

# Records of a California family; journals and letters of Lewis C. Gunn and Elizabeth Le Breton Gunn

RECORDS OF A CALIFORNIA FAMILY

SONORA *January 1852*

RECORDS OF A CALIFORNIA FAMILY

Journals and Letters OF LEWIS C. GUNN AND ELIZABETH LE BRETON GUNN

*Edited by* ANNA LEE MARSTON

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA MCMXXVIII

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## **FOREWORD**

THIS record of my parents' journeys to California and of their life there in the early days was prepared for my grandchildren. Friends who have found it of human interest, and of value for its account of conditions in California in the fifties, have urged me to give it to a larger circle of readers. Because the changes from the original journal and letters have been few and unimportant, the narrative is simple and intimate; I trust it will be followed only by those to whom such scenes are attractive. It is preceded by a brief family history, written for my children and for any reader who may wish to know more of the background of the family whose everyday doings the book depicts. I have also added some of my own recollections of early days and a brief record of the more important events of later years. My daughters have given me much valuable aid in the final preparation for the press.

ANNA LEE MARSTON

*October, 1928*

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## **FAMILY HISTORY**

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## **FAMILY HISTORY**

MY father's ancestors belonged to the Clan Gunn, of the County of Caithness on the northeast coast  
of Scotland. Their Highland name, Clan Guinness, signifies sharp and fierce. As the coat of arms  
bears a galley of three masts, and the crest a right arm wielding a broadsword, it seems probable

that many of these forbears of the fifteenth century were pirates and border robbers, although the legend may be true that some of them lived in castles.

Our history in America begins with the coming of my father's grandmother, Sarah Gunn, and her children to New York City in the latter part of the eighteenth century. She was a woman of strong character, who made great efforts for the education of her sons, being unwilling to return to Scotland to claim an estate which was theirs by inheritance. Her eldest son, Alexander, was my father's father.

Alexander Gunn (1785-1829) was graduated from Columbia College in 1805, studied theology at Princeton, and became pastor of the Bloomingdale Dutch Reformed 4 Church, which remained his only charge for the twenty-one years of his ministry. In 1800 the town of New York extended from the Battery to City Hall Square. Above Chambers Street were a few outlying villages of which Bloomingdale was one--"a straggling hamlet built along both sides of the road of the same name, and so called because it lay in a valley between banks fertile and flower-strewn." This valley was the region now between 38th and 68th Streets, and west of Eighth Avenue. One of the Dutch settlers had built a small wooden house of worship on his own land, and it was to this church that the Rev. Alexander Gunn came. During his pastorate a stone building was erected, which stood for over eighty years on 68th Street near Broadway.

Alexander Gunn was married in 1808 to Sarah Nichols, who was of Scotch-Irish origin. Her sister was the mother of Dr. John Torrey, the eminent botanist. Because of my grandfather's interest in education, his sons received scholarships in Columbia College. The eldest, also named Alexander, became a prominent physician of New York City.

My father, Lewis Carstairs Gunn, was born November 26, 1813, at Bloomingdale. He remembered driving with his father into the city when a child, and being told about various churches which they passed. When they came to the theatre, he asked, "Whose church is that, father?" and was told, "The devil's church, my son"--a reply which we can understand when we read my grandfather's *Notes on Theology*, a volume written by his own hand, which we possess.

At the age of thirteen my father entered Columbia College and was graduated at seventeen. Later he spent one year at Princeton, but, on account of a throat affection, he gave up his studies for the ministry and taught school. Just where he taught, or how long, I do not know, but in 1837-1838 he was living in Philadelphia, where he became associated with the anti-slavery leaders and joined in their efforts with great interest. It was there that he first met my mother, Elizabeth Le Breton Stickney, who had come from her home in Newburyport to visit Quaker friends named Lewis. He was then a partner in a printing business; and the firm of Merrihew & Gunn printed the first edition of Whittier's poems, which was published in that year by Joseph Healey, a Quaker. All of their names appear in the copy which I possess.

Another very interesting book printed by Merrihew & Gunn is the *History of Pennsylvania Hall* . This hall had been erected "in order that the citizens of Philadelphia should possess a building in which the principles of Liberty and the Equality of Civil Rights could be discussed, and the evils of Slavery fearlessly portrayed." It was opened on May 14, 1838, and dedicated to "Virtue, Liberty, and Independence." The exercises continued for three days. Many orations were delivered: one on *Antislavery* by David Paul Brown, another on *Abolition* , in much stronger phraseology, by William Lloyd Garrison, several on *Temperance* and the *Rights of the Indians* , and one by my father on the *Right of Free Discussion* . A poem was written for the occasion by Whittier.

On the third day several women took part. During the speech of Angelina Grimke Weld, the daughter of a slave-holding family of South Carolina, the meeting was frequently interrupted by the throwing of stones against the windows and by noises in the street, showing the gathering to be of a disorderly mob. Other addresses were made by Lucretia Mott, Sarah Grimke, Abby Kelly, Sarah Smith of New York, and Maria Chapman of Boston; and, in the words of the *History* , "a more dignified, calm, and intrepid body of persons never assembled." When they adjourned, late in the afternoon, to find the street made almost impassable by the mob, "these American women passed through the whole without manifesting any sign of fear, as if conscious of the protecting care of the God of the oppressed." In the evening the mob took possession of the building, and the hall, which had been erected at a cost of \$40,000, was completely destroyed. The majority of the stockholders

were mechanics and workingmen and females.” I have written so much of this event to show the interests and activities of my father at the age of twenty-five.

On September 30, 1839, my parents were married in Newburyport and returned to make their home in Philadelphia. The following year my mother's mother also moved to Philadelphia, and between May, 1840 and May, 1841, they lived with her.

My maternal grandmother's place in the family was so important that I feel moved to tell what I know about her.

Her father was Peter Le Breton, a native of the city of Nantes, France. As a young man he visited Newburyport on the business of an uncle who was a sugar-planter of the West Indies. He became interested in Elizabeth Pearson and returned the following year, 1776, to marry her and make his home in Newburyport. He was called Captain, and owned some vessels in trade with the West Indies and France. A Frenchman and a Roman Catholic, he seems to have conformed to the customs and religious life of his 7 neighbors, and to have been a respected citizen, noted for his liberality to the poor. An altar, found after his death in a small room to which he kept the key, showed that he had not forsaken the church of his childhood.

He had two children, Peter and Elizabeth. Elizabeth, my grandmother, was born in 1781. Her exquisite handwriting, her love of reading, and her excellent business capacity show that her education was good for that day. She also had instruction in music and dancing. Her father indulged her in beautiful clothes, and she seems to have had a carefree girlhood. In 1805 she married Captain David Stickney, who was of English stock. At some time in his earlier life he must have learned the silversmith's trade, for we have in the family a ladle made by him as a wedding gift for his wife. We have also a beautiful miniature of him, painted in London, which he brought to her after one of his voyages. He continued to follow the sea, and during the War of 1812 his ship was taken by the British, and he, with his crew, was confined for a time at Halifax. I think his health suffered from this experience, although he lived until 1820 and was a merchant in Newburyport.

After her husband's death, my grandmother took a serious view of life and of her responsibilities as a Christian woman and the mother of a family. During my mother's childhood her home was next the quaint and famous house of "Lord Timothy Dexter"; it was large and furnished with taste and elegance, as shown by furniture and dishes which we possess. There were several servants and, judging from the recipes in the family cookbook, the food was both abundant and rich. The children had every care and comfort but their up-bringing was without frivolity. The 8 preaching of that day was serious, and my grandmother was influenced to a very strict observance of the Sabbath, which began at sundown on Saturday. Besides attending the long church services, the children were taught the catechism and hymns at home, and no books except religious biographies and poetry were allowed. But they were given every advantage of education available at the time. After attending the school in Newburyport, the daughters were sent to the boarding-school at Ipswich in which Mary Lyon was a teacher. Hannah, who was the most studious, became proficient in French, Latin and Greek. The son Peter went to Dartmouth and later studied medicine. He practiced for many years in Springfield, Massachusetts.

As a result of the early work of the American Board in India, the support of children in the mission schools was urged, and my grandmother adopted a boy who received the name of her husband, David Stickney. He grew up to be a native preacher of standing and usefulness. We have many letters which he wrote to his "adopted mother."

As a little child my mother was very delicate, and she remembered hearing the physician tell her mother not to be too strict with her as she would probably not live to grow up. Strangely enough she attained the age of ninety-five, having outlived all her mother's children. She was the oldest of the four children, and was, until grown, called by her full name, Elizabeth Le Breton, as were her sisters, Hannah Lee and Mary Thurston, and her brother Peter Le Breton.

In the Newburyport church the family pew was next that of my husband's grandfather, Judge Marston. One of my mother's childish memories was of the beautiful plumes

*Rev. Alexander Gunn 1785-1829*

9 upon Mrs. Marston's bonnet; another was of her mother and Judge Marston discussing the sermon as they walked home together.

When the children were grown, about 1828, my grandmother married the Rev. Henry C. Wright, a well-known lecturer who traveled extensively in this country and Europe, speaking on humanitarian subjects. His long absences were agreeable to his stepchildren, and the recurring entry in their mother's diary, "Were glad to see Mr. W. who came unexpectedly for several days," seems rather perfunctory.

When my grandmother and aunts moved to Philadelphia in 1840, and my parents joined them, the young people of the household must have formed an interesting group. They were full of enthusiasm, and proud to be associated with some of the remarkable people active in the reform movements of that time. They had many friends among the Quakers, whose earnestness in the cause of abolition was such a contrast to the quiet of their worship. Whittier they had known well in Newburyport, and he was a frequent visitor in the new home. My grandmother became a regular attendant at Meeting, and her daughters felt rewarded when they accompanied her, if Lucretia Mott were "moved to speak." Hannah and Mary were teaching school, and Peter was in the medical college; my father was probably still in the printing business.

My grandmother also was devoted to the antislavery cause. She spent much time visiting among the poor colored people of Philadelphia, trying to teach them to read and to become thrifty. A very dear friend was a cultivated colored woman, Sarah Douglas, who was the treasurer of the 10 Woman's Antislavery Society. From scattered pages of my grandmother's journal that have been preserved, I have chosen a few entries to show some of her many interests:

*November 16, 1840* . This is Thanksgiving Day in our good old Massachusetts, and we concluded to unite with those in that state by keeping the day as near according to the New England custom as we could. We had no meeting to go to, but we had what is usually the Thanksgiving dinner, roast turkey and plum pudding.

*May 6, 1841* . This afternoon Father brought home with him William Lloyd Garrison and N. P. Rogers from New Hampshire, come on to attend the State Antislavery meeting here. Mr. G. and Rogers are men one can love and esteem. I was gratified to have them here, and I had the pleasure and honor of walking with W. L. G. arm in arm to the meeting.

*July 24, 1841* . Saturday evening Tamezen Hervey came from Pottsville to stay a few days on her way home to Newburyport. Had a long conversation Sabbath evening about churches. She was a little out of temper, Father talked a good deal, but we could none of us convince her that churches erred with regard to the colored people and some other things.

*July 26, 1841* . While Tamezen, H. Lee, and I sat in the parlor, Sarah Douglas called. We were very glad to see her. Mary Thurston came in later and kissed her. We supposed that Tam. was quite shocked-her prejudices are very strong against color.

*August 28, 1841* . I am reading Byron's works and an account of his life. It is lamentable that he was not better educated, or, I would say, it is to be regretted that he had not a pious mother-he would have been an altogether different character.

*September 9, 1841* . I have got through reading Byron, and *Rural Life in England* , by Howitt, and now I am reading some of Peter's medical books, one on the Great Plague or "Black Death" so called, which raged in the fourteenth century, when one quarter of the population of the old world was swept away in four years. Dr. Hecker's account is very interesting; he gives "an authentic account of one of the greatest natural calamities that ever afflicted the human race."

*September 28, 1841* . This afternoon Hannah, Mary and myself went to see Mrs. Forrest. She played on the harp for us, had always played from her youth. After she had played and sung for some time she asked H. and M. to dance. They pled they did not know how, but Mother did. Nothing would do, but I must attempt it; so by persuasion and entreaty, I at last yielded and danced. I thought it very amusing for an old lady of seventy to be playing for another old one of sixty to dance. She



seemed to enjoy our visit very much. As she was French, and I half French, and H. able to talk French, it made our talk very agreeable. She speaks very poor English.

*January 19, 1842* . Last Sabbath H. and M. attended meeting at the Free Church. Mr. Holester has become a Non-resistant and preached a true reform sermon. . .

In the spring of 1841 my father had a serious illness, being confined for many weeks with fever and a severe cough. It was feared that he would develop "consumption," from which his mother had died. He decided to give up his business and go west. Accordingly on May 3, 1841, my parents left Philadelphia and traveled over a corduroy road to Ohio, a journey of several days. They settled in Wheelersburg, where he bought a small farm and they lived in a log cabin. I think before Father went to Philadelphia he must have had some experience as an apothecary; at any rate, there being much sickness that summer, he dispensed drugs to his neighbors and was so successful that he decided as soon as he could afford it to attend medical lectures in either Cincinnati or Philadelphia.

On August 31, 1841, my eldest brother was born, and my mother's letter to her mother tells what wonderfully good care both she and her baby had from my father. The boy was named Lewis Douglas, the second name for the colored friend in Philadelphia, and as the Lewis was soon dropped, this was the only name by which he was known.

The farming venture did not prove successful and they must have remained less than two years in Ohio, as my brother Chester was born in Philadelphia, September 25, 1843. After their return my father taught school for several years. I remember his pleasure, when an old man, on receiving letters from some of the pupils of this time. I believe that he also took the course of medical lectures, though he did not practice medicine until the first year in California.

The last pages of my grandmother's journal for 1844 revealed a chapter in my parents' life which they had never told to us. About this time they became deeply interested in the Second Coming of Christ, which was then being preached with great fervor and certainty. They became so convinced that my grandmother wrote, "Lewis has given up his school, which was to be a profitable one, and he and Elizabeth are going about trying to warn sinners, and are giving of their substance to the

poor. They have sold and given away almost everything they had in the house.” She was much grieved over this, and says later, “We had indulged in some unpleasant feelings”; but after the Great Day had passed, and my parents had realized their mistake, she invited them with their two little boys to visit her until they could refurnish their home and my father resume his teaching. I do not remember that in later life they ever talked about the Second Advent.

My grandmother's journal ends in 1844 and there is no record of the next few years. My sister Sarah was born in 13 February, 1846, and Lizzie in June, 1848. In 1849 my father came to California; and from his journal, kept while crossing Mexico on horseback, and from my mother's letters written on her voyage on the ship *Bengal* in 1851, and the letters from Sonora to her mother, we have the story of the years that followed.

My grandmother died in January, 1868, at the age of eighty-seven. During all the years she sent frequent letters to her grandchildren, many of which have been preserved. From the first little notes, written to them when they were babies, to the last of these, which Douglas received in 1864, they are full of her love for them. All are penned in the same exquisitely delicate hand. She was a remarkably strong character, earnest and devout in her daily life, just and generous in her treatment of others.

*Elizabeth Le Breton Wright to Douglas*

PHILADELPHIA, July 1, 1845

TO MY DEAR DOUGLAS GUNN:

I thought my precious one, that I would write you a little letter, seeing you are going away to visit your Uncle and Aunt Long, and give you a little advice. First, then, I want you to obey your dear mother, and your Uncle and Aunt Long that they may be able to say, you are one of their best nephews. You must be very careful not to fret and trouble little Chessey, but try to take care of him, and so help your mother, and I shall be much pleased when you return to hear that Douglas has been a good boy. I send you a few peppermints. Some of them are for you and Chessey, the others

you are to give as a present from yourself to your Aunt Long, to let her see you remember her. You will likewise say to your Uncle and Aunt Long that your Mama Wright sends her regards to them, and when they come to Philadelphia will be happy to see them at her house.

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Now, my dear boy, I wish you to have a pleasant time running about in the beautiful green grass and looking at the flowers and butterflies, and smelling the delightful sweet air of the country. I shall hope to see you and dear little Chessey with red cheeks, when you return, and likewise happy faces.

Your affectionate MAMA WRIGHT

*E. Le B. W. to Douglas*

PHILADELPHIA, November 15, 1862

MY DEAR DOUGLAS:

I received your kind letter and was pleased to hear from you. When I look back and think of you and Chester, two little boys, loving and enjoying each other so well, it seems almost like a dream. I cannot think of you as grown-up young men, tho I must believe that the years do not stand still, but are floating us along the stream of life. Now, my dear Son, you have arrived at Manhood, you are forming a character which will last, not only while in this life, but will follow you into eternity. My prayer is that you may be so happy as to act well your part while here, so as to meet the approbation of your Heavenly Father hereafter. . . . but do not think I am going to preach you a sermon, I am only telling you the feelings of my heart for you and Chessie . . .

This is a wicked war, and I fear it will ruin our beloved country. The only good that is to come out of it, is the hope of the emancipation of the poor slaves, one and all of them. We hear that the rebels are sending the negroes they have off--far away. We were much alarmed at one time when news came that the rebel army was in Pennsylvania. We began to pack up our most valuable

things, and then waited for news. When it came, it was that they were driven back, but now we have some fear, but trust we shall be delivered out of the hand of our enemies. . . . I am sure that when I was as young as you, I thought forty years to live was a great while, but now eighty years have passed and gone, it still seems “short and few,” as the old Patriarch said, “have been the days of my pilgrimage.” You mentioned Fremont in your letter. I am in no ways interested in the man, only as I wish well to every one, and if he has 15 done wrong, I hope he will *repent* , and do *better* . He is thought much of in some places, and by many people. No doubt he is a good Warrior and for that, if nothing more, he is applauded, and I believe much beloved. He should be commended for what he has done that is good. He endured great suffering passing over such mountains as he did, to find the great path, as it is called, and he goes by the name of the great Path Finder. But I have no more to say about him. I never saw him. I presume he does not come this way.

From your ever affectionate Grandmother, E. LE B. W.

The following quotation is from a letter of my grandmother's to my father in California, written when he was greatly discouraged, probably in 1853:

But never mind, my dear Lewis, “the battle is not to the strong” and a man's happiness does not consist in the abundance that he possesses. If you can have a competency, and a little for the poor, and be able to educate the children, that is enough.

*David Stickney 1774-1820*

A page of a letter written by Mrs. Elizabeth Le B. Wright when she was eighty years old.

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THE OVERLAND JOURNEY MARCH TO AUGUST, 1849

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**THE OVERLAND JOURNEY MARCH TO AUGUST, 1849**

MY father, Lewis C. Gunn, was one of a company that left Philadelphia on March 10, 1849, for California. They went to New Orleans and there took a steamboat for Brazos, Texas. Crossing the Rio Grande to Matamoras, Mexico, they obtained horses and traveled in a general southwesterly direction through the central part of Mexico to Mazatlan, whence they sailed to San Francisco.

The horseback journey would have been about six hundred miles in a straight line but became nearly twice as long on account of their circuitous route. My father sometimes showed us children the little compass which had guided the company over two high mountain ranges, through deserts, and across rivers. They were sometimes in danger from hostile Indians, and as far as Durango they traveled in the wake of Asiatic cholera, which prevailed in the Southern States and Mexico. On arriving in San Francisco, August 7, 1849, my father went immediately to the mines near a camp which afterward became the town of Sonora.

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The journal which he kept on this overland journey, and during the first year in Jamestown and Sonora, is in a little leather-covered book, in such minute handwriting that I used a magnifying glass for deciphering part of it. It does not include an account of the trip from Philadelphia to New Orleans, which was probably made by stage-coach and by the Ohio and Mississippi river boats. For the convenience of the reader I append a condensed itinerary with dates.

#### ROUTE OF THE JOURNEY FROM NEW ORLEANS TO SAN FRANCISCO

*April 1* . Left New Orleans on steamer.

*April 4* . Landed at Brazos on Texas side of Rio Grande.

*April 5*. *Camped* at Brownsville to become acclimated.

*April 19*. *Crossed* Rio Grande and camped near Matamoras.

*April 30* . Camped near Reynosa, on bank of Rio Grande. Traveled southwest toward mountains, crossing branch of Rio San Juan.

*May 11* . Reached Catadarita, small mountain town about eighteen miles from Monterrey.

*May 12*. *Monterrey* , in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Through Encanado Pass, southwest to

*May 19* . Saltillo.

*May 23* . Parras. By mistake S.E. to Zacatecas. Across desert to

*June 5* . Choro. Through grazing country to

*June 12*. *Durango* . Over mountains, via San Sebastian and Copala (region of silver mines) to Mazatlan.

*June 21* . Arrived at Mazatlan on Coast.

*August 7*. Arrived at San Francisco, California.

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#### DAILY JOURNAL OF LEWIS C. GUNN

*April 1, 1849* . Left New Orleans at 10 o'clock A.M. on steamer *Globe* . Delightful day. Passing down between New Orleans and Algiers the scene was quite imposing, the Government houses and other public and private buildings having a commanding position on either side of the river. As soon as we passed the limits of the city, the plantations were very large and beautiful and continued so for about thirty miles. The river below New Orleans and near its mouth is not so wide by one third as it is above the city. Moreover the water has not risen so high, for the banks have not been overflowed. There appears to be a natural levee formed by the river all along the west bank. Thirty or forty miles below, the canebrakes and uncultivated ground commence, and increase on both banks to the mouth, which is one hundred miles below New Orleans. Reached there about 7 o'clock

P.M. There took a pilot to carry us across the bar, which was done in about twenty minutes. There are three lighthouses, one at the west and two at the south. Pilot town is on the east side, telegraph on west. After crossing the bar, we rode out immediately into the Gulf of Mexico. Along the shore we could see orange groves with green and heavy foliage. Very calm. Slept well on the upper deck.

*April 2* . Woke up and found ourselves out of sight of land, traversing the deep blue sea. Still calm and beautiful; delightful sleeping on upper deck.

*April 3* . Still out of sight of land; the sea quite rough and wind rising. Toward night very rough and nearly all hands seasick.

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*April 4, Wednesday* . Very rough all night, and quite chilly. About noon reached Brazos de Santiago, which means the Arms of St. James. This is a miserable little collection of huts on the beach, with a wrecked steamboat for a hotel. It is simply a landing for the Gulf steamboats which are too large or too heavily loaded to cross the bar at the mouth of the Rio Grande. The cholera is now raging here, and has swept off, so far as we can learn, about one-fourth of the inhabitants. The population previously was about seven hundred. Here they catch the large turtles which crawl up on the beach. Fare from New Orleans to this place was twenty dollars cabin, and ten dollars deck passage. Saddles, tools and trunks were taken free, barrels and boxes of provisions being charged one dollar per barrel, and the wagon twelve dollars.

Here our company, except five passengers took deck passage, price three dollars, for Brownsville, on board the steamer *Col. Hunt* . Freight was charged one dollar per barrel and five dollars for the wagon.

Four others and myself took our guns, loaded them, left our baggage in charge of the other members of the company, and started on foot for Brownsville. We passed along the beach which is good hard sand, excellent walking, for about five miles, when we came to an inlet of the gulf, across which is a rough bridge, and on the other side a toll-house, the last in the United States. Toll five cents for a foot passenger. Got a drink of water, muddy enough, brought five miles from the Rio Grande;

walked four miles farther and came to a village at the mouth of the river. Here we got supper at the bakery for fifty cents each. We had strong tea, fried bacon and eggs, roast beef and home-made bread. Bought two small loaves of bread for ten cents each, and started about 8 o'clock P.M. on our journey again. We made about five miles on a road without a house, along the bank of the Rio Grande, and then lay down in a small hollow beside the road, without bed except the earth, and without covering except the canopy of heaven. The earth now is very dry, it being just at the close of the dry season, although the dews at night are very heavy. The soil is very rich alluvial, a compound of sand and clay; what the substratum I cannot say. One of us lay awake to keep guard, each one having his gun at his side or under his head, to keep the locks dry and yet to be ready for use at a moment's warning. I agreed to watch for two hours, but during the second watch I could not sleep, so we had a double guard.

*April 5* . At half past two A.M. we left our soft bed, to make the first ten miles before day. Passed several ranches, about two hundred yards back from the road. As we passed, due notice was given by some half dozen or more curs, which kept up a barking sufficient to wake all the inmates. Saw a light directly ahead, which appeared to be at a great distance, but moving. In fifteen minutes the same light was at an angle of forty-five degrees, and in fifteen more it was almost at our left. It proved to be a steamboat, and the change in position was owing to the tortuosity of the river. It is so winding that a steamboat passes over a hundred miles in reaching a point thirty-five miles distant; nay, it will take wood at one end of a pile at night, sail all night, and take wood the next morning at the other end of the pile!

At daybreak we made a short stop on the river bank and attempted to eat some of our bread, but it was so sour that we threw it away, expecting to buy a breakfast at some rancho. But herein we were disappointed; we continued to walk and walk and walk until half past one o'clock when we reached Brownsville. The last fifteen miles were made entirely without water. We were quite used up, parched with thirst, weak from fasting and previous seasickness, and overpowered with the heat of the sun. If we had known the distance, we should have stopped and rested, but hope buoyed us up, for we were expecting every five minutes to reach water and some rancho where we could buy food. At several ranches which we passed we inquired for food, but they had none, or said so; this



be it remembered is on the Texas side of the river. The only wood that grows here is the mesquite, which is scrubby, somewhat like our thorn locust. It is a very hard wood and though small, makes excellent fuel. At one rancho they had just killed an ox. The skin was stretched to dry about six inches above the ground by pegs driven in, and the meat, cut in thin slices, was hung under the shed to dry. Here it dries without spoiling.

When we arrived at Brownsville, we stopped at the market-house, where there is a small refectory, and for twenty-five cents each got a very good dinner of coffee, bread and beefsteak. We then went on board the *Frankland*, an old steamboat used as a hotel, and lay down on the upper deck to rest. About five o'clock we went to the quartermaster and learned about the cholera and other matters of interest to us. The distance we walked today was from twenty-five to twenty-eight miles.

*April 6*. Lodged last night in cabin of the *Frankland*, but did not sleep; the fleas were as numerous as locusts in

A page of the journal of Lewis C. Gunn, April 5, 1849.

25 Egypt and as ravenous as if they had been starved for a month. Beds cost us fifty cents each. One of our party, when paying the landlady, asked if there was an extra charge for the fleas. She simply said, "Why, you were not troubled with any fleas, were you?" The cholera has been very bad here and at Matamoras, on the opposite side of the river, taking off nearly one-fourth of the population. On its appearance, two months since, the people were much frightened and ran away from the sick, so that many no doubt died that with proper attention might have recovered. It has now almost entirely subsided, but appears to be moving northward, and it is raging in the upper towns along the river. It was up there that Col. Webb's party were taken sick and many of them died. We shall remain here till the other parties arrive; this will give us a chance to be somewhat acclimated.

*Noon*. Our party from the Brazos has just come in. We beat them on foot by forty-eight hours. The steamboat met with several delays, having broken a wheel, etc. The Boston company and ours have encamped on the bank of the river, just above Brownsville, thus saving expense, and inuring us

by degrees to hardship. Two men keep guard from 7 to 10, two from 10 to 1, and two from 1 to 4, these being furnished by the two companies jointly.

*April 7* . Spent the day overhauling our baggage and rearranging matters. We are in the very worst part of the world as respects population. The Texans collected along the frontier, here at least, are universally represented to be cut-throats and robbers, who live by smuggling, gambling and the like. We have been warned to have nothing to say to the villagers, and especially not to be Out after night, 26 as they will dirk a man or lasso him for a dollar. A man was killed last night on the Mexican side by one of the Texans. He was supposed to have money and was walking alone. The murderer is known, but nothing will be done with him. Another man was murdered two or three nights ago, because he had two or three hundred dollars. It becomes us "Californians," who are known all of us to have some money, to be very careful.

*April 8, Sunday* . No Sunday in Brownsville; it is as heathenish a place as can be found in Africa or Asia. Some of us went to Matamoras, where, being Catholics, they observe Sunday morning for church and the afternoon for amusements, one of which is cock-fighting.

Horses here cost from seven to eighteen dollars. As many of them have been stolen, we have to have a bill of sale before an Alcalde. The mode of riding here is so different that Americans are apt to be thrown off when trying horses.

*April 13* . We are having a norther which has lasted thirty-six hours. One tent blew down. Another parry arrived tonight. Beef here is three to four cents a pound, bread is the same price as in the States. We have had gentlemanly treatment by custom's officer, and got our passports signed.

*April 19* . Have moved across river and are encamped near Fort Paredos. Find we have too much baggage.

*April 20* . Today is a day of great rejoicing in Matamoras. All the bells are ringing, the military are out, salutes are fired, and bands of music are playing, on account of the recent reduction of the

tariff, which is publicly proclaimed today from the plaza. Rice is now admitted at a duty of seventy-five cents per hundred pounds. Wagons are subject 27

#### The Overland Journey 1849

28 to a duty of sixty dollars, harness twenty dollars or thereabouts for a common six-horse team. Such things could be bought cheaper in Matamoras than to purchase them in the United States and then pay freight and duty. The freight on one of our wagons from Pittsburgh was about twenty dollars.

*April 25* . Left Matamoras today at half past one, and after making a very slow march for nine short miles (six English miles), we reached the Rancho Guallupe about sunset. Here we encamped for the night. There is a lake here furnishing very good water. The Alcalde also supplied us with wood for twelve and one-half cents, sufficient for twenty-seven men, night and morning. We also procured com for a dollar a bushel, and com husks for the mules at six and one-fourth cents for three armfuls. Milk was six and one-fourth cents a quart.

The reason for our slow progress was that we had only four indifferent mules to our wagon which was loaded with about 2600 pounds. Every wagon ought to have six good mules for such a load.

*April 26* . Provided two more mules for our wagon and left at about nine this morning. Team now works pretty well. Just as we left, one of our men in a passion killed his horse. The horse could not be ridden--he would lie down or fall back on his haunches. The man was advised not to buy him, but he boasted of his horsemanship and thought he could break the animal. Let me caution everyone against buying any animals not thoroughly broken. Good mules are the best, as they are more easily kept, endure more fatigue, and do not require shoeing.

Went about twenty-four miles today, road slightly ascending 29 all day. The one team of six mules got along pretty well, but the team of four was quite worn Out. Found no water except at a little pond by the roadside formed by recent rains. Reached a rancho with several huts called Sen Sonora, after dark, and a thunder storm just commencing. Some had not pitched their tents before it came down in torrents. Watering horses at the well. night and morning, cost one dollar and fifty cents, but

there was no charge for wood or camping ground. Bought some venison for twenty-five cents and milk at six and one-fourth cents a quart. The Alcalde invited us to sleep in one of his houses, similar to a she in Pennsylvania. A few accepted the invitation, but those in our tent lay down in their wet clothes on the india rubber cloth and made a good night's sleep, as good as if we had been at home on a feather bed. The fact is we were tired out, as were Our mules, though they would have traveled better if they had not been constantly beaten with the butt of a whip, laming them and making them sore and stiff.

*April 27* . Owing to the fatigue of the party and the muddiness of the roads, we did not start till half past ten o'clock, and made only ten miles till we encamped for the night by the roadside. Good water and grass and plenty of wood and game.

*April 28* . Made about fifteen miles, starting at sunrise, and camped again by the roadside. Plenty of water all along the way today. I was made very sick with cholera morbus by drinking too much water and eating too freely of venison last night, overloading my stomach. After trying saleratus and opium, was at last relieved by drinking very freely of brandy, so as to intoxicate me. Ate nothing all day and at night felt very faint.

### 30

Not a stone or rock has been seen since we landed at Brazos. The country is very level, a rich alluvial soil, covered with trees about the size of our water willows or thorn locust and at a distance resembling them very much. They are called mesquite here, but some of our party say they are the same as the *lignum-vitæ*. There is a great abundance also of different species of cactus; some of the blossoms are superb. A number of wild turkeys were seen today but none of our men were fortunate enough to shoot one.

*April 29* . Feel much better this morning, although quite weak. Two of our men sallied Out in different directions, and each shot a wild turkey gobbler. This will give us food for one day at least. I saw one, but he was running in the bushes so that I could not get a shot. Mr. England also was in pursuit of some. There is such an abundance of game that we could get on very well without

bringing any provisions with us. The sun is as hot here every day as it is in Philadelphia in July and August. The uncultivated lands which are covered with cactus and mesquite are called chaparral. As both cactus and mesquite are thorny, traveling through them is rather severe. The Mexicans all wear leather pants, and have the leg and foot protected by a shield on the stirrup, and by a very wide band of leather to which the stirrup is fastened. It is truly astonishing with what skill the Mexicans throw the lasso, or lariat as they call it here. It is made of horsehair, and they will throw it so as to catch an animal by any foot you may designate, or over the neck. Throwing the lasso is a part of the cavalry training in the army.

Our company are determined, almost to a man, to dispose of all the baggage we can dispense with, and to sell the wagons, so that we may travel faster. I advised them to sell 31 the wagons at New Orleans and to ship their goods, but they would not, and now they repent of it. If all had bought pack mules as I have, we should now have been about twice as far on our journey. All along the road from Matamoras to here, and I am told it is so throughout northern Mexico, we meet with a cross even now and then, generally with an inscription. It is erected over the spot where some person has been found murdered, usually by the Comanches. The Mexicans are very much afraid of this Indian tribe. They sally out in parties, and frequently destroy the ranchos, killing the inhabitants and stealing the animals. While at Brownsville we heard that a party of them, variously estimated at from fifty to five hundred, was within ten miles of us, at Palo Alto, and that they had destroyed one rancho. The inhabitants of Brownsville put themselves in readiness, and a party of about fifty, I believe, went in pursuit of the Indians, but did not find them.

We have been troubled not only with fleas but with ticks since we left Matamoras. I carry camphor in my pockets, which keeps me from being annoyed as much as some of the others. Mr. England went into the chaparral today in pursuit of a turkey and got lost--was absent from the camp for several hours. We are encamped about nine miles from Reynosa; about twelve miles back we saw the first stone that we have seen. It was limestone, the purest I have ever seen, and veins of it extended this far, cropping out every now and then. In one place there was a quarry.

*April 30* . A new camp on the Rio Grande, about half a mile from Reynosa. It is a small place, containing about two hundred low, dirty houses, and about 1200 inhabitants, who may be called civilized but not enlightened. During 32 the Mexican war and afterward it was the resort of women of base character from New Orleans and other places. Now they have left, and the people appear to be virtuous, but they are mainly poor, and it is no place for trade. An American merchant of the common name of Smith keeps a store and has been of considerable service to us in giving information respecting the road, etc., and in procuring a guide for us. In the afternoon some women came to our camp to buy the clothing and other things which we wished to dispose of to lighten our baggage.

*May 1* . Still at Reynosa, reducing our baggage.

*May 2* . *Still* here. My mule was claimed as having been stolen from this vicinity, and the claim was established before the Alcalde. I gave him up, and took a certificate from the Alcalde which I enclosed in a letter to Mr. Clemons, the U. S. Consul at Matamoras, with a bill of cash for mule, twenty dollars, cost of certificate one dollar, damages ten dollars, to collect from Dr. Sissen, who sold me the mule, and from the Alcalde there, who gave me the bill of sale and thereby became responsible. I requested the money to be forwarded to my wife at Philadelphia. The conduct of the Alcalde at Reynosa, and of the owner of the mule, was exceedingly kind and gentlemanly. They appeared to feel much regard for me, and told me to collect the amount from the Alcalde at Matamoras. Left Reynosa about three o'clock and proceeded six or eight miles. Encamped in the chaparral, not pitching tents. We bought enough wood for supper and breakfast, and also some Mexican sugar, which resembles maple sugar.

*May 3* . Proceeded about fifteen or twenty miles to the rancho of the first Alcalde of Reynosa, consisting of two 33 houses. We arrived about noon, and waited to buy mules and horses. I bought a horse. Some hundred horses and mules were driven up into the yard, id four or five men displayed their skill in lassoing such as we selected for examination. We also bought two goats for dinner;

they cost one dollar and twenty-five cents apiece, which was a high price. England found a tarantula on his blanket.

*May 4* . Made about twenty miles today over a beautiful country. Excellent grass and water. Encamped at dinner time at ranch of Don Manuel of Parras. Paid 3 cents per head for water. Our guide shot a deer, which was divided among the company. Encamped in the woods, and had just pitched tents at twilight when a thunder shower came up. Two off our men lagged behind, hunting, and got lost in the chaparral. We sent two others back for some distance, who halloed and fired guns until the lost men heard them and came up. Ascended this afternoon one of the smaller ridges of the mountains ahead. The venison made us an excellent supper and breakfast.

*May 5* . We had not proceeded very far when one of our company shot another deer, which he divided among us, giving us all the venison we need. Today it is very hot; I should think the thermometer about 95 degrees. It has been hot ever since we left Matamoras. Made about eighteen miles and encamped in an open plain. Had a slight shower this evening. Broiled some venison over a gridiron; it was excellent. We are in sight of distant mountains, Seralvo heights.

*May 6* . Traveled about twenty miles and about dusk were overtaken by a severe thunderstorm, before reaching the camping ground which we wished. Obligated to pitch our 34 tents for the night, although there was no pasture for the horses and we were all out of corn.

*May 7* . Waited for roads to dry and to dry our clothes, and accordingly did not start until near noon. After going two miles we found the road overflowed by the swollen streams, the result of the late rains. Our men had to strip naked and follow the wagons in water up to their middle, pushing so as to get the wagons through. I left on my shirt and vest, and led my pack horse through. But my shirt got wet up to my breast. I wrung it out and walked with it outside my pantaloons for about half a mile, thus drying it pretty well, to the rancho called El Toro. It is on the River San Juan amid beautiful scenery. At the rancho we bought some pap, made from boiled milk, cornmeal, sugar and nutmeg, very good. We also bought tortillas, corn and balouisi (sugar), and eggs at fifteen

cents a dozen. There are twenty or thirty houses here, making quite a village, with a church which somewhat resembled a stump orator's platform.

Made about six miles in the afternoon, and reached the camping ground of a company of traders who had ten wagons with about forty hundred pounds in each and eight mules. They left Matamoras the same time we did and were to have traveled in company with us, but somehow we missed each other till now. They kindly gave us two legs of beef which they had just killed and were drying, which gave us meat for supper and the next day. *May 8* . Crossed a stream, either the San Juan or a branch, on the stones, and reached Chino about ten o'clock, and remained till two. It appears to be a very poor place, and the inhabitants were hostile in their feelings, because 35 formerly troops were encamped here. We could get no provisions except tamales and dumplings made of cornmeal and boiled. They will sell no liquor to Americans by order of the Alcalde. The houses are only huts, and the people very poor. We looked into a little school, where the children study aloud. The Alcalde sold Dr. Riley a bad mule, and took away our guide's horse until he could prove it was not stolen. On leaving we took the short road to Monterrey, which crosses the river at the ferry, instead of going up to the ford which is twenty-seven miles farther. The fare for wagons, horses, and men (27) was two dollars. It took the whole afternoon to cross, as our wagons had to be unloaded and there were some pack mules to be ferried over first. We camped on the other side of the San Juan, and about three o'clock in the morning a heavy thunder shower woke us up, and hurried us to the pitching of our tents. We had scarcely driven our stakes before the rain fell in torrents, and as we were on the side of the hill, it rushed down under the tents and wet all our baggage.

*May 9* . After drying our baggage, left about ten o'clock. A Mexican, seeing me loading, came up and helped me fix my saddle, etc. I gave him a book which had some pictures in it, and a small piece of board. He then invited me to his house and gave me a quart of milk and a large bundle of jerked beef. In the course of two hours we were able to see the distant ranges of mountains, and especially to distinguish Saddle Mountain, so called from its resemblance to a Comanche saddle. It is forty or fifty miles distant from us and straight ahead. A party with pack mules camped alongside of us last night and traveled with us part of today, and we stopped at their camp tonight, at Seralvo 36 heights. about twenty miles from Monterrey. In this country there are rattlesnakes, armadillos,



tarantulas, and mocking birds. About ten or twelve miles from the river we passed several large ragged rocks, entirely above ground, like the large, loose rocks on the Alleghany mountains. They immediately attracted our attention, and made us think of home. Some of us left our horses and mounted the rocks to enjoy the scene.

*May 10* . Traveled today about thirty miles over a very barren region, most of the way without water. Finally reached a camping ground on the banks of a delightful stream near the Rancho San Diego. We could buy nothing at all there, but got supplied with corn from another about three miles distant. The road today was a gradual ascent to a high tableland, hardly worth the name of mountain. Found fossils.

*May 11* . Made a start before daybreak, and traveled over a much richer country. Not far beyond our camping-ground the roads forked, but they soon came together again. Reached Catadarita about noon and staid till sunset, getting our horses shod, their feet having become very sore from the stones and gravel in the road. Catadarita is a delightful place, situated in a valley on the San Juan River, surrounded by mountains. It makes one think of an Italian villa. It is kept very clean, and the streets are paved, with sidewalks, and large gardens with fruit trees surround the houses. We saw peach, pecan, orange and fig trees. This is an excellent place to sell clothes and medicines. I sold my sulphate of morphia for four dollars; it cost me about seventy-five cents. Mercury sells here for one hundred and fifty dollars a pound; castor oil, salts, etc., chemicals and surgical instruments and medical books, equally well.

*May 12* . Made a start at daybreak for Monterrey, about eighteen miles distant. My horse had the colic and grunted all the way, lying down frequently in the road. At last I stopped and took off the load. Our guide then wet a rope and tied it tightly around the fleshy part of the tail, which afforded relief almost immediately, and in about fifteen minutes we were traveling again. Entered Monterrey about four o'clock in the afternoon, having made a long rest at noon. The country through which we came is beautiful and picturesque in the extreme. It is a very fertile valley and quite well cultivated, skirted with mountains of the sublimest order. Two in particular attracted our attention--Saddle Mountain, at the foot of which Monterrey lies in an amphitheatre with other mountains around it,

and another which we at first called Crown Mountain, from its resemblance to a crown, and later Castle Mountain, because on approaching nearer each turret looked like an old castle. We put up at a corral kept by an American blacksmith. On Sunday there was a procession for the departure of the cholera. It is a priest-ridden city. Of the 20,000 population, only five hundred are voters; the rest, slaves or peons, sell themselves for debt, and seldom get out of bondage. We went past the Bishop's Palace. Left Monterrey and went about fifteen miles to a miserable rancho of one house, where we paid six cents per canteen for water. A party of three left us. Starting at three the next morning, we went over a dry road between mountains, about twenty miles to Encanado Rancho, where we bought barley at six and one-quarter cents per sheaf for the horses, and eggs at eighteen cents a dozen.

*May 18.* Quint and five others came up. After going 38 three miles came to a stream and trees. Then went through Encanado Pass and camped at a hacienda under a grove of beautiful trees.

*May 19.* Reached Saltillo today about half past eleven, having traveled about twelve miles. The road today has been through better land--very well cultivated, but from Monterrey to the Rancho we left this morning it was almost a perfect waste, affording no pasture for our horses. Saltillo is a well-built, clean, but old-fashioned place. It contains about six thousand inhabitants. The houses are chiefly of stone or sun-dried bricks. The town is watered by two Springs on the hill above, which are built over, and the water is led in conduits of mason work like cement into the town. There are several public fountains for the accommodation of the inhabitants; one is in the plaza opposite the Cathedral. On the hill is a conduit for the purpose of watering horses and mules. The Cathedral is a magnificent, ancient building, covered with sculpture, and I am told is beautiful within. It has a deep-toned, sonorous bell. There is much cholera here; sixty deaths in a day. There is great want of an American physician. We are camped on the hill near the spring. Wheat bread here is good and cheaper than in Monterrey.

