

however, was largely to blame. He would not submit to General Kearney, his superior in command on land, and that led Frémont to refuse to obey Kearney, his superior officer. Frémont's disobedience was no doubt owing to the advice of Stockton, who had appointed him governor of California.<sup>1</sup>

The war being over, nearly all the volunteers were discharged from the service in February

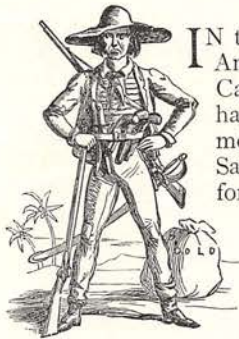
and March, 1847, at Los Angeles and San Diego. Most of us made our way up the coast by land to our homes. I had eleven horses, which I swam, one at a time, across the Straits of Carquinez at Benicia, which J. M. Hudspeth, the surveyor, was at the time laying out for Dr. Robert Semple, and which was then called "Francisca," after Mrs. Vallejo, whose maiden name was Francisca Benicia Carrillo.

*John Bidwell.*



THE RUSH TO CALIFORNIA: A CARICATURE OF THE TIME FROM "PUNCH" BY RICHARD DOYLE.

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA.



THE MOST APPROVED CALIFORNIA OUTFIT. (FROM "PUNCH.")

IN the summer of 1847 the American residents of California, numbering perhaps two thousand, and mostly established near San Francisco Bay, looked forward with hope and confidence to the future. Their government held secure possession of the whole territory, and had announced its purpose to hold it permanently.

The Spanish Californians, dissatisfied with the manner in which Mexico had ruled them, and convinced that she could not protect them, had abandoned the idea of further resistance. Notwithstanding the unsettled condition of political affairs, the market prices of cows, horses, and land, which at that time were the chief articles of sale in the country, had advanced, and this enhancement of values was generally

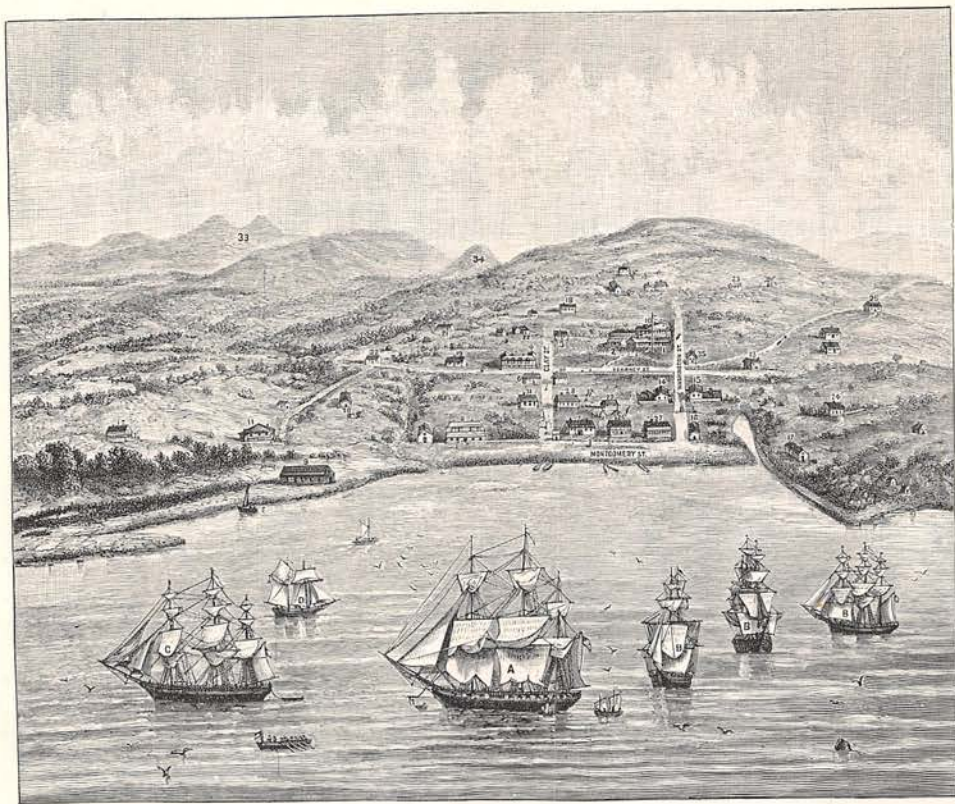
regarded as a certain proof of the increased prosperity that would bless the country under the Stars and Stripes when peace, which seemed near at hand, should be finally made.

It so happened that at this time one of the leading representatives of American interests in California was John A. Sutter, a Swiss by his parentage; a German by the place of his birth in Baden; an American by residence and naturalization in Missouri; and a Mexican by subsequent residence and naturalization in California. In 1839 he had settled at the junction of the Sacramento and American rivers, near the site of the present city of Sacramento.

When he selected this site it was generally considered very undesirable, but it had advantages which soon became apparent. It was the head of navigation on the Sacramento River for sailing vessels, and steam had not yet made its appearance in the waters of the Pacific. It had a central position in the great interior valley. Its distance of sixty miles from the nearest village, and its situation on one of the main

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Charles H. Shinn informs us that General Vallejo in one of his letters tells of having received on the same day communications from Commodore Stock-

ton, General Kearney, and Colonel Frémont, each one signing himself "Commander-in-chief of California." — EDITOR.



VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO (FORMERLY YERBA BUENA) IN MARCH, 1847. (AFTER A LITHOGRAPH DESIGNED AND PUBLISHED BY W. F. SWAZEY.)

