

HISTORY OF JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCO

FRONTIER JOURNALISM
Volume II

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FRONTIER JOURNALISM
IN SAN FRANCISCO

Emerson Daggett, Supervisor, San Francisco, May 1, 1939
Monograph II from History of Journalism
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EVERING BULLETIN
James King of William
Editor & Publisher

EVERING BULLETIN
The funeral of James King of William
will be held at the residence of
his wife, Mrs. King, at 10
o'clock on Monday, June 15, 1885.

Funeral of James King of William

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o'clock on Monday, June 15, 1885.

EVENING BULLETIN
James King of William
Editor & Publisher

Showing the amazing growth of the Bulletin from October 1855 to April 1856 -- the result of Editor King's campaign for civic reform -- ended by his death at the hands of Supervisor James P. Casey in May, 1856.

FUNERAL OF JAMES KING OF WILLIAM

From a wood-cut in the Wide West. King's assassin was executed by the Vigilance Committee at the same hour the funeral procession was winding through the town on its way to Lone Mountain Cemetery. (See Chapter V)

Small text in the top left corner, likely a notice or advertisement.

Evening Bulletin.

VOL. 1 SAN FRANCISCO, FRIDAY EVENING, JAN. 18, 1856. NO. 85.

MISCELLANEOUS AUCTION SALES GROCERIES, &c. EVENING DIVERSIONS.

Evening Bulletin.

Vol. 1 SAN FRANCISCO, MONDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 5, 1855. No. 25.

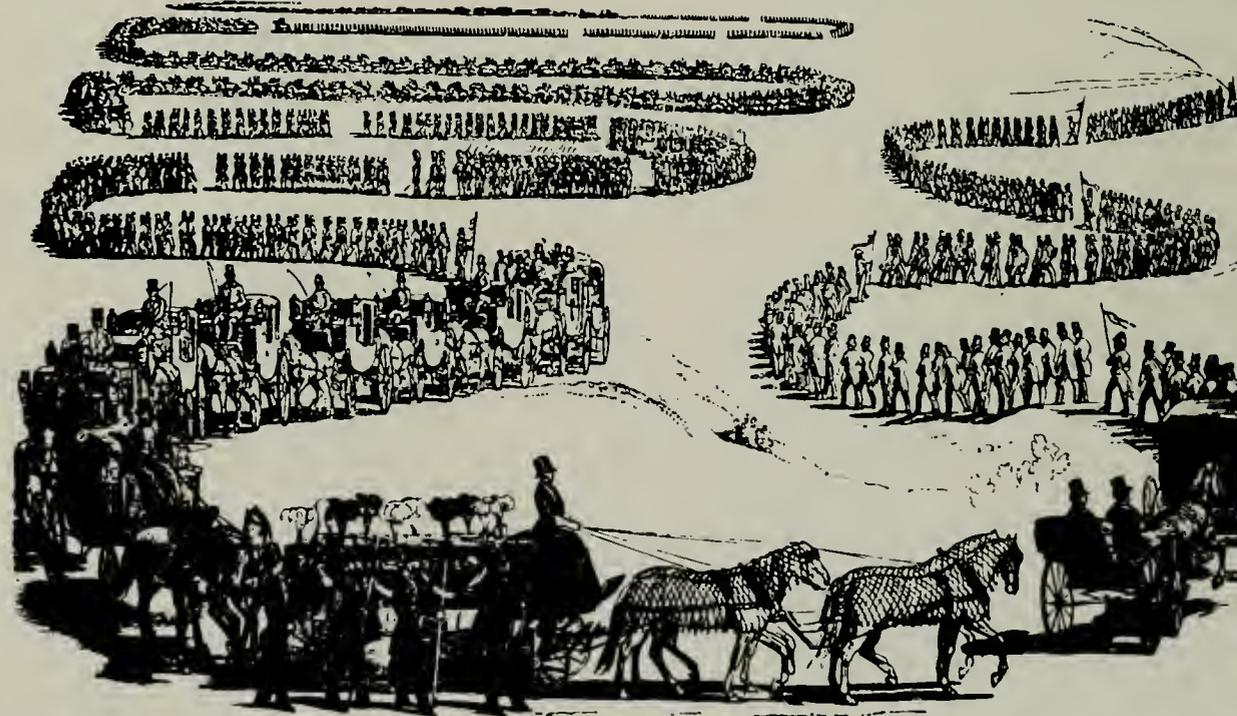
Business cards and advertisements for various services like lawyers, doctors, and merchants.

Evening Bulletin.

SAN FRANCISCO, MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 8, 1855. No. 1.

Advertisements and notices, including a notice from the California Steam Navigation Company.

SAN FRANCISCO, SUNDAY, JUNE 8, 1856.



FUNERAL PROCESSION OF JAMES KING OF WILLIAM.

At James King of William's funeral, which they cannot but have exercised some little... We might multiply these instances, but our limits are... D. Wash. - Travelling.

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INTRODUCTION

The present volume is an attempt to outline the beginnings of journalism in San Francisco. Because of the force-blooming in practically every field of endeavor during the Gold Rush period the city's newspapers were able to record more growth and achievement, more errors and failures in a shorter space of time than those of any other era or community in North American history. Their rapid foundings, mergers and collapses in the decade 1848-1858 resemble an atomic bombardment. The destruction of their plants and products and most of the public records in the great fires of the period, capped by the disaster of 1906 has left aggravating blanks in our understanding of this booming frontier life and its press.

"Frontier Journalism," originally intended to be Volume I in the series on the history of San Francisco's press, was superseded by the "Foreign Journalism" monograph in order to include last-minute revisions. Other monographs in preparation for early publication are:

"News and Advertising Trends in the San Francisco Press: 1850-1938," a statistical study; "Libel and the Press"; a "History of Make-up" and a "History of the San Francisco-

Oakland Newspaper Guild". Additional studies will be developed as suggested by accruing research material. All of the above qualitative subjects have been developed incidentally from by-products of the forthcoming statistical study of news and advertising trends.

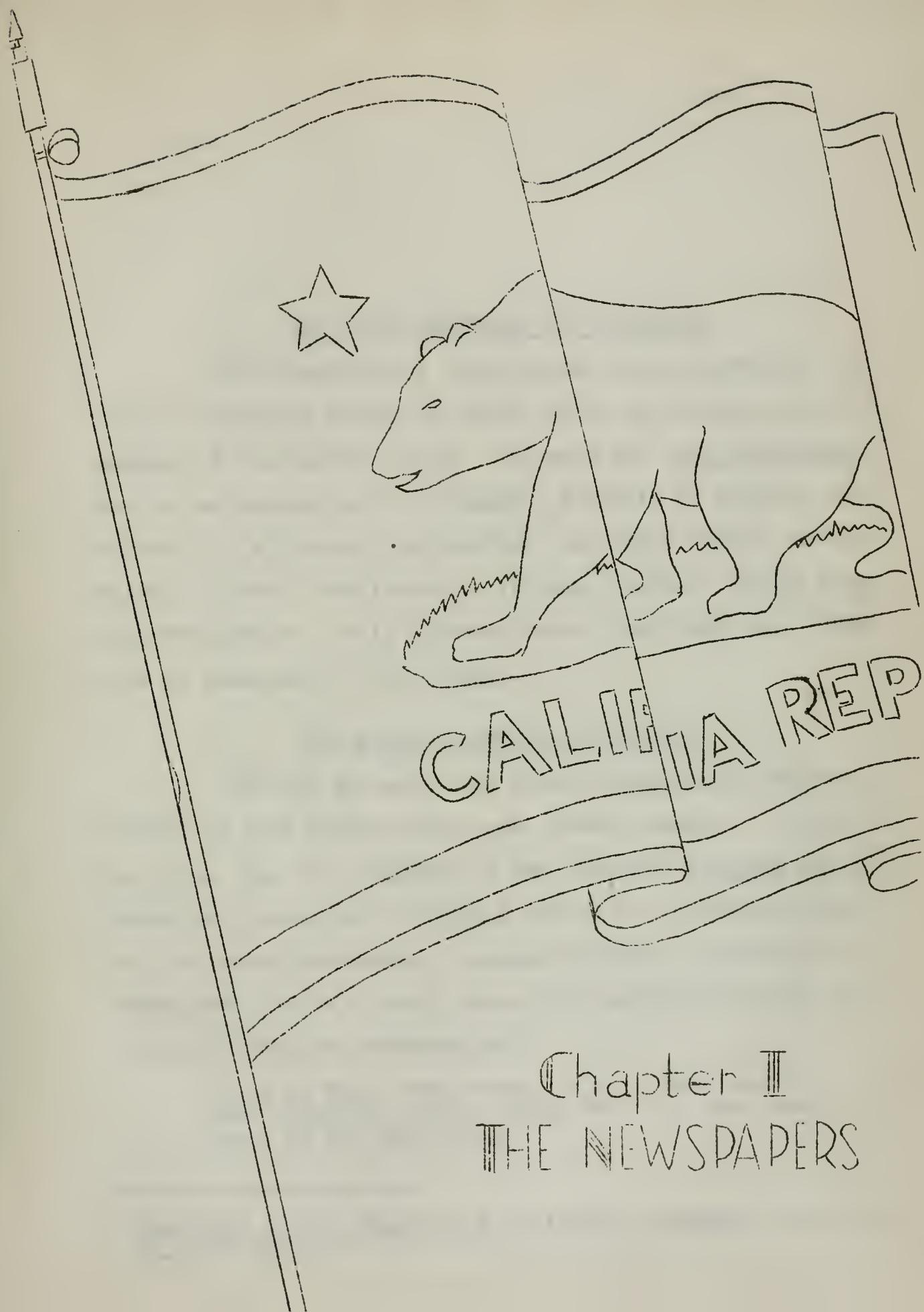
Whatever contribution the present and planned studies will make to the cultural history of San Francisco, credit in no small measure is due Ernest S. Albee, the project's original supervisor. Mr. Albee launched the series and it was his planning and guidance of early research that has made the development and publication of these studies better and more complete.

The staff acknowledges with deep gratitude the authoritative criticism and suggestions secured during preparation of "Frontier Journalism" from Douglas S. Watson, Chairman of the Publications Committee, California Historical Society. Mrs. Fremont Older, California writer, also reviewed proof-sheets of the present volume.

In its capacity of project co-sponsor, the San Francisco-Oakland Newspaper Guild has contributed freely from its membership's vast background of technical experience in the San Francisco press. Significant also is the Guild's consistent support of and sympathy with the general Works Progress Administration program in its local and national aspects.

May 1, 1939

Emerson Daggett,
Project Supervisor



Chapter II
THE NEWSPAPERS

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER IN CALIFORNIA

The launching of California's first newspaper took place in Monterey August 15, 1846 about two months after the raising of the American flag. Its name was The Californian, and it was printed half in Spanish and half in English, containing in all about two hundred and fifty words devoted mainly to naval intelligence. It was a weekly issued every Saturday morning. This pioneer journal continued its existence in Monterey for nine months.

THE FIRST CALIFORNIA PUBLISHERS

The men who made the first journalistic venture in California were Walter Colton and Robert Semple. Colton at the time was the chaplain of the frigate Congress and had earned the reputation of being a writer of considerable talent. He describes Semple, a six-foot-four Kentuckian in a manner that leaves no doubt about his qualifications for success as a frontier newspaper man:

He is in buck skin dress, a fox skin cap; is true with his rifle, ready with his pen and quick at the type case.*

* Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers, Vol. III No. 3, p. 109.

