue between republicans and democrats, he argued cogently for the superiority of republican doctrine.

As a specimen of his thinking, the following may be presented as a summary of his ideas on the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. "All such prohibition I think would be impolitic. The human family, especially the people of the United States, do not like to be told what they may or may not eat or drink, nor do I think you can prevent by law any man from drinking all the intoxicating liquors that he has a mind to drink. Legislation on the subject is futile. The sentiment of the community is capable of suppressing the liquor traffic, and nothing short of this is. I think our people are disposed to obey the laws, but the force of law lies in the approval of the people. An obnoxious law may direct, but citizens will make a mockery of it."

Regarding the right of women to the ballot, he remarked: "When you speak of the right of the woman to vote, I say yes, her right is equal to the man's; but the question is, Had she better use it? I think the man's right to stay in the house, to cook, and take care of the babies is just as good as the woman's. The question is, Would it be policy for him to do so? or would you keep him out of doors, where he ought to do better? I should say that the woman's true power is in her influence over her husband and her sons; she can cast but one vote herself, but if her influence is of the right sort, she may control many votes. If her influence were less than theirs, she would naturally vote with them."

In regard to naturalization, he observes: "I have said to myself, since the day that Garfield was assassinated, that if I could have it my way, every native of this country twenty-one years old should go to the ballot-box, and every other man should keep his hands off. They say to me, we have foreigners among us, men of intelligence and worth, who have come to this country to stay. Well, then, I say, they must see that by their holding aloof they keep the flood from the polls; and if they have that interest in the country which they profess, they will not be unwilling to make this personal sacrifice for the general good. I think if this idea were properly explained and advocated, it would appear more expedient than it seems at first sight. It is a radical proposition, but I think that the evil requires a heroic remedy.

"The vicious and noisy immigrants that have been disturbing the peace of this country, mainly in the large cities, are like so many dogs that, having been kept chained, fly at whomsoever is in sight the moment they are let loose. Used always, at home, to coercion, they do not know what self-restraint is; they confound freedom with license. Uncontrolled by bayonets, they fall upon combinations of labor and capital alike, and would pull down commerce, society, and civilization. They have no interest in our government; and they are no more amenable to reason than the chained dog set at large."

On the subject of the mooted question of danger from the encroachment of aggregated wealth, he said: "I think there is nothing to be feared on this score. Wealth changes hands so often, that people of prominence to-day give way to-morrow to those who rise up from the under classes. The children of wealthy men are not, as a rule, either economical or industrious. They and their money become separated ultimately. They drop back into the ranks, while the clever children of poor men climb up the golden ladder. Money is thus changing hands all the time, and it is contrary to the rule in this country for it to remain long in one family."

Of Mr Hopkins in his home, as elsewhere, as it is recorded of Socrates, it may be said that he was able to both abstain from and enjoy those things which many are too weak to abstain from, or cannot enjoy without excess. The things which conduce to the enjoyment of life, and of which fortune gave him an abundant supply, he used without arrogance or affectation. Not abstemious, but temperate in all things, he was an eminently well-conditioned man. Governed by common sense in the concerns of the body, the "tight-lacing of creeds" did not control his mind. His dwelling-house, outwardly and inwardly elegant, was above all comfortable, constructed as all else he buildt, on a solid foundation and of the best materials.

His plans for the construction of his residence, and his choice of a site, were matured with great deliberation, and a characteristic thoroughness and precision as to what he deemed in every detail the most eligible and durable. His action in the whole matter was in accordance with intelligent economy. No expense was spared in making the house, inwardly and outwardly, a home, yet he saw to it that every dollar expended went into the building.

Mr Hopkins married, June 19, 1884, Miss Emily Benedict, whose family is prominent in New York city. Her father was for many years connected with the press of that city. Her brother, James H. Benedict, is a member of the firm of E. C. Benedict and company, well-known bankers and brokers of Wall street. Her sister was the wife of Le Grand Lockwood, the senior member of a prominent banking house, and widely known in the financial world.

In the summer of 1891, Mr Hopkins, then in his 75th year, could climb a hill as quickly or jump as high a fence as any other man of his age in the country. Sound as ever in body and brain, he was, to apply an apt phrase of Carlyle, used in commending Walter Scott for his health, "a meritorious product of nature." Says a modern essayist: "I feel impelled to do homage to a man of full health. I take off my hat to him, rather than to a prince. He is exceptional, and worth understanding. Inquire into his healthfulness, not of the liver only, but of the head, especially if this state of the man is due to himself, and you will find profit in your research." In ways already suggested, Moses Hopkins, though he began life wanting in vigor, developed and confirmed his vitality by his comprehension and practise of nature's hygiene, whose panacea and tonic is self-control. The prescription is as complex as humanity, and yet as simple as the motto, "know thyself." This is supreme knowledge, the philosophers say; yet the birds and beasts possess it, at least they live according to nature's laws. In his book of melancholy, Burton argues that all men are more or less insane. His argument turns upon the definition of the words used; but this is clear to us all, that the intensity of the patient's dementia is measured by the degree to which his knowledge of himself is impaired, his identity lost. Men accounted wholly sane afflict themselves, and break down in the struggle to accomplish or acquire what will not compensate them for the sacrifice. They are plainly beside themselves, but the principal fruition of the majority consists in being so. Perhaps it is better to wear out than to rust out, but there is a happy medium somewhere between these extremes, by which, all things considered, the most wholesome if not the highest results may be achieved.

Marcus Aurelius set it down among the helpful lessons that he learned from his father, "never to be in a hurry." Those who knew Moses Hopkins did not need to go back to antiquity to learn that lesson. If he missed one train, the next would do; and if he could not make the connection without haste, he would not make it. He enjoyed the story of the New England farmer whose son fretted, and tried to hurry him. "Father," said the boy, "you will get left if you don't hurry." "All right," answered the old man, "I'd rather get ready and not go, than to go and not get ready." What time he lost for the lack of rush he fairly recovered by deliberation and method. His horses did more work in their lifetime than other people's horses, because they lived longer; the same economy of force was exemplified in his own experience.

He did not talk as rapidly as one man in a hundred or two, but when he was through he had said something worth considering; and if the other man wanted to do all the talking, he was satisfied to listen and think. A man of his reflection speaks with a mouth of gold; and his silence in listening was often stronger than speech. It was the force of reserved power—an energy slumbering, but capable of instant conversion into action in emergency. Those who knew him felt this. Whether it was to befog a designing cross-examiner, or to handle a strange horse, his mastery of himself gave him control of the situation. By keeping on familiar ground he walked without fear. Carrying always weight enough of his own, he did not handicap himself by meddling with other people's affairs. Never trespassing himself, he was little troubled by trespassers. He was patient withal, and could smile away an annoyance. He brought with him to California, and retained, a droll humor of action and speech, that served him admirably at times. He could point an argument with a comic reminiscence, or root out a grievance by hearing it. "For instance," recounts a friend, "Hopkins and others of us came down to breakfast one morning. The landlady was scolding and finding fault with everybody in general, but nobody in particular. You couldn't talk back to her, because she would not say whom she was driving at, but she kept on and made things lively. We went out one by one as we got through eating, all but Hopkins. Instead of retiring with the rest, he just tipped his chair back, and looked her in the face in a respectful, listening manner. She began to explain her grievance. She stopped several times, but always observing that he waited and seemed willing to hear her through, she went on to the end. When he was certain that she was entirely done, he got up quietly, and without a word went about his business. She never scolded him again."

He was, in many of his ways, unlike others. He had distinct ideas regarding everything; he thought for himself. I have heard him repeatedly call himself, in the spirit of self-depreciation, a follower, yet no man was more independent in mental or physical habit. It was not in his nature to struggle for first place in a crowd; he found it more congenial to wait until the rush had gone by. Then he could travel on the path he selected for himself, leisurely and intelligently, without heat or distraction. But he travelled none the less rapidly, for having observed the mistakes of those who were in a hurry, he avoided them, and moved on to his destination with economy of time and energy. If he appeared to have peculiar notions, he had a sound reason for whatever he believed or did, so that what might seem whimsical in him at first, you would find to be strictly in accordance with common sense. If he had an important letter to mail, he would throw it on the carpet behind his chair, so that when he got up to go out it would be impossible to overlook it. If you, not aware of his purpose, should come in, you would pick it up and lay it on his desk, and call his attention to it; he was too considerate to say that you had disturbed his memorandum, but you would find this out later and smile at your own expense. It required explanation and persistency on his part to get his bootmaker to make his boots to suit him; for the bootmaker is a slave to the requirements of fashion in his trade. If the umbrella fiend invaded his premises and carried away the umbrella he found leaning up in a handy corner, the loss would not be embarrassing. That umbrella, a very cheap one, was put there for that emergency. When Mr Hopkins started out into the rain you would see him equipped with another and carefully selected umbrella, which, until the moment came for use, had lain in its place out of sight. He was decidedly Shakespearean in his philosophy, neither to be a borrower nor a lender; he would lend, in case of necessity, but borrow, never. He tells an amusing incident of his grandfather, Moses Hopkins, whom he resembled in many characteristics. The old gentleman had his household provided with all that was handy in the domestic economy, and all the implements in use about his house were kept in perfect order. A neighbor called and wanted to borrow his axe: "Go right through into the wood-shed," said he; "you 'll find one in there." As he returned with this axe the old gentlemen, with another axe in hand, met him. "This," said he, "I keep for my own use," and he ran his forefinger over the keen edge as though he were testing a razor. "Thank you," said the neighbor, "I 'll take good care of it." "What! take care of this? O no; I take care of this myself. You can look at it, and then I 'll put it up."

Not showy in any sense of the term, equable in temper, neither puffed up nor cherishing regrets, he did not run after preferments. In business enterprises or charity, "he looked to what ought to be done, not to the reputation which is got by a man's acts."

For the various reasons heretofore adduced, the gist of which is expressed in that just mentioned, he was not so well known as many others whose names are common, and whose lives, notwithstanding the noise they may have made in the world, are also common. The forces that nature employs to vary the mould in which men are formed, to distinguish the members of the human family from one another by what we term originality, are too subtle for comprehension; but this we can say without speculation, that his personality was not due to any ordinary combination of the elements. But questions of this sort, as interesting as they may be, are not my study. They are less practical than metaphysical. I have endeavored to know and analyze those influences which are palpable; that agency in the development of character which may be appreciated and portrayed. In this mainly consists the superlative value of biographical research. A life faithfully recorded in its genesis and revelations, especially if it be a life which is not selfish, beginning and ending with itself, but involving many others, is helpful to all; for man learns most from his fellow-man. Such a life was that of Moses Hopkins, showing not only the advantage of a strong, original nature, which is to be credited to his ancestry, and not himself, but what is infinitely more important, the benefit of good breeding and sound morality inculcated in youth—a régime of self-respect, independence based on labor, self-support, thrift, fair-dealing, freedom, charity, and self-control. These are seeds that grow and bear fruit according to the soil in which they are planted, and the care with which they are cultivated. Here is a lesson for parents. There is no other that they have such need to learn; no other that is more readily comprehended or more practical.

Yet despite all training, a man will be better or worse, producer or consumer, controlled or controlling, prince or pauper, rise to his maximum or fall to his minimum, as he wills. Of his own character he is the architect; it is the only criterion by which he is fairly judged; there is no genuine aristocracy, no valid title to nobility, that is not founded on character. We have noted the salient and distinguishing features in the nature of Moses Hopkins, and we have observed them combining largely under his control, in the establishment and expression of his manhood. From him may be learned the charm and strength of self-government, which, as has been seen in his experience, is not only a negative support, but a source of positive power, in the control of men and affairs. Of unchangeable resolution in whatever he had determined upon after due deliberation, he was undeviating in his firmness, though mild of temper and uniformly cheerful. Guided in all things by a sense of duty, he despised that class of persons who, being too lazy or too vicious to work, lived by their wits, and were not satisfied unless they could get something that did not belong to them; he was ever ready to help those who were honestly disposed to help themselves. Judging wisely that a man's own happiness is increased by doing good to others, and that selfishness dwarfs the soul, he was charitable. If he had any tendency that was sufficiently pronounced to be called an ambition, it was his earnest desire to be useful. Conservative and well-poised, he did not indulge in extremes or run after specialties. He understood himself remarkably well as regards his capabilities. He knew his resources, and while he never boasted of them, he was not tainted with the affectation of modesty which has been aptly described as the worst form of egotism; he would acknowledge a decent estimate of his ability. Whatever his faults or weaknesses may have been, self-sufficiency was not among them. He was really modest. Hear his criticism of himself:

"I myself think that my capacity to execute is greater than my execution; but I need to be roused; I lack impulse; I require obstacles to stimulate me. I have often felt that it would have been better for me if I could get about half mad, instead of going around leisurely getting myself together. I have the requisites for success in any ordinary work that I may give my attention to, if I had a fire behind me to make me get up and go on. But a very high degree of activity usually involves antagonism and strife. I desire to do good, rather than harm, and I avoid ill-feeling or rankling whenever I can. Perhaps the remark of an eminent money-lender describes me: 'You have too much sympathy.' Nevertheless, I have always said I never would be a money-lender.

The unlucky ones, the unfortunates, are his patrons, and he must often sacrifice them to save himself from loss. No, I could never be a money-lender." In reading this plain and peculiar reference to himself, one is impressed by the honesty and truthfulness of the man; but he can hardly be said to make out a good case against himself, for he did a large share of good, and if he were lacking in push, the humaneness he put in its stead vastly more than atoned for the fault.

If I were to characterize Moses Hopkins, in epitome, in his relation to his neighbors, I should say he was a type of the people—an interesting and peculiar sample of the aggregate who comprise the Americanism of the community and control it; that, likening the nation to an oak, he exemplified one of the many invisible roots, which, running far out, send up silently and continuously from its hidden recesses life-sap into the trunk and up to the topmost branches and tendrils of the tree—least of all a conspicuous tributary protruding above the soil. In his genealogy, breeding, and character he was one of those who stood as a representative of the masses, in whom are the vitality, endurance, and capability that constitute the inherent qualities of a nation, and render it proof against its enemies; an exponent of the intelligence, energy, and virtue of the people—the brain and brawn of the social organism—which regenerate and sustain it. Exigency brings forth exemplars of the multitude, calls out the spark which shows where latent force lies stored for use upon requisition. Mr Lincoln was an emergency man, a simple, plain representative of the people. He was in waiting when called for. That any other very nearly like him ever lived is questionable; but nature is fertile in resources, and when, in her economy, men are needed for a specialty, somehow or other they are forthcoming. They rise up from among the people. The occasion inspires and develops them. Until summoned, they dwell in retreat, shunning observation. But while leaders have their functions, they do not make a nation.

A score of those who engross the public mind in this country to-day, and seem indispensable for the time, might be removed at one stroke, and the government sustain no permanent injury. Their places would be filled directly from the rank and file. The centurion of whom Christ had never heard, manifested more faith than the saviour had seen in all Israel before. Had not the latter's servant fallen sick, his superlative faith, until then not evoked, though in exercise as a moral force, would not have been expressed, nor the centurion been made known as an exemplar of other undiscovered faithful souls. The morals and intellect of the people are the character of the state, the bulwark of the government. It is such men as the centurion, whose spirit is in the building of schools and churches, who are the index to the invincible rectitude of the community. They may be more preservative than acquisitive; they are conservators, rather than conquerors. Such a specimen of the masses was Moses Hopkins. In the so-called little things of life, which frequently try men's character, and in which great men are often small, as well as in affairs of larger, immediate consequence, he comported himself as becomes a man; in things that startle the world he was not called upon to play a part. Had he been summoned from retirement to act for the people, he would have represented them in truth and in deed; for he was one of them.

Among the potent agencies which were felt for years in the formative period of civilization in California—and the present is a part of that period—that of Moses Hopkins was pronounced, though not obtrusive, silent, but deep, far-reaching, and comforting. It is for the interest of the state, and of mankind, that he should be known and remembered as he lived. For as an ancient philosopher profoundly remarked: "If thou findest in human life anything better than justice, truth, temperance, fortitude, and in a word, anything better than thy own mind's satisfaction in the things which it enables thee to do according to right reason—if, I say, thou seest anything better than this, turn to it with all thy soul."

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHURCH—CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA.

JESUITS AND FRANCISCANS IN CALIFORNIA—JUNIPERO SERRA—MISSIONS AND MISSIONARY COLONIES—MISSION FUNDS—EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO—SECULARIZATION—BISHOP DIEGO—CHARACTER OF THE FRIARS—AFTER THE GOLD DISCOVERY—THE METHODISTS—PRESBYTERIANS—BAPTISTS — EPISCOPALIANS — CONGREGATIONALISTS — UNITARIANS AND HEBREWS—IRRELIGION—MORMONS IN CARSON VALLEY—METHODISTS IN NEVADA—CATHOLICS AND OTHER DENOMINATIONS—BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES AND STATE ASYLUMS—FRATERNAL SOCIETIES.

THE occupation of California was undertaken chiefly with a view to sustain the Spanish title to the coast, and to this end a presidio was ordered to be established at Monterey. In this connection came conquest and control over the natives, a task assigned to the peaceful champions of the cross, in pursuance of the system so successfully followed in Mexico.

Friars had witnessed the discovery and exploration of the coast, attached as they ever were to expeditions by sea or land, and had left their symbolic impress upon it in cross or benediction. The Jesuits revived the colonization of the peninsula, after disheartening failures by military and commercial leaders, and carried a line of missions along either side of the gulf of California, as stepping-stones for further enterprise.

The first expedition undertaken by the Franciscan order consisted of six friars, under the guidance of their president, Junípero Serra, a native of Mallorca, renowned both as a professor of philosophy and for his ascestic habits. His biography will be found in volume I. of this series.

By the Franciscans were founded, within the first three years, the missions of San Diego, San Cárlos, and San Antonio, the total number reaching eighteen before the close of the century.

The policy with the neophytes was to attract them by gifts and persuasion to be taught and baptized, and to retain them at the missions with the offer of food, clothing, and certain luxuries, subject to discipline, and to the performance of certain not very heavy community labors, with a view to sustaining themselves, and providing a surplus toward conversion work in general. In this process of civilizing, however, religion took the foremost place, although including little more than the observance of certain rites. The chief benefit came from the training in agriculture, and the enforcement of improved habits of life, in a settled condition, dress, superior dwellings, marriage, associated efforts, and the example of worthy teachers. The aim being to secularize the missions, as soon as sufficient progress had been made by the neophytes they were initiated into the art of self-government under their own elected alcaldes and other officials, guided by the padres. The government assigned artisans to teach them weaving, carpentry, and other crafts. Discipline was enforced with the aid of the military escort attached to each mission, of from three to a dozen men, according to the disposition of the Indians, the soldiers being required to terrify offenders by prompt punishment, modified at the intercession of the friars, who sought in this manner to increase their influence.

Unfortunately many adverse circumstances interfered with their advancement. The soldiers and settlers combined to demoralize the natives, who in their turn lowered the dignity of labor. Being ashamed to engage in tillage by the side of savages and serfs, the colonists left such work in their hands, kidnapping and enslaving men for the purpose when otherwise not obtainable. Such treatment, together with sudden change in habits and immoral conduct, undermined the health of the Indians and increased greatly their death rate. Charmed by the prosperity of the missions, by the exercise of power and the prospect of wealth, the padres abstained from imparting any knowledge or training which might render their wards self-reliant, and consequently fit for secularization. Indeed, when the government proposed to civilize the settled communities of aborigines along the Santa Bárbara channel, without disturbing the villages or giving temporal control to the friars, the latter saw herein a blow at their own aspirations, and resisted so effectually that the plan was abandoned. They also defeated the proposed introduction of another religious order, which might have proved much more yielding.

Owing to the distance from the episcopal seat in Sonora, the prelate never visited California; hence the privilege to administer confirmation was conceded to the friar president, who also acted as vicario foraneo and castreuse. A few fees were received for these services, but the profits from papal indulgences and tithes, amounting to about $1,700 before the close of the century, were collected by the government. The missions were partly sustained by an allowance from the pious fund, estimated at $10,000 a year; but as the stipends alone required $400 for each missionary, the royal treasury had to supply a large additional amount for the wages of artisans, for implements, rations, and other items. The collections of moneys and remission of supplies was entrusted to a procurador at the college of San Fernando in Mexico, the guardian of which was his direct superior.