A, U. S. S. *Portsmouth*; B, U. S. Transports *Loo Choo*, *Susan Drew* and *Thomas H. Perkins*—which brought the Stevenson regiment; C, Ship *Pandora*—merchantman consigned to Howard & Mellus; D, Coasting schooner; E, Launch *Luce* (belonging to James Lick); 1, Custom-house; 2, Calaboose; 3, School-house; 4, Alcalde's office; 5, City hotel owned by Wm. A. Leidesdorff; 6, Portsmouth hotel; 7, Wm. H. Davis's store; 8, Howard & Mellus's store (the old Hudson Bay Co.'s building); 9, Leidesdorff's warehouse; 10, Samuel Brannan; 11, Leidesdorff; 12, Russ; 13,

John Sullivan; 14, Peter T. Sherback; 15, Juan C. Davis; 16, G. Reynolds; 17, Ellis's boarding-house; 18, Fitch & McKurley; 19, Captain Vioget; 20, John Fuller; 21, Jesus Noe; 22, Juan N. Pidiilla; 23, A. A. Andrew; 24, Captain Antonio Ortega; 25, Francisco Cacerez; 26, Captain Wm. Hinckley; 27, General M. G. Vallejo's building; 28, C. L. Ross; 29, Mill; 30, Captain John Paty; 31, Doctor E. P. Jones; 32, Robert Ridley; 33, Los Pechos de la Chocoma; 34, Lone Mountain; 35, Sill's blacksmith-shop; → Trail to Presidio; ← Trail to Mission Dolores.

traveled routes of the territory, gave political and military importance to its proprietor. The Mexican governors sought his influence and conferred power on him. But more important than all these advantages was the fact that the only wagon road from the Mississippi Valley to California first reached the navigable waters of the Pacific at Sutter's Fort. This road had been open for several years and was of much prospective importance. The immigration had been interrupted by the war, but would certainly start again as soon as peace should be restored.

The American residents of California, knowing the feeling prevalent among their relatives east of the Rocky Mountains, expected that at least a thousand immigrants, and perhaps two or three times as many, would arrive overland every year; and they supposed that such additions to the population would soon add much to the value of property, to the demand for labor, and to the activity of general business.

The immigration would be especially beneficial to Sutter. At his rancho they would reach the first settlement of white men in the Sacramento Valley. There, after their toilsome march across the desert, they would stop and rest. There, they would purchase supplies of food and clothing. There, they would sell their exhausted horses and oxen, and buy fresh ones. There, the penniless would seek employment. There, those who were ready to continue their journey would separate for the valleys to the northward, westward, and southward. There, parties starting for Oregon or "the States" would obtain their last stock of supplies. The advantages of the site were numerous and evident.

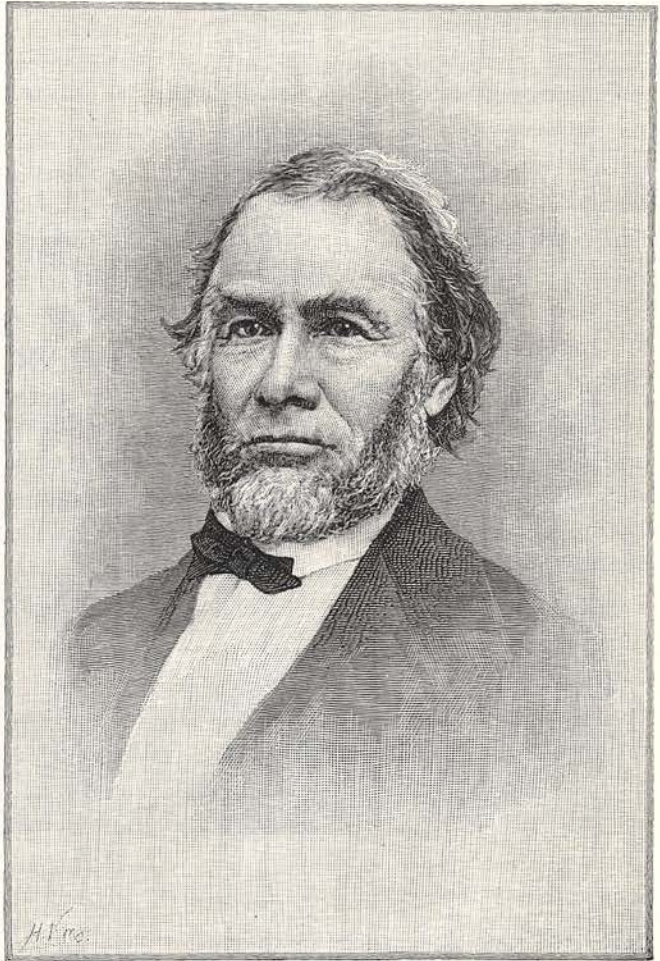
But the advantages of Sutter's Fort imposed certain obligations on its owner. He should be prepared to furnish provisions to the immigrants. He should not expect the Americans to be content with the Mexican system of crushing grain by hand on the *metate*, as the flat under millstone of the Mexicans and

native Californians is called, the upper millstone being cylindrical and used like a rolling-pin. He ought to build a flour-mill in the Sacramento Valley to grind the wheat which he cultivated in considerable quantity. There was no great difficulty about the construction of such a mill. He had a site for it on his own rancho. The necessary timber for it could be found not far away. Among the Americans at the fort there was skill to build and to manage it. These ideas pleased Sutter; he adopted them, and acted on them. He selected a site and made his plans for a flour-mill, and, partly to get lumber for it, he determined to build a saw-mill also.