Colton and Semple were assisted by Joseph Dockrill, a printer who had been a member of Commodore Stockton's crew. The difficulties faced by these pioneer publishers are described by Colton:

The press was old enough to be preserved as a curiosity; the mice had burrowed in the balls, there were no rules, no leads; and the types were rusty and all in a pi. It was only by scouring that the letters could be made to show their faces. The font type being intended for the Spanish language there were no w's so vv had to serve for w. A sheet or two of tin were procured, and these with a jackknife were cut into rules and leads. Luckily we found with the press the greater part of a keg of ink and now came the main scratch for paper. None could be found, except that used to envelope the tobacco of the cigar smoked here by the natives. A coaster had a small supply of this on board, which we procured. It was in sheets of a little larger than the common size foolscap on which most of the archives of the California and other Spanish American provinces are written, the thicker for writing, the thinner grades being preferred for cigarettes. A crowd was waiting when the first sheet was thrown from the press. It produced quite a little sensation. Never was a bank run upon harder; not, however, by people with paper to get specie but exactly the reverse.*

When composition of the first issue of The Californian began the following explanation was offered the readers:

OUR ALPHABET:--Our type is a Spanish font picked up here in a cloister and has no VV's (W's - Ed.) in it, as there are none in the Spanish alphabet. I have sent to the Sandvich Island for this letter; in the meantime vve must use tvvo V's. Our paper at present is that for

* Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers, Vol. III No. 3, p. 110.

wrapping cigars; in due time we will have something better. Our object is to establish a press in California, and this we shall in all probability be able to accomplish. The absence of my partner for the last three months and my duty as Alcalde* here have deprived our little paper of some of these attentions which I hope it will hereafter receive.

Walter Colton.

The Californian published in Monterey until May 6, 1847 and on that date moved its equipment to San Francisco.

In the issue of July 17, 1847 the name of B. R. Bucklew appeared as the proprietor and editor. Five weeks later the word "The" was dropped from the masthead and it became simply Californian. The day of publication was changed in September from Saturday to Wednesday and at that time Robert Gordon became editor.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER ON SAN FRANCISCO BAY

A year before the publishing firm of Colton and Semple was organized in Monterey Samuel Brannan, ambitious printer of New York state, planned a journalistic invasion of California. His project was to establish a Mormon colony and build up a newspaper business at the same time. Yerba Buena was the community selected for his publishing venture.

Edward C. Kemble, a young printer who accompanied Brannan and was later included in the enterprise, reports in the Sacramento Union of December 25, 1858:

* Spanish term for Mayor.

The project of a newspaper on San Francisco Bay was born in New York in 1845. Details were carried out before January 1, 1846. Type, press and office furniture were selected and the name of the proposed paper engraved and stereotyped. Type lines were set up and packed with materials to be used in printing the first California Journal. The first type for a California newspaper were set in New York in December 1845.

This was a Mormon paper. The owner and shippers were a company of Mormons who sailed to California in the ship Brooklyn. The idea of a newspaper in connection with the expedition was that of Samuel Brannan who was a printer, and for several months, had been publisher of the Mormon paper mentioned. The title, California Star.

The outfit arrived July 31st. Material for the journal was taken to the second story of an old grist mill and storehouse on the north side of Clay street, between Kearny and Montgomery. Sometime in September the press was set up and a number of jobs were printed....

Then the first news sheet was issued in what is now San Francisco. Official dispatches were printed in full on a half sheet of the paper subsequently used for the Star. The engraved head of the paper was used at the top of the page and the herald of its advent was offered in the sheets as "An extra in advance of the California Star. It was sold for "one real" per copy.* Date of this publication was about November 1st. Regular issue began January 9, 1847. Meanwhile, press and material had been removed to an adobe structure erected by the printers and some of the Mormon joint-stock company then recently organized. The equipment occupied a building in the rear of a frame building occupied by Samuel Brannan and his family, just behind the old adobe Custom House (destroyed by fire in 1851).

The present site of the Chinatown Telephone Exchange was the original location.

* A Spanish coin worth about 12-1/2 cents or one bit.

THE CALIFORNIA STAR

The Star had many advantages over The Californian. When the ship Brooklyn landed with Brannan and his followers, it had as a part of its cargo one small Hoe handpress, brazier and minion types and a paper supply estimated to last two years.

The advance sheets consisted of four pages, size 13 by 18 inches, of three columns each. It was announced to be issued weekly by Samuel Brannan publisher and E. P. Jones editor.

In 1848 when it began its second volume the size was increased to 18 by 21-1/2 inches, approximately the dimensions of its contemporary the Californian. Though the size of the paper had increased a small type was used.

The Star in its new dress did not continue its march very long. The gold rush, which the editor had treated so lightly at first, swept the newspaper off its feet. With its printers, readers and advertisers "gone to the diggins" it was forced to close shop about the latter part of May and did not revive until July 15. In the meantime its contemporary, the Californian, shared a similar fate and for a few months San Francisco was without a newspaper.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER MERGER

Out of the social and economic upheaval engendered by the stampede for gold developed the first newspaper merger, the origin of which is related by Kemble:

The Star and Californian was issued from the office of the combined establishments on Portsmouth Square, November 18, 1848. Combined they could produce a very neat paper. The editor and publisher was E. C. Kemble, former editor of the Star. He came down from the mines in late September. For the Star he paid Brannan \$800. Then he proposed to The Californian to unite its office with his and give to the rising city and country one good newspaper. There were debts to be considered, but Foster was prevailed on to accept the offer and to close with Kemble. Then Foster ran out on Kemble; but a letter was found in the office from Foster transferring his interest to Kemble, who was left alone with both establishments. A printer and small building were secured and the material of the two offices moved to the center of the place. On next publication day the Californian appeared united with the California Star. The publisher announced the resumption of the California Star as per promise. After a suspension of nearly five months, it was recommenced at the number and volume where it had broken off. The publisher agreed to send the paper to the subscribers of the Californian, as well as the subscribers of the Star, to the expiration of the time to which they had paid. The sheet was the same size as the former Star.*

THE EXPRESS EXTRA

A study of the supplement of the California Star of Saturday, April 1, 1848 reveals the paper as "a weekly journal, devoted to the liberties and interests of the people of California, published by Samuel Brannan and edited by Edward C. Kemble." As this is the famous booster edition or "Express Extra," of which 2000 copies went by an overland mule-train express to the Mississippi Valley, it contains certain information and data concerning California. It states that "the

* Sacramento Union of December 25, 1858.

Star's circulation is 100 copies," which included "outside town and other parts of the globe."

On one of its four column pages it gives the population figures of San Francisco as taken by the Board of school Trustees. According to these there were 575 adult males, 177 adult females and 60 children (of proper ages to attend school), a total of 812. Eight months previously the total was 375, so a gain of 437 souls had been made in that brief time.

The historic significance of this issue prompts quotations. The editor expresses himself as follows:

At the suggestion of citizens of this and neighboring towns, we have within a week of "active duty" imposed upon us by the fitting out of our Express for the United States, hurriedly gathered loading facts representative of California, and voluntarily aided by Dr. V.J. Fourgeaud (author of Prospects of California appearing today complete). We present these, in the form of the Weekly Star, with a Supplement. It was, we believe, the general wish, that the amount of matter made up by our combined efforts, should be both instructive and interesting to our Eastern friends, or residents of any part of the globe. Within the limited time granted us we have endeavored to accomplish this; if we have succeeded and it proves acceptable, our diligent endeavors are repaid, and we rest abundantly satisfied.

On page four of the Supplement appears the following:

EX-TRA.- We publish to-day, not in the tawdry, uncouth garb of the Extra dame Scandel had premised, and one dit asserted, but our usual array of regular weekly columns, and accompanying these of a clever sized Supplement. This nevertheless, is not at all a diminution of our ex-tra labor, as may be readily seen. It is simply an ex-tra abundance of reading....

ALTA CALIFORNIA

The Star and Californian, started by Kemble from the remnants of the two early papers, continued under the combined name as a weekly until the end of 1848. The industrious publisher-editor-printer labored long and hard and almost alone with his enterprise which was burdened with the indebtedness inherited from the two journals. The printing of bills, which listed the departure of vessels helped to defray expenses; \$16 to \$20 was the charge for fifty such bills. The combined newspapers found type a problem; the supply was inadequate for the job-printing business on which it depended for much of its revenue. Type for the news was also used for handbills and posters.

At the close of the year Kemble planned a new name Alta California for his merged publication and took into partnership E. Gilbert and G. C. Hubbard, like himself practical printers and natives of northern New York. It was as Kemble expressed it: "a new arrangement, new journal, new name and new partners -- all to begin with the New Year."

The size of the new Alta California, popularly known as the Alta, was 18-1/2 by 22-3/4 inches. The first issue of this weekly came off the press January 4, 1849.

The Alta was enlarged to 19-1/2 by 27 inches on July 2, and a new type was used. The first tri-weekly edition appeared December 10, 1849. This was called commercial to distinguish it from the regular weekly which continued as

before. The tri-weekly was the same size as the first publication. According to Kemble, "the appearance of the tri-weekly was greatly admired and its editorials were sprightly and popular." He adds:

But three times a week it was a limping gait. The owners of the Alta California saw the demand for a daily and resolved to be the first in the field. A month later their resolve was quickened by the announcement that a daily was to be started on a specific day by some young printers then in San Francisco.*

THE PACIFIC NEWS

Another journal made its appearance on August 25, 1849. A publisher on the Atlantic Coast, William Faulkner, saw the opportunities of the pioneering field and brought his printing material and some lumber for his plant around the Horn. His partner was Warren Leland. They launched the Pacific News, as a tri-weekly. According to Journals of the Golden Gate, "the press work of the News was superior to that of the Alta and for a short time the former threatened to dispossess the older journal of its prestige and jobprinting."** The size of the News was the same as the tri-weekly Alta-California.

* Sacramento Union of December 25, 1858.

**Bunje, E.T.H., Schmitz, F.J. and Penn, H. Journals of the Golden Gate.

ENTER THE DAILIES

The pioneer period had its weeklies, its special editions and its tri-weeklies, but the dailies were not ushered onto San Francisco's journalistic stage until the turn of the half-century. Rumors had reached the men at the helm of the historic Alta that a daily would soon make its appearance. Kemble, the city's young newspaper veteran, would not be outdone. On January 22, 1850 Alta California became a daily, to be followed within 24 hours by the Daily Journal of Commerce. On June 1, The Herald turned its first daily issue off the press and December 8 saw the Public Balance.

Other daily journals dating from 1850 were the Evening Picayune and the California Courier. The California Illustrated Times had a brief existence from September 1850. A few foreign publications and one religious paper made their start the same year.

THE GOLDEN ERA

The leading literary weekly of the period was the Golden Era founded by Rollin E. Daggett and J. MacDonough Foard in December 1852. Daggett when he arrived on the Coast was 19 years old and his partner was 22. The initial issue contained stories of the hardships and adventures they experienced on their way to California. Such reading matter found a ready response and was eagerly consumed by the readers. The young editors were beset with numerous difficulties from the start. Type had to be rented and printing was high. In

1854 the paper shortage was so acute that a ream sold for \$22. But the miners came to the rescue of the enterprising Daggett, who dressed like one of them, made his rounds of the camps and solicited 9000 subscriptions at \$5 each. The journal had no stated rate for advertising but the revenue from this source was considerable.

Ella Cummins, author of The Story of the Files, contributes the following comments regarding the Golden Era:

It was a chronicler of the people rather than of events; human nature rather than the face of human nature.

Horace Greeley said of the paper during his famous visit to California: 'It is the most remarkable paper! To think of its power and influence when the population is so sparse and the mail facilities so poor.'

In 1858 Robert F. Greeley became chief editor of the Golden Era. It survived until 1883.

GROWTH

Kemble's historical review of California newspapers printed in the Sacramento Daily Union of December 25, 1858 says:

In 1850 when the census was taken, there were seven newspapers printed in California, to a population estimated at 92,597. By the 6th of June 1851, the number of papers in the state increased to seventeen and by August of the same year to twenty-one.

A survey of the records will show that all seven of the 1850 publications were printed in San Francisco. They were the Alta California (founded August 25, 1849), Daily Journal of Commerce (January 23, 1850), Pacific News (May 15,

1850), San Francisco Herald (June 1, 1850), California Courier (July 1, 1850), Evening Picayune (August 3, 1850), and Public Balance (December 8, 1850). These newspapers were the keystone of the state press and supplied the impetus for the expansion of the interior.