Upon Serra's death in 1784 this position fell to Fermin de Lasuen, a man of unostentatious piety, dignified benevolence, untiring zeal, and great practical ability. In 1815 the management was divided, the president remaining the ecclesiastical head, while the temporal control was entrusted to a comisario prefecto, the representative of the Franciscan comisario general of the Indies, and superior to the president; but the two offices were speedily united, and some twenty years later the office of prefect was abolished.

The revolution threatened seriously to cripple the missions, for not only were stipends and supplies discontinued, but the military establishment, similarly deprived, was obliged to levy upon them for nearly all staple provisions, and in due time also for hides, tallow, and other articles to exchange for various necessaries. By 1820 this debt alone amounted to nearly $500,000. Fortunately the missions were built on fertile tracts and worked by serf labor, so that notwithstanding this drain they still prospered, having an abundance of grain, fruit, and livestock, part of which the friars sold to trading-vessels for their own enrichment. They also enjoyed their share of luxuries, contrary to the vows of their order, until the scandalized superiors in Mexico issued strict injunctions against such indulgences.

The revolution ended without repayment of debts by the government. Encouraged by the lessened restraint under republican rule, the soldiers began to intrench so freely upon the mission resources, in the shape of taxes and levies, as to rouse the otherwise indifferent neophytes to menacing though unavailing protest. The administration at Mexico not only interposed no objection, but even appropriated the pious fund to its own use. Secularization was early contemplated, together with the expulsion of non-Mexican padres, at the instigation of men who hoped to profit by the confusion; but the fear of Indian outbreaks deferred the measure. A few padres left with well-filled pockets, or were exiled for contumely, and the rest submitted to the new order of affairs.

Secularization had been tried with a few Indians, but failed through their incapacity and improvidence. Nevertheless Mexico finally authorized the measure, and two cliques hastened in 1831 to carry it out for their own benefit. Governor Victoria arrived just in time to stop the plunder, whereupon the disappointed marauders conspired and expelled him.

The missions had by this time reached their highest number, with twenty-one establishments, but with only twenty-six friars instead of their full complement of forty-two, and with a decline in population from 21,100 in the early twenties to 18,000, recruited by a smaller number of baptisms; with a heavy decrease in crops from the 180,000 bushels of grain in 1821, and in sheep from 190,000 to 150,000, but with an increase in cattle to 156,000.

In 1832 came the able and conscientious ruler, Figueroa, to give a proper direction to secularization, and to check the renewed efforts of the several cliques at spoliation. Within three years sixteen missions were placed in charge of administrators, with instructions to form pueblos, and distribute lands and about half of the livestock, implements, and other movable property among neophyte settlers, the remainder being held in trust for community use, and for the support of priests, officials, schools, and the like. The Indians proved, however, with few exceptions, to be indolent and improvident, and easily entrapped into a reckless disposal of their means. The friars hastened, besides, to slaughter as many of the cattle as possible for their own benefit. During the ensuing war the administration was entrusted to the political supporters of the victorious faction, who, intent solely upon their own advantage, gave away or lent the property to friends, and parted with much more upon gubernatorial levies. Under such conditions secularization failed almost entirely, the Indians being mostly dispersed, to earn their livelihood as laborers, or to return to savage life. Only about 6,000 neophytes could be found at the missions in 1840.

When little remained to plunder, the authorities awoke to their duty. The missions were entrusted to majordomos on more economic terms, and under supervision of the padres. The latter had been reënforced in 1835 by ten members from the Zacatecan college, to whom the seven establishments from San Cárlos northward were assigned. They proved to be an inferior body of men in experience and habits, and obtained little influence over the Indians. Soon afterward the missions were partly restored to friar control, with a view to revive and make them self-supporting; but it was too late. With their handful of demoralized neophytes, less than half a dozen held out any promise of release from the heavy debt accumulated against them. The only resource was to lease and sell, a portion of the results being applied to the use of a few temporary pueblos. Some of the sales were not confirmed by the United States land commission, which granted the buildings and vicarages, together with some land, to the catholic church.

The strife between friars and soldiers, the luxurious and reprehensible life of many among the robed fraternity, the large admixture of the low and criminal classes among the colonists, and the jealousy between mission and pueblo inhabitants and interests, all assisted to diminish the religious feeling that might be expected in a Spanish mission province. Inquisitorial authority was not exerted here in other than nominal form, and indulgences found only a limited sale, chiefly under feminine influence. The bishop, residing in Sonora, had never found encouragement enough to visit this part of his diocese, and thus neglected, the people followed their own bent. With the abolition of tithes and the beginning of republican rule orthodoxy declined still more, and injunctions against heterodox literature and indulgences, and regulations as to fasting and religious rites were widely ignored. It was time to reclaim so erring a flock. In 1836 Friar Francisco García Diego y Moreno went to Mexico, and through his exertions the Californias were erected into a special diocese, with himself for bishop. The government was equally prompt and liberal with endowments, granting him a salary of $6,000, control of the pious fund, and the contributions of the people. Swelling with dignity the weak-headed old man returned in 1841, expecting to receive an ovation, but met only with neglect. His salary was unpaid; the pious fund was virtually dissipated, and the mission of San Diego, assigned to him as a residence, was so poor that the prelate had to seek refuge at Santa Bárbara, the only spot where the inhabitants displayed any desire to contribute toward his support. The offerings in general were so small, tithes being abolished, as hardly to cover the expense of collecting. Funds came in for a cathedral, sufficient to begin the foundation, but then they stopped. Little more fortunate was the college founded at Santa Inés. Thus dwindled the great projects of the bishop. Nevertheless he struggled along, sustained by the hope of better days, until the time of his death, in May 1846.

The friars were also rapidly dying off, and in 1848 only seven remained. The record of the later generation of padres did not equal that of Serra's companions. The allurements of wealth, power, and personal comforts overcame the principles of most, and a few yielded even to worse temptations. Nor did they fulfil their duties to the Indians in fitting them for the independent life into which they were destined to drift. In this they were restrained, no doubt, by reasons of religion and the interests of the order, and are probably not much to blame, particularly when we consider the unpromising character of the California natives, who were among the lowest on the continent. In other respects they deserve well for reclaiming thousands from savagism to comparative civilization, teaching them superior habits and arts, and promoting the colonization of the country, thus transforming a wilderness into a land containing stock ranges, farms, gardens, and villages. They also encouraged and sustained the occupation of California, and rank, in truth, as the founders of the state.

The influx of protestants seemed at first a blow to the catholic church, but the disadvantage was attended by many offsets. They assisted to restore to her much of the mission and other property of which she had been deprived by her children, and in their train came thousands of the faithful from Ireland and elsewhere, to strengthen her position in the new country, so much so indeed that she still remains at the head of the different denominations, with more temples, more numerous congregations, and greater wealth. In 1850 Joseph S. Alemany was appointed bishop and transferred in the following year to San Francisco, where Anthony Langlois and John McGinnis had begun to found churches in 1849, the mission being too remote for the growing population. In 1853 Alemany was created an archbishop, and the see of lower California was conferred on Tadeo Amat. In 1850-1 the church claimed 15 priests, 15,000 communicants, including those at the missions and 24 churches. A quarter of a century later there were 93 churches, 16 chapels, 121 priests, 13 convents and academies, 4 colleges, 7 orphanages, 5 hospitals, and 4 asylums, supported by 200,000 communicants under 3 bishops. The interest taken in the poor, and the studied effort to obtain creditable representation in all directions, especially tend to sustain both the strength and fervor of her congregations, to which end serves also the impressive services in the temples, as compared with the simple and often dull ceremonies at other churches.

Among protestants the methodists were first in the field, as in most parts of the coast. In 1846 Reverend W. Roberts arrived from the Oregon missions and formed congregations which were afterward swelled by immigration and sustained by travelling preachers of different orders, or by devout laymen. Three years later the first methodist episcopal church was established at San Francisco by Reverend W. Taylor, who held also open air services. By this congregation was established the San Francisco Bible society. Reverend J. Boring of the methodist church, south, preached in 1851. The same year the California annual conference charged Taylor to form a congregation in the southern part of the city, and by it in 1853 a church was erected. Several other edifices were built for the sect during the following decades. At Sacramento the Reverend Isaac Owens took charge of a society in October 1849, and in 1851 Reverend D. W. Pollock preached to the methodists in southern California. In the latter year a church was erected at Stockton. At Nevada City was built a rude meeting-house in the preceding year, which was taken in charge by Reverend A. Bland, and a methodist congregation was likewise organized. The union church at Placerville of 1851 was used mostly by the methodist clergyman J. S. Deihl.

With the first steamer from the east arrived three presbyterian preachers, S. Woodbridge, J. W. Douglas, and S. H. Willey. The last named remained awhile in Monterey and then proceeded to San Francisco to found the Howard methodist episcopal church, of which he was pastor for twelve years. Woodbridge passed to Benicia, where he organized in April 1849 the first presbyterian church in the state, which was probably the first regular congregation among the protestants. It was dissolved in 1861 on account of political dissensions. The same preacher visited Sacramento and other towns. Douglas went to San José and organized a church, but returned east. Meanwhile a fourth presbyterian arrived, Reverend A. Williams, who formed the first church for his sect in San Francisco in May 1849. A frame building from the east was erected on Stockton street in 1851, but destroyed by fire the same year. Calvary church was formed in 1854, its first building being constructed on Bush street. The presbyterian Bell was the first public preacher of Oakland in 1853. The first church of Stockton was opened by Reverend J. Woods, a presbyterian who arrived in 1849.

O. C. Wheeler, baptist, was one of the four clergymen who arrived by the first steamer. He organized the first church for his sect at San Francisco in 1849, and a building rose the same year on Washington street. He was offered $10,000 for his services. Although not sent out by a missionary society he visited Sacramento and Marysville to assist in collecting congregations. The Reverend Capen was left in charge at the former town, but Reverend Cook preached there in the autumn. At Placerville the first church, of canvass, was erected prior to 1851 for Reverend Kalloch, father of the notorious preacher-mayor of the metropolis. In 1854 the first baptist church was formed at Oakland by Reverend E. J. Willis.

In July 1849 arrived Reverend F. S. Mines, who formed the Holy Trinity episcopal church, assisted soon after by Reverend R. T. Huddart. An iron building was opened in 1852 on Pine street, under which Mines was buried the same year. C. B. Wyatt succeeded, and was replaced by Reverend S. G. Thrall in 1856. Ten years later Bishop Kip laid the corner-stone for the church on Post street. Mines also formed a society at Sacramento in 1849 and intrusted it to Reverend Burnham, who died soon afterward. In the autumn of that year Reverend Ver Mehr, an episcopal missionary began to preach at San Francisco. Grace chapel was erected during the winter and a larger building in 1851, of which Bishop Kip assumed charge three years afterward. Reverend J. Morgan established Christ church in 1853. At Stockton Reverend O. Harriman gathered the St John's congregation. Episcopal services had been held in private houses at Oakland since 1852. At Nevada City Reverend Hill erected a church in 1855.

The congregationalists were represented at San Francisco in November 1848 by Reverend T. D.

Hunt, from Honolulu, who was chosen protestant chaplain, with a salary of $2,500. During the winter the sacrament was administered to a dozen persons of six different denominations. In the following year Hunt organized the first church for his sect in that city. The first temple was erected on the corner of Dupont and California streets, later the abode of the academy of sciences. At the same time Reverend J. A. Benton formed the first congregational church at Sacramento, the temple being erected in 1850. W. C. Pond arrived in 1853 to become pastor of the Bethany church.

A society of unitarians held services in 1850 at San Francisco. Reverend J. Harrington arrived in 1852 to preside over them, but died of fever. Reverends F. T. Gray and R. P. Cutler succeeded, and in 1860 came Reverend T. Starr King, one of the most famous of Pacific coast preachers. The Hebrew congregation Emanu El was organized in 1851. Two other bands were formed in due time. In 1852 there were thirty-seven churches and chapels in San Francisco. At present almost every denomination of any importance in Europe and the eastern states is represented, at regular or occasional meetings, and even oriental idolaters are freely permitted to practise their rites.

Toleration harmonized with the liberal ideas of the early gold-seekers, and, indeed, with those of most of the immigrants who found their way to this coast. Their principles were rather too broad, however, to be relished by the clergy, who attributed them rather to indifference. The cry now is, indeed, that men absent themselves more and more from service, leaving attendance to women and children, and that these, infected by the neglect of the others, are largely attracted by other than pious motives. Irreligion was fostered by the roaming, adventurous life in the mines, by the severance of home ties, the feverish race for wealth, and the loose habits, marked especially by drinking and gambling, prevalent among a predominant bachelor element. The unstable condition of the mining population, with its long-continued rarity of women, did not encourage the founding of churches in the gold regions, and the sparseness of settlements in the country proved a check in the agricultural districts. Here the church found subsequently a better foothold, through the absence of other attractions, while in the cities the fine climate favors Sunday excursions, to the prejudice of thinly occupied temples. Yet the check cannot have been so very alarming, for the census returns show that although church property increased in value from $268,000 in 1850 to nearly $1,860,000 by 1860, during the golden period, yet by 1870 it had augmented to $7,400,000, with a proportionate growth during the following decade.

Protestant pastors have sought to offset the monotony of sermons and the bareness of ceremonies with music by paid professional singers; but it is a question whether such intrusions on individual devotion, and its check on general participation in the chant, does not restrain the fervor of piety. The Scotch long objected to the organ as profane and distracting, although it seems in reality to aid the singing, which is one of the most inspiring portions of the ceremony. When such stimulus is withdrawn, singing, and in a measure worship, become stamped as insipid, and attendance declines to a mere pastime for the curious. All this, however, does not affect that true religion which leads to holy living and purest benefactions. Pastors and people, each in his own denomination and province, and being accountable only to his own conscience, should work out his ideas of duty as best he is able.

The early condition of Nevada, as a way station and transit route, and its subsequent mining career, were neither of them favorable to religious culture. Even missionaries, who had been long established in

Oregon and Montana, and among the degraded digger tribes of California, found no encouragement among its reckless and migratory population.

A certain degree of religious cult was nevertheless introduced by the very first settlers. As Mormons, direct from the sanctuary of the saints, they were not likely wholly to neglect the freshly inculcated rites of their church. In 1856 their association, latterly overawed by gentiles, assumed pronounced ascendency by virtue of the immigration of a colony from Utah. A sedate and devout stamp was at once imparted, and schools and churches were planned. Suddenly the colonists were recalled, and the ecclesiastic edifice crumbled.

Spiritual consolation was not entirely withheld to the remaining settlers, for with the passing caravans to and from El Dorado came many a preacher, who failed not to test the purse-strings of the isolated community, and stir the smoldering embers of faith. Not until 1859, however, did the so-called pioneer preacher appear. Jesse L. Bennett, a methodist, then began to preach in Carson valley, and assisted in forming two societies of the sect, at Genoa and Carson City. He also delivered the first sermon at Virginia City, in 1861. In the same year Nevada was erected into a district, and additional workers were sent to organize congregations in different towns, with such success that the district was made an independent conference, which began its annual meetings in 1865. At Austin one of the finest of churches and parsonages owes its existence to the gambling spirit among the parishioners. The pastor accepted mining shares in subscription, and pooling the stock in the name of a methodist mining company, he sold the claims in the east for $250,000 on the instalment plan. With the money thus obtained a brick church, with a fine organ and parsonage, was erected, at a cost of $35,000. Suddenly the mining furore subsided, instalments stopped, and the concern was left

$6,000 in debt, which, however, was cleared off in course of time. In 1880 the methodists of Nevada had a membership of 470, with 13 preachers, and claimed an expenditure so far of fully $160,000 for church property, a large proportion of which had been eaten up by fire or abandoned in deserted camps.

The population drawn to Nevada by the different mining fevers seemed from a spiritual standpoint most unpromising as a mere fortune-hunting community. Nevertheless the first territorial legislature enacted a strict Sunday law, which imposed heavy penalties for desecrating the Sabbath by gambling or noisy amusements. Herein lay enough encouragement for ministers of religion, and several came in during the early sixties to gather congregations.

The catholics were second in the field. Father Gallagher founded the first church at Genoa in 1860, and other structures rose gradually in all the leading towns, that at Virginia City costing $65,000, and being among the finest in the state. Nevada was created in 1868 by Father Manogue, vicar-general of Grass Valley, a diocese, and the church at Virginia City was rebuilt in nearly as fine a condition after the fair of 1875. Up to 1885 the catholics had spent $250,000 in churches and charitable institutions.

The first episcopalian clergyman was Mr Smeathman, who commenced his work at Virginia City in 1861, followed soon afterward by F. S. Rising of the American Church Missionary society, Bishop Talbot of Indiana lending great assistance. O. W. Whitaker, rector at Virginia City, became bishop within a few years and concentrated several of the churches in the state, the total cost of which reach about $150,000.

The presbyterian home mission sent W. W. Brier in 1861 to found the new school branch of this sect, and a few congregations were formed, one of which procured funds for a church structure by a successful speculation in mining stock with the fund, of the association; but the sect was not very flourishing, the total membership falling below two hundred, and several of the flocks being without temple or pastor.

The baptists collected in 1863 at Virginia City with a mixture of races under Satchell and another pastor; but it was not until ten years later that C. L. Fisher formed the first church proper at the same place and then at Reno. The total value of baptist church property is only about $5,000.

A congregationalist society organized in 1871 at Reno. The Christian church has also representatives; and Welsh miners held service awhile in their native language. Miss Burr of New York left $20,000 for the aid of struggling churches. The Bible society of California had an agent in Nevada until 1872, when a special society was formed here, assisted by contributions from abroad. Several of the sects gave attention to natives, notably the catholics and baptists, the latter being in charge of the Indian missions, but with little success.

The religious denominations naturally set an example in the work of charity, and deserve great credit for their efforts, even if the contributions came chiefly from non-sectarians. Among the first organized efforts was the formation by Father Manogue of the St Vincent de Paul society in 1863, by the catholics of Virginia City, now numbering five hundred members. Its aid is extended to all, irrespective of creed. The catholics have also founded St Mary's hospital, St Mary's school for girls, and St Vincent's school for boys, under the care of sisters of charity. The Jews show themselves here as elsewhere liberal contributors to charities and to the afflicted of their own race.

The prevalence of speculative tendencies, manifested even in the formation of churches exhibited itself in the Nevada Benevolent association, which in 1871 prepared to give entertainments, attended by the distribution of prizes in real estate and other property, and by means of lottery tickets, the proceeds to be devoted to charitable purposes, especially the care of the insane. The court declared the act of authorization in their behalf to be unconstitutional, and the association suspended.

The state has done its share for the relief of misery. In 1866 provisions were made for orphans, followed soon afterward by appropriations for an asylum at Carson City. The deaf, dumb, and blind, as well as insane, have been sent at public expense to institutions in adjoining states. Recently the foundations were laid at Reno for an insane asylum.

Among fraternal societies the free-masons were foremost, their first lodge being established in February 1863, and the grand lodge two years later. After the sweeping fire at Virginia City the members held a lodge on the summit of Mount Davidson, with all the pomp of the order. There are chapters of the eastern star order, to which women are admitted, and also a grand chapter and several commanderies. The order has dispensed $75,000 in charities and owns fully $110,000 in property and fires have consumed property worth $50,000.

The Odd Fellows organized their first lodge in April 1862, and their grand lodge five years later. In 1885 there were ten encampments. At the same time the Knights of Pythias, first organized in 1873, had twelve lodges, together with a grand-lodge dating since 1874, and showing the rapid rise of the order. Several other fraternal societies are represented.