*May 20.* Started at five with a guide for Parras. There are two roads, the main road about one hundred twenty-five to one hundred fifty miles long, the other, through a mountain pass, only seventy-five to one hundred miles. Took the latter. We found today's travel through land in the

main very barren. B. and S. England and Gill left us by passing on when the company stopped. We traveled about twenty-five miles and reached what is called the 39 Second Rancho. We encamped about two hundred yards from it, on a stream of water with good grass. Very cold in the night so as to require two blankets over us. Almost every plant is armed with a thorn, either on branch or leaf, even the toadstools. Suffered much during the day, since ten o'clock, for want of water.

*May 21* . Waited two hours for our lost companions, and then heard they had gone ahead. Went about fourteen miles and overtook them cooking dinner. All the way without at water. Then came to a pure stream, within quarter of a mile of a beautiful hacienda. Scenery on the stream very picturesque. Pattos is a large village, clean, with rosebushes down the streets, and large and beautiful gardens, with figs, peaches, and other fruit. Bought some figs, the first ripe fruit we had seen in Mexico. Pattos is in a fertile valley and has a flour mill. We waited till four o'clock and then made five hours march, when we came to water in a region where there seemed to be mountains of stones piled on top of each other. Our companions missed us again, taking the wrong road.

*May 22* . Made a long march of thirty-five miles, riding all afternoon without water, reaching the suburbs of Parras about nine in the evening. As we approached the city we saw many signs of civilization, the land being better cultivated and more fertile. At noon we had rested near a hacienda where there was a breastwork of masonry against the Comanches.

*May 23* . Entered Parras early in the morning, and found an excellent corral or quarters for men and horses on the plaza in front of the Cathedral. The population is about eight thousand.

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*May 27* . Left Parras. It is twelve leagues, or thirty miles, to the next watering place, a rancho. We had made twenty to twenty-four miles when we were overtaken by a thunderstorm, with hailstones of the size of a hen's egg to a walnut, horrible in the extreme. We had to shield our heads, and our horses reared and ran off, baggage and all. Rain fell in torrents and all the road was overflowed, so that we walked in water, up to the calves of our legs, and the melting hail made it cold as ice water. Half an hour before it had been very sultry. We were thoroughly wet, and it grew dark while we

were still looking, with partial success, for our horses. After trying for half an hour, we succeeded in kindling a fire. We drank some brandy and lay down wet as we were for the night. The next morning went in search of our horses and found them all with all of the baggage, very sore from the pelting of the hail.

*May 28. Spent until two o'clock drying our baggage and repacking it; then went about twelve miles to a rancho. There met a party of Mexicans on their way to California.*

*May 29 . Started at half past six, and traveled to Alamo de Parras, a small town with well-watered rich ground, good gardens, and considerable civilization. Bought corn. On the road passed what we thought was a wheat field. It was the bed of a lake marked on the map as Lake Parras; it was filled with rush grass or cattails.*

*May 30 . Made a long march of fourteen leagues to a watering place where the water is supplied by a pump. One of our company was sick and delayed us an hour or two on the road so that we did not reach our encampment till nine o'clock at night. Never before knew what thirst was. I was 41 so overcome that I lay on my back and begged for a drop of water. "As the hart panteth after the water brooks."*

*May 31. At the rancho they were much alarmed by a report that the Comanche were near. and wanted to buy powder. We left at half past nine and at ten o'clock were surrounded by a Party of Comanches numbering about twenty. We happened to be separated into two parties of seven and five, nearly a quarter of a mile apart. They rode down from behind a mountain in pairs and wheeled round the first party of seven, holding their shields and bridles in the left hand and their spears in the right. Their movements were extremely graceful. Having surrounded our men, they halted to see whether an attack were safe and, finding our men unembarrassed and ready with their rifles, they finally wheeled off and rode toward the other party of five, of which I was one. I did not see them coming at first, but had my attention directed to them by another who called Out "What is that?" I immediately ordered every man to take his gun, and cocked mine as if ready to fire. The Comanches, seeing this, halted, for they were afraid of the deadly shot of the white man. There*

were only four guns and rifles in our party, and only two of them were in order. The other two had to be loaded and fixed while in sight of danger. One of our mules also ran against another and knocked off the pack, so that we had to resaddle and repack it. All the while we knew not how far ahead our companions were. One of our company was also much agitated and begged us to go back. As soon as everything was ready, I ordered all to go forward as rapidly as possible to overtake the forward party, and if the Comanches attacked us, to resist manfully, for flight was out of the question, 42 with their fleet horses. It would only betray our sense of weakness. We had proceeded about a hundred yards when the road took a bend, and we saw our party about two hundred yards ahead waiting for us. When we made show of resistance, the Indians waved the white flag and rode off most gracefully, disappearing almost in a moment. We traveled together the remainder of the way until two o'clock, when we camped on the banks of a river where we had delightful bathing. We set a double guard at night. At sunset a company of eight men with five wagons camped within call of us. They were from Durango.

*June 1* . Made a very long march of about thirty-eight miles, arriving about nine P.M. at a small town.

*June 2* . Found the town to be not prepossessing, as the people were very licentious, the streets dirty, and the houses neglected. Still there is more business than in any of the places since Parras. We had hardly arrived last night when hay, corn, cakes, etc., were on the ground for sale. We should have left this afternoon, but a thunder shower came up and prevented.

*June 3* . Left before five A.M. to make a long march of fourteen leagues, there being only two watering places, seven leagues apart. We had been told that after passing this town we should meet with grass all the way to Durango, that the valley near here was the dividing line of the country, the western side being geologically of a more recent formation and consequently more fertile. We were anxious therefore to see this town and pass through it, as we had been in a perfect wilderness or barren waste since leaving Parras and nearly all the way from Monterrey, many portions being too stony and barren even to yield the 43 cactus and chaparral. We therefore saw with satisfaction a change in the geological formation, with evident signs of volcanic action. We soon met with lava

scattered all over the surface like stones, of the size of an egg to that of a water pail. We traveled the first seven leagues without any apparent improvement in the vegetation, and then, unfortunately, at a fork in the road, took the wrong turn--to Zacatecas--and traveled on it about three hours, till we came to a hacienda. Here they directed us how to cross over to the right road, so as not to have to go all the way back. We had gone southeast, instead of southwest, so that we had not lost a great deal. We reached a rancho called Santiago and there halted for the night. We had traveled only about thirteen leagues, and had deviated two leagues from the true road. I was sick all day with cholera morbus, having eaten last evening some beans (*frijoles*) not sufficiently cooked. It was very painful and dangerous for me to travel, especially as we had been in contact with Asiatic cholera ever since Memphis, Tennessee.

*June 4*. Employed a guide to put us on the right road, and at one o'clock reached Soumas, a village not far from the Rancho Tapias, which we should have reached last evening. I was much better, being able to travel with comfort. We had to wait three hours at Soumas, during which time there was a terrible hurricane, not much rain, but terrific wind and dust. We left at four for Rancho Maguyes, two leagues distant, which we reached at six. Here we hired quarters, and to our surprise they locked us in and would not open the gate till morning. This was the most disagreeable corral we have had, on account of pigs and strange horses, which were continually running about the yard, 44 eating the corn and fodder of our horses, and sometimes intruding upon our beds.

*June 5*. Traveled about four leagues and stopped for an hour to rest, but as there was little water on account of the dry season, could not water our horses. Proceeded six leagues farther to Choro, a large hacienda, arriving at three o'clock. I forgot to say that from the time we left Zacatecas on Sunday, the whole face of the country was changed. All the chaparral disappeared, and all the cactus except a small straggler here and there; and a surface was spread before us, almost as far as the eye could reach, and bounded in the distance by mountains, of grass sward without tree or shrub except a stunted palm here and there. Being so very dry, the grass was burnt brown, otherwise it would have been a rich treat for our horses and a great relief to our eyes, which were sorely tried by sand and stones and barren wastes. Even the mountains, as we approached them, were of the same character; and as far as Choro this must be a splendid grazing country in the wet season. Choro

is a delightful hacienda, abounding with the best of water. The springs are surrounded with stone walls, with beautiful groves around them, evidently planted by some man of taste. We encamped in one of the groves and much enjoyed the shade, grass, and water. I went to one of the huts in the village to buy eggs, and found a great number of dogs, one to three at each hut, and they were very cross, different from any other dogs I had seen in Mexico. They snapped at me several times, and had it not been for a bag I held in my hand, they would have bitten me. Toward night a party arrived from Durango and camped near us. They said that very unfavorable news had arrived from California, some 45 men having returned to Mazatlan, and others having written letters to merchants at Durango. Some of our men were quite frightened at the news, having risked their all on the California enterprise. But the rest of us agreed to go on. If we cannot make a fortune at mining, we can at least make a living at farming.

*June 6* . Durango is nine leagues from Choro, *with* trees nearly all the way, larger than the chaparral, more like apple trees We enjoyed the shade much at dinner time. We found water at three and again at seven leagues. About three miles from Durango we found stalls along the roadside to sell chickens, soup, drinks, and fruit. The road, for some distance before entering the city, has a handsome stone wall on each side, and the evidences of fine cultivation of the soil are seen in the straight and deep furrows made by the plough; there are also good fences. We entered the town about four o'clock, and took quarters at the Mesón de San José, at fifty cents for two rooms, and 6 1/4 cents for each horse per day, allowing three horses free to each room. The English were here, also other Americans who were much assistance to us as interpreters.

*June 7* . Durango has a population of from 20,000 to 30,000. There is more civilization here than in any place we have seen in Mexico. Much wealth and aristocracy. The houses are built mainly of adobes, or sun-burnt brick; the doorways and corners of the houses are made strong by square blocks of soft limestone, and the whole, bricks and stone, are plastered over with cement, which sheds water and makes a neat, durable house. Nearly all the houses are white. Today is a grand fete day, being the celebration of Corpus Christi. The bells were rung all day, the churches 46 open and high mass celebrated; magnificent music mingled with the singing of birds caged in the churches. Prisoners were sprinkling and sweeping the streets for the procession. The priests, bishops, and the

mass of the people walked in the procession, and in the afternoon they had a bull fight in honor of the celebration--quite apropos for a religious festival! The object was, I believe, to celebrate the institution of the Lord's Supper, the turning of the bread into Christ's body.

We went to the bull fight just to see what it was like, and we saw old Spain all over again, only without the spirit and daring courage. The arena is a circular building of stone with an open space in the center about eighty yards in diameter. There are seats, one above another, all around the circle, which will accommodate about six thousand persons. In addition, four thousand may stand. The first story is appropriated to residences on the outside, and on the inside to apartments for the bulls, horses, and men concerned in the fight. This afternoon six bulls were to be offered up, and I believe this is the usual number for one show. The price was thirty-one cents on the shady side, and half price on the sunny; we preferred the former. When we entered we found the building more than half filled and within fifteen minutes it was all filled, with *señoras* and *señoritas* as well as *señors*, the *elite* of the city as well as the rabble. A man dressed in ancient Spanish costume of green velvet, with knee breeches and tinsel ornaments, a belt of silver, and a green velvet cap with silver tassel put on his head a little sideways, was figuring at the extreme end of the arena, and it soon appeared that he was haranguing the audience in order to divert them until the fight actually commenced. 47 Every two or three minutes he would stop and the band of music would immediately strike up. In fact he would not utter more than four or five sentences at a time and then the music would follow for perhaps one minute, and so alternately. He was continually strutting about while speaking, making gestures with the feet as well as the hands. In fact it was a real sophomore performance, reminding me of young speakers who pace forward and back on the Stage continually. The hour for the performance having arrived, six other men dressed in the ancient costume came into the arena, each having a red sheet in his hand (about two yards square). The office of these men was to run after the bull and tease him; and in case of an attack, they would run and throw the sheet behind them, which the bull would attack instead of them. They were trained to jumping and leaping over the fence which surrounded the arena and it was surprising with what agility they would spring over it whenever there was any danger from a chase. Half a dozen men, first on this side, then on that, teasing and tormenting the poor bull!



*June 12* . Left Durango about ten o'clock. Stopped at a rancho about four P.M. on account of a thunderstorm, making only about six Mexican leagues. Corn in Durango was only fifteen cents per almo; here it was 37 1/2. After traveling perhaps three miles we had a foretaste of our journey, in going up a hill where the road was so rough and steep and narrow that several of the mules fell down. It caused delay of an hour to readjust their packs. The remainder of the road was pretty good, although it seemed bad to us in comparison with the road we had been traveling over. At the rancho we were all stowed with our baggage 48 in a very small room, so that we could not lie down at night. I was bent nearly double and of course could not rest. We could not sleep outside because the rain continued until midnight. Had some fowls boiled here, at fifty cents each, which, with *tortillas* , was all the provisions we could get.

*June 13* . Started about ten o'clock and made ten leagues through pine forest, which was a delightful relief to us, after having traveled so many miles in the sun and sand, although the road was bad enough. Stopped at a rancho where we met a Scotchman on his way to Mazatlan. He corrected statements we had heard about California, assuring us that the steerage passage to San Francisco would be fifty dollars, and that wages were high and gold abundant in California. Corn at this rancho was fifty cents per almo; we could buy nothing but *tortillas* and beans and jerked meat; the fowls, eggs, etc., all having been bought up by other companies preceding us. They boiled some of the dried beef for us, but charged 12 1/2 cents per pound.

*June 14* . Made ten leagues today over a very good road, starting about seven o'clock, and arriving near sundown at a rancho where there was a brick kiln. Had difficulty in obtaining anything to eat before next morning. Here there were two huts with thatched roofs appropriated to travelers and muleteers with baggage. We were separated from the other houses about a hundred yards, and we stowed our things in them without any fear from the threatening rain. Slept outside, the clouds passing over; but we found it very cold in the night; two blankets were not sufficient for us with our clothes on. I made a large fire about midnight and slept with my feet about a yard from it. 49 *June 15* . Started about eleven o'clock, traveling nine leagues over a horrible road, especially between six and eight P.M., during which time we passed over in the dark a most dangerous place. The road

leading down the mountain was on the very edge of a precipice, down which the headlong plunge would be to death. Our muleteer drove the animals very rapidly ahead, and left us to grope along with our horses as best we could frequently unable to distinguish the road. At last I overtook him, and demanded with considerable authority that his boy should stay with us and show us the road. He went on and the boy remained with us. We reached the *hacienda* between eight and nine o'clock, our feet being much bruised in passing over the stones and rocks. And my india-rubber coat had fallen off my pack, which was all on one side of the horse. Other men also had lost some of their things. We found the men and women of the place nearly all collected at the store for a dance, which they call a fandango. But it was modest and not like the regular fandango.

*June 16* . Started at eleven o'clock, and traveled over a horrible road until four o'clock, when we separated, a part remaining with the muleteer while he stopped to shift a pack upon another animal, and five of us advancing so as to reach encampment before dark. We saw no place for camp as described till sundown, and then we were going down a mountain and the road was so narrow and steep that we could not stop. We had to keep on, feeling our way and sliding down rocks, till after eight o'clock, when we reached a little mound by the side of the road, where we camped, with scarcely room for our horses.

*June 17*. Went about two and a half miles and came 50 to a rancho where we got *frijoles* to satisfy our appetite. This was the first place in Mexico where we saw bananas growing. About a mile further, at another rancho, we met a German doctor who had left Durango at the same time we had but had traveled faster. He was now waiting for the muleteer, who had charge of his baggage also.

The road yesterday and today was as bad as it could be, and be traveled at all. Indeed, we all said it was impossible for the pack mules to go over it, but they came up at dusk, all safe except one horse that had fallen down a precipice of a hundred feet or more and was badly bruised. Here corn was fifty cents an almo.

*June 18* . Five of us left the company and traveled ahead together over the worst part of the road between Durango and Mazatlan. We made ten leagues between seven in the morning and six at

night. We bought bananas on the road at noon. Encamped at a rancho in the village of San Lucias. The others waited behind, traveling with the muleteer, who we knew would travel slowly, as he had no money to buy corn for his mules and there was no grass on the road. At San Lucias we were treated exceedingly well. Had some fowls roasted at 75 cents each. Eggs were 12/12 cents, corn 37 1/2 per almo. The landlord seemed very anxious to please us, bringing us his own bedstead and offering us an extra blanket.

*June 19. Started at half past six, and just after leaving the village we met the German doctor who had lodged at another house. He said he had fallen with his horse over a steep precipice at the side of the road. His feet became immediately disengaged, and his horse rolled over and over, some thirty times, and he after it, both arriving safely at 51 the foot. His horse had turned round slightly and backed off at a narrow place in the road.*

At about twelve we reached Copala, the first town in the mountains where there is a church. The houses were well built of stone and brick with tile roofs. There were good stores and quite a large handsome church. The population is about fifteen hundred. Corn here is only twenty-five cents per almo. Between San Lucias and Copala we passed some silver mines which are now being worked. A hole is made in the side of the mountain from which the silver ore is brought. It is then calcined, broken, washed, and melted ready for refining. The people in this district appear to live well, having splendid banana groves, and comfortable houses with tiled roofs. The women are more tidy and clean, and everything looks better than in the ranchos we have passed heretofore. We left at four o'clock and traveled two leagues, camping half way down the side of a mountain. The road was rough, but much better than on former days, and the mountains were pigmies compared to those we had passed.

*June 20 . Started at sunrise; in half an hour came to a rancho and running water. Breakfasted and proceeded over a good country to San Sebastian, a town of fifteen hundred habitants, six leagues from Copala. Reached there at noon; stopped two hours. Corn cost 183/4 cents per almo. Made about three leagues again and camped by the roadside. In the night it rained, but we saved our baggage, and covered ourselves so as not to suffer.*

*June 21* . Arrived at port of Mazatlan about two o'clock. We had started before sunrise, and reached the old town of Mazatlan about eight o'clock. This was once a place of 52 splendor, but it is now nearly decayed, the enterprising inhabitants having removed to the port, which is six or eight leagues distant. The population of the old town is about fifteen hundred, chiefly of the poorer class. I should think many of them were hucksters for the market at the port. The road was very good today, but between the old town and the port it is rather sandy, and for a considerable portion of the way it was over low ground which had been overflowed from the bay overnight. There were many bids for our horses on the road, but we preferred waiting until our arrival in the port. In an hour after we reached our destination my horse was sold for eleven dollars, while they offered me only seven in Durango. The other horses were sold equally well, there being some half dozen purchasers ready to bid at the hotel where we stopped. Four of us took a room at fifty cents per day for the whole, and we buy our meals at the eating-house in the same building, for twelve and a half to twenty-five cents according to the amount we eat.

*June 22* . Mazatlan appears to be about as large as Matamoras. and I should think the population was about seven thousand. Quite a number of foreigners are here, and many of the houses and stores are very beautiful. It is one of the most commercial places in Mexico. Two brigs in port for San Francisco. and an English man-of-war taking on bars of silver, and several smaller vessels. There is not a good hotel or eating-house in Mexico so far as we have seen. In the so-called hotels, or *mesones* , they simply furnish you a room, with a bedstead in it similar to a kitchen pine table with short legs, or it is a simple frame with strips of rawhide, half an inch wide, stretched across it at right 53 angles. The latter are more comfortable, as they are cooler and less infested with fleas. But at every hotel you suffer with millions of fleas. Sometimes there is one chair or one bench in the room. If more than one person goes into the room the price is the same, but all extra persons must sleep as they can on the bricks.

[The next two pages of the journal contain a chart of the voyage to San Francisco, and the daily reckoning, with longitude from Paris, latitude, and the wind which, on twenty-six out of the thirty-seven days blew from a northerly, and therefore unfavorable, direction.]

*June 27* . Took passage on Brig Packet Copiapo, Captain Clement Ducoing, a Frenchman. He sailed under Chilian colors from Valparaiso, where he bought the vessel.

*June 28* . At four P.M. brought livestock on board. Chilian sailors drunk and fighting. At five all sails set. Heavy thunder and rain in the night. Tossed about and seasick.

*June 29-July 1* . Perfectly calm. Delivered arms. Cooking is with rancid tallow.

*July 2* . Clear and calm. Evening breeze from northwest. Moonlight, pleasantly cool, rain in night.

*July 3* . Very hot. Passed Cape St. Lucas.

*July 4* . Celebration. Calm weather.

*July 5* . *Calm, very hot.*

*July 6* . Wind variable. First allowance of water.

*July 7* . Saw American bark. Light breeze, sea heavy.

*July 8* . Damp, uncomfortably cold, especially at night. Bought one hundred pounds of flour. Mate caught Gill moving off with a bagful.

*July 9* . Dead calm, sea rough, very damp, morning cold enough for flannels. Ox killed, form line to receive rations.

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*July 10* . Mate looking for eight or ten boxes of copal, account for all but three. Changed cook yesterday; salt pork today. Strong breeze.

*July 11-14* . Strong N. W. breeze continues, heavy sea and cloudy.

*July 15* . Tacked ship; in afternoon tacked ship again. Allowance of water reduced. Calm again. Pot pie. Men like hogs.

*July 16-19* . Heavy seas and very cloudy.

*July 20* . Good breeze after calm for several days. Cook baking shortcakes. Gambling. Water half out.

*July 21* . Stronger wind.

*July 22* . Little rain, strong wind and cloudy. French cook baking flapjacks at twelve cents. He went to buy brandy, had fight with captain.

*July 25* . Strong wind, high sea and cloudy.

*July 26* . Saw Hamburg ship. Mate washing boys, one overboard.

*July 27* . Cold and stormy; strong id favorable winds in the morning, but at noon changed to same old tune.

*July 28* . Cold. All sails in except mainsail.

*July 29* . Two pigs to be killed every two days, and pudding twice a week. Beautiful clouds, Pacific Ocean-no Atlantic squalls.

*July 30* . Brandy served to passengers because of favorable wind. At sunset appearance of squall, but it died away. Very cold.

*August 1* . Pork stolen at night. Fish's mess stolen several times. Gill's fight with Rogers.

*August 2* . Boxes tumbled about at night; passengers ducked by sea breaking over. Very cold and rough. 55 *August 3* . Rations of water increased. Spaniard and woman fighting. Stealing of flour by Loomis.

*August 4* . Color of the ocean is green, and things from land are floating in it. Birds.

*August 5* . All in expectation of land. At noon Captain said, "only twenty-one miles to Farallon Islands!" Soon in sight. Saw vessel outward bound. Water cask thrown open--rush! Coffee again. Pelicans and gulls.

*August 6* . Mouth of harbor in sight. All on deck early. Pass American ship and three other vessels. Seals on the rocks. Strong current. Bold walls, narrow, admirable entrance. Number of vessels, one sloop black with passengers, and men on shore gazing.

*August 7, Tuesday* . San Francisco. Removed our baggage this morning from the vessel to the shore, paid one dollar each for transporting self and baggage. This is an imposition introduced to fleece immigrants. We obtained a general permit to land thirty-three American passengers, cost seventy-five cents, which saved expense, as the Customhouse charge is the same for every permit, whether of one passenger or a company.

Received first letter from my wife, dated April 13.

Encamped close to landing. Spent the day making inquiries about the mines, employment in San Francisco, etc. Paid one dollar and twenty-five cents for two meals. Found one dollar in the street!

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THE MINES AUGUST, 1849-NOVEMBER, 1850

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**STARTING FOR THE MINES**

*August 8* . Determined to go to the mines on the San Joaquin, and packed up my goods so as to store nearly all with Cooke, Baker and Co., taking with me only one flannel shirt and my india-rubber suit, beside the clothes I had on. Also a shovel, tin pan and tin pail; frying pan. and two blankets, me peck of beans, ten pounds of corn meal, two pounds of rice, beside bread and molasses to use while on the vessel. Cost of meals today, one dollar and seventy-five cents.

*August 9*. Worked this morning at digging a cellar and moving small house; earned two dollars and fifty cents; should have worked this afternoon but the captain said he should sail; so we went on board the Brig *Rambler* , bound for Stockton. Meals today cost me one dollar and twenty-five cents. Fare to Stockton, fourteen dollars on deck, find ourselves.

*August 10*. Sailed this morning at nine thirty. Quite cold while passing up the bay, so that an overcoat hardly made me comfortable. Water rough, though not so rough in Suisun Bay as it often is. This is the last bay before entering the river. Passed Benicia about one o'clock, where Gen. Persifer F. Smith, Governor of California, is residing. This is a government station, and will probably grow before long into a place of some size and importance. It consists of two large frame houses, several large canvas houses, and some thirty or forty tents. They are building a steamboat here for navigating these waters. Large vessels are anchored close to shore in the channel, hence the importance of the location for shipping. About two thirty entered the mouth of the San Joaquin River. Had on board about twenty passengers, one of whom was a Mr. Quimby from New York, well acquainted with my brother A. N. G. There were six beside myself of the passengers of the *Copiapo* , who came together from Mazatlan. At night cast anchor and furled sails. They seldom navigate here by night, as the whole shore is lined with cane brakes and the river twists like a snake, so that the channel might easily be missed. Never saw a more winding river except the Rio Grande.

*August 11* . During the night the brig floated round so as to head differently from her direction last night, and the captain, having neglected to notice whether the river here was running north or south, was puzzled this morning to know how to sail. After deliberating awhile, he ordered sails unfurled and started down stream, and would have sailed several miles toward San Francisco, if some one in a rowboat had not told him his mistake. As it was, we lost an hour. I told the helmsman on starting



that we were wrong, judging by the course in which the water flowed, seen by throwing a chip into it. Calm nearly all day and we made but little headway. Much warmer than yesterday; very heavy fog last night, and dew tonight

*August 12, Sunday* . Still calm. Only about twenty miles from Stockton, but it took us all day to make them, part of the time towing the vessel along by line from the shore. Mosquitos here in myriads, and very hot today. Reached Stockton just at dusk. It stands on a branch of the river, not on the main stream, on the left side going up. It is on very low ground, only a little higher than the surrounding 61 land, which is subject to overflow during the rainy season. The mud is then almost impassable quite so for wagons and teams.

*August 13* . Early this morning went on shore. The houses are all made of canvas, and all have stores. Beside these, there are a great many tents belonging to those bound for the mines, who have stopped here for a few days to make inquiries, obtain outfits and supplies, etc. Bread cost fifty cents a loaf, which would sell in San Francisco for twenty-five cents. No laborers wanted. Found wagons bound for the mines, charge for freight twenty-five cents a pound to Wood's Diggings, also pack mules at ten or fifteen cents to Mokelumne Hill. Wagon freight was fifteen cents to the latter. Were puzzled which diggings to choose, as such contradictory reports were given of each. One man said all were leaving Mokelumne, another that all were flocking there. At last we decided to go to Wood's, as it was within five miles of Sullivan's and Mormon and Sonora diggings; if not suited, we could easily change our location. Started about three o'clock, having put about sixty pounds on a wagon, and carrying about thirty on my back. We had to cross a plain that afternoon of about twelve miles without water. With our packs, we found it exceedingly trying, as the sun was very hot and was reflected from the sand. This plain extends nearly level to the Stanislaus River, a distance of about thirty-six miles from Stockton. Now the grass is all burnt up, and in the rainy season the mud is impassable, but between the latter and the month of July, it is covered with beautiful verdure and rich pasturage. We camped at a well where were some delightful shade trees, only a few of which we had passed on the road. The coyotes 62 howled near us, but they will do no harm to a man if he shows signs of life. They are very small, not much larger than a large cat.

*August 14* . Started at sunrise to make the twelve miles to the next watering place. Not a tree during the whole distance--one vast parched plain, and the sand and clay had not fairly recovered from yesterday's heating. In two hours the heat was oppressive. With our heavy packs, and our feet tender after the long sea voyage, we could not endure the additional bounce received from the pack, and our feet blistered most shockingly. I could scarcely reach the end of the twelve miles, and there were thirteen more before us. We stopped many times, and did not reach the well until eleven o'clock. We bathed our feet and rested till two o'clock under the Lone Tree, for so the place was designated, there being but one tree. A tent with stores was here, as also at the place where we stopped last night. Our afternoon walk was very severe and we did not reach the river till dusk.

At this stopping place there is a ferry, of no use now because the river can be forded, but of use for several months after the wet season. We also found two military companies encamped here for the protection of our citizens in all the surrounding country. The soldiers receive five dollars per day, with the privilege of a furlough of two or three months, with provisions, to go to the mines, in companies of twenty, I believe. We threw ourselves on the ground, unable to cook supper from fatigue. I had a little boiled rice and ate that.

*August 15*. *Awoke* refreshed, but with very sore feet, so that we resolved to a man not to travel any today. The scenery on the Stanislaus was very beautiful, and the stream delightful to bathe in.

On the left bank is a level country, the plain we had passed over; on the right are very high hills which are the beginning of the mountain region.

By the way, we got our first glimpse of the Sierra Nevada Mountains last Monday afternoon, near sunset. It was very faint. In the morning they could not be seen on account of the haziness; near sunset they were quite plain. The hills which begin here gradually increase in size till they become the mountains. We took a delightful bath, and forded the river up to our thighs in water, changing our camp to the other side. All the afternoon I was feverish and feared an attack of sickness, feeling quite overcome, but at night one of our companions made some strong tea, the first I had drunk for two weeks, and it revived me completely.

There is a store tent here also, but as at all the stores on the road, provisions are very high. Their custom is inconsiderable, and they are obliged to charge these prices in order to make a living. Thus pork is one dollar per pound, cornmeal one dollar, tea four dollars, and flour fifty to seventy-five cents. We luckily had provisions with us for the trip.

*August 16* . Started at sunrise; feet still sore but not so bad. Went six or eight miles and came to another store tent. Prices here still higher, exorbitant! We rested a while on the bank of the river, bathing our feet, and then proceeded about eleven o'clock toward the end of our journey, which we were told by some was four miles, by others six. We kept along the bank of the river, according to one man's direction, when we should have taken the main mule track, 64 and so made our journey several miles longer. The heat was so intolerable that we gave Out several times, and did not reach our stopping place till five o'clock in the afternoon, a distance probably of ten miles. Here was another store tent, one being pitched at every watering place on the road. And they are a great convenience to travelers who carry no provisions. I was never so much done over with walking, and I attribute it to the pack, as well as to the effeminacy induced by the sea voyage. During the whole trip across Mexico, except two or three days, I suffered less from the heat than I have here the last three days.

Coyotes last night and tonight, howling near us. We lie on the ground, with our clothes on, our provisions under our heads for a pillow and one blanket over us.

## **THE MINES**

*August 17* . Reached our destination today at Jamestown, on Woods Creek, about one mile above what were first called Woods Diggings, at six o'clock in the afternoon. Our distance traveled thy was about sixteen or eighteen miles. At the end of the first four miles we passed the last store tent. The freight on my articles cost eighteen dollars and fifty cents. Not wishing to pay out all my money, I left my gun in pledge. We were too much fatigued to go around and encamped under the first tree. My supper was flour mush or rather gruel.

*August 18* . Our first day in the diggings! Spent the morning in looking around, and in the afternoon one of my companions and I tried our luck at a hole, but with little success. It was our apprenticeship. We selected for our 65 campsite a large California oak tree on the left bank of the creek, opposite Jamestown, but a few rods below. Five of us are encamped here. And it has been selected, with ourselves and baggage under it, as the scene of a picture to be painted and exhibited in New York id other large cities. The only objection that I have to the place is that it is beside the road id we are much annoyed with dust.

*August 19, Sunday* . Spent most of the day in the woods on the adjoining hills, as it was uncomfortable at the camp. Enjoyed no pleasant meditations.

*August 20* . Dug with another in the morning and made nothing. In the afternoon worked alone and made twenty dollars, finding one large piece worth fourteen dollars. Cooked and ate by myself.

*August 21* . Nothing important. Made about five dollars.

*August 22 and 23* . Made only about two dollars per day. The diggings here are exhausted. I have opened several holes, all of which prove to have been dug before. I found also that it was the same with three-fourths of the diggers.

*August 24* . Went to Sullivan's Diggings, five miles off. Found five dollars in about one hour; felt quite elated with my success. Others here are doing well, but the labor is immense and requires several to work in company. They sink holes thirty feet deep, and while one keeps pumping Out the water all the while, another digs the dirt, and a third and a fourth wash it. In some holes they have two pumps constantly at work.

The scenery at Sullivan's is truly sublime; high hills and very steep.

*August 25* . Went again to Sullivan's and carried part of my baggage. Had no success today.

*August 26, Sunday* . Finding last night that four of my companions here had deceived me, and that they had dug much more gold than they had represented, and also chafed by my failure yesterday, I went to Sullivan's and brought away my things, determined to try it another week at Wood's.

Had no sweet meditations today; indeed this kind of life is not favorable for growth in religion. Almost every man at the mines is awfully profane.

*August 27* . Began to work today in company with two others. Had but little success, making only two dollars apiece.

*August 28-30* . Same as Monday.

*August 31* . Went over to Mormon Creek, five miles off, to try the diggings there. Were pleased, although we found them much dug up. Returned at night to Jamestown.

*September 1* . Worked in dry diggings at Jamestown, making about two dollars each.

*September 2; Sunday* . No Sunday to me. I went up into the woods, but my mind was so worried about prospects here that I had no enjoyment.

*September 3* . Worked a mile farther down the creek, all three together; made about one dollar each.

*September 4* . One of our men went to Mormon Diggings, and we two remained behind, wishing to dissolve connection, intending ourselves to go soon to Mormon Creek. We made about half a dollar in the morning, and then we separated to try and find some better place for a day or two. I tried a place by myself but with no success, and this made me thoroughly heartsick. I thought of home, of wife and children, how they used to hang about my neck, and sit on my knees, and laugh and enjoy themselves, and how I used to enjoy myself, and I became homesick. Every effort I have made to obtain a support for my family since 1845 has failed, and even the bright prospects of the mines have proved a disappointment. I threw myself on the ground under a tree in the woods and cried. To the lord I then directed my prayer that he would direct me to some place where I could

find gold enough to pay my expense to San Francisco, or to guide my steps and prosper me. Never did I feel my dependence so entirely, and I knew the lord is a God of Providence, and has said, "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth liberally and upbraideth not." This and the text "Commit thy ways unto the Lord, and He will direct thy steps" were presented to my mind, and I was strengthened to plead them with fervency and faith. I rose refreshed and took my tools, not knowing whither to go, but still with confidence. My partner had prepared dinner and we ate. I then went a few rods and dug in the side of an old hole.

*September 5* . Was so badly poisoned yesterday by working over poison-oak that I could not dig. In the afternoon walked down Wood's Creek as far as the mouth of Sullivan's Creek. Scenery very rough and sublime. The hills very high, in fact mountains, and very steep, so that we could scarcely ascend and descend them; in many places it was impossible. About a mile from Jamestown the rock changes from granite and slate to serpentine.

*September 6* . Mr. Delaney and I carried part of our baggage to Mormon Diggings to give them a trial. Arrived at noon, selected a spot, and worked all the afternoon without reaching the rock bed below. Found that two Sonorans 68 had been shot yesterday by close by here.

*September 7* . Were turned out of our hole by two others who said they had prior claim. There is no alcalde here, and a jury trial costs sixteen ounces, \* each to one juror, two to the judge, one to the sheriff, and one to the secretary. We preferred imposition upon us to any controversy, and started in another place. Toward night we took out about two ounces between us.

Ounces of gold; value about sixteen dollars per ounce.

*September 8* . Took out about three ounces between us.

*September 9, Sunday* . Went over to Jamestown for clothes and food. Remain turned during the day and returned in the evening. Still no Sunday to me, although I could enjoy myself somewhat, and felt truly grateful for the success of the last two days.

*September 10* . Worked at same hole, and made about one ounce each. As I lay at night, viewing the stars above, emotions of gratitude were aroused within me toward the Giver of All Good, who made the heavens, and who had so blessed me today.

*September 11* . Had but little success today, not more than half ounce each.

*September 12* . Worked hard, but made not more than four dollars each; and our living costs us a dollar twenty-five cents each per day.

*September 13* . Our hole is exhausted. Washed with machine a quantity of dirt we had collected yesterday, and made about half an ounce between us. In the afternoon opened a new hole; as there is too much water for two to work it, we took a third partner, Mr. Rennon, from Wall 69 Street, New York, an Irishman, much of a gentleman and able to do hard work. Unlike most of the miners, he neither swears nor talks filthily.

*September 11* . Still at work sinking our hole, and of course made nothing.

*September 15* . Same as yesterday, or rather we reached the bottom and found no gold. At night a party of Germans camped opposite to us and sang most sweetly. Good music just at this time was quite reviving to our spirits. I said from my heart "Thank God for music." The Germans are usually good singers, and this party of seven or eight keep most excellent time and sing the different parts with great harmony.

*September 16, Sunday* . Went to Jamestown again this afternoon for remainder of my clothes. Mr. Delaney and I brought back with us thirteen dollars worth of provisions and thereby saved thirteen dollars, such is the difference in the prices between the two places only four or five miles apart. Before going I opened my Bible to the Psalm, "Except the Lord build the house." I felt then the necessity of depending for success upon the direction of a kind Providence, and with a sincere heart I committed myself to Him, and then committed my family. At night the Germans sang again. It seemed like strains from heaven.

*September 17-22* . Spent all this week in sinking holes without success. Or rather made only about five dollars. And yet the ground we dug was considered by old miners to be the choicest ground on the creek.

*September 24 and 25* . Spent these two days by myself in experimenting on the side of a mountain, and found only a small piece. The mountain is considered the source of 70 nearly all the gold in the richest gulch which empties into Mormon Creek. Tuesday noon I returned to camp so dejected that Mr. Delaney noticed it. In the afternoon I committed myself to God, and earnestly implored His blessing. I went under His guidance down the creek, and was led to try a place that had been dug by another man and abandoned. With my knife I turned away the dirt for about an inch and uncovered a pocket of gold. The exclamation escaped me unconsciously, "Bless the Lord, oh my soul!" It came from my heart, and I have enjoyed a delightful feeling of gratitude and of dependence. Made this afternoon twenty-four dollars.

*September 26-29* . Have had very good success these days, making in all about three ounces. Have enjoyed much of the presence of God. As I work by myself, hymns and texts are presented to my recollection, which makes the time pass cheerfully. But oh, how my back and finger joints do ache! The labor is exceedingly severe. Mr. Delaney has gone to Jamestown, sick.

*September 30, Sunday* . The mules had destroyed our provisions, and I spent last evening and this morning in fixing a sort of house. Am ashamed to say that I altogether neglected those devotional exercises that my Maker claimed, and of course had great dearth of soul. At night I felt this, and with a penitent heart I begged forgiveness and grace to live differently. I shall spend Sunday hereafter in cultivating the graces of the spirit.

*October 1-3* . Have made about two ounces, and while working God has blest my soul. At night suffered much from pain in back and knees.

*October 4* . Made nearly an ounce today. Four men from 71 Missouri camped last night alongside of me. One has remittent fever and I was called on to attend him.



*October 5* . My patient is getting better. Made nearly an ounce.

*October 9* . Made *twenty-five dollars* . It rained tonight and my blanket got wet but still kept me warm.

*October 10* . Made fifteen dollars. Rained all night, but though I was wet I did not catch cold.

*October 11* . The Missouriians and myself commenced a log hoc up one of the gulches, a place selected by us for winter quarters.

*October 12* . Finished the house, except the roof.

*October 13* . Removed our baggage to the new house, intending to roof and chink it at leisure.

*October 14, Sunday* . Last night the Missouriians killed a rabbit, and this morning a deer; so we shall not lack for fresh meat. They are excellent hunters, and as we are in the region of grizzly bears, we expect soon to have one to carve from.

*October 30* . Went over to Jamestown to see Dr. Musson, with view of buying him out, as he wishes to give his attention to another business--supplying mines with cattle for butchering.

*October 31* . Rained last night and all day so that we could not take an inventory. I dressed the sore for a young man whose thumb Dr. Musson had cut off.

*November 1* . Prescribed for German and furnished him an emetic and dose of calomel. Finished the inventory of goods, and I drew up the form of an agreement. Went to Mormon Creek and brought my things.

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*November 2* . Drew a tooth and was paid cash sixteen dollars. Visited the German of November 1 and gave him a dose of salts; also prescribed mustard plaster to the neck, and steaming throat. In the morning went over to Mormon Creek to see a young man with typhus fever; furnished him some

powders. Paid for coarse boots ten dollars, for corduroy pants twelve dollars, for blue shirt five dollars. *November 3-9* . Rained on alternate days for a week. Found about eight dollars on surface of ground in ravines. Visited Germans three times daily. Charged for only one visit as their tent is so near. Gave one, Mr. Tupper, twenty grains of quinine. Mr. Roemer very sick. Put poultices on him and cupped him.

*November 10* . Mr. Roemer died. Beautiful day. Provisions have risen very much; flour from twenty-five to sixty cents.

*November 12* . Took German medicine for four days, and went to Mormon Creek and left medicine for patient there for four days.

*November 13* . Rained hard nearly all day. It was the first general election in California, for the Constitution, etc. All very quiet and orderly here.

*November 14* . Clear today and cold this morning. Rained and blew very hard all night. Had a very unpleasant case of nosebleed to treat in a Mexican. Found about four dollars on the surface of the ground after the rain. Some other days have found as much as ten dollars.

*November 15* . Somewhat cloudy, and rained a little at night.

*November 16* . Clear through the day, rain at night. Was called from bed at ten o'clock to go about half a mile 73 in the rain to see a man that had been stabbed by one of his companions. All were drunk. He died in presence of the lad who had sold him the liquor only a few hours before.

*November 17* . Attended inquest; six jurors. Whitehead from New York was Alcalde.

*November 18, Sunday* . Have two cases of scurvy, Peruvians, one of whom has abscess on hand. Doubtful whether either of them pays me. The day here is usually spent in washing.

*November 19* . Received seventy-two dollars from Mr. Tupper. Bought fifty pounds of potatoes at six cents; very cheap.

*November 21* . Rained hard.

*November 22* . Clear. Improved the day by beginning my house.

*November 23 and 24* . Worked on my house; ice at night.

*November 25, Sunday* . Visited Mr. Tupper, and prescribed for him for dysentery. Also prescribed for John Peters, colored man from Curoa, who works about three miles down the creek. Very heavy frost last night.

*November 27* . It commenced raining about noon and at night rained hard. My house is about half done. This is my fifth day devoted to it. I have to do everything--carry the timber and stones, make mortar, build chimney, etc., etc., as a team would cost me about a hundred dollars per day.

*November 29* . Beautiful day indeed, and Thanksgiving Day here, as appointed by our Governor, as well as in Massachusetts and Philadelphia. I wonder if all my family and relatives are alive and well; if so, they have had a happy Thanksgiving, they have thought of me, and talked of me, and my absence has been the only drawback to their happiness. 74 Well, I have kept the day here, though hard at work building my house, as I fear it will rain before it is finished. I have kept the day, however, by reflecting on the many mercies of God, and remembering with a grateful heart how my life and health have been preserved, and what are my present prospects of success. It is truly a source of gratitude that I have enjoyed almost uninterrupted health ever since I left home, and I am able to endure hardships that a year ago I would not have dreamed of. My only Thanksgiving dinner was a slice of salt pork, some hard bread and some tea, but it tasted as good as the sumptuous dinners eaten in former years. Had no patients today. Tonight it is full moon and the heavens are very clear, a charming night though rather cool. It froze a quarter inch thick last night and will again tonight.