The twenty-one newspapers mentioned by Kemble as being in existence throughout the state in August 1851, were not all represented at the Editor's Convention held in August of that same year. However, a study of the editorials appearing in the California Courier of August 9, 1851 and extracts from the "Proceedings of the Convention of Editors, Publishers, and Reporters of the Newspaper Press" (published August 27, 1851) reveals the names and locations of the publications. They were:

<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Location</u>
El Dorado News	Coloma
Herald	Marysville
Herald	Sonora
Herald	San Diego
Star	Los Angeles
Union	Sacramento
Times and Transcript	Sacramento
Republican	Stockton
Journal	Stockton
Gazette	Benicia
Journal	Nevada City
Visitor	San Jose
Alta California	San Francisco
Herald	San Francisco
California Courier	San Francisco
Evening Picayune	San Francisco
Morning Post	San Francisco
Pacific Evening Star	San Francisco
Sunday Dispatch	San Francisco
Pacific	San Francisco
Sloat's Prices Current and Shipping List*	San Francisco

* Kemble reports the founding of this newspaper by L.W. Sloat as March 17, 1852.

The rapid rise of the press is further related by Kemble as follows:

In the same month, three years later (August 1854), we find fifty-four papers published in various parts of the state. In 1855 there were eighty-two papers, at which time the population of the state was estimated at 300,000. The next year the State Register gave the names of ninety-one California journals flourishing and placed the white population of the state at 399,000. The returns given in connection with the present history (1858) show the number of places where newspapers are published to be forty-four, the whole number of existing newspapers and periodicals eighty-nine, of which nineteen were published daily, thirty-four weekly, one semi-monthly, one monthly, and one annually. In politics, thirty-one are Democratic, two Republican, and thirty-five Independent and neutral. There are six religious papers in the state as follows: Catholic, one; Baptist, one; Hebrew, one; Methodist, one; Presbyterian, one; and Congregational, one. There are six literary papers, all published in San Francisco. There are forty localities in the state at which newspapers have been published. The aggregate number of newspapers and periodicals which have been published in California to date, commencing with 1846 according to the returns which have been given, is 324.

NEWSPAPERS IN THE INTERIOR

That California was peppered with small weekly newspapers, often as many as three to one small community is evident at a glance through the files of the early California Chronicle and Daily Herald of 1853 to 1856. How long most of these little weeklies existed would require a study of their own pages and history in detail, not available in San Francisco; but it is probable that files of a few exist today. There is a complete file of the Shasta Courier for one year in the De Young Museum.

Other newspapers listed or mentioned in the Chronicle and Daily Herald are as follows:

- 1853 Shasta Courier
 California State Journal
 Sierra County Echo
 Mountain Herald
 Mokelumne (Moquelumne) Hill Chronicle
 El Dorado Republican
- 1855 Union Democrat
 Calaveras Chronicle
 Humboldt Times
 Grass Valley Telegraph
 Empire County Argus
 Columbia Gazette
 Placerville American
 Georgetown News
 Yreka Union
 San Bernardino Gazette
 Plumas Messenger
 Gibsonville Messenger
- 1856 Coloma Argus
 Sierra Nevada News
 Solano County Herald
 Stockton Argus
 San Jose Tribune
 Sacramento Spirit of the Age

THE UNFORTUNATE MANY

The gods must have loved the majority of the San Francisco journals more than did the men who read them, for they died young. Kemble's famous article is like a visit to a morgue or a description of a journalistic graveyard. His review of the ghosts speaks for itself. The fact to keep in mind is that his article was written in 1858, little more than a decade after he himself had landed in Yerba Buena and helped to launch the California Star. He says:

It is a fact that the newspapers of California have monopolized a larger share of public attention in recitals laudatory of their growth and development than their years, wisdom or influence entitle them to.

The article to prove this begins its review of the papers of San Francisco. Those printed in English which had brief histories are the following:

California Courier, founded in 1850; abandoned in 1852, revived on February 1, 1854 and then finally discontinued the same year.

The Watchman is the title of the first religious paper commenced in this country. It was started in the beginning of 1850. It was issued weekly. It did not last long.

The Times appeared first on September 1, 1850; it was not long continued.

Then followed the roll call of 1851:

The Hombre, a weekly satirical paper was commenced by Dr. William Rabe in April 1851. It was soon abandoned.

The Pacific Evening Star was commenced in June by Sutherland, Rust & White. Its life was short.

The Sunday Dispatch, a weekly, was started in July. Only a few numbers were published.

A weekly paper, called the Christian Observer, was an organ of the Methodist Church, but it soon expired.

The Clarion, a weekly paper owned and edited by Mortimer J. Smith, lived and died in the summer of 1851.

The year 1852 produced several journals that existed a short time:

January 15, 1852 the Western American, a daily newspaper, was established by Charles E. Pickett. The enterprise soon failed.

In March, George O. Doherty, then proprietor of the Evening Picayune, started a daily morning paper called the Times which lived but a short time and died with the Picayune.

The Evening Journal was established May 25; it expired in 1856.

The San Francisco Daily Whig was started by Hull, Matthewson & Co., publishers, and F. M. Pixley and L. R. Lull, editors. In March 1853 its name was changed to the San Francisco Daily Whig and Commercial Advertiser, and in the following September 'Whig' was dropped. In the spring of 1854 the Advertiser became an organ of the Broderick faction. It ceased to live on September 27th.

In June the Daily Times and Transcript, then an organ of the Democratic party, was removed from Sacramento to San Francisco. It died in the fall of 1855.

Sometime during this year a small paper called Satan's Bassoon was started by A. M. Kenaday as a freak. It did not last long.

The year 1853 saw the founding of the following short-lived publications:

On February 15, 1853 the Curiosity Shop, a humorous weekly illustrated paper was issued. It lasted but a few weeks.

In April the California Temperance Organ, a weekly paper, was started. It lasted until May 11, 1854 when its name was changed to the Star of the West, but only one number was published.

On May 6th the weekly Catholic Standard was established. It lasted about a year.

The Daily Sun was issued May 19th. Its circulation increased rapidly and in the fall had become more extensive than that of any newspaper in the state. When the Vigilance tocsin sounded, the Sun wavered in its choice for a day or two, but at last came out against the Committee with all the venom, malignancy and abuse that the wrath of man could devise. In the fall of that year the paper died. (1856)

On June 16th the Present and the Future, a daily paper was established by Dr. E. Theller. One half of the paper was in French. On August

1st the name was changed to the Public Ledger. It died March 1st, 1854.

In October the Messenger, a tri-weekly paper, was established by L. Albin. It existed until March 31, 1856.

The Daily Evening News was started November 1, 1853 by C. Bartlett; it prospered for a time but was killed early in 1856 by the competition of the Bulletin.

In the latter part of 1853, A. C. Russell commenced the publication of a new daily Evening Picayune. It did not succeed and on January 21st was absorbed by the Evening News.

In 1854 these publications were launched:

March 15th a weekly (quarto) paper, aspired to be a literary publication. Titled, Bon Ton Critic. Its career was short.

Early in the year J.H. Purdy commenced the publication of the Pacific Statesman, which lasted about a year.

March 17th, the Wide West, a weekly Sunday literary newspaper was established. It was a good paper of its class, but had too many competitors, and after a long existence, with little profit to its owners, died July 1858 during the Fraser River exodus.

In April an illustrated humorous paper, Young America on the Pacific, was launched by R. E. Doyle, chief editor. Its life was short.

In July the weekly Police Gazette was established by J. F. Dunn. He was murdered a few weeks later by a printer employed in his office. The Gazette did not appear again.

In August (1854), the daily Journal of Commerce was started, as a Whig organ. After the election it soon died.

In September, commenced the publication of the Weekly Leader. Its life was short.

Two weekly advertising papers were commenced in October, the California Mail and the Pathfinder. Both had a brief existence.

In November the Pacific Recorder, an organ of the Baptist Church, was established. It soon died.

The following papers were founded in 1855:

The Western Standard was a weekly paper started in 1855. It was discontinued in the summer of 1857. (An organ of the Latter Day Saints.)

During the spring of 1855 a weekly Law Journal was started. It existed a couple of months.

On October 31, Alexander Bell started the Daily American, (an organ of the American party). It lasted about three months.

On December 24, the Weekly Sunday Times was established by James P. Casey, who afterwards killed James King of William, and later was hanged by the Vigilance Committee. The Times died with Casey.

The year 1856 saw 13 journals started:

On the 26th of May the Daily True Californian was established. The paper was an advocate of the Vigilance movement. It died during the fall.

In May the Weekly Legal Intelligencer was started. It was abandoned in the same month.

The Phoenix was an independent weekly. It lived a few months, and died in the same year.

About this time the Daily Evening Star, the Weekly Young America and the Eagle of Freedom were started. The last-named paper was Republican in politics. Each finished its career the same year.

In September a weekly organ of the Jewish faith, the Voice of Israel, was started. It lasted only six months.

In November H. Davison made an experiment with the Evening Times, but did not succeed.

The year 1857:

In April 1857 appeared the California Register, a Republican paper. (The want of a printer is given as the cause of the paper's demise after its fourth number.)

The Weekly Mirror of the Times was founded by some colored men. It died early in 1858.

In the summer the Daily Evening Ledger was started by Porter & Co. Soon it was sold to E. Pollock who edited it until its death which was within a few days.

In the summer, Edward Marriott commenced the News Letter, a semi-monthly. It is defunct.

The Daily Evening Plain Dealer was started on October 17th by A. M. Heslep. It died in December.

In November 1857 the Daily Evening Argus was established but failed; an attempt was made to issue a morning, as well as an evening edition, but this only hastened its death.

Of the year 1858 (late in which the article was written) Kemble observed that:

The Examiner and Enquirer was issued by S. L. Brittingham. That number exhibited but little character and had no success.

Kemble states that 132 periodicals were started in San Francisco. Their proprietors, editors and reporters numbered more than a thousand. The article continued:

No city in the world can boast a newspaper press so great in its development, so singular in its character, so wonderful in its fortunes. The papers have been printed in six different languages. Different nationalities have devoted themselves to the interests of religion, politics, morals, law, medicine, literature, commerce, agriculture, news and slander; have preached eight different forms of religion, and have been organs of seven

distinct political parties. Most of these papers expired within twelve months after they were started, and only twenty-six survived. The Alta and the Herald are the only papers in the city which date from 1850, and both have been on the verge of the newspaper grave. (As of 1858 - ed.)

Not an editor or proprietor connected with the press in 1850 is to be found now in the same position.

"PRESS AND PEOPLE"

Most eloquently and authoritatively Edward C. Kemble spoke for the San Francisco journals of the 1850's. A newspaper man himself he watched his fellow journalists come and go, succeed or fail, and carefully recorded their achievements. In the introduction to his article "The History of California Newspapers" in the Sacramento Union these comments are found:

The names of those who have been at various times personally interested in journals of that city embrace over one thousand. This is more than a fifth of the present circulation of her leading newspaper. No country under the sun can show so large a proportion of what is termed "newspaper men" from their past or present connection with journals to the number of newspaper readers in California....

Ever since California became a state this rare faculty of intercourse between press and people existed. The cause we suppose to be simply the sudden and great emergencies which, owing to her rapid growth, have arisen in political and social life, requiring the instant establishment of organs of public communication....

Our papers have been the simple organ of speech, the daily, fitful utterance of communication. Every surge of popular excitement has been capped with a printed sheet. It is doubtful...that California owes her newspaper plentitude to the superior intelligence of the masses. The mortality among her public journals would seem to

show that the ends for which most of them were published were subservient to a pressing interest; the fate of several leading journals in San Francisco, which in their day were the highest type of newspaper excellence in the state, shows that no considerations of a more literary or intellectual character induced their support. The truth is patent that the motive with which a very large number of newspapers have been begun in this country has partaken of the transient and self-serving nature of most enterprises here and has rarely been stimulated by a pure love of principles or a deep and sincere attachment to state and party interests....