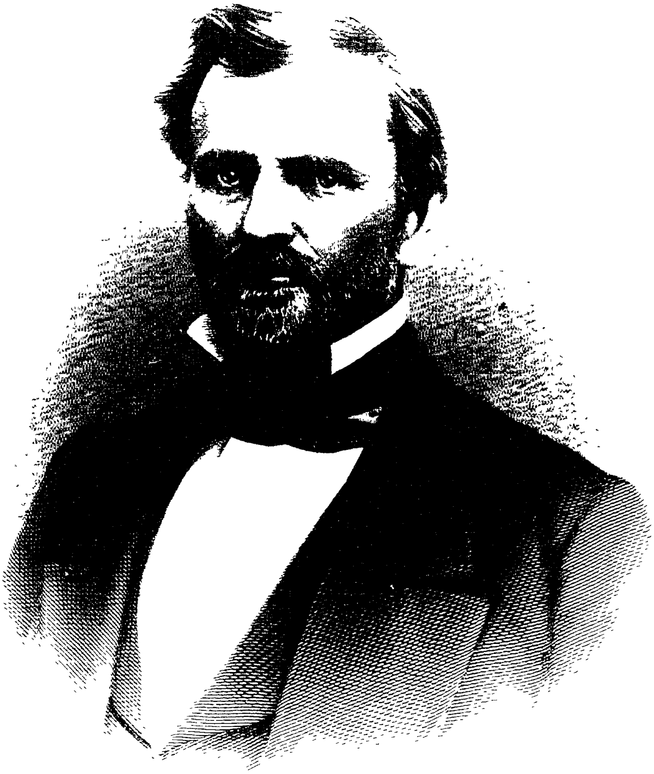
I will now present the lives of some of California's citizens, who have become well known in not only one but many departments of commerce, trade, and education.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LIFE OF JAMES PARKER TREADWELL.

THE STUDY OF MANKIND—APPEARANCE AND CHARACTERISTICS—BIRTH AND PARENTAGE—BOYHOOD—LECTURE ON TEMPERANCE—LAW PRACTISE IN BOSTON AND SAN FRANCISCO—INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES—INVESTMENTS MRS TREADWELL—HER ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE—CAREER AND CHARACTER—MAUD TREADWELL—JAMES PARKER TREADWELL, JUNIOR.

"CHARACTER," remarks an eminent divine, "is not an inheritance; it is not an estate to which one is born an heir." With the qualities of mind and heart which distinguish each one of us from our fellow-man, not the fondest parent can endow the most idolized of children. Character is rather something inwrought, unfolding with the development of life, and attaining only in its highest form the reward of those who strive after all that is noble and beautiful and good. The untold worth of such a character, the value of those blended excellencies which form together one harmonious whole, it is almost impossible to estimate. Only when we observe its effects in all their bearings and relations, on the social and moral welfare of the world, on its business interests, on the stability and purity of government, not only for the present generation but throughout all coming time, can we judge aright the influence of such a life, not a life free from blemishes, but one whose highest aim is to promote the welfare of our common humanity.



J. P. Treadwell

In our study of men as units of the commonwealth, we are sometimes startled by our discoveries. So much we see, so little we know of those about us, that, on lifting the coverings of conventionalism and penetrating the personality, even of well-known characters, we find ourselves far away from our supposed point of view, and involved in investigations as bottomless as eternity. Underneath these same conventional coverings of finer or coarser aspect, we may behold, where least expected, the flood-tide of genius, the slow flow of martyrdom, undreamed of exaltation of soul, with now and then mighty problems undergoing solution by mighty minds. It may be thus, or otherwise; and when we expected much, find little. From behind pleasing manners we may draw forth the hypocrite, or find hidden beneath an impetuous exterior, the true nobility of calm.

What should we say, for example, of James Parker Treadwell, knowing him little; what was he, knowing him well? In the town directory, he was called attorney and capitalist. This was true, for he was a millionaire. But it would be erroneous to infer that he took delight in other men's quarrels, or that his mind was altogether absorbed in acquiring wealth.

What then was his life, and what was he? In the story of his life, are found its lessons. His mission was primarily to be a man; a conspicuous figure in our present era of living; to elevate the intellectual and moral, and show us all how to suffer; for suffering and death, with fortitude or without it, is the great lesson of civilization, no less than that of savagism.

Various are the attitudes in which men display their nature, the color of mind, the flavor of thought; instance here the man of intellect and learning; one who liked to be alone in his study, wrapped in questions of philosophy or diving into books of ancient law, of which his knowledge was thorough and profound; or burning the midnight oil while solving astronomical problems, or absorbed in the study of chemistry. Go with him to the court-room where he presented a striking appearance with his fine physique, powerfully-built body, nearly six feet in height, broad-shouldered and deep-chested, his wonderfully well-shaped head and handsome profile, full nostrils, face of Roman type, strong, clear lines, penetrating blue eyes which met yours fully, large, but so well set back in his large head, that to a casual observer they did not appear large; light brown hair turned gray, closely-cut beard and mustache, all—even the measured tread adding to the impression of strength, decision, will; look at him driving through the streets of the city, carrying the whip in the right hand over the shoulder, upon his head a broad, black hat, like a Spanish sombrero, about his neck a heavy New England wool-knit muffler, giving him the appearance of a farmer of the olden time going to mill, or as a business man, or in his home, surrounded by his charming family, the beloved husband, the adored father was what we love to contemplate, a man.

Mr Treadwell was a native of Massachusetts, born at Ipswich, June 25, 1817, of good substantial New England stock, the ancestry on both sides being readily traced back for seven or eight generations. Moses Treadwell was the father and Lydia Bowes Parker the mother. The paternal grandmother, Susan Coggeshall, was a cousin of John Hancock of revolutionary fame. The parents, like the grandparents, were quite wealthy for the time in which they lived, having interests in lands and ships. Moses Treadwell, the father of James Parker, was a man of great moral courage, which marked him as an avowed student of Tom Paine. With the aid of one of his townsmen, he organized and supported, to the day of his death, a unitarian church in Ipswich.

Amid young playmates, brothers and sisters, full of life, fun, and mischief, James passed an exceptionally happy childhood. What bright vision would this world be could that period always last! In this instance, a terrible misfortune which befell the youth at the age of eight years, did not wholly check his joyous activity. The simple recital is touching. A play fellow, taking up a gun, supposing it not loaded, pointed it at him and said, "Jim, I'll shoot you!" He fired, and the boy, bleeding, his limb shattered, was carried to the mother. It was found necessary to amputate the leg. The local physician lacking experience, a surgeon was brought from Boston, the boy being kept unconscious during the necessary delay of over twenty-four hours. It is useless to speak of the sorrow of the parents; words cannot depict their agony. When the boy returned to consciousness after the operation, he simply said: "Mother, my leg is gone!" and so, alas! it was, and he was compelled to wear an artificial limb. Never, so long as he lived, did he wish the subject mentioned to him or discussed in his presence.

His bravery and patience during convalescence and all through life, was wonderful; indeed, he was often, in after years, heard to remark that he rather enjoyed severe pain, as, by it, he might prove to himself how much fortitude he could exercise.

As a young boy he cared nothing for books, but nature's lessons he quickly acquired. His courage was indomitable; he did not know the meaning of fear. He was a born leader, and but for this accident would undoubtedly, in later years, have distinguished himself on the battle-field, or have been a foremost man of the nation. Indeed, he has been spoken of as a Von Moltke and a Bismarck, being equal to them in ability.

And now at the age of thirteen comes to this boy another blow—the loss of a mother, who, by her tender love had thus far greatly alleviated his sorrow; and a year afterward his father dies. Verily, for one for whom the gods had done much, it would seem that some of these afflictions might have been spared him.

After his mother's death, he was sent to Bradford academy, and a year later returned upon the death of his father, which was likewise attended by loss of property. He now became a changed person. The realities of life were upon him.

He entered the Boston custom house as his uncle's clerk, and after remaining two years had seven hundred dollars in the bank; but the bank failed, and he lost it. When he received the news of the failure of the bank, he was studying at his table by the light of two candles. He saw at once the necessity for the most rigid economy, quietly laid down the letter informing him of his misfortune—yes, of his ruin, financially, for it was all he had in the world—snuffed out one of the burning candles, and proceeded with his studies. Meanwhile he had lectured in Boston on temperance, and on his return to Ipswich delivered a Fourth of July oration in the court-house. For the latter event, the knowledge of which first became known to the family by posters on trees and public doors, preparation was made by practising in the barn. A party of Cambridge students from Ipswich, returning home for the fourth, on alighting from the stage-coach, were told of James Treadwell's attempt at speech-making at the court-house. "What fun!" they exclaimed, "let us go, and hear the most mischievous boy in town, who was never known to open a book, deliver an oration." They found the court-house crowded, and young Treadwell in the midst of his discourse. He saw them come, and taking in their purpose fully, continued his remarks as unruffled as an experienced lecturer. They who came to scoff remained to cheer, and the oration was pronounced a success. As he came out, the patriotic and learned of the town came forward to congratulate him, but he drew himself up and walked past them with stern dignity, entirely wrapped up in his purpose, caring neither for censure nor praise.

Independent from boyhood, he became more so, to which was now added a grand strength; it was not pride, for pride was ever unknown to him. His great misfortune was now come home to him, becoming the drawback which must ever attend his career in consequence. From this time he devoted himself to literary and scientific subjects. He entered Harvard college, and received the degree of Master of Arts, with the class of 1844; he was admitted to the bar in Massachusetts, and practised law successfully in Boston for about seven years. In 1851 he came to California. Perhaps there never came to this state a more pronounced character—strong, eccentric, everywhere grand, and entering here and there the domain of genius.

While undergoing most excruciating pain from his infirmity, he was often engaged in profound researches. While he delighted in solitude, as every truly intellectual man must, it was not to the exclusion of his friends. He was charitable to the deserving poor, and delighted in encouraging the studious young. He had about him a wonderful magnetism, which startled and at once claimed your attention and your admiration, but seldom touched the cords of sympathy. Intellectual force was what he dealt in. Knowledge, strength, decision, were his weapons. He would command by logic, rather than win with soft words; failing to convince, he rarely attempted to persuade; when he did, he generally succeeded. There was in his presence a preponderance of will and wisdom, which made him a giant by the side even of strong minds. He was a classical scholar, equally at home in Latin or Greek, and accurate in his translations. Mathematics was a passion with him, and during his whole life he found great pleasure in the study of its highest branches, and historical subjects, for which his wonderful memory especially fitted him. He could give the exact date of almost any historical fact. His manner was abrupt in all things, and he would never stoop to any of those subterfuges whereby men seek to improve upon the work of their maker. He would never espouse a wrong cause or questionable position, or engage in fallacious argument. He never pretended to know a thing when he did not; it is your weak minds only that do that; those not sure of their footing, or who deal in the intangible rather than the real. His success at the bar came to him, not as one skilled in the art of oratory, but as one who, from a mind stored with the riches of a varied learning, drew upon its vast resources for convincing reasoning and logical demonstration. His intellectual powers were manifested in a clear understanding which delighted in accurate knowledge, and penetrated the relation of things; from a wide and extensive knowledge of facts and precedents, he drew perpetual principles. Belief here, as everywhere, must be based on evidence appealing to reason, not impulse feeding the imagination. The spiritual, the intangible, lying as it does beyond the domain of real knowledge, in a realm of the imagination, to a mind delighting only in the accurate and demonstrable, has no meaning. To him who thus reasons, there is no supernatural; hence, we find in him strong materialistic views, holding little sympathy with the speculations and sophisms of theology, but delighting in the interpretation of nature. And if, as has been said of him, with all his intellectual power of discrimination, he could not enter into the mind of Socrates and St John, it may have been the fault of Socrates and St John, rather than his own; for their flights of fancy were wont to carry them where no sane mind could follow, and if to live the life of the crucified be better than to simply wear the ideal as an ornament about the neck, then is this man's life a lesson to all prating priests. It must ever be a source of regret that the treasures of a mind so rich as this man's was were never known to the literary world.

Mr Treadwell remained in San Francisco, California, twenty-six years, till his death in that city on

December 27, 1884. He practised law up to the later years of his life, until deterred by ill health. At times he would manifest an apparent indifference to money, leaving dividends and interest uncollected for years. As an instance showing this, it is related that upon the return of a friend from the city of Washington, where he had discovered at the treasury a large amount of uncollected interest on bonds to Mr Treadwell's credit, and who informed him thereof, that Treadwell indignantly demanded of him, "Why, sir, do you think I don't know where my money is?"

He had inherited from his father, his great rich voice, which could be heard clearly for almost half a mile, on an open field. His bravery, which had characterized his youth, was always a strong element in his nature. He was a light sleeper and of keen hearing. The slightest movement or noise in his presence would awaken him. He would rarely permit his outer or inner door to be locked at night, though his habit was to keep valuables and large sums of money about him.

A portion of his large property, consisting of about ten blocks of land now nearly in the heart of the city, and in the vicinity of Golden Gate park, valued at about half a million dollars, has been in litigation since 1866, under a squatter's claim, itself one of the many bold conspiracies connected with land in the litigations of California.

On the 14th of April, 1873, Mr Treadwell married Miss Mabel Summers, daughter of Henry Summers, who came to California about 1850 and died in Florence, Arizona, July 15, 1881. Henry Summers was a son of Jesse Summers, who was a Virginian, some of the Summers family settling in Virginia and some in Kentucky. The grandfather of Jesse Summers was a Hollander, a descendant of the nobility. Jesse Summers' father was a volunteer at the age of sixteen, in the revolutionary war. Hiram B. Summers, a brother of Henry, was also an early Californian, and afterwards a resident of Arizona territory, where he practised law and was district attorney for Pinal county. Henry and Hiram were the only members of the family who came to California. Another brother married a sister of Ben Holliday, prominent on the Pacific coast.

Mrs Treadwell's mother was a woman of much personal beauty, which she preserved to a great degree up to her death in 1888. She was the daughter of John Hutchinson, a substantial farmer identified with the stock raising interest in Virginia, of which state he was a native. He moved with his family from his native state to the city of Philadelphia, for the purpose of receiving the advantages of that metropolis for his family, and especially in the interest of his daughter who had been an invalid from girlhood. From this state the family came to California, crossing the plains in 1851, and located in Sacramento county, where Mr Hutchinson engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Mrs Treadwell was born in California and educated in the convent schools of Portland and Salem, Oregon. She is a woman of much refinement, delicate, but of marked individuality, independent, and possessing much business tact and ability. Having married Mr Treadwell when just emerging from her teens, she has developed in a measured degree, many of the strong characteristics of her husband. She has managed and controlled her husband's large estate, practically unaided since his death. The issue of this marriage was six children ; Cynthia M., Maud, Thalia, James Parker, Ivan, and Parthenia. Cynthia M. and Parthenia have been removed by death, and the four surviving children each possess some of the strong traits of their talented father. Maud is like her father, a great reader, which she was, from a very early age; even when a child, sitting in her father's office, absorbed in a book for hours at a time. Thalia is of an artistic temperament, being especially fond of painting and drawing, for which she already shows much talent. She is fond of studying the characteristics of animals. She thinks a cow has kindly expression in the eye; and even in the face of the lion she can see, like Rosa Bonheur, a depth of soft expression. Don't they love their tender young as dearly as the most gentle of God's creatures?

James Parker inherits his father's excellent memory and love of history. He often declares that he does not know whether he will be like his father, a lawyer, or a historian; for he believes that great historians are more rare than great lawyers.

Ivan's qualities as a child are great good nature and judgment.

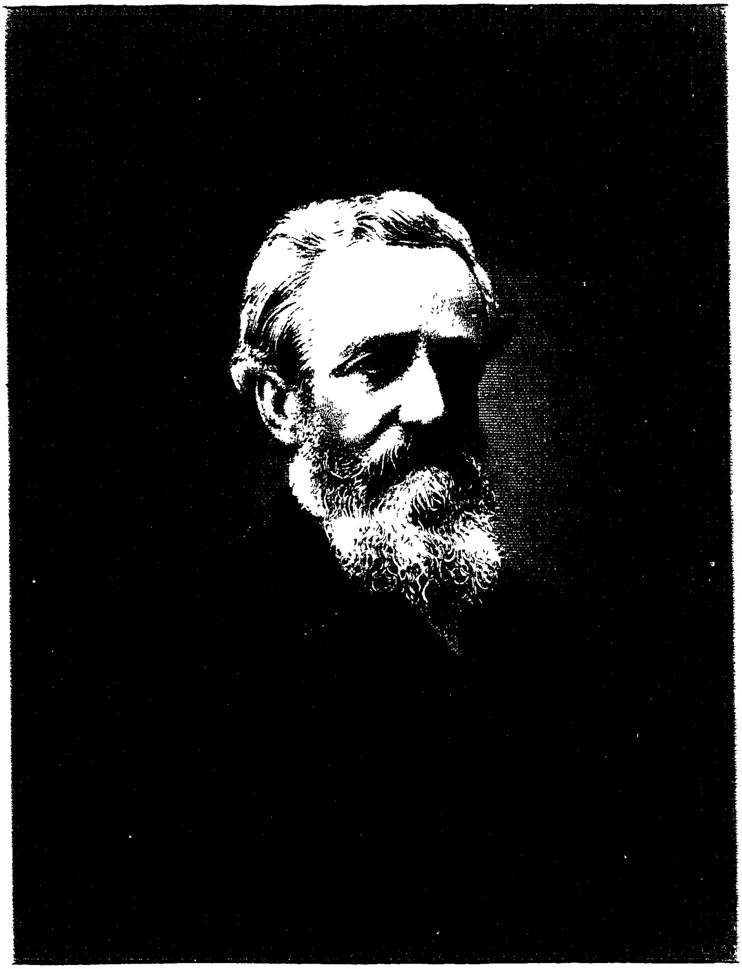
All will agree that James Parker Treadwell was no ordinary man. The coming and going to and from this planet of such an intellect is the one great unsolved mystery of the universe. Know we this, how and wherefore, and we know all things. That a mind like his should belong to a religionist is not possible; it would not be his mind. He loved truth and spoke only what he knew, and sought not to deceive any. He was an inspiration of the new civilization, a messiah of the new dispensation.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

LIFE OF OZRO WILLIAM CHILDS.

The Three Industrial Epochs in the History of California—English and Scotch Ancestry—Farm Work, Study, and Teaching—Migration to California—Northern Mines and Southern Gardens—Experiences at Los Angeles—End of a Useful Life.

In the industrial development of California three periods may be traced, in each of which the predominant interest of the state was largely concentrated in one line of activity, although at the same time other industries, carried on side by side with it, continued to absorb the energies of a portion of its population. First, there was the pastoral life of the simple embryonic period before the American occupation. Then came the mining episode, whose echoes reverberated around the world, but which at last began to grow fainter and fainter, until in 1859, they were lost in the newly awakened life of the Nevada mines. Last came the agricultural and horticultural period, when people began more perfectly to realize the capabilities of the soil and climate, and when new and varied products, the olive, the orange, lemon, raisin, walnut, Lima bean, and many others, began to be widely cultivated. It was with this latter period that Ozro W. Childs was identified, and in the inception and development of which he took a prominent part. Many of the rare exotic shrubs and flowers that now make beautiful the southern land, thousands of citrus and deciduous trees in the southern orchards, were first introduced by him. By him also the first honey bees were brought to southern California, and he may thus be termed the founder of this important industry.



The name of Childs is of Norse origin, and the English bearers of it have been known in several parts of Great Britain from very early days. The first American ancestor crossed the ocean in 1630, and settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, and from him have descended all the Childs of America.

Ozro William Childs was born at Sutton, in Caledonia county, Vermont, on June 5, 1824. His father was a farmer in comfortable circumstances during the son's younger days, though later the agricultural depression prevailing throughout New England rendered him less prosperous. His mother, whose maiden name was Sarah Richardson, was of Scotch extraction, as were many of the inhabitants of that county. Thus upon either side Ozro Childs was descended from two of the best strains known in history, the New England and the Scottish; and brought up in a typical New England household where industry and thrift were combined with puritan integrity, he was trained from his earliest childhood in habits of life that form the surest guarantee of a successful career.