Since there was no good timber in the valley, the saw-mill must be in the mountains. The site for it was selected by James W. Marshall, a native of New Jersey, a skillful wheelwright by occupation, industrious, honest, generous, but "cranky," full of wild fancies, and defective in some kinds of business sense. By accident he discovered the gold of California, and his name is inseparably connected with her history, but it is impossible to make a great hero of him. The place for his mill was in the small valley of Coloma, 1500 feet above the level of the sea, and 45 miles from Sutter's Fort, from which it was accessible by wagon without expense for road-making. Good yellow-pine timber was abundant in the surrounding hills; the water-power was more than sufficient; there were opportunities to make a secure dam and race with small expense, and there was little danger of loss by flood. Sutter left the plans and construction of the mill, as well as the selection of the site, to Marshall, and on the 27th of August the two signed an agreement of partnership under which Sutter was to furnish money, men, tools, and teams, and Marshall was to supply the skill for building and managing.

While the project of the saw-mill was under consideration some Mormons arrived at New

Helvetia and solicited employment. They had belonged to the Mormon battalion, which, after enlisting in Nebraska for one year, marching to the Pacific by way of the Gila, and garrisons



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY SIMAR.

*James W. Marshall*

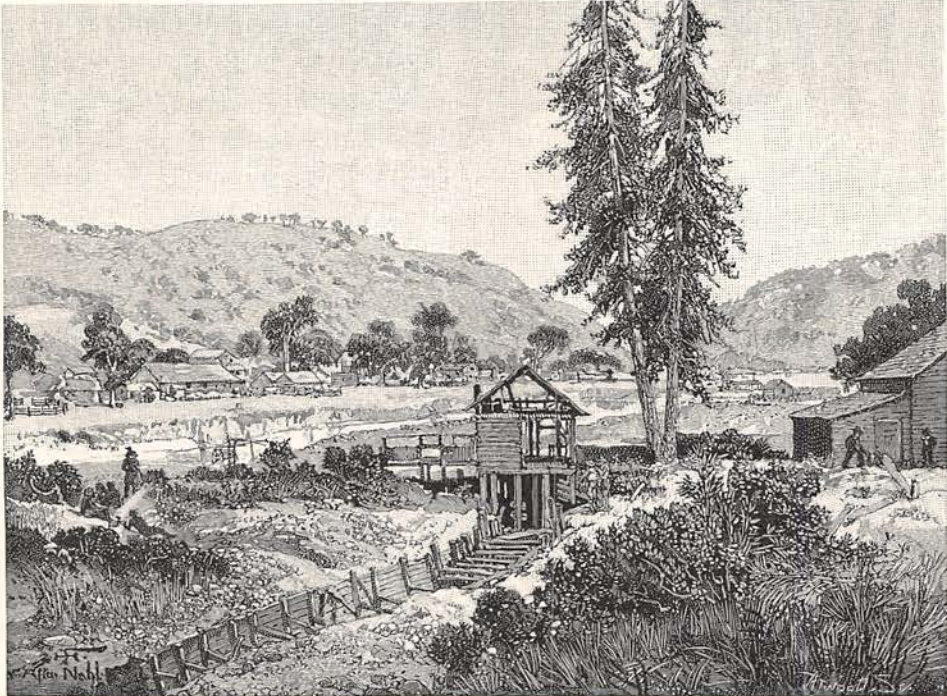
THE DISCOVERER OF GOLD AT SUTTER'S MILL.

soning San Diego, had been mustered out at Los Angeles on the preceding 16th of July. They were on their way to Salt Lake, but at the fort received letters advising all who could not bring provisions for the winter to remain in California until the following spring. They were sober, orderly, peaceful, industrious men, and Sutter hired them to work at his flour-mill and saw-mill. He sent six of them to Coloma. Besides these, Marshall had three "Gentile" laborers, and about a dozen Indians.

All the white men were natives of the United States.

For four months these men worked at Coloma, seeing no visitors, and rarely communicating with the fort. The mill had been nearly completed, the dam was made, the race had been dug, the gates had been put in place, the water had been turned into the race to carry away some of the loose dirt and gravel, and

mill, where he showed them to the men as proof of his discovery of a gold mine. The scantiness in the provision supply gave Marshall an excuse for going to the fort, though he would probably not have gone at this time if he had not been anxious to know Sutter's opinion of the metal. He rode away, and, according to Sutter's diary, arrived at the fort on Friday the 28th. Sutter had an encyclopedia, sulphuric



SUTTER'S MILL, THE SCENE OF THE GOLD DISCOVERY. (FROM A PAINTING BY NAHL, IN POSSESSION OF A. ROMAN.)

then had been turned off again. On the afternoon of Monday the 24th of January Marshall was walking in the tail-race, when on its rotten granite bed-rock he saw some yellow particles and picked up several of them. The largest were about the size of grains of wheat. They were smooth, bright, and in color much like brass. He thought they were gold, and went to the mill, where he told the men that he had found a gold mine. At the time little importance was attached to his statement. It was regarded as a proper subject for ridicule.

Marshall hammered his new metal, and found it malleable; he put it into the kitchen fire, and observed that it did not readily melt or become discolored; he compared its color with gold coin; and the more he examined it, the more he was convinced that it was gold. The next morning he paid another visit to the tail-race, where he picked up other specimens; and putting all he had collected, about a spoonful, on the crown of his slouch hat, he went to the

acid, and scales, and with the help of these, after weighing the specimens in and out of water, he declared that they were undoubtedly gold.