It is the identify of her newspapers with each important change of the popular sentiment to which we look for sustaining interest in these annals. In the lives of each of her public journals there is bound up somewhat of her political and social development. They are not the only landmarks in her history but the only faithful surviving tablets from which this history must be written.

RIVALRY

Personal animosity between rival editors existed from the very beginning; caustic editorials were the order of the day and given much space in the newspaper columns. The publishers were more or less openly biased in their political views, for the main part being strictly partisan, indulgent to their backers and bitterly opposed to their enemies. In calling the roll of publishers of San Francisco's first decade of journalistic history one is impressed by their physical courage. In those rough times a man was expected to back his opinion by physical strength if called upon to do so; and some of those pioneer newspapermen endorsing "affairs of honor", were constantly ready and able to back an editorial

stand with a dueling pistol. Running a paper was a he-man's job.

The public seemed to enjoy the journalistic feuds accompanied by editorial lambastings and the editors, though said to be for the most part "gentle lamb-like souls" very obligingly gave the subscribers what they desired -- newspaper invective which present-day ethics do not permit. However, all was not vituperative; culture of a sort was not neglected in the pages of the early newspapers. Occasionally an editor proud of his erudition burst into poetry, reveled in references to the classics and wrote stories designed to improve the public mind and morals. Many articles of distinction were clipped from eastern publications and given positions of prominence in the local sheets.

DUELS RESULTING FROM NEWSPAPERS ARTICLES

Throughout the turbulent fifties the San Francisco newspapers were in a state of continual political or personal warfare. All of the editors participated in the conflicts to a degree depending upon their constitutional temperament and the sharpness of the issues at hand. This was the period of municipal mismanagement, corrupt politics, promotion schemes and the nationally important slavery question.

Hand in hand with the admission of California as a state in 1850 came a welter of dissension, more than enough to keep the newspapers embroiled. In advocating their causes, the editors did not hesitate to attack each other verbally

and occasionally physically. The editorial policies were clear, each carrying at least two columns extolling in no uncertain terms the beliefs of the individual editors.

An effort to outlaw dueling had been made earlier in California's history but proved abortive.

At the first constitutional convention in 1849, provisions against dueling...were finally adopted, but the long list of duels in the fifties shows the law incorporated in the statutes more honored in the breach than in the observance....Proof of this lay in the statement of a visitor, who reported having seen this placard above an editor's desk:

'Subscriptions received from 9 to 4; challenges from 11 to 12 only!'

Duels were so common in this decade that they warranted little or no space in the newspapers unless the participants were prominent in the field of politics. The press as a rule merely mentioned them in passing. For example the following announcement appeared in the Alta California of August 15, 1851:

AFFAIRS OF HONOR -- An affair of honor between Captain Folsom and A. C. Russell, Esq. took place yesterday afternoon, and after an interchange of shots, in which neither party was injured, the affair was amicably arranged.

This was one duel in which no damage was done. Russell the editor of the Evening Picayune at the time, later joined the staff of the Alta California and subsequently became involved in another "affair of honor." He was not so

* Phillips, Catherine Coffin. Portsmouth Plaza, p. 376

lucky in his second meeting when he was dangerously wounded with a knife.

The following paid advertisement appeared in the Golden Era of May 15, 1853:

To Editor, Legislator and all whom it may concern: The undersigned, desiring to "Turn an honest penny" would respectfully inform Editors, Legislators and others, whose moral and religious scruples may prevent their willingness "to stand and face the music," that he will, at the shortest notice, and on the most liberal terms, engage to fight duels with pistols, rifles or bowie-knives, or if preferable, "strike from the shoulder."

He has killed his man, and can give the best of references as to character.

Address J. Walker
Through the San Francisco Post Office.

Serious injury and death was often the outcome of these journalistic feuds. In August 1852 Edward Gilbert, editor of the Alta California, published a short item in his paper ridiculing Governor Bigler and his administration. The article brought on serious consequences for General J. W. Denver, the governor's henchman, took up the issue for his superior and killed Gilbert in a duel. Of his death Kemble wrote, "a sacrifice to the liberty of speech and the press."

Also, about this time occurred the "affair" between C. A. Washburn and B. F. Washington. Washburn, editor of the Alta in 1852 supported Broderick for senator and his anti-slavery leanings offended many of the advertisers and readers, especially the views of Washington, editor of the Times and Transcript whose paper was pro-slavery. The two met on the

field of honor and Washburn was wounded. He survived however, and became editor of the Evening Journal in 1855. Washington was one of the first editors to conduct the Examiner in 1865.

John Nugent, a man of unusual physical courage, entered the field with his Herald in 1850. He was a bold and caustic writer and his headlong plunge into political issues resulted in two duels in both of which he was painfully injured. Kemble says:

The acrid political articles with which the Herald abounded during the time of its prosperity led to bitter animosities, two of which ended in duels between Nugent and members of the City Council, whose course he had condemned. The first duel was with Alderman Colter, in the summer of 1852. The Alderman was unharmed; the other received a compound fracture of the thigh bone. It was a dangerous wound but it healed leaving the leg as good as new.

This quarrel grew out of the purchase of the Jenny Lind Theatre which was to be used for a Public Building. John S. Hittel, in his History of the City of San Francisco says:

The Herald's insinuations of fraud in the purchase of the Jenny Lind Theatre provoked alderman Colter so much that he challenged John Nugent its editor, and healed the official honor by breaking a journalistic arm.

In 1853 Nugent fought a duel with Thomas Hayes, the trouble arising from the editor's comment about some land deals. Kemble reports:

Hayes published a long card in the Whig of June 8th in which he cited a number of what he called Nugent's misdeeds. In the duel Nugent received from a rifle shot a compound fracture of the arm. From this he also recovered.

Dr. V. Loehr, who helped launch the German weekly California Democrat in September 1852, was another newspaperman to be wounded on the field of honor. Mr. R. F. Dunn, who began the Police Gazette in July 1854, was murdered by a printer in his employ, and the life of the journal ended with his assassination. A.H.Rapp, co-founder in 1855 of Le Phare, a French publication, was later involved in an affair of honor and wounded. On August 16, 1858 G. P. Johnston was installed as editor of the Daily Globe. Soon afterwards he fought a duel with W.I.Ferguson a State Senator, and wounded him. Ferguson did not recover and after his death Johnston resigned from the paper and remained in obscurity until 1865 when he became editor of the Examiner.

The famous Broderick-Terry duel of September 12, 1859 sounded the death knell of the "code duello" in California. Both men were important figures in politics and their prominence occasioned a storm of discussion. The newspapers took the lead and devoted column after column to the episode. The Alta California of September 12, 1859 said:

The chase is done, the quarry is laid low, and the dogs have gone to kennel, David C. Broderick is no more. He was the hunted lion, and they that have forced him into the quarrel which made a sacrifice of his life were the hungry packs that now from the dark corners to which they have retired are contemplating their foul deed of murder. There is enough of this melancholy affair to call for the bitterest condemnation that the tongue can utter or the heart feel.

The practice of dueling fell into disuse before the close of the Civil War, but for many succeeding years the ed-

itors of rival papers in San Francisco continued to hurl epithets and bitter comment at each other.

REPORTERS

The reporters were often college men down on their luck and anxious to engage in temporary newspaper work rather than serve as dishwashers or waiters, despite the fact both these pursuits paid better than did reporting. As the ships brought most of the news a successful reporter was necessarily quick and dexterous. More important than the ability to write was resourcefulness and speed in getting from the captain and passengers such news items as the papers could re-write and promptly publish. Brevity was the keynote of journalism. The sheets were small and space at a premium. The trick was to collect the news, whip it into brief paragraphs, print it and get it on the street. There were however, few trained news gatherers and the editor often guessed at what his reporters failed to include in their story.

Among the many who drifted into the city were journeymen printers. It is recorded that towards the close of the first decade of newspaper history San Francisco was a printer's paradise. There was little competition and wages were high.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF AN EDITOR

During the fledgling stage of journalism from 1850 to 1860, one man was often editor, writer, compositor and

pressman, consequently the newspapers were subject to loose make-up, frequent errors in spelling and punctuation, and uncredited news items. The following item from the first issue of the Bulletin, October 8, 1855 exemplifies the lot of these pioneer editors:

More truth than poetry: The N. H. Telegraph is of the opinion that "an editor who cannot stop in the middle of one of the finest trains of thought that he is putting on paper, to minute the dimensions of a huge pumpkin, write an advertisement of a dog lost, enter the name of a new subscriber, or receive pay for an old one, to take a cowhiding for something he has said, and after all resume the thread of his discourse, and carry out the idea in its original force and beauty, is next to no editor at all."

The following article from the California Courier of June 11, 1851 is a primer on frontier reporting:

Few persons can realize the annoyance a Newspaper Reporter is subjected to. Some days there will be a perfect rush of accidents, murders, fights and excitements, and every variety of incidents out of which he can fill up his column. His only trouble then is to make his selection, and get the most important, so as to not be outdone by his neighbors. Again, the next day there is a perfect dearth of news, not even a cart horse will run away, and he racks his brains for a subject to write about. Occasionally fearing that he has "got off the track", he will run against a fellow reporter from another office, ask him into a saloon and "smile" with him, in hopes of drawing an item from him, and if this last resort fails, he has nought left but to set his wits to work and write speculations upon the instability of human affair generally, and the depredations of scoundrels, particularly, in this city. Occasionally, the reporter finds a neatly enveloped note on his desk, requesting his presence at a dinner, or a steamboat excursion, or something similar. This is a regular God-sond, particularly if the occasion affords material for comments.

"MEN WITHOUT FRILLS"

Newly arriving men had brought with them from the East some knowledge of printing or writing for publication and when they tired of the mines or when other business activities failed they went to the newspapers in search of an opportunity for quick money in return for a small investment.

For instance the printers who started the Morning Call in 1856 were said to have been "men without frills." Their object was to print a paper "on lines familiar to them." They were known to have been a co-operative body with scarcely any capital.

The paper obtained its name in a novel manner. The owners were standing at the "Printers Corner," (Montgomery and Clay Streets) discussing a name for the bantling, but could not agree, each having a choice. Finally they agreed to "Jeff" and thus determined the name by choice. "Jeffing" is throwing quadrates of type, the quadrates are nicked and the operation is somewhat similar to dice. At this moment a bill poster put up a program announcing the "Morning Call" as the farcical attraction at one of the theatres. The printers looked at the program, looked at each other, and the bill of the play seemed to have suggested the same thing to all for without "Jeffing" they decided upon the title of the Morning Call.*

Brannan and Kemble who brought printing equipment as well as journalistic knowledge and experience with them from the Atlantic seaboard were exceptions. Their product lived and prospered and absorbed other efforts not so well

* Cramer, James Prentiss. "The Press of San Francisco," The Californian, May 1892.

conceived and executed. William Faulkner and Warren Leland came around the Horn to continue their former line of endeavor with material brought from the East. They issued the Pacific News. They differed from the common run of that period's newspaper men.

Some publications became the voice of a particular political faction such as the San Francisco Daily Whig, started in 1852. Others were literary weeklies in which news played a minor role. They specialized in stories, articles, poetry and advertising. Numerous religious periodicals spoke for certain denominations. The need was also felt for a paper in languages other than English, so German and French journals were organized; one of them, the California Demokrat (Gorman) is the oldest surviving San Francisco newspaper. Commercial activities and interest were sufficient reason for such publications as the San Francisco Shipping List and Prices Current.

EARLY NEWSPAPER FORTUNES

The fortunes made and lost in the early San Francisco newspaper market are difficult to estimate. Because of many destructive fires the losses were heavy. But fortunes were made. As early as 1849 Warren Leland of the then recently founded tri-weekly Pacific News, sold out to his partner William Faulkner for about \$30,000. Leland's brother who succeeded him also made money in the brief period in which he

was connected with the paper. But shortly after Jonas Winchester, Horace Greeley's former business associate, had taken possession of the News in 1850 it was destroyed by fire. It burned twice the following year and crippled by adversity wrote its finis in 1851.