At twelve years of age Ozro did a man's work on the farm, and up to the age of sixteen his leisure for study was small. When he had reached the latter age he earnestly solicited his father to permit him to enter the Brownington academy. To this the father consented on condition that he should defray his own expenses. Young Childs accordingly spent two terms at that school, and afterward two at the neighboring academy at Lyndon. He was a diligent student, as he had been also a hard worker on the farm, and after completing the four terms he taught school himself for three successive winters. Continual exposure, however, to inclement weather in the bleak Vermont climate while laboring on the farm, and subsequently while engaged in teaching, brought on asthmatic troubles, to which probably his naturally slight and delicate frame predisposed him, and he was compelled to abandon teaching. Through his father he procured a position as clerk in a store at a salary of eight dollars a month; but he did not hold it long, for the compensation was too small to satisfy him, and he wished to try his fortunes in the west.

Setting out for Ohio, therefore, in 1848, he proceeded to the town of Massillon in that state, and having nothing else to do found occupation for a time in the manufactory of C. M. Russel and company. Not long after this he happened to see a notice that there would be an examination of candidates for the position of teacher in the local schools, and upon presenting himself was granted a certificate. He readily found a vacancy, and took charge of a school of one hundred and twenty scholars, at a monthly salary of twelve dollars.

It was about this time that the news of the gold discoveries in California began to reach the states east of the Mississippi; and soon the whole country from the great lakes to the gulf, from Maine to the farthest outposts of civilization on the west, was filled with the bustle of preparation for the westward journey. Partly with the hope of bettering his fortune, partly from a desire to find a milder climate, Mr Childs determined to set out thither; and in March 1850, in company with a hundred others, he took passage at Wheeling, Virginia, on a steamboat bound for New Orleans. After a short detention in that city the party sailed for Nicaragua on the barque *Zenobia.* Their vessel, however, was carried by adverse winds to the coast of Florida, and but for the determination of some of the passengers the journey might have terminated at Key West; for at that port a number of the party, homesick and discouraged, attempted to induce the captain of the barque to discontinue the voyage. The others, however, when they found that remonstrances had no effect, drew their pistols, and the captain, finding this an argument that could not be contravened, proceeded on his course. After a long and tedious voyage they arrived at San Juan, landed, and crossed the Isthmus to a port on the Pacific coast. Nearly all of the party were by this time ill, provisions were almost exhausted, and starvation appeared imminent, since they saw no immediate prospect of being able to proceed to California. At length, however, a vessel bound for San Francisco dropped anchor in the harbor in order to procure a supply of water and the party were permitted to take passage on her. An upper deck was hastily constructed for their accommodation, and after a sail of forty-five days the vessel entered the harbor of San Francisco, on the 17th of August 1850.

San Francisco did not present a very prepossessing appearance at the time of his arrival. The third great fire of June 14th had but recently occurred, and the larger portion of the business quarter was in ruins. Mr Childs did not feel inclined to linger there, and started at once for the mines by way of Sacramento. As he had used a portion of his money to assist some of his fellow passengers, who were in a state of destitution before the end of the voyage, he had only twelve dollars left. After reaching Sacramento he set out for the mines on foot; but he soon discovered that he was not strong enough to endure the hardships of the tramp, and returned to the town. Miners' pans were naturally in much demand at this time, and fortunately he obtained a contract to supply fifty dozen of them at the rate of ten dollars per dozen. On completing this contract he returned to San Francisco.

It was now early autumn, and the cold winds and fogs prevailing at this time of the year proved very unfavorable to his constitution. It happened that about this time he fell in with a man by the name of Hicks, who was discontented with the northern part of the state, and who desired with Mr Childs to find a favorable location, both in point of climate and of business opportunities, in which to settle. The two, therefore, without having any particular objective point in view, took passage on a south-bound vessel, whose ultimate destination was Valparaiso, taking with them a stock of tin and an outfit of tools for manufacturing articles of tinware. On their way down the coast they touched at Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Pedro. At the latter place the captain informed the passengers that he would not enter a port again until he reached Chili, and that those who did not desire to go thither must disembark at that port. Mr Childs and his friend, therefore, decided to leave the ship and carry ashore the stock they had brought with them.

After landing on this almost uninhabited promontory, they hired a bull-team with which to transport their goods, and proceeded at a snail's pace toward Los Angeles. When they at last reached that enterprising little town, which even in those days was full of bustle and activity, they hired a place of business and commenced the manufacture of various kinds of tinware. This was in November 1850. Money was plentiful at the time, and although the tin trade was not extensive the market was good. The new firm flourished, and the few other dealers soon relinquished the field. Before long Childs and his partner added another branch to their business, namely, that of selling flour for the Mormons of San Bernardino, and by this they were gradually led into the grocery and provision trade. After the lapse of four years Hicks withdrew from the firm with forty thousand dollars, and later Childs sold his interest, having cleared a hundred thousand dollars from this business and from real estate operations.

In 1856 Mr Childs, whose dealings in real estate had for some time convinced him of the high capabilities of southern California as a fruit-growing country, determined to go into the nursery business. He purchased for $1,600 from Mr Cardwell a tract of fifty acres on both sides of Main street, between

Sixth and Ninth. It was uphill work at first, but he was a man of determination, and persisted in spite of many discouragements. The land was constantly cultivated and improved, and many hundred varieties of hitherto unknown shrubs, trees, and flowers were imported by him, including exotic plants from opposite ends of the earth, rare varieties of ornamental trees—among them the beautiful Italian chestnut—besides many improved varieties of citrus and deciduous fruit trees. In fact, Mr Childs may be regarded as the pioneer nurseryman and florist of the southern portion of the state, and his orchards and vineyards have received the first prize upon many occasions as the finest examples of their kind.

It was in March 1855 that he introduced the first hive of honey-bees into southern California, purchasing them in San Francisco and placing them in his nursery on Main street. The comb-honey sold as rapidly as it was produced for a dollar a pound. In his apiary he employed the latest and most efficient appliances, manufacturing the first honey-extractor used in the vicinity. He also imported a number of Italian queen bees—the first ever brought to California—for each of which he paid from one hundred to three hundred dollars.

In 1860 Mr Childs married Miss Emeline Huber, of German descent, born in Louisville, Kentucky. Their first child, a son, was born in 1866, and named Ozro W. Childs junior. Since then they have had five other children, named severally Emma S., Carrie M., Ruth E., Hortense C., and Stephen V.

Of Mr Childs' daughters one, Carrie, was married in 1890 to Frank S. Hicks, of Los Angeles. Mr Hicks is the son of Mrs John S. Hager of San Francisco. He was born in St Louis, Missouri. He was a graduate of Princeton in 1884.

As he advanced in years Mr Childs extended his business interests into many new channels, and became the owner of a large amount of real estate in

San Bernardino and San Diego counties, a stockholder and director in the Farmers and Merchants' bank, and in the Security Savings and Trust company of Los Angeles, and a trustee of the Los Angeles branch of the Home Mutual fire insurance company. In 1884, as he foresaw the great impending rise in the values of city property, he subdivided the tract occupied by his nursery, and disposed of the lots at a high figure. He retained, however, the land immediately surrounding his residence, extending from Main to Hill streets, and from Eleventh to Twelfth, which still constitutes one of the most beautiful landmarks of Los Angeles, with well-kept walks and lawns, rare flowers, and shade trees of exquisite foliage.

In the same year Mr Childs erected the Los Angeles opera house, the first and indeed still the only one worthy of the name south of San Francisco; and on the 27th of May its doors were thrown open to the amusement-loving public. A year or so later he erected the fine building on the corner of Temple and New High streets.

In appearance Mr Childs was short and slight in build, not over five feet, six inches in height, and weighing only about a hundred pounds. A forehead of somewhat unusual height, thick waving hair and rather long beard, both of iron gray, a delicate but firmly closed mouth, and dark brown eyes, soft and penetrating, with just an indication of idealism in them, together formed a fine head, such as is not very commonly encountered. The expression of the face as a whole, and especially of the mouth, from which traces of suffering combined with great will power were not absent, indicated the character and spirit of the man, whose life throughout a period of many years was that of an almost constant sufferer, who nevertheless forced himself, through the possession of notable determination and power of will, to the accomplishment of a large number of useful works. Often he was not expected to live from week to week. He lived on will power and was always energetic, always full of push and enterprise.

In manner he was quiet, reserved, and yet uniformly genial and courteous, especially considerate to employés, to whom he always gave praise when due, and whom he never censured in an offensive manner. In everything he was unostentatious. He took an especial interest in the drama, and much interest in literature and works of art. It is unnecessary to state that he possessed high business qualities. In his later years he became a member of the catholic church, of which his wife and children had always been members. His private charities were numerous.

In spite of his fragile constitution he lived to reach the age of sixty-six years, and to look back with satisfaction upon a life well and honorably spent. Before his death, which occurred quite suddenly at his home, April 17, 1890, he had seen Los Angeles grow from a small Mexican pueblo of adobe buildings to a city of magnificent residences and business structures; he had seen southern California develop from a thinly populated sheep range to a country dotted with cities and prosperous farms, with vineyards, and orchards of golden fruit; and he could feel a just pride in the thought that he had contributed in no inconsiderable degree in producing this transformation.

O. W. Childs junior, his eldest son, is a graduate of Santa Clara college, and in 1891 married Miss Susie Bate, a daughter of William B. Bate, ex-governor of Tennessee, and afterward senator from that state. He early attained a prominent position in Los Angeles as a business man, and proved a favorable example of the best type of American young men, easy and self-possessed in manner, alert, enterprising, attentive to business, and yet finding time for social pleasures, in which he became a leader.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

LIFE OF ROBERT WHITNEY WATERMAN.

PARENTAGE — LIFE IN THE MINES — FARMER AND RAILROAD BUILDER — GOVERNOR—ADMINISTRATION AND CHARACTERISTICS.

ROBERT Whitney Waterman, the seventeenth governor of California, was born at Fairfield, Herkimer county, New York, on the 15th of December 1826. His father, John Dean Waterman, was a native of Kinderhook, New York, while his mother, Mary Graves Waldo, was born at Dalton, Massachusetts. Both were descended from the early settlers of New York and New England, and their ancestors on both sides were active supporters of the cause of the colonists during the revolution. His father dying while he was quite young, Robert Waterman went west and after some experience as clerk in a general store, went into business for himself before he was of age, and opened a general store in Belvidere, Illinois. He met with good success in this new venture, and in 1847 he married Miss Jane Gardner of Belvidere.

Lured by the tales of the wealth of California, and the varied attractions of the land, he crossed the plains with a large party in 1850, and entered the state on the day she was admitted to the union.

Like the majority he went at once to the mines, where his industry and taste for the novelties of nature made him successful. And like many others of the gold seekers, who never came with the slightest idea of making a permanent home in California, he returned to the east two years afterward. At Wilmington, Illinois, he resumed his old business of

T. W. Waterman

keeping store. Dealing also in grain and keeping a warehouse, by close attention to business he accumulated what, in those days was a considerable fortune. He also took an active interest in politics, was a friend of Lincoln, Lovejoy, Yates, Oglesby, and others, and was a leading member of the convention of 1854 at which the republican party was born.

Like many of the gold-seekers Robert Waterman had a lingering love of California, and in 1873 he returned to make it his permanent home. In 1874 he went to the county of San Bernardino, where he soon became the owner of seven hundred acres adjoining the now famous Arrowhead hot springs, and made himself one of the finest home places in that rich and prosperous county.

While he was here the taste for mining that he had acquired in early days returned, and he spent some of his leisure in prospecting portions of San Bernardino county. In this way he discovered a series of silver mines in what has since been known as the Calico district, and the mines he here opened he worked for a long time with great profit. In 1885, he bought the well-known Stonewall mine in the mountains of San Diego county, which has ever since proved a very valuable investment, and shortly afterward bought the greater portion of the Cuyamaca grant on which the mine is located, containing some twenty-one thousand acres of valuable timber land and cattle range.

In the face of great difficulties he built in 1888 the San Diego, Cuyamaca, and Eastern railroad to Foster's, at the upper end of El Cajon, and some twenty-five miles northeast of San Diego, intending to extend it into the beautiful and fertile highlands of the interior, and from there to a junction with the Southern Pacific on the Colorado desert; a plan that would have been carried out had he lived. While he had associates in this enterprise, its success was due almost wholly to his untiring enterprise and courage in standing in the breach with his fortune at the most critical time.

Though active in politics he was but once a candidate for office. But his earnestness and energy were so well known to his many friends, who admired him the more because he was not a politician, that in 1886 he was nominated by the republican party of the state for lieutenant-governor. The election showed the wisdom of his friends. The candidate for governor on the same ticket failed by several hundred votes, while Waterman was elected lieutenant-governor over the democratic candidate by over two thousand votes.

Though with little experience in parliamentary tactics, he presided over a senate composed of an adverse party, and impatient with pressure of business, with a firmness, readiness, and impartiality that won the esteem of all.

In September 1887 Lieutenant-governor Waterman by the death of Governor Bartlett became governer of the state of California. To this office he brought a certain independence of the politicians and an amount of energy directed by sound business principles quite rare among executive officers anywhere. One of his first acts was to recognize the wishes of his predecessor by sending to the senate for confirmation the same names that Governor Bartlett had selected, although they were all of the opposite party. He deemed this much due to the memory of the late governor, and felt that party lines had nothing to do with the matter. Similar conduct characterized his whole administration, and he showed throughout that he felt himself the servant of the people and not of any party.

Though he felt that he was quite as competent a judge of the people's interests as were the politicians, he had no overweening confidence in his own judgment, and few in his position have ever taken the pains that he took to secure the best and most disinterested advice on all matters of public interest. On the insurance bill, which made considerable commotion in the legislature, he consulted no less than twenty different leading attorneys of the state, and studied the subject as thoroughly as his time would permit before sending in his veto message. He established a regular day for the hearing of applications for pardon, and had due notice published in one of the leading dailies ot San Francisco, so that all objections could be heard. He also consulted the judge who had heard the case and the district attorney who had tried it, as well as the officers of the prison, and took all possible means to inform himself on the merits of each particular case. As to the expediency of making the day of the admission of the state to the union a public holiday, he wrote to and consulted hundreds of the business men of the state, and in similar ways took pains to ascertain the wishes of the people in matters of importance before acting upon them.

No governor of any state was ever more diligent in the discharge of his duties than was Governor Waterman. He visited in person and repeatedly all the state institutions. He took a special interest in making the penitentiary self-sustaining, and the building of the great dam and the water power development at Folsom are due almost entirely to his influence. The jute mills received always his careful attention and he watched as vigilantly over the selection of the site for the new asylums as he did over the welfare of the inmates in the old one. Over the public school system he kept an equally watchful eye and was never too busy, or too confident in his own judgment, to pass upon any question of importance without a careful study of it. He was an ardent friend of the state university and did everything in his power to make it more perfect and efficient as a public educator.

While Governor Waterman took unusual pains to secure correct information on all public matters, and plenty of time to study the general bearing of them, he was still as far as possible from that neglect of detail that too often is the result of studying the broader aspects of things. No one ever attended more thoroughly or conscientiously to the routine business of an office. Wherever he went throughout the state the mail and business of the office followed him; and even when he could at long intervals snatch but a few days to visit his mine in the high mountains, two days' journey back of San Diego, every document that needed his attention or signature made the long journey to find him. Every paper was signed by himself, and of the many thousands that now bear his autograph, there is not one that he did not read and understand.

The consequence of this care and energy was an administration that has been admired by all for its thorough business character, and which left the state in better financial condition than she had ever been in before. Not only were his appointments in every respect appropriate, but he placed California on a cash-paying basis for the first time in her history. He paid off all the claims against the state that had been due from the year 1871, and left in the treasury on December 29, 1890, the sum of $2,065,555.31. During his term the increase in the deposits of the savings banks of the state was $34,104,107. The reform schools established under his administration in the counties of Los Angeles and Amador were also in the direct line of economy as well as reform, and the former alone saved to the tax-payers of San Francisco $45,000.

Governor Waterman was a thoroughly public spirited man and a true patriot in every sense. He was a firm friend of the grand army, conceding the claims of the veterans to recognition on all proper occasions. He was warm-hearted, liberal, and charitable almost to a fault and made no discriminations in favor of sect, nationality, or condition in life.

He died April 12, 1891, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, after a life of almost perfect health and the enjoyment of a strong constitution. He left a wife, two sons and four daughters. The elder son, James S. Waterman, is a physician, and Waldo, the younger. is a mining engineer and manager of the Stonewall mine. Of his daughters Mrs. Hyland W. Rice lives at San Bernardino, and Mrs Irving M. Scott Jr at San Francisco. Miss Helen J. Waterman and Miss Abbie L. Waterman, the other two daughters, live with their mother at San Diego.

Governor Waterman was thoroughly domestic in all his tastes and habits. Personally he was one of the most approachable of men, and popular with all his neighbors and acquaintances. He was the same to all whether rich or poor, to the humblest of his employés as well as to those from whom one might hope for more substantial service. Though outspoken and fearless in his opinions, as he was determined when he believed he was right, he never offended, and had the rare faculty of disagreeing without being disagreeable. To this personal popularity and the name he won for fair dealing in business he owed his election over heavy democratic odds, and, had he been a politician, or had he even had political ambition, he would have filled in the public service a yet higher station than the one he filled so well.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CHURCH—NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, AND TEXAS.

EARLY MISSIONS AND MISSIONARY EXPEDITIONS IN NEW MEXICO—THE MOQUIS—INDIFFERENCE OF THE MISSIONARIES—THE FRANCISCANS—PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS—THE JESUITS—PADRE FRANCISCO GARCÉS—PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN 1884—MISSIONARY EXPEDITIONS TO TEXAS—THE MISSIONS ABANDONED—APACHE RAIDS—LATER MISSIONS AND THEIR TROUBLES—WANING INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH—PROTESTANTS IN TEXAS.

NOT only did spiritual conquest in New Spain always keep pace with military subjugation, and efforts on the part of the church to extend her domain, but not unfrequently preceded it. Thus we find Fray Marcos de Niza, influenced by a mere rumor, undertaking a hazardous expedition into a region not previously visited by the Spaniards. Forty years later, when the Franciscans had established themselves in Nueva Vizcaya, and the expeditions of Niza and Vasquez Coronado had become matters of semi-mythical tradition, Fray Agustin Rodriguez starting from San Bartolomé, explored the Rio Grande northward and arrived at the first group of Pueblo settlements situated in the neighborhood of the present town of Socorro. Rodriguez and two other Franciscans, Padres Juan de Santa María and Francisco Lopez, who accompanied him, were put to death in 1582 by natives. Vague rumors of their martyrdom arriving, Padre Bernardino Beltran did not hesitate to go in search of them, and learn their fate. Under the auspices and leadership of Antonio Espejo he followed Rodriguez' route, and passing beyond the farthest point reached by him visited Zuñi. Being satisfied that the friars who had preceded him had been killed he returned early in 1583.

With the expedition of 1598 under Oñate went a band of ten Franciscans under Padre Alonso Martinez, and when the conquest of New Mexico was accomplished these friars were distributed among the populated districts of the subjugated territory; but bitter quarrels soon broke out between them and the military authorities which greatly interfered with missionary work and with the prosperity of the country. Prominent among the friars for zeal was Padre Gerónimo de Zárate Salmeron, who entered the field about 1620, and toiled indefatigably for eight years. He wrote a *doctrina* in one of the native languages, and after his return to Mexico published his *Relaciones*, which is a most valuable work. In 1621 the missions with 16,000 converts were formed into a custodia, Padre Alonso Benavides being the first custodio, and in 1630 the Franciscan comisario general represented to the king that 86,000 gentiles had been baptized, there being over 100 friars at work in 150 pueblos, but these numbers seem to be greatly exaggerated since Padre Benavides went in person to Spain, and in his report of the same year stated that there were about 50 friars distributed among 60,000 christianized natives and occupying over 90 pueblos, grouped in 25 missions or convents.