The first record of the discovery, and the only one made on the day of its occurrence, was in the diary of Henry W. Bigler, one of the Mormon laborers at the mill. He was an American by birth, then a young man, and now a respected citizen of St. George, Utah. He was in the habit of keeping a regular record of his notable observations and experiences, selecting topics for remark with creditable judgment. His journal kept during his service in the Mormon battalion and his subsequent stay in California is one of the valuable historical documents of the State. On the 24th of January, in the evening, Bigler wrote in his diary, "This day some kind of mettle was found in the tail-race that looks like gold." For the purpose of enabling the reader to see precisely how the original record looks, it is here shown in facsimile. The size of the page is

~~Monday~~ <sup>th</sup> Monday 24<sup>th</sup> This day  
some kind of mettle was

<sup>177</sup>  
~~discovery~~ was found in the tail race that  
that looks like gold first discovery  
erect by James Martial, the Bob of the Mill.  
Sunday 30<sup>th</sup> Clean & has been  
all the last week our metal  
has been tried and proves to  
be gold it is thought to be  
rich we have pick up more than  
a hundred dollars worth last  
week

February. 1848  
Sun 6<sup>th</sup> The weather has been clear

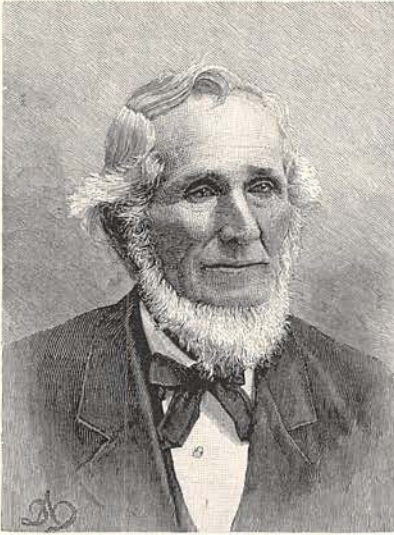
FACSIMILE OF ENTRY IN BIGLER'S DIARY.

retained. The words in darker ink were interpolated by Mr. Bigler after he had made his first entries. Carelessness in the spelling appears in "mettle" and "metal," both written within a week; and the influence of his experience in the Mormon battalion may account for his method of writing the name of Mr. "Martial."

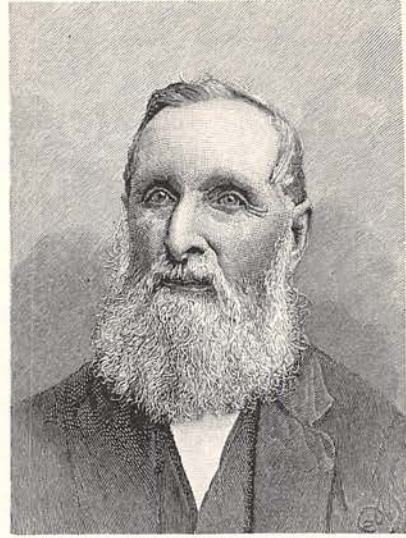
The artless arrangement of ideas, and the ungrammatical phraseology, accompanied by the regular mental habits that demanded a diary, and the perception that enabled him to catch with his pen the main facts of life as they passed, add much to the interest as well as to the authority of his diary.

Nothing was said in public about the date of the discovery until 1856, eight years after the event, when Marshall published a letter in which he said that he found gold at Coloma "about the 19th" of January, 1848. Neither then, nor at any subsequent time, did he claim that his recollection of the day was aided by a written memorandum. In 1857 he published a statement that the discovery was made on

the 18th, 19th, or 20th. His biography, prepared under his direction, and printed in 1870, fixed the 19th as the precise day. As years elapsed he became more exact, perhaps under the influence of public opinion, which from 1856 to 1886 accepted the 19th as the day. On the 9th September, 1885, at the annual celebration of the admission of the State into the Union, I delivered an address on the gold discovery to the Pioneer Society of San Francisco, and sent a copy of it in print to Mr. Bigler, of whom I had heard as one of the survivors of the Coloma party, and requested him to correct my errors, if he found any. He replied that, according to his diary, the gold was found on the 24th. At my solicitation he copied the entries of his book from that day to the middle of May; and then I began an investigation which made me familiar with the diaries of Azariah Smith, a survivor of the Mormon battalion and of the mill-builders at Coloma, and with the diary of Sutter. These three diaries agreed substantially with one another, and with Marshall's



AZARIAH SMITH.



HENRY W. BIGLER.

## TWO SURVIVORS OF THE PARTY OF DISCOVERY AT SUTTER'S MILL.

statement that four days after the discovery he took specimens of the gold to Sutter's Fort. Smith made his entries on Sunday as a rule; and on the 30th January he wrote that on the preceding week gold had been found at the mill, and that Marshall had gone to New Helvetia to have it tested. This was probably written in the morning, for Bigler's entry made on the same day mentions that the test was successful, implying that Marshall had returned.

Sutter's diary reports that on the 28th January Marshall arrived at the fort "on important business," without mentioning the gold. The agreement of the three diaries with Marshall's statement that he went to New Helvetia four days after the discovery, the superior value of documentary evidence as compared with vague recollections, dimmed by years of intervening events, and the uncertainty of Marshall in reference to the date, left no room for doubt that the 24th was the true day, which I gave to the public for the first time in January, 1886.<sup>1</sup>

It is worthy of note that although Marshall's date was first discredited by Bigler, the latter sought no publicity on this point. For more than twenty years after Marshall's story had been in print he kept silence, and finally did not give his testimony until solicited to do so. We may presume that his attention was not called to the discrepancy of dates until 1885, and then he did not seem to attach enough

importance to it to make any effort to inform the public about the error.