Another example of a quick turnover is that of the Herald, established in June 1850 by John Nugent and John E. Foy. One month later Foy sold his interest to Nugent for \$15,000, said to have come from the coffers of Folsom, Howard and other active real estate manipulators.

The Daily California Chronicle which was first issued in November 1853 was met with much favor by the reading public. In 1855 it had the city's largest circulation and was valued at \$50,000. But its opposition to the Vigilance Committee and its Republican slant in politics with the Democrats victorious at the polls made it sell for \$5,000 and even such able editors as J. H. Purdy and Kemble could not stave off defeat. It folded up in the spring of 1858.

The Journal of Commerce, the city's second oldest daily launched by Washington Bartlott was wiped out by the fire of May 4, 1850 after less than four months' existence. Fire again visited its temporary plant the following month and it was not published for six weeks. It struggled on till February 1851 when it succumbed.

The Alta according to Kemble was one of "the most expensively managed newspapers in America" with weekly receipts running as high as \$15,000. Even as a tri-weekly it

paid its assistant editor J.E. Durivage \$6000 a year and Kemble states that some of the Alta's "old hands had grown comparatively rich from the concern."

A watchmaker who plunged into newspaper enterprises was Benjamin R. Buckelew. His first connection was with the Californian in 1848 and his second with the Public Balance. His constant quarrel with his partners led him into repeated difficulties and Kemble comments:

General rumor had it that Buckelew's publishing of his paper cost him upwards of \$30,000.

GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS

Edward Cleveland Kemble

Among the many colorful newspaper personalities who played their part on San Francisco's journalistic stage in the 1850s only a few who, according to available records, took leading parts can be mentioned here.

The name which most frequently appears when one studies the city's early journalism is that of Edward Cleveland Kemble.

Born November 11, 1828 in Troy, New York, where his father a former State Senator was editor of the Troy Budget, he learned the printer's trade as a boy. At the age of seventeen he, though not a Mormon, embarked with Samuel Brannan and his fellow Mormon colonists on the ship Brooklyn for Yerba Buena where they arrived July 31, 1846. Brannan who had decided long before leaving New York to start his paper the

California Star, found in the bright young printer a ready co-worker.

He soon moved from printing to editorial work and when he returned from his visit to the gold mines became editor of the Star and Californian which later developed into the influential Alta California. He also founded the Sacramento Placer Times and was its editor in 1849. During his busy newspaper career he found time to engage in other activities and was secretary in 1848 of the San Francisco Council and prominent in other local affairs. He went East and from 1861 to 1865 served in the army on the side of the North. In 1867 he returned to the Pacific Coast. His services as a paymaster in the Civil War merited him the office of inspector of Indian affairs.

Kemble died in 1886 at the age of fifty-seven in North Haven, New York.

FRANK SOULÉ

Frank Soulé arrived in San Francisco in 1849. He was a native of Freeport, Maine, and during his earlier years engaged in teaching in the Southern States and was the proprietor of the New Orleans Mercury. He came to San Francisco in May 1849 to try his luck at mining, which he discovered to be more arduous and less rewarding than he had anticipated. As he had formerly pursued literary activities he looked for newspaper work which he found in October 1850. When Kemble left for the East on a business trip, Soule took his place as

editor of the Alta and remained in the position until his contract expired the following year. He was succeeded by Edward Gilbert.

In 1853 when the Daily California Chronicle was launched as a rival to the Alta Soulé became the editor-in-chief. The Chronicle prospered during his editorship and reached the largest circulation of any daily in the city in 1855. He took a neutral stand on the Vigilance Movement and referred to the shooting of James King of William as homicide and not as murder. Casey, he held was not more to blame than the Bulletin editor whom he had assassinated. Himself of a gentle and conciliatory nature, he suffered from the roughshod tactics of the editors in the fifties and

...asserted that the work of calumnious writers was responsible for a part of the "sad daily record of murders."*

When the business men withdrew their support from the Chronicle and the paper began to dwindle Soulé left it, in the summer of 1856. A friend of Broderick, he became interested in politics and served a term as State Senator and as Collector of the local Internal Revenue District.

His Annals of San Francisco is valuable source material on outstanding events of the city. In later years he worked on the Call and on the Alta which he edited until a year and a half before his death in San Francisco, July 3, 1882.

* Young, John P. Journalism in California p. 39.

The Examiner on the following day paid this tribute to him who often was called "The Father of San Francisco Journalism:"

Frank Soule proved himself to be a man of highest integrity, and in spite of his political labors the breath of suspicion never attached itself to his name. He was an easy, graceful, talented writer, and has written many charming verses. The dull grinding routine work of a daily paper never drove poetry out of his soul or laid its imprint on the honest, earnest labors of his life. His aim was to make men and women wiser and better, and though his best labors were engulfed in the yawning abyss of impersonal journalism, and his talents but little known outside of a small circle of readers their effects will live though he never reaped any adequate reward... Frank Soule died a poor man in spite of years of toil and a life's practice of self denial.

LORING PICKERING

The following excerpts from the Bulletin of December 22, 1892 are obituary notes, which throw light on the career of Loring Pickering, another important San Francisco journalist, who unlike most of his colleagues stayed in the profession in the city of his adoption for many decades:

The senior proprietor of the Morning Call, and Evening Bulletin died at his residence on Bush Street at 8:45 o'clock this morning. With him there passes away one of the most venerable of California's pioneers. Born in Richmond, New Hampshire on July 21, 1812, he was in his eighty-first year....

In 1832, when scarcely twenty-one years of age, he went West with a view of settling in that then comparatively unexplored region. He clerked in stores in New Orleans, Louisville and St. Louis and returning to New Hampshire after an absence of a year or two, he married the daughter of a prominent citizen of his native town.

Not long after this he again started West taking with him his young wife and infant child. He settled at a place called Hennepin, in Illinois and engaged in the mercantile pursuits but soon engaged in journalism and for some time published a weekly called the Hennepin Journal... Four years later he sold out his business and went to St. Louis where he joined others and purchased two newspapers, the Reporter and the Missourian....

Mr. Pickering reached California in the fall of 1849 prepared to begin life anew. For awhile he lived with his delicate wife in a tent and like other pioneers of that early period skirmished for food. Early in 1850 he went to Illinois town, in Placer County, then a promising mining camp and established a merchandise store. He continued there until past midsummer when he returned to Sacramento with a moderate sum of money the profits of his business....

In the latter part of 1850 he purchased an interest in the Placer Times, the pioneer paper of Sacramento. His partner was Joseph Laurence, a young man who had editorial charge of the paper for some months previously, the owners being E. Gilbert and Co., of the Alta California. The cholera epidemic of 1850 made business very dull for the year following. There were three daily papers then existing at Sacramento, and in June 1851, The Times consolidated with the Transcript. The latter was owned by George K. Fitch and Martin F. Grove and here began the long partnership of Mr. Loring and Mr. Fitch, now sadly ended by death.

The business of the Times and Transcript at once became prosperous. It was so prosperous in fact, that the field attracted other newspaper men, and soon competition became very strong. In June 1852 Pickering, Fitch and Laurence purchased the interests of Grove and moved the paper to San Francisco. Mr. Grove returned East with what was then considered a competence, viz. \$15,000 or \$20,000.

The Times and Transcript was the representative Democratic paper of the State and in this city it became more profitable than it had been in Sacramento. In the summer of 1853, the owners sold it to a firm in which Benjamin F. Washington,

Vincent E. Geiger and George Kerr were principals and the former became its editor.

Mr. Pickering with Mr. Fitch established a banking and stock brokerage business, but after less than two years they closed out this venture and purchased the Alta California... then one of the prominent journals of the city.... The partnership continued but nine months, however, when the paper was sold to Frederick Mac Crellish. This sale took place early in 1856.

Mr. Pickering was a member of the Vigilance Committee of that year, and after the subsidence of the agitation of that troublous period, he undertook a trip to Europe. He remained abroad four years for the most part residing in Paris, where he studied the French language and the customs of the people.

In 1860 he returned to San Francisco and soon thereafter again embarked upon the sea of journalism.

WILLIAM WALKER

William Walker, erstwhile editor of the Daily Herald in 1850, was always popular in San Francisco. Early in his newspaper career he ran afoul of Judge Levi Parsons of the District Court and was imprisoned for contempt. His sojourn in jail was a personal triumph for the fiery little editor. The entire city waited upon the prisoner, and a large number of petitions were circulated calling for the impeachment of Judge Parsons. After some months Walker was released on a writ of habeas corpus. The people had been aroused to an extent which almost equalled the excitement attending the formation of the Vigilance Committee, a further indication of the man's popularity.

Walker was a little man, only five feet tall and weighing less than one hundred pounds, but in aggressiveness he made up for his diminutive stature. His career was a stormy one. His first attempt to set up an independent republic in lower California failed, but eventually he shifted his scene of activity to Central America and enjoyed a temporary success as President of Nicaragua. The Evening Bulletin of April 26, 1856 mentions his activities in the foreign news section. It speaks of the firm establishment of his government in Nicaragua, his receipt of additional men, money, arms and provisions.

His brush with Cornelius Vanderbilt, who was attempting to gain control of the government to promote his transportation schemes led to Walker's downfall; but not before he made an abortive attempt to conquer neighboring Honduras. While campaigning in the latter country in 1860 he was captured and executed by the natives with the help of a British force. William Walker was the greatest filibuster of his day.

HENRY GEORGE

During the early period there arrived in San Francisco a young printer, Henry George who later became world famous as an economist and as the author of Progress and Poverty. According to Journals of the Golden Gate, which gives as its authority an article by Charles Shinn on "Early Books, Magazines and Bookmaking," in the Overland Monthly of October

1883, Henry George in 1855 published three issues of the State, none of which are extant.* That this was not true of 1855 is suggested by the notes on George in the Dictionary of American Biography which give 1855 as the year the sixteen-year-old lad was sailing as a foremast boy on the Hindoo bound for Melbourne and Calcutta. It was not until his return to the United States in 1856 that he began to learn the printing trade.

He left Philadelphia December 22, 1857 as a steward on the lighthouse ship Schubrick for San Francisco.

Unable to find employment he set out for the placer mines of Fraser River in British Columbia where he worked in a miners' supply store. The adverse reports from the mines hastened his return to San Francisco in December 1858.

He worked as compositor on the Home Journal then started a publication of his own, The Evening Journal doomed to failure from the start. Henry George married and set out for Sacramento where he eked out a meager existence by "subbing" on the Union. After the added responsibility of a

* The only reference to Henry George and Mr. Shinn's article in the Overland Monthly is: "Ferriss' Financial Economy (1867) preceded Henry George in many of his financial views. There was Henry George's weekly the State begun during the New Constitution struggle, continued less than three months and so rare that a complete set is not known to be extant. The first edition of Mr. George's Progress and Poverty, too, first saw the light in this city." p. 352.

child, born in November 1862, he worked his way back to San Francisco by selling newspaper subscriptions and clothes wringers along the way. Two of his friends joined him in a job printing venture where he often bartered his skill and products for food and fuel. A second child was born at this time of stress.

In these desperate days he experienced the bitterness of poverty and became qualified in his school to write about it. The Californian in 1865 included his contributions with those of Bret Harte and Mark Twain.

In 1865 he was a reporter and then became an editorial writer and finally managing editor on the Times before he quit the paper in 1868. He left that fall for the east to get the San Francisco Herald admitted to the Associated Press but failed in this and also in his attempt to establish an independent wire service.

When he returned to California he became editor of the Oakland Transcript, a newly established democratic paper. It was at this time that his theory of land values ripened into a conviction which gripped him with compelling emotion. It was that monopoly of land, especially by the railroads would advance wealth and increase poverty. Looking for an organ through which he could convey his theories he became part owner and editor in December 1871 of the Daily Evening Post, a crusading publication which failed after four years of struggle.