During the next fifty years frequent trouble occurred through the controversies between the governors and the friars, the latter being accused of assuming extraordinary powers, and even encouraging a revolt in which Governor Rosas was killed about 1640. Several of the friars also lost their lives during this period, and the rigor which they used in their zeal to stamp out the practice of native religious rites caused the God of the Christians and his agents to be detested. As is related elsewhere, this feeling, aggravated by equally galling oppression on the part of the military authorities, found expression in a widespread revolt, which for ten years rid the country of Spaniards, soldier, priest, and settler alike. After the reconquest by Diego de Vargas, in 1692-96, the missions were reëstablished, and spiritual work was resumed. Several attempts were made during the following century to christianize the Moquis, but without success. Even when dire calamity visited this unfortunate tribe in the years 1777-80, and had reduced their numbers from about 7,500 to less than 800, they maintained their independent character. For three years no rain had fallen, and famine, pestilence, and the hostilities of the Navajos had done their deadly work, yet the proud chief of Oraibe, their principal town, refused to accept a gift of provisions from the Christians, declaring that the few survivors would die in the houses and faith of their ancestors.

During the eighteenth century the friars lost much of their zeal as missionaries, and led inactive and indolent lives. Before 1750 they had been charged with neglect of their duties, and Bishop Tamaron, who visited the province in 1760, administered a severe reproof. In truth, under their indifference to the spiritual welfare of their flocks, the neophytes were Christians in name only, receiving little or no religious instruction. The padres for the most part confined themselves to the routine duty of preaching, holding mass in the pueblo churches, outside of which their efforts rarely extended. The Indians, consequently, were in no sense Christians at heart, and only outwardly conformed to church formalities to escape the calamities which their non-observance would have drawn down upon them. In their turn, the friars brought counter-charges against the governors and civil authorities, the former being accused of malfeasance, and the latter of being their willing tools and accomplices. Quarrels were frequent and bitter, and altogether affairs in New Mexico were in a sad state, the Pueblo Indians being practically little better than slaves.

This condition of ecclesiastical affairs continued down to the end of Spanish rule in Mexico, or rather, it grew worse; the number of Franciscan friars gradually decreased till they were reduced to about twenty, most of whom resided in towns having a large Spanish population. Contenting themselves with merely performing mass, they almost entirely neglected the neophytes. After the independence no change was effected in the system of mission management. No formal secularization being made, the establishments remained as before, but were missions in name only. On the acquisition of the territory by the United States the priests, having no funds to establish catholic schools, used their influence in opposing a public school system; in other respects they drifted along for a time in the same unvarying course. But the introduction of protestant creeds with the advent of Anglo-American settlers roused the catholic church to exertion. As early as 1854 Samuel Gorman, a baptist clergyman, began to labor as a missionary among the Pueblo Indians, and the emulation thereafter awakened has proved a powerful factor in promoting the progress and dominancy of the Roman catholic religion, and the development of educational and charitable institutions belonging to that denomination. In 1865 New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado were formed into an archbishopric, under John B. Lamy, and in 1870 of 158 churches 152 were catholic. Since that ecclesiastical affairs have greatly improved under the energetic management of the bishop, and old-time laxity on the part of the priests has disappeared. Of protestant denominations the episcopalians take the lead, George Kelly being primate in 1882. The presbyterians, methodists, baptists, and congregationalists are also represented, but the influence of all protestant persuasions collectively is still weak, and confined for the most part to new settlements.

While the Franciscans were engaged in the spiritual conquest of the Pueblo Indians along the Rio Grande, and thence westward, the Jesuit fathers, advancing from Sinaloa, extended their missionary labors northward into Pimería Alta, a region in which was comprised that portion of Arizona lying south of the Gila. Their efforts were attended with very small results as compared with those of their rivals farther east. Attempts were made by the Franciscans in New Mexico to christianize the Moquis, but without success. In 1633 Fray Francisco Porras was poisoned at Aguatubi, and later, during the great revolt of 1680, four other friars, laboring in the same field, lost their lives. Their names were José Figueroa, José Trujillo, José Espeleta, and Agustin de Santa Maria. At the close of the seventeenth century the celebrated Jesuit, Eusebio Francisco Kino, explored Pimería Alta, and founding the frontier mission of Dolores, made from that place several tours northward to the valley of the Gila, his travels extending over a large area of ground. In 1700 he laid the foundation of a large church at Bac, nine miles south of Tucson, but after his death, in 1711, Arizona was not visited for more than twenty years. In 1732, however, San Javier del Bac and San Miguel de Guevavi were taken charge of by fathers Felipe Segesser and Juan Bautista Grashoffer, and from that time those establishments may be regarded as regular missions, the surrounding rancherías becoming visitas, that of Tucson being one of them.

But beyond the limited area over which Spanish control extended, missionary labors produced no result, owing partly to the tenacity displayed by the Pueblo tribes in clinging to their original faith, but still more to the physical difficulties of the country and hostile attitude of the Indians who occupied it. In 1750 the Pima tribes rose in revolt; the missionaries at Sonoita and Caborca were killed, and Bac and Guevavi were plundered and abandoned. Under the protection of the presidio established at Tubac in 1752 the two missions were reoccupied and with some half-dozen pueblos de visita maintained a feeble existence. During the remainder of the Jesuit period, missionary work was at a standstill. In fact the influence of the padres waned to such an extent that their presence was only tolerated by the natives, who left them unmolested so long as they did not endeavor to exercise control, and were willing to support them in their quarrels with the soldiers and settlers. On the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 there were only about 1,250 neophytes, and even these had partially relapsed into savagery.

Franciscan friars of the college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro succeeded the Jesuits and arrived in June 1768. The state of decay in which they found the two Arizona missions was so deplorable that, although they worked faithfully and zealously, they had only succeeded in 1772 in collecting 607 neophytes. San Javier del Bac was committed to the care of Padre Francisco Garcés, a missionary of indefatigable zeal and energy, who during the period of 1768 to 1779 engaged in a number of explorations along the Gila and Colorado. In his journeyings he penetrated to the Mojave region and far into California. On his return thence he travelled eastward and visited the Moquis, on whom, however, he could make no impression. This was in 1776. Having returned to Bac he again went to Colorado in 1779 and, in the Yuma territory on the California side of the river, founded in the following year the missions of San Pedro y San Pablo and Concepcion. This worthy missionary's career was now drawing to a close. In 1781 the Indians, aggravated by the encroachment of the settlers and the destruction of their cornfields by cattle, rose in overwhelming numbers, and killed about fifty Spaniards, including Padre Garcés and three other friars, and destroyed the missions. After this disaster no further effort was made to found establishments on the Gila and Colorado; the whole region was left in possession of the aboriginals, and henceforth the labors of the Franciscans were not extended beyond the narrow district to which their predecessors, the Jesuits, had been confined. Nevertheless, under their better management, the missions attained to a certain degree of prosperity, as is evidenced by the magnificent church still standing at San Javier del Bac, and which has been frequently described by modern visitors. After the revolution the friars from disgust thereat and also from feelings of loyalty to Spain, gradually lost all interest in the country, and by 1828 the missions had ceased to exist.

Since the influx of Anglo-American settlers, protestantism, under its different denominations, has gained ascendency in Arizona over Roman catholicism. Of twenty-five churches existing in 1884, seventeen belonged to the former creeds, thus distributed: methodists, six; G. H. Adams being president of the mission; presbyterians, three; baptists, four; congregationalists, two; and episcopalians, two. The remaining eight were catholics, Arizona forming a diocese under the charge of Bishop J. B. Salpointe. The Mormons also have places of worship in their settlements.

To the church was due the revival of interest in Texas, which had entirely ceased after the failure of Narvaez and De Soto to find any gilded attractions. Padre Nicolás Lopez, vice-custodian of the New Mexican missions, was in 1684 induced to visit the eastern border, attended by Padre I. de Závaleta. The information acquired as to the fertility of the soil and the docility of the natives led him to advocate the occupation of the territory. The government responded very coldly until the news of the French designs in that direction aroused its jealousy. Orders were accordingly issued to Governor Leon of Coahuila to enter and affirm Spanish domination over the country. With his expedition in 1689 went Padre Damian Masanet, and his report on the friendly disposition of the Indians induced the Franciscan college at Querétaro to send with him three friars, Miguel Foncubierta, who soon died at his post, F. Casañas de Jesus María, and Antonio Bordoy, with whom to begin conversion. The first mission, San Francisco de los Tejas, was founded on June 1, 1690, on Trinidad river. In the following year nine more friars arrived, and another mission was established at Santa María, a few miles distant. Sickness, the threatening attitude of wild tribes on the outskirts, and quarrels with the military discouraged the friars, and six turned back within a few months. The rest labored unwillingly and with poor prospects, for the droughts, floods, and pestilence which attended the entry of the fathers prejudiced the converts against the new religion and culture. The change of feeling extended to the troops, and the government deemed it advisable to withdraw the entire establishment in 1693, until the tribes should become more tractable.

The ardor of the friars speedily revived, and they urged anew the occupation of the territory stimulated by the favorable reports from a Spaniard who had remained behind. In 1716 a fresh expedition entered, attended by nine friars under Padre Isidro Félix Espinosa, author of the *Chronica* bearing his name, and prelate of the party. He and four of his companions were from the Querétaro college, and the others, together with three lay brothers from that of Zacatecas, headed by the saintly Antonio Margil de Jesus. Four missions were founded in July on or near the branches of the Neches and Sabinas, and two more shortly afterward. Among these was the parent establishment of San Francisco, erected four leagues from the old site. The southern missions were taken by the Zacatecanos with the intention of extending their sway southward, while the Querétanos directed their efforts northward.

In 1717 war broke out between Spain and France, and the latter invaded the Spanish possessions in

America, with the result that all the missions had to be abandoned before the advancing French and Indian forces, save that of San Antonio de Valero near Béjar, which had been founded in the preceding year, and was now reënforced by a sister establishment. Spanish sway was regained two years later; most of the missions were restored and new ones added. Apache raids interfered with progress toward the northeast and compelled the transfer of some stations. All attempts to convert them signally failed, as had the effort to open a field along Rio Colorado twenty years earlier.

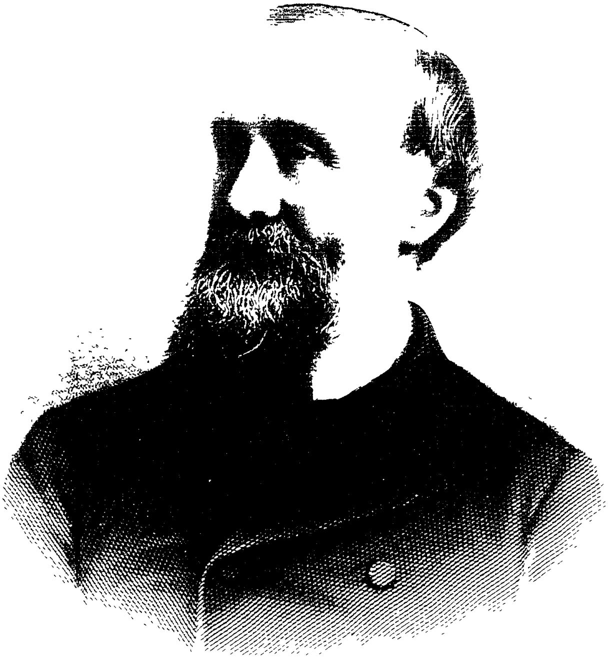
The Indians could be influenced only by presents. They cared not to become neophytes proper in regular communities, and exhibited a vexatious inconstancy. Nowhere did Franciscan influence stand so low, among both soldiers and natives. Not one of the missions was at any time prosperous spiritually or materially. There was a constant struggle to restrain disorderly garrisons on one side, and on the other refractory Indians ever intent on desertion; to check also the encroachment of settlers, the raids of marauders, and the arbitrary infringements of the secular authorities. The Querétaro friars would indeed have abandoned their charge but for the peremptory orders of the viceroy. So destructive, however, became the inroads of the Apaches, and so great were the fears of the settlers that, in 1772, the government was compelled to permit the abandonment of the north Texan and other exposed establishments, and to concentrate the local forces along the line from La Bahia to San Antonio. The Querétanos thereupon surrendered their missions to the Zacatecanos.

In 1785 there were eight establishments and 460 mission Indians, out of a total of 10,000 baptized. Six of the missions were within a short distance of each other near Béjar, with one on Espíritu Santo bay, one near the coast, and one replanted on the Trinidad and thence moved to Nacogdoches. After this date no improvements were made, and in the following decade, the commander of the Provincias Internas assuming charge, the profitless missions were secularized.

Religion stood at a low ebb among all classes here at the opening of the present century, when smugglers and pirates entered to swell the disorders of the revolutions. The requirement that American colonists should adopt the catholic faith was exacted rather for political reasons, and so the Anglo-Saxon converts regarded it, for they abstained with few exceptions from any practical observance of the catholic or any other religious doctrines. The church was not invoked even for marriages, which were widely contracted by the mere signing of a bond before witnesses. An act of congress of 1837 legalized these unions by allowing parties so connected to take out a license in due form.

Notwithstanding the double impediment, of indifference on the part of the people and hostility on the side of the authorities, protestant preachers ventured into the country as early as 1824, when the Reverend Henry Stephenson, a methodist, delivered the first so-called heretic sermon west of the Brazos, near San Felipe. In the following year Elder Joseph Bays opened the field for the baptists on Peach creek, and thence proceeded to San Augustine. Four years later the first Sunday-school was organized. During the next decade these two sects obtained a firm foothold, aided by the anti-catholic feeling then generated among the secessionists. In 1838 C. S. Ives established the first episcopal church at Matagorda, while R. M. Chapman formed a parish in Houston. Other sects organized in due time, and at present a large number of denominations are represented, the methodists leading with 157,000 members, according to the census of 1880. The catholics follow next with 150,000, a number due greatly to Anglo-Saxon marriages with Mexicans, and to the immigration of Irish and

French creoles. The baptists claimed 125,000, but most other churches had a very small membership. The scattered distribution of settlements, particularly in the great cattle regions, is not favorable to congregations, and the consequent neglect of worship, of sabbath and cognate observances, tend to sustain the irreverence fostered during the revolutionary decades.



Chas. S. Lake

CHAPTER XXXVI.

LIFE OF CHARLES SIDNEY DOLE.

Composite Americanism—National Individuality—The Doles, an Illustration—Formative Influences—The Seminary of Frontier Experiences—Fickle Fortune—The Grain Trade—Characteristics

Americanism in the development of the west; to comprehend and delineate this force, my best efforts are dedicated. It is a work not unlike that of composite photography, which endeavors to blend in one face the features of many. I select strongly individualized factors in our western civilization, whose lines and experience are comprehensive and superior, to stand as representatives or exponents, in their several departments of activity, of the rest of the community. The picture, when finished, if studied as a whole, should express through its blending of a variety of detail the characteristics that typify, if they do not idealize, our national life in this recent sphere of American civilization. My previous historical researches, in which biography is an incident to the general text, were not so specific in this direction. Ever since, and even before, our people had a government of their own, they manifested a national individuality. The popular character, though essentially the same now, as those which marked the people of the thirteen colonies, has undergone many and striking local modifications, under a change of environment attending the expansion of the nation. So that whatever neighborhood differences may be noticeable in any section of the United States, of manner or way of living, original Americanism is everywhere predominant and conspicuous. The north and the south, and the east and the west are as one family in this respect at least. May they ever remain a national unit in all other respects that imply peace, power, and honor! Americanism during the last thirty or fifty years, in the wide west, might appear to the casual observer to be unlike that of the east; and it is so superficially, for better and for worse, but the new is at foundation identified with the old.

Upon the same underlying granite we find only another superstructure of American character adapted to the different requirements of progress and enterprise. If I were asked to name a community in which American energy, ingenuity, and pluck have been conspicuous, I should point to Chicago. Its growth has perhaps been more striking than that of any other, which is largely due to the enterprise and spirit of its citizens. It has enjoyed great natural advantages, but its superior vitality has ever been in the creating and controlling minds of its commercial chiefs. Among the factors in the development of that phenominal city, which falls geographically a little beyond the line of my territory, but which is of interest enough to compel a place in any book of character study, is Charles Sidney Dole, who was drawn from the outlying wilderness, after a season of preparation through various labors and adversity, into that focus of Americanism. He was the first white child born in Oakland county, Michigan, the date of his birth being November 2, 1819. His ancestry were English on both sides—active people of sterling qualities and good name. His grandfather, James Dole, a native of England, was an early resident of Troy, New York, a grain merchant and interested in shipping. Charles' father, Sidney Dole, born in Troy, took part in the American army during the war of 1812, and was captain of a company raised at Troy called the Trojan Greens. He was one of the founders of Syracuse, and was the original owner of the town site, having purchased the land through the government office at New York city. His name is found on the early records of that settlement, in connection with those of Mr Wilson and Mr Vail. Shortly after the war he engaged in the salt business at Syracuse, which required him to make occasional trips into Michigan. After several visits, he was so much pleased with the country that he decided to settle there, and he and his father-in-law removed to Bloomfield, Oakland county. They had larger means than most immigrants, but it does not appear that Sidney Dole succeeded financially, nor is it known whether he lacked the acquisitive sense or the money making faculty, or both. That he was a man of standing in the community, however, is evinced by the character of the men with whom he associated. Through the friendship of General Cass he held various offices of local importance under the government, and was a recognized factor in political and social affairs. His wife was Elizabeth Swan, a native of Albany, and daughter of a physician who removed thence to Bloomfield.

Mrs Dole was a woman of decided character and exalted sentiment. Charles is largely indebted to her for what he has been able to be and to accomplish. She instilled into his mind the most salutary precepts, the value of which he could appreciate, for he saw them exemplified in her own life. She taught him wisdom, and her faithfulness in the performance of duty and self-discipline impressed her lessons upon his memory. She transfused her moral and intellectual strength into his nature by heredity and association, so that he had the advantage of this support and stimulus not only to strive with men successfully in the battle for wealth and influence. but also under whatever stress of circumstances or contrary fortune to preserve his integrity and maintain his self-respect. One of his most gratifying reflections in later years is that he has lived as nearly as he could up to the promises he made to her, and that her standard of right and wrong has been his own criterion. Her family were all baptists, the straitest of the sect, and he grew up in an atmosphere of abnegation and restraint; but he passed through the revival seasons, with their mourner's bench, groanings, and warnings of impending doom, only to settle down upon a rational, practical basis of morality apart from bondage to any creed narrower than christianity.

Upon the death of Sidney Dole in 1834, his estate was in such a condition as made it necessary for Charles to learn to do something for himself—which in those days, most boys of his age were expected to do; and I have thought that if at present more boys were thus thrown upon their own resources, we would have fewer undeveloped, indolent men, without a definite aim in life, fewer consumers and more producers. In his sixteenth year he was sent to be a clerk in one of the several stores owned by his mother's brother, Elias S. Swan, in the western part of the state, an establishment containing a miscellaneous stock of goods, such as were required to meet the needs of frontiersmen. His tuition had been irregular, rudimentary, and hap-hazard, such training as the common schools of early Michigan afforded. He was to get his education by friction, in the actual process of applying head and hands to the work nearest him. But he had a natural thirst for knowledge and, being always on the alert to acquire information, he could not continue uneducated. There was something of the world, a great deal of human nature, in the backwoods, in which seminary the tender mind of the youth was to receive its first serious impressions. Within doors, old boxes and barrels, and a few shelves on which coarse staples were piled with but slight necessity for order; out of doors, a surrounding forest from which occasionally a long-haired woodsman emerged, and into which he soon vanished again with his purchase of bacon, blankets, flour, or rum. The company of another clerk or two, and sometimes of his uncle, was the principal society his situation afforded. Swallowed up in this solitude, his first clerkship might have proved only a season of hibernation, so many months of half-suspended animation; but his mind and body were too active to relapse into the slothfulness that usually results from such surroundings. In that isolated store in the forest, the elements were to be found that combine in an indefinite variety of forms in the lives of men; he was a close observer, and he learned from the few players who had their entrances and exits upon the little stage of his arena.