*December 1* . Visited Mr. Tupper but did not prescribe, as he was well. Prescribed for a patient at Yorkville.

*December 2, Sunday* . Cloudy and threatening rain all day, but the stars are now dimly seen and the rain will probably not come. Had no professional business today. A man brought me fifteen pounds of ham at one dollar a pound. Went to neighbor to have it weighed. He had a prejudice against the man and for a trifling remark kicked him in the face and threw a tumbler at him. I wish Douglas could have seen how frightful this neighbor looked when he was angry, and my little boy would try to govern his temper.

*December 3* . Cloudy and cold all day, in evening rain. I have had one of my patients assisting me today and my house will be done in a few days. Then I can be comfortable with a fire to sit by. Friends at home will hardly believe that I have lived till the 3rd of December without fire, and in a tent, and that only during the last month I have had even the covering of a tent. From the 10th of May till the 30th of October I slept in the open air, on the ground or on the deck of a vessel, with the exception of about a half dozen nights, and was comfortable.

*December 4* . It snowed last night and the ground, trees, tents, houses, and hills this morning were all white. It was quite cold all day and the snow has not all melted. Two patients at Yorkville.

*December 5 and 6* . Froze about quarter inch last night. Work in shirt-sleeves in daytime. Peruvian helped me with my house. I have suffered from cold for several nights and wish my house were done.

*December 7* . Beautiful day and warm, about 50 degrees Fahrenheit. Two visits at Yorkville.

*December 8* . Paid fifty dollars twenty-five cents in full for flour and sugar to Mr. Pierce.

*December 9* . Three patients from Yorktown came here for advice. Clear and very cold.

*December 10* . Prescribed for others here.

*December 12* . Prescribed for Noble Morehouse at mouth of Sullivan's Creek. He paid four dollars eighty cents; owes three dollars twenty cents. Last night had a terrible storm of wind, and early this

morning my tent blew down. House not finished, roof on only one side. Tried to stretch tent over for a roof, but it blew so hard that I could only get it on part way. Continual dropping all the time in a dozen places, and no sides as yet more than wicker work, and not that on one side or in front. I slept none last night. Visited a Chileno for sore leg. He gave me two boxes of sardines.

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*December 13* . Although so exposed, with water dropping on me half the night, I slept remarkably well and woke early thoroughly refreshed. Rained hard nearly all day; creek swelled so as to be impassable without wading to thighs. Visited Chileno again.

*December 14* . It cleared for about two hours this morning and then began to rain again; after that snow and hail. Slept cold last night. Have stopped up and plastered one side and back of house. Called to see Mr. Howell, who died about twenty minutes after my arrival of congestive fever. Had to go about six miles on foot through a driving storm. Had a mule to return with, but he several times sunk in the mud so as almost to stick fast. When I returned at dusk, found tent partly blown off my house, but no other harm done. Evening clear.

*December 19* . Clear. Still at work on roof and able only to complete it about one-third of way. It clouded toward night. I have stretched my tent over for another storm.

*December 20*. It rained hard last night and all day today. Prescribed for Emanuel with sore legs and furnished medicine.

*December 21* . Still raining and everything exceedingly uncomfortable. If my family knew what I have gone through during the last week they would be frightened. It is a matter to me of surprise and gratitude that I am perfectly well. Prescribed again for Chileno.

*December 22* . Prescribed for Stanly at Wood's Creek; he was poisoned. I charged him an ounce for advice and medicine. He went away, as he said, to get the money, but never returned. Clear today and quite warm; thermometer at eighty degrees in sun.

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*December 25, Christmas* . Last night continual firing of guns and pistols. Beautiful day. Ate pork and beans and plum pudding with my neighbors, Forbes and Thompson, and had quite a sociable time. I enjoyed it much. Thought much of home, how we had spent Christmas other years. No presents now for the children. Well, I hope in time to make them a present of myself and then to remain at home as long as life lasts. Reflecting on the mercies of God during the past year, have felt truly grateful, and am encouraged for the future to commit my ways unto Him. Religion is a great source of consolation to a man out here. All around him is heathenism, infidelity and licentiousness; how delightful to retire to my mansion and hold secret converse with my Heavenly Father.

*December 28* . Lovely day after threatening weather. Full moon this evening and a more lovely evening I never saw. Worked at front of my house, plastering it till ten o'clock. It is as warm as the middle of May with us. Wish my wife were here to enjoy it.

*December 29* . Another lovely day and evening. Received a long letter today from my wife. It cost me two dollars eighty cents, and I thought that cheap enough for the treat. Have not had any letter before this since I left San Francisco. She speaks of another letter which I never received.

*December 30, Sunday* . Another clear day. Received two other letters from my wife, written before the one received yesterday, and now my chain of narrative from home is complete up to date of last.

*December 31* . Cloudy and threatening in afternoon. Clear in morning and I went over to Mormon Creek. Received 78 for it two ounces, and I am to prepare medicine to amount of another ounce for two other persons. The young man I had attended there in November has gone to San Francisco without paying me. The last day of the year! How many mercies I have experienced during the past year, and on reviewing some of them today I think I have felt truly grateful.

*January 1, 1850* . A new year begun, and I alive and surrounded with mercies. My health has been excellent, although within the past week I have been troubled some with cholera morbus and dysentery. It returned last night after my long walk of about sixteen miles. Called today to treat a severe case of peritonitis, Pasanio Ramon; bled him, gave a solution of one teaspoon morphia, and

had bowels fomented all day with hot whiskey with four tablespoons of morphia in it. Visited him three times; charged two ounces. Sent bill to San Francisco to agent to collect two hundred eighty-eight dollars owed me by Alexander McLoughlin for medical advice and medicines.

*January 4* . Finished my chimney today. Felt better than I have before for a week.

*January 8* . Sick with what I feared was inflammation of the bowels, but treated myself very actively, and in the course of a few hours the pain subsided. Sent a letter to my wife urging her to come out with the family when Mr. West comes back.

*January 14* . It has rained almost every day since the ninth. Very cold Sunday night, so as to freeze ice one-quarter inch thick. Snow last night; rain today. I have been homesick for past two weeks, and several nights have lain awake all night. Yesterday read over all three letters 79 from my wife, and longed more than ever to see her and the children. My only consolation here is in God. He has said, "Cast thy burden on the Lord"; I try to do it, and then I feel a confidence that He will yet prosper me and restore me to my family, or bring them to me here, and that we shall live together and glorify Him for His goodness.

*January 23* . Snowed all day. Bought one ounce of Iodide of Potassium from Dr. Burke and paid him two dollars for it in full.

*January 24* . Rained hard all last night and all day to-day. I kept to the house, except to get some wood.

*January 25 and 26* . Rained. Confined to the house with inflammation of the lungs. Neighbors very kind; cut wood for me.

*January 27, Sunday* . Clear and delightful. Much better today.

*January 28* . Clear. Still gaining health again. Went out to see my patients.

*January 29* . Clear in morning. Went to Sonora. Toward sundown it began to rain and rained very hard until about ten P.M.

*February 3, Sunday* . Beautiful and warm. There was preaching about a mile below here, but I knew nothing of it until it was too late.

*February 17, Sunday* . Since the fifth we have had delightful weather, no rain, and it seems as if spring had come upon us. Good grass now for mules. Frogs have been croaking for three weeks. My business of late has been very good indeed. During the past week I have received from new patients over two hundred dollars. If this continues for a year, I can go home to my family. My increase in business 80 has been owing to great success in the treatment of disease prevailing extensively, scurvy combined with stiff legs. I hope I feel ever thankful to the kind Providence who directed me hither. My Bible I love more than ever, and I derive unspeakable pleasure in reading it every day. Bought a Chilean mule last week for a hundred fifty dollars.

*February 25* . Rain on 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd; 23rd and 24th clear and cold; ice one-quarter inch thick. Mountains around covered with snow, except just here at Jamestown.

*February 26* . Started at noon for Tuolumne City and, after riding over very muddy roads for about twenty-five to twenty-eight miles, we reached Barnett's Ranch a little after dusk.

*February 27* . The house last night was filled with travelers, and Captain Waters and myself had to sleep in the cook house, covered with raw hides which did not lap. About ten o'clock it commenced raining hard; there was soon a puddle under me and I got up. Slept none all night. It seems this morning that those who took our places in the house were skinflints who paid nothing to the landlord. We had a very cold and unpleasant ride today, about thirty miles, most of the way across a large plain. Had a severe hailstorm in the middle of it. Reached the city about three o'clock P.M. Found eight tents and two houses. The part surveyed has no clear title, there being several claimants, and the present speculators will sell only for cash, showing that they have no confidence in the title. Adjoining this is a ranch owned by Thomas Pyle, who has a clear and undisputed



title. He will have a portion of his land surveyed in a few weeks. The location is beautiful, but the objections are 81 the mosquitos, and the impossibility of coming across the bar in the river with even a light, small steamboat if freighted.

*February 29* . Remained at the city all day to look about and to rest ourselves. Were much amused with the importance of Alcalde Swazy, a broken merchant from San Francisco, “the most popular man in San Francisco”; the man who made a speech and dressed down Governor Smith, and a few days afterward, “Smith met me and said, ‘You were pretty hard on me the other night!’”; the man who talked plainly to General Riley; and, above all, the man who had a hundred thousand dollars worth of patriotism; for his firm did the principal business in San Francisco at that time, “and we paid a hundred thousand dollars worth of illegal custom house duties. But I told the firm we should not demand it back from the general government; it neither belongs to us, nor to the government, but to the people of California, who really paid the duties, for we only added them on to the price of our goods!”

*March 1* . A pleasant day. Started for home and reached Barnett's Ranch.

*March 2* . It commenced raining about eight this morning and rained quite hard for two hours. Then was clear and cloudy by turns during rest of day. When I reached home, about four P.M., found an election going on and my name on the ticket for Alcalde. Was elected. Lost one blanket and table cover on the road. They worked from under the saddle.

*March 3-10* . A cold week and stormy about half of the time. During the past two weeks the weather has been as severe as at any time during the winter. Practice dull 82 this week. Somewhat homesick to see Lizzie and the chicks. Last night read over one of her old letters and tonight shall read another. Last year, on Saturday, March 10, I left home in the afternoon to commence the trip to California. A year of many hardships, of much anxiety, of countless difficulties, dangers and mercies!

*March 11 and 12* . Wind and rain, like equinoctial at home.

*March 13* . Today again it storms. Such weather as this I think more of home; indeed my thoughts are continually away thousands of miles from here, with my lovely wife and darling children. If they were here I should be contented.

*March 26* . Most of the time between the fifteenth and twenty-fifth was cold and rainy and it froze as hard at night as in winter. On the twenty-fourth had a mass meeting here to nominate county officers; put me on the ticket for county recorder. Not much like Sunday.

*April 15* . Have been much occupied with the election which took place on the first and collecting the returns. The result has been my election as county recorder for two years, of which I received an official certificate today. Till within a week the weather has not been settled. Now we have real summer days, thermometer at eighty-five in the shade. Today sent a letter to B. England, directed to Sacramento City, in reference to my goods, asking him to send me an order on Simmons, Hutchinson and Company in San Francisco, with whom they are stored subject to England's order. Received two letters from my wife last week, postmarked December 10 and 31. Quite homesick after reading them.

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*April 16* . List of names sent today to Legislature, praying for an act to incorporate us as a town here in Jamestown:

B. F. Butterfield William Wright Lewis C. Gunn Byron Woodworth F. O'Neill Robert S. Miller  
Chas. M. Raffe Ralph J. Forbes C. Estey William E. Cuttrell Edward C. Andrews J. B. Rochette  
J. W. Van Benschoten S. Demilt John McDonald Henry Holmes Allen Mardis J. Van Wagner A.  
Coindreau Charles Briggs A. W. Richardson John K. Hunt Zenas K. Smith

(Then follows a list of precincts of Tuolumne County.)

Sonora, Shaw's, Hills, Pine Crossing, American and Sullivans, and territory between and in vicinity  
No. 1 Mormon Diggings, McLean's Ferry and Peoria No. 2 Curtisville, Green Spring and Barnett's

No. 3 Jacksonville and Stephen's Bar No. 4 Hawkin's Bar and Don Pedro's Bar No. 5 Tuolumne City and Vicinity No. 6

*April 21, Sunday* . It has been very cold all this week. Last night we had ice one-eighth of an inch thick.

Have received my barrel shipped at New Orleans, one year ago, but several things are missing: viz., four butcher knives, a large memorandum book given me by Mary Stickney, 84 one pound green tea, one steel for sharpening knives. The cost of this barrel, after its arrival in San Francisco, was forty dollars. Also received my box stored with Cooke, Baker and Company. Looking over the various articles has reminded me continually of home. Would that I were again united with my family!

My father's election to the office of county recorder and his increasing medical practice were probably the reasons which made him decide to remain in California. He moved his office to Sonora, which had grown very rapidly and become the county seat. In November, 1850, he bought an interest in the Sonora *Herald* , and soon after began the building of an adobe house, for which he hired Mexican laborers. This house had the printing office and recorder's office on the first floor and dwelling rooms above. It was the first two-storied house built in the town. Before it was completed my mother had started with her four children on the six-months' journey around Cape Horn. She arrived in Sonora August 13, 1851.

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THE VOYAGE AROUND CAPE HORN FEBRUARY-AUGUST, 1851

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### **THE VOYAGE AROUND CAPE HORN**

ON January 30, 1851, my mother left Philadelphia for California. She sailed with her four children on a large ship, the *Bengal* , which was on its way to China via San Francisco. They stopped in only one port, Valparaiso, and were on the water for more than six months, reaching San Francisco

on August 9, 1851. Mother chose this way of traveling because the only other possible route was across the Isthmus of Panama, which would have been far harder and more dangerous for her with the children. They were Douglas, nine and one-half years old; Chester, seven and a half; Sarah, just five, and Lizzie, two and a half. The Captain's wife, Mrs. Bray, and a Mr. Grover were the only other passengers.

Mother was just forty years old. She was a little person, not quite five feet tall, who all her life weighed less than a hundred pounds. Her quick movements and her vivacity in conversation were signs of an ardent temperament, yet In repose her face showed strength and quietness as well.

Her journal letters, written to her mother and sisters, I have prefaced by letters to my father from my grandmother and aunts, telling of the departure on a cold winter morning.

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#### LETTERS FROM THE PHILADELPHIA FAMILY TO LEWIS C. GUNN IN CALIFORNIA

*From Elizabeth Le Breton Wright*

DEAR LEWIS:

The time came at last for L. and the little ones to depart, and we all felt sad--very sad. The children all said they must kiss "Mamma Wright" twice over. The baby will miss me. She always made such account of coming up to my chamber, and then to ask for sugar plums. For three months no one must get her to sleep but Mamma Wright. She is a darling child, but they will spoil her on board ship, she is so cunning. And so is Sarah, a very interesting child. They are all pretty good children; we wish we had their likenesses to look at.

The papers you sent have come safe to hand, and give us a good idea of Sonora. Your house is a very nice one indeed. I am very glad you have so good a place for them to live in. I wish you could hear the talk in my room-it is of nothing but Lizzie and the children. I pray that you may be so blessed as to receive them all in health and safety, and that you may be very happy while you tarry

there. May our Heavenly Father bless you and yours forevermore, is the prayer of your affectionate  
MOTHER

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*From Mary Thurston Stickney*

DEAR LEWIS:

Well, your tribe are at last on their windy way, and we are lonesome as partridges on the mountains. We saw them off, bag and baggage, and now we shall be impatient till we hear from them. It has been so cold, and the wind unfavorable, that I do not suppose they have got outside the capes yet.

Our darling baby is a great pet. Mother says she will be spoiled on board ship. I don't know how much spoiling there is left to be done, but when she gets to California she is not to be spanked, on no account. Have faith in human nature, and it will all come right--at least our baby's will! You will find they have some small quantity of baggage with them, beside innumerable boxes of freight. You will have to charter a small vessel to take them up to Sonora.

M. T. S.

*From Hannah Lee Stickney*

Saturday Morning, February 1, 1851

You will now guess, dear Lewis, that your dear wife and precious children are on the wide ocean. On Thursday morning, at eight o'clock, they went on board the ship. Mary and I went with them. Mother stayed at home, as it was very cold--a sudden change in the weather. It was a clear, bright, sunshiny morning, and all were in good spirits, the children happy as ever, the baby with a "tater" she was going to carry to her papa. We stayed on board till half past nine, busy all the time fixing the berths and getting ready for seasickness. Then M. and I went on shore 90 and stood on the wharf. As it was very cold, and there was great confusion outside, Lizzie and the children stayed in the cabin. We soon saw their faces at the windows; they had got up in their berths and could

see us nicely. Sarah's fat cheeks and laughing eyes were very conspicuous. The boys waving their handkerchiefs, and Lizzie and the baby who has grown fat and hearty, were at the window. The Captain's wife was walking the quarter deck, and Mr. Grover, only other passenger, a tall, fine-looking man, stood on the deck with his arms folded, looking exceedingly solemn. Then the crew went on board, and soon the ship was fastened to the ice-boat and turned around, and we thought we would stay and see them go down the river, although we could no longer see their faces. Mr. Ball told us they were going to take down a Liverpool packet, and would stop again at Dock Street wharf, so we ran down there and got a nice place to stand, "to take observation," and soon they came in sight and stopped, and the packet was fastened onto the other side of the steamer. The *Bengal* was on the side toward us, and soon Lizzie and the boys and Sarah, with their things on, standing on the deck. Of course they did not expect to see us, but we waved our handkerchiefs with all our might, and soon they caught sight of us, and Sarah set up a shout you might have heard for half a mile. Mr. Grover and the boys waved their hats, and Lizzie her handkerchief, and the first mate recognized us and waved his hat with a great flourish. He carried the baby on board and said she should be his pet all the voyage. The captain took Sarah. He seems to be a very good man; he has a voice like a Boanerges, and looks stout and courageous enough to march up to the cannon's mouth.

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So the two vessels went down the river, the ice-boat in the middle. The steam rolled up in the sun between the masts and condensed in a thick white cloud of foam. It was a glorious sight. We left them and wended our way home, almost frozen. The thermometer was six above zero, and Wednesday it was forty-two! All through January it has been like April. I believe I have written all. Goodbye.

Affectionately, H. L. S.

P. S.: Monday morning, February 3.--The telegraphic report in the Ledger shipping news says that the ship *Bengal*, for San Francisco, was outside of the breakwater, standing out to sea, at seven o'clock Sunday evening. So they are fairly on their way. They went very slowly, we presume

on account of the ice. They may possibly have stopped, as they were from Thursday morning till Sunday evening getting to the ocean. Heaven grant that you may meet in health and peace. Goodbye. H. L. S.

JOURNAL LETTERS OF ELIZABETH LE BRETON GUNN WRITTEN ON THE VOYAGE TO  
THE FAMILY IN PHILADELPHIA

SHIP BENGAL, February 10, 1851

DEAR FOLKS:

We are now just about twelve hundred miles from Philadelphia. My last letter, or rather I should say my first, I sent by the pilot, who left us on Sunday evening at eight o'clock. We were then thirty miles from the ocean. It began to blow soon after we got Out of the bay, and on Monday I began to feel not quite so well as I could wish; the wind 92 blew harder and it rained occasionally, and as the gale increased of course I grew no better, but only worse, and from Tuesday until Saturday I never knew a well minute. Today is Monday, and I only just begin to feel like myself.

Of the children, Chester has felt the worst; he lay in bed all one day and the greater part of several others; Douglas and Sarah were really ill only one day, and Lizzie scarcely at all.

Captain Bray says the blow was tremendous. The sea rose up like mountains, and the rain poured down at times like great guns, and the wind was like the roar of a thousand lions. Outside, the sails rattled and banged; the Captain was calling to the men and they answering, taking down and putting up, and pumping Out water, which had to be done every four hours, though it is usually done only once a day. As I lay, I could hear the crockery smash to pieces, and trunks and boxes and chairs come tumbling down; such a din--no sleep or rest, night or day.

On Tuesday, as Chester lay in his bed, he said, "Oh, dear, I keep thinking of Mamma Wright and Aunt Hannah and Aunt Mary all the time. Oh, dear, don't you, mother'? Such nice bread as Mamma

Wright had, not a bit like this. Aunt Hannah says she expects to keep school all her life, but I mean to dig some silver and gold as soon as I get there, and send it, so she shan't keep school any more."

The other children were dressed and out in the cabin. Most of the windy days Lizzie had to stay in bed, because she could not stand a minute on the floor. I had to dress her as I lay in bed, and Douglas was very good. He could run about and get things for me and help take care of her. As she lay in bed, she would knock with her elbow on the 93 wall, and say, "I love Mamma Wright; Mamma Wright not here. I her darling. I go shopping, buy some candy for my dolly !"

Mrs. Bray was quite seasick also, never so long before, she says. We both looked like distress.

One day Captain came to my door and said I must come out. I had been about two hours dressing, I had to lie down so often. He took hold of me, and put on my cloak, and after several attempts got me up onto the "house," as he calls the top of the cabin. Douglas and the baby were up there, walking up and down, not one bit sick. And soon up came Sarah and Chester; the Captain had dressed them himself and brought them up, and when I went down after two hours, the beds were all stripped and the rooms being aired. I have taken some oatmeal gruel, but most of the time only water, which is very good and cold. I did not feel a bit of fear during the gale, as I should have thought I would. I suppose I was too sick. I told the Captain today it was no concern of mine how the vessel went, I left all that to him. The wind drove us on our way at the rate of two hundred and five miles in twenty-four hours, and that, two or three days in succession. Today and yesterday we have gone about seventy-five miles each day. It has been really hot in the sun, although the wind is cool. I sat up on the house all day yesterday (Sunday). I had on my sack, fur cape, and cloak. I could hardly sit up, but I leaned on the skylight and read a little, and looked at the water. The children are all quite well, and I feel better today. We have been out all day. The children have not studied much yet. We have had fresh beef every day, but it is all gone now. We have chicken broth for the sick. We brought along 94 one hundred and twenty ducks, a large lot of geese and sixteen or seventeen pigs. A dozen chickens died during the very cold weather.



*February 12* . I feel pretty well today, but Not as I used to feel at home. I don't like the bread; it is light and sweet but so salty. I don't feel a bit of appetite for meat three times a day, and we always have two or three kinds, and always soup Or stew, pork and cabbage, beans, potatoes, and beets We have bread and butter, apples and cranberries for tea. Last night the Captain's wife made doughnuts. They were sweet, but not “short” like ours. She makes all the puddings, and often the bread. I am glad of it, for she is much cleaner than the cook and steward. Oh, nothing like the spoons and knives and forks and plates and glasses did I ever behold; I wipe mine on the table cloth, and mean to.

We have nice pleasant weather now, and sit on the house in cape bonnets, but I still wear my green gown and sack. Lizzie had on her sack today; her wrapper was too warm.

I washed today for the first time. I soaped the clothes and put them to soak over night, had some warm water put to that this morning, washed them out, and gave them a rinse in Salt water. My tub is just right. I washed in the children's cabin and rinsed outdoors. The Captain put out a line for me. I had underclothes, bibs, and stockings for the children, and one night gown for myself; I was too tired to do any more for myself this time. As to ironing, I shan't be able to do it. If the cook is at work, he wants the stove all to himself, as he has twenty-eight men to cook for, beside the cabin. And if he is not cooking, the fire is out. As the binding of her gown is all that adorns Mrs. Bray's 95 neck, and I do not want to be “prouder dressed” than my neighbors, I have put away my collars and all my becomings, except my little pin; but I have begun to fix up my hair again, and it looks tolerable.

Went up on the house with the children after supper. They ran and played and enjoyed themselves Very much. After a while Sarah and Lizzie each took a hand to walk with me, and Sarah said, with a sorrowful tone, “Don't you remember Mamma Wright, and Aunt Hannah, and Aunt Mary?” “Yes, what are you thinking about them?” She began to sob low, and at last said, “They used to tell us hymns and poetry, and I can't ‘member it,” and she sobbed again. At last she said, “Shall I ever see them again?” I could hardly quiet her. To change her thoughts I talked about her birthday. As she

was going to bed, I asked her, "What are you going to dream about tonight--Papa?" "No, Mamma Wright and Aunt Hannah and Aunt Mary," and her tears came again.

*February 21, Friday* . My last date was the twelfth, and how sick I have been since then, not able to do anything but read. Whole days have I sat up on the house, or lain there, and looked at the sky and ocean, and not read a word nor done anything else. I can't bear the sea, and if my husband went to sea, he might go; I would not! The steward tells me that I have not been Out a month, and can't expect to be well; soon I shall be as strong as six women! I have lost about all my strength and am very thin. I hate the sight of food, and the smell is awful! The Captain has given me bark and brandy, and it has done me good; what I have eaten today tastes better. I have got out one of my silver spoons, for the lead ones "turn my stomach." They had 96 roast goose today and it was roasted till it was black. I eat gruel and crackers, and we have elegant ham and vegetables.

I would give a great deal to sit down to supper with you all, just for once. I could eat bread and butter, and a bit of pie or gingerbread. How good it would taste! I have not eaten any of my gingerbread but once. I have not wanted anything sweet, but if I can keep well, I mean to have some soon.

The children, except Douglas, have been ill again too. Chester feels it most and Sarah next. Douglas is very well, and well it is for me. He takes such nice care of Lizzie, and she is willing he should.

Our latitude is 18.20, and our longitude 34.20. It is not hot, only in the sun. We have very cool winds, so cold that we are glad to sit in the sun, id yet we have entered the tropics some days since, and are running down the African coast. We have come twenty-six hundred miles in eighteen days.

We saw a ship a few days ago, a French vessel, and the Captain sent up his Rag to show he wanted to speak. She ran up hers but would not come alongside, though she could have done so as well as not. We did not like it at all. He wanted her to report us since it was too rough to send letters on board. We are now Out of track of vessels coming from Europe and have no chance of passing any

more. Tonight we saw another ship, probably an Indiaman, homeward bound to England. Neither would she stop; she did not want anything of us.

I wish our vessel would stand still a little while. I feel worse in the morning, "tip up and tip down." When I wash, I have to brace myself close against the place, or 97 down I go. I have had the carpets taken up in our staterooms and the floors washed. I have two trunks in the room, and the blue chest in the entry, and the big trunk is placed at the end of the sofa, against one of the doors into the dining room, and that door is closed. Our water is very good indeed, not as cold as it was but good tasting, Very. We wash with salt water. The baby dislikes it. One morning when I washed her, she said, "I hardly can bear it. Captain Bray must give us better water."

The ship tips so on one side I can hardly write, so I will stop, only saying, "I do want a piece of my mother's brown and white bread very much."

*February 25, Tuesday* . I have had another attack of seasickness and could not hold up my head. I lay on the floor of the house all day Saturday, and that night concluded I would take an emetic in the morning and I did. I feel much better, but weak very, and so thin! I hope now I shall be better. I have a lot of things to wash and I want to get well. I can't sew or do anything else. I have made one shirt sleeve, perhaps, and that is all.

The children run about and enjoy themselves as well as ever. Lizzie grows fat. They are burned and tanned. Douglas lost his straw hat overboard a week ago. It was tied on tight but the wind took it.

We saw and spoke two vessels today, the first from the Cape of Good Hope. There was a woman on board. They came alongside and the Captain took his trumpet and had a short talk. They were bound for London and would report us there. In two weeks from that time we shall be reported in America, a round-about proceeding you will say, but they may meet an American vessel and report us to it.

The next vessel was a large one from Java, bound for Amsterdam. I wish we could meet an Indiaman bound for New York. I doubt if we can send any letters home, before we get there, as it is very unusual to stop vessels long enough. We shan't do it unless we can throw them on board. So I shan't write very long letters, but rather closely, and shall send after I get there.

We have come very fast, thirty-five hundred miles in twenty-two days. We were in longitude 28.25, latitude 9.56 today at noon. If we go as fast for the next four days, we shall get up to the "line." But the sun is some ten degrees south of the line, so we have as yet cool winds. I have to wear my fur cape every day, and put on thread stockings for the first time today. The dew falls even in the daytime. The sun was out today, and yet by half past four the decks were quite wet. And this is mildew. It has turned the paint and sails black. The baby's shoes show it plainly. We feel the heat at night. I cannot keep anything but a sheet over me, and the door of the children's room and the outside one are open all night.

*February 29, Friday* . The last day of the month, and so warm, like June. Hardly any wind today; only made forty-seven miles. I changed my clothes to the old muslin-delaine gown and a thin petticoat, and changed the children's too. They do get so dirty; the sun draws out the tar and it sticks to their clothes and shoes.

I feel quite well today. I can eat with better appetite. We had boiled salt beef and ham--very nice indeed--beets, turnips, parsnips, baked beans, bean soup, potatoes, cranberry sauce, pickles, bread, boiled rice, and apple pudding with sauce, and raw tomatoes too--all that for 99 dinner! For tea we have chocolate, water, hot and cold bread, butter, cheese, cranberry, cold meats, crackers, and sometimes tarts, cake, or pie!

Saw a ship today, but it did not come near. We live outdoors all the time, it is so warm. Today our longitude is 26.25 and latitude 5.49.

*March 1, Saturday* . We have not had any rain for over two weeks till today, and it came down by pailfuls. Mr. Grover got out his pitcher, Mrs. Bray her pail. and I my tub, to get some fresh water,

and after it was over we all washed out a few things. I only washed my calicoes today, and put my white things in soak for Monday. The sailors had a wash, too, and you would have laughed to see the lines of clothes; theirs were hung "fore" and ours "aft." There were white, blue, striped, checked, and calico shirts, to say nothing about the grey ones. We were glad to have some fresh water to bathe with, too, for the salt water doesn't take off the dirt. It is now seven o'clock, and the children, washed very clean, are in bed, and I feel quite well and hope to continue so.

We had brown-bread cakes, rye and Indian, for supper. Mrs. Bray made them and they were elegant--tasted like home. Our butter is soft, but sweet and good, and our water excellent, just exactly like yours in hot weather. We want ice in it. The Captain sometimes calls for lemon and cider, and we all have a nice drink. On the whole we have plenty of everything, and very good, all but the flour bread. The flour is not good, and Mrs. Bray says she told Mr. Coffin so, and yet he got twelve barrels, enough to last a year. Then the bread is so salt--I never eat a bit of it. We have Indian bannock, and mush, and crackers and cake 100 and pie, and I leave the white bread for those who like it. The air is nice and cool now; the damp which came on every afternoon has not visited us today. The sun came out at noon after the rain and the clouds at sundown were beautiful.

Do you remember reading about the bright light seen in the wake of vessels in the warm regions? We often see it. It sparkles and glows like thousands of diamonds. There will be long, broad masses of it, with brighter stars scattered through. Colton says it is caused by dolphins chasing other fish, but no fish can be seen. It lasted all one night, growing brighter at intervals as the ship moved up and down in the water.

One of the sailors got a dolphin today with a spear. It is about as large as a shad, and when it dies, it turns different colors. "You ought to see it, Marm; it's the prettiest fish you ever saw die," said the steward; but it was dead before I got a sight of it. The sailors had it for supper.

We had boiled rice today with dried apple in it; it is a great improvement, at least at sea. Have just been to see the bright light at the fore end of the ship, and had to climb up the highest places. Mr. Bragdon pushed me, and the Captain pulled me, and I got up onto the edge of the vessel on my

knees and looked over. It was magnificent, and if the stars had not been very bright, it would have been more so. As the vessel rose and fell and pushed the waves from her, bright sparks, brighter than the stars, flew in every direction.

We often go out to look at the stars. We have a map of the heavens, and Mr. Grover finds the stars, and we all look for them in the sky. The Captain knows them very well.

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I must tell you what great friends Mr. Bragdon and Lizzie are. He takes her to see the pigs and chickens almost every day. She loves him very much, and always calls out "Mr. Bragdon" when she sees him. When she wants me to tell her about "home," it is always about Mamma Wright. She and Chester often have a talk by themselves about old times. He will ask her if she remembers each of you, and she says, "Yes, I does."

I must tell you about the cake; I have not been able to eat it before, but today it tasted very good, and I gave some to each of the children, and they were delighted because you made it for them. Mrs. Bray says preserves will keep at sea just twenty-four hours after they are opened. So I shall not open any of mine. I have not looked into the chest yet nor taken off the rope. Things are likely to keep well in it. They cannot be shaken about; Hannah took care of that when she packed it.

*March 9, Sunday* . We crossed "the line" last Friday at two o'clock. I was not very well and was down stairs at the time, so I did not see it. However, as we cross it again, I may see it then. It is quite warm, thermometer about 80 degrees for the past week. We had a two-days' calm, and then it was very hot indeed, but when we have a good wind and are going fast, it is cool out of the sun. We have made about three hundred and twenty miles since we crossed the line, and are running down as near the coast of South America as we can, about three hundred miles off. We have had N.E. trade winds since we were in latitude 30, until Thursday and Friday when it was calm. Now we have S.E. trade winds. Usually ships do not keep the N.E. trades so long and have to run out toward the coast of Africa; we 102 have come faster in consequence. Our baby is a pet with everybody. The steward says she is worth her weight in gold, the best child that ever was. I put her to bed tonight,

and as she was calling to Sarah not to make so much noise, and was very still, I looked in soon after, thinking to find her asleep. And there she was, sitting in bed and putting little strips of paper which she was wetting with her tongue all along the side of her bed. When I looked again, she had fallen asleep with her hands folded on her bosom, and a little strip of paper beside them. When I asked her this morning where you were, she said, "In the kitchen making pies!" That was something she was particularly interested in.

I have done but little sewing for every time it is rough I feel not exactly sick, but not far off. I hope we shall have a short passage. I washed last Monday again, had two dozen pieces. I soaked them all Sunday and changed the water at night. My washing was nearly all done before eight o'clock breakfast. Though I had only two waters, both of them cold and fresh, the clothes looked better than I expected. I shall not wash again till we have more fresh water. We have plenty of showers, but they last only a few minutes. Our drinking water, though warm, is still good and sweet. We have lemonade or lemon syrup almost every day. Besides we have walnuts and apples and raisins. We have no milk, but something that they mix with water and use in chocolate. It looks like milk and tastes like it in the chocolate. Today we had roast goose for dinner with beets and potatoes; all our other vegetables have spoiled. We also had baked plum pudding.

*March 16, Sunday Evening* . We have warm weather but good winds, and on the house in the open air we can 103 keep cool. The sun is very hot, and the tar boils up out of the seams between the boards, and the children have got it on their clothes, of course. Mrs. Bray has it on hers, too, but I have escaped so far, except for the soles of my shoes. I feel much better than I did, id this week I have done a good deal of sewing. We have had no rain for a week and I long for some. I want to wash.

Yesterday I wanted to see how the things in the closet were, and I pulled them all out. I opened the larger cake box for the first time, and I found it looked just as nice and tasted just as good as when we packed it in Philadelphia. I cut off a little piece and put it in the box with the gingerbread, which is also in excellent order, and then I covered it up well and put a paper over it and shut it down tight, and I shan't touch it again very soon. The apples and lemons are getting low, so we may want

the cake more later than we do now; moreover, I want to try to keep some till the last, to see how well it will keep.

We have seen several vessels the past week, one English, going from South America to Denmark. We asked her to report us. There is another English ship in sight now which has been alongside and behind us for several days. She is going round the Cape to Valparaiso. Our time now is three hours later than yours.

Our Captain is one who commands, and no mistake, and he uses language that maybe slips out before he means it shall--anyhow it comes out. He is quick and gets angry in a minute, and loses command of his temper.

We saw the Southern Cross even before we reached the equator, very low in the sky. It is not a perfect cross; it was on its side, as you might say, when we first saw it; but, now 104 it is high, it looks right. Tonight, as Douglas was getting into his berth, he said, "Mother, I see a cross in the sky." He had not heard about it before. We have beautiful moonlight now; you could read very well, even fine print, it is so light.

*March 29* . Lat. 29.42, long. 42. For the past four days we have not gone over 50 miles a day, and today we have not gone at all. That is, we have gone back just as fast as we have gone forward. I dislike these calms, for the ship rolls about and It makes me dizzy. I have had two seasick times, one pretty bad one, since I last wrote. A gale commenced on Tuesday at noon and lasted till Friday, and we tossed about in fine order. We could neither stand nor sit and of course must lie down. I read some, and kept the children quiet. Chester and Sarah were a little sick. Sarah and Lizzie got into my berth and played babies. We could not go to the table. The children sat against the side of the cabin, and held their plates in their laps, and half the time one would spill his water or lose his spoon or tumble over the other. I went to the table once, and my tumbler turned over, and rolled down and upset the salt, and cavorted against a plate, and was at last caught by the steward. You can't keep hold of your things-they will move off. And you can no more walk, if you are on your



feet and there comes a sudden lurch, than you can fly. Down, down you slide till you land against the wall, and there you are fast at last and must try it over again.

The Captain was up all Tuesday night, and it was very rough. You could not lie still a minute, and when you feel sick is the time you want to keep quiet. Now my head was nicely fixed in one way, and in an instant it was turned 105 right over. Now my feet were up, and now my head, now I would roll on one side, and now on the other--and feeling sick all the time. What with the noise of the men pulling the ropes and taking in sail, and the dashing of the sea as it came over the vessel with great violence, there was of course no such thing as quiet sleep. The only interesting thing was the singing of the sailors as they pulled any very heavy ropes. With the light ones they only call out "Ho, hi, heap!" that all may pull together; but when they go at the big ones, one will sing a line, and then all will join in, and such hearty singing you never heard. When they pull the "bowline," a large rope which runs through a black tarred block and pulls the mainsail (the middle sail in the ship), then the song is "Oh the bowlin', the big-bellied (or black tarred, or triangled, or what not) bowlin'!" One sings that alone, while all hold the rope; then all join in and sing, "The bowlin', bowlin', the black tarred bowlin';" then all pull at once; then stop and sing again, and another pull, till the Captain calls "Belay!" which means stop and make the rope tight around one of the belaying pins. We have the greatest times when we "tack ship," which means to turn the ship around. If she won't "keep" after she is turned, but turns right back again, as she often does because the wind is not just right, all the work is to be gone over, every sail is to be shifted again, and it is no small job; such running and calling and "yoho"-ing! I have finished seven shirts except the collars, and mended the children's clothes, and almost made Lewis' loose-gown. We have had hot weather, one day 88 degrees in the shade, but it is cooler now and we have had to put on thicker clothes. Sarah's and Lizzie's hair curl all over 106 their heads. We shall keep along the coast of South America; have been only one hundred and twenty miles off and are not much farther now. The sun sets at six o'clock and the days are growing shorter. No moon now, but Jupiter is splendid. Every night the boys have a great time looking at the stars, and the baby says, "Stars all about;" she loves to see them. When it was so very hot, I let her stay up till seven, and the others till eight. I wonder if you have got a long letter started off for me; I hope so. Good night.

April 27. It is a month since I wrote any; I thought my letters would grow too long. We expected by this time to be quite round the Cape, but here we are, lat. 55.15, long. 61, some two hundred miles from it. Since I last wrote we have had all kinds of weather, and such fogs I never saw or felt. Everything was damp; sheets so wet that when you got into bed it it was just like "taking a wet sheet," only you took two instead of one and a pillow besides. And your clothes when you dressed were as damp as if they had been wrung Out of water the night before. Even when the sun is out this dampness is felt, and in the shade the decks are quite wet. This is the real "Cape Horn weather ;" the dampness continues, but the fog is not quite so heavy. During the past week we have seen several vessels, but none near enough to speak.

We have had contrary winds almost ever since we crossed the line. The tenth of April, when about eight hundred miles from here, a storm began which lasted ten days. The roaring of the sea was like a thousand dragons, and we were under close-reefed topsails for a week. A large boat which, only a few weeks before, had been put in complete order by the carpenter, and lashed with large ropes and irons to the 107 side of the vessel, was broken by the violence of the wind and went down. Such waves! To use Captain Bray's expression, "It was an infernal, mad sea!" It was quite cold, thermometer about 45. Ne could not go to the table for two days, the ship polled so. One day even the Captain could not sit at the table; nothing could be placed on it. A piece of carpet was put over the carpet in the cabin at dinner time, and the pots in which the sea-pie and the rice were cooked were set on it, the dishes and bread were set against the wall, and the steward's boy stood by with knives and forks. The Captain sat down with a dish of boiled tongue between his legs, and cut it up, and he and Mr. Bragdon had dinner. Mrs. Bray did not get up, nor did Mr. Grover until noon. I got up and dressed, but it was as much as I could do: As the girls would not lie quiet, I dressed them; but they were on my bed most of the time, since none Of us could stand or even sit up. The boys got up on Douglas' bed, and so we ate all our meals for three days! The Captain would fill two soup plates, and the steward brought them to us. I fed Sarah and Lizzie out of my plate, and the two boys ate out of one. "Sea-pie" was the order of the day for dinner. Sometimes it was made of goose or chicken, or of chicken and fresh pork. It is a thick soup or gravy, with dumplings and potatoes and the meat cut in small pieces; it is very good indeed.

I had tough work to keep the children quiet. You must know that the mates both sleep in the daytime, as they must watch all night. One sleeps in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon, four hours each. And often the Captain takes a whole afternoon nap. As we are all very near, we have to be quite still, and it is very hard for the children 108 to keep still for eight hours. But if they are not like mice, they have "to take it," especially when the Captain sleeps. I gave them books and slates and dolls and papers, and read to them when I could; we could not see very well.

I looked over some *Freemans* and *Newburyport Herald*s . I kept the door of my stateroom Open, for the window id blind had to be closed as the water came in there. One day I got tired waiting for the steward to come for my plate after dinner and thought I would carry it to the other side of the cabin myself; so I got up and ventured out, but just then the ship rolled a little more than usual, and across the room I went quick enough, and bang I came up against the other wall. I put my plates down and got back, and into my berth, and I did not venture Out again that day. But I was not sick, and for that I was thankful. I only feel a little bad now, in storms, and I know that Mrs. Bray is sometimes worse.

It grows colder; the thermometer is now 38 degrees. I have chilblains on my hands and so have the boys. We have seen Cape-hens and pigeons, beauties; they keep on the water, flocks of them all around the vessel. We have also seen whales at a distance. I don't know when we shall get round the Cape, we have such constant head winds, often going back. One day we went back thirty miles, and we do not average over fifty miles in twenty-four hours.