Appointed by Governor Irwin as a state inspector of gas meters, he gave his leisure time to the answer of the question that haunted him: Why does want go with wealth? In September 1877 during the depression, which caused riots by labor throughout the country and especially in San Francisco, Henry George began the writing of the book, Progress and Poverty, which made him famous. Plates of the book were made in San Francisco by William Hinton and 500 copies, an author's edition were published in 1879.

Appleton's on receipt of the plates published the regular edition of the book in 1880. The author left San Francisco in August of that year and continued as a lecturer and writer. His book became a best seller here and in Europe.

His death on October 28, 1897 was mourned by thousands who thronged to view the body of the champion whose pen and voice had wrought incessantly in the behalf of those ground under the heel of poverty.

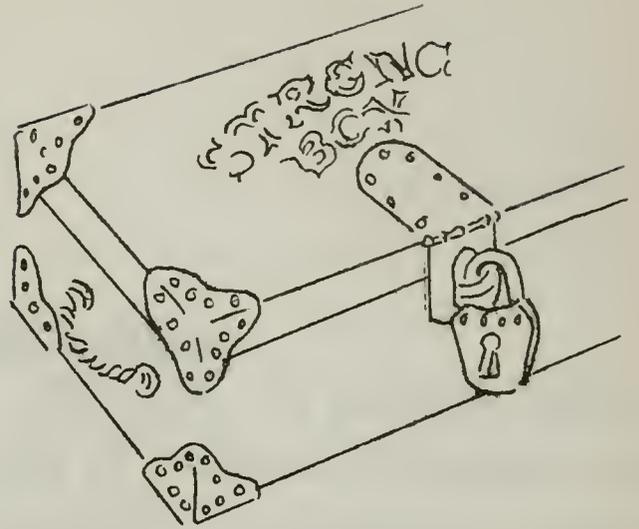
THE OTHERS

Kemble in his article looks back over the crowded, hectic years from 1848 to 1858 and from among the hundreds of newspaper men of the period selects a few of the outstanding, who prompted him to these comments:

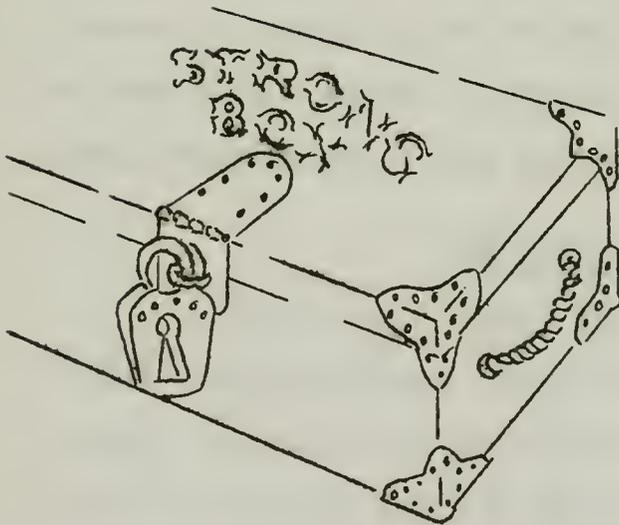
Gilbert's fate we have already mentioned, also that of King and Dunn, at the hands of assassins; Nugent, Washburn, Lohr and Rapp have been wounded in duels, and Russell dangerously wounded with a knife -- all for articles they had written.

Lafuente and Walton have been sent to the penitentiary, the former for homicide and the latter for larceny.

Washington is Collector; Hemstead, Mint Superintendent; Moulder is State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Johnston, Clerk of the United States Circuit Court; Nugent, United States Commissioner to Fraser River; and Korn, Port Warden. Ewer has taken to the pulpit; Durivage and Pillot to the stage; Hull married Lola Montez; and Walker made himself world famous by filibustering in Lower California and Nicaragua. Some went last Summer (in 1858) to Australia. Conner went to Chile; Moran to Mexico; Rice to Panama, Froebel to Germany, Lachapelle to France, Williston to Victoria; a score of others are scattered about in different States and Territories of the Union, and an unknown number are engaged in farming and trading in California. Not one can be said to have become rich from the profits of their newspaper.



Chapter III
THE FRONT OFFICE
and a Business
Miscellany



THE FRONT OFFICE

The heart of any publication is its front office. The various incidents for good or evil in the economic life of a community -- booms, depressions and disasters -- affect the welfare of a newspaper as much as that of any other commercial enterprise.

In San Francisco's pioneer days business was lucrative for the publisher in direct proportion to the profits made by other commercial enterprises in the movement of goods and the rendering of services.

The "front office" was first confined to the publishers' buckskin pokes or tin strong boxes. As the life of an expanding community became more involved, so did the business departments of the various newspapers.

THE BOOSTER EDITION

The incentive for gain as it effected the publisher and his advertisers alike was responsible for the first notable service to the California frontier by journalism. Hence the booster edition was a distinctive business office proposition.

The booster edition originated in San Francisco as

early as 1846 and was published mainly for distribution in the East for the sole purpose of attracting colonists.

The California Star published the first booster extra, an undertaking partly financed by a three column advertisement of Brandreth's pills which began to appear in January 1848. This extra edition of 2500 copies featured California as a genuine promised land, praised its climate and soil and extolled the opportunities the new country offered to the artisan and cattle raiser. It was dated April 1, 1848 and was dispatched by a courier who was under contract to deliver the edition to Independence, Missouri, where another Mormon settlement had been established. It is impossible to determine just how many emigrants were attracted by the six columns of reader-advertisings* in this edition because an event of far greater attraction -- the discovery of gold -- had taken place earlier in the year.

GOLD

The editors of the two papers paid but slight attention to the stories which began to filter into their quiet offices regarding Marshall's discovery on January 24, 1848, several months before the booster edition of the California Star was on its way to the East. The Californian first broke the news on March 15, and the first notice of gold, written by Remble appeared in the California Star ten days later.

*Advertisements written in the form of news stories, inserted in the news column, rather than the advertising section.

The arrival of the good ship Brooklyn with its sober hardworking colonists, the founding of two newspapers, and the change in the name of the community did not at once turn the rude frontier settlement into a thriving town. The magic that really awakened the village was GOLD---FREE GOLD.*

The publicity given it by the pioneer editors, niggardly as it was eventually reached the lines of communication on the outside where it was quickly picked up and distributed to the world. California became the center of international attention and San Francisco the gateway for a horde of adventurers anxious to stake their all in a desperate effort to obtain some of the precious metal. The gold rush was largely the result of advertising and newspaper publicity.

PREVIOUS DISCOVERY

In the case of Marshall's discovery of gold at Sutter's mill the two San Francisco newspapers publicized it, reluctantly at first to be sure; but later when they realized that gold was being found in great quantities they influenced others to try their fortunes in the gold fields. The press played its part in the event which was destined to alter the course of the city, the state and the nation; and the fortunes of the publishers.

In the opinion of one chronicler of those days:

It is not without the bounds of possibility that the discovery at Sutter's mill might have

*Loose gold not in a vein, such as a nugget or flake.

proved as unimportant as an earlier find of the precious metal in Los Angeles county, made by Francisco Lopez in 1841, had not the men who made their way to California in 1846 and 1847 brought with them the means as well as the news disseminating propensity.*

DAYS OF '49

San Francisco began to grow rapidly. At the beginning of 1848 its population was 800, and speculation in town lots was rife. It is said that the American immigration which followed the raising of the American flag created a demand for real estate unknown before that event. Prior to the flag raising ceremony of July 9, 1846 there had been a total of only 112 lots granted Yerba Buena but in the succeeding months before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was officially signed 526 lots had been sold by the American alcalde.

By the middle of May 1848 the gold lust had caused the city's inhabitants to remove in such numbers that the streets of San Francisco appeared deserted, and business was at a standstill. For the time at least apparently gold-seeking had dealt a death blow to the community. But soon conditions changed; the harbor took on an air of ever increasing activity; hundreds of vessels sailed through the Golden Gate with full passenger lists; and thousands of emigrants began their perilous journey across the plains.

*Young, John P. Journalism in California, p. 2. General John Bidwell, in his Echoes of the Past about California, gives credit to Baptiste Ruelle as discoverer of gold in California in 1841.

THE METROPOLIS OF THE WEST

The period of the greatest influx was 1849; by the middle of that year more than 600 vessels had entered the bay, and in the ensuing months even a greater number arrived. It was estimated that 40,000 people came by ship, most of whom hurried away to the mines; but some remained in San Francisco to engage in their respective crafts with the result that in February 1849 the population had increased to 2000; by August it was boosted to 6000 and when winter forced the miners to return to the city, the census was about 20,000.

STEAMER EDITIONS

Besides the booster edition San Francisco newspapers originated what they named "steamer editions." The arrival and departure of ships were high moments in the port and at such times people crowded the wharf anxious to receive and send greetings. As a vessel left the common desire to get the news of the happenings in California to kinsmen and neighbors in the East was intensified; but to send such greetings and news with the crew by word of mouth was unsatisfactory and unreliable.

The alert Kemble made these desires of his fellow-townsmen articulate by having the Alta print a steamer edition, a custom to be followed by other San Francisco papers throughout the next decade. The Alta started this venture April 9, 1849 after having been forced to suspend publication for two weeks on account of paper shortage. When the Panama

left the next day, it carried with it to the Atlantic Coast a large number of the Alta California for the Steamer.

EDITORS CONVENTION

From San Francisco the center, newspapers quickly spread to other communities and publishing became an industry and profession of state-wide scope and influence. Once their journals were established as going concerns, the publishers continued to exercise their pioneering initiative and met in convention to compare notes on prices and policies. Thus in 1851 was established the "Associated Press of the State of California." The convention call appearing in nearly all newspapers continuously for several weeks and as quoted in the California Courier for July 24, 1851 states:

TO THE EDITORS, REPORTERS, AND PUBLISHERS OF THE CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPER PRESS.

Believing that a meeting of the Editors and Reporters of the California Newspaper Press might be of great advantage to ourselves and the people of California -- by interchanging and comparing opinions, reviewing better the wants of each other and every section of the State, and for adopting some rules and regulations to secure mutual advantages, and for elevating the tone and character of the press -- we, therefore, for these and many other reasons not necessary now to enumerate, ask our brethern throughout the State, engaged in the profession, to meet us in convention, in the City of San Francisco, on the 8th day of August.

The papers throughout the State will please copy.

E. Gilbert & Co.
Alta California

James M. Crane
California Courier

John Nugent
San Francisco Herald

W. A. Grover & Co.
Evening Picayune

W. W. Shepard & Co.
Morning Post

Sutherland, Rust & White
Pacific Star

G. K. Fitch & Co.
Sacramento Times &
Transcript

George Kerr
San Joaquin Republican

The convention was held on schedule and lasted five days, August 8th to August 13th, inclusive.

HOST TO EDITORS

San Francisco played host to the editors, publishers and reporters of the California press. The newspaper men met in the California Exchange and organized, making E. C. Kemble of the Alta temporary chairman and G. K. Fitch of the Sacramento Times and Transcript and A. C. Russel of the San Francisco Picayune secretaries pro tem.

When the list of newspapers published in the state was read representatives of the following journals were present, according to the report of the convention, published in an article covering twenty-three inches in the California Courier of August 27, 1851: El Dorado News, Coloma, represented by Marcus C. Boruck; Marysville Herald, Stephen C.

Masset; Sacramento Daily Union, Dr. J.F. Morse; Sonora Herald Dr.L.C.Gunn; San Diego Herald, J.Judson Ames;Alta California, E. C. Kemble and C. S. Buffum; California Courier, James M. Crane; Evening Picayune, A.C.Russel, C.S.Biden and R.E.Doyle; San Francisco Herald, A. J. Moulder, S. Flower; Morning Post, W.W. Shepard, Chas. Fernald, P.A. Brinsmade; Sunday Dispatch, F. C. Ewer; Pacific Star, Rust, Sutherland, White, Snyder.