The principles of barter and exchange were the same there as in London. Why may he not have wrought out at that time, in outline, the problems by which he rose to commanding position in Chicago? At the end of three years he became a partner with his uncle in one of the latter's stores, at White Pigeon, St. Joseph county. The boy had now become a man in the consideration of those about him, and occupied a place as such in their calculations. He and the other clerks, in time, bought out his uncle and carried on the business for two years. This partnership being then dissolved, young Dole took another step in the round of enterprises, such as comprised the main features of north-western traffic; it seemed as though he were to run the gamut—or the gauntlet—of all the prevailing industries before he could establish himself in business. First one thing and then another in a continuous struggle against fortune to reach his sphere of permanent activity; as though the fates had marked out for him a curriculum of multiform experience in which to accumulate knowledge and to be drilled therein for his final enterprise. His was a sort of developing gymnasium, a seminary of all practice, in which he acquired the general forms of commercial intercourse, and had, the scales falling from his eyes, perceived, also, the human nature of traffic which renders it as difficult as philosophy and as uncertain as the weather. He was led into buying an old mill, which, so it was successfully pictured to him, needed only some slight renovation to make it as good as new. He found that it would be cheaper to buy a new mill, which he could not do, than to repair the old. He got out of that venture crippled but not broken, and tried his fortunes in an ashery, a manufactory of potash. Next, in order of time, but not paying sufficiently, he bought an interest in another of his uncle's frontier stores, going out of which he tried the flour mill once more; but the conditions were not favorable. His judgment does not seem to have been more at fault than that of the bright boy who has to make more or less mistakes in the course of mastering his arithmetic or his grammar. At any rate, he was making his mistakes at a time of life when a man can afford to make mistakes, if he finds wisdom in them and does not repeat them. He had perseverance, determination, and pluck and he was not averse to labor. He could not operate the mill with profit nor could he dispose of it without loss, but he got out of the difficulty by converting it into a distillery, an industry not so generally condemned then as now, if not considered as quite respectable. The moral quality of our acts is determined largely by the sentiment of the community in which we live, the judgment of right and wrong changing in the course of time among the same people. It is to be inferred, however, that his mind was not altogether easy in the manufactory and sale of intoxicating liquor, for he was early made to realize the evil of strong drink, and has always been temperate himself.

His business proved lucrative, but a fire destroyed the buildings, leaving to him only the machinery of the distillery. This he afterward sold for $1,900, $80 in cash and the remainder in a mortgage on the property. In 1848, tiring of business in small remote settlements, and having a desire to enter commerce where there was more life and the possibilities greater, he went to Chicago. After settling the bill of himself and brother at his hotel, which was the fashionable house of the metropolis at that time, he had but a few dollars left. He could get nothing to do in the city, and rather than call upon friends or let them know in what low state his funds were, he embarked, with what money he had left, steerage passage, on a canal boat for the interior. At a point on the Illinois river, he secured a place as bookkeeper in a small packing house at $20 a month ; but it was not long before he discovered that the packers were given to ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, and though they offered him a large advance in salary to remain, he preferred to seek employment under whatever difficulties elsewhere rather than identify himself with a cheat.

Returning to Chicago, he met his friend Mr Rawson, a man of wide knowledge of men and affairs, who gave him advice and encouragement. Through Rawson's instrumentality, a partnership in hay-pressing was established at Lockport, Illinois, and Dole put in charge ; at which, and in the purchase and sale of wheat, the firm made a few deals at a profit. A little later, in 1852, his uncle was appointed postmaster of Chicago, in whose office Charles accepted a clerkship. This was new work for him, but he was attentive and diligent, and in time mastered the details of his department, and having been tried at other points he was finally made chief-clerk, and for a time, though his uncle was the nominal head of the institution, he was in actual charge. When the Pierce administration came in, and a new postmaster was installed, young Dole remained with him, at his solicitation, for some months, until he had become familiar with the routine of the office, and meanwhile was offered a permanent position at an increased salary; but this he declined.

After this he obtained an interest in an improved apparatus for making bricks; but owing to the timidity or lack of enterprise on the part of his associates in putting additional capital in the project to vitalize it, it was not successful for years. He retained his interest in the plant, but looked for additional business. This was doubtless the time in his affairs which taken at the flood led him on to fortune, not at once, but surely. The traffic in grain was growing into importance. His business career had given him an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the trade in agricultural products; his honorable record in the post office and other positions had secured him a place in the business world that inspired confidence and trust: his service in the post office had brought him into the acquaintance of most of the principal postmasters of the west then dealing with Chicago; all this was capital of value, such as a man can get only by earning it; besides he had laid up a few thousand dollars. He began a general tour of the outlying agricultural region with a view to establish a produce commission business in partnership with James H. Dole, which was accomplished in 1853, under the firm name of Charles S. Dole and company. At almost every point he knew some one who could commend him and put him on desirable footing with the men of means and control in the community. This was necessary. Farmers are a conservative class and they were slow to make new arrangements.

He was the first man who ever went out on the road to buy grain for storage; but by energetic effort in soliciting consignments, he was successful, after a time, in building up a commission business. Along the Chicago Burlington and Quincy railroad, he engaged carload after carload of corn and other grain for the Chicago market, for sale at a charge of one cent per bushel, which included storage for ten days. The resultant large daily receipt of grain necessitated provision for its care in the city until it could be delivered to purchasers and eastern shippers. To meet this requirement the railroads and commission merchants were equally interested. The former could not allow the grain to remain on the cars nor yet afford to lose the transportation. This state of things led to a proposition from the Burlington road to erect a large elevator, the contract for which was to be given to Mr Dole, as he was the largest shipper, but other large factors in the business entered into competition with them. A compromise was the result by which he secured the contract with George Armour and Wesley Munger. The firm of Armour, Dole and company erected in 1860 the first grain elevator in Chicago, with a capacity of 8,000,000 bushels at a cost of $2,000,000. This elevator was destroyed by fire shortly after its construction, but was rebuilt, and the firm erected other elevators until they could store 6,000,000 bushels of grain, the largest of their elevators having a capacity of 2,000,000 bushels, and capable of transferring 400 cars of grain daily. This firm has been a part of the grain trade of the Chicago and the west for over thirty years.

Mr Armour and Mr Munger are dead. In later years were admitted into the firm its book-keeper and general manager, a most trustworthy and capable man, who had been in its employ since 1863, together with Henry E. Southwell and Franklin H. Head, men of high standing, wealth and business experience. By this firm were purchased the elevator warehouses of the Chicago Burlington and Quincy railroad company, to whom they had been sold on the termination of Armour, Dole and companys' contract. Through these elevators' twenty-eight in number, passed during the period 1876–80 an average of 25,720,000 bushels of grain a year, and between 1881 and 1885 a yearly average of 21,000,000 bushels; more than 3,000,000 bushels a year being shipped and consigned to the firm for sale on commission. All this is the outcome of the business originally established by Charles S. Dole and company in 1853, and now in the fourth decade of its career, the present firm may well be proud of its enormous volume of transactions.

The elevator system has been of benefit to the farmers and to the metropolis as well. Mr Dole's identification with this as with the other phases of the grain trade of the west, has been attended with results gratifying to himself, while his enterprise and character therein have been of widespread general advantage. At the time the first elevators were erected there was no guarantee to the consumer that he would get what he purchased. The opportunities for rascality were practically unlimited and without check. Mr Dole, with the assistance of others, was instrumental in having the traffic brought within the law and placed under statutory restrictions. The state board of railroad and warehouse commissioners was one of the wholesome results of their agitation of this matter. He set the example of holding strictly to classification, thereby manifesting at once his appreciation of business principles and his regard for fair dealing.

With the enormous increase in the volume of grain passing through the various warehouses, the business of the warehousemen increased in its importance from year to year. With the gradual perfection of the system of inspection and grading, the warehouse receipts became as stable tokens of value as the bank bills that purchased them, and the responsibility of the warehousemen themselves came to be viewed as demanding as strict integrity, as accurate and unimpeachable business conduct as the business of banking itself, and as involving even greater financial responsibility to the public. Indeed, the deposits of grain held in trust by these warehousemen often exceeded in value the money held in trust by all the city banks. The warehouse receipts issued for grain were not, in their tenor, unlike certificates of deposit. An important element of difference, however, consisted in the fact that while the banker is, by consent of the depositor, free to use the funds left in his care, between the warehouseman and the storer of grain there is no such understanding, since the former received a specific sum for holding the property intact, and ever ready for immediate delivery on payment of storage.

Mr Dole, though his labors have been comprised mainly within the limits of the grain traffic for so many years, has not been less active than when occupied in various projects on the frontier during his younger days. He has always striven for improvement and progress, never satisfied to confine his business to old rules. And yet he has not been so trammelled by his enterprises or so cumbered by the affairs of the shop as to set up any barrier between himself and the social world. He has kept himself in sympathy and touch with his fellow men. The wear and tear of seventy-two years has left but slight traces upon him. His hair, in 1891, is still dark brown, unsilvered, while only a few strands of gray appear here and there in his sandy beard. His hazel eyes retain their full lustre and kindliness of expression. Five feet eight inches tall, or thereabouts, he is slight of stature, and elastic and easy in carriage. Dignified in bearing and of equable temperament, his tendency is always toward the sunny side of the question. Of an earnest nature, however, emergency develops in him a nervous moral force that has made him equal to every trying occasion in his experience. Having learned human nature in many of its phases by contact as well as by observation, he is familiar with the sordidness and unreliability of the generality of men, but he is sure of much that is true and noble in unperverted souls—enough virtue in these to retrieve the rest—so that he enjoys respect for himself as a man and cultivates charity for his kind. He is self-made in more than the ordinary sense. The man is not made at all who has only acquired riches or power or influence, or, perhaps, all these outward evidences and conspicuous signs of self-making. Those are only his shell; the kernel of the man is his character. Self-development is the making of one's self the best and most useful individuality, in mind, body, and soul, that is possible for him according to his capabilities. The man's own self is the precious part of him; his fortune, considered merely as such, is no criterion of his manhood. Mr Dole had not the advantage of modern schools, in fact, hardly any school at all. Often there was no society, no church; no companionship of women available to him in his earlier life. But by making the most of his meager opportunities for self-development as for business, ambitious always for the highest improvement in both, he acquired strength and knowledge by friction and assimilation. Receiving from his mother's hands, accompanied with her prayers, the shield of right and wrong, to which he promised to hold fast whether it enabled him to win or caused him worldly discomfiture, he did hold to it. He came out of the battle a victor, master not only of fortune but of himself, respected by others and self-respecting.

As soon as he was able to establish himself in business he put a library of carefully selected books into his house, and he read every one of them; this and all other means he embraced in order to educate himself, in the sense in which the term is ordinarily used; though I should consider him liberally educated apart from what he has learned directly from books. He inherited a taste for art; and for the cultivation of his esthetic faculty, as well as for the pleasure he derived from contemplating the beautiful, he enlivened his residence with master-pieces in sculpture and painting. Thus following the promptings of his nature, he became by labor and study symmetrically rounded and vitalized fairly up to the standard of his individuality, a gentleman in culture and at heart. I make the latter qualification because true politeness, that which is inward as well as outward, is exceptional. In acquiring those outward graces that govern and sweeten association in the higher and intellectual walks of life, he did not grow objectively; not by the imitation of others but by the dictates of his own kindly nature, without that deadening of the sympathies which substitute veneering for refinement. Unequivocally honest, direct and fair in business and in social life, his spoken word carries with it all the force of a written obligation. He stands as one to whom large estates may be intrusted without bond. Good will and charity in performance is a trait of his character.

From boyhood he has acted on the impulse to give to any object that he deemed worthy. After the organization of charities in Chicago had become complete, and though he tried always to discriminate in giving, he could scarcely pass a cripple on the street without contributing to his relief. It was a part, even of the business principles of his firm, for years, to give to charitable projects of whatever nature. He has contributed to churches without regard to denomination, because they are moral agents, promotive of man's real happiness. But, as may be said of all truly benevolent souls, the distinctive acts of his charity are the incidental ones, when by timely aid and encouragement, a worthy young man may be taken out of the deep waters that threaten to swallow him up and set upon his feet; when ingenious effort and sacrifice are necessary to snatch a helpless child from the hands of mercenary and degraded men and women; when by generous and unselfish intervention a young woman may be saved from a life of shame and her future made respectable and happy.

Dole has never affiliated with any of the secret societies, but he admires their scheme of benevolence, especially that of the freemasons. He has taken the thoughtful citizen's share in politics and, as has been intimated, he used his influence to secure the inactment of salutary laws for the regulation of the trade in which he is engaged. He was a democrat in the earlier times, and was conscious of nothing revolting in slavery until he saw unfortunate bondsmen hunted down in his free state and returned in chains to their masters. Since then he has been a republican. But his has been mostly a business career. Of late years, for diversion and health, he has given much attention to his 1000-acre Lake lands farm, which includes a beautiful body of water called Crystal lake, forty miles from Chicago. Thence he goes every evening of the week, returning fresh and buoyant to his office in the morning. In that retreat, as elsewhere, solicitous for and thoroughly enjoying improvement, he studies not only how to arrive at the happiest results for himself and those associated with and dependent upon him, but, for the permanent advantage of all, to demonstrate the possibilities of whatever he undertakes. His farm is conspicuous for the character of its products. His Percheron horses, brought to extreme stature with symmetry preserved, have taken the award of excellence and beauty at home and abroad. Delighting in nature, he has cultivated for use and ornament under roof and in yard and fields, flowers, plants, and trees that show the capabilities of native or adapted flora. His house is replete with singular minerals and stones curious to the eye and attractive to the student, his enthusiasm regarding which is that of the cultivated mind in sympathy with nature. His museum of antiquities, a collection made from time to time during years of discriminating study of the history and ethnology of the North American Indians, contains precious relics, which speak to the eye concerning the customs and habits of the aborigines.

In 1858, Mr Dole married Miss Julia Louise Coffin, a lady of sterling character, great refinement and wit, well known for her sympathetic disposition and charities, in which she coöperates with her husband. Her father was Joseph Warren Chase Coffin, a native of Vermont, who went to Chicago in 1835, and was warden of St James, the first episcopal church organized in that then border town, of which his wife, Harriet Delia Coffin, was also a member. The surviving children of Mr and Mrs Charles S. Dole are Mary Florence, Harriet Delia, and Sidney Hope. For the future of the latter, his only son, he entertains practical ideas, deeming it best that whatever may be his literary accomplishments, he must not fail to appreciate business, the principles of which enter for good into all other pursuits. He never coveted a professional life for himself, but if this should be his son's disposition, he must at least learn enough of affairs to realize that business is not to be despised,—a good suggestion; and if it were carried into practice more generally we should not see so many estates laboriously built up in one generation lost and dissipated in another. Mr Dole's career has been successful and useful; it would be impossible to tell how far beyond those in his immediate circle the benefits of his life are distributed, for there is no certain measure of moral force; but we do know that it is imperishable and helpful to the end of the world. He is not without his share of faults inseparable from human nature, but it is fairer to judge him by those things in which he is exemplary,—for which he is entitled to the good opinion and approbation of his fellow men, and this I have endeavored to do. I believe that if his life be fairly considered, it will be found to be one affording useful lessons, especially to the young, as above and all else it is calculated to show them the superlative value of character, and to encourage and stimulate them in their efforts to become at least useful and respected citizens.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

RECENT AND GENERAL FEATURES OF EDUCATION AND SOCIETY.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF CALIFORNIA—STATE TEXT-BOOKS—THE LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY—THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA—EDUCATIONAL MATTERS IN OREGON—WASHINGTON—ALASKA—IDAHO—MONTANA—WYOMING—NEVADA—UTAH—ARIZONA—NEW MEXICO—COMPARISON WITH THE EASTERN STATES—DENOMINATIONAL, PRIVATE, AND SCIENTIFIC COLLEGES—CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—FRATERNAL ASSOCIATIONS—LIBRARIES—JOURNALISM—CHURCH—GENERAL FEATURES OF SOCIETY.

THUS far I have traced the origin and development of society on the Pacific slope from the pastoral era of California, when the entire white population of the region west of the Rocky mountains, a region including more than one third of the national domain, might have been contained within the limits of a New England village, until, to-day, the further west is peopled by several millions of inhabitants, including some of the most prosperous and enterprising communities in the world. It remains only to present, in conclusion, more recent data, together with further mention of a few topics that have been but slightly touched on in the preceding chapters. And first of all as to education, for whatever may be said against our western commonwealth, it cannot be fairly alleged that, in relation to age, opportunity, and means, its educational systems have failed to keep pace with those of their sister states.

In 1889, with a population of somewhat less than 1,200,000, California had a school enrolment of 215,000, with an average daily attendance of 146,000. The value of school property was estimated in that year at little short of $13,000,000, or more than $11 per capita of her inhabitants—the highest average of any state or territory in the union. Of school-houses the number was 3,000, and of school-teachers 5,250, of whom at least four fifths were women. At private, parochial, and sectarian schools there was also an attendance of some 21,000 pupils, with perhaps 1,500 students at the business colleges, and about the same number at the universities, normal schools, and other institutions of learning.

By act of 1885, as I have said, provision was made for the compilation of a series of text-books, to be prepared and copyrighted under the direction of the state board of education, printed by the state printer, and used in all the public schools of the state. As the experiment has never as yet been attempted in any other section of the union, a few remarks in this connection may be of interest. First of all, it may be said that as a financial measure it has proved at least a moderate success, the receipts from sales of text-books amounting for the five years ending with June 30, 1890, to $235,000, or about 65 per cent of the total sum appropriated for compilation, for the manufacturing plant, and the first 50,000 copies of each number of the series. Among the advantages claimed for this system are that it has reduced the price of school-books and has retained in the state the money expended on their purchase; that it is also a measure of economy to parents, through preventing the frequent purchase of new books; that it is an aid to teachers, especially to those of limited experience, who cannot readily adapt themselves to new conditions, and that it decreases the injurious effect of transferring pupils from one district to another. As to the prices, they cannot be deemed extravagant, the lowest being 18 cents, for the *First Reader*, and the highest 90 cents, for the *United States History*. These for retail prices, and, as the state superintendent of schools naïvely remarked, "were the state to purchase in large quantities, a discount from these figures of 33 per cent could probably be obtained; but as such an arrangement would entail an amendment to the constitution, it is not likely to be made very soon."

As to the disadvantages, we have, first of all, the remoteness of California from the principal trade and literary centres; the frequent changes in the personnel of the state board of education; the fact that its members were burdened with other duties, and did not, as a rule, consist of educated men, still less of men accustomed to the writing or compiling of books. Of the members in office when the work was commenced not one remained to witness its completion, five changes taking place within a space of less than four years. Then we have the absence of competition in authorship and the additional expense, due to the higher wages and shorter hours of work in the state printer's establishment as compared with those of a publishing firm. Said the state superintendent in a letter dated December 26, 1890: "For over four years this plan has had a fair and impartial trial; but now, in the light of my experience, I must acknowledge that the results have not met my expectations. In the first place the expense has been great, over $400,000 having been appropriated thus far for the compilation of the series and the manufacture of the first 50,000 copies of each book. Whatever may be the advantages claimed for state publication, the result of the experiment shows that for obvious reasons it costs more to manufacture the books than it would cost a private publishing house. Besides this there is a lack of spontaneity and competition in authorship. While our state board has been zealous and done the best it could in making a state series, I regret that its efforts have not met the requirements of the schools or the expectations of our leading educators, as shown by the following resolution adopted at the biennial convention of California school superintendents, held in December 1890:

"'Resolved, that while certain of the state text-books, notably the *Primary Language Lessons* and the *Elementary Geography*, have met the approval of the public school-teachers of the state, we desire to record our severe criticism and disapproval of others of the state series, and express our judgment that their thorough revision by competent authors, so as to adapt them to the wants of the schools, is imperative and should be entered upon at once.'

"I am compelled with personal reluctance to acknowledge the want of success in our California experiment in making and publishing school-books. Taking into consideration the large appropriations made, and the further constant outlays for revisions, new plates, etc., the same number of books can be purchased in the open market at wholesale prices for less than it costs the state to manufacture them. I am therefore constrained to admit that I would not advise any other state to enter upon the publication of school-books."