We have had some of the most awful flour; it looked like rye, and the bread was almost black. It was kiln-dried, for the California market. What we have now is very good and white and makes good bread. The steward makes elegant tea-cakes, and we have pretty good dried apple pies. One night Mr. Bragdon brought out some frosted plum cake 109 and put it on the table. It had been in an air-tight box for six months and was very good, only too Strong of cloves. -Mrs. Bray said it would not have kept if the box had not been air-tight; but my box is not, and my cake has been made for five months, and if is just as good as ever. Some day I am going to bring mine out. Captain Bray wants apples stewed in molasses, and I think they are awful. But the stewed cranberries are

not sweet enough, and I put more sugar on them, for myself and the children. I know the Captain does not like it, but I have paid for it and mean to have it. *May 3, Sunday* . Lat. 57, Long. 78. Last Friday we had a sight of Cape Horn, which is a very small island. We could see the high mountains with snow on the sides. We shall go through the Straits of Magellan. The prevailing winds are still southeast, and as we want to go northwest, we often go back as we go forward. It is as cold as the first of December, and we have no fire. We are almost Out of coal, and the cook uses wood with it. We hope in a few days to be where it is warmer. Mrs. Bray feels the cold very much indeed. The children feel it very little; even the baby wants to go out and run with the rest. I let the boys play outdoors as much as they please. The baby thinks she is going to see Mamma Wright. Almost every morning she says to me, "I love you so much, and I love Mamma Wright, two mammas! My owny, downy Mamma Wright. I her darling, peshus baby. She says so, and she give me sugar plums, and I make cakes with her." I made Sarah a lot of rag babies, and they all get into Douglas' bed these cold days to play with them. They have named them Jane and Hannah and Mary.

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I long to get off this vessel! It is most tedious now, for we can't walk or sit on deck, it is so cold and windy. It often rains and snows, but we have seen no ice as yet. The lowest temperature has been 38 degrees. The average is 45, which is not so very cold, after all. I cannot sew fast because my fingers are so cold, but since I got over my first seasickness I have lost but few days for sewing. And I do not sit on the floor now to sew, but on the sofa.

Today I looked at my cake again; the plum cake is as nice as ever but there was a little mould on the plain one. I could not get at the brandy so I washed over the top with a little alcohol. I mean to give the folks some slices from the small loaf which I have cut for them. I shan't put it on the table, but will take it out this evening. As Mr. Bragdon never comes into the cabin, I shall give him some by himself. We had roast pork for dinner today, also boiled beef, boiled rice, and plum pudding.

I long to hear from you! It will be five months and likely six before I do, and seven or eight before you hear from me. I often wish I could eat supper with you--it is almost supper time now. The sun set last night at eight minutes after four o'clock. Captain and Mrs. Bray go to bed at eight, and

sometimes at half past seven, and Mr. Grover goes at half past eight. I won't. I read or sew. Mr. Grover has plenty of books, and I am reading Macaulay's *History of England* which he lent me. He is a sober, steady, quiet body, talks little and likes to read. He is walking up and down now, goes like an old granddaddy. We have good drinking water still.

*May 18, Pacific Ocean* . Long. 77, lat. 47. We thought we should soon have warmer weather and a nice quiet time 111 when we got into the Pacific Ocean, but we have had head-on seas and winds and it is still cold. This is the warmest day, thermometer 52 degrees. The eleventh of May, when we were in the Straits, we had a storm which lasted three days. Such seas! One burst through the side of the vessel and did damage to the extent of \$500. The plank it burst through was of oak, five inches thick and sixteen wide. The rush of the sea over the vessel was terrible. The sailors have not had dry clothes or beds for a month, and their feet and hands are sore from the effects of the cold. But it is now getting warmer. While the drinking water still tastes good, it looks thick and yellow. Last night we had another gale but it is over now.

I wonder how you all are and am so anxious to hear from you. We shan't get to San Francisco in less than five months, for we have now been out over 100 days. We have had a tedious time with head-winds and head-seas which are worse. Our potatoes, geese, and ducks are all gone, but we have some chickens and pigs left, and some cabbage that was put down in salt, and rice and macaroni to eat with our meat. The flour we have now is much better than we had at first, and our bread and pies are good, though you would not think so if put beside yours, nor do I. I must tell you that the folks liked the cake very much. The Captain got out a bottle of cider and we had a nice time.

*May 21, Wednesday* . We have had such a high sea that we have been obliged to stay in the house for the last six weeks. Except when it was so rough that I had to keep my berth, I have been sitting on the sofa next the dining room, in the corner where mother sat that first day when we all came down to see the vessel. I am sitting there now, writing 112 at the table, and Sarah is drawing a picture. Lizzie has my bandbox cover and a walnut. She has it on her lap, sitting in a chair with her feet in another, and she is playing have tea. I asked whom she wanted to see most, and she looked

sober as a judge, thought a moment, and said, "Mamma Wright." I asked, "What does she wear?" She said "glass," meaning spectacles. She still thinks she is going to see you and says, "Won't we have *dand* (grand) times when we get to Californer!"

I must tell you how I spend every day. We get through breakfast about nine o'clock. I make the beds myself, and sit down on the sofa to sew, and the children have their lessons. Douglas has arithmetic, grammar, and physiology, and three or four times a week he writes a composition. Chester has spelling, and geography out of a book which Ann Eliza Cook gave him. It was all to pieces, but I have mended it nicely and he likes it Very much indeed, and he has his multiplications. Sarah spells words of three letters and reads, and she begins to read pretty well. These lessons are in the forenoon; in the afternoon they run out the back door. They are not allowed to go out the other, or to go around among the men.

Douglas has been nervous at night only once. Mr. Bragdon showed the torch-light to a vessel that was passing, and the torch had spirits on it and smelt Outrageous. Everybody had gone to bed but me. Douglas called out, "Mother, what is it? Is the ship on fire?" and I heard Mrs. Bray say, "What is it". The Captain jumped up and dressed and looked about. Mrs. Bray still kept wondering, and Douglas insisting that it was fire. He opened his window and looked out, and wanted me to step out the back door, because he 113 was sure it looked very light that way. Mr. Grover called Out that the smell came from the store-room under the Captain's stateroom, so he opened the trapdoor but found nothing of course; and then he went out on deck and found Mr. Bragdon and his torch, and came in and told us that the wind blew the smell in! It was about ten o'clock. 'ye often have hard gales at night, and night before last it lightened for a long time. Douglas was not asleep. He told me about it, but did not seem the least afraid and soon went to sleep. When it storms in the daytime, I get the children around me, and tell stories and read and laugh, and never let them see I have the least fear.

Do you remember, Hannah, that you put two jars of jelly into the blue chest? I went to get out some work and saw that the cork of one was a little loose, so I tasted it. It is plum, and just as nice as when it was put up, only sugared a little on top. I put it back, and shall use it when our water gets bad. If it were going to spoil, it would have done so when we crossed the line. I am sure now that

the rest are good. I guess my preserves are superior to Mrs. Bray's, or else it is because they were boiled so much.

I am so tired of this ship I don't know what to do! I wish we would get up to warmer parts where the days are longer. Now the sun sets at five, but I cannot see to sew in the cabin much after four o'clock. I must stop now and read to the children. I read some every day.

*May 26, Monday* . Lat. 49.19. This is the first really pleasant day we have had since we left the same latitude on the Atlantic side. We are now about four hundred and fifty miles from Valparaiso, and the Captain thinks we shall stop there for water and wood. I am sorry, as it will detain us; otherwise I should not care. We have been twenty-six days coming from Cape Horn and sometimes vessels make the distance in eight days. For dinner yesterday we had stewed fresh beets and mashed potatoes. They had been cooked and put up in air-tight cases and were very good indeed. In the evening Mrs. Bray gave us some plum cake which had been done up in an air-tight box, very good, but not a bit like yours--about a third as many plums, and light colored.

I don't think I shall send any letters home from Valparaiso, for they may be as long going back as we have been in coming. And when we are Out of the influence of Cape Horn weather, we shall probably make the rest of the voyage very quickly. We have very little wood or water left. It has been as cold as November, but today is like the last of September. We are now in the same longitude as Philadelphia, and the sun sets tonight at twelve minutes before five.

Something is the matter with my watch, I cannot wind it. Mr. Grover says the main-spring is broken. We had a violent gale Saturday evening and the children were quite alarmed, Sarah particularly. It began about five and lasted till ten, and the sea was very rough all night.

*May 27, Tuesday* . Mr. Grover says there is a steamer from Valparaiso to Panama once a month. If one should leave just when we get there, we could send letters, and you would get them six weeks earlier than if we wait to send them from San Francisco; so I think I shall have my letters ready. We

do not go up to the city, but boats come out to us. We may get there in two days, and it may take us a week.

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*June 7.* We are about one hundred and fifty miles from Valparaiso and may get in tomorrow. For ten days we have not made over one hundred miles. and in eight of them we did not go over fifty. You see we take it gradually and by degree--no hurry, time enough. My sewing is not all done yet. I am making muslin nightgowns now. Today I washed about a dozen pieces. I had had no chance for a long time. Indeed it has rained every day for ten days, until today, and it rained very hard at five this morning. It was good to see the sun come out brightly after that, to have sunshine nearly all day, and to sit in it. It is cold, thermometer 56. The sun goes faster than we do, and if we stay here, as I fear we shall with such head-winds and seas, it will begin to come back to us. The 21st of June is the longest day with you and with us the shortest. I am quite downhearted at this slow way of getting on; but then I think I ought to be thankful that none of us have been sick, and that we have done so well, and that I have never felt any fear in any gales. Perhaps you will say they were not dangerous enough, but I guess Hannah would have called "Marm!" once at least, and mother would now and then have asked the Captain if he did not think there was danger, etc. But I never asked him about matters in a gale, for to see him was enough. He is as full of business as possible, and very careful about sails, etc. He won't let the ship be lost if he can help it. But he would not like to have anybody question him. He takes his own way in everything, and has it.

Our Lizzie has almost worn out the doll baby she brought to sea, and Chester told her one day she should have his, as he was almost too old to play with it. She has named it Zane (Jane) and Sarah's doll Honah (Hannah), and she 116 doesn't like it at all if I do not give them a little of everything we have to eat--cake or nuts. The Captain's nuts are all mouldy, but mine are good and sweet. I give the children two or three at a time and they like it just as well as if they had a dozen. I just had to eat a bit of cake today, and it was moist and elegant. So it won't go whole to Sonora, and I don't know as any of it will get there, if we poke along in this way; but I do want to keep some just to see how good it will be after six months at sea.



It is Saturday night and the children are in bed, and every one else except the watch. I am fatter than I was when I left you, I thought you would like to know, and my hair has grown longer but no thicker, and I have plenty of white hairs in my head. I shall be as old as the poles before I get home again. The Captain says we shall be five years getting to California at this rate; it makes him cross. I have written my letter to Peter and one to Lewis, and done them up to mail. I am going to bed. I don't like these beds one bit--I long to lie in my own. You folks could not subsist on shipboard. If you eat a peck of dirt on land, it is bushels at sea.

*Valparaiso, June 10* . In sight of port last night, and came in at nine this morning. It is very different from what I had expected, very hilly, with not a tree to be seen anywhere. We are so far from the city that we cannot see well without our glass. In town the houses are close together, but outside they are scattered about the edges of the hills and in little groups. There are no trees about them except some round shrubs like evergreens. The hills are covered with grass and low bushes. The harbor is full of vessels; there are four men-of-war. There is one little brown house I have 117 looked at so often today; there are two women and some children running in and Out. Mrs. Bray saw one of the women with a baby in her arms. Captain and Mr. Grover went ashore; they say the streets art like cow-paths. Beyond the hills are the peaks of the Andes covered with snow. You cannot think how good it was to see land and grass once more. I have had a feast of looking, and my eyes ache for it. It was so warm, we could sit out on the house all day. The children were greatly interested, Lizzie as much as the others.

You know I thought of sending a letter to Peter, but as I must pay fifty cents to send a letter, large or small, to Panama, I thought I would send his from San Francisco. You should get this at least a month before we get to San Francisco, even if we are sixty days, the usual time. Captain brought us some papers, and in them we have California news but none from Philadelphia. There is an account in one of them of three vessels which were burnt. They were loaded with bituminous coal and bound for San Francisco from Baltimore. A lady writes the account; she was on board each one of the vessels! No doubt you have read about it.

We had nice potatoes and fresh beef for dinner today We have taken in all the water we need, and the Captain thinks we do not need any wood, and hopes to get off tomorrow.

I see the cheap postage bill has passed, so my letters will not cost so much. You could have sent me a letter to Valparaiso if we had known we should stop here. I hope you will send me nice long letters. I wish when I get them I could sit down in mother's chamber and read them in the quiet. But 118 I shall most likely read them on board this vessel, and if it is in the evening, all will be as quiet as it is now; no sound to be heard but my pen and Grover's. Give my love to Peter and tell him I shall send him a long letter soon; I have four pages written already. Give my love to everybody in Philadelphia. The children wanted to write too, but I thought they had better wait a little while longer. A vessel bound from Boston to San Francisco went to pieces in this harbor a week ago, struck on a rock in a storm. I think we ought to be thankful for having been permitted to come thus far in safety, and I hope we are, and also that we shall get to San Francisco in as good condition.

I have just been out to hear the music on the men-of-war, and to see two English vessels come up and anchor beside .us. I shall begin another letter as soon as we get away and shall write no more now. Don't forget to send me long letters! We are all very well indeed, and "hope these few lines will find you enjoying the same blessing." LIZZIE

*July 2* . We are now going only four or five miles an hour and are about twenty-five hundred miles from San Francisco. We may get there in far weeks, or more likely in five. It is evening; Captain and Mr. Grover are playing backgammon as usual, Mrs. Bray is knitting, Douglas is reading, and Chester is washing his feet. The boys have not worn stockings for several weeks and now they begin to go without shoes. Sarah and Lizzie are asleep. I get them to bed and to sleep before I let the boys in. I have got off my knit petticoat--it was too warm-but as it is still cool on the house I wear that quilted coat of Mary's.

Now you are hot enough and too hot, I dare say! Day after tomorrow will be Fourth of July, but it doesn't seem 119 a bit like it here. I remember the last very well, and I guess you do--the children and the noise. You will talk it over and so will we. That was a very pleasant day.

Mr. Grover and I sit on the sofa by the table, evenings; the Captain has a stool and Mrs. Bray her rocking chair. When it is very rough she cannot use it and generally goes to bed the sooner. Mr. Grover has a nice white linen coat which he puts on about ten o'clock, but about four in the afternoon he takes it off and puts on his old calico wrapper. His shirts are blue and white twill, and he has an old black satin vest and boots he has mended himself. The Captain's shirts are red flannel in cold weather, and white cotton or linen in warm, and he wears all sorts of old coats and wrappers in turn. Today Mr. Grover washed a shirt by "towing it;" that is, he tied it to a rope and put it over the side of the vessel for an hour, and then he rubbed it out and hung it up. Captain and the sailors always tow theirs, but Mrs. Bray washes Captain's white ones.

My large pieces of sewing are all done. I had lace enough for the necks of all my fine night-dresses, but lack it for the sleeves of one. Well, I suppose I can get some; according to a San Francisco paper which we got in Valparaiso, there is everything there, and much cheaper than in Valparaiso. Potatoes are a dollar a bushel in Valparaiso and everything else accordingly.

It is very warm at night now. I put Lizzie at the bottom of the bed, and it is cooler for us both. She often lies awake after she goes to bed and talks to herself. She hears the man at the wheel answer the Captain, when he asks which way we are heading, and repeats "Nor, nor east, Sir," or "Sou, sou west, Sir." She is quite large and strong. She says, "I 120 used to have a wolling pin, and Mamma Wright had a wolling pin, and we used to make cakes togever, that's what we do!" and the idea will make her laugh and jump and clap her hands, as she tells of it, and that is very often.

I wonder where you think we are. It will be fully six months before we get to California. My little work basket does not seem as strong as expected. It is wearing Out around the bottom edge and Mrs. Bray has given me a piece of kid to bind it with. We have now the same dampness I told you of when we were in the tropics before; everything is damp and sticky Out of the sun. I don't like the sea one bit to live on! It has just struck "three bells" and all the folks have gone to bed. We have two bells, one by the wheel, "aft," and the other beyond the quarter-deck where the sailors are, "forward." The one at the wheel is small and is always struck first, every half hour. There are eight bells at 8 o'clock, one at 8:30, two at 9, three at 9:30, four at 10, five at 10:30, six at 11, seven at

11:30, and eight at 12, and so on, all around. "Eight bells" are struck six times in twenty-four hours. I was a long time finding it out. The "forward" bell is a large one, and sounds like a meeting- house bell. I love to hear it. They take hold of a short string that is tied to a clapper and strike it against the bell. "Your bells," ten o'clock, and I will say good night.

*July 6, Sunday evening* . All the folks have gone to bed, and it is just half past eight, two hours earlier than it is with you. Fourth of July was as still as a Sunday; the men had the day and enjoyed themselves sitting about. Two or three of them tried to spear a fish that kept at the side of the vessel all day, and indeed all the night before (at least we thought it was the same one) but it was not near enough. 121 Today with a hook they caught two, which we enjoyed for supper. I sometimes feel that the Captain is a very disagreeable sort of a man. I know I must consider that he does not like children very well, and hates any noise, and that they do sometimes get into mischief. Lizzie was once talking in a low tone to me, but she talked for a long time. He was in his room. When he came out with a chart, and put it on the table to look at, he said in a very unpleasant tone, "I'll put a blister: the end of your tongue if you talk so much !" the first intimation I had that he minded her prattle. One day he told Sarah she was always laughing, and if she did not stop he would "hit her a clip on the side of her head," a thing he did not mean to do at all when he said it. He often tells the boys he will cram a hot potato into their mouths. Now why can't he just say, "Children, you trouble me, and you must stop talking?" He will say what he likes and will not be contradicted. I talk very little with him. Sometimes he is polite, and then again as glum and rough as a bulldog, just the same to everybody. He evidently thinks women are beneath men in every respect; he shows that in the way he acts toward his wife. He and Mr. Grover talk considerably at table if the Captain feels like it. If not, Mr. Grover keeps still, and we often eat without one word being said, except when we ask for things. Mr. Bragdon never on any occasion makes a remark unless the Captain talks to him about his work; maybe he is not permitted to by the rules. He cannot come into the inner cabin to sit down and always sits in the outer one. The second mate and carpenter eat at the second table and they, with the steward, have a jolly time. He often sits down and eats with them, and his boy eats in the pantry.

It is very hot this evening and it rains fast. We have come more than half the distance from Valparaiso to San Francisco, and should the winds hold out, may get there in fifteen days. We have had an excellent run thus far. Every day we fear head-winds and calms.

Do you remember how Mrs. Bray said she liked to sit and let the spray come over her? She has never done it since we came to sea; and what is more, the spray never comes over unless there is a storm, and all our storms have been in cold weather, when she would not be out--but between you and me, I don't believe she would do it in a storm in warm weather!

*July 12, Saturday* . I don't know our latitude and longitude. It is half past eight, and all abed, so I can't ask, but we are probably within two weeks of San Francisco! It is not uncomfortably warm outdoors, but hot enough to melt indoors. I get up about half past five. I love to get out into the air and see the sunrise, but I have to be as quiet as a mouse with the children and Captain and Mrs. Bray all sound asleep. This morning I was up before five, and washed a few clothes, and hung them out before breakfast--had it all done about seven. I told the steward I must have some fresh water, and he said I should. He is very kind and obliging, always, at all times. Mr. Grover gets up early, too. One morning I was walking as I always do on the house before breakfast, and he came up. He is usually as silent and quiet as an old man of ninety, unless the Captain is there to talk. This morning he said, "Don't you think, Mrs. Gunn, that this is the finest part of the day?" "Certainly I do. The air is so fresh and the sun just unit is so cool and pleasant." "Yes," he said, "I don't see how 123 Mrs. Bray can endure to stay in bed all these fine mornings. If I were her husband, I would have her up. Why, she goes to bed sometimes at seven and lies till seven, and that is twelve hours!" I was quite astonished to hear the man; it is the first time he has said anything about the Brays. And today I was sitting on the house sewing, and Grover was there reading a law book, and he said. "I don't see why people can't iron at sea. Did you ever see a box iron?" I said, "Yes." He went on, "There is no room for other irons when there is cooking going on, and they would get dirty, but a box iron is not in the way at all. Mrs. Bray says she can't iron at sea, but she gets notions and can think only just so; we might iron as well as not." I think so, too, and our clothes would look and smell nicer for it, but I only agreed with him that it might be done.

We are having the most splendid moonlight nights I ever saw in all my life, almost as light as day. I like to sit on the side of the vessel and look over the water. I often sit there by myself after the children are gone to bed. Captain and Mrs. Bray always go up on the house now after tea, and Grover goes and talks with them, or “forward” with Bragdon, and then “aft” to chat with me. He talks more than he did and takes more notice of the children. He and Sarah have had some runs together on the house, but I had to stop it because she is so noisy. One reason he does not play with them is that the Captain is so cross if any noise is made. It is true enough that Mrs. Bray often laughs and talks very loud, but it is because she is deaf and does not know how loud it sounds. The children often say, “Mrs. Bray talks loud enough. Why can't we?” I shall be “powerful glad” to get off this vessel, for I have been on the rack, as it were, 124 except at night, ever since we left Philadelphia. The children grow wilder, I think, and more full of fun than ever. They laugh and talk and run, unless I am right at their side every minute. The Captain puts it into them very often. He is all the time telling them not to touch the ropes. So many as there are, it is almost impossible for them to let them alone. At last I told them, the boys particularly, that if they played with them they would have to stay away from the table. It is the greatest punishment I can give them, because every one sees they are not there, and the children think they inquire why. No one does but the steward, but it is as well the boys should think so. Chester doesn't like dry crackers, and that is all they have if they stay away. Those who go to table often save a bit of cake or pie or bread and butter for the one who stays away. It is their own notion and sometimes I let them do it.

Does it seem as if we should get to California in two weeks more? I can't believe it! I can hardly write tonight, for the wind blows so that I have to hold my band-box cover before the lamp with one hid, and write with the other, and now and then the light is almost out, so I have to hurry for fear it will go out entirely. No more writing in the daytime now, because the children want to be on deck and I must be with them. When it was cold, I could sit in the cabin and give Sarah and Lizzie a paper and pencil or paper and scissors to amuse them, and the boys could be out, and the Captain would keep them from doing anything he did not wish; but now it is warm, the girls are unwilling to stay in, and I want to be out too. So I must write evenings. I don't suppose it is very agreeable to

“the powers that be,” but I can't help that. I have the power of doing as I please, and I have the will, and so I please myself! My sewing work is almost all done up.

Oh, dear, how I long to jump into your bath-tub this very minute. This is such a sticky, heat! I do bathe every night, but we have rain water that has been kept till it has a bad smell, and I don't greatly admire such water; and then I have to be so quiet for fear of waking the sleepers, and I have such a hot little nutshell to move about in.

I must tell you about our calm, which we expected and dreaded when we got to the Equator. It came last Monday, and it was very calm, and we made up our minds that it would last one week. Monday night it rained as I never remember to have heard it before; it came down in sheets and it lasted eight hours, and the water stood in a bucket, in a place where the water could run off into it, eight inches deep. The next day early in the morning it was as calm as at eight o'clock the night before, but between seven and eight the wind began to blow, and has continued ever since, changing a point or two now and then. It is the N.E. trade wind, and the Captain says we may have it up to 25 N. lat. Then other winds will take us to California. We are now about sixteen hundred miles from there. Now I will go to bed, for I am tired. It is nine o'clock here, and eleven with you. What nice baths you have all had tonight, and are now in bed and asleep, I guess. Good night.

*July 22, Tuesday afternoon* . It is ten days since I last wrote. A week ago, Saturday night, I wrote until ten o'clock, and then as it was a beautiful night, I thought I would step out before I went to bed and look at the moon. It was very clear all around it, no clouds near, but on the lower part was a dark spot. It was Mr. Bragdon's watch, so I went to him and asked him to look. I thought at once It must be an eclipse. He went to look at the almanac, but found nothing about an eclipse on the 12th of July. As the dark spot increased, I told him I was sure it must be an eclipse and he had better call up Mr. Grover, as he might like to see it. So he did, and then went for the Captain. They both came out, and the Captain found in his American Almanac that an eclipse was due at that time. He got out his glass to look at it, but soon went off to bed. Mr. Grover, Bragdon, and I sat up till twelve o'clock, and saw it through. But it was not quite total. It was cool before I went out and grew cooler, and I put on Mr. Bragdon's pea-jacket. The day had been quite warm. Since then it has been

at times really cold. I am wearing Molly's quilted petticoat. We are now within ten or twelve day's sail of San Francisco, and all the warm weather we have had since we left Valparaiso was between the 20th of June and the 12th of July, and I don't believe we shall have any more. We got Out of the tropics yesterday. We had contrary winds for a week. Are now going very well, but the sea is so high that yesterday and this morning I felt a little seasick. Eating, strange as it may seem, carries it off. I had heard others say so, but did not believe it till I found it to be true.

The steward killed a large pig last Saturday and made sausages, with the help of Captain and Mrs. Bray. The steward chopped the meat, and they put in sage and salt, and they put in a lot, I can tell you. Then she ran up long bags, about six inches wide and two or three feet long, and filled them with the meat. She says she has kept sausage meat from fall till the next June that way, and it has been 127 perfectly good. When you cook it, you cut off as much as you please through the cloth. She also made some head-cheese, "brawn," she called it. She did not come out the night of the eclipse. She said she took a peep out of the window and went back to bed. I dare say she looked a dozen times to see whether '1 r. Grover and I were talking together. He said to me one day, "Mrs. Bray is so jealous if I speak to you, that sometimes I have thought you would think me impolite." I did not tell him so, but sometimes I have thought, when he came in to ask her to look at the sky or clouds or something else, he might have asked Mrs. Gunn, too, but I am glad, very, that he did not. He likes to sit down and talk to me, but she is always looking after us, and keeps at him so that he is tired out with her. So he reads and seldom says anything. That night of the eclipse, after Bragdon had gone in (he went a little before us), he spoke of the Captain's manner to the children. He did not like it. He said I had gotten along better than he had expected I should, when we first came to sea. He did not like to interfere, but he thought the Captain had treated the children badly, but said any other captain might have been as rough, particularly if, like Captain Bray, he had been brought up to a sea life. I do not know, but I seem to think that he has in some way, by hints or remarks, induced the Captain to let the children alone when they play, at times when no one is asleep.

I declare it is as much as I can do to write, for Lizzie is at my hair, and pulls me so I can't do anything. She has got up on the table, and the others are talking and fixing strings. I can't write evenings, the wind blows the light so. Lizzie has run out, and now I will tell you of one thing



Mrs. Bray 128 used to do, when the pleasant weather came a after we first got to sea. She and the Captain used to walk on the house early in the evening. As the children were awake and often calling, I would sit down and read in the cabin, which is near enough to our stateroom for me to hear them. After a while Mr. Grover would come in with a book, and often not a word would pass between us. Often he would sit on a stool and I on my little chair. She would say when she came in, and sometimes would call down through the sky-light, "Mr. Grover, Mrs. Gunn, I have been looking to see what you are doing. I have been all around the sky-light, but I can't see you both, etc." And so she would go on, and other similar remarks which I have forgotten, all implying that Mr. Grover and I were attentive to each other. I had almost forgotten it, till the other day he mentioned it, and said she would not have said anything if he had not caught her looking down. She had no other way of turning it off, and was ashamed that he should look up and see her looking down. The idea never came into my head that she would look down, but I behaved just as I should if all the world had been there to see.

The Captain told Mr. Grover that he, the Captain, had grown ten years older this voyage. I'm sure his wife has. She is as thin as a knitting needle. I forgot to tell you that I have grown fat-I must have gained six or seven pounds. Mr. Grover was weighed in Valparaiso and he had gained six pounds. He says that he and I and the children seem to be the gainers. Douglas is almost as tall as I am, and has grown so that a jacket which I made not long before we left Philadelphia I had to open in the sleeves today, it was so tight. And so with Chester, his arms are a good way out of 129 his sleeves. Sarah's gowns are up to her knees, and Lizzie's too. I long for the children's sake to be off the vessel, and I also long for my own sake, and Mr. Grover says he longs to be off; so we shall all be glad.

When the ship has "tacked" and some of the ropes are hanging, the sailors let the children help put them on the belaying pins. They rush to do it, you may be sure, particularly if the Captain is not there. You would laugh to see Sarah. We "tacked ship" the other night, just after tea, and when the sailors went round to put up the ropes, she ran first to Bill, and by the time he had hung one rope, had done the next one to it. And then she ran to Tom and began one with him. He did his as fast as he could, calling to her, "Quick, quick"--and the way she did it! The pin was above her head so she

had to jump on a spar every time she put it over, the wind blowing her curls all over her face. As it was after sundown, her bonnet must be off. She would race the ship from end to end, the whole time, but they are not allowed to go beyond "the house," and the end of the house is "mid-ships." Once one of the sailors took her forward, and another gave her some beautiful shells. She was delighted with this visit, which was against the law. Sometimes the sailors give the children bits of twine, but the Captain won't let them have it because they are apt to leave it about, and the deck of the vessel must be kept just like the floor of a house. If he asks Sarah where she got it and begins to scold, she stands and takes the lecture but never tells him how she came by it.

The sailors have been tarring all the large ropes. It is done once every year. You must keep a sharp look out or you will get tar on you, as I did, and the Captain, too. Mr. 130 Grover took good care to "stand from under." I must stop; it is almost supper time.

*July 27, Sunday evening* . Our nice wind has left us, and what wind we have had has been almost dead ahead. Today it is quite calm; we scarcely move. You can't think how still it is in a calm; unless you speak very low, every word is heard all over the ship. I have enough to do such days, to try and keep the children quiet. This morning some large birds came near, and the Captain got out his hook and line, but it was "no go." They ate off the pork fast enough, but would not take the hook. After tea this evening two of the men went overboard for a bath. One, a boy, had just taken hold of the rope to come up when a shark was seen. He came up quickly enough, but the other did not see it till they called to him. Before he got to the rope, the shark was within a yard of him. A moment more and probably it would have been too late. All hands were out with hooks and spears, but the shark would not be caught and they had to give it up.

There will be an eclipse of the sun tomorrow. Here, if we see it at all, it will be at half past five in the morning. As we have had cloudy mornings for more than a month, very likely it will be so tomorrow. I hope not, and I mean to get up early at all events.

I have been packing up all my trunks but one, began yesterday. You remember I had two large bags and a bandbox. I shall have but one bag, and the bandbox is in it. As we have worn out our

clothes, they have "gone over," especially the boys' things. Sarah's last good pair of muslin-delaine pantelets will do for just this week, but I have kept Out a pair like her blue plaid gown, to put on when we "get 131 there." I can't believe that we shall not spend another Sabbath on board, but I hope we shall not. It is quite warm today, as there is sunshine and no wind. I guess you are saying tonight, "I wonder if our Lizzie and the children are there--it is six months now! Well, if they are, we shall have a letter in two months!" I wish I could be sure that you will. You ought to have it in August when it is vacation, it will take so long to read. Instead you will get it in October; but maybe Hannah will have a holiday on some Quaker meeting day, and Mary some excuse--a rain perhaps--and if so you won't have to try your eyes reading at night. Did you go to meeting today, mother g, I have read in the Bible some, and walked up and down, and run after the children--now hushing this one, and calling to that one, and fixing another, and reading to another. It is hard work, I can tell you, and with all my talking and going after and seeing to them, I can't always keep them in order. "Miss Lizzie," the Captain says, "I will put you in the pig-pen if you make so much noise!" but he has said it so often that now she takes it for talk, and her tongue runs like a mill-clack.

I washed on Saturday--two dozen pieces. Mr. Grover said it is the last washing I shall do on board, but I think I shall wash out a few aprons. I shan't have any dirty clothes to take along, or not many at any rate. The children will get into the tar; they get "spun yarn" (tarred twine which the sailors spin on a wheel) and it is dirty stuff. They try to fish with it, and today Douglas caught a crab, a little thing, blue in color and about as big as a bug.

*August 8* . Here we are, almost but not quite there, about eighty or ninety miles off. We shall make port sometime 132 tomorrow! We have had light and changing winds for two weeks. It is as cold as November and grows colder all the time. My hands are so stiff that I can't write with comfort. If this is summer, what will winter be?

Mrs. Bray expects to go to meeting on Sunday, and she has her bettermost dress hanging on a line, to let the wind "blow out the rumples." She puts up her hair in curl papers as soon as breakfast is over.

I have my trunks almost all packed. I put what cake I have left (almost a whole loaf of plum, and it is perfectly good) into the little tin box, and filled up the large cake box with work, sheets, etc., that I have made. I have spent the last week cutting out patchwork for Sarah. I cut up all the stuff I had, and it will last her two years at least. I have used Grover's ink all the voyage, and today I told him he should have my inkstand. He says he will take it and use it when he writes his law papers.

The eclipse of the sun did not turn out to be much of an eclipse. No one got up to see it but me, and soon after sunrise just at the time when it should have been seen, the sun went into a cloud.

I long for your letters. I hope I shall get them tomorrow. Then on Sunday I shall read and answer all I can of them.

The children are all on tiptoe now. The carpenter is making a boat ready to go ashore in. I wish we could get there today and I would have my letters tomorrow! Maybe I shall, if we arrive in the morning. If only the wind does not die away about noon, as it has every day almost! There go seven bells, half past eleven. By the way, Grover told me that he knew Margaret Robinson well-- he boarded opposite the school. He has lived in Philadelphia four years 133 and is twenty-six years old. There, all my news is written out now. I will only say that we are all well and we have not been obliged to take a drop of medicine since we got over our seasickness, five months ago.

*August 10, Sunday* . San Francisco. Here we are! We got in last night between five and six, and it was cold like the dead of winter. I had on my cloak and was hardly able to stay out even with that on. And it was damp like a fine rain. I did not enjoy it at all.

This morning, just after I got up, and while the children were still asleep, the steward came to the door and said, "Somebody wants to see you, Madame," and Lewis said, "Yes, I am here." I opened the door, and he came in, and we were glad indeed to see each other! Soon one and another looked up, and called out "Father!" and a nice time they had. He was here all the morning, and as for Lizzie, she would be with him all the time. We have had company enough--that Mr. and Miss Jones,

who were hurt on board their vessel, and several other Newburyport people. Mrs. Bray got several letters and has told me the Newburyport news.

Lewis was here to dinner, went away to tea, and has come back and is writing to the New York folks, and I am writing to you. Wasn't it nice that he should be here! He came down a week ago, to attend an editors' convention. It will close in two or three days. We shall go up to Sonora as soon as we can get our boxes; but when that will be I cannot tell, because there are other goods to be taken Out of the hold first. But I hope soon.

Lewis says he will send you his paper regularly, and prepay the postage.

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We anchored off last night and came up to the city today. Lewis got the boys some caps, and tomorrow I am going out to take a view of this elegantly dismal, cold place. It is almost cold enough for a fire.

*August 12, Tuesday . Ship Bengal .* We leave here tomorrow in a steamboat for Stockton, thence by stage to Sonora, sixty-five miles I believe. We cannot have our boxes; they begin to take out things tomorrow but ours can't be got out till the last of next week. I expected to find a letter here from you, but was disappointed. Lewis says he got one in June. As my envelope is full, I told Lewis he could not put any in here, so he wrote a line in Peter's and also to the New York folks. I shall have Lewis' letter from you to read when I get home, but I expected one all to myself. Lewis says it may have been sent to the dead letter office in Washington. \* LIZZIE

Mother's letter stopped abruptly; the last t page was written by my father.

*August 10 .* San Francisco. Last night, about ten o'clock, I was informed of the arrival of the *Bengal* , and that all were safe and sound. Owing to the fog, I could not go on board until this morning at daybreak. I found all well and hearty, and fat as pigs. The baby, now three years old, says she loves Father, and sticks by me all the while. She is a precious and beautiful child. All the children behave very well. Elizabeth never looked better. It so happened that I was in San Francisco, attending an editors' convention. Wasn't it lucky? I tell you, there are several happy hearts just now in San

Francisco that a few days ago were somewhat troubled from constant expectation. As soon as the vessel has unloaded, we shall go to Sonora. We take a 135 steamboat for Stockton at four in the afternoon, reach the latter place the next morning, and jump into a stage coach which gets us to Sonora by sunset.

My own health is excellent, and my prospects very encouraging.

Remember me to all, Your affectionate brother, L. C. GUNN

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TEN YEARS IN SONORA 1851-1861

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**TEN YEARS IN SONORA**

LETTERS OF ELIZABETH LE BRETON GUNN

SONORA, August 24, 1851

MY DEAR MOTHER, HANNAH, AND MOLLY:

HERE we are at last in the city of Sonora! We left the ship a week ago Tuesday and went to Stockton that day.

First, however, we went up onto Telegraph Hill and had a fine view of San Francisco, the water and the country round about. It is a large place; but the streets are like those of a country village, and you must walk in the middle of the street because there are no sidewalks; and the dust is a caution! When we came down, we called to see the lady with whom Lewis had boarded, as I wanted to see the inside of a house. Most of them are very common and rough-looking on the outside; only here and there is one that looks like a town house. This had one room in front and the front door at the side, just like your house, with oilcloth on the entry floor. There was a yard in front but no grass or bushes. The parlor was large and long and furnished with 140 the most elegant furniture--mahogany

sofas and chairs, with haircloth seats, an elegant carpet and table cover to match, and a splendid sideboard. Lizzie asked for a glass of water, and the lady insisted on our having wine, but of course we refused. A man servant brought us water in elegant glass tumblers. The windows had handsome white and red curtains with fringe and silk cord and tassels, just such as you see in Walnut Street. She said she found it impossible to keep a maid and had to do her work herself. She came from New York, and has a married sister who lives in San Francisco. She invited us to come and dine. She was pleased with Sarah and Lizzie and admired Sarah's curls. She has one child in New York.

From there we went to the river boat; and for dinner had boiled and roast beef, salt and fresh mutton, veal, four vegetables (potatoes, beets, squash and turnips), elegant bread, and mince and squash pie! At tea we had meats of all kinds and cooked in all fashions, tea cakes, bread and crackers, tea and coffee and elegant Chinese preserves, and milk and sugar of course. Breakfast was much the same. Eggs in San Francisco now are three dollars a dozen, and considered very cheap indeed; they have been six dollars. Here in Sonora they are four or five.

We got to Stockton about eight o'clock and went to a private boarding-house. We could not go on to Sonora, as all the stages were full. This house was made of boards, no plastering about it, and had paper on the walls and matting on the floor. Mahogany and haircloth chairs and sofa, piano, and round table made the sitting room, which is a large one, look just like a country parlor in New England. The outside door opened right into the room, and there 141 were six windows. Beyond this room there was an entry, on each side of which were three bedrooms. Beyond these was the back parlor, with a bureau and a table with books. Beyond this again was the dining-room, with a bare floor, and two outside doors to let in clouds of dust. (It is warm in Stockton and the dust is just as bad as in San Francisco.) Behind the dining-room was the kitchen. So here was a house with ten rooms, all in a row, on the first floor. Upstairs some rooms were finished, but most of it was like a garret. There were dark blue shades hung at nearly all the windows.

The streets are like roads, and around this house it is all open country; there are a few houses and stores scattered about, but not enough to shut off the view of the hills. I do not think it is a pretty place, though I only saw a small part of it, but Lewis says it is not handsome at all. This family that

we stayed with came here some five or six years ago from the South, and you could see that at once. But where there are no servants, dust and flies and unswept floors are to be expected in a boarding-house. The family consisted of a man about fifty, his wife, a married daughter and her husband, two sons, ten and twelve, and an adopted child, a little girl about six. They have two regular boarders, a doctor and a judge.

We had for dinner roast beef and veal pie, mashed potatoes, bread and butter, tea and a very nice dried apple pudding. At tea and breakfast we had dried apple pie. The mother did the cooking. They had good water, with a pump close at the door.

Our bed, the first I had slept in for over six months, had nice clean sheets with common narrow lace around the 142 edges of the selvage and linen lace edging on the pillow cases. It had a white quilt. On Sarah's bed there was one thin white muslin sheet (I think it was a window curtain) and a blue coverlid. The boys slept upstairs. They had a bedstead with a thin mattress, one sheet, a dark blue cover, and a blanket which I took off as it was hot enough to melt. They also had nice lace-trimmed pillow cases. In my room there was one chair, a wash stand, and a looking glass; that was all. There was a large water pitcher, but the bowl was absent, and a large, deep, Oyster tureen was in its place. There was matting on the floor, and lots of lint. Some dresses hung on the wall; there was no closet anywhere.

I meant to say that the mother, whose hair curled naturally, wore it hanging down in rather long curls, which parted behind and hung over the edge of her shoulders. She must be about fifty but did not have a single white hair. She and her daughter, who is very pretty, did all the work. There, you see how folks live in California. I have shown you all I saw of the inside of two houses.

Now for our journey. The stage was to come for us at seven. We had breakfast, and put up our duds in the basket just as the stage drove up. If I should describe it, I would be describing a Newburyport stage in every particular. I had expected to see a cart or some kind of wagon. There were ten people inside, with the children, and four or five outside. We rode over a plain of forty miles, and the dust, so thick it was like ashes, poured into our faces. At this dry season there is no grass to be seen, only



bushes and oak trees. You would be surprised how very green they look. Only a foot below the surface the earth is moist.

At last we reached the hills, and stopped at a place 143 where there are many Indians. We dined there, at a rough, dirty-looking house. A nice-looking woman in a calico gown, collar and pin, was cutting up meat at a table in the only tolerable room. There was a long table with the dinner on it, but the children and I did not go to it. We stood outside the door and had some rice and sauce, and each a cup of goat's milk, Very nice indeed. It was a beautiful place, \* close to the river, with high hills all around. Indians of all ages, men, women, and children, were sitting around. They have very black hair, and it sticks almost straight from their heads. They look good-natured, but ugly, darker than the Indians of the Atlantic states, indeed almost black.

Probably Knight's Ferry.

There we left the stage and took a strong wagon, like a Dearborn, as we were going up into the mountains. The road is often on the side of a hill, and two wheels are up and two are down. At a very bad place the gentlemen would get out, and when not very bad they leaned to one side. Every now and then the driver would call out "Lean to the right" or "to the left;" and thus it was all the way; and the dust was so bad that once they stopped to have it settle a little to be able to see the way! I had on my green linen gown, straw bonnet and veil and I put my old red shawl on and pinned it up tight around my neck to keep out the dust, and it was hot enough to melt. The scenery was lovely--high hills with beautiful little valleys, and mountains beyond. Table Mountain is level on the top for miles and miles. We saw part of it. We crossed a river, driving right through it, as it is now little more than a brook at the place where we left the stage. We got to Sonora about six o'clock. I should tell you that the gentlemen in the stage 144 were much taken with the children; they bought them oranges and pears. At one stopping place the innkeeper, an Irishman, brought out a tumbler of milk and handed it to me for the children. The driver called "All aboard!" "No," said the man, "not ready yet. Wait awhile, can't ye? Ye got to; the children want some milk." So it was handed to each of them. I was going to give it back, after the girls had had some, but they all insisted the boys should drink too. "Well," said the driver, "if it is for the children to drink milk,

I'll stop." Chester got some twine and began to twist it as the sailors do, and the men were much amused to see him.

They were all nice looking men in the stage, most of them with fine white shirts, fine cloth clothes or brown linen, and one of them had black kid gloves. Lewis had black trousers, frock coat, black satin vest, fine pleated-bosom shirt, polished gaiter boots, and a fine Panama hat. He looked as nice as a new pin. Looking into the stage, you might have supposed yourself on the road from Newburyport to Boston, and looking Out, that you were in the country on the same road, unless you came to a rough plank house or a tent.

I am going to bed now, as it is late. I want a bath, but a basin of water must do. Good night.