For six weeks or more the work on the mill continued without serious interruption. Never having seen placer mining, and having no distinct idea of the methods of finding and washing gold, the laborers at Coloma did not know how to gather the treasures in their vicinity. The first one to find gold outside of the tail-race was Bigler, who was the hunter of the party, sent out by Marshall at least one day in every week to get venison, which was a very acceptable addition to unground wheat and salt salmon, the main articles of food sent from Sutter's Fort. Deer being numerous in the neighboring hills, it was not necessary that Bigler should go far for game; and more than once he managed, while hunting, to look at the banks of the river and find some of the precious metal. His report of his success stimulated others, and they too found gold at various places.

In regard to the beginning of gold washing as a regular occupation there is a conflict of testimony. Bigler says that the first men who, within the range of his observation, devoted themselves to placer mining were Willis Hudson and five others, all of Sam. Brannan's Mormon colony, whom he visited at Mormon Island, on the American River below Coloma, on the 12th of April. On that day, washing the gravel with pans and pan-like Indian baskets, they took out more than two ounces and a half

<sup>1</sup> In February, 1887, Mr. Hittell, under the title of "Reminiscences," printed a fuller article on the gold discovery in the "Overland Monthly," where Mr. Bigler's diary appeared in September, 1887, and

Mr. Smith's in February, 1888. The files of the same magazine contain many interesting and important contributions to the early history of California.—EDITOR.

(forty-one dollars) for each man. On the other hand, Isaac Humphrey, who had been a placer miner in Georgia, and who was the first person to use a rocker in the Sierra Nevada and to teach others there to use it, said that he arrived in Coloma on the 7th of March, and within a week commenced work with a rocker. We may explain the discrepancy between these two authorities by imagining that for some weeks Humphrey purposely avoided observation, as placer miners often do; or that in the interval of ten years between his first appear-

ceived at New Helvetia. Five weeks later the "Star" announced that its editor, E.C. Kemble, was about to take a trip into the country, and on his return would report his observations. He went to Coloma and either saw nothing or understood nothing of what he saw, for he preserved absolute silence in his paper about his trip.<sup>1</sup> On the 20th of May, after a number of men had left San Francisco for the mines, he came out with the opinion that the mines were a "sham," and that the people who had gone to them were "superlatively silly." The increasing



SAMUEL BRANNAN, IN THE REGALIA OF PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS. (FROM A PAINTING IN THE SOCIETY ROOMS.)

[Brannan was the energetic leader of a colony of Mormons who reached San Francisco in July, 1846, in the *Brooklyn* from New York. He was the founder of the "Star," a special number of which setting forth the resources of California was prepared in March, 1848, for circulation at the East. Brannan afterward apostatized from the Mormon faith.—EDITOR.]

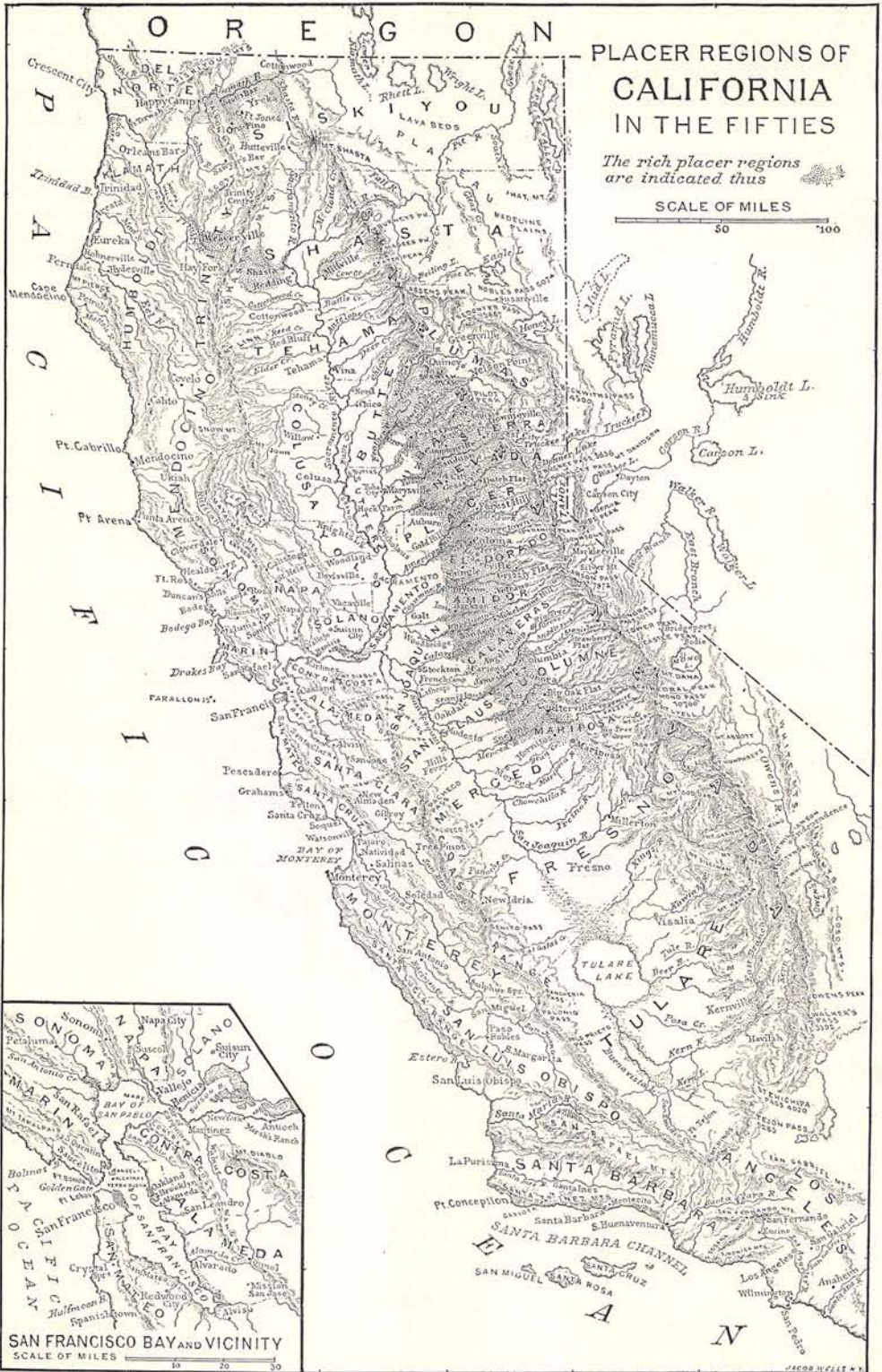
ance at Coloma and the publication of his reminiscences his memory misled him in the date.