A feature in scholastic circles during the year 1891 was the opening of the Leland Stanford Junior university on the Palo Alto estate of the railroad millionaire. Its endowments were on a munificent scale, sufficient, it was believed, to provide an income adequate for its support on the basis contemplated in its charter. In that document it was proposed to establish "a university with such seminaries of learning as shall make it of the highest grade, including mechanical institutes, museums, galleries of art, laboratories, and conservatories, together with all things necessary for the study of agriculture in all its branches, and for mechanical training, and the studies and exercises directed to the cultivation and enlargement of the mind." The study of applied sciences was to be carried on simultaneously with that in the pure sciences and the humanities, and, so far as possible, all lines of work included in the plan of the university were to be equally fostered. The first aim of the university would be to secure and retain in its faculty the highest order of talent, and to fill its chairs with men who were not only successful as teachers, but who were also original investigators in the field of knowledge which they represented.

Turning to the courses of instruction and study for the academic year of 1891–2, we find the announcement that they are largely tentative; that for the first year the work in every department would be adapted to the needs of the students actually in attendance; that there would be no general curriculum of any sort; that the unit of organization in the university would be the professorship, and that each professor would arrange the studies in his own department in such order as might seem to him best. Thus it will be seen that there are several new features in the programme, new at least to the educational world, but doubtless its founder and president have sufficient reasons for thus departing from all former precedents during the inchoative period of their institution. The scale of studies is certainly broad enough, and not a few of the subjects chosen in advance of those set for eastern or old-world undergraduates. First on the list comes Greek, in which the course varies from Greek grammar and selections from Xenophon to the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, the *Apology* of Plato, and Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian war. In Latin we have such authors as Terence, Plautus, Juvenal, Persius, Quintilian, Martial, and Tacitus, with rapid reading or reading at sight from Greek and Latin dramatists.

In the classical, as in other departments, the course is more difficult than the one laid down for the freshman class in the Harvard catalogue for the corresponding year, and far more so than that of the university of California, where some of the authors mentioned are selected for the sophomore and senior years. It is in no spirit of detraction or hostile criticism that I make these remarks and comparisons, but rather to call attention to certain defects which the university at Palo Alto shares in common with other young and ambitious institutions of learning—defects too widely prevalent, especially among our western colleges. From the authors named, passages are selected for the annual examination for honors at the final schools at Oxford and the classical tripos at Cambridge; but here, as at Harvard and Yale, thoroughness is first of all insisted on—a thorough, or at least a more than superficial, acquaintance with the subject, including the ability to answer such questions on inflection and construction as may prove that the candidate is in truth a student, and not one whose knowledge is mainly gathered from the use of translations. Instead of a few hours a week, as at some of our western universities, nearly all the working hours of the day for wellnigh a score of years are devoted to the study of classics and classical history by those who graduate among the foremost scholars of old-world seats of learning. That the knowledge thus acquired is worth the time or effort I do not here affirm; but, to be of value, knowledge, of whatever kind, must be accurate and definitive; otherwise it will serve no purpose but to foster self-conceit. It is better to have read thoroughly, after a preliminary drill in the elements of Latin or Greek, a single book of Cæsar or Xenophon, than to have skimmed through such programmes as are presented by institutions held in high repute on the Pacific coast.

While covering a somewhat wider field than her younger sister, it cannot be said that the state university at Berkeley is the more popular institution of the two. Both are supplied with ample funds, and by its liberal expenditure on buildings and improvements, on apparatus and material, and above all, by securing, through the payment of handsome salaries, a corps of energetic and skilled instructors, the Stanford university has secured for itself a reputation that will not readily be effaced. Moreover, it is a new institution, and this is of itself a recommendation to the denizens of the Pacific coast. It has also the advantage of providing quarters for its students, dormitories capable of accommodating nearly 400 young men being completed and furnished within the walls of a single building. A similar edifice for the use of young women was to be finished in the spring or summer of 1892. In neither case was residence within the university grounds compulsory; but as excellent accommodation was to be supplied at extremely moderate rates, it is probable that most of the undergraduates will avail themselves of the privilege.

Features in both universities were the schools of mechanic arts, mechanical and civil engineering, and agriculture, though at Palo Alto they were not as yet in full working order. At the mechanical laboratory of the state university an opportunity was given to the student to practise, under the eye of a skilled mechanician, the working of metals, the use, forging, and tempering of tools, wood-turning, planing, and carpenters' work, moulding and pattern-making. When sufficiently familiar with these and other branches, he was shown through a series of manufacturing establishments, thus presenting to him on a larger scale operations which he had performed or witnessed only in miniature.

In the college of agriculture at Berkeley was a collection of some 1,300 specimens of the different varieties of soil in California, with 300 descriptions of grain and a large assortment of seeds. In its experimental grounds were all the necessary means to acquire a knowledge of the theory and practice of agriculture, supplemented by frequent excursions to farms, orchards, and vineyards. Instruction was given in the breeding of stock, the cultivation of fruit, dairy-farming, and farming methods, in which last were included irrigation and drainage. In viticulture, attention was directed to the planting and working of vineyards, the adaptation to soil and climate of the various species of vines, together with their treatment and suitability for wine or raisin grapes. In the season of vintage a special course was devoted to practical vinification and to an analysis of the chemical elements of musts and wines, with daily practice and instruction in cellar and laboratory. For many years the college of agriculture has also rendered good service as an experimental station, where agricultural data were collected, and agricultural problems sifted and determined. With all these advantages it is somewhat remarkable that in 1892 only nine students were enrolled in this department of the university of California.

Of the other universities, colleges, and schools of the golden state sufficient mention has already been made in these pages. In conclusion it may be said that at no period in the annals of California was education more highly valued, educational facilities more abundant, and the educational system in better working order than in the opening years of the present decade.

Turning to the state of Oregon we find educational matters in a somewhat more backward condition than might be expected from her cultured and prosperous community. While the number of children enrolled in her school census was stated in 1889 at 93,000, the average daily attendance was little more than 40,000, though to this number perhaps 6,000 may be added for private and denominational schools and business colleges. With 1,450 school-houses, or about one half the number existing in California, with four times her population, the value of school property per capita was less than 50 per cent of that of her southern neighbor, with teachers' salaries on a lower scale than in any division of the Pacific slope, with the single exception of Utah. In February 1889 a law was passed providing for the compulsory attendance of all children between the ages of eight and fourteen for at least twelve weeks in the year. By the same law all cities or incorporated towns with 10,000 or more inhabitants were constituted school districts, and it is made the duty of the school boards of such districts to build or lease school-houses and to buy or lease lands for school purposes, each board being authorized to incur an indebtedness not exceeding $100,000.

In one respect, at least, Oregon has the advantage of California in her educational system, and that is in the choice of text-books. Every sixth year the state superintendent of schools, under the direction of the state board of education, is required to accept proposals from publishing firms and to submit their lists and prices to county superintendents and state examiners, the books, whether singly or in series, receiving a majority of their votes, to be adopted for that period by all the public schools in the state. Districts failing to comply with this regulation forfeit their share of the school fund; but provision is made for a special vote in cases where faulty, antiquated, or over-expensive text-books should be superseded by better, cheaper, or more recent publications. While inclining rather to what he terms "county uniformity," the state superintendent remarks: "So far as I know, this system is satisfactory to the public generally."

In Washington there is also a uniform system of text-books, selected by the state board of education for use in all public schools, the state superintendent being first required to advertise for bids, stating the description of books for which proposals are invited, together with the prices to be established. Once adopted, no school-book could be changed within five years, and districts using others than those prescribed forfeited one fourth of their share in the school appropriation. So well did the system work that this regulation has become a portion of the state code of laws, and, remarks the superintendent, "I think no better plan could be adopted for our use."

As to the recent progress of educational matters in Washington the following figures may be of interest. In 1887 the school enrolment was stated at 32,000, out of a school population of 47,000; in 1889, at 47,000, against a school population of 73,000. In the former year the value of school-houses was given at $500,000 and the school expenditure at $300,000; in the latter the figures were respectively $1,100,000 and $655,000. Meanwhile, however, the number of teachers had been but slightly increased—from 1,285 for the school year 1887–8 to 1,349 for 1888–9. Complaint was made of the difficulty in securing an adequate supply of experienced and competent instructors, those who were best qualified too often making their position a mere stepping-stone to some more lucrative occupation. Perhaps the solution of the difficulty will be found in the meagre salaries paid, averaging for men only $48 and for women $39 a month. Such rates were entirely inadequate in a state where men expected to amass a fortune in little more time than would be required to erect a school-house. Certain it is that the want of efficient teachers was not caused by scarcity of funds, the tax levy for school purposes in 1889 exeeding $300,000. The school lands of Washington are among the most extensive and valuable of any section of the coast. In the articles of the constitution are the following excellent provisions:

"No more than one fourth of the land granted to the state for educational purposes shall be sold prior to January 1, 1895, and not more than one half prior to January 1, 1905. No more than 160 acres of any granted lands of the state shall be offered for sale in one parcel.

"The principal of the common-school fund shall remain permanent and irreducible. All losses to the permanent common-school or any other state educational fund, which shall be occasioned by defalcation, mismanagement, or fraud of the agents or officers controlling or managing the same, shall be audited by the proper authorities of the state. The amount so audited shall be a permanent funded debt against the state, in favor of the particular fund sustaining such loss, upon which not less than six per cent annual interest shall be paid."

Under the terms of the enabling act, the title to two sections in each township, before reserved as school lands, was confirmed to the state, but with $10 an acre fixed as the minimum price. In these sections is included nearly 2,500,000 acres, from which, however, about one fifth must be deducted for waste lands and Indian reservations. Supposing all the lands to be disposed of, the state would thus have at its disposal a school fund of $20,000,000. Although at present only a small proportion can be sold at this price, there are not a few localities in which school sections are held at from $20 to $25 an acre. In addition to this munificent endowment, five per cent of the moneys received from the sale of all public lands was set apart for the permanent school fund. For a scientific school 100,000 acres were appropriated, and for charitable, reformatory, and other institutions 200,000 acres. Washington is proud, and justly proud, of its public school system, its university, and its numerous private, denominational, and business schools and colleges.

From Alaska was forwarded to the commissioner of education, in December 1889, a most interesting report compiled by Sheldon Jackson, the general agent of education in that territory. Until recent years there were, as I have said, no schools in Alaska, apart from those maintained by the missions and the Alaska Commercial company. In 1889 there were fourteen day-schools supported entirely by the government, and four boarding-schools receiving government aid. Including mission schools, the total number of pupils in attendance was estimated at about 1,500, or less than one fourth of the school population. In the Unalaska district there was but a single public school, and that one had been closed for a year from want of a teacher. At Kodiak was a school conducted by W. E. Roscoe, and graded after the California system, where instruction was given in language, writing, spelling, and geography, interspersed with object and picture lessons, and with lectures, or talks, as they were termed, on foreign lands, their natural phenomena, and the character, customs, and industries of their population. At Afognak a school was successfully taught by James A. Wirth, some of the children having made such progress as to converse with fluency in the English language. In the Sitka district there were two schools in the town of Sitka, two at Juneau, and one each at Douglas City, Wrangel, Killisnoo, Haines, Howkan, and Klawack. The last of these schools, situated in southeastern Alaska, and far removed from the agency of law, was conducted for several months by the widow of its former principal, the Reverend L. W. Currie. Isolated from all human companionship, she was left to battle alone and unprotected against the prejudices of a tribe in which drunkenness, witchcraft, and other abominations were widely prevalent. On one occasion during her husband's lifetime, says Mr Jackson, "four men attempted to carry away one of his pupils, a girl, on the charge of witchcraft. Mr Currie rescued her, keeping her at his house. A few days afterward they returned, reënforced by a party of Hydahs, on another attempt to get possession of her. While some of them vehemently claimed her, others stood near the missionary with open knives. Finally the brother of the girl was intimidated into paying a ransom for her. This Mr Currie could not prevent, but the girl at least was saved."

At the mission town of Metlakathla, already mentioned, educational matters were in a prosperous condition, the missionary in charge—the Reverend

William Duncan—reporting a school enrolment of 172, with a community rendered self-sustaining through its varied industries. At the Sitka industrial training school, in charge of the board of home missions of the presbyterian church, there were carpenters', blacksmiths', and shoemakers' shops, a steam laundry and a bakery, in all of which, as in some other departments, a number of pupils were in attendance. By the Greek church seventeen parochial schools were maintained, taught mainly by Russian priests, whose orders were to substitute the English language for their native tongue. How these schools fared while the teachers were themselves acquiring the Anglo-Saxon vernacular has not been explained, but here at least is a step forward, and the promise of better things to come.

Of other schools in Alaska it is unnecessary to make special mention. Considering the scanty and precarious resources at the disposal of the territorial board of education, the results thus far accomplished are worthy of all praise. By the Russian government it is estimated that from $60,000 to $70,000 is annually expended on its churches and parochial schools in Alaska. By the United States, to whom that territory was ceded, and whose inhabitants were to enjoy, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, "all the rights, advantages, and immunties of citizens of the United States," there was voted in one year $25,000, in the second nothing, and in the third $15,000. As neither the school board nor the teachers can make their arrangements, nor indeed be sure that there will be any schools until the action of congress is made known, and that several weeks or months after such action has been taken, it is not surprising that competent teachers are loath to cast their lot in a land where the failure to make appropriations will close their schools and throw them out of employment, while separated by the span of a continent from friends and home.

Among other excellent recommendations made by the general agent of education for Alaska, the following are worthy of note: That an appropriation of at least $75,000 a year be made for educational purposes; that a sum of money be appropriated as a permanent fund, to be applied to such purposes without distinction of race. Since there are neither townships nor surveyed lands in the territory, nor any law under which they can be surveyed, thus precluding all hope of income from school lands for many years to come, a portion of the revenue derived by the government from the seal islands and other sources should be set apart for educational uses. Regular attendance at the schools should be made compulsory, and in the Indian villages where schools exist, a native officer should be appointed and paid to enforce such attendance.

In Idaho there were in 1889 about 24,000 children of school age, of whom a little more than one half were enrolled as pupils. The number of schools in that year was 434, an increase of 69 over the preceding twelvemonth, and of teachers the total number was 434, to whom was paid the low average salary of $49 per month. A law has been here enacted for the establishment of independent school districts, for the purpose of providing better educational facilities for special localities, this privilege being granted to any district whose taxable property amounted to $200,000 or more, the board of trustees to have complete control within the powers delegated by law. In some portions, and especially in the southern or so-called Mormon counties, there was a decided opposition to the public school system, unless the schools were under the control of the religious denomination whose members were most numerous. Many schoolhouses, erected by subscription, were also utilized for church purposes, and not a few church edifices were rented for educational uses. In most of the school districts of Bear Lake county, for instance, buildings were leased from the dominating sect, and thus the cause of education was too often made subservient to religious sect and fanaticism.

Montana had in 1889 about 37,000 children of school age, of whom nearly one half were enrolled. The number of schools was stated at 477 and the school income from all sources at $325,000. By amended act of 1889, trustees of school districts were authorized to submit to electors a proposition to issue coupon bonds, not to exceed four per cent of the taxable property of each district, the proceeds to be used in the purchase of school lots and the building of school-houses. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, the legislature was required "to provide, by taxation or otherwise, sufficient means, in connection with the amount received from the general school fund, to maintain a public, free common school in each organized district in the state for at least three months in each year."

In Wyoming an attempt was made, especially in Cheyenne and the larger towns, to enforce the compulsory law enacted in 1876 and amended in 1887, but without avail. In the latter year there was an average attendance of 3,750 out of the 5,600 children enrolled. In 1890 the attendance had been almost doubled and the enrolment largely increased. The public schools were gradually being moulded into a system of uniformity, with a view to preparing students for higher institutions of learning. For this, the youngest in the Pacific sisterhood of states, it is claimed that there is less illiteracy and a larger proportionate expenditure of public funds for educational purposes than in any section of the union. It is worthy of note, that at the Wyoming university at Laramie the attendance in 1889 was larger than at the university of California, though the former was located in the midst of a sparse population, and with but a small percentage of the income and productive funds in possession of the latter.

In the message of Governor Francis E. Warren, dated November 14, 1890, attention is called to the congressional act, approved in the preceding August, appropriating to each state and territory from the proceeds of public lands $15,000, payable at the close of that year, and increasing by $1,000 annually until it shall reach the sum of $25,000 a year, the proceeds to be devoted to the support of colleges of mechanic arts and agriculture, provided that no distinction as to race or color be made in the admission of students, and that the state or territory shall assent to the provisions of the law and the purposes of the grant.

Nevada, with a school population in 1889 of somewhat less than 10,000, had a school enrolment of about 7,500, and an attendance of more than 5,000. While suffering from a period of business depression, and with school property valued only at $246,000, the salaries paid to teachers, though lower than in former years, were still higher than in any state or territory on the Pacific slope, averaging for men $98 and for women $68 a month. In the laws of Nevada it is provided that a uniform series of text-books, selected by the state board of education and changed not more than once in four years, shall be used by all the public schools in the state. A compulsory attendance law, enacted in 1873, was still in force, but, as in most other sections of the coast, was entirely inoperative.

With a school population of some 58,000, of whom about 9,000 were the children of gentile parents, Utah had in 1888 a school enrolment of 34,000, of whom only 2,600 were of non-Mormon parentage. At denominational schools there were nearly 8,000 children in attendance, the presbyterians taking the lead with 33 schools, followed by the congregationalists with 24, and the methodists with 21. In the reports of the governor of the territory and the commissioner of schools, the latter appointed by the supreme court in accordance with a congressional act of 1887, it is stated that the school system of Utah is extremely defective, less than one half the children attending the public schools and less than one half the expense being defrayed from public funds, the remainder being supplied by tuition fees. By the Mormon leaders, under whose control were three fourths at least of the population, church schools were also being established in each 'stake' or church district. The rooted opposition of the mormon hierarchy was further intensified by the passage of the act of 1887, whereby, among other obnoxious clauses, the use of the Book of Mormon or other sectarian works was forbidden in public schools. Another drawback is the small extent and insignificant value of school lands, amounting only to 46,000 acres, worth in all not more than $60,000 or $65,000. The total value of all school property in Utah was stated at little more than $600,000, against nearly $4,000,000 in Colorado, with less than double her population.

In Arizona, with a population estimated in 1889 at more than 55,000 souls, there were only 6,600 pupils enrolled in the common schools, with an average daily attendance of less than 4,000, and with one exception the highest expense per capita of any state or territory in the union. On the other hand, the means of education were afforded in every portion of the territory, and the school system was in the main an excellent one, efficient in its working and liberal in its provisions. A university and a school of mines were in process of construction, and a normal school had been for several years in operation. Pending her admission to statehood, no use could be made of the school lands, and meanwhile many school sections were being farmed by settlers without contributing anything to the revenue of the territory.

Out of 59,000 pupils enrolled in the common schools of Colorado in 1889, the average daily attendance was 35,500, the schools being kept open for 170 days in the year, or longer than in any portion of the western division of the United States. All children between the ages of six and fourteen must be kept at school, at a public or private school, for at least twelve weeks in the year, unless excused on account of bodily or mental condition. School boards were required to furnish at the expense of the school fund such necessary clothing as might be required by those whose parents were unable to supply it. It was made unlawful to keep children under fourteen years of age at labor during school hours, unless they presented to their employers a certificate signed by a competent instructor stating that they had been taught for at least three months in the year.

In 1891, New Mexico was being relieved from the imputation of illiteracy by the establishment of a public school system in keeping with the spirit of the age, and one with a revenue sufficient for its support. The counties were districted, the machinery of education set in order, and as the cap-stone of the educational edifice, a university with a competent faculty was opened at Albuquerque. The introduction of a public school system in New Mexico had thus far been a difficult and tedious process, with many causes retarding its development. Among them was sparseness of population, especially in stock-raising districts, in some of which the dwellings were many miles apart. Another and more potent obstacle was the rooted prejudice of a large and influential portion of the people, caused by lack of understanding and appreciation. It was not alone the children that must be taught, but the voting population, to whom were almost unknown the requirements of public school laws and the methods of their enforcement. For the successful administration of public school laws is needed a populace trained under the public school system, and as yet but a small proportion of the people have had the advantage of such training. Moreover, the compulsory attendance law of 1887 was so defective in wording as to render it virtually inoperative, and, as has been remarked, "it does not compel anything or anybody." Add to this the indifference of the general public and the low average expenditure for school purposes of less than a dollar a year per capita of the inhabitants, and the backward condition of educational matters in New Mexico is sufficiently explained. Nevertheless, there were many who took an active interest in the cause of education, were anxious that their children should learn, and learn especially the English language. Of the 344 public schools in New Mexico in 1889, less than one half were taught in the English language, more than 100 in Spanish, and somewhat less than 100 in both languages.