*Sunday evening* . To resume--we rode all day, and about six o'clock got "home," and found "the folks" very glad to see us. I don't know what Lewis may have written to you, all the time I have been traveling here, so I shall write just as though you knew nothing about matters and things, in general or particular. I'll bet his letters were all "generals;" mine will be "particulars" of course, for I am

*Lewis C. Gunn and Douglas before 1849*

145 "a woman and a sister," and am writing to women and sisters. The "folks" were the three young men, all between twenty and thirty years of age, who work in the printing office, and nice, good-looking men they are. The oldest, Coffroth, is very intelligent; he writes the poetry in the *Sonora Herald* . The next, Christman, is intelligent, too, but not so intellectual as Coffroth; the youngest we call Clinton, or rather Clint--I have forgotten his last name. He is as honest and clever as the day is long. He does their cooking, and continues to do it now.

Before we reached our house, we stopped at the stage office to leave some passengers, and such lots of men came out to see us! "Well, Doctor, I am glad to see you. So you have come back with all your family at last, Doctor," etc. I was introduced to I don't know how many--all coming to see us soon. Well, we got home, and went up stairs and washed, and had supper, and after a while went to

bed. Our supper was baker's bread and butter and sardines and chocolate. And we all slept on the floor!

Now I will describe the house. The parlor, which is now the printing office, is a large room with windows front and back. It is entered from the entry which runs through the house. On the other side, the front room is the recorder's office, and back of it is a small room. The stairs go up from this room. Lewis has the materials for building an office and a back kitchen, but the carpenter cannot come yet-work enough, and no hurry! There are four chambers, two on each side of the entry, one large and one small. The little ones have each one window, and the large ones two. There is a closet in one of the chambers, and I mean some time to have one put in the large back chamber which is our 146 parlor now. I sleep in the large front room, and Douglas and Chester in the little front room. The little back one I shall fix for Sarah. It was filled with papers and boxes, but I cleared some of them out today, and I put my dishes and water, etc., there. We eat upstairs, and the men downstairs in the office. They sleep in the garret, which is large, over the whole house, with a big window at one end. Our stove stands outdoors, and Clinton "fries" the meat, and "boils" the tea and chocolate, and does it pretty well. We buy bread, and if the loaves were the size of those in Philadelphia, a dollar would buy seven of them. But here the loaves are three times as long. They are very good. Sometimes we have potatoes, and we have some tomatoes; enough for two meals, eating them prudently, for just our family, cost a dollar. Cheap!

It is very hot in the middle of the day but cool morning and evening, quite so at night. But oh for a real good Philadelphia shower to lay the dust! Our children are as dirty as pigs if they stir out for five minutes. I have washed Sarah's face so often that it is as chapped as it would be in cold weather. It is no use after all, Sol shall have to let them run and wash them clean at bed-time. We have a well, but it is some distance from the house. The ground is so rocky that it would have cost three thousand dollars to dig it nearer, but Lewis is going to have a pipe to bring it up to the door. All the cooking is done in the morning and evening--we eat for lunch what is left over from breakfast. I shall not cook till the kitchen is done. We get along very well.

Lewis bought a bedstead and some cots for the boys and Sarah in San Francisco, and a lady lent him a very nice little bedstead for Lizzie. She offered it to him; I thought it 147 was very kind. Lewis says she is the only really intelligent woman here, but unfortunately she is Spanish and cannot talk English. She is sick or she would have come to see me. She has two little girls. The oldest, who is six years old, often comes here; when she talks at all, it is in Spanish, but usually she is still as a mouse. Not so Sarah and Lizzie; they sit close to her and talk away as fast as they can, and they laugh and the child laughs too. We wish she would talk; already they have learned Spanish words. Douglas goes after the bread, and the man always makes him ask for it in Spanish. He says to me, "That man is bent on making me learn Spanish. He says 'Ask in Spanish for what you want,' and then tells me what to say."

There is a very pleasant prospect from the house of high hills covered with oak trees. Oaks and pines are the only trees here. Of the two hills back of our house, the nearer one belongs to us, and the lower part of it is to be made into our garden. The children found some wild flowers when walking there today, although the ground looks very dry. There is no grass now; the cows have to be fed, and they look poor and lean. Lewis has some goats; they are out at pasture now and will come home in the fall. They are better than cows.

Our trunks did not get here till three days after we did. The bedsteads came at the same time, and a dozen pretty cane-seated chairs, painted dark brown and gold. They cost forty dollars, and a mahogany table, like an office table, cost eight dollars. Our things from the ship will come next week. The reason Lewis did not buy the furniture before we came was that just when he was ready to go to San Francisco to buy them, the fire happened there. Now everything is so high! I tell him I would rather wait till some ships 148 come with more things, as they will soon. Before the fire in San Francisco, they actually took shovels to pave the streets with. Where the mud was very thick they just filled up with hardware. Wall paper which cost a dollar a roll in Philadelphia was sold for six cents.

I long to have the printing office removed, as the doors are always open and there is no shutting out the dust. Even with closed doors it would sift in everywhere. I am cleaning all the time.

I like our situation. I have not been Out yet, but from our piazza I can look down on the "city." The houses are mostly of thin wood, one story, and there is not a chimney to be seen. In the evening, when there are lights in the windows and fires on the hillsides where there are tents, it looks very pretty indeed. Not a single cloud have I seen in the clear blue sky, and at night there are more stars than ever I saw before.

We have newspapers from all parts of the country: the *Freeman* and other Philadelphia papers; and several from New York, *Tribune*, *Noah's Times*, the *Era*, etc., and one from Little Rock, where Sarah Le Breton is.

I must not write such long letters. Good night.

*Sunday evening*. Quite a number of gentlemen have called to see me, but no ladies. This evening a Mr. Martin came. He is mining and does all his own work. He had on a white shirt which his wife had done up before he left home. He thought he should wear it when he called on me. A General Anderson also called; he is from Tennessee and was a member of Congress. He is the most refined and gentlemanly person I have yet seen. He was very glad to see me here; has a wife and six children, but has not yet sent 149 for them as he has been unfortunate. He is a lawyer and is a candidate for the State legislature. A Mr. Wentworth from Pennsylvania, a very good man but not very intelligent, often comes. He said he would like to read the Bible with the children on Sunday. I told him he might, so he came about noon, and read and talked a little, and took the boys to a Methodist meeting. When they came back he got them some cakes, and last time he brought a lot of English walnuts.

All the stores are open on Sundays, but today for the first time all the blacksmiths shut up their shops. One of the blacksmiths is a very nice man from Connecticut; he came up with us from San Francisco. He is one of the aldermen, and Lewis also is an alderman.

I must tell you about my washing last Friday. I got up by daylight, and made the fire and heated water in a large teakettle, and got almost through with my white clothes before the young men were up. They did not hear me and I did not mean they should. I found plenty of wood and helped myself. I hung the things in the garret and they dried in a very short time. Lewis sends his shirts out. He has some calico shirts, which are all the fashion here. It is very common to see men wearing a red woolen shirt over their pants; they wear a cotton one under it.

On one side of us, about a square off, the village begins. The little houses and stores are as close together as they can be, and on the high hills which surround the village are many tents. On the other side of us, for about half a mile, it is open country, with a few tents under the oak trees. A Frenchman and his wife live in the nearest tent, and they dig gold together. She dresses exactly like her husband--red 150 shirt and pants and hat. Almost all of the Mexican men wear two pairs of pants, white ones underneath, and over them a pair of leather, open up the outside from ankle to waistband and trimmed with two rows of brass or steel buttons. If it is cold, they can fasten them up, but usually they hang flopping about their legs. A long red crepe sash with fringe is fastened about the waist, and usually over one shoulder a large blanket is thrown. It is red and black, or of many colored stripes, and looks very gay. They sleep in these blankets at night. I have seen a few Mexican women. They cover their heads with shawls instead of wearing bonnets. I have seen some American and French women who looked just like the folks at home. One went past yesterday in a black silk dress, mantilla, bonnet, and kid gloves.

I have read in the papers that short dresses are "all the go." I wonder if you, H. and M., have got into the fashion. I see there is to be a meeting in New York and Dr. Elder is to be there, and of course his wife, in a "Bloomer dress." I have not had mine on yet. but if you could see the dust here, you would think it was the dress for this country, both in wet and dry season. I should like it to work in, but I really think the long skirt is more graceful. Lewis has not seen any of these dresses yet, and wanted to go into a store in San Francisco to see some. I told him I had one and we had no time to stop. I shall get mine Out some day when we are settled and Lewis is over his hurry. He was gone over a week and has had to make up his writing.

*August 28, Wednesday evening* . Lewis came home this morning and went off again this afternoon, will be back again day after tomorrow. He found me your letter of April 23 to read. You do not say in it that you mean it to 151 be the letter which I was to have when I arrived, so I guess mine, if according to promise you sent me one, must have gone to Washington!

And you, Mollie, are to have a "Bloomer dress." Well, I would if I wanted to! I read in one of the papers that Mrs. Will Burleigh and her two daughters attended an abolition meeting "dressed in bloomer costume."\*

This daring costume, consisting of conventional tight-fitting waist, skirt about twelve inches from the floor, and Turkish trousers, was advocated in 1849 by Mrs. Amelia Jenks Bloomer, an early worker for woman's rights. She edited a paper called the *Lily* . We still have Aunt Mary's dark green silk costume, which she never had the courage to wear in public.

I long to get our things. I suppose they will come some time next week. I must tell you what elegant beef and mutton we have. Beef is only twenty-five cents a pound, and that is very cheap indeed.

How I wish that we could have had some of those rains which you had for a month. Well our turn will come, no doubt, and then I shall have another wish. I will just say here that it will be provoking, outrageous, abominable, and altogether too bad, if I don't get a long letter next steamer, for you must have my Valparaiso letter by this time. I don't want a letter like Lewis'. That will do very well for him, but it doesn't suit me--it doesn't come up to my notion of a letter from home, and I shan't expect such a one.

Our garden is quite large; it extends some distance beyond the house on either side. It is in a rough state yet, but I shall plant the peach and plum stones Burk gave me next month. If only the land could be watered, we could have elegant gardens. The people plan to bring the water in next year. All our vegetables come from farms five miles from here, where they have water to use. You know we have no rain here from March to October, and there is not the slightest dampness in the air, day or night. It is well we have little wind, for every step of man or beast stirs up the powder in the road and it flies in all directions.

A Spanish lady and gentleman walked past the house last evening. She wore a spotted muslin dress, black velvet sack, and a black lace veil over her head. Her dress was very long and swept the ground. 'After a time she pulled it up and carried it over her arm. It was yellow with dirt. Her petticoat was embroidered at the bottom!

*September 1, Sunday afternoon* . A Spanish gentleman and his wife called to see me. She cannot speak a word of English but he talks very well. Their child has been here often. Lewis was the lady's doctor. She is from South America, and Lewis says is very intelligent. She came from Santiago, and has written a history of Valparaiso. She is young, not thirty, has black eyes and hair. She wears her hair like all the Spanish women I have seen, combed low down and rolled under; I cannot imagine how they do it. Her dress was purple silk with a wide satin stripe, and she had a worked lace cape like those of yours, girls, a wide ribbon under the collar, a straw bonnet, lined inside with yellow crepe, with white satin strings and purple satin flowers and leaves around the crown, and white kid gloves. He wore white pants, a satin vest, handsome coat, and leghorn hat. He and I did all the talking; she talked in Spanish and he told me what she said; she was very sorry she could not speak English. They have two children and will bring the other one up to see me. I must come to see them, etc., etc. They shook hands half a dozen times when they went away.

*The House to which the Family came 1851*

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*September 2, 1851, Tuesday evening* . It is quite cool now and I am glad on account of the children, they do not get so dirty. You would be amused to hear them tell of their talks with the people they meet. A man from Philadelphia is digging just above us, and they all stand by to watch him. Douglas even wheeled Lizzie up in the wheelbarrow. Sarah told another man she had a beautiful new gown, id he told her she must let him see it, so home she carne; but I told her people did not dress to show themselves, but to be neat and clean, that probably he thought the gown she had on was dirty. So after she was dressed, she sat down to knit. She has not forgotten what she learned in Philadelphia, and improves fast. Douglas was Out, across the street where the French people were digging, and found a piece of stone, full of gold. He looked for more to send to you but could not



find any, so sat down to begin a letter to you. Chester wants to find a piece with a hundred dollars in it for you.

The sky is not so cloudless now as when we first came, but Lewis says we shall probably not have rain for two months. One thing I do not like-there seem to be no singing birds in California, none here now at any rate. To think of living in the country and not hearing the birds sing! And since there are only pine and oak trees, we do not see the beautiful changes in the fall woods that you have in the East. The trees are scattered all over the hills. There are no low shrubs because the Indians have burned off the undergrowth. The pine cones are large, the shape of a pine apple, and have small nuts, the shape and size of the meat of almonds, and of course when they are cracked the meat is very small indeed, but pretty good. They are so hard you must break them with a hammer. We have no other nuts here. I have a few hickory nuts left and mean to plant them. I have some plum cake still and it is as good as ever, only a little dry, and nine months since it was baked! We ate the last gingerbread last week. Lewis is out this evening at a meeting. The election takes place tomorrow, and then these political meetings will be at an end. The men are so busy in the printing office, before election, that they have been taking their meals at an eating-house. I am not doing much cooking for us, it is too hot. We eat bread and butter and tomatoes, and our preserves, which are all in the best condition. The pickled onions and nasturtium seeds and pickled cucumbers are all very good. I had a great time unpacking them, such lots of paper around them. The other things have not come yet; we expect them every day. I wish I had brought the other little chair, and some Manchester gingham for the children's dresses instead of the pink calico. They cannot keep clean more than three days at the most. Muslin-delaine is the best, because it does not need washing. Lizzie has one she has worn ever since we came. They each must have two aprons a week to be anyways nice.

*September 12, Thursday* . Last Sunday our things came! They work, sell, visit, and do everything on Sunday here, the same as on a week day. Lewis opened the box with the bedding in it, and that night for the first time we slept comfortably with pillows. Before that we had boards and carpet on the bedsteads, and lots of newspapers for pillows. (We have the greatest abundance of papers, and I wish I could turn them into closets, drawers, crockery, etc. !) The things were more than a week on

the road from Stockton, 155 and as it rained last Saturday, some of them were wet; but nothing was spoiled. My gowns looked just exactly as they did when Hannah put them in the sheet. I opened them and spread them out a while; there was not even a smell of the sea about them. When we opened the chest, my bonnet looked beautiful, and so did everything else. Today we opened the box with the washing machine. The shoes that were in it were mouldy, and some moths must have been in the carpet, for one piece was badly eaten. One lamp was broken, but Lewis thinks he can mend it. Of the dishes, only one large cup and saucer and that pretty blue dish which Mary and I have given each other so often were broken. I am sorry about the dish, but I think I ought to be thankful that everything else looks so nice. I have not looked at my gloves yet; I expect them to be mouldy.

*Friday* . I have been settling ever since last Sunday, and at last begin to see my way "a little clear." I have not used my washing machine yet, but I shall soon. The woman who formerly washed for Lewis asked from six to nine dollars a dozen, ironed, and they have asked that much without ironing. And Clinton says they used to do the washing at a mud puddle, because they have no tubs here. Lewis is going to send to San Francisco for some.

Give my love to all my inquiring friends, high and low. I wonder if you have flies now. I have seen very few here but the fleas are a caution. I forgot to say that it cost one hundred and four dollars to bring our boxes from San Francisco, and that was cheap! 156 November 9, 1851

DEAR MOTHER, H. AND M.:

Well at last I have got a letter, but not before I had sent the letter you will receive at Christmas. You can't think what a nice time we have had reading it! The children were all pleased over the letters to them. Every Sunday night Lewis reads to the children, and tonight he read them all of the letters that would interest them. Lizzie sat in her little chair, close to him, looking up in his face as he read. She was delighted at what you said about the rolling pin, and making something for the children when you bake now. Chester turned to me and said, "And they eat them for us."

When the fleas trouble Chester very much, he says, "I declare, I shall go home to Mamma Wright!" We should all like to go home, and I hope we shall one of these days. I hope soon to have the girls' pictures taken and to send them to you.

Yesterday and last night it rained. I hope to get some rain water when the roof is washed off. I have three nice large tubs now, that came from San Francisco. I was busy all day, because we moved the cook-stove up into the little back room upstairs and I had all my things to put in order.

A very important event has taken place. Last week Lewis gave me and each one of the children a hen, and Friday Douglas' hen laid the first egg. When he brought it into the house, each one had to see it and hold it a minute. Now she lays one every day, and Douglas puts them away to sell.

*November 10, Tuesday* . We have had no rain since Saturday, but every where we have mud. I shall not carpet the stairs while the printing office is in the house. We have no pavements you know. But you can't think how beautiful 157 the view is from our balcony. The trees look so bright, and the whole prospect is so lovely. The miners Opposite are at work, for the holes are full of water and they are washing out their gold. At the bake-house are donkeys with loads of wood. It is piled upon their backs and on both sides and is bound on with ropes. Down in the town two men are making adobe bricks. Around the Court House there are lots of people, and even way up on the hills there are many cabins and cloth houses. At night there are splendid camp fires all about. I love to stand out there and look around, day or evening. We have the prettiest situation in town.

You asked about the children's bonnets. They wore the gingham ones I made, but now they look very nice in the straw ones which I made after the straw came.

Lizzie is standing on one side of my chair, saying some Spanish words. "Poco tiempo, señor," she says. "Did you know that was Spanish, Mamma? Don't you see little Miss Gunn? She is playing ball." Now she has brought upstairs a big branch of a tree, and has taken it out on the "portico," as she calls the balcony. It is quite warm outside and the doors are all open, but we shall want to sit by the fire this evening.

The men no longer eat here, but some of them still sleep upstairs. Mr. Atkins, or Clint as we called him, has gone to live with an old gentleman from Pennsylvania. They are both carpenters, and they have built themselves a little house, quite near us. They have plenty of work building houses; and, by the way, houses are excellent property here; some in town with only two or three rooms rent for one hundred dollars a month, and these are only board houses, without plastering, or clapboards with cloth nailed on the inside. Lewis says ours, with a little more fixing, would rent for three hundred dollars a month. New houses are going up all the time. There is only one, beside Atkins', above us. That was built by a French girl, only seventeen, for her mother and little brother and sister and herself. She earns her money by going to the gaming houses and dealing out the cards to the players, and she makes a good deal. A new man named O'sullivan and Mr. Christman are the only men here now. Mr. Coffroth is in Columbia, five miles from here. He is going to the legislature this winter. I get along first rate with my stove upstairs; I have learned to manage the oven and bake very well.

What do you mean, Hannah, by mentioning peaches and making my mouth water! We have no fruit raised here. An old man brings us tomatoes and turnips from five miles away, and sometimes he brings other vegetables. Elegant grapes, and at an elegant price, are sent from the valley, and also pears, small ones, at twenty-five cents apiece. We had a present of some beautiful grapes, a dishful, from a gentleman who sells them. I made a beef stew last Tuesday and put a dollar's worth of meat and a dollar's worth of turnips and tomatoes into it. and some dumplings, and altogether I think our dinner cost three or four dollars. If the land about here could be irrigated, all kinds of fruit and vegetables of the best sort might be raised here.

*November 11* . It is Friday night and Lewis and Douglas are folding papers. Chester helps, too, and I sometimes, and Sarah and even Lizzie.

I think you might put on your "shoes of swiftness," all of you, and come and spend Christmas with us.

I have been reading a newspaper, and behold there is a 159 proclamation of the Governor for a day of Thanksgiving in California, to be on the 27th. I have been thinking and the children talking about it. They say we must keep "Mamma Wright's Thanksgiving." At all events, I am to have a few of Douglas' eggs and some milk and to make a pudding. There are no turkeys here, and as chickens are three dollars apiece, we are not likely to have any of them; surely we shall not eat our own. Sarah says, as roosters do not lay eggs, we ought to have ours for Thanksgiving. "Oh, no," Chester said, "don't you know Sarah, that the rooster is Father's chicken, and Father ought to have a rooster, because he is a rooster himself!" They were as sober as could be talking the matter over, but Sarah was only half convinced. She said he did not lay eggs, and of course he was not good for much. "Well, I wish he did," said Chester. "Don't you, Mother?"

I must bake my pudding in the yellow dish, and that by the way is the only dish of any size that I have and I make much of it. I don't want to buy anything more than I can help, till all debts are paid and things are cheaper. And then too we may not want to stay here forever, and as we have plates large and small, and some tinware, and no company, we get along in a small way and do very well. I will keep your Thanksgiving, and I think it will be on the same day. I should be very willing to wash up the dishes after dinner, if we could all be together! Well, we shall be, perhaps, before many more Thanksgivings. I only hope and pray we shall all be permitted to see each other again--and then we'll have a Thanksgiving all our own.

*December 6, 1851* . It is a long time since I wrote last. I have had plenty to write, but you must know that I have 160 been sick, confined to my bed for three or four days. And then I had a coat to make for Douglas, and as it is getting cold, I wanted to finish it. At last it is done and I am almost entirely well.

Before I say any more about myself, I will tell you that yesterday I received a nice letter from home. The last date in it was October 10, and in it you sent an invitation for us to spend Thanksgiving Day with you. What a pity that the invitation should come so late; of course we could not come without

an invitation, and to get it so long after the time must be our only excuse for not accepting it. We hope you will excuse us. Now I want a letter telling just what you had for dinner, and all about it.

Now about myself--four or five days before Thanksgiving I was taken with erysipelas. Many people have it here, and Lewis had two cases at the time, Mexicans.

My face was so swollen that you would not have known me. As I got better, the skin came off and I was as red as one of these old Mexican Indian women. Some who have had it have not been able to see for a week and have turned quite black; but Lewis watched me night and day and I got over it much sooner than is usual. You know what a good nurse he is. He did everything for me that mortal man could do, and all the work beside--cooked, swept the house, took care of the children, and waited on me by inches! Of course we could not have Thanksgiving in the eating way, but I can truly say that we did have one in our hearts. I felt, and so did Lewis, that we never spent so thankful a Thanksgiving before. And how very much we had to be grateful for, even setting aside my sickness! We thought of you all and said, "They will have a real Thanksgiving with us, too." I was able to sit up that day, and had a piece of mutton and some broth, and enjoyed it very much. I meant the children should have a plum pudding, but Lewis would not let me do anything about it, and he had so much business on his hands he could not make it. They are now looking forward to Christmas, and I hope they will not be disappointed.

Today I read the children your letters to them, and when I read Aunt Mary wanted "to kiss their cherry lips," Lizzie said to Sarah, "our little cherry lips," and was quite pleased with the idea. She said, "I will go there, and tell them you were sick, Mother, and take you with me."

How did you trim your bonnet, Hannah; is the bow on top, or on the side? I have not done anything with my colored straw yet, and I want to trim it sometime.

We do not go to meeting now, as the preacher is a Southern man and favors slavery and there is no other meeting near. Mrs. Holden came to see me when I was sick, and also Mrs. Mehan, the Irish

woman who sat next me at the party I wrote you about. She has no children, but she has two cats and four dogs, and her husband and the four dogs came with her!

Douglas has sold a dozen eggs for four dollars and a half. They are not so high as they were. He came to me and said, "Mother, I want to give you a Thanksgiving present," and he put one of his silver dollars in my hand. No one else knew anything about it. We sold two of our hens that would not lay, for four dollars apiece. And now Douglas has taken two others to board! A gentleman pays him twenty-five cents a week for taking care of them for him.

You remember how Chester used to delight in kites. He has only made three or four since he came here. His passion now is for a lasso, and he is learning to throw it right well. Dogs, chickens, donkeys, Sarah and Lizzie, posts, everything is lassoed, and were it not that he misses oftener than he hits, there is no knowing how much mischief he would do. I have been Out today for the first time since I was sick; the children and I went to see a grizzly bear. It was not large but looked very cross. On our way back we called at Lewis' drug store; it is much larger and nicer looking than I expected.

Douglas and Chester have fixed a rope to two posts and made a swing, and they all love it. Douglas puts a mat in it and holds Lizzie in. The weather is as warm and mild as in May or June. We have fires at night, but our outside door is open nearly all day. We have had one white frost, and once a little snow, and there was thin ice on the water in the holes. We have not yet had much rain but we have mud in the greatest abundance.

Fresh fish are sometimes brought here, and last Sunday a man brought two nice large salmon. I boiled some and fried some and they were very good indeed, but they were not like the Eastern salmon that I used to eat years ago.

Sarah and Lizzie take baskets and pick up chips on the hillside back of the house, and Lizzie fills hers just as fast as Sarah. She looks into my top bureau drawer and says, "Aunt Hannah gave that to me, and Aunt Mary sent me that," while really nothing there belongs to her.

Lewis says for you to send to us by either of the two express companies: Adams and Company, or Reynolds, Todd and Company. They both deliver papers to the house every night; they open the door and throw the papers, sometimes up to the top of the stairs, and call Out, "Here, Doctor, 163 am I first?" They bring the Atlantic papers, and last week brought *Harper's Magazine* and *Graham's*. I can hardly find time for any reading, except sometimes in the evening. As for Lewis, he has as much as he can possibly turn his hands to with the paper and the recorder's office. He writes or copies deeds all the time, and sometimes I help him. Douglas says the men say Dr. Gunn does more work than any man in town-and since I have been sick he has done the cooking too. He wants me to eat meat, and he gets the best beef and deer meat and cooks it in the California fashion; he runs a sharp stick through the slices and holds it over the coals, and it is elegant. I have a gridiron, but he thinks this is better, and I like it also because I have no gridiron to wash.

Since I have been sick I have sent all the large clothes Out to be washed. I am a great deal better, and the children are all well.

Lewis still has a good deal of practice; people send for him from "Woods' Diggings" and insist on his going. The Mexicans especially do not want anyone else. Our men, Sullivan and Christman, think there is no one like him and they will do anything for him. When I was sick Sullivan sent up some elegant grapes. They were very sweet, and cost twenty-five cents a pound; I thought he was very kind.

We have good dried apples and peaches but have not had very good flour. Lizzie asked me if "Philadelflia" flour was better and I told her "yes, and everything else in Philadelphia." So we concluded that we would one day "go home." I don't intend to call California "home." I hope we shall all see each other's faces once more. Chester says to tell you he wants to help carry your basket again on market 164 day, and to hear Aunt Mary's poetry. All the letters have been read to them many times. Sarah had to have hers to hold in her own hand. She is quite a help to me, running errands; and the last time I ironed, Lizzie ironed three towels and her own and Lewis'



stockings. I fixed them for her and put on the iron. You would have laughed to hear her, "We are doing the work, etc." Write me a long letter and tell me everything. Good night.

*December 18, 1851* . Last night I got your very nice long letter dated November 9th. Mr. Sullivan brought it up, and he looked as much pleased to bring it as I was to get it. The children had already gone to bed, and I have put their letter away to give them at Christmas.

It is still so mild and pleasant in the middle of the day that the children run out and play as they would in summer. We have had no more rain for two weeks, but the grass is springing up all around the house and on the hillside, and most of the trees are still green. The boys long for the heavy rains to come, so they can hunt for more gold. Douglas was delighted when I told him you were going to have a ring made of the gold he sent. He and Chester have some more, and Lewis is going to show them how to get it more easily. The boys have been digging in front of the house; when it is dry it is too hard, and when it rains it is dreadful mud. The girls stand by and watch, and also take a little spade and dig right and left. Sometimes the girls talk about Miss Robinson's school and say when they go to Philadelphia they will talk Spanish with the young ladies. Lizzie is going to buy a donkey and bridle and go there and take me along.

Sonora is growing fast; ten houses have been built right near us since I came, and the lumber is ready for several 165 more. People said our part of the town would never have business and be as valuable as the other part. But when the city lots were sold, those in this part brought nearly twice as much as in the other. Our house and lot would bring ten thousand now. Money can be loaned for ten per cent a month and on good security, too. Could you not save some of your salary and let Lewis put it Out for you?

You say potatoes are high with you. They are fifty cents a pound here now and have been sold for a dollar and a half. You gave thirty cents for a chicken; you couldn't buy one of ours for four dollars. Our butter is only ten cents more a pound than yours, but it all comes from New York and is very poor. When Eastern lard is plentiful, it is only twenty-five cents a pound. As milk is now fifty cents a pint, I often give the children chocolate to drink. How I should like some of mother's sponge cake

and custard pudding; it will be long before I can afford to make any. I cannot get any rye flour for brown bread.

Lewis' drug store is coming on nicely; he gets all the business at this end of town. He thinks he will do exceedingly well with it when it is all paid for.

*December 26* . Yesterday was Christmas Day, and we talked and thought a great deal about all of you. Lizzie said, "They are the goodest people in the world." We filled the stockings on Christmas eve, according to custom, and everyone had one, Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Christman too. The children filled theirs. They put in wafers, pens, toothbrushes, potatoes, and gingerbread, and a little medicine. Douglas and Chester, after they had helped with the stockings, went out with Lewis to see the stores. They were all up early in the morning and after breakfast the grand opening 166 began. Sarah had to dance all over the room, and we had fun enough seeing and hearing Lizzie. They received cake and candies, nuts and raisins, a few pieces of gold and a little money, and, instead of books, some letters. Their father and I each wrote them letters, and better than all and quite unexpected, they found yours, and were delighted. In my stocking were a toothbrush and a nailbrush (the latter I wanted very much) and some cakes and a letter from Lewis. Sarah made Lizzie a bag to carry money in, and Chester made one for Sarah!

The first real hard rain of the season began before Christmas, and it rained so hard all night and that day that Lewis had to work nearly all day mending a place where it came in on the south side of the house. He would not stop to sit down to dinner with us, because it gets dark so early, about four o'clock. We had a nice roast of pork, and I made a plum pudding. I wanted to ask our men to dinner, but I am not strong yet and it would have been too much work; so I sent them some pudding. Mr. Christman gave the children some very nice presents; each of the boys a pearl handled knife with three blades Sarah a very pretty box, and Lizzie a pair of scissors, and each a paper of macarons.

You would be surprised to see men in rubber coats, with umbrellas, picking up the gold which is washed out of the earth by the rain. Chester found three little pieces and Douglas two, worth about seventy-five cents in all. You probably have seen in the *Herald* the account of a man who, after

a rain, stubbed his toe against a stone and found gold in the quartz worth eight hundred dollars. Another found a bit worth two hundred dollars, and on the same hill another found one worth one hundred dollars. I tell Lewis 167 if it rains so hard again, I would go Out walking, mud or no mud, if I could walk to such good purpose. He once, before I came, picked up a lump with eleven dollars in it, but I want one with a thousand! There is gold on our land, in quartz, but it needs money to work it, and he can't afford to employ men now.

Lewis and I had an invitation to attend a "Grand Christmas Ball" at Vallejo, the first invitation to a ball that I ever received. Had we been inclined to go, Vallejo is only about one hundred miles away. Lewis also had an invitation to the New England Festival held in San Francisco on the 22nd of December. He wanted to go very much, as he had other business there, but he was too busy here. At this season of the year it takes two days to get there; it is seventy-five miles by stage to Stockton, and the steam boat trip to San Francisco takes eight hours.

The Masons held a celebration today, in a pouring rain. They must have had a fine time, walking around town in the mud. They had some music and were dressed up in aprons, blue sashes, etc.; but every man had his trousers either rolled up or tucked in his boots, and some had on rubber coats! You would laugh to see our boys going around with their trousers tucked in their boots.

Our balcony is fine, not only for observation, but as a place on which to keep many things (boxes of chips, etc.); and now I have a tub there, fixed to catch the rain water, which is a great help.

Lizzie has a new song she made up herself: "Oh Mamma Wright, I wish you would come here to see, The little scissors Mr. Crissum gave to me!"

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Sarah reads pretty well and Chester is improving in his reading. They don't study as much as they will after Lewis has finished his recording. Since the city lots have been sold, there is a great deal of business to be done just now. Recording a lot costs three or four dollars. Here is Lizzie with pencil and paper. She says she has written, "Send my love to all my dear relations." She always insists on putting that in her prayer at night, and as she thinks that is the best part of her prayer, she puts it in

three or four times before she is through. She has written more, "I send my dear love to you. We are in California and you can't see us." Now I must stop for this time.

*December 31* . The last day of the year! I have been trying to think what we did a year ago tonight. I remember it was a Tuesday, and Hannah and Mary went to the Association meeting, and mother and I sat and read at the round table.

It is quite cold here now, like November, and when it rains as it has done, almost every day for a week, it is rather dismal. Yet everybody looks happy, because rain is just what they want. I thought I should like the wet season better than the dry, but I do not. Clinton went by one day as I was sweeping the entry and said, "I once heard thee say thee liked mud better than dust." "Well, now I have seen the mud I am of another opinion." In the house mud turns to dust, and it is still dirt. Mud and dust, wet and dry, all dirt, though I sweep over and over.

I write this as a supplement to my letter, which could not go in time for the steamer on account of the bad roads. The children are on tiptoe about celebrating New Year's Day. I saved some of their Christmas cakes, they had so many, 169 and shall give them to them tomorrow. We have some large "Brother Jonathans" that the expressmen sent, full of pictures for them.

*January 1, 1852* . I wish you all a Happy New Year and many of them, and no doubt you have wished me the same in a letter which I shall have, if nothing happens, in six or eight weeks from now.

The children have had a great day. They each found a twenty-five cent piece under their plates at breakfast. Lizzie jumped and danced with glee while she sang, "It is Happy New Year Day!" and Lewis and Sarah had a dance together before breakfast. Lizzie calls her money a "fipenny bit dollar." A few nights ago, after Sarah had been reading to her father, he gave her a ten cent piece. Lizzie was sitting in my lap, warming her feet before going to bed, and heard it all. She said to me, "I say 'little lamb.'" I took her in to bed and she seemed very sober; then she said, "I wondered and wondered why father did not give me a fipenny bit; he is a naughty man." Then I understood. When I told Lewis he went in and asked her to say "Little Lamb" and gave her a nickel, and she went to

sleep with it in her hand. A few days ago I took out her little doll which Hannah packed in the trunk for her, and such a joyful time as she had; she danced about and her tongue went like a millrace. "It looks at me! It's glad to see me! See what a beautiful neck her has got!" She was in a great nip to have Lewis see it; so when he came up, he took it and hugged it and talked to it. She was delighted, and then she said, "It is not your doll; Aunt Hannah gave it to me on purpose." After she had played with it for a while, she was very willing for me to put it away. She said it must go to sleep.

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I don't know whether I have told you that there are some good Anti-slavery and Temperance men here; there are many here of a different sort, lawyers and merchants who gamble and go to houses of ill fame and keep mistresses, mostly Mexican women. A judge here sold his house to some women who came here from San Francisco. It is in a part of town where many men live in their offices. The women have a man servant to clean their house, and they eat in a restaurant. The first few nights they were here they sent their servant Out with a drum to excite notice. But they have not been here long and we hear they are going away. Lewis says that the judge has hurt himself with the better people by selling to such women. He is a young man, not over thirty, and keeps an Indian woman himself.

*January 5, Monday* . I washed the children's clothes today, and right in the midst of it, just as I had put the white clothes to scald, callers appeared, a lady and a gentleman. They came on horseback, he to see Lewis on business and she for the ride. They live on a ranch about ten miles away. She wore a very pretty red velvet hat with a feather in it, and a riding habit. She had a fat round face with dreadfully red cheeks and looked just like a country girl, which no doubt she was in New York State. She said she liked San Francisco. but where they lived now there were no families and she had seen only one woman in four months. She has three children, a cow, and a lot of chickens. Lewis was Out when they arrived and Mr. Christman brought them upstairs. I was in the kitchen. He left them in the entry and came in to me. I told him to put them in the sitting room and shut the door. Then I went into my room--and off with my wash sack, and on with my gown, and 171 down

with my curls (for you must know I curl my hair as I did in Philadelphia; Lewis and the children think it the very best way of fixing it) and in I went to see them. They stayed over an hour.

As the last letter was dated January, 1852, and the date of the next is October 17 of the same year, a number of the letters seem to have been lost. During the intervening months many changes had taken place in Sonora.

The great fire which destroyed most of the houses and stores in the center of town occurred during this summer. I remember mother's telling us that, although our house was about two hundred feet away and the walls were of adobe, the heat was so great and the brands so dangerous, that they wet blankets and covered the roof. She said her lips became so parched that she could not drink and had to put her face into a basin of water to moisten them.

My father was the owner of a drugstore, and had just brought a large stock of goods from San Francisco which had not yet been unpacked. They were carried into the street to what was supposed to be a safe distance, but an excited Mexican woman dragged a smoldering mattress close to them, and before it was discovered they were all destroyed. This loss seriously embarrassed my father for many years, as the drugs had been bought on credit.

Two new men had joined the staff of the *Herald*, a Mr. Murray and a Mr. Washburn. The latter, a Maine man, had two brothers in Congress at that time, both of whom became Ministers to foreign countries, France and Russia. He himself was later Minister to Paraguay. The printing office was still in the house, and all the men were most considerate and kind to mother, especially when father was away. He was obliged to make frequent trips on his own business, as well as in the interest of public affairs of the county and State. A strong effort was being made about this time by men who had come from the South to introduce slavery in the State; some even wanted California to withdraw from the Union and to become an independent republic. All this father was fearlessly opposing in the *Herald*.

Beside managing the newspaper and the drugstore (in which he had a partner), and the office of County Recorder which he held, father had become associated with a Mr. Byrne who was promoting the building of a bridge across the Stanislaus River and a railroad to Stockton. This latter project, which would have been of immense advantage to Sonora, was not accomplished until many years later, long after we had moved to San Francisco.

Mother would have been very lonely, had it not been for the children and the fact that she was much more busy than she had ever been in her life before. She had come to know a few women; but while they were kind neighbors, none of them were women of education, and she must have missed sadly the companionship of relatives and friends in Philadelphia.

A Methodist church had been built but it was on the other side of town; the older children went to Sunday School and mother to church when the weather was fair. I have heard mother say that the men sitting in front of the tents and saloons often rose and stood as she passed with father and the children on their way up the long street on Sunday mornings.

The minister had started a school which Chester attended. Two ladies had come at different times with the purpose of teaching but had decided that there were not enough children to support a school. Mother's sister, Mary Stickney, was thinking of coming to California, and mother longed for her to do so, expecting her to live in our home and teach the children and other little girls.

SONORA, October 17, 1852

DEAR MOTHER, H. AND M.:

I sent a long letter to you, with one to Peter enclosed, about a week ago. It is Sunday, but we did not go to meeting and I have been reading your letters to the children about the rings. They are much pleased to hear about them, and Douglas says you must not think that the gold was all picked up in the "toms," which is a very easy way of getting gold, but a good deal of it was dug and washed out in 173 a tin pan, much of it by him, and some of it by Chester, and a little by Sarah. The smaller part was found in the "toms." He wants you to know that it was "got by hard work," so I have

endeavored to satisfy him. When Mr. Martin goes home, I mean to send the gold which the children have gotten for my ring and have it made in Philadelphia.

Lewis and I have not made you our present yet, and I don't dare say when it will come; but I hope by the time the railroad is done, we shall be able to make it. And that will be in about a year, Mr. Byrne and Lewis think.

Last Sunday Lewis saw in a San Francisco paper that the Steamship *Cortez*, with his brother George O. Gunn as surgeon, had arrived in port. We have just had a letter that he will not be able to come up to see us this time, but we hope he will next time. He will sail between San Francisco and Panama. We want to see him very much.

It is quite warm still--I can't endure a fire except to cook with and it is the middle of October. Mr. Deal has given up his school; I wish Mary could have it. He had only six pupils but there are more children here now. He asked five dollars a month for little ones, and that is considered low. A Scotch family has just come with six children, two girls of twelve and fourteen; there will be plenty for a good school in another year.

Do write me how you preserved tomatoes. I sliced some, and boiled them a very short time, and boiled down the syrup a long time. I put some sliced oranges in too, and Lewis thinks they are fine. Our Mexican friend sent me ten pounds of tomatoes for a present, a dollar's worth! The reason for his sending so much was that he feels grateful because Lewis doesn't charge him as the other doctors do. 174 He is far superior to most of the Mexicans here. His wife is dead and his daughter of twelve does the work. She came with her brother today to have a tooth out, a little bit of a girl with a round fat face, very dark and as plain as a pikestaff. The boy is quite pretty for a Mexicano. There is another girl who "lives out" in town.

Mr. Martin was here a few days ago and brought some quartz full of gold. He thinks he is "coming to it now sure," and I hope he is, poor fellow. His quartz mine has not been what he expected "by a long shot." It takes a great deal of money to work a quartz mine, and a poor man cannot do it. He has worked very hard and made little or nothing. Even on Sundays he looks like "Time in the



Primer," no coat, a rough-dry shirt when he wears a white one, often with big holes, and hat and shoes to match, but he is as honest as the day is long, and always has a little to help a friend, as Lewis has often had occasion to prove.

Lewis has gone this evening to the "Sons of Temperance." He is the first officer of the society, formed a short time since by the best and most intelligent of the young men in Sonora. Douglas and Chester belong to a temperance society too. They go once in a while to the meetings with Mr. Snow.

*October 24, Sunday* . Yesterday we received a letter from Peter and his wife. They call their baby Minnie. I should much prefer "Mollie" but I shan't write them so. She is perfection, "a perfect LeBreton in everything but temper," the baby's being the sweetest, most mild and pleasant ever imagined. Now isn't that a compliment to her husband! Peter's practice seems to be good; he is very contented and writes in a lively way. Thinks the flour from the 175 mill he is interested in will sell at three dollars a barrel. We should have to give nearly fifty dollars if we could get a barrel. I hope the new supply will come in soon. If Peter could only get his flour here without great expense, he would soon make a fortune!

You have of course read Sumner's and Mann's speeches. Lewis read them to me and I enjoyed them very much. I suppose exception will be taken to the Washington part of Sumner's and to the war part of Mann's, by a certain set, but for my part I enjoyed every single word of both. Did you?

I went to meeting this morning with the children. Mary R. says she doesn't like the Methodists because they are so noisy. Here we don't usually have any noise, only "amens," but today one man made a sound that I can't describe, only it was awful! The children have just come in from Sunday School, and they are fixing a chicken coop into a house for a little dog which a man brought for them while they were away. He says it can be trained to catch rats; it is only five weeks old now.

*November 2* . Election Day here, and a warm day it is, too warm for a fire. We had a whole day of showers last week and it was most delightful. I took a good long walk with Sarah and Lizzie and there was no dust at all; how I wished you could have been with us. But although it looks like rain

now, it is already dusty again. I am very busy making aprons for Sarah. I long more and more to see that box. "Won't I be glad!" as Lizzie says.

I had a dried apple pudding for dinner, but my apples have a smoky taste and, though I used part peaches, that taste was still there. Tomatoes are down to eight cents a 176 pound now. I often make pie of half ripe ones, and they are quite good but not so good as fresh apples. Melons are plenty now. Chester had a nice nutmeg melon given him today. I am going to bake some more pies tomorrow and I expect to be nearly all day doing it, on account of my poor stove. We have had an iron pump put in our well--thought you would like to know. We had a large salmon last week that cost \$2.50, and we ate it for three days. I boiled and fried it.

*Sunday afternoon* . The children, except Lizzie, have gone to Sunday School with Mr. Snow's brother, and Lewis and Mr. Snow have gone to attend a meeting at Columbia, five miles away.