In the spring of 1848 San Francisco, a village of about seven hundred inhabitants, had two newspapers, the "Californian" and the "California Star," both weeklies. The first printed mention of the gold discovery was a short paragraph in the former, under date of the 15th of March, stating that a gold mine had been found at Sutter's Mill, and that a package of the metal worth thirty dollars had been re-

production of the mines soon overwhelmed the doubters; and before the middle of June the whole territory resounded with the cry of "*gold!* GOLD!! GOLD!!!" as it was printed in one of the local newspapers. Nearly all the men hurried off to the mines. Workshops, stores, dwellings, wives, and even fields of ripe grain, were left for a time to take care of themselves.

In 1848 the gold hunters of the Sierra Ne-

<sup>1</sup> See article by Kemble in "Californiana" in the present number.





vada did not need a scientific education. The method of washing gold was then so simple, and they were so skillful in many kinds of industrial labor, that they learned it quickly. Capital, like scientific education and technical experience, was unnecessary to the early placer miner. With the savings of a week's work he could buy the pick, shovel, pan, and rocker which were his only necessary tools. As compared with other auriferous deposits of which we have definite knowledge, those of the Sierra Nevada were unequaled for the facility of working. They were not deep under ground, or scantily supplied with water, as in Australia and South Africa; nor in a land of tropical heat, as in Brazil; nor in a region of long and severe winters, as in Siberia. The deposits were on land belonging to the National Government, which, without charge, without official supervision, and without previous permit or survey, allowed every citizen to take all the gold from any claim held in accordance with the local regulations adopted by the miners of his district.

The first gold washing was done on the bars of the rivers, where the gravel was shallow, usually not more than two or three feet deep, and where prospecting was easy, and mining was prompt in its returns and liberal in its rewards. The gravel was rich if it yielded twenty-five cents to the pan; and in favorable situations a man could dig and wash out fifty to sixty pans in a day, while with a rocker he could do three times as much. But on the bars of the American, the Bear, and the Yuba rivers it was no uncommon event to obtain from one dollar to five dollars in a pan, and then the yield for a day's work was equal to a princely revenue.

When the rainy season began in the winter of 1848 the rivers rose and covered their bars, and the miners, compelled to hunt claims elsewhere, found them in ravines which were dry through nine months of the year. These were in many cases almost as rich as the bars. It was not uncommon to hear, on good authority, that this or that man had taken out \$1000 in a day, and occasionally \$5000 or more would reward the day's work. In 1849 the miners generally got \$16 a day or more, and when a claim would not yield that much it had no value.

The important gold producing localities of California may be divided into the regions of the Sierra Nevada, the Upper Sacramento, and the Klamath. The Sierra Nevada region comprises a strip about 30 miles wide, and 200 miles long from north to south, in the basins of the Feather, Yuba, Bear, American, Cosumne, Mokelumne, Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and Merced rivers between the elevations of 1000 and

5000 feet. In all these streams miners washed gold in 1848. This auriferous region is not only more extensive than any other in the State, but has produced ten times as much as all the others, and has had the richest bars, the richest ravines, the most remarkable river claims, and the largest beds of deep gravel, as well as the most productive quartz mines. It comprises the places where the gold was discovered by Marshall, where the sluice and the hydraulic processes were invented, and where the most notable improvements of modern times in gold-quartz machinery were first devised.

The mines of the Upper Sacramento are in Shasta County, and were known in 1848; those of Klamath are in Siskiyou and Trinity counties, and were opened in subsequent years. Outside of these three main regions gold has been found in paying quantities, but in relatively small aggregate amount in many isolated districts, including places in the basins of the San Joaquin, Fresno, and Kern rivers, on the eastern slope of Mount San Bernardino, and in the mountains of San Diego. Gold has also been found in the San Francisquito Cañon, about sixty miles northward from Los Angeles, where there was a little placer-washing at intervals through nine years before Marshall made his great discovery.

Most of the camps which have yielded gold abundantly are between 1500 and 3500 feet above the sea; a few are as high as 5000 feet, and a few as low as 300. The river-beds may have as much gold in the valleys as in the mountains, but it is only where there is a steep grade that the rich stratum on the bed-rock can be conveniently prospected and washed. With a large area of good auriferous gravel on the surface of the ground, open to everybody; with a method of mining that required neither capital nor trained skill; with a climate that permitted work in the open air throughout the year; and with a population which before the close of 1849 included at least 75,000 intelligent, enterprising, young, and strong men — with all these it might have been expected that California would, as she did, suddenly rise to great importance in the commerce and industry of the world.