As to the relative condition of educational matters on the Pacific slope, as compared with other sections of the union, the following statements may be of interest. For the school year 1888-9, nearly 12,300,000 pupils were enrolled in the public schools of the United States, or a little over 20 per cent of the population. On the Pacific slope the enrolment was 476,000, or 17 per cent of the population. In the several divisions of the union the percentage of attendance in proportion to enrolment was singularly uniform, the average being 65.1 and for the Pacific division 65.2 per cent. The comparatively slender enrolment in the latter division was due to the smaller number of children in proportion to population. Of the 216,000 school-houses in the United States, about 9,000 belonged to the Pacific slope, and of 352,000 teachers nearly 13,000, of whom 70 per cent were females. The value of all school property in the union was estimated at $323,600,000, and in the Pacific division at $22,000,000, the average per capita of attendance in the latter being $70.48 against $40.42 for the union. The total school revenue of the United States, apart from borrowed money, was $132,000,000, of which $9,400,000 was accredited to the Pacific division, or $30.38 per capita of the school attendance, against $16.50 as the average for the United States.

Some of these comparisons, it will be seen, are largely in favor of the Pacific coast, and still more so in relation to special divisions. In the southern states, for instance, the value of school property per capita of attendance was less than $11, and of school revenue about $7. As to the comparative standards of scholarship, it is almost impossible to form a just estimate; but it is probable that our western commonwealth does not compare unfavorably with older sections of the union. One serious drawback there is on this coast, and especially in San Franciso, that teachers are appointed rather on account of political influence or favoritism, than on the ground of merit. It is but a few years ago that there was witnessed in that city the disgraceful spectacle of a lawsuit dragging its slow length through the courts to recover the salary withheld from one of our most competent and experienced teachers, removed without other reason than to make room for a favorite. The case was the more inexcusable as it was that of a woman, and though a decision was finally rendered in her favor, it is said that her death, a year or two later, was hastened more by the treatment she received than by her long and faithful labors in the cause she loved so well.

A feature in the educational system of the Pacific slope is the large number of students attending our universities, and our private, denominational, and sectarian schools and colleges, the number being estimated in 1889 at 54,000, or nearly twelve per cent of the public school enrolment. The higher the class of instruction, the smaller becomes the proportion of pupils educated at the public expense. Thus while the public schools contained 93 per cent of those receiving elementary instruction in the primary and grammar grades, the percentage of pupils in the secondary or high-school grades was only 32, private institutions containing 68 per cent of those receiving secondary instruction, and 62 per cent of those receiving a superior or university education. This is probably due to the greater and more general distribution of wealth on the Pacific coast, and also to the large number of schools and colleges established by religious denominations, especially by the catholics, whose children have been gradually withdrawn from the public schools.

To prepare students for college or university is altogether outside the scope of our public schools, or if they do so, as in certain of the high schools, this is rather an incidental feature in their programme, and one of doubtful policy. Here, as elsewhere in the United States, their tendency is rather to diverge from the path that leads to college. And well that it is so; for one good high school is worth a score of third-class universities. In the Pacific as in the Atlantic states, we have enough and more than enough of colleges and universities; but there is a woful lack of such common-sense practical institutions of learning as existed in the days of our fathers and forefathers, where if the student was instructed in but few subjects, he learned them thoroughly and well. It is in truth cause for regret that of all the bequests and donations bestowed by such philanthropists as Johns, Hopkins, Peabody, Purdue, Drexel, and others, furnishing the munificent endowment of $10,000,000 a year for the purposes of higher education, not a single dollar has been devoted to the establishment of schools. At best, the institutions they have founded furnish only a mixture, and too often a muddle, of secondary and superior instruction, not through lack of system or efficiency, but because students make haste to avail themselves of their advantages without undergoing a sufficient preparatory training.

Says an able writer in the New York *Educational Review:* "We have had grammar schools for two hundred and fifty years; but we have hardly yet succeeded in creating a university, though many second-rate high schools flourish under that name." In our university system the tendency has been to begin at the top and not at the lower rungs of the ladder—to begin where, if the subjects set forth in their catalogues were thoroughly mastered and assimilated, the student would be ready to leave off. Nor do these remarks apply alone to the educational system of the United States, but equally to those of European countries. The founding of the university of Oxford, for instance, is traced far back to the twilight of history, to a period when probably not ten per cent of England's population could read, and not five per cent could write. In France the oldest university was founded a century at least before the Norman conquerer set foot on Anglo-Saxon soil, and yet her common-school system was instituted within the lifetime of the present generation. The youngest university in Germany was established only a few years later than the first of her *volksschulen*, or primary schools, while the oldest has recently celebrated its six hundred and fiftieth anniversary.

Returning to our own western commonwealth, we find no serious cause for reproach in the past, when our higher institutions of learning had not as yet emerged from the tentative period of their existence; no serious cause for discouragement in the future, when the lessons of the past shall have been duly laid to heart. At some of our colleges and universities, excellent results have been accomplished, considering the difficulties to be encountered amid our new, unstable and heterogeneous communities. Let us hope that the youngest and most richly endowed of them all, the one at Palo Alto, will prove worthy of its promise, will fulfil the hopes and satisfy the aspirations of those whose eyes are turned in that direction from every settlement on our Pacific shores. Above all, let us hope that it will be true to the becoming sentiment expressed in the statement of its purposes: "That an institution of learning, however broad its plans and noble its purpose, must be a growth, and not a creation, and that if its growth is to be healthy and continuous, its beginnings must be modest."

In addition to its colleges of letters, agriculture, mechanics, mining, civil engineering, and chemistry, located on its site at Berkeley, there were in connection with the university an astronomical department at the Lick observatory on Mount Hamilton, and in San Francisco the Hastings college of law and colleges of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy. At the first, graduates of the state university, or those admitted *pari passu*, might receive a higher course of instruction in astronomy, provided that on examination they proved themselves competent for the duties and studies assigned to them. In return for free quarters at Mount Hamilton and the use of the observatory's instruments, they were required to work out such computations as might be allotted to them. In 1891 there were four students in attendance, this being the present limit of number as ordered by the board of regents. It is worthy of note that none of them were natives of California or graduates of its university.

The classes of the Hastings law school, of which institution the chief justice of the supreme court was *ex officio* president, were held in the old hall of pioneers in San Francisco. The requirements for admission were moderate, graduates of the university of California, or of universities or colleges of similar standing, being admitted without examination. Instruction was given in the several branches of law, the course for the senior year including common-law and equity pleading, pleading and practice under the code, evidence, equity jurisprudence, and the constitutional law of the United States. As yet there is no library in connection with this institution; but students are permitted to make use of the San Francisco law library on equal terms with members of the bar. In 1892 there were 96 students enrolled, and probably at least five times that number preparing for the bar elsewhere in the city and state. Where all our vast army of lawyers, its ranks thus recruited with each succeeding year, find or expect to find practice sufficient to earn for themselves a livelihood, is a matter best known to themselves.

No less crowded was the medical profession, 89 students being in attendance at the medical department of the state university alone, with a much larger number of students from the Pacific coast preparing at eastern and foreign institutions. The classes were held at Toland hall, so named after the founder of this college of medicine, the late Hugh Huger Toland, himself formerly one of the leading practitioners in the metropolis, and by whom, as I have said, it was presented to the university of California. The faculty included several members who have attained to eminence in their profession; there were lectures on the usual branches, and students were granted access to the city and county hospital, where twice a week the major and minor operations in surgery were performed in view of the class. There were the customary requirements for admission, with moderate tuition fees, as in the colleges of dentistry and pharmacy. No charges were made in other departments of the university, except a small payment for the diplomas of graduates, and for materials used by students in the laboratories.

In 1890 the California academy of sciences, opened in 1853 in two small hired rooms, completed one of the most tasteful structures in our Pacific coast metropolis, on the valuable site presented to it by James Lick. The academy of design and the art association were meeting with fair support, though not over-burdened with plethora of funds. Add to these the historical society and the geographical society, and we have about all the institutions of science or art whose home is in the city by the Golden Gate. Of similar institutes in other states and territories sufficient mention has been made.

For the care and training of those afflicted with bodily and mental infirmities, liberal provision has been made in California, and for the most part in other states and territories of the union. At Berkeley, the institution for the deaf, dumb, and blind, already mentioned, had in 1889 more than 150 inmates, of whom about 20 were in the kindergarten department. The following extract from the superintendent's report will serve to indicate its purposes: "The deaf are facile in everything requiring a quick eye and dexterous fingers. Drawing, painting, modelling, carving, engraving, are among the branches of fine art in which the deaf-mute may and often does excel. Of the mechanical arts none are beyond his reach, and it is only a question of advantage as to which he shall turn his hand. Up to this time there has not been much choice of handicraft offered in this institution. Wood-working and painting shops have been established, and the results have justified the selection. The boys in both departments have made marked progress, and the cabinet work done at their hands would not discredit journeymen."

At Colorado springs the institute for the mute and blind had on an average about 60 inmates, all of whom, when first admitted, were placed in the articulation and lip-reading class, and retained there unless incapable of progress. To all instruction was given in some manual occupation; and in the carpenters' shop were trained not a few who afterward earned for themselves a comfortable livelihood. In the printing-office was published the *Colorado Index*, which, it appears, fared better than some of its more ambitious contemporaries, not only paying its own expenses, but contributing somewhat to the revenue of the institute.

At Salem, Oregon, at Salt Lake City, and at Santa Fé were also institutions for deaf-mutes, and at Vancouver one for the deaf, Salem also containing a separate institute for the blind. In 1889 about 300 of these unfortunates were cared for in the several asylums of the coast, mainly at the expense of state or territory, the total being little short of $100,000, or an average of some $330 for each of the inmates. This would appear a sufficient appropriation, yielding as it does a larger income per capita than is received by some of our more prominent boarding schools. Nevertheless, they complain of a chronic dearth of funds, some of them appealing to private charity to make good the deficiency. In Massachusetts 235 deaf-mutes were supported in the same year at an average cost of $150, and with a surplus of income over expenditure.

Fraternal associations were numerous in San Francisco, as elsewhere in the state and on the coast. In 1891 there were about 250 masonic lodges in California alone, with more than 35,000 members, and among the odd-fellows a membership of nearly 30,000, a revenue of more than $500,000 a year, a relief fund of $250,000, and total assets of at least $2,250,000. The benefits paid were much larger than among eastern communities, and with less than one twentieth of the total membership of the order within the limits of the union, California paid more than one tenth of the total amount disbursed for relief. There were some 30 commanderies of the knights templar, 170 lodges, with a membership of 12,000 or more of the knights of Pythias; there were parlors of the native sons of the golden west in all the more prominent cities and towns of California, and perhaps 20,000 members of the ancient order of united workmen.

With libraries the metropolis and other centres of population on this coast were well supplied. In San

Francisco the Mechanics' institute had the largest membership except for the Free library, whose privileges were largely availed of by the working classes. In the latter complaint was made of the incivility of its officers, and in the former of the eagerness with which fines were collected, those whose books were retained a few days beyond the limit of time being fined with inflexible rigor and promptitude. Such an unseemly method of adding a few dollars a month to the income of the institution did not tend to increase its clientèle, or to add to its reputation. The Mercantile library had not improved its condition, with perhaps a slight decrease of membership, mainly caused by the fact that the residence quarters of the wealthier classes, by whom it was largely patronized, have within recent years been far removed from its site in the business section of the city. Other libraries, as those of the odd-fellows, the society of California pioneers, and the Academy of sciences, were steadily increasing their collections.

At Berkeley the university library, in the Bacon art and library building, had in 1892 nearly 50,000 volumes, partly arranged to make the collection of special value for reference purposes. Through gift and purchase, and also from the income of the Reese fund of $50,000, this collection was being constantly augmented. In the same building was a gallery of fine arts, in which were some old and valuable paintings presented by Henry D. Bacon, F. L. A. Pioche, Mrs Mark Hopkins, and others. In the university was also a cabinet of coins and medals, including a number of Roman coins, with wall maps of ancient countries, and pictures and photographs representing ancient architecture and customs. In the museums of this institution were collections of fossils, minerals, rocks, ores, and shells, placed at their disposal by the state or presented by private individuals. In the school of dentistry was also the nucleus of a library and museum, in which, in addition to books, pamphlets, and journals, were anatomical, physiological, and pathological specimens. In most of the larger towns and cities on the coast were public libraries and reading-rooms. Among private libraries may be mentioned that of Adolph Sutro in San Francisco, in which are some valuable works, including rare editions of the ancient classics.

As to the journals on the Pacific slope, it only remains to be said, that within recent years there has been a considerable increase as to number, size, and circulation, and it is cause for regret that this has not, as a rule, been accompanied by any improvement in their tone. While some of our newspapers will not suffer by comparison with those of eastern and European communities, others are as sensational, and if possible more silly, than ever. Apart from local, eastern, or foreign telegrams, many of them contain little beyond recitals of the crimes and accidents and scandal of the day, interspersed with paragraphs repeated *ad nauseam*, relating only to themselves, and, as they state, their ever-increasing circulation and repute. Their repute, at least, is not improved thereby, for as with individuals so with publications, the esteem in which they are held by the public is not increased by self-commendation. A feature of late years has been the issue of mammoth editions, especially on the natal day of each succeeding year, some of them containing summaries of the commercial and industrial progress and condition of the state. In 1891 the *Alta California*, the oldest of the then surviving newspapers in the state, issued its last number, crowded out of existence by younger and more enterprising rivals. In December 1891 was issued in San Francisco the first number of the *Californian Illustrated Magazine*, a creditable and well-conducted periodical, with stories and articles on various subjects of general as well as local interest. From the March number of 1892 I am tempted here to quote an extract touching on our treatment of the Chinese, as the writer embodies the views of a large proportion of our more cultured classes. It is from the pen of Frederic J. Masters, superintendent of the Chinese missions, and is headed: "The recent disturbances in China."

"The whole history of foreign intercourse with China has been hatefully cruel and unjust. Foreigners forced themselves upon China at a time when she desired nothing better than to be let alone. Her ports were bombarded to open markets for our commerce. Bloody wars were waged with China to force her to legalize a trade in opium, which the emperor saw would bring moral and financial ruin to her people. There is no doubt that whatever treaty rights we enjoy in China have been obtained at the point of the bayonet. We have forced ourselves into the coast ports, into the interior, and even into the very capital. We have talked and blustered as if the country belonged to us. We have stalked through the land, trampling upon Chinese prejudices, shocking their conventionalities, and outraging their cherished traditions. For nearly a century we have bullied and plundered China. We have set up our autocratic settlements and our extra-territorial rights; and when China has dared to murmur, we have shaken our fists in her face and called for the inevitable gunboat.

"Time passed, and her people began to come out of their shell. They dared to claim the right to emigrate to western lands, just as western people have gone to China; but they made money out of us, just as our merchants have made money out of the Chinese, and we have told them to go. We treated her merchants as the scum of the earth, and insulted her ambassadors at our very gates. We have enacted exclusive acts and anti-Chinese ordinances that place these people under cruel disabilities, and which would call out every ship in our navy if the Chinese did such things to us. We have looked calmly on while mobs have invaded their settlements, broken into their houses, plundered their property, and massacred people as defenseless as babes, whom we had bound ourselves by treaty to protect. Yet, after all this, we are disappointed that China has no strong affection for us. Forgetting the scores of murdered Chinese whose bones lay bleaching on Wyoming hills, we burn with vengeance over the massacre of two white men in China. The only wonder is that the Chinese have not long ago risen up and swept every foreigner out of their country."

As to church matters and charitable institutions, little remains to be added to what has already been remarked in these pages. The people of our western commonwealth are not a church-going community; at least the men are not, probably at least 80 per cent of the average congregations, of whatever sect, consisting of women and children. Most of our citizens regard the church as a good place in which to be christened and married, and from which to be buried; but apart from these purposes, they have, as a rule, no further use for it. As in former years, the catholics are in the majority, their crowded sanctuaries contrasting with those of the protestant denominations. Both churches and charities were fairly supported, the latter including a large number of public and private institutions, whose sphere of usefulness was steadily increasing with increased facilities and contributions. Among them were two old people's homes, one of them established with funds bequeathed by the late Mrs Charles Crocker. At both an entrance fee or a small weekly or monthly payment was required, and for the sum of $500 the aged were provided with an asylum for the brief remainder of their days.

In conclusion, it may be said that while as yet almost in an inchoate condition, society in this our western commonwealth presents many unique and interesting features. First of all, it is essentially *sui generis,* and if of a genus that differs essentially from the standard of older and more staid communities, it is nevertheless entitled to no inferior rank in the domain of social science. At once the frontier and terminus of the westward migration of the human race, California stands forth in all her freshness and simplicity as the land where social evolution may find its freest play, its most congenial abode; where, stripped of old time prejudices, men think and act for themselves; where already is the home of much that is best worth preserving in the arts and industries of the world, gathered from the accumulations of by-gone centuries in the storehouse of human experience.

Historically one of newest of the inhabited regions of earth, the more important of the events that have happened in our furthest west are still fresh in the memory of thousands yet living on its shores. Here was never a heroic age, nor ever will be; here was never a primordial centre of population; never a lineage of kings, and nobles, and warriors, revelling in human butcheries for the true religion's sake; no ancient monuments, no crumbling fanes, no dim traditions, carry the mind back to the twilight of history, when sword and scimitar, crescent and cross, laid waste the fairest lands of Europe in the name of Mohammed and of Christ. There are not a few yet living who took part in the almost bloodless revolution which gained for the union one of the fairest jewels in its crown. Of the first emigrant party that crossed the plains more than half a century ago, several are still in our midst, and of those who came by sea, the colonel of the famous New York volunteers held until recently a responsible position in the city by the Golden Gate.

But if among the newest of our new-world cummunities, California is second to none in the enterprise and aptitude of its inhabitants, in studying, applying, and improving on the lessons of experience, and in keeping ever on the path of progress in new directions. By our own hands the state has been made what it is to-day; by our own hands its resources have been unfolded and its industries developed; by ourselves its laws have been framed, its cities founded, its schools established, its mines and factories opened, its farms and vineyards planted. Nor do these remarks apply alone to California, but in greater or less degree to nearly all sections of the Pacific coast. Here has been accomplished within the lifetime of a single generation what has elsewhere been the work of centuries of laborious effort. We have ransacked the habitable globe for the best appliances in mining, manufacturing, agriculture, horticulture, and to them we have added many of our own. By our enormous production of the precious metals, we have changed the financial conditions of the world; we have changed the conditions of labor, have given new direction to commerce, and to manufactures a stimulus such as has never been imparted before. Nowhere else have such results been achieved within so short a period, nowhere such great and sudden changes as those which have occurred and are yet occurring in our midst. Here, indeed, is the romance of the present, the romance of an age and a land as prolific of marvellous events as any that have yet been recorded in the page of history.

But it is not alone by its wealth and resources that the well-being of a country should be measured, and far be it from my purpose to estimate our western community merely by the standard of its commercial and industrial development, by the number of bushels of grain that it produces, the number of bales of merchandise, or the weight of its ingots of gold and silver. Would that its social and moral and political status were on a level with its material greatness; that manly worth and intellectual culture were more widely recognized; and that honest and enlightened statesmanship had not been supplanted by the machinations of charlatans and demagogues. Let us hope that the day is not distant when the influence of debasing elements shall cease; when all that is worthless and vicious shall be thrown aside, and only the good allowed to germinate; when party strife and race asperities shall no longer stand in the way of truth, shall no longer warp the judgment and blunt the conscience of those in whose hands is the fate of our commonwealth. Then may here be evolved, under a combination of such favorable conditions as nowhere else exist, one of the highest progressive types of which the human race is capable.