I must tell you more about the election. You must know that the Whigs had no doubt of winning and used all means, handsome and unhandsome, to accomplish it. They had tickets printed with the names of the people they intended to vote for, and so had the Democrats. Well, the Slavery Party, composed of both Whigs and Democrats, took out the names on both tickets of those who were for reform and against gambling and slavery, and put in those who were for these things, and expected to carry it that way. The "entire Democratic" ticket was called the Gunn ticket, and that one it was determined should not be carried in Tuolumne County. But contrary to their expectation, the "entire" was carried; and the Whigs are crestfallen, and the "Slavites" feel mad, and more than mad. All, friends and foes, say Dr. Gunn has done it through his influence. Lewis says he has been cursed before, but never at the rate he was cursed last Monday--Election Day. Of course, his friends are delighted. Before election many 177 would come to him and say. "What office are you going to run for, Doctor?" "None, I don't want any." They would have voted for him gladly if he had. These were working men, and they know he is a friend of theirs. Coffroth goes to the State Senate, and Wilson, who came here from Newburyport, goes to the Assembly. Everything was tried, to prevent it, by Whigs and Slavites. They are both young men, not over twenty-five.\*

I do not know whether it was at the time of this election (November, 1852) or at a later one, that father said he knew his life was in danger. One night when going home quite late, he felt that he was followed. He walked on for a time and then faced about; then he heard a man say, "It's all right, Doctor, I just thought I would walk along to see you safe home." It was a man of known desperate character, but he admired father's courage and wanted to have fair play. After that, for some time, he came every evening to the drugstore and walked home with him.

We have our stove up in our parlor, all ready for a fire; we have had several cold days and our evenings are quite cold.

Last evening the "Alleghanians" gave a concert and we all went, from the oldest to the youngest. It was delightful, and I enjoyed it very much, and so did the children. As for Lizzie, she understood it as well as anybody, was wide awake, and went from one gentleman to another during the time, to sit in their laps. They would ask her questions. She told them she could sing "Little angels in a ring" and "Be you to others kind and true." We did not get home till ten o'clock or after, and Lizzie sung herself to sleep. She is a little darling, so good-natured and happy. Of course she is not a Le Breton!

I have made the girls some sacks out of the green camlet, like the gown of mother's I had and wore at sea. I made them Out of the pieces you gave me, and they look very well. I wore my striped silk and white shawl to the concert.

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Monday, November 15, 1852

DEAR FOLKS:

I sent you a letter last Friday, and as I am all alone tonight, I thought it a good time to begin another.

There is a scientific lecture tonight, one of a series of three, and Lewis has gone and taken the boys. It is too muddy for me, and the rain is now pouring down. I went to the other two and was very much interested. The man is a Methodist minister, one of the few highly educated ones, and I never heard a more eloquent speaker. I never attended concerts and lectures as I have done since I came here! The folks are talking about a Lyceum and I hope one will be formed; it will be something

to draw the young men from the gambling places and houses of ill fame which abound here. The reason we go to everything good is to set an example.

I washed and ironed today; it rained, but my clothes were Out early, up garret, and so dried tolerably well, and I am glad washing is over. Did you say that today, mother? If you did, I am sure H. said, "So am I," and Mollie, "I am sure I am!"

I wonder if it is Thanksgiving next week Thursday. Lewis says it will be, but it is only a guess; we have seen nothing in the papers yet. I shall make my pumpkin into pies on Tuesday to be ready.

It is not very cold yet. You would call it warm. I can not sit with the door shut when we have a fire. I want to see that box--the children talk about it more than ever--and I want to come home for Thanksgiving! Good bye for now.

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*November 20, Saturday* . We have had heavy rains lately and the roads are awful. Freight has risen almost double, and in consequence of the fires at San Francisco, Sacramento, and Marysville, and of the speculators holding back the flour, it has risen to the enormous price of sixty dollars a barrel, and it is said by those who know that it is likely to rise to one hundred dollars. We bought a barrel tonight and paid sixty dollars for it; three weeks ago it was only forty dollars. Don't you want to live in California? Parson Deal keeps boarders and his wife told me that they use a barrel every three weeks. I wish Peter could send some of his and get it here now !

Lewis has gone to the first meeting of the Lyceum. He had the constitution to draw up. The children are all washed and in bed. They are getting ready for Christmas, picking up junk bottles, of which great quantities are thrown out of the shops and houses. They sell them to a Frenchman who lives just above us and makes syrups. He gives them twenty-five cents a dozen, and I think they have sold five dollar's worth. And they pick up every bit of gold they see. They want to get me a little box of raisins, so I told them they could get it for the family on Thanksgiving. It is to be next Thursday, and I expect we will have chicken pie and a boiled plum pudding. I will write you all

about it and I expect to hear all about yours. We are hoping that the box will be here at Christmas, and that the freight will be lower when it comes, and that the weather will be dry.

*November 28, Sunday* . Lewis and the boys have gone to meeting and Sarah and Lizzie are singing. Lizzie sings all the time, night and day, except when she is asleep. We have a book of the "Songs of the Alleghanians," and she 180 and Sarah have learned some of them. I wish they could be taught, especially Lizzie.

Now I must tell you about Thanksgiving. I baked six pumpkin and two cranberry pies on Wednesday. The berries came from Oregon and were good, but small. They are two dollars a gallon. I put currants in the pumpkin pies and they were very nice, but not like yours, because I cannot afford the milk and eggs and our hens do not lay now. I also made a boiled bread pudding with raisins in it. On Thanksgiving Day I baked a "rooster pie," and Lewis and the children said it was delightful. We spoke of you and wondered of course what you were doing. The children sat up till eight. Mr. Sullivan brought some English papers full of pictures, and they looked them over, and Lewis told them stories, and they enjoyed themselves highly, and so did we all.

Mr. Byrne is going to England. He has come into possession of some property and it must be large, as he says he can put one or two hundred thousand dollars into the railroad. He is often in town, but he had not been to see me for sometime until last night. He says the bridge will be ready to travel over next spring. Old Mr. Appleton is going home to Philadelphia next March and I shall send by him. It was he who brought us the cake last Thanksgiving.

*December 2, Thursday evening* . We have had some powerful rains. One wooden house was carried off and a man was drowned trying to save things in it. The roads are dreadful. It is "hard times" in the mines. Flour is forty dollars a hundred pounds here, but in some places it costs one hundred dollars. It is hard times with us, too. Lewis says, had it not been for the fire, he would have been worth 181 twenty thousand dollars more than he is now; business has not yet come to be what it was before. The worst of it is, he cannot sell his lots because there is no demand for real estate just now although it is constantly increasing in value. I did hope that this Christmas we could send a

present home, and Lewis and I have talked it over. But at present we only live. Provisions have not been so high for three years, and some things were never so high before. The children think their Christmas will be very small and I think so too. They wish that box would come!

Our printers are here still. I hoped they would be out by this time, but the lumber for their building has not all come. I roasted a piece of beef today, but it had to be in the oven so long, it did not taste good. If my stove could be downstairs so that my stovepipes could be in the chimney, it would have a good draft. Our chimney draws, rain or shine. This stove in the sitting room gets so hot I have to open the door.

I wish I could bring Lizzie to Philadelphia while she is little and cunning. She is as bright and full of fun as she can be. When I ironed this week she wanted to help, so I gave her Sarah's little iron and she did two towels and all the stockings, mounted on a little chair. I had two new shirts for Lewis and it was hard ironing, so I took but little notice of her. At last she said, "I am a great ironer, and I tell you, marm, here are some holes for you to mend." If she had been ninety, she could not have spoken Out more like an old head. Sarah came in with her sewing and Lizzie said, "I shall iron your stockings, Sally." "No, you shan't," said Sally. "Why not?" said I. "You are helping me make a nightgown for Lizzie." "Oh," said Lizzie, "to speak so 182 to your little sister, and the only sister you have!" At last Sarah gave up and let her iron them. The rain has washed Out some gold and the boys have found about a dollar's worth. Sarah says, "I want to go too, and find some 'oro,'" but it is too muddy. Sarah's hair is getting long and thick and curls elegantly, and Lizzie's grows in little curls around her face. Mr. Byrne sat and looked at her and said, "Did you ever see such a beautiful child!" She is so good-natured that she is always smiling.

I believe I have not told you that we often have clams. Yes, real old-fashioned Massachusetts Clams, put up in air-tight tin cans in Boston, and oysters too, from Baltimore. I put a good deal of water to them and some butter, and thicken with flour, and they are very nice indeed. So Molly, if you come to California, I will give you Eastern clams and oysters, and either Eastern or California salmon as you please. But I think you will wait awhile longer; and I would advise you to, at least "till the pigeons have eaten the mud Out of the streets" as they used to tell us when we were little

and wanted to go to grandma's. On Friday night the children were bringing up wood, and Lizzie as busily as any of them but she must sing one of the songs: "The sounds of busy labor I love, I love them all!"

Quite appropriate! Another she loves and sings over and over: "I asked a sweet robin, one morning in May, That sang in the apple tree over the way.

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And now she is in bed singing: "There's a good time coming, boys, Coming right along. So come along, come along, feel no alarm; Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm!"

I forgot to tell you that at Thanksgiving I had a present of a bottle of mixed pickles from a Mr. Morse who keeps a grocery store below us. So I sent him a piece of pumpkin pie. He lives behind the store and does his own cooking. Chester left it and went on with Douglas to take some to Mr. Washburn. As he came back he said Mr. Morse was eating it and called him in to take the saucer, and said it was the best pie he had eaten in California. The boys were much pleased.

*December 6, Monday* . This is the first sunshiny day for a week, like an Eastern April day. I had quite a large wash, but I got up early and had it out by eleven. It is so warm, the grass is springing up all over the hillside, but no planted seeds could stay in the ground, the rains are so hard; it comes down in pailfuls, and the mud is literally knee deep; the men wear boots over their knees. The children are busy bringing stones, and Lewis spreads them out before the house. They are earning money for Christmas. They have now about six dollars, and that will not buy what three would at home. Flour is seventy dollars now!

*December 12, Sunday evening* . Last Thursday evening, when I was deep in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* , Lewis came home and, sitting down by the fire, asked me to get him the scissors and turn my chair around. I told him he could have the scissors but I could not leave my book for anything. But he 184 insisted, and so I had to give up, and what should he want to do but open a bundle sent from you by the Deacon! I forgot *Uncle Tom* and read no more that evening. We opened and read and looked over all our notions, but we left the children's just as you did them up for Christmas. Is it not

funny to have had something from you, last year and this, just at the right time! You sent the letters last year, and they knew nothing about it till Christmas Day. They all have secrets and we have told them we have one, too, but they have no idea what it is. I am much obliged to you, Hannah, for that muslin-delaine; and Gen'l Pierce's life is a very good one I think; it expresses my views exactly. I shall put the pictures in the stockings. We enjoyed everything and the letter the most; and now we look for another, but the mail due a week ago has not come yet. I shall not make my gown till the box comes. I have a lot of sewing on hand now: two pair of trousers for Chester, and a jacket for each of the boys, a dress for each of the girls, and under-clothes and aprons; it is likely to remain on hand for some time to come. I will do up my mending regularly, because I hate to "see a hole and let it go," thanks to my mother!

I baked yesterday. I had some carrots and took it into my head to make some carrot pies, and we liked them better than squash or pumpkin without eggs, and I had no eggs. I made some raised cake and some dried apple pies, too. We have some excellent dried apples now. I have a notion to make mince pies with them. They may not be as good as mother's, but they will do for California; I don't expect the children will boast of *their* mother's pies! Douglas sometimes asks me if I remember yours. It troubles me greatly that my oven is so slow. I hate poking! I often make flap-jacks, 185 and considering that I have no rye and have to use only flour, they are excellent, and we all love them.

Lewis is going to San Francisco next week on business about the railroad. Flour last week was eighty dollars a barrel. I detest these speculators! We use a great many potatoes, and put them into cakes and flapjacks, and it is a great improvement. I don't use lard when I use potatoes. Potatoes and carrots are fourteen cents a pound, and beets are ten cents, dried apples are twenty-five. Freight from San Francisco to Stockton is ten cents a pound.

I almost forgot to tell you how I came to have *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Murray went to San Francisco two weeks ago, and when he returned he brought books for all the children and *Uncle Tom* for me. They were delighted, and I no less so. I had seen parts of it in the *Era*; I read it all and enjoyed it. Only sometimes I got quite mad at the d----s of slaveholders, and of course I had to do some



crying and no little laughing. I finished it last night. I can't read one word in daytime. The children's books were a natural history for *Douglas* , and stories for Chester, *Tom Thumb* for Sarah, and *Little People's A B C* for Lizzie. The title takes her fancy and she says it over and over. It is full of pictures and in her eyes is the most beautiful of all. Sarah loves to read very much, would rather read any time than sew or knit.

When it does not rain, the sun is quite hot. No wonder the Mexicans who live in tents, love to sit in the sun with their mantles over their heads; it is far warmer than inside. But while it is like April here, it is really December up in the mountains. Two months ago I saw that two men had frozen to death, and a week ago a whole train of mules were frozen. The snows are very deep.

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*December 13, 1852, Monday* . Well, I have got through with my washing, and as it was a small one and a pleasant day, I ironed, and aired them all, and put them away. I heard last night that Christman was married; Clint Atkins had a paper from him. A *Freeman* , two *Eras* , and a lot of *Suns* have come by this mail, but no letter from you. I shan't see as many papers when the printers have moved. How I want to hear all about your Thanksgiving, all that you had and did, etc.

*December 18, Friday evening* . Last Tuesday it turned very cold and snowed, and Wednesday the ice on our balcony did not melt all day. It snowed considerably through the day and all the night. Lewis left that morning for Stockton; he and I got up before five and made a fire and boiled some chocolate. The stage came about six, and by that time all the children were up and dressed to see father off. They sent lots of "secrets," together with Some money to buy them with. Such whisperings as they had, and such secret consultations days before; I cannot tell you the amount of business Lewis has to do for the "Young Gunns," as Washburn calls them! He will be absent about ten days.

Now it is pouring rain. The snow is gone, except a few spots on the higher hills. It was beautiful when hills and trees were white. I am glad I washed Monday, the only pleasant day this week. What can the people do who live in tents, when it blows and rains so? Those who are sick are almost sure

to die. A man who lived in one not far from us died of smallpox. He was getting well, but when the rain came he caught cold. He had a wife and five children in Iowa. The neighbors did all they could for him.

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*December 20, 1852, Sunday evening* . Our rain is not yet over; it is the greatest one that has been known for years. The whole second story of the Masonic Hall is in ruins. The roof fell with it. The first story was built of adobe and the second of brick. The rain melted the adobes and they sunk, and down fell the brick. One side of Dodge's new house has fallen in, and a number of others, and some of the wooden houses near the creek; the water runs a clean sweep through them. I was afraid our chimney would go, but the men say they do not think it will. The bricks here are not half burned, not at all like the bricks you have. If this rain continues I am sure our chimney is in great danger. I wish Lewis were at home.

Mr. Sullivan brought me some papers, and he says flour is one hundred dollars a barrel. Our box could not get here if it were in San Francisco. If it only gets here safe at last, I am quite willing it should still be on the water, as there is no storage to pay.

I have made my mince meat for pies. Douglas had been at me to make some for Christmas, so I said I would; and off he went and bought me a wooden bowl and chopping knife (they cost three dollars). I boiled the meat the day before and put the dried apples to soak. I got up early to go to work, but Douglas heard me and he was determined to help, and soon all of the children were on hand, long before daylight. I divided the meat and apples, and the boys had it chopped before breakfast. When I mixed it, I put in some lime juice to make it tart, and Mr. Morse, the man who sent me the pickles, sent me a large cup of sweet cider "to give it a good taste," so he will have to have some pie. On Saturday our stove drew well, and I baked seven mince 188 pies. Wonder of wonders! Douglas said they tasted exactly like Mamma Wright's, only that they had not half enough raisins. I had some currants and I put them in. I made enough mince for two bakings, and have some put away in a jar which I shall use for Christmas.

To show you how bad the roads are here, the stage which left Sonora Friday morning for Stockton did not return until this afternoon, and they usually come back the same day. I am afraid Lewis is having a time of it. His expenses are paid for the trip. I am going now to read Joseph Parker's sermon on Daniel Webster.

*December 22, 1852, Wednesday* . Our rain stopped last Sunday night, and the sun shone Out bright and clear all day Monday, greatly to my astonishment, so I had another good wash day. I hung my clothes on the balcony and got them all dried and ironed, and most of them aired and put away, before dark, and baked a shortcake for supper. So I "washed, ironed, and baked in one day," but I did not "make soap." On Tuesday I sat down nearly all day, and what do you think I did e I made our Lizzie a gown complete, before I went to bed (at half past twelve) out of the pieces of muslin-delaine that Hannah sent me by the colored deacon. And it is a beauty. I got it out nicely and have one of the small pieces left, to mend it with. I think I am smart! You see she had worn her old one almost all to pieces, and besides, it was too small. She will be delighted with Aunt Hannah's Christmas present. She does not know that it is finished, and I have put it away till Christmas Day.

When I woke this morning, the ground was white, and it snowed until noon. I made the rest of my mince meat into 189 pies. I have seven. One is for the office men and Lizzie is to take it down, and Sarah is to take them some little cakes with currants in them. I made a little pie for Wilson's Mexican friend, Emanuel; he often brings little notions for the children. I did not get through baking until almost dark. The boys and Sarah made up a sled, which a carpenter fixed for them, and they had a grand time while the snow lasted. But it is already gone, and now the mud is "a circumstance and a caution." It is so deep in the road, before our house, that the baker's horse sank right down into it, up to his back, and it took a dozen men to get him out. And one man got the wheels on one side of his team into the hole yesterday and had to unload before he could right It. Oh, California is a delightful country and no mistake! Such rains have not been known for years. But the snow has not been more than six inches deep. Tomorrow I mean to mend stockings. I brought some grey yarn from Philadelphia and had enough to knit two pair of socks for each of the boys. I wish I had some

more and could foot the legs of some of Lewis'. The socks we buy are miserable, and I am always mending. I shall cover up my fire and go to bed; it is ten o'clock.

*Christmas Day, Saturday* . And Lewis has not got home! I think the bad roads must be the reason. Before I tell you about our doings, I must say that your letter of November 17 was my Christmas present, and glad I was to have It. The rain has been coming down by gallons, and snow too, ever since I wrote you on Wednesday. Thursday I sat and mended, and Friday I cleaned house, and fixed my pudding and boiled a piece of corned beef, and sat down to rest. After the boys had taken their baths, which they proposed 190 to do themselves, I let them all dress up and go down with some cakes and a pie to the men in the office. Then they took small pies to Emanuel and to Allic, a colored man who works near us. Both are having a very hard time now everything is so high. Then they took one to Washburn, who gave them your letter which he just got at the post office, and to Morse and Mr. Pasture, our grocer. Mr. Pasture gave them nuts and raisins and maple sugar.

I bathed the girls, and they went to bed and right to sleep. No singing tonight, because Kriskringle was expected and he might not like to hear them talking and singing. But first Sarah hung up their stockings. Then as father had not come, and he wished us to wait for the gifts till New Year's if he did not get here, I let the boys fill the girls' stockings and their own with their nuts and maple sugar and some little cakes I had baked. They would fill one for me too. Douglas had fixed a very pretty little pine tree and they hung the stockings on it, and a doll which Sarah had made and dressed for Lizzie with my help (I painted the face one night when all were in bed), and a pair of garters I had knitted for Sarah. I forgot to say that Sullivan sent me up four large pigeons which had been given to him, and I made them into a pie for our Christmas dinner. The boys picked them for me very nicely. I boiled them first but could not use the gravy-it was bitter because the pigeons eat the bitter acorns. So I had to make more gravy with water. As my dish was large I added some very tender beef. Part of the pigeon meat tasted bitter but most of it was good.

Christmas morning I rose before five and made the fire and got things under way. Douglas wanted to help me, and he cleaned and cut up the pigeons and did it very well for 191 a child. After breakfast, he invited us into the "party room," and there Sarah saw the doll, which she had put

under Lizzie's pillow, on the tree. She was delighted. She thinks a great deal of it, because she made and stuffed it herself, and made the clothes, all to take off and put on. And after each stocking was turned inside out, an operation of a very serious nature, and they had all tasted and laughed and talked, all of us sitting around the tree, the boys went out to have a slide, as the snow was fast melting away. Sarah put on her father's boots, and tucked in her trousers, and pinned up her gown, and put on a coat of Chester's, and off she went as much of a boy for fun and sport as the others. Lizzie did not think of going out. She was so taken up with Maggie, the new doll, and round the house she trolled with her and her old doll under her arms, talking all the time to them. She put them to sleep, and gave them some raisins, etc.

At about half past one we had our dinner. I sent some of the pigeon pie and some of the pudding and sauce down to the men. Murray and his brother do their own cooking, but Sullivan and Myrick go to the restaurant. After dinner I enjoyed reading your letter while the children played, and when we lighted the lamp I read it to them and they began letters to you. We talked about you and father and "old times," and the girls went to bed; and the boys sat a while longer and had some apple pie, and then they went to bed. I shall have this all ready to send to you tomorrow. Goodnight.

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Thursday, December 30, 1852

DEAR FOLKS:

I sent you a long letter on last Monday, having missed the mail two weeks before. Lewis is not yet at home. The stages cannot cross the creeks, we have had such constant rains. I suppose he arrived in Stockton last Friday. When the stages do run it is very hard and dangerous. They have to walk the horses most of the way, on account of the mud, and the passengers have to get in and out constantly. The children are almost Out of patience--no real Christmas, and now most likely no New Year! Sarah said tonight, when she went to bed, "Well, we will keep my birthday (February 24) if father doesn't come!" Lizzie thinks she must have the spoon mother sent her, to eat with, so I let her have it. She has heard the other children read their initials on theirs, and you would laugh

to hear her read hers. She will take it up with a very grave face, holding it in one hand, and with her finger pointing to the letters, will begin, "Lizzie Le Breton Gunn from Mamma Wright. I send you this, Lizzie, because----" and then she goes on with one thing after another, just as it comes into her head. "Is all that on your spoon, Lizzie? "Oh, yes," she says. Several times lately she has asked me, "How long shall we live, mother?" "I don't know," I answer. "Well, we will know when we die, won't we, mother Q and we want to go to Philadelphia first!"

Only think, in all this rain we have had clear Mondays and I have been able to wash and iron the same day. I see things of my neighbors hanging Out in the rain, and how dismal they look!

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The printers have moved to the new office and it seems so quiet in the evenings. I fasten up, but it is very lonely. However, I have Philadelphia *Suns* and *Freemans* to read and plenty of sewing to do. Today I baked apple pies; the children like them at our three o'clock dinner but I get tired of them. I still have four mince pies which the children want me to keep until father comes. My stove bakes worse than ever this rainy weather. Mr. Sullivan has just come in. I open the door for him, and he lights his candle and goes right upstairs to bed. He says no stages have come in today. I hope they will get through tomorrow! Lewis wrote that he might have to go to Europe next month. I shall write all about it if he does. I do long for him to get home! I must stop and go to bed.

*January 2, 1853, Sunday afternoon* . I wish you all a Happy New Year! Lewis got home yesterday. I was really not expecting him, as Sullivan told me all the bridges were washed away and the river too high for crossing. The warm weather we have had for a week has melted the snow on the mountains, and with the rains, the rivers have overflowed and flooded the lowlands. At Stockton the steamboats go up into the middle of the town and are tied to the awning posts. Lewis got over the river in a small boat, and he rode some miles on the bare back of one of the stage horses; sometimes the water would come up to his waist and the horse would swim. Then he had to walk sixteen miles with a pack on his back, a very thick coat, and a long heavy pair of boots, and when he got here he looked thoroughly worn Out. It was a warm, damp day.

When Lewis had bathed and changed his clothes, and I had finished my work, we had dinner, about two o'clock. 194 You can imagine how happy the children were. We had put in their stockings the things you sent, and Lewis and the boys filled them up. And after dinner we all sat around the table and opened our gifts. Lizzie was so delighted with hers, you could almost have heard her laugh in Philadelphia. She calls her new dress her "beauty frock." The boys had books, and Lewis brought them each a pair of trousers from the store, and Douglas a good thick overcoat which he needs very much and with which he was delighted, and they each had a folding pocket comb. Chester had a beautiful mahogany paint-box with eighteen different colors, and brushes, etc., the only one saved when the store was burned. This was to balance D's overcoat. Sarah and Lizzie each had a thimble and two or three books, and I do believe the packages from Philadelphia excited as much surprise and pleasure as anything they had-such a lot of questions about how and when they came. And such laughing when they found the pennies from Aunt Mary! The boys said they must send some money back, but it must be gold. In Lewis' stocking was a bottle of elegant looking preserved peaches, and a cocoanut which Douglas got, and a pair of mittens which Sullivan gave Douglas and he gave to his father because they were too large for him. I had a comb and brush and a bottle Of very nice scented water from the children, which their father had got from the store, and then a little black box with a beautiful gold thimble, which was the children's secret; their father had bought it with their money in San Francisco, and it cost seven dollars! Lewis gave me a copy of Cowper's *Task* .

We may perhaps move to San Francisco as the directors of the railroad want Lewis to attend to the business there; 195 they will pay him well. He will try to sell his property here before going. It would be cheaper living there and better on many accounts. Lewis says he will not have to go to Europe, so I will not come to Philadelphia. He is gone to deliver a temperance lecture and the boys have gone with him.

*January 8, Friday* . It is not quite a week since Lewis came home, and he started off again this morning on the railroad business and will be gone two or three weeks. Mr. Sullivan does not sleep here now, but Mr. Snow is coming over to sleep while Lewis is away.

Last Tuesday evening Lewis delivered the opening lecture before the Lyceum. He had a sick headache all day but felt better in the evening. When we went, we called for Mrs. Mahen, the Irish woman who has such a large family of cats and dogs. She invited two of her neighbors to go (their husbands are mechanics). They were all dressed very well and one wore white kid gloves. The evening before I had retrimmed my straw bonnet for winter wear. What do you think I put on? I used a black velvet collar which came off my coat to make a new cape for my bonnet, and I cut some cross pieces of velvet and twisted them with some bright yellow ribbon and trimmed it, and put some in for face trimming. I think it looks right smart, and Lewis says it is very pretty. I decided to make some calls in it on Wednesday, but it rained so hard again I had to stay at home. And it has rained ever since. Lewis started off riding a mule, as he thought it was the safest way. *January 16, 1853, Sunday*. It is a delightful day and so was yesterday, the only bright days for a long time. I hope it will continue for there are hardly any provisions in town. Flour is seventy cents a pound, meal fifty, and rice sixty-two. 196 All the bakers, except two or three French ones, have stopped baking and the butchers have shut up shop. The roads are so bad the teamsters cannot get in, and if the rains continue, the men will have to leave town to save the provisions for the women and children, as has been the case in some places in the northern mines. I have a half a barrel of flour, about twenty pounds of meal, and half a barrel of potatoes, and nearly a whole ham. The ham cost seven dollars and is a large one. And on these we must live until provisions come in. I am not sorry Lewis is away, for things will last the longer, and I do not know what we shall do when there is nothing to live on. One butcher had some beef yesterday which he sold for sixty-two cents a pound. I am so glad we got our flour when we did, if we did pay sixty dollars for it. There are no crumbs wasted now! Last Sunday the miners around Sonora came in for provisions and were ready to buy up everything, but could not get any. One merchant said he could have sold five thousand dollars worth if he had had it. And another, whom Mr. Snow asked to save him a sack of cornmeal, said he could not promise, as the same thing had been asked him by at least a thousand persons in the last few days. Some live on potatoes, at thirty cents a pound, and some on meal only. I use all three-- now some mush, and now some flour cakes, and then some potatoes, and now and then some ham. I baked my last mince meat yesterday, and I guess I shall not make any more for a time. I got some excellent honey at thirty-seven cents a pound, and I think it is cheap. There is no molasses to be



had. I have sugar, and we can get milk every day. So we have mush and milk. In San Francisco flour is 197 only seventeen dollars a hundred, and here it is seventy dollars.

We have heard that the box is in San Francisco. The ship got in about the first of the month, and it will cost four dollars or five dollars to keep it in storage, but it would cost at least thirty dollars to bring it up now. I believe I want to see it more than ever; it will be next to seeing you!

I had a letter from Lewis two days after he left; he had not yet reached Stockton. He said the roads were better than when he came home--only once did he get into the mud. The mule sank up to its belly, and he had to pull it out, and, doing so, he went in with one leg up to his knee.

A letter came from his brother Osgood, who is now in San Francisco. He said they had an awful time coming from Panama. Many of the passengers came on board the *Cortez* in a half-dying condition with ship-fever and cholera. Twenty-six died on the voyage. He was quite sick himself, and worn out, being the only doctor on the steamer.\*

Dr. George Osgood Gunn continued to be surgeon on the *Cortez* for nearly two years, when he contracted Panama fever, and died on his arrival at San Francisco, where he is buried in Lone Mountain Cemetery.

The legislature has met, and Coffroth wrote Lewis that many of the members are trying to get a division of the State. I hope they will not succeed. Coffroth wants petitions to be circulated among the people that it may be prevented. I think Lewis will have some work to do when he returns, for the division won't take place without fighting.

I am making aprons for the girls, Mary, out of the gingham you bought for me, by the patterns Peter's wife sent. She cut them so carefully, and basted them all together; never were any patterns taken more pains with. How do you make sleeves now, loose or tight? I see by *Graham's* 198 *Magazine* that "mutton leg" is to be the fashion. Maybe you can send me a little pattern or draw one in your next letter, and do send me some number six needles, too.

This is the sixteenth of January and so it is my birthday. I'm sure I cannot tell whether it is the forty-second or forty-third, the latter I believe. Oh dear, how old I am!

*January 19, Tuesday* . It has been very fine weather for three days, and I washed and ironed yesterday as usual. I had another letter from Lewis, and I will send it to you, that you may see how near he came to being drowned.\* I long to have him at home again, but as the weather has been so fine, he will not be in such danger coming back.

This letter has not been preserved.

This evening the boys and Sarah have gone with Mr. Murray to see a man perform like Senor Blitz. Lizzie has just gone to bed after having read a piece of poetry. She gets the book and sits down by me. I have learned by frequent repetition a good number of pieces by Mary Howitt, so I advise her to take that book and I repeat and sew and need not stop to look, as she does, keeping her finger on what she thinks is the place, often turning the leaves long before the page is all read. Tonight she wanted to take her rosy-cheeked doll, as she calls the one Sarah made for her, to bed with her. So having said her prayers, she lay down and said, 'Now go to sleep, baby dear! There mother, she went to sleep so quick she had no time to say her prayers!' And now she is so still she must be asleep too.

Some flour has been brought in on mules, and it is selling at forty cents a pound.

*January 24, 1853, Monday*

. Lewis got home last Saturday, quite well notwithstanding his exposure. He found the 199 roads much better; but I may have to wait a month before the box can come. Sunday evening when Lewis was reading to the children from the Bible, Washburn came in and we were all delighted to see him. He has two brothers now in Congress. About 8 o'clock Mr. Snow came, as he still sleeps here, and, soon after, Murray brought some letters, right from the office. There was one from you to me, and one from Peter to Lewis, and one for Washburn, whom he was glad to find here, and one for himself. So we all sat down to read them. When I found Sarah's letter in mine, she had to take it around for all to see, and when she went to bed, she wrapped it in paper and put it under her pillow.

Lewis must go again in a few days. How I wish you were here, Mollie. If you should come, what a time we would have! I will tell you what to bring-every kind of winter and summer clothes that you have, and the best are those that do not need washing. I mean, when I can, to have a summer dress that does not need it. I had two muslins, one pink and one green. The green is now hardly fit to be seen; I wore it all last summer and the summer before, from August to cool weather. The pink I shall shine out in next summer (if I should live that long), and it is the only thin dress I have, and I must wear it every Sunday for three months, for it is so hot, I cannot endure anything thicker. Lewis will try in every way to send the money he owes to Burk by a friend who is going back to Philadelphia in March. He has been very hard pushed about money matters since the fire. We live as economically as we can. I do almost all our washing, only putting out sheets and shirts. I tell Lewis I wish the bridge and railroad were in operation, 200 for Burk's sake, and my sake, and all our sakes. I suppose, "What is to be, will be, if it never comes!" as Nabby Davis used to say. Poor Nabby, I wish I could send her something; it's a dreadfully hard lot to be poor!

Business is not so good, the result of the heavy rains and the fire. Lewis has not been able to rent one side of the new store. People cannot come here this winter. Everybody says, "Only let the bridge and the railroad be built, and the teamsters and cars can take the produce to and from Stockton, and times will change."

I wish more good people would come here, or that we could live somewhere within visiting distance of such people. Washburn told me about a Mrs. Chamberlain in Columbia, five miles away, a New England woman, once a teacher. Mr. C. came here three years ago and she came last month. He says I would like her, but I can't go there, and she doesn't come here; she could not in this weather. I must send this tonight.

Sunday evening, February 27, 1853

DEAR FOLKS:

The children are in bed, and so I concluded to talk a bit with you. Mr. Snow left us last Wednesday and took a letter from me to you. How soon you will see him I cannot tell. I shall send this off to you as soon as we hear from the box. When Lewis came home from San Francisco last week, it was in Stockton, and he left orders for it to come by Adams Express as soon as possible. He waited here several days, but had to go to Benicia on Friday. Washburn or Sullivan will open it for me. Washburn sleeps here now. Lewis thinks the teamsters do not like to handle heavy boxes and that may be the cause of the delay. You are as anxious about it as I am, I know, and I long to tell that it is here. But there is no use to worry, and I won't!

I have been looking over my baby clothes and have found they are very few and very old. I have one little dress that you gave me, that was once my own, and one that I made for my first baby, and a little one with two ruffles round the bottom that I made for Lizzie, and I have nightgowns and petticoats and shirts. I cut out a little calico dress last Saturday, and Sarah and Lizzie both wonder for which of them it is to be.

It rained all day yesterday and I feared the freight rates would rise, but it has been clear all day today, and the stars are Out tonight; I will hope it will last till the box comes and then it may rain and welcome.

*March 4, Saturday evening* . Our box is not here yet, and I almost wonder if there is one after all. And no letter from Lewis either. I think it is strange. I shall have to get Murray to advertise "Strayed and stolen, a man and a box!"

I have had company this evening, three ministers! I must tell you about it. Well, I had mixed some bread, cleaned my chamber and the sitting-room, bathed and dressed, and was about to hear the boys' geography, when a gentleman came walking up the stairs and introduced himself as Mr. Hunt. He said he and two other ministers had come to Sonora today to see if it were best to locate here. As Lewis is the great "Gunn" and in fact the only person to come to, now that Mr. Snow is gone, they didn't know what to do when they found that he was away. I told Mr. Hunt all I knew about Sonora and the people, and he said he would call this evening with "the brethren," and so they came

and 202 spent an hour or more. They are to have the Methodist Church all day tomorrow, they say. They called on Mr. Deal and seemed quite pleased with him. We talked about gold, the price of provisions, the people, etc. They are all antislavery, at least in a measure, I should think. One of them, Mr. Bell, has lived seven years in Kentucky and knew Mr. Fee and Cassius M. Clay very well. I don't often have company, but today it rained parsons. I should for once like to hear a parson who is not a Methodist. It is so warm that I have no fire now.

*March 6, Monday evening* . My head feels light, and I hardly know whether I am on my heels or my head, and I doubt if the children do, after today's excitement. But I must go back to yesterday first. I went to meeting, and as I passed Mrs. Yaney's, it occurred to me that she might like to hear these "brethren," so I ran up her stairs and told her about them, and she said she would go with me in the afternoon. Mr. Hunt preached in the morning and a capital sermon we had. Just as I left Mrs. Yaney's a young man from the post office ran after me with a letter. It was from Lewis, and he said when he got to Stockton the box had left some days before, and he supposed it had reached Sonora. Well, I set it down at once that it was lost. I sent Douglas to Adams Express, but they knew nothing! So I concluded to let the matter rest, as I could not do anything else, and went to meeting and took Mrs. Y. and Lizzie. Of course we talked and thought and felt about the box till we went to bed and slept it off as much as we could. And this morning I was up bright and early, and washed, and was all through the cleaning, when Chester ran up, saying, "The box is come!" I did not believe it, but I looked out of the 203 window and there sure enough was the wagon, and Washburn with it, and Douglas crying "Hurrah! here's the box," as loud as he could, and the girls running Out the door--all hands on deck! Washburn got the hammer, and opened it and hurried away, after paying the man. It came to thirty dollars, the freight from Stockton, and I think from New York to San Francisco it was about twelve!

Well, such a noise; it was real Bedlam! The children took out everything except the stove. That is broken in two places, one in front and one on the bottom, but I think it can be mended. We minded your directions about unpacking. I have had them in my upper drawer and looked them over now and then, ever since the box reached San Francisco. The kettle of apples and the box of gingerbread came out very nice. All the pots and kettles were carried upstairs, and the boiler was carried into

the sitting room, and I sat in a chair beside it and Douglas took out the things, the others standing around and making original remarks. I only wish you could have looked in and heard them. They had been carried away before with all they saw, but now, such a time! It was "Oh see this!" and "See that!"-I must look at everything at once. When she saw the cradles with the dolls and the bureau and little dishes, "Oh such a Mamma Wright and Aunt Mary and Aunt Hannah!" said Lizzie. The girls knew Aunt Mary dressed the dolls, and they must dress and undress them over and over, and must have tea at once with the dishes, while Chester was absorbed with his top and Douglas in his book. And the most wonderful thing was that these were all the very things that mother and Aunt Hannah and Aunt Mary used to play with themselves. Toward night I told Sarah she and Lizzie must put away their things, so they did, and as Lizzie looked at the babies in their cradles, she said, "Oh the little sweets!" and Sarah said, "Such beautiful faces!" I gave them some bread and molasses for their supper, and as they ate, Chester said, "We were so overtook with joy because the box came at last." "Yes, and so tickled," said Sarah, and Lizzie clapped her hands and danced up and down, "because we are so glad."

I laid away the packages marked for Lewis and myself, and some little notions for the children, to give them another time. It was almost seven, and I was putting the girls to bed, and Sarah had just said, "This is the most joyful day we ever saw," when Douglas came in to say that all the ministers had come to see me again. I hurried in, but the girls were too excited to go to sleep or to have the fear of company before their eyes; they must laugh and chatter together. I told the company that we had received a box from home, and Mr. Hunt said he knew all about it and laughed to hear them.

While they were here, a Mr. Wells called with Mr. Snow's brother, and we had quite a party, and a nice time talking. The ministers had walked to Columbia and Springfield and back and enjoyed themselves very much. They sat an hour, and then said good-bye. They go to San Francisco tomorrow. After they had gone Mr. Wells asked me if I did not think we ought in some way to let them know which was best liked, if one of them was to stay. We talked for some time devising how it was to be done. It seems Mr. Bell is rather the most liked; some of the business men who never go to church noticed him, and we thought they should be pleased as well as the rest, for if they go to

church the stores 205 will be closed, and the saloons and bad houses will be left to themselves and will keep more close, if they don't shut up.

You never saw such actions as they have here. One man said Sonora is a perfect hell, and so it is. Today is election for mayor; I sent the boys to get me some matches, and they went by a house where a well-dressed woman was lying dead drunk On the floor, and lots of men there--the doors wide open so every one could see. In the gambling saloons are pictures of naked women, and women half dressed, dancing on the tables. I never saw a place where there was so much need of teaching and preaching and living as we ought to live.

So it was decided that Mr. Snow and Mr. Wells should go to Mr. Deal's and see Mr. Hunt. And now Chester and I have worked out one of his games and played some with Sarah's splendid cards, and I am ready to write to you. First I must say, as the children do, I wish Lewis were here to see the elegant big cake and the beautiful preserves. They came so well, and of the dishes nothing was broken but one little bowl. The children are particularly pleased with the little blue plates. They had a long conversation over them, whether they were for the girls to play with, and Chester convinced them that it was not so. I have hardly had time to look at the books yet, except my own, and I like it very much. What a job it must have been to pack the box, for I have had one just putting the things away. I have not opened the bundles of clothes yet.

I forgot to tell you that the girls wanted to take a walk as soon as they saw their parasols, but concluded to wait till next Sunday which Sarah wished were here, so that she could go to meeting, an excellent wish to be sure. The seeds 206 were a little damp and I have spread them out to dry. Such a lot of them! I hope they will prove to be good. Some of the shoes were a little mouldy, but not bad, and I am very glad indeed to have them. I must stop now, as it is after twelve o'clock, but I wanted to write at once.

*March 7, Tuesday* . Today I looked at the de-laines and the gingham and I like them very much. And that thin dress of yours, Mary, I know I can do something with it, and with the light one of mother's. I have already cut up the buff one and got out a coat for Sarah. I made it coat-fashion with

a cape. She will wear it on Sundays; she needs something at this season, and her gowns have low neck and short sleeves. Do look at little girls in Philadelphia and write me what they wear in warm weather. My mantilla is getting rusty and some time I mean to make it over for her. She is so large, she cannot get on the shoes you sent for her.

Washburn is to deliver a poem at the Lyceum tonight. He sent me word if I would like to go, he would come for me and bring me home, but I thought it best to decline. But the boys have gone with him.

When I was putting the girls to bed, I gave them the little knives and forks that L. Fry sent. Do tell her how delighted they are with them. And then I opened the little box with the roses on it and showed them the two tiny dolls. When I took one out, and could hardly hold it, it was so tiny, and showed that it was jointed and its feet could move, I thought they would lose their wits and jump out of their skins, they were so excited. The dolls were too small to kiss, so they were not devoured. They enjoy the cradle dolls so much and are very careful with them. Once Sarah wanted to cover one of the dolls up. Said Lizzie, "Whoever 207 heard of covering up her face? Do we cover up our faces at night?" Today she had such a good time with her alphabet board. Douglas wrote a letter to you before the box came and now he thinks he must write another. I like my little bird whistle very much. I used it today to call Chester, who was way up on top of the hill. I very often have to call Sarah, when she runs out, and I hate to go out on the balcony and yell like an Indian.

The boys have just gotten home. They liked the poem very much. Mrs. Yaney was there. She is from New Orleans, and while she seems to have had little education, and writes her name with a little y and as though she had never been taught to hold a pen, she does not make mistakes in talking, and dresses and acts as though she had moved in good society. She is more like the people at home than anybody that I know here. Mr. Hunt said he thought the change for me from Philadelphia to Sonora must have been very great indeed. You would like Mr. Hunt. The boys are deep in their books; they are very much obliged to you, and well they may be and their mother too. I am sure your ears must burn; we all talk so much about you.



I have been thinking about the gold I sent by Mr. Snow. I would rather not have a watch. Lewis will get me one as soon as he can and it will be better to wait, I think. So I want you to have a ring made for me, as handsome as yours, and then I want to divide the rest among you. If you like, give Peter some to have a ring made for himself. You must take the gold as presents from me and the children. I hope you will do it. We will send some more some day.

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March 20, 1853

DEAR MOTHER AND HANNAH AND MARY:

In my last letter I told you of the arrival of the box. Now I have begun to make up some of the gingham. I have cut out jackets of the brown for Douglas, and a frock of the green for Lizzie. And I have made new capebonnets for each of the girls and they are as proud as "old Limbo." I opened the box sent from David Stickney, from India, last Sunday, and the children have enjoyed looking over all of the things. At the same time I gave them the *Mother Goose in Hieroglyphics*, and such fun as they and Washburn have had with it. They enjoy all the books you sent them and read in them every day, and Sarah says that "Sugar Dolly" is the most beautiful of beautiful books.