The successful miners demanded provisions, tools, clothing, and many luxuries, for which they offered prices double, treble, and tenfold greater than those paid elsewhere. Sailing vessels went to Oregon, Mexico, South America, Australia, and Polynesia with gold dust to purchase supplies, and soon filled all the seaports of the Pacific with the contagion of excitement. The reports of the discovery, which began to reach the Atlantic States in September, 1848, commanded little credence there before January; but the news of the

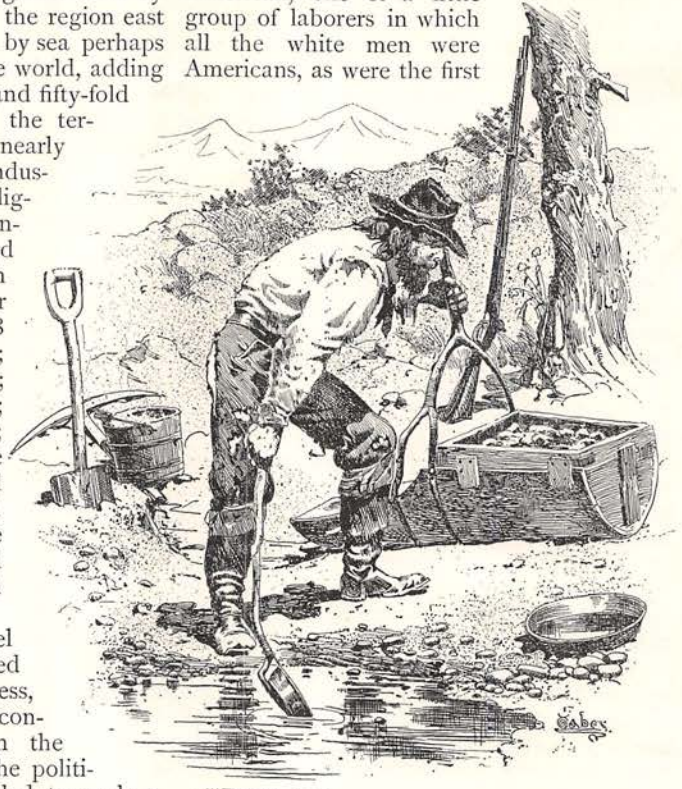
arrival of large amounts of gold at Mazatlan, Valparaiso, Panama, and New York in the latter part of the winter put an end to all doubt, and in the spring there was such a rush of peaceful migration as the world had never seen. In 1849, 25,000—according to one authority, 50,000—immigrants went by land, and 23,000 by sea from the region east of the Rocky Mountains, and by sea perhaps 40,000 from other parts of the world, adding twelve-fold to the population and fifty-fold to the productive capacity of the territory. The new-comers were nearly all young, intelligent, and industrious men. Fortunately the diggings were rich enough and extensive enough to give good reward to all of them, and to much larger numbers who came in later years. The gold yield of 1848 was estimated at \$5,000,000; that of 1849 at \$23,000,000; that of 1850 at \$50,000,000; that of 1853 at \$65,000,000; and then came the decline which has continued until the present time, when the yield is about \$12,000,000. In the last forty-one years the gold yield of California has been about \$1,200,000,000.

Gold mining was neither novel nor rare, but the unexampled combination of wonderful richness, highly favorable geographical conditions, high intelligence in the miners, and great freedom in the political institutions of California led to such a sudden rush of people, and such an immense production of gold, that the whole world was shaken. The older placers of Brazil and Siberia, and the later ones of Australia and South Africa, had a much smaller influence on general commerce and manufactures.

The impression on the public mind was rendered the more forcible by the fact that California had just been ceded by Mexico to the United States. The gold was discovered before the treaty of cession was signed, on the 2d of February, 1848; the wealth of the mines was known throughout the territory before the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged, on the 30th of May; and before the latter date the Government of the United States had made a contract with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company for a line of monthly steamers to ply between New York and San Francisco by way of Panama. The first steamers were ready for California before the people were; and thus the new dominion, the gold, the steamship line, and the great migration showed their com-

bined splendors at once to the astonished globe.

The discovery of the mines was an American achievement. It was the result of the American conquest, and of preparation for American immigrants. It was made by an American, one of a little group of laborers in which all the white men were Americans, as were the first



A PRIMITIVE OUTFIT. (AFTER A SKETCH FROM LIFE IN 1850, BY J. W. AUDUBON, IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS DAUGHTER, MISS M. R. AUDUBON.)

men who devoted themselves to mining. They also were Americans who subsequently invented the sluice and the hydraulic process of placer-washing, and who planned and constructed the great ditches, flumes, and dams that gave a distinctive character to the placer-mining of California.

Never in any other country has a change in the political dominion been followed so promptly by so marvelous an increase of wealth and population, of productive industry and general intelligence. Never did a province repay new masters more liberally for their trouble in its acquisition, nor did any other conquered territory ever receive greater benefit from conquest. The most notable instances in history of triumphant invasions rewarded with great sums of precious metal were those of Babylonia by Cyrus, of Persia by Alexander, of Mexico by Cortez, and of Peru by

Pizarro — all populous empires with wealth accumulated through centuries of prosperity. Yet not one of them yielded to its conquerors, within a generation, so much treasure as did desolate California to the Americans. Byron lamented that he did not live in the day "when Brutus made the dagger's edge surpass the conqueror's sword in bearing fame away." The pioneers of California can congratulate themselves that they have seen the day when the American made the shovel's blade surpass the conqueror's sword in bearing gold away.