After the convention had been organized more delegates arrived, adding to the first list: The editors of Nevada Journal, H.A.DeCourcy; Sacramento Union, H.G. Livingston; San Joaquin Republican, George Kerr; California Courier, P.P.Hull; Marine Reportorial Establishment, J. M. Ward; and the foreman of California Courier, H.S.M.Farnam; Morning Post, A.Skillman; Pacific Star, Mr. Montforth; Daily Union, Messrs. Keating and Court; Job Office, Dispatch, Messrs. Bonnard and Whitten.

The permanent officers elected were: President, Edward C. Kemble, Alta California; Vice Presidents, G.K. Fitch, Sacramento Times and Transcript; Dr. C. Gunn, Sonora Herald; Secretaries, J. Judson Ames, San Diego Herald; Sam Flower, San Francisco Herald.

The convention spent most of its time on prices for the papers themselves, for advertising and job printing and on the wage scale for printers. The Courier report read:

On motion of James M. Crane a Committee of five were appointed to prepare business for the Convention, as follows:

Dr. Gunn of the Sonora Herald, G.K.Fitch, of the Sacramento Times and Transcript, J. J. Ames of the San Diego Herald, Rich'd.Rust of the Pacific Star, A.C. Russel of the Evening Picayune.

On motion, the President was added to the Committee.

On motion of F. C. Ewer, it was resolved, that each newspaper represented and each independent job office be entitled to one vote in this Convention, -- and it was further resolved, that Messrs. Crane and Russel, be appointed a Committee to invite the proprietors of each Job Office, unconnected with a newspaper establishment, to send representatives to this Convention.

The Committee on business, through their chairman, Mr. A.C. Russel, submitted a report, which was accepted.

On motion of Mr. Moulder, the consideration of the report was postponed until tomorrow morning.

On motion of Dr. Gunn, the chair appointed a committee...to report a scale of prices for Job Work....

Messrs. Hayes, of the San Francisco Herald; J.T. Cort, of the Sacramento Daily Union; F.A. Bonnard, of the Sunday Dispatch; Williams, of the Franklin Job Office, and D. McDermut, of the Alta California.

On motion, the following gentlemen were appointed to invite the Typographical Association to meet this Convention in consultation, in relation to the prices of composition, viz: Messrs. White, Fitch and Biden.

The committee on the scale of prices of advertising, made the following report, which was accepted, and unanimously adopted:

- 1st. That a square shall be considered as 300 ems.
- 2nd. That, for any number of insertions less than six, (which is defined to be one week,) three dollars per square for the first insertion, and one dollar and fifty cents for each subsequent insertion, to the fifth insertion.
- 3rd. Weekly advertisements -- for one week per square, \$19; for two weeks, \$16; for three weeks, \$13.

4th. Advertisements monthly, or for a longer period.--For the first month, per square, \$20; for each succeeding month \$10; all standing advertisements to be considered as cell otal le monthly. (sic)

Special rates - For auctioneers, \$2 per square for the first insertion, and \$1 per square for each subsequent insertion - no discount.

All strictly political, religious or benevolent notices, and which shall be construed as notices appertaining to Fire Department Companies, Sons of Temperance, Odd Fellows, or Masonic Orders, shall be charged at one-half of the above established rates. Legal Notices when paid in advance, \$3 for the first insertion, and \$1.50 for each subsequent insertion. When not paid in advance \$3 per square. Fractions of time upon weekly or monthly advertisements shall be computed in the ratio of the weekly or monthly rates as established....

When an advertisement exceeds a square, a proportionate charge shall be made for the excess.

Mr. Fitch, Vice-President, being in the chair, Mr. Kemble, chairman of the committee appointed to confer with the Typographical Association in relation to the wages paid to printers reported that they had met this morning a committee from that association, consisting of Messrs. J. C. Hinckley, Jas. O'Meara, A. Skillman, Thos. Reed and M. J. Hartnett, empowered to bind the association, as set forth in a statement drawn up by the convention.

On motion, Mr. L. W. Sloat of the San Francisco Price Current was admitted as a member of the convention.

One motion was offered by Mr. F. C. Ewer, that none but the delegates from the City press be allowed to vote on the issue which has been raised between the San Francisco Typographical Society and the Proprietorial convention. The motion was lost by the following vote: Nine to five.

FIRST LABOR RELATIONS

The report of the committee upon the rates of

wages to be paid to Printers being taken up as special order of business, Mr. Shepard offered the following resolution:

Resolved that the scale of prices to be paid printers by the proprietors of newspapers, as reported by the committee to whom the matter was referred, be and is hereby established, to take effect from and after the second Monday of September next, and that the proprietors of newspapers give suitable bonds to sustain their rates for the period of one year from the second Monday of September, as specified. On motion, the consideration of the resolution was postponed until the afternoon session....

On motion of Mr. Crane, it was resolved, That the committee appointed to report a scale of prices for job work be discharged and that a new committee be appointed for that purpose.

The President appointed the following gentlemen: Messrs. Rust, Ewer and Flower.

The report of the committee on prices of newspapers was taken up from the table and accepted, and after amendments, the following prices were adopted:

Daily papers, when sold to subscribers at the counter, 10¢; daily papers, when sold to newsmen to be sold in the streets, or sold at the literary depots, or furnished to expressmen to be sold in the State, 5¢; daily papers delivered to regular subscribers, per week, 50¢; out of which carriers shall receive for their services, 20%; daily papers, three months subscription, \$6; semi-monthly steamer papers, 25¢ each, exclusive of postage; weekly papers, the prices to be determined by the proprietors respectively....

The minutes of the Editors' Convention were so long that it was carried over to the next day. It appeared in column five, page two, California Courier of August 28, 1851.

Prices for Job Work.

Posters --- 1-8 sheet, first hundred,	\$8.00,
each additional hundred,	3.00.
1-4 sheet, first hundred,	10.00,
each additional hundred,	4.00.
1-4 sheet, first hundred,	15.00,

- each additional hundred, 8.00.
 Whole sheet, first hundred, 20.00,
 each additional hundred, 10.00.
- Theatrical- Whole sheet, 24x36, first hundred,
 \$15; each additional hundred, \$10.
 Double sheet, first hundred, \$25; each
 additional hundred, \$15. Programmes,
 1-8 sheet, first hundred, \$8; each ad-
 ditional hundred, \$3.
- Circulars - 1-4 sheet, (letter sheet) first hun-
 dred, \$10; each additional hundred,
 \$5. 1-2 sheet (letter sheet) first
 hundred, \$12; each additional hun-
 dred, \$6. Whole sheet, (2 pages long
 primer) \$20; each additional hundred,
 \$10.
- Labels ---- Common size, about 3x1-1/2 inch, per
 1000, \$8; each additional thousand,
 \$4. Election tickets, per 1000 up to
 5000, \$10; each additional 1000 over
 5000, without change, \$5.
- Cards ----- Ordinary size business cards, first
 hundred, \$8; each additional hundred,
 \$4. Large size, 6x8, first hundred,
 \$20; each additional hundred, \$12. Ex-
 tra large, first hundred, 8x12, \$45;
 each additional hundred, \$35.
- Deeds ----- One page foolscap, per 100, \$15; each
 additional hundred, \$8. Over two im-
 pressions, first hundred, \$25; each
 additional one hundred, \$12, or one
 ream \$40.
- Catalogues- Four pages, book form, octavo, per
 hundred, \$30; each additional page,
 do., \$7. Title pages and blank pages
 to be charged at the same rates, ac-
 cording to custom.
- Checks ---- First ream, \$60; each subsequent
 ream, \$40. Half ream, \$40.
- Bill-Heads- First ream, \$35; each subsequent
 ream, \$25. Half ream, \$25.
- Receipts -- Five on sheet, first thousand, \$30;
 each subsequent thousand, \$15. Press
 work on engravings, per token, \$8.

"Book Work" Each thousand ems, \$4; each token press work, \$4.

"Newspaper Work" Each thousand ems, \$4; each token press work, \$4.

"Color Work" For each additional color, 50 per cent above the price for work in black.

"Bronze Work" Double the price of black.

On motion of Mr. Shepard, it was resolved, "That this convention resolve itself into an associated body, under the style and denomination of 'The Associated Press of the State of California,' that our annual meeting take place on the 8th day of August, 1852; at such place as the President shall direct, and that the present officers of this convention remain as the officers of this body for one year from the said 8th day of August, 1851.

PRINTER'S WAGE SCALE FIGHT

When the printers had returned from the gold mines the rate of pay became that of the prevailing wage in the gold fields of \$16 a day or eight thousand ems at \$2 per thousand ems. In 1850 with more printers arriving in the city this was reduced to \$1.50 per thousand ems. This reduction made the compositors form a society which became the nucleus of the Pacific Typographical Society. The union rate in New York at the time when San Francisco paid \$1.50, was 32 cents per thousand ems.

The story of the controversy that took place between the publishers and the printers was aired in a long statement in the Alta California of October 28, 1851. Although this is a onesided statement it throws light on a labor issue in the 1850s taking place in the field of the newspapers. A

few excerpts follow:

The late action of the proprietors of this newspaper, in exercising the right of controlling their own business in their own way, having created some degree of interest among industrial classes, and led to considerable discussion, we shall make a succinct statement of our connection with and the conduct of the Pacific Typographical Society.

The proprietors of this journal gave employment to the first printers ever employed in San Francisco. The prices paid were in accordance with the rates of other labor, and arose in a corresponding ratio with everything else, under the impetus given to all industry by the discovery of gold; the printers themselves, like other mechanics, fixing the rates at which they worked.

The rates then became the afore-mentioned but the printers according to the Alta demanded "\$1.25 for every hour which they stood idle when engaged on piecework."

The publisher of the paper after repeated controversies laid off its crew and advertised for printers not asking for Typographical Association rates but, as none reported, rehired their former employes the same evening.

The Alta, representing its side of the controversy, closed its statement to the public with these words:

We bore their tyranny as long as it could be borne, and until we could free ourselves from it. Their own conduct forced us to discharge them and employ others who, while receiving the same compensation as their predecessors received, are willing that we shall have some voice in the management of our own business, and who are disposed to be governed by the rules of justice and a firm regard for the rights of others. In making this change we conceive that we have exercised a right inherent in everyman to employ whom he chooses in the prosecution of his business. The men whom we have dismissed from their places, have made a strenuous effort to prejudice this paper in the estimation of

the craft and of the public, by misrepresentation and abuse. Having paid them for their services at the rates and under regulations fixed by themselves, we can afford to let them take their own course. We are at last independent of them and shall endeavor to remain so.

The editors convention, which met at the height of this controversy, appointed a committee to confer with the Typographical Association. According to the reports of the convention published in the California Courier August 27, 1851 Kemble of the Alta was the chairman and the scale adopted by the convention was as follows:

For composition on the morning papers, each 1000 ems, \$1.50; evening papers, \$1.25; morning papers, per week, \$60; evening papers, \$50; job hands, \$50; hand pressman, each token, \$1.50. Foremen for morning newspaper offices, per week, not less than \$80; evening papers, per week, not less than \$65; job offices per week, \$60.

At the time of the controversy, the Alta California, according to Kemble, was making an estimated \$15,000 a week.

FIRE PREVENTION CAMPAIGN

A series of disastrous fires between 1849 and 1851, threatened the very existence of the city and finally resulted in a united campaign by the newspapers and business interests to remedy the conditions responsible.

Six conflagrations in two years had destroyed over 2000 buildings and \$20,000,000 worth of property.

A new city charter came up for consideration, the building program was changed, ordinances were passed curtailing the erection of firetraps, and fire-fighting equipment was established. There was no slack in real estate; San Francisco

building sites were selling by auction with 122 lots between Clay and Sacramento, Davis and East streets going under the block for a total of \$1,193,750.