The other day a little girl named Frankie came to play with them, and they consulted together and decided to put away the best dolls because they knew she was not careful of her own toys. Lizzie came to me (I was baking in the kitchen), holding the dolls so that Frankie could not see them, and said in a whisper, with a nod of her head, "I am going to put them in your drawer, mother, to keep them safe till she goes home. We will get out the old dolls to play with--just as well, you know." They have two boxes set against the wall, one above the other, and have made a very pretty doll-house. All the little things are on the bureau and the little pictures on the walls. Yesterday I had a lot of sewing to do, but they were so anxious to have some pink silk bonnets made for their dolls that I had to do it. So we found enough among the pieces of silk that you sent, and I put a shawl on one and a green mantle on the other. The girls went out, and came back to visit and to tell me 209 that they had been shopping for their children. They said they gave twenty-five dollars for the bonnets

and fifty dollars for the shawl and mantle. "And we have real cradles, too, with real rockers. See, Mrs. Gunn," said Lizzie. "They cost two hundred dollars, and they have real sheets and pillows and quilts!" "And a bureau that cost three hundred dollars!" said Sarah. California prices, you perceive!

I must tell you Lizzie's remark about the fruit cake. Chester said something about my making cake like it and she exclaimed, Why she can't make cake like Mamma Wright's, she is too young!" He was so amused, he had to run in and tell me.

Of all the things, the dear little blue Canton plates seem most like home. How many times we have all eaten out of them. I think of it every time I use and wash them. Nothing brings you right here as they do. Did we not have them in West Newbury? I would rather have them than all the cups in creation.

Last Sunday the girls took their parasols to meeting. They hardly knew whether they were on their heads or their heels, and every few minutes I had to say, "Shut your mouth, Sally," for she was so delighted, she had a broad grin. In the evening Washburn came to see me, and Lizzie asked him, "Did you see me go to meeting?." "Yes," he said, "and your parasol too!" Hannah would laugh till the tears rolled down her cheeks to hear all these children say.

I had a letter from Lewis today; he is waiting to get a railroad bill through the legislature, and thinks he will be home very soon.\*

Benicia was then the State capital.

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*Sunday forenoon* . Lewis arrived on Monday, quite unexpectedly. He had been gone so long, he thought he must come home to see how we were getting on. He was much pleased with his presents, and the children had a great time showing him all of theirs. He has just taken the children to meeting, and I thought I would write now, for some one may come in this evening. One of the Presbyterian ministers I wrote you about has come with his wife and three children. Lewis and I called on them last Friday evening at the City Hotel. Their name is Harmon, and they are from New

York State. I liked her very much. She is the most intelligent woman I have seen yet. They have taken a little cottage near us.

You would laugh to see and hear the children, all bent on finding and earning gold to send to you. Chester gave Lizzie a "bit" for helping him pick up chips, and she came to me, "Here, take care of it, Mother, it is to be changed into gold to send to Philadelphia. I earned it myself!" The boys have collected between them about six dollars.

Lewis says his business takes him to Benicia so often that he thinks we may move there. He thinks it would not cost us more than half as much to live there and I could have some one to help me with the work. He is determined I shan't work so hard any longer than he can help. But I shall not move until after I am confined. I find I cannot have Mrs. Yaney's woman at that time, but I am to have a very nice colored woman named Maria, a smart, tidy body, who lives near and says I may send for her any time, day or night, so I feel quite easy on that head.

When Lewis was in San Francisco, he tried to find Charlotte and her husband, but he could not. She could more easily find us, for Lewis is well known to many people all over the State. There is not an editor of any of the large papers in San Francisco who does not know him, and Lewis has assisted Mr. Kimball, editor of the San Francisco Alta, and written for it often. I should like much to see her, but if we are ever to meet, she will have to look me up, I think.

Lewis went back to Benicia last Thursday.

There is a colored man here named John Smith, who is mining at Murphy's Camp. He happened to be in Sonora at the time of the great fire and came up to help us, and while he and I were dipping water from a large tub, he told me that he had that day bought a draft for a hundred dollars and put it in a letter for his wife, and he supposed it would be burned. He helped us all that night, and the next day he went away and I had not seen him again till he came to see me yesterday. He told me that his draft was not burnt, but went to Philadelphia, but he has never heard from home since he sent it, indeed, not for nine months. Before that he used to hear every month. He is very anxious. I offered to write to you, Mollie, and ask you if you could find his wife. Her name is Nancy Smith,

and she belongs to the Antislavery Society, and knows Emma Parker well. So I thought it would not be much trouble for you to find out through E. P. where she is and if she got the draft. He says she moved into School Avenue after he left home, and hers was the only colored family living there. She has four children and goes out for days' work, and is known to many abolitionists. He tells me he is doing well and expects to go home next fall. While he was here, something was said about Newburyport, and he said, "I have been there and know a good many people there. I sailed with a Captain 212 John H. Titcomb for four years." I felt the more interested in him after he told me that.

All the children have gone to meeting except Lizzie, and she is sitting, talking to her dolly. I mean to have a real little playhouse made for them when we move, if I can, like a cupboard, with doors that they can shut, to keep everything nice and clean. I shall not tell them, but have it for Christmas. Mrs. Yaney wants me to let Lizzie come and stay with her when I am confined, and Mrs. Lane wants Sarah. They are both so kind, and say so much about it, I expect I shall let them go for a few days at least. They will be well taken care of, I know.

Mrs. Harmon called to see me last week; she is quite a pleasant woman, antislavery. When Chester first saw her, he said to me, "She is a great deal bigger than you, mother, but not half so pretty!" She was a Wadsworth of New York, and has a brother and sister with their families in California. They came in a clipper ship. She finds it all very different here, in a little house of two rooms and a little box of a kitchen. She says she means to do her own washing. She is a well educated woman, the only one in the place. Her little girl of Sarah's age came to spend the afternoon, a very quiet, well-behaved child.

*April 10, Sunday* . We have delightful weather now and plenty of flowers and green grass all over the hills. I am expecting Lewis every day. Mr. Sullivan sleeps here, and brings me more papers than I can read, and Murray calls now and then for a chat. Washburn has gone to Benicia, and later is to go to San Francisco and be one of the editors of the *Alta* . A gentleman has just called to tell me that Lewis will be here tomorrow.

If I were able, I suppose Lewis would move to Benicia at once. As it is, we shall wait. I do very little washing now, and have put my few duds in soak, and shall get up early tomorrow and get through quickly. I want to move if only to get my new stove mended and in use. I bake very nice bread now, always early in the morning before it grows warm. Douglas is now nearly as tall as I and a good deal stronger, and he does all the buying, food and everything, and brings all the water, and cuts and brings up all the wood with Chester's help. A great deal for a child of twelve!

*Tuesday* . Lewis came yesterday and will stay until we move, unless he should conclude to remain here. He is strongly urged to go, by members of the Legislature, who think he can do much toward keeping slavery out of the state. Over and over this winter they have got him to draw bills for them to introduce into the House and Senate. The Slavites got a bill before the House to alter the Constitution, but it was defeated in the Senate. Lewis says one of the members was so pleased he came to him and said, "Come, Doctor, let's go over the hills and praise God!" And I believe this was a Southern man, too. Many of the Southern men are with our party and helped to kill the bill.

I have some nice stewed dried apples that came from you and we think they are delightful, and never was anything so good as the currants. Sarah has lost her two front teeth and lisps more than ever.

The next complete letter is dated July 31st. There is an earlier fragment in mother's handwriting, which must have followed a letter from my father telling of my birth on May 20th. His letter is missing.

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I have often heard mother tell of the very excellent care which she received from my father, and the good help which "Aunt Maria" gave, in her morning and evening visits. This capable person was paid one hundred dollars for the week, and managed her boarding house at the same time.

She was a fine-looking colored woman who had been given her freedom in California. An excellent cook, she was always well paid for her services, especially at weddings and banquets. I remember

that she lived in a pretty white cottage with a gay garden. She was a great favorite with the children, as she gave them wonderful dainties when they came to see her. A very large Bible lay on her sittingroom table, and I remember reading a chapter to her, for which I received much praise and a remarkable cake. At sixty, having accumulated a fine property, she married a smart young colored man who had charmed her by his wit and ability to play the fiddle. I do not know the sequel.

#### FRAGMENT OF MOTHER'S LETTER

Our baby grows. She is not like the other children-her eyes are very dark and she has so much hair. I think she looks as I did when I was a baby. The children are very impatient to know her name. When Mr. Washburn was here last week he came to see us and the children were crazy to show him "our little baby." He admired its hands and feet and talked about it to their entire satisfaction. They told him that father said to call it Benicia or California, and they had such a laugh over it. They did not believe he really intended to do so, and beside we have sent to Philadelphia for a name and shall know soon. When Murray came, he said she had a very sensible look, more so than most babies. "Oh, she is a tunning little thing," Lizzie says.

It is quite cool today. Lewis says at Benicia it is always cool, it is so near the water. When he was there last week, 215 they could sit by a fire in the evenings, while here it was very warm. There they have plenty of strawberries and blackberries, while here we have no fruit, and the grass is fast drying up.

*July 31, 1852, Sunday* . I went to meeting today, leaving Douglas to take care of the baby, and she is a very good baby indeed if she is little.

Perhaps, Mary, you will feel like coming with the Martins when they return in the spring. I shall hope to send you some money to buy some things for me. We shall get moved downstairs before then. There is a great deal to be done to the house, and I want to have all the land fenced in so that we can have a garden. Lumber is cheaper now, but it will cost considerable. I will say ribbons are very dear here and I want some. I am wearing the same bonnet I brought, with the light ribbon. I put the dark red on Lizzie's hat, and made over my colored straw with red ribbon for Sarah and it looks

very well. You might, if you could, get me a bonnet that would do for any weather, hot or cold! Mrs. Lane has a beautiful new bonnet made of white drawn silk, and her sister a blue one. They cost ten dollars apiece, and Mrs. Yaney's new white one cost more, I guess. They were all bought in San Francisco. I want some brown French calico, with a small figure; blue and pink will not keep clean on the baby. I do want a pair of kid gloves. The only pair I have left are too small--my hands have grown. We have had two fires the past year and they have hurt business, especially in the bookstore. But if I am able to send a draft before you come, I want you to get me silk for a dress. I wear my black one afternoons now, to save washing. Silk 216 three fourths of a yard wide is two dollars and seventy-five cents a yard here.

Mr. Harmon has moved into his new house of five rooms. I think she gets on very well, does all her own work and all the washing, and she has three children. She said she thought it was a pity for educated women to come to this country and "spend their lives over a washtub and around a stove," and so she is going to teach. I don't see how she can, unless she has found some one to do her work.

I suppose it is warm in Philadelphia now. Here we have a longer continued warm season, but we have always some breeze and cool nights. I want summer showers to make me contented. Then we could have more vegetables, and grass all the year. We have canned corn from Boston that is very nice, and canned lobster which we often have instead of meat, and clams too.

Douglas has begun to work in the printing office, and Lewis told him he would pay him just as he did the others, and he could buy his own clothes, and send some to pay Aunt MaNs passage here. And Douglas is full of it, and has no doubt that he can soon earn enough to pay it all. But Chester wants to help and is in the bottle business, that being his only way of raising money.

Chester has begun to attend Mrs. Harmon's school. I really cannot spare Sarah; she is so much help with the baby, and I can teach her and Lizzie. Mrs. Harmon has four pupils, beside two of her own children. I think coming to California to preach does not come up to their expectations. California is a "land of gold," but even here gold can only be had by working for it; the day when it could be "picked up" is over. I think our parson is disappointed in 217 the people not being as ready to give

as he expected. And besides, the minister is not regarded with the reverence that was given him at home. They respect his learning as they would that of any educated citizen and think he is a good man, and that is all.

*August 7, 1853, Sunday* . Before breakfast this morning our Mexican friend came and brought me a large panful of summer squashes, corn, and tomatoes, and said his melons would be "plenty ripe, one week!" Chester insisted I should give him his piece of a cranberry pie which Maria sent me when she sent our washing home. He ate it with great gusto, and I also gave him gingerbread to take home. We had corn and squash for dinner and they were delicious. Sullivan brought me a very large melon last Sunday; it must have cost him a dollar. A steamer has just arrived and lots of papers from everywhere. I long to get at them.

*Monday* . John Smith has been here and was delighted that Mary had seen his wife. He says he has sent her another check of one hundred and fifty dollars. He is earning one hundred dollars a week now with his claim, and thinks he had better not go home yet.

[Between this letter and the next which has been saved, Sonora had had another serious fire.]

*October, 1853* . I sent you my last two or three days after the fire, and told you that I had received yours with the needles and the lace. And Lewis has just brought me another from you. You wrote you had nothing to say, but I like such nothings very much. We have had very hot weather, but in this adobe we do not feel it as much as our neighbors do. It is just like going into an oven to go into some of the frame houses here. Douglas is not very well, so 218 he stayed at home from meeting today, and Sarah stayed to take care of him and the baby. Services are held in the Court House now, and the Lyceum meets there too. I am almost always the only woman present at the latter. Mrs. Harmon told me she had counted "sixty virtuous females" in Sonora--I do not see why some of them do not attend the Lyceum! Mrs. Harmon now has fifteen in her school, two of them young ladies, one of whom is going to be married next month. Chester is in all her classes, and he says, "When she reads she has to spell some of the words, and she can't learn geography."



A great many immigrants are arriving now, and such dusty, forlorn looking people! Some come in covered wagons, and some on horseback, and some walk-women with little children clinging to them. I saw one with a tiny baby, born on the way, no doubt. And many die on the way; and many, women especially, who get here will wish they had stayed at home. No house, rents high, and the rainy season coming on, men looking for work, and children to feed! They bring their goods with them. I saw hung on back of one wagon two flag-bottomed chairs, with straight backs and slats, painted red; I remember just such in old farmhouses in "West Newbury. It really made the tears come to look at the old things. Most of them have only pots and pans and a stove and bedding, and with these they camp out till better times. And they soon come, to the industrious.

The *Tribune* as you say grows better and better, the best paper in the country.

Douglas has been sick all the week with dysentery. Lewis has sat up with him every night, and we feared at one time he would not get over it. But now he is better.

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I almost forgot to tell you that my kitchen is being built, and my stove is mended, and I hope soon to be able to bake bread again. Since the baby was born we have been buying baker's bread. A barrel of flour will cost twenty-five dollars, but that is cheap, for we buy a dollar's worth of bread everyday!

*October 30, 1853*. I went with Lewis and Chester and Lizzie to church today, and left Sarah to take care of the baby, as Douglas, though much better, is not yet strong enough to do it. It was communion day, and three men joined by letter. Lewis joined when the church was organized three months ago, and I today, because I could not go then. Mr. Harmon is a Presbyterian, but as some of the members are Congregational and do not agree with the creed of the Presbyterian Church, Lewis wrote one that all joined in, and it was adopted.

You ask, Mollie, if you can earn three hundred dollars, beside your room and board, and Lewis says, "Yes, she shall have that for teaching our children." I hope soon to send you a draft and a list of the things I want you to buy for me.

Mr. Sullivan went to San Francisco two weeks ago, and when he returned he brought each of the children a book and candies. He found a cousin in San Francisco to whom I think he will soon be married, and I expect he will take the bookstore off Lewis' hands. Then Lewis will be at home more. Now he is gone from morning till night. Governor Bigelow has appointed him notary public and that will add some to his business.

Mr. and Mrs. Myrick are going to have a room in our house this winter. They sold their house because she was going East, but she has decided to stay here. They will bring their stove, etc., and keep house for themselves, but she will help me with my work in any way I wish. She has a nice disposition and is very quick; she is the only woman I know of here that I would want to have in the house.

After baking for two years with my old stove, you may be sure I am in rapture over the new one. I must tell you about my first baking. I mixed my bread and some raised cake about noon, thinking to bake next morning, as the weather is cool. Mrs. M. and I decided to sit up that evening till the men came from the printing office, as it was the night they get out the paper. When they came about eleven, she took a look at my bread, and it was running over the pan. She said, "It must be baked tonight, and if you will sit up, I will, but it will take till morning!" So to work we went, and the men went to bed. I had made a large batch and she moulded it every bit while I mustered the pans. It took all I had and one of hers. At first I put in too much wood (I never could get my old oven hot enough) and I burnt the outside of a large loaf, but we soon got used to it and managed nicely. About one o'clock we made some tea, and she brought down some butter and applesauce, and we broke our burnt loaf and ate the best part, and had a nice little supper all to ourselves. She watched the oven, and I the fire. We had to put on extra clothes as it grew very cold. She cleaned a fish her husband had brought her, and we jogged along till about three, when the baby cried and I had to go up and get her to sleep. She went to bed at about four, and I baked the cake and washed up the pans

and dishes and went to bed and slept an hour. Our bread was light as a feather and so was the cake. Of course I gave her some, and she gave us for breakfast a large piece of her fish 221 and it was elegant. The children were astonished, as they had planned to help at the first baking.

I must tell you about my new kitchen. It is built on at the back of the house and it is quite primitive. It has a roof and sides of rough boards, and two half windows; the sun shines in nearly all day. It is large enough to have a lot of wood piled at one end and a long table at one side. We have laid in two barrels of flour and a half barrel of sugar. We have splendid potatoes; you never saw or ate better.

*Thanksgiving Day, 1853* . Lewis and the older children have gone to church, and I will begin my letter while I get baby to sleep on one arm, and then I must get dinner. We are to have two wild geese. They are small and said to be very nice. Mrs. Myrick picked and cleaned her own and ours, and I gave her my feathers and baked a small plum pudding for her. We are not to have dinner till two o'clock and I am boiling our pudding. On Tuesday we made a batch of squash pies together, she made the crust and I baked them. And we are going to make mince meat before Christmas. It is a great help to me to have her. She always takes care of the baby when I go to the Lyceum.

*December 4, 1853, Sunday* . Our baby is in my lap, and she is so lively I shall not be able to write very well. She is six months old. I went to church this morning with Lewis and the children. There were quite a number of men and all of eight ladies, besides four little girls and as many boys. The Methodist churches have about the same number, and yet there are a great many families in the place. Mr. Harmon is a good man but not an interesting preacher, not at all original.

*December 9, Friday* . Yesterday Mrs. Deal asked me to 222 meet with some other ladies to talk over a festival for raising money to pay off the debt on the Methodist Church North. All denominations will help. They concluded to make food to sell, and I am to bake bread and cakes. Mrs. Deal said she would make a hundred pies, and "Sister Grove" will bake a bushel of cookies. It is to be held in the church on the 16th. There will be singing of course.

*December 17*

. Our festival went off nicely and the house was full. I went one day with a Mrs. Alderman to ask the grocers for donations, and they gave between fifty and sixty dollars' worth. I had to do all the talking as she is a "silent sister." Then I went to the church in the afternoon to help arrange the tables. I had to take the girls and the baby along. The men trimmed the church with evergreens and red berries and it looked beautiful, and the tables were splendid. In the evening Mrs. Myrick did not feel able to go, so she took care of the baby and we all went and had quite a social time. All the food that was not eaten was auctioned with much merriment. Two of my cakes, baked in your oval pans, sold one for three dollars and one for two dollars and fifty cents. I heard today that the festival brought in between three hundred and four hundred dollars.

I begin to think that Mollie will not come, and I feel as though I ought not to wish it. Maybe I am the more ready to give up the idea because there is a very slight prospect that we may come to Philadelphia in the course of a year. It is not settled yet by any means, and I won't say more about it nor give the reasons, as it may "slump through," but I hope and guess it won't.

A man who keeps a ranch sent Lewis a lot of vegetables of the largest size, to notice in the paper. There was a parsnip 223 three-quarters of a yard long and as large as your fist, and monstrous beets and carrots, and a drumhead cabbage, hard as a rock and large enough to fill a big chair seat.

*Christmas Day, Sunday* . Yesterday the boys got a nice little pine tree and set it up, and last evening Lewis and Douglas filled all the stockings and hung them on it (except Douglas' own, which we filled). A new doll, given Lizzie last week, is perched at the top, and books wrapped in paper and many notions hang around. There are stockings on the tree for the Myricks, too. Everything is to be kept till tomorrow, which we think is the best day to celebrate. Lizzie wanted to know "if Sunday could not be put off till Wednesday, this week." We shall have chicken and plum pudding for dinner.

How interesting the *Tribune* is! And *Harper's* is publishing a story by Thackeray. I have lots of reading, could I only read. It is a great worry of mind to me to be obliged to leave such lots of papers and magazines unlooked at. I shall lay them away for a leisure day, should I ever be so happy as to have one. I have put Anna Lee in short clothes, and I have so much sewing to do for her and the others. Sarah and Lizzie have read the story of the doll in the papers that you sent, till they know it by heart, and Sarah often sings it to the baby.

As Sarah went to Sunday School this morning, she met the gentleman who gave Lizzie her new doll and he gave her a little gold pencil. I put a ribbon through the ring and proposed to hang it on the tree, but she thought she would rather wear it around her neck. She said, "I think this will be my most expensive present this Christmas."

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*March 20, 1854*. I could not find time to write earlier this week because Lewis has been quite ill; he has rheumatism in his shoulder, a cough, and general debility. But he has now gone to Sacramento, and before he returns must go to San Francisco; will be gone ten days.

I have begun to use my washing machine and get along very well. The children can turn it. I send out my sheets and the shirts and we do all the rest. I am making the children some dresses which Mrs. Yaney gave them, and she and Miss Johnson are coming to help me tomorrow. It will not be just like having Mary and Hannah come, but very helpful indeed.

People are beginning to dislike our minister, Mr. H., because of a sermon he preached on capital punishment, and because he courts the Southern party, although he said he was an abolitionist when he first came. He is not outspoken like Mr. Deal, because he wants to get them all to come to his church. A man here who reads the *Tribune* said to Lewis, "When Mr. Harmon and his sermons are in oblivion, Greeley and his writings will be known and admired." I told Mr. H. once that I thought the *Tribune* was the best paper in the United States.\*

It must have been very soon after this that the family withdrew from the Presbyterian Church and began to attend the Methodist, where we went as long as we lived in Sonora. Chester remembers that one Sunday, at the close of the sermon, father rose and the family followed him out of church. He thinks it was a protest because

of some sentiment that had been expressed. and I am sure that I have heard that the preacher excused slavery on the ground that Paul had sent Onesimus back to Philemon. One benefit which we gained from attending the Methodist Sunday School was the learning of long passages of the Bible, which took the place of the present day lesson.

Mrs. Lane and her sister came to tea, and they would have some sewing and helped me a great deal. Mrs. Lane is 225 a Catholic. I like her as well as anyone I know here; she is the prettiest woman in town.

Business is very dull just now; this week they have not paid expenses in the newspaper office. Lewis will sell the paper if he goes East. Do not send anything till you hear from us. If I can, I shall get some silk in San Francisco for a gown. The general price is high for good silk, but sometimes they have a consignment of goods they want to get off their hands and then things are very cheap indeed. When Mrs. Myrick went down, she bought me a new straw bonnet. It cost nine dollars, and is a very common straw at that, and feels awfully on my head and keeps falling back. I lined it with some double silk net I had, and got straw colored ribbon for strings, and made the cape of some ribbon I got in Philadelphia, and it looks quite well, they say.

Sarah is making herself some nightcaps and she has had to pick Out her work four times. She can hem very well but says she hates sewing. The baby is as good as ever; she sits on the floor and plays with a paper, and when she sees Lizzie read, she takes a book and reads too. Even when she is alone you hear her say, "a, a, a, b, b, b," etc. When I feed her bread and milk, she will take the spoon and feed herself, and then hand it back to me to fill again. Lewis says she has the best shaped head of all of them. Her eyes grow blacker and blacker, they are darker than mine, and her hair is brown and begins to curl softly about her face. She is very pretty, only she has a pug nose. Lewis is better; working in the garden seems to be good for him, and he is trying to get the soil ready for seeds before the dry season begins.

I do not think Mrs. Myrick will go East, and I hope Mr. 226 Myrick will buy the paper. I saw a leghorn bonnet today that was a beauty. I wish you could get me one like it; I do want a pretty one. Do send me a pattern for a mantilla--I must make me a new one. I saw a French girl wear one trimmed with two narrow ruffles, and as her family are rich, I suppose it must be the style.

Mr. B., a nice young man who is interested in the Panorama Company and thinks everything of Lewis, was married this morning, and they sent me a loaf of pound cake. I often have pieces of cake when marriage notices are sent to the paper, but this was a deep, round loaf and very nice indeed.\*

The Panorama was another of father's interests. It represented scenes in California, and I presume he was the lecturer who described them. It was being prepared in San Francisco.

Several letters which followed are missing and one of them must have told of Chester's serious accident. He had received a present of a shotgun from a man whom father had befriended. It had two triggers; when the first was pulled and the gun fired, it set the second which needed only a touch to discharge the gun. Chester had been firing at a mark and had just fired once when another came to the door and asked him to get a pail of water. He laid down the gun and went to the well, and as he came back, a boy who did not understand the gun, picked it up and pointed it at him. It was discharged and his face and neck were filled with birdshot. A man, who was working near, ran and picked him up and carried him into the house, turning him so that the blood, which was fast filling his throat, was thrown out and did not choke him. Fortunately his eyes escaped injury and he was not disfigured in any way, although he was ill for a time. This must have been a great shock to mother, especially as it happened in father's absence.

*July 28.* I have written twice since Chester's accident, I think. He is well of his wounds, but has had another. He 227 went with Douglas to have a swim, and on his way home he stopped at our milkman's to get a drink of water. The man was cutting straw with a hay-cutting machine and Chester says asked him to feed the straw. He put his hand too near and had one of his fingers cut off at the first joint! It is the first finger on his right hand. The man ran with him to one doctor and then to another, but they were not at home. It was near Mr. Lane's office, and he took him up town to another doctor and stayed with him till it was dressed. When Chester came home, he came upstairs and told me, and it made me sick; I could not get over it for a week. I could not write about it at first, and the children did not want me to; they thought it would make you feel bad. We have had to be very careful of him, and not let him out in the hot sun, and give him a very light diet. It is

almost well now, but think of losing a joint of his most important finger! The doctor says it will grow some.

I had a letter from Lewis, and he says he will begin to exhibit the Panorama in San Francisco next week and may go to the States next spring. In that case we shall all go too. I shall sell some of my things and store some, as Lewis says he will want to come back to California. Besides this house and land, he owns the *Herald* office and a store, and some unoccupied lots, and his interest in a Road and Mining Company. I expect it will be hard to sell the house, though it is the best house here--so cool and comfortable and the only two-story house in town.

It is dreadfully hot just now, and our back kitchen is so hot I cannot describe it. At noon, when the sun shines on the roof, the heat goes up into your nose and takes your breath away. But there is no dampness and nothing moulds. 228 But we have dust like unto ashes, and so dirty as it makes the children!

Lewis has sent for Douglas to come down to him; he can do little jobs and assist them in the evenings, and he will study with his father during the day. It is better that he should go. He has been trying to collect some of his father's bills, but Chester can do that.

Since Chester hurt his finger, Lizzie and Sarah worry about him if he is gone a minute longer than they think he should be, "I feel all the time about that Chessy," Lizzie will say, and Sarah will call to him when he starts out, "Now don't go to the milkman, Chess, and get all your fingers cut off. I never did see such a boy, all the time doing something to himself." I rise almost every morning at half past four; and one morning Lizzie got up at about five, and when Sarah woke, she told her how early she was up; "I am almost the mother of the house now," she said. She and the baby love each other dearly and have such good times together. The baby is trying to walk and gets on pretty well. She is very fond of a little dog which the doctor gave Chester, and she calls it 'Goggle, Goggle.'

*August 5, 1854, Sunday* . I will tell you about our visit to our Mexican friend, who, by the way, came from Chili and wishes to be called a South American: One day when the boys were at his ranch, he told them that he wanted their mother and the girls to come and see him, and because



they have to work very hard all the week, he wished we would come on Sunday. I would rather have gone on another day, but as he wished so much to have us come, and the children were so anxious to go, I consented. The Saturday before, I baked apple and rhubarb pies and some bread; 229 and Sunday morning I was up at five and packed my basket with two pies and a loaf of bread, and some tea, and our milk for the day. Then I got the children up and dressed, and combed their hair, no small job when Sarah's turn comes, and gave them some bread and butter to eat in their hands, and we were off before sunrise! It was so cool, and the sky so splendid, and after we got Out of town, so pleasant among the hills. It was the first long walk I had had since before the baby was born, nearly a year and a half, and I enjoyed it. The old man was glad to see us. He lives in a stone house surrounded by spreading trees and monstrous rocks. He built it himself. In the one large room, which had a dirt floor, there were two long narrow benches, a table, one rough bedstead, and some bunks for beds. Some shelves held plates and a few odd cups and bowls and tumblers, and there was a swinging shelf close to the door, on which they put their bread, just where it would catch all the dust. The chickens and pigs ran in and out at pleasure. There was a nice yard before the door, swept as clean as a floor, and a low bench at one side under the shade of a tree. It was much pleasanter to sit there than in the house, which was quite dark, being lighted only by the door.

As we were so early, the old man was still sweeping up, and a man who boards with him was cooking, baking bread and roasting green corn. He asked me if I liked roast corn, and I told him "very much," and he went and told the man to roast some more for Señora Gunn. He brought me some right away and I ate it, sitting on the bench. Some of it was roasted with all the husks off and browned elegantly, and some with the inner husks on; it was as sweet as a nut. He also brought me some cheese to eat with it, and I liked it 230 better than I thought I should when he asked me to eat them together. The children had some too and ate it running about. We had to go all through the garden and see how everything was growing, especially the plants from seeds I had given him. Then we had to go in and have some "breakfast," tea, new bread of his own making, and more roasted corn. The tea was made in a coffee pot and served to me in a bowl and tasted very good. The others had all sorts of plates and Cups, both tin and china, white and blue. We ate first and they afterward.

After breakfast we went to see the corn and tomatoes planted in hills; he runs the water between these hills in ditches from the main ditch which the miners use. He can only have the water at night, and so his children are often up nearly all night working. It has been so very hot that things are drying up. He has two girls, seventeen and thirteen, and a boy of fifteen. They all wear boys' clothes, but the girls have long hair which they tuck up under their hats when they are working in the field with him. He dresses them so in order not to attract the notice of the miners near. They have such small hands and feet, all of them, no longer than Sarah's, I think.

Then he brought out one of the benches from the house and put it against a high rock in the shade, and I sat there with the baby and read some papers I had brought, while he cooked the dinner. The children played in a swing and on the big rocks. He made a soup of dried fresh beef, corn, squash, and potatoes, and brought me some to taste while it was cooking, to see if it was salt enough. The fire was in a shady place between some rocks. When the soup was done he took the kettle into the house and set it down near the 231 table; then he poured part of it out into a tin pan in the middle of the table and served us in very shallow plates. As the table was very narrow, and the soup very thin, I expected every moment that the children would tip it over into their laps, but they did not, although they did get pretty greasy. He also had the meat served in a dish by itself, and some corn, and a dish of squash cooked with cheese, which the children admired. They never ate such a nice dinner in their lives, and Sarah told the old man, "We should not have had such a nice dinner at home!" We ate by ourselves, as in the morning. The boarder was from New Hampshire, near Concord, and he told us about his farm at home. He borrowed one of my papers to read and said he had not talked so much to a woman since he left home a year ago. We started back about four o'clock, and Douglas carried my basket filled with com and squash. Chester and I carried the baby, and, as it was very dusty coming back, we were glad to get home. I bathed the girls and the baby and myself, and we all went to bed early.

On Friday Douglas went to San Francisco with Mr. Bennet in his buggy. We miss him very much. That same day a box of oranges came from Osgood for the children, and they were so sorry Douglas could not have some.

Sullivan has sent me this description of the Panorama exhibit in a San Francisco paper, so I send it on to you. Lewis may sell Out his share, and go to Europe; if so we should not stay long in Philadelphia; but we cannot tell now. I hope to hear about the success of the exhibition from Lewis very soon.

Our baby has been quite ill with hives but is well again. She begins to talk and call the children by names she has 232 for them. I have been baking for a little company which Sarah and Lizzie are to have tomorrow, their first party. They are to have some little cakes, and melon, and nuts, and some jelly tarts. They are putting their doll house in order and feel very important and happy.

*December 24, 1854, Sunday* . Christmas time again, but it does not seem like winter. We need rain very much--we have had almost none as yet, and the grass has hardly started. Both farmers and miners are discouraged. Yesterday Chester and Sarah brought home a beautiful pine tree, which is to be put in the parlor tonight, and the stockings are all ready to put on it, and I shall add your letters the last thing. The children think more of Anna Lee's stocking than their own. As she has always worn socks, Sarah was allowed to buy her a pair of stockings, and they have all helped fill them. I have been making some dresses for the girls from the de-laine you sent. I washed yesterday, so as to have Monday to celebrate.

*Monday noon* . The children are enjoying their gifts. The tree was very pretty. Sarah had made new dresses for the China dolls and they had to be put a with the stockings and books. Douglas had Taylor's *Manual of Ancient History* ; Chester, *Buckeye Abroad* by Sam Cox, full of beautiful pictures; Sarah, *Sir John Franklin and the Arctic Regions* ; and Lizzie, Mary Howitt's *My Juvenile Days* --all books which Lewis saved for them when he sold out the bookstore. I forgot to say how delighted the children were to see Anna Lee take the things out of her stocking and her joy over a little book. Sarah kept saying, "I am so glad I put it in." They were all so pleased with their letters; each thought his own was the best. In my stocking was a potato

*Hannah Lee Stickney Elizabeth Le Breton Wright Mary Thurston Stickney Philadelphia, 1861*

233 in which Douglas had put one dollar and a half for me to buy myself a present with.

The girls have been up the hill to take some of their nuts and candy to some nice men, miners, who live in a tent. They were invited to come again and have a taste of the goose the men were cooking. Lewis and the boys have gone hunting and will be back in time for dinner. They have been looking forward to hunting together for some weeks.

*Evening* . We did not get through dinner till dark. It was very good, a fine roast of beef and plum pudding. Chester has taken the girls to see a little girl in the neighborhood and Douglas is to go for them at eight.

Mrs. Lane asked the children to come to her house with some others one evening, and they played games and told stories. Douglas said that while Lizzie was sitting by Mrs. Lane, she remarked, "Now all be quiet and I will tell a story," and she folded her hands and said, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord," and also some other Bible verses about the "wise people." When Lizzie came home she said to me she told them some poetry, and they did not laugh either.

You ought to see the baby sew. I tie the thread into the needle and give her a rag, and the way she goes at it is a caution. She sticks in the needle and pulls it out, not slowly, but with vigor. You would laugh to see how earnest she is. She is a Stickney, I think, and rightly named after her Aunt Hannah.

*January 6, 1855, Sunday* . Happy New Year to you! We had a powerful rain last night, and the children are all looking for gold which may be washed down from the hills. They have been quite successful finding small bits, and 234 Douglas found one worth three dollars and fifty cents. Chester has been saving money to buy a goat, and with his findings has enough. Lewis buys it from a man we know, who will keep it till it has its kids, and then Chester will have them all. He is going to make a New Year's present of it to the family. Chester is as pretty a boy as you will find in fifty, when he is washed and dressed, but when he is dirty I tell him you can't find a worse-looking young one. As for Douglas, he is as tall as his mother. That is not much, you will say, but he is a great deal larger, broader across the shoulders, and wears stockings and shirts as large as his father's. He has

changed more than the others, looks much as Peter did at fourteen or fifteen, though he was only thirteen last August.

Our neighbors who live in the tent had the top blown off in the storm and were deluged with the rain. They told the children they never had such a New Year's greeting.

*Friday evening* . We were to have a New Year festival at the church last Monday evening. I thought I should not go because it was so dreadfully muddy, but soon the moon came out and some young men took a carriage and went all over for the ladies. So I went and took my cake. The church was full and we had a pleasant tune and all the food that was not eaten was sold.

[The letters must have been sent just as regularly during the next years but only a few have been preserved. There is no explanation of the failure of the Panorama and of the plans for returning to the East.]

*November 1, 1855* . It is right cold tonight, and I wish all our warm winter clothes were made--my new merino gown and Sarah's petticoats and the boys' shirts--and that 235 Lewis' shirts had the new bosoms, and that lots of other things, too numerous to mention, were all done and put away ready for instant or future use! There, I have delivered myself *secundum artem* , as our Hannah says, no matter whether the phrase is appropriate or not.

I am not sewing tonight because I have a crack on my thumb and it hurts too badly. Anna is in bed and her dolly beside her; she pats it to sleep. When I gave her a drink, she held it to dolly's mouth for a second and they lay down together, equally satisfied. You would laugh to hear her say, "Now I lay." I say it a line at a time, and she repeats it just as fast as she can. She is very earnest and sincere, but it is her way, everything must be done in short order. You would laugh to hear her set Rollo on the pigs. She will clap her hands and say, "There's a good dog, there's a good Rollo." She loves him and he loves her. We have the handsomest rooster I ever saw, he has all the colors of the rainbow.

*November 11, 1855* . It has grown cold enough to have a fire in the parlor. Thanksgiving is to be November 29th in our State. I do not see any prospect of spending this Thanksgiving or next in Philadelphia. Chester had a present of two apples. They cost twenty-five cents apiece. I have planted the seeds. Not long ago Anna had her first apple, and she played with it all morning and did not think of eating it, until the children told her to.

I sent you the children's daguerreotypes by a colored man who was going to Philadelphia. He will return here, and I wish you would send me by him some cotton thread and some needles; what I buy here are very poor. And, as 236 you say, the girls must learn to knit; and you had better send me some unbleached cotton yarn. I have worn the six pair of stockings which I brought with me ever since I came and they are better than any others I ever knitted. I cannot find time to knit now, and I have bought stockings for the children, but they wear them through in a few weeks. The fact is, nothing here is equal to what you get, and our things cost more too.

I am glad now that we did not move to San Francisco, for business there just now is nothing like as good as it is here. Lewis is doing very well with the drugstore; he does the principal business in that line. I am sure we ought to say, as you used to, Mother, "How thankful we ought to be!" Douglas has lately had his wages raised to fifteen dollars a week.

I have, so far as it goes, some good news about the bridge. From the time they first set out to build it till now, it has not brought in any income. It broke down, and none of the stockholders would assist in rebuilding it, or pay their assessments. So Lewis and Mr. Heslep have it now all to themselves. They have had many offers to sell, but none they would accept; now they are considering an offer from some English people to rebuild it. It would be a great thing for this whole region if it could be done. Sonora is the nearest town to Table Mountain and the miners come here for their goods. The mountain is forty miles long, and through the whole length and breadth of it mining claims have been staked out. The Stanislaus River runs through this mountain, and the bridge is over this river. Instead of giving out as people feared, the mines seem to be yielding more; they are finding

out better ways of working them. Another good 237 business here will be the raising of fruit. Many people are planting apple and other trees, and they bear sooner than in the east.

I have finished my green merino dress and wore it yesterday, and it fits better than any dress I ever made for myself. I made a plain waist, and real old-fashioned sleeves, tight all the way down and hooked at the wrist.

*May 14, 1857, Wednesday* . I must tell you about some company I had and my preparations. I invited Mrs. Holden and her father, Captain Cazneau, and Fanny Markham, Mrs. Lane's sister. I made bread the night before and baked it while we were eating breakfast. As Captain likes soup better than anything, I started stewing my meat for that very early and put cabbage, turnips, carrots, and green parsley, and potatoes in it. The children shelled a lot of green peas, while I cleaned the kitchen and parlor all over, and as the flies are very bad just now, Sarah and I cleaned some of the windows. I set the table in the parlor, and of course I had out my new knives and forks; and, for fear I forget it, the Captain admired the peculiar shape of the carving knife. "Do you see this, Eliza, how very convenient!" and they all admired the knives. "Balance handles," she said. And also my new handsome tea pots. I told them they came from Philadelphia.

Well, after Douglas had had his lunch at noon and had gone back to his work, I dressed, and about three o'clock put on my vegetables, and when they were done, set them on the upper part and was ready for my beefsteak. It was tender as a chicken, and I got it nicely done, just as my company came. Soup, meat and vegetables, tea and bread and nice fresh butter and stewed apples, and that was all. 238 After dinner we went Out into the garden, and Sarah gave Lizzie and Anna their dinner, and ate hers, and had the table nearly cleared away. Chester came from school and got his own. I left the dishes on the kitchen table and we went into the parlor again and sat down, and as I knew Mrs. Holden wanted to see some of my new things, I showed her my silk dresses, and the silk cape and the lace one. She thought they were elegant. And such sewing on the silk apron, especially those gathers--she never saw anything so neatly done. The Captain had to look at everything too, and was as interested as she was. I showed the two white boxes that Mary made, and he said, "Well, well, she has a great deal of taste." Then I had to open the box and show the lace undersleeves

and collar. "Why, Mrs. Gunn, this is tambour work. She did not do this, did she?" So they looked and admired. And the children had to get out their things too, that came in "the box," and show their dolls which were all dressed for company, and they received their full share of attention and praise. Fanny had to go early, and soon after the Captain left, but Mrs. Holden stayed for a chat and just before she went I remembered my daguerreotype of you three. She did not think I looked like Hannah (though I think I do, only older), but she said that Lizzie looks like Mary, and she does somewhat. She stayed until dark, and after she had gone, I made up my fire and heated water and washed my dishes, and there were a lot of them, and I guess it was after nine when I got through. The children sat and watched me, and then we went upstairs and put away all the things and went to bed. And I was tired, and I don't want to have company every day, for I get out of patience at times and have to hurry the 239 children, and it doesn't do any good, only frets me and them too.\*

Mrs. Holden's father was French, and she was born on one of, the French Islands. Her brother, General Cazneau, lived in San Francisco. She came to Sonora in 1851 with her husband, who became a notorious gambler. As she was very retiring and lived at the other end of town, mother saw little of her in the first years. She was a devout Roman Catholic, and I remember seeing her husband's grave in the Catholic cemetery. He was shot in his saloon, but as the priest arrived before his death and confessed him, she was entitled to put on his tombstone "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." Her father came to live with her in Sonora, and for a time she taught a school for girls.

I want to tell you about Mrs. Lane and her chickens. She seldom will leave them to make any visits, but she went one day to dine at Dr. Brown's. She went much against her will, hoping to be at home by five o'clock at least, as dinner was to be at four. She told me that dinner was very late, not until nearly six, and "I kept thinking of my little chickens, Mrs. Gunn, and as soon as I could I went home, and I found one had had a chill, and there it lay on its back, and soon it died, and five more died that night, and you see how it is, I cannot leave them." She told it all in such a doleful tone and felt so badly, I did not feel at all like laughing. She has about a hundred chickens, large and small. In cold weather she often puts strips of red flannel around their necks and legs to keep them from catching cold! It does seem silly, but she is a very good woman and I like her very much. She thinks I have the best relatives that ever were; I told her how many things you made for me and sent ready to put on.