Let us now consider the consequences of the discovery. First, as to the men at Coloma in January, 1848, Marshall was not enriched. His lumber was soon in demand at \$500 a thousand feet of board measure, or twenty-fold more than he had expected when he commenced his work; but not many months elapsed before all the good timber trees near Coloma had been cut down by the miners, and then the mill had to stop. He turned his attention to mining, but was not successful. When he had money he did not know how to keep it. When he had a good claim he did not stick to it. When friends tried to help him he frequently refused their offers with a snarl. He imagined offenses where none were intended. He complained of plots against his life in a community where nearly everybody acknowledged obligation to him. He was irritated by the superior popularity and prosperity of Sutter, by the facts that to Sutter the main credit of the gold discovery was given by many newspapers and influential citizens, and that, partly under the influence of that idea, a pension of \$250 a month was given to Sutter in 1870, while the true discoverer received nothing. After the publication of Marshall's biography in 1870, the legislature perceived the injustice of its exclusive favor to Sutter, and in the course of six years it gave \$9600 as pension to Marshall, but left him to spend the last eight years of his life in poverty and privation. In 1885, at the age of seventy-three, he died while alone in a solitary cabin which he occupied in company with another aged and indigent pioneer miner. He was buried at Coloma in sight of the place where he discovered the gold. His figure, in colossal bronze, stands over his grave.

Sutter fared better than Marshall, but to him, too, the gold discovery proved disastrous. Foreseeing the American conquest, he did all he could to favor the Americans and the American Government. He was liberal in his entertainment of the Wilkes and Frémont expeditions. He gave generous aid to needy American immigrants when they reached his fort from their exhausting journey across the desert. Notwithstanding his oath of allegiance

to Mexico, he assisted the Bear Flag insurgents as well as the American forces after the Stars and Stripes had been raised. When the gold hunters arrived at New Helvetia on their way to the mines many of them obtained undeserved assistance and trust from him. So long as he had anything he was open-handed. He delighted in being a benefactor, and was spoken of as a man of princely generosity.

He had two land grants from Mexico, one of 48,000 and the other of 93,000 acres. The first was finally confirmed to him in two tracts, one of 8800 acres south of the American River, including the site of Sacramento City, and the other of about 39,000 acres north of the American River. This estate was worth millions above all the large sums that he was compelled to spend in defending it against the law officers of the United States and against squatters; but he managed it badly, and within twenty years he had lost everything. The larger grant was rejected, though it was entitled to confirmation under the proclamation issued, in the name and under the authority of the National Government, by Commodore Sloat when he took possession of California. The promise, made when it was important to conciliate the Spanish Californians, was broken when it became important to conciliate land-thieving squatters.

Sutter's popularity with the pioneers was so great that when he had lost all his property the legislature came to his aid with a pension of \$3,000 a year, which sum was paid for six years; and it would perhaps have been continued till his death if he had not left the State in order to demand justice from Congress for the spoliation of his property. But he did not possess the same popularity and influence in the Eastern States as in California. He spent winters of vain solicitation at Washington, and there he died on the 18th of June, 1880, at the age of seventy-seven years.

His grave is at Litiz, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where he had made his home.

Of the men at Coloma with Marshall none became rich. Perhaps the most successful miner among them was a carpenter named Scott, and twenty years after the discovery he was working by the day. He dug much gold, but could not save it. He used to tell that, with some partners, he had a claim in which they were mak-



MARSHALL MONUMENT AT COLOMA. (ERECTED IN 1889 BY THE SOCIETY OF THE NATIVE SONS OF THE GOLDEN WEST.)



MR. GOLIGHTLY BOUND FOR CALIFORNIA. (FROM A PRINT PUBLISHED BY A. DONNELLY, 1849.)

ing \$300 each every day, when they were told of another ravine where the claims yielded \$700. They went to the other diggings, where they found that all the good ground was occupied, so they returned to their old claim only to find that occupied too. He never found anything so good elsewhere. Henry W. Bigler, Azariah Smith, and P. L. Wimmer and wife, the only survivors of the Coloma party, are not known as rich men. Bigler resides in St. George, Utah; Smith in Manti, Utah; and Wimmer in San Diego, California.

For California the main results of the discovery have been the sudden changes from a Spanish-speaking to an English-speaking community; from popular ignorance to high intelligence; from pasturage, first to mining, and then to tillage, as the occupation of most of the people; from a population of less than 10,000 to more than 1,200,000; and from isolation to frequent, cheap, and convenient communication with all civilized countries. The State has become one of the most noted gardens, pleasure grounds, and sanitariums of the world; and San Francisco is one of the most intellectual and brilliant, and in many respects

one of the most interesting, of cities. To the United States the Californian gold discovery gave a vast increase of the national wealth; great attractiveness for immigration from Europe; a strong stimulus to shipping; the development of the mineral wealth of Nevada, Idaho, and Utah; and the vast railroad system west of the Mississippi.

But Marshall's find did not limit its great influences to our continent. It aroused and stimulated industrial activity in all the leading nations. It profoundly agitated all the countries of South America. It shook Europe and Asia. It caused the first large migration of the Chinese across the Pacific. It opened Japan to the traffic of Christendom. It threw a belt of steam around the globe. It educated Har- graves, and taught him where to find and how to open up the gold deposits of Australia. It built the Panama railroad. It brought the Pacific Ocean within the domain of active commerce. Directly and indirectly it added \$3,500,000,000 to the stock of the precious metals, and by giving the distribution of this vast sum to the English-speaking nations added much to their great industrial and intellectual influence.

John S. Hittell.



THE SONG OF THE SIRENS.  
(FROM A DRAWING BY DOYLE, PUBLISHED IN "PUNCH.")