*February 3, 1859* . All last week we had rain and snow; it has been the best storm we have had for four years. Now the grass will grow, and I hope our cow will get fat. She came from sixty miles away and was very poor when she arrived. She has a little calf which the children love. We 240 now get only a gallon of milk a day, but I save the cream all week. Chester had been determined that he and I should make butter. Saturday when it rained so hard that our butter man could not come, he set to work and made a dasher himself. We put the cream into the pot and he churned it. Neither of us knew what to do. We looked at it when we had been at it about an hour, and I was discouraged and went upstairs. Suddenly he called up that it "had come." I ran down and sure enough we had a little less than a pound of good sweet butter. You never saw such a happy boy; he must run off at once and get a mould with some flowers on, to print it. Lewis and Douglas were both at the drugstore. Douglas came home first for his dinner, and he had a little of the underside, so as not to spoil the looks, and when Lewis came the children had enough to tell him! I never thought I should make butter, but I hope to make three pounds a week and save the seventy-five cents a pound I have paid the butter man. The grass is coming up finely and I know I shall make two pounds next time.

Sarah and Chester get on very well with their Latin, Sarah heads the class. But of all the children to delight in school, Lizzie is the foremost. She has been writing her first composition today; she is going to be ready for "examination day," three months away! The teacher told them they were to have no help and must choose their own subjects. So, as it rained and she could not go out today, she thought she would begin. I went upstairs and found her sitting in the middle of her bed, with an old coat of her father's over her feet and a wide book in her lap to write on. She had to consult me about using a capital for her subject, and so let me know that it was "The Blue Bird." She has two pages.

*Lewis C. Gunn 1865*

*Elizabeth Le B. Gunn 1865*

241 Chester advised her to read up on the subject before writing. She said of course she had. Sarah writes her compositions without coming to ask me about them. "But she doesn't write very good

ones," L. says. "She puts it off and hurries when she writes." They both are very independent of everybody and everything, but in different ways. Lizzie is slow about the house, but she learns very quickly and is a great favorite with the teacher.

*February 25* . I have been very much exercised of late over my yeast. Potato yeast often sours, so I have been trying to make hop yeast. Although Lewis said the bread was good, it did not please me-- it was not like mother's bread. The hops were put up in paper packages by the Shakers and maybe they are old.

We have had to give away our little dog, "Cyrus W. Fields," because the rogue took to going down to the hen-house and eating the eggs. Now "eggs is eggs" with us, they sell for six bits a dozen, and I can't afford to feed Cyrus with them. We tied him up and fastened the gates, but still he would slip through. Anna does not feel as badly now as she did at first. We sent him to Mr. Faxon's, where she could go to see him, but he would not stay there and bothered us so much that we gave him to Tom, the colored man at Brown's Flat.

You say Robert Douglas may go to Africa. I hope he will. I should think more of the colored people would go, since I have read Livingstone's book.

Douglas has been hunting and shot a deer, and we had a large part of the meat; it was excellent. Both he and Chester love to go hunting. Their father used to hunt a good deal when he was a boy and he doesn't feel as you and I do 242 about boys going out with guns. Lewis is teaching all the children Latin and says they are doing very well.

I have made Lizzie a dress Out of your dark figured silk, Hannah, and am making Sarah one from the de-laine you sent; it is beautiful, I think.

*March 6th, Sunday afternoon* . I did not go to church today but went to see Mrs. Dunn, one of our good friends. She was confined about six weeks ago and has had fever and been very sick. Mr. Dunn is very anxious to go to Oregon, and she wants us to go there too. But I do not care about it. I do not want to stay here, for it is a bad place for boys, but I do not want to go where people are

ignorant and pro-slavery, and they are said to be so in Oregon. I did not tell her so, for they have already bought the farm, and he is from Kentucky, and while he doesn't like slavery, he is not a decided antislavery man like Lewis. Such are persecuted, as a man was who went there with his family and had to leave. A company of antislavery men here are thinking of going up to look out a place to locate in Washington Territory. I think I should like it better there, if we could sell out here, but I see no prospect. For the sake of the boys, Chester especially, I would be glad to go into a farming region, not so much because he wants to be a farmer (for he thinks he should like to be a blacksmith) but because in a community of farmers there is a more steady and industrious class of people than in this mining town.

I have made butter three times and it is very good indeed, and I have made whip-pot and it is fine, like old times. I often make cornstarch custard; it only needs three eggs to a quart of milk and I sweeten with both sugar and molasses. Have you ever used cornstarch?

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*March 3* . I told you about a school-house that was being built. In order to raise money to finish it, the Committee had an entertainment, and our children took part in it, all except Sarah who will be in the exhibition of Mr. Peter's school later. Lewis had charge of this affair and had to train all the speakers, and had so little time to do it in that he is quite tired Out. It was at the theater. All of our children did very well except Chester. The boys in the pit laughed and made him laugh. They told him they would, and he told me about it before we went, but I told him not to trouble himself and never thought of it again. I felt great fear for Anna and some for Lizzie, but none for him. His father was quite put Out about it and wondered that Chester should stop right in the middle of his piece when he knew it so well. The next day two or three gentlemen told Lewis that some persons laid a plan to confuse him, some one who had a grudge against Lewis, I suppose. It mortified us very much.

For once Douglas felt ready to help; he has great fear of being laughed at. He did exceedingly well. His piece was the "Newspaper." He held a paper in his hand as he came out, bowed to the audience, and began, "The authors of the *Spectator* , etc.," and went on like one delivering a lecture. I was

quite agreeably surprised for he never has spoken in public before in his life, and the theater was filled with people and it holds several hundred.

I made Chester a new jacket with a velvet collar made out of one I had before I was married. He had a nice pleated-bosomed shirt and looked so pretty with his hair curling all round his face. Douglas wore his new twenty-five-dollar coat, and a friend lent him a pair of new black 244 trousers (he said his suit was worth seventy-five dollars), and he looked as nice as possible. Lizzie wore the brown silk dress, and her hair hung in curls, golden brown, around her neck. Anna was dressed in blue with short sleeves, with blue bows and long ends. She looked quite pretty, but the best of her was the way she spoke her pieces. First she had one with Lizzie, about the "Angels." "Sister Lizzie, can you tell where the holy Angels dwell?" Frank Ball, who was one of the musicians, said, "Anna was remarkable in that piece, for the life and force with which she spoke, so free from sing-song, showed she understood it perfectly." When she spoke alone, her father led her out and left her, and she began and went through with it just as easily as if she had always done it. You may have seen the piece: "Oh, I am so happy," a little girl said, As she sprang like a lark from her low trundle bed, "It's morning, bright morning. Good morning, papa! Oh give me one kiss for good morning, mamma."

Then she asks if she may say good morning to God, and her mother says she may, and she folds her hands to pray. Anna looked up and folded her hands. She did it beautifully, so everyone says.

Lizzie did very well too. She had two pieces by herself, one an allegory, "Hope and Despair," and the other "Maternal Love." In the last she held a doll in her arms. Other children spoke too, and did well, but I thought you would like to hear about our children. The entertainment brought in about two hundred dollars and we were well pleased.\*

Pinned to this letter is a press notice: "The performances of the school children were excellent. Miss Lizzie Gunn was remarkably fortunate and happy in everything that she essayed, while her little sister Anna surprised and delighted all by the grace and simplicity with which she enacted her part." At this time Lizzie was eleven and I was six.

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I called yesterday on Mrs. Ashley who has a new sewing machine, a Wheeler & Wilson, and it has an attachment which will Nm down a hem and sew it at the same time. She told me she had heard of knitting machines at fifteen dollars that would knit drawers as well as stockings. I really do want one. I wish you would inquire about them in Philadelphia.

Lizzie, who is writing a letter to her grandmother, says she thinks she can write as well as I can. I do not take any comfort in writing now, my hand begins to ache immediately. I suppose it is because I do so much housework. It is hard for me to control it unless I write very slowly, and that I will not do when I write to you.

[I know that the years between 1859 and 1861 were very hard years in my parents' experience. Father sold the newspaper but continued to own the drugstore 111 which Douglas was a clerk. He was often away from home during 1859, probably on business connected with the bridge, which so far as I know was never rebuilt, and which never brought him any return for his labor or the large amount of money expended. During 1860 business became so dull in Sonora that he taught the public school in the new brick schoolhouse. In 1861 we moved to San Francisco.]

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SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF SONORA

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**SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF SONORA**

Although I was only eight years old when we left Sonora, I have many childish memories of the place, and especially of the old home, with its thick adobe walls, its wooden shutters, and the high balcony from which we saw such unforgettable scenes.

I must have been very young when the Digger Indians used to come into town and dance before the house. They wore high feather head-dresses and had grotesque stripes painted on their chests, and would grunt and dance and whistle through long reeds until we threw down some dimes.

A more gruesome recollection is of seeing a wagon pass the house in which were four Chinamen sitting on long wooden boxes; and mother had to tell me that those were their coffins, and that they were being driven out of town to a place at some distance, where they were to be hanged for the murder of another Chinaman. Whenever there was to be a hanging, which happened not infrequently in those days, mother closed the house and tried to make us stay in rooms from which we could not see the crowds of men and women that streamed past to sit on the hillside overlooking the scene.

I remember that during the summer of 1859 Tuolumne County was greatly troubled by a number of burglaries, thought to have been committed by a band of roving Mexicans. The man who kept the ferry over the Stanislaus River was murdered and his money taken, and another at Chinese Camp was beaten and robbed.

Our own personal experience, probably with members of 250 this band, was one of the most thrilling of my childhood. At this time father was away, and Chester was staying at a ranch in the mountains. One night we heard some one prowling about, talking softly to Rollo, our big dog that we had brought into the house for protection. The next day a young man who had been walking up from the store in the evening with Douglas and sleeping at the house, sprained his back and could not come. This we feared might be the time when we would be attacked, and we became very nervous, as we had no close neighbors. Douglas came home early and the house was made as secure as possible. The wooden shutters on the windows, that had not been used for years, were closed and bolted; and the bar, a precaution of the early days, was laid on the floor between the front door and the hall partition, securely preventing the door from being opened; and Rollo's mat was laid at the back door, while he had the run of the kitchen and hall.

Mother allowed us girls to come into her room, and Sarah showed us a hatchet which she had hidden under the pillow of her cot. Mother insisted that we should go to bed at the usual hour, but even I could not go to sleep. Douglas, who had a pistol, probably did not undress. About midnight the dog began to growl, and to go back and forth from one door to the other, and Douglas heard low voices and a fumbling at the front door. He went out onto the balcony and asked what was wanted,

and a man replied that he wanted to know the way to town. He was told to go out the gate and follow the street, which was perfectly plain; and after a few minutes, feigning to be intoxicated, he stumbled down the walk and went away. But Douglas kept the light burning throughout the night, and his pistol at hand; and 251 as the dog made similar manifestations several times, we thought that there must have been some one else who stayed about but made no attempt to enter.

I think it was about this time that the brutal murder of a very good man, Judge Brunton, took place. His body was found on the lonely road to Poverty Flat. He was supposed to have been killed by some one against whom he had rendered judgment, and even a lawyer of the town was suspected. But the murderer was never brought to justice. I remember that the daughter of the judge, dressed in deep mourning, came to our house one evening, and that she said she heard a mysterious tapping on the head-board of her bed, and that she thought her father's spirit was trying to tell them something. Mother was very sorry that we should have heard this, and carried me off to bed, telling me that people often imagined things that were not so.

I have mentioned these episodes from the lawless back-ground of the times in order to emphasize by contrast the orderly and happy environment which our parents created for us. Our free outdoor play, our pets, the books father chose for us, the many simple celebrations mother planned, the love and spirit of co-operation which they put into our home life, gave us a very normal childhood.

After the earliest years, mother had her flower garden in front of the house. At the side father planted an apple tree for each child, and here there was an irrigating ditch in which we often waded. Our playground extended to the high pine tree on top of the hill back of the house, beyond which we might not go. In springtime this hill was clothed with wild flowers of many kinds, among the loveliest of which were the deep rose-colored cyclamen ( *Dodecatheon* ), 252 the mariposa lilies, and a fragrant low-growing white jasmine.

A pleasant memory of the big pine is that the boys used to shoot at the cones, bringing them to the ground for us to get the nuts; and another that we used to sit there and watch Chester fly the huge kites that he made. Our donkey was often very obstinate about going up the hill, but he was always

willing to go down to the barn with Sarah and Lizzie on his back, often tossing them over his head at the last, if they were not on their guard.

Our goats were kept in a corral on the hillside, and we called them by names from the Greek mythology. When they were sold Douglas had an elaborate bill-of-sale made at the Court House, in which each goat was named and described, adding much to their value in the estimation of the country woman who bought them and signed her name with a cross. I cannot remember horses, but at some time we must have had one, for on a shelf in the barn another child and I found a bottle of "Mexican Mustang Liniment" and thought it would be nice to put some on our hair. The odor clung to us for a long time.

A reason why we were not supposed to go farther than the hilltop was that there was an abandoned mining shaft in the valley beyond. One day, attracted by "rooster heads," as we called the wild cyclamen, Lizzie and I wandered into the valley and over the next hill. When we finally returned, we saw father standing with a rope in his hand and another man about to descend into the shaft, around which they had traced our steps. Father then carried me home weeping, and Lizzie, being the older one and more responsible for the worry we had caused, followed sadly.

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I have a vivid recollection of one visit of my childhood. A family named Jarvis, a father and four sons, had come from the East and planted an orchard near Columbia. As they had ample means to provide the free use of water, they soon proved that all kinds of fruit could be raised there, and of the finest quality. They were people of culture, and had brought their furniture, pictures, and books, and had made a beautiful home. If they had only been nearer Sonora, it would have been a delight to mother to have known them better. We drove over one afternoon in a high buggy, Lizzie sitting on my little footstool at mother's feet. The supper table was a revelation of beauty to me. It was set for the large family with much shining glass and silver, and was lighted with many candles. Of the feast I remember only that it was not thought best for me to have the dessert of preserved plums and rich cream. It was late when we drove home by moonlight through the trees.



Of the last year in Sonora there are a series of pictures in my mind, little related to each other. I think of Douglas as a man in the drugstore; of Chester as being helpful about the house and garden; and of Sarah as having suddenly grown to be taller than mother, and that she was much interested in clothes and in sewing on our Wheeler & Wilson sewing machine, one of the first brought to the town. Lizzie and her friend Lulu Brown treated me as a small child; they would not allow me to help cook with the little stove, which was Lizzie's greatest delight, but I was allowed to eat the failures, which were many. Lizzie was slender and agile, and able to walk on the top of fences and on stilts. I was very proud of her when she fearlessly mounted a riding-horse that some one had brought to the house, and 254 frightened enough when she rode off down the street. As to stilts, no boy in town made and used as tall ones as Chester.

I know that father considered Douglas a capable and conscientious clerk in the drugstore, but there was one occasion when he was tempted to play a joke, which he related with mingled shame and amusement. A big teamster came in, who asked him to prepare a seidlitz powder; and Douglas set the two tumblers before him without combining the contents. When the strangling man grasped the counter, with bulging eyes, and literally foaming mouth, Douglas clung to the counter on his side, so overcome with fear and contrition that he could not speak, and he was not relieved until the man was able to pour out the indignant stream of abuse which he so fully deserved.

When I was fourteen years old I returned to Sonora with my earliest playmate, Victoria Wright. We were on our way to Sugar Pine, in the high valley of the Stanislaus River, twenty miles above the town, where we were to spend Christmas at her father's sawmill. I called on Aunt Maria and Mrs. Hartwig, a German woman who wept when she saw me and told me that my mother had been very good to her. I found that our old home, somewhat changed, had become the county hospital.

A day's drive beyond Sonora brought us to a mountain summit, and from there we walked down a steep trail into the valley, where the river rushed along between great sugar pines, cedars, and oaks. I have many recollections of my weeks there: long walks in the invigorating cold, crisp apples,

frost pictures on the windows, crashing thunderstorms, and at Christmas a garment of snow over everything.

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I went again to Sonora with my husband in 1899. I then appreciated the truth of what Mr. Charles Nordhoff had once told me, that my birthplace was the prettiest mountain town he had seen in California. We found it very picturesque, built on gently-sloping hillsides crowned with pines, the streets lined with locusts, poplars, and cork-elms, and pretty gardens full of roses and syringas in front of white-painted cottages. I recognized a few old buildings: father's drugstore, the City Hotel, and the Methodist church on the hill. In the Catholic churchyard nearby, made lovely by the many wild flowers growing between the grave stones, I read a number of familiar names.

Our old home, after being used for many years as the county hospital, was now being rebuilt for a residence. The changes were so decided that the deep window casings in the thick adobe walls were almost the only familiar feature. The hill behind the house seemed much lower, and the old pine tree was gone.

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#### THE SONORA HERALD

The Sonora *Herald* was the first newspaper printed in the southern mining district. The first issue was on July 4, 1849. The press used was the pioneer press of California, which had already had an interesting history. It had been brought by ship from Boston to Monterey in 1832 by Augustine Zamorano, and was described as being of an early and crude type and as having had hard service before leaving Boston. "The frame, platen, ribs, and part of the bed were of wood, the bed on which the forms lay was of stone, and the screw by which the impression was taken, of iron and large enough to raise a building." After the American occupation it was used by Colton and Semple to print the California *Star* . the first newspaper issued in California. Later paper and press were removed to San Francisco, where the *Star* was united with the *Alta California* . When improved machinery was purchased, the old press resumed its travels and was in turn used to issue the Placer Times in Sacramento, the first paper of the Interior, the Stockton Times, and the Sonora *Herald* .

It was finally sold to the editor of the *Columbia Star* , who, however, failed to pay for it. When it was attached and sold under execution, it was bought in by my Father. But sympathizers with the editor of the *Star* removed it to the street and burned it during the night. The newspaper fraternity of the state was indignant at this proceeding, and protests appeared in the different journals which had been created through its use.

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#### SAN FRANCISCO IN THE SIXTIES

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#### SAN FRANCISCO IN THE SIXTIES

WE left Sonora in August, 1861, just ten years after mother's arrival there. After Lincoln's election, father was appointed Deputy Surveyor of the port of San Francisco. It was necessary for him to precede the family and he took Chester with him. Douglas remained to help mother dispose of some of our belongings and to pack and ship the rest.

We spent the last night in Sonora at the home of some friends, and in the early morning started on the long stage-ride to Stockton. There we were met by father and taken to the steamboat. The trip was full of interest to us children. I remember the Stockton slough, lined with the tall rushes called tules, the water birds, the gleaming lights as night came on; then the supper in the saloon, and the little berths in which we slept. By morning we had reached San Francisco.

Our first home was on Moss Street, a small street running from Howard to Folsom streets, between Sixth and Seventh. Folsom was then a street of homes with gardens, the finest residences being on Rincon Hill between First 260 and Third. For many blocks it was lined with willow trees, and an omnibus ran on it from town to the neighborhood of the old Mission Church which was at about Sixteenth. There was a small natural lake between Seventh and Eighth and Howard and Mission Streets. It was surrounded by trees and shrubs, and men came there to shoot ducks. There were no stores in our neighborhood except two small corner groceries about four blocks apart. It was during

1861 that the first of the street railroads was built, a horse-car line on Howard Street, and a ride to town on it was an interesting experience.

The rains in 1861 were disastrously abundant. The interior valleys of California were flooded, and many people, rescued from their ranches, were brought to San Francisco and housed in public halls when other refuges gave out. The flat portions of the city also were flooded, and in our neighborhood the yards were so full of water that people began to keep ducks instead of chickens. There was much sickness, and we, who had escaped most of the diseases of childhood, all had measles and chicken-pox and mumps. Mother also had the measles, and was so seriously ill that she did not recover her strength for many months.

Owing to the Civil War and the floods, prices were very high, and it required the most rigid economy to provide for a large family on father's salary and the help given by Douglas who had a position as inspector at the Custom House. Mother's early-day experiences had made her resourceful, and our table was always supplied with varied and appetizing food. She excelled in making savory dishes with rumpsteak and corned beef, and delicious puddings without eggs. I remember that we often had beans, boiled

*Chester Gunn 1863*

*Lizzie Gunn 1867*

*Sarah M. Gunn 1866*

*Douglas Gunn 1863*

*Anna Lee Gunn 1860*

*Anna Lee Gunn 1871*

261 and baked, and whole-wheat in turn with oatmeal for breakfast.

Father brought home a daily evening paper, when he returned at night, but we did not have a morning paper. I was only eight and not yet in school, and in those anxious days I often walked with father on his way to the office as far as the grocery store. There he learned the latest war news, which he told to me and I repeated over and over as I returned, to tell it as best I could to mother.

A regiment was raised in California, and I remember our consternation when Chester enlisted. As he was only nineteen, father was able to have him withdraw, and he joined the City Guard of San Francisco, of which Douglas was already a member.

The military funeral of Col. E. D. Baker, who was killed at the battle of Ball's Bluff in October, 1861, was the most imposing that had ever taken place in the city. He had been a very popular lawyer of California, noted for his eloquence and wit, and at the time the war began was Senator from Oregon. The bands playing funeral marches and the long line of carriages winding through the crowded streets make one of my vivid memories of that time.

Another is the illumination of the city to celebrate the Emancipation Proclamation in September, 1862. We all walked for hours through street after street to see the lighted rows of candles which shone in the windows of nearly every house. Before we reached home I was thankful to have Douglas carry me on his shoulder.

On coming to San Francisco, Chester had entered the Union Iron Works to learn his trade. He began in the blacksmith shop where he soon developed the needed 262 muscle, and was graduated after several years a competent engineer. During our first year Sarah and Lizzie went to the Rincon Grammar School of which Mr. John Swett was principal, and at the end of the year Sarah entered the High School.

Douglas soon obtained a membership in the Mercantile Library where he spent much of his spare time. He urged mother to go there and see a copy of Audubon's Birds; she took me with her, and the librarian kindly placed it on a table for us to enjoy. I remember that we also saw a beautiful marble bust of Pope Pius IX. It was in this same library about six years later that Sarah became an assistant

librarian. She was the first woman to hold such a position in San Francisco. After a few months, because the innovation was so strongly opposed, she resumed teaching.

While we still lived on Moss Street we attended the First Congregational Church, then on the corner of Dupont and California Streets. This church was so far from our house that we seldom went to the evening service; instead father and mother read aloud to us, or had us read and recite to them. They both had beautiful, expressive voices. They made us realize, as they read them, that the psalms and prophetic books of the Bible were poetry in the same sense as were the descriptive poems of Byron and the war poems of Whittier and other selections which we loved to recite on these Sunday evenings.

On week day evenings the boys often worked problems in mathematics; and questions of history, geography and word derivation, as well as the political problems of the day, were debated at all times. It was largely through the family discussions and the many books in the home that Douglas obtained his education. There had been no school in Sonora when he was a child, and he had only his lessons with our busy parents, and the drill in spelling and composition of the printing office, in which he began to set type at twelve. Yet he had a broad understanding of general affairs, and a fine knowledge of English literature, thanks to his eager mind and to our parents' thoughtful influence.

In 1862 we moved to the corner of Jones and Washington streets, where the sea air and the beautiful view of the water gave mother such delight that she soon grew strong again. We were on the crest of the highest hill in the city, and after Washington Street was cut through, we had to ascend forty-seven steps to our house.

Two blocks below on the corner of Mason Street was the Grammar School of which Mr. Stratton was principal. Lizzie entered the highest grade there, and I began school for the first time in the fourth grade. Before that I had read and studied with mother at home. Mr. Stratton was greatly interested in the stars, and as he lived near us, came often in the evening to teach us the constellations. During the war the popular songs were taught to the children in the schools. The

words were written on the blackboard, and we learned the tunes by ear. I remember the enthusiasm with which we sang The Battle Hymn of the Republic, Marching Through Georgia, Shouting the Battle Cry of Freedom, and When Johnie Comes Marching Home Again.

After about three years on the hill our landlord wished to return to his house, and we moved to Geary Street near Hyde. About this time an old friend of father's, Dr. Joseph Benton, came from Sacramento (where he had established the First Congregational Church in 1852) to be the pastor 264 of the newly organized Second Congregational Church at the corner of Geary and Mason Streets, and we began to attend there. When the new building was erected on Taylor Street near Geary, the name was changed to Plymouth. As long as we remained in San Francisco we attended this church, and many of the deepest experiences and strongest attachments of our lives were connected with it. Of the friends of those years, Dr. Benton and the Smith and Sawyer and Earle families were the closest and best loved.

Sarah began to teach in the public schools when she had graduated from the high school, and so also did Lizzie a few years later. When I was twelve I began to attend the Cosmopolitan School. This was an educational experiment started in response to the request of the foreign-born citizens of San Francisco. At first we were taught German and French all the morning and English in the afternoon. An effort to carry some of the ordinary branches in French did not prove practical; and as the attendance rapidly increased, for fear that we should fall behind the other city schools, the time for the foreign languages was reduced to one hour for each daily. With the aid of teachers of exceptional ability and enthusiasm, we were helped not only to do the full English work, but had many advantages. To Dr. Bolander, our German principal, we owed the enlarging of our little course in word-analysis to a study in comparative philology, which helped compensate for the lack of Latin in our high school course. Our English teacher, Miss Fowler, compiled a small book to interest us in events of history and art and science. The pupils of those years have many interesting and happy memories.

It was the time of the Franco-Prussian war, and we were 265 sometimes aware of strained relations between the foreign teachers when they met in the classroom, and there was more than one fight

on the boys' playground. But the American children sympathized with both sides. We shouted the Marseillaise with our French Monsieur Morel, a retired opera singer, and the Wacht am Rhein when Herr Zimmerman led. I remained in this school until I entered the high school, and two of my dearest life-long friends were Cosmopolitan schoolmates, Nellie O'Loughlen and Mamie Pelton Kellogg.

After the Civil War father was appointed Assessor of Internal Revenue in San Francisco, with a salary which made life much easier, and enabled mother always to have a good servant. We returned to the house on the hill, and lived there for several years.

I do not know just when father became the supervising editor of the newly established Republican newspaper, the San Francisco *Times* . It was a paper of high literary standing, and on its staff were some of the best writers of the city, men who later became prominent in connection with leading newspapers of the country. Henry George contributed some of his early articles to the *Times* . One advantage to the family at this time was the number of books that were sent in to the paper to be reviewed, and which were added to our home library and stimulated our interest in literature. Another was the constant privilege of seats at the California Theater, then under the management of John McCulloch and Lawrence Barrett. Their very fine stock company, which included the well-remembered John T. Raymond, Harry Edwards, Mrs. Judah, Mrs. Saunders, Emilie Melville and Frederick Warde, gave frequent seasons 266 of Shakespeare and the best English comedies. Eastern "stars" also came at intervals. I have always been grateful to Douglas who often took me to the plays, or arranged for my going to Saturday matinees. It has often been said that at no time has the drama been so well presented or patronized in San Francisco as during the years of the zenith of the old "California" on Bush Street.

Douglas began his editorial work on the *Times* , and continued on the paper until it was combined with the *Alta* in 1869, when he went to San Diego. The work at night and the great responsibility of the paper had been so hard on father, that he broke down completely and was obliged to give up all work. A sea-voyage was advised and with mother he went east by way of Panama. This was in 1871, just twenty years after mother came to California. Her mother had passed 1868, but they



visited her sisters a in Philadelphia, and her brother in Springfield, and several of father's relatives. This trip was of great benefit to them both. It was during the year after their return they decided to move to San Diego. 267 LATER YEARS IN SAN DIEGO

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IT is not often that the members of a family continue in as close association as ours have done, or that they have part together in the upbuilding of two communities. The children of the Sonora pioneers have been men and women in the pioneer life of San Diego, a life less heroic than that of their parents, yet of value in the growth of the town. And the parents also had no small part in the moral and spiritual life of the new community.

In 1869 Douglas came to San Diego to engage in newspaper work, and Chester, having heard of the mines that were being developed in the mountains, came with him. They found a village of about fifteen hundred inhabitants whose homes were mostly in the district bounded by Eighth and C streets and the bay front. They bought a lot near F and Twelfth streets and built a small cabin in which they lived until Chester went to the Julian mines. Douglas walked daily to Old Town where the *Union* in which he soon bought a part interest was published. In 1871 the *Union* was moved to San Diego and became a daily paper, and from that time, under Douglas' influence, was one of 270 the strongest forces in the growth and character of the town.

Father and mother came to visit him and decided that this was the place in which they should end their days. The household goods were brought and the home established in a cottage on C Street between Second and Third. Lizzie came with them and took a position in the public school. I continued teaching in San Francisco, making my home with our old friends, Judge and Mrs. E. D. Sawyer, and Sarah was governess in Mr. Hayward's family in San Mateo.

In 1873 Sarah joined the family and she and Lizzie decided to open a private school, which proved very successful. Many of their pupils still tell of the advantages which they enjoyed in the San Diego Academy. French and Latin were taught by Mrs. S. S. Sanborn, singing by Professor Blackmer, and lectures on physiology and anatomy were given by Doctor Gregg and Doctor

Remondino. At the beginning of the third year I came to assist in the primary department. It was in an entertainment, "The Courtship of Miles Standish," given for the benefit of the Academy, that George Marston and I began our intimate acquaintance. He was John Alden and I was Priscilla. I wore one of the brocade dresses which had belonged to my greatgrandmother. In later years my children never tired of hearing about this play, taking especial delight in the incident of the wedding procession in which I was trundled off the stage on the back of a wooden cow.

In 1875 Sarah was married to Major Lee H. Utt, and in July of the following year Lizzie's marriage to Charles S. Hamilton took place. I carried on the school for another year with the help of Lilla Marston and then closed it.

*Lewis C. Gunn, 1889*

*Elizabeth Le Breton Gunn, 1895*

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In May 1878 I was married to George W. Marston, whose grandfather, Judge Stephen Marston, had been the friend and neighbor of my grandmother, Elizabeth Wright, in Newburyport. Judge Marston's oldest son, George P. Marston, was a pioneer merchant in Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, and came with his family to San Diego in 1870.

While scarcely more than a village, San Diego in the seventies was a pleasant place to live in. There were many pretty homes surrounded by gardens of fruit trees and flowers, and many agreeable people who had time to know and enjoy each other. The army officers of the Department of the Southwest had their headquarters here, also officers of the Weather Bureau and the Coast Survey, and the government engineers who were building the San Diego River embankment. Many of them stayed at the Horton House on the Plaza, where the Grant Hotel now stands. They added to the importance and interest of the town, and there was much friendliness between them and the townspeople.

Occasionally people of distinction honored us by their visits and the town responded with a fitting reception, but our social life for the most part was informal and cordial. At our small evening gatherings there were readings and music, acting of original charades, and often dancing. Many books were read and loaned and discussed among friends, and a small company carried on weekly a reading-club with great pleasure for several years. The member of this group whose personality was most charming, and whose later life was most distinguished, as Henrietta Nesmith, who in 1878 married Lieutenant A. W. Greeley, at that time in charge of the Weather Bureau here and in 272 later years renowned for his expedition in the Arctic Regions.

We were very proud of the concerts of the Philharmonic Society, in which there were many fine voices. The singing and acting in the several cantatas and light operas which were given were exceedingly good.

Excursions to La Jolla, the Old Mission, the Spanish Lighthouse, and the Monument on the Mexican line gave us long days of pleasure; and in the moonlight evenings there were horseback and buggy rides and rowing on the bay. A few of us still remember an ocean trip on Captain Wilcox's yacht, the *Restless*, when the wind went down as we returned, and the men "poled" us slowly back at sunset through the water tinged with gold and rose. Several years later the Spreckels' steam yacht, the *Lurline*, carried a large party to Ensenada. It was a joyous company that sang and danced on deck, and feasted on the porch of the hotel in that beautiful harbor. But on the return voyage, when the vessel was rocked by the heavy land swell, there were very few who cared to sing or to look at the beautiful waves.

In the early seventies there was a "general store" on the southwest corner of Fifth and F streets, where two young men, "Successors to Joseph Nash," whose clerks they had been, were carrying on an enterprising business under the firm name of Hamilton and Marston. In 1878, after five years of partnership, the business was divided, and George Marston opened a dry-goods store on the northwest corner of Fifth and D streets, while Charles Hamilton carried on the grocery business in the Market Building on Fifth above G. His brother Fred was in charge of the hardware department. These two firms are among the very few that have

*Douglas Gunn 1890*

273 continued in San Diego for over fifty years, and the regard which the two men have won in the community has been the result of their unselfish interest and helpfulness in all the town life, both having served in every capacity, from membership in the Volunteer Fire Department to the office of President of the City Council.

On George Marston's seventy-third birthday a beautiful tribute to his service in the upbuilding of the city was paid him in a meeting in Balboa Park. Many friends gathered on the lawn behind the California Building to show him honor. His bust in bronze was unveiled and presented to the city. Beneath it was engraved the following inscription:

GEORGE W. MARSTON ADMIRER FOR HIS ABILITY HONORED FOR HIS DESERVED  
SUCCESS BELOVED FOR HIS WISE AND GREAT SERVICE TO OTHERS

Those who took part on this happy and memorable occasion were Mr. Melville Klauber, who acted as chairman, Mrs. A. E. Horton, Mr. Ernest White, Rev. Howard B. Bard, Mr. Philip Morse and Senator M. L. Ward. Their speeches were marked by a warmth of affection and sincerity of praise that brought from my husband a reply full of deep feeling, lightened by his customary humor.

No similar expression of appreciation has been given to Charles Hamilton, but the multitude of those who love and praise him for his business integrity, his generosity, and his friendliness cannot be numbered.

Of his wife, our dear "Aunt Lizzie," the grand children should know that the little child, who was so lovable in the 274 Sonora home, became a woman of strong character and rare gifts. When she passed away, this tribute to her memory was written by one who knew her well: "There were, for her, busy years of community work in the rapidly growing town; there were, also, many sweet years of home happiness and family devotion; and Out of her varied experiences was evolved a character so forceful, so generous, so lovable, that when the arresting hand of sickness ended further

participation in the day's work, her personality found an abiding place in the hearts of many friends from which to continue its inspiration.”

All of my children remember their visits to the Agua Tibia ranch and the wonderful times they enjoyed there, but only the older ones remember "Uncle Lee" to whom Aunt Sarah was married in 1875. Major Lee H. Utt was little more than a boy when he enlisted in the Civil War. In an early engagement he suffered the loss of a foot. When scarcely recovered, he re-enlisted in the cavalry. He was captain of Company A of the Seventh Kansas Regiment when he was retired. His health was so seriously affected that he spent much time at army sanitariums before coming to California in 1867. He studied law and acquired a fine knowledge of history and general literature, and, owing to his retentive memory and natural gift of expression, he was a most interesting and entertaining talker. He bought the Agua Tibia, to which he was attracted by the warm sulphur spring and the enormous fig trees, said to be the largest in the county. This ranch, on a spur of Palomar mountain, three miles above the Pala Mission, had been the home of an Indian chief. It had a comfortable adobe house of several rooms and a vineyard of mission grapes as well as the 275 fig trees. The view down the San Luis Rey galley was very fine. Major Utt so far regained his health that at the time of his marriage he had improved the ranch by the building of reservoirs and the planting of several large groves of olive and apricot trees. Here Anita and Lewis spent their childhood. Having an opportunity to sell the place in 1887, the family spent several years in the Eastern States and in Mexico and finally returned to make their home in Redlands, where Major Utt died in 1895.

The company that had bought the ranch failed to make the last payments, and Aunt Sarah and the children were obliged to return and live there for several years before finally disposing of it. During these years the cousins made many of their summer visits. They recall with delight the playground in the shade of the great fig trees where they waded in the brook and made mud-pies; the long tramps through the canyon, and the horse-back rides over the mountains; the beautiful apricot orchard in bloom and again with trays of drying fruit; the olive-gathering by the Indian laborers; the big bath at the warm spring; Aunt Sarah's always bountiful table, and the continuous celebration of birthdays.

In 1905 Aunt Sarah and her children came to San Diego to live. For many years she entered with active interest into the life of the city and in 1910 she greatly enjoyed a trip around the world. Her strong interest and joy in life helped her to ignore the pain of arthritis which attacked her in later years. She lived to be just eighty-two years old, passing away in February, 1928.

Douglas Gunn continued as proprietor and editor of the *Union* until 1886, when he sold it and devoted a year to the preparation and publication of *Picturesque San Diego*, and of a smaller book called *San Diego Illustrated*, of which latter book he donated several thousand copies to the Chamber of Commerce for gratuitous distribution. In 1888 several months were devoted to the construction of a new city charter. Elected the first mayor under this charter he served from May 1889 to May 1891. After retiring from business he gave much time to measures of public welfare. He died November 27, 1891. In the newspapers of California a very general respect was paid to his memory, and appreciation shown of his services. He was said to have done "an uncommon work in an enduring way, and by his intelligent and persistent efforts to have been one of the chief builders of the city of San Diego."

Chester Gunn became engineer of the Owens Mine in Julian in 1869. During the fall and winter when the mine was shut down he ran a pony express between Julian and San Diego, making one trip a week over the mountains, on the Indian trails, in all kinds of weather. It was a hard trip, but he made it regularly for six months, and people were glad to pay ten cents a letter because they knew they could depend on him. When the Foster and Frary stage line was started, there was no longer need for the pony express and Chester opened the first store in Julian, which had grown to be a village of five hundred inhabitants. In the neighboring country there were about five thousand people, including miners, whose supplies had to be brought from San Diego; consequently business in the Julian store grew rapidly. Chester was also postmaster and agent of Wells Fargo Express Company. As considerable gold was shipped out in those days and he received a percentage on all the

*San Diego May 3, 1928 George W. and Anna Lee Marston with their grandchildren*

277 business of the company, he often collected as much as two hundred dollars a month as his share. In 1873 he was married to Elizabeth A. Kelley, the local schoolteacher. He again changed his occupation, taking up fruit-raising and planting the first apple orchard in the Julian mountain district, which has become noted for the quality of this fruit. While farming, he was Deputy County Assessor for four years and County Supervisor for five years. In 1908 he moved with his family to San Diego where he engaged in a real estate business. On November 18, 1923, he and his wife celebrated their golden wedding with their eight children and thirteen grandchildren and many relatives and friends of both early and later days. His years of hard work over, Chester continued active in business and full of interest in the community life, until his last short illness in June, 1928. Throughout his long life of nearly eighty-five years he was always a helper of others, gentle and kindly in spirit, and generous in his judgments.

When the family first came to San Diego they lived in a small cottage on C Street between Second and Third. Later they moved to the southwest corner of State and B, into a larger house, with a pleasant garden of flowers and trees; in this house my sisters and I were married.

In 1878 Charles Hamilton bought the cottage on the northeast corner of Sixth and A Streets. It had a charming garden, with a remarkably large bougainvillea vine, which covered the south porch. Father, mother and Douglas made their home there also, and there Tom was born. In 1886 father built the house on Seventh and Beech. It was in that spacious home that Aunt Lizzie presided so beautifully and with such generous hospitality for many years. It was 278 the scene of our parents' golden wedding in 1889. Another member of their family at that time was Aunt Hannah Stickney, who had come from Philadelphia after Aunt Mary's death in 1887. It is to her that we owe the pieces of antique furniture which she brought from the Philadelphia home.

In 1891 Douglas died, and in the following year our father passed away, and Aunt Hannah in 1893. In 1901 Aunt Lizzie's serious illness commenced and mother came to live with me. Soon after, "the house on the hill" was sold.

George and I began housekeeping in a tiny cottage on the northeast corner of Sixth and C Streets. We lived in several other rented houses before we built, in 1885, the house on Third and Ash streets in which we lived for twenty years. There our five children grew up with many happy companions. In front was the broad lawn with its shade trees and in the back yard a tall swing and a big pepper tree with a platform in its branches, drygoods-box play-houses, and plenty of room for the digging of trenches and a fort and the building of a boat. The most cherished indoor memories of the house center in the large living room, with grandmother's chair in the big bay-window, and the fire-place bordered with the Shakespeare tiles which we rejoiced to purchase again when the house was recently torn down. In 1905 we built the home on Seventh Street above the Park. It was hallowed by my dear mother's presence during the first year. Her old age was very peaceful and beautiful. The children remember her best with her knitting in her hands, an open book on the rest before her, and flowers on her table. Even with failing memory, these were a delight 279 to her. She passed away after a short period of illness in October, 1906, being almost ninety-six years old.

During the twenty-three years in this home we have greatly enjoyed planting the grounds, which are distinguished by the tall pines and eucalyptus trees, the broad lawns and the canyon-slope covered with blossoming trees and shrubs. On May 3, 1928, we held a reception in the garden to celebrate our golden wedding. It was a rarely beautiful day, and we were happy in receiving a large company of our friends. Nearly all of our relatives and all of our children and grandchildren were present.

THE END

### **GENEALOGY GEORGE GUNN m. SARAH -- 1760-1842**

Alexander 1785-1828 Mary (Long) 1787-1851 Elizabeth 1787-1851 George (M.D.) 1794-1824

ALEXANDER GUNN m. SARAH NICHOLS 1808 in New York City.

Alexander N. (M.D.) George Osgood (M.D.) Lewis Carstairs John Asten Sarah m. Rev. A. B. Lambert Mary m. Rev. Thomas Wickes



LEWIS C. GUNN (Nov. 26, 1913-Oct. 15, 1892) m. ELIZABETH LE B. STICKNEY (Jan. 16, 1911-Oct. 6, 1906), Sept. 30, 1839 Douglas, Aug. 31, 1841-Oct 15, 1892 Chester, Sept. 25, 1843-June 30, 1928 Sarah M., Feb. 24, 1846-Feb. 18, 1928 Elizabeth Le B., June 24, 1848-Jan. 6, 1922 Anna Lee, May 20, 1853

CHESTER GUNN m. ELIZABETH A. KELLEY, Nov. 18, 1873 *Children.*: Florence (Moore), Clara, \* Chester D., Edna (Stanley), Charles, George, Mabel (Jackson), Ethel (Devlin), Fred J. Deceased

SARAH M. GUNN m. LEE N. Utt, April 29, 1876 Lewis, John and Anita Lee

ELIZABETH LE B. GUNN m. CHARLES S. HAMILTON, July 18, 1876 Elsie and Thomas

ANNA LEE GUNN m. GEORGE W. MARSTON, May 3, 1878 Mary Gilman, Arthur Hamilton, Elizabeth Le B. (Bade), Harriet (Headley), Helen Douglas.

GENEALOGY CAPTAIN Peter LE BRETON of Nantes France--1745-1813 Came to Newburyport, Mass., 1766 Married Elizabeth Pearson, 1776 *Children* : Peter and Elizabeth

PETER LE BRETON 2nd (1778-1829) m. TABITHA LEWIS (1777-1865) MARY ANTHONY m. HENRY JOHNSON NICHOLAS JOHNSON m. CAROLINE PETTINGILL Mary (Hale) Charlotte (Baker) (M.D.) Elizabeth (Waters) Annie (Rogerson)

ELIZABETH LE BRETON (1781-1868) m. DAVID STICKNEY (1774-1820) Elizabeth Le B. Hannah Lee Mary Thurston Peter Le Breton (M.D.) PETER LE B. STICKNEY m. MARY RHEA Sarah (Gray) Edward Minnie (Baker)

THE GUNN-TORREY CONNEXION JAMES THOMPSON b. Ireland, 1718, m. MARGARET RAMSEY in New York, 1739 MARY THOMPSON m. LEWIS NICHOLS, 1767 MARGARET NICHOLS m. LIEUT. WM. TORREY

Dr. John Torrey SARAH NICHOLS m. REV. ALEX. GUNN Lewis C. Gunn

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