The alacrity with which San Francisco sprang forth again and again from her ashes and desolation was fittingly commemorated by the city's common council, when in 1852 it adopted as the design for its corporation seal "a phoenix rising from the flames in front of the Golden Gate, with emblems of commerce on each side and the words 'Seal of the City of San Francisco' around the margin." The Phoenix may indeed be deemed a fit emblem for the marvelous rebuilding of San Francisco.....*

The following news story appeared in column one, page one, of the San Francisco Herald, January 4, 1855:

PROPERTY DESTROYED BY FIRE DURING 1854

The following table shows the number of fires, together with the total value of property destroyed by fire in San Francisco during the past year. As will be seen, there were sixty-two fires--destroying property amounting in the aggregate to three hundred and eighty-six thousand eight hundred and ninety-five dollars. The bulk of this may be divided between the three great fires of the year, viz: The fire of May 31,... During the year the Fire Department has been called out, on an average of three times in each week, and in a majority of instances alarms have occurred during the hours of night.

JANUARY. The alarm at 7 o'clock, P.M., pile of shavings, Montgomery street, rear Bush8th, alarm at 4-1/2 o'clock, P. M., an unoccupied building on Broadway, below Stockton Street; no damage except by water....10th, alarm at 5 o'clock, P.M., chimney....13th, fire, 9 o'clock P. M.. camphene lamp in front of Clayton's Saloon....

Thus each month of the year is taken individually,

*Hunt, Rockwell D., California the Golden, pp. 262, 263.

EARLY SAN FRANCISCO NEWSPAPERS

These newspapers were published in the city of San Francisco from 1835 to 1846. They were the first newspapers published in the city and were very popular. They were published by the following persons: [illegible names]

These newspapers were published in the city of San Francisco from 1835 to 1846. They were the first newspapers published in the city and were very popular. They were published by the following persons: [illegible names]

THE SAN FRANCISCO

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco



W. W. POSTER & CO. SAN FRANCISCO, SUNDAY, MAY 25, 1856.

SCHOOL BOOKS.
Story Carter's Book and Stationery Co.
LITERATURE,
LAW,
MATHS,
PHYSICS,
CHEMISTRY,
AGRICULTURE,
MUSIC,
DRAWING,
NAVIGATION,
MILITARY,
NAVAL,
AND
GENERAL KNOWLEDGE.

THE ARCADE.
My name was never so big as now.
I have been called the "big man"
of the street, and I am proud of it.

My name was never so big as now.
I have been called the "big man"
of the street, and I am proud of it.

My name was never so big as now.
I have been called the "big man"
of the street, and I am proud of it.

My name was never so big as now.
I have been called the "big man"
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My name was never so big as now.
I have been called the "big man"
of the street, and I am proud of it.

Daily Alta California.
VOL. VIII.
SAN FRANCISCO, SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 30, 1851.
NO. 4153.

Daily Alta California.

Miscellaneous.
FIREWORKS.
PUBLISHED BY W. W. POSTER & CO.

Daily Morning Call.

VOLUME XLIII.
SAN FRANCISCO, THURSDAY MORNING, JANUARY 7, 1873.
THE FISH COMMITTEE.
THE LICE COMPROMISE.

THE SAN FRANCISCO DAILY HERALD.

SAN FRANCISCO, MONDAY MORNING, JANUARY 3, 1853.
MISCELLANEOUS.
MISCELLANEOUS.
MISCELLANEOUS.
MISCELLANEOUS.
MISCELLANEOUS.
MISCELLANEOUS.

CALIFORNIA DAILY COURIER.

JAMES M. CRANE, Proprietor.
SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1851.
VOLUME I. NUMBER 1.
THE CALIFORNIA COURIER.
BUSINESS DIRECTORY.
EXPRESSES.
BANKING AND INSURANCE.

THE DAILY Dramatic Chronicle

Distributed Gratuitously. A DAILY RECORD OF AFFAIRS—LOCAL, CRITICAL AND THEATRICAL.
Volume IV. SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, TUESDAY, JULY 17, 1866.
Metropolitan Theater. OLYMPIC THEATER. WARD...

C. C. KEENE, Manufacturer, No. 100 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.
Metropolitan Theater. OLYMPIC THEATER. WARD...
N. E. CORNER CLAY AND KEARNEY STREETS. SHIRTS.

and the fires listed. October had but one fire, while July and August seem to have had the majority.

THE CITY'S GROWTH

San Francisco's remarkable growth, largely the result of financial excesses, never ceased. It was a man's town. By 1855 its nondescript buildings of the early days had been replaced by stone. The Daily Herald of January 1, 1855 ran the following editorial in column one page two, referring to the city's progress:

We would call the special attention of our readers to an article on the first page, showing the number of Brick Buildings in every block in the city, their size and valuation. From that it will be seen the whole number in the city is 638, which at a valuation based upon the present low prices of materials and labor, are worth \$13,618,750. The article will be found worthy of close examination, and may be relied upon as strictly correct.

The front page news story referred to in this editorial follows verbatim:

BRICK AND STONE BUILDINGS IN SAN FRANCISCO

CAPITAL INVESTED IN PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS

We give below a carefully arranged table showing the whole number of brick buildings and their estimated value on each block in the city. It is believed that every brick and stone building within the City limits is enumerated. In the table prepared for the Herald one year ago the various so-called Blocks (Montgomery Block, for instance,) were divided into stores, each of which was set down as a separate building. The present arrangement includes all as one building, unless there is a distinguishing separation. This will account for any discrepancy that may appear to those comparing the two tables. The corner buildings are only counted

twice. The valuation is as near the correct amount as it is possible to attain. In most instances the proprietors were consulted; and in others, the books of the City Assessors; while many have been valued according to size, height, etc., on a basis furnished by a well-known architect of this City. A large amount of the capital invested in improvements of this character is owned by foreigners. The New Merchant's Exchange building is the property of Jardine, Matheson & Co., of China, a well-known English firm. It cost \$100,000 and is one of the many instances of confidence in our prosperity exhibited by capitalists abroad. The following is the table referred to:

VALUATION OF THE PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS:

Montgomery Block.....	\$200,000
Metropolitan Theatre and Block.....	150,000
Dr. Wright's Banking House.....	120,000
Custom House Block.....	120,000
City Hall.....	110,000
North Point Dock Warehouse.....	100,000
Whipple's Building, (Commercial street),.....	100,000
Merchants' Exchange.....	100,000
California Block.....	100,000
Express Building.....	80,000
Armory Hall.....	75,000
International Hotel.....	75,000
Dr. Scott's Church.....	60,000
Moore, Folger & Dow's Block, (California street)..	60,000
Thayer's Building, (Montgomery street,).....	60,000
Parrott's Building.....	60,000
Maynard's Row.....	50,000
Howard & Wells' Building.....	50,000
New American Theatre.....	50,000
Le Count & Strong's Building.....	50,000
Vandever House.....	50,000
Captain Patterson's Block.....	50,000
Palmer, Cook & Co.'s Block, (Merchant street,)....	50,000
Palmer, Cook & Co.'s Block, (Clay street,).....	48,000
New Orleans Warehouses.....	48,000
St Mary's Cathedral.....	48,000
Smiley, Yerkes & Co.'s Building.....	45,000
Sansome Block.....	45,000
Virginia Block.....	45,000
Lucas, Turner & Co.'s Banking House.....	40,000
New Building corner of California and Montgomery..	40,000
Empire Block.....	40,000
Alsop & Co.'s Building.....	40,000
Union street Bonded Warehouse.....	40,000

Cunningham's Block.....	40,000
Union Hotel.....	40,000
B. Davidson's Building.....	40,000
Austin & Co.'s Building.....	40,000
Union Street School House.....	40,000
North Beach School House.....	36,000
Sherman's Building.....	36,000
Gamage & Mac Crellish's Building.....	36,000
T. K. Battelle's Building.....	32,000
C. Bauer's Building.....	30,000
St. Nicholas Hotel.....	30,000
Abel Guy's Building.....	30,000
Hutton & Co.'s Building.....	30,000
Rankin & Co.'s Building.....	30,000
Flint's Warehouse.....	30,000
J. J. Chauviteau's Building.....	30,000
J. H. Shelby's Building.....	30,000
Grogan & Lent's Building.....	30,000
Wilson's Exchange.....	30,000
Truett & Truett's Building.....	30,000
Court Block.....	30,000
Congregational Church.....	30,000
Unitarian Church.....	30,000
McAllister's Building.....	30,000
Parson's Building.....	30,000

(Then follows an individual listing of ALL the streets)

Thus:

Mason street - between	Stories High				No. of Buildings	Value
	1	2	3	4		
Broadway and Vallejo	-	1	1	-	2	\$20,000
Filbert and Greenwich	-	2	-	-	1	8,000
Lombard and Chestnut	1	-	-	-	1	7,000
Total	1	3	1	-	4	\$35,000

(This individual listing occupies 27 inches.)

It is estimated that one hundred of the above have been built during the past year, although that number may seem large to those not conversant with the facts. The valuation of property, it will be seen, is largely upon Montgomery street. Of this, Mr. Samuel Brannan owns \$235,700.

The improvements in the outskirts are generally residences, built in a cheap but durable style. The buildings erected in the business portion of the city are heavy, substantial, commodious, and perfectly fire-proof--many of them are also

richly ornamented. Battery street has more separate buildings than any other in the city, although their value is by no means as great as that of the buildings on many other streets....

Many of the buildings, valued in the foregoing, COST THREE TIMES THE AMOUNT SET DOWN. An allowance has been made for the depreciation value of bricks, timber cement, labor etc., since their construction, the idea being solely to get at the amount of capital invested in brick and stone buildings at the present time. The necessity of constructing perfectly fireproof houses seems to have ceased. All remember the easy conquest of iron fronts by the disastrous conflagration which occurred in May 1851, and the horrible fate of the parties in the building, then standing on the northwest corner of Sacramento and Montgomery streets. When the rebuilding commenced "iron plate" fronts were discarded. Within the past year, however, it would seem that the confidence placed in the Fire Department has again brought the use of open doorways and iron fronts for first stories into requisition.

The extension of limits in which no wooden buildings shall be erected after a certain period, would prove beneficial to the citizens at large. The present limits are Pacific, Dupont, Pine and Front streets, including of course, one side of those streets.

WAGES

Listed in the California Chronicle of January 4, 1856 are the following prices for labor which are representative of the low cost mentioned editorially:

Blacksmiths	‡ 5.00	per day
Machinists	5.00	per day
Boilermakers	6.00	per day
Jewelers	4.00	per day
Lapidaries	6.00	per day
Carriage-makers	4.00 and 5.00	per day

Stone Masons	\$ 5.00	per day
Bricklayers	5.00 and 7.00	per day
Stevedores	6.00	per day
Musicians	16.00	per day
House painters	5.00	per day
Printers	1.00	per 1000 ems
Woodchoppers	35.00 to 40.00	per month
Farmers	35.00 to 40.00	per month
Clerks	40.00 to 150.00	per month
Seamstresses	30.00 to 40.00	per month
Engineers	210.00	per month
Servant girls	25.00 to 40.00	per month
Seamen	25.00 to 30.00	per month
Clerks in govern- ment offices	150.00 to 250.00	per month

BUSINESS CONDITIONS: 1850-1859

Business throughout the fifties was uncertain, despite the huge production of gold and a plentiful supply of money.

Before the close of 1848 the gold yield of California had reached \$10,000.00. The next year -- the famous '49-- it was four times as great, and in 1853 it reached the enormous amount of \$65,000.000.*

Much of the business was transacted on a gold basis, and the precious metal was commonly used as the medium of exchange. Good wages prevailed, prices were high, and there

*Hunt, Rockwell D. California the Golden, p. 198.

was no shortage of specie as indicated by the following editorial from the California Courier of June 20, 1851:

THREE CENT PIECES: Adams & Co., yesterday evening sent us a small package of the new silver coin of the denomination of three cents. They are beautiful pieces, and we hope their coinage will have the effect to drive all copper coin out of currency. In this country, however, they are of little consequence, as no article, however trifling, sells for less than a dime.

Local conditions naturally brought about spasms of unrest. The city was an infant, the state was barely organized, government was untried and the lawless elements were active. In 1853 a slump began in San Francisco real estate as a result of both land frauds and the juggling of city property by corrupt officials but it was only temporary. The general trend was largely a reflection of business in the East, curtailment of credit and poor banking facilities. In the Wide West of July 30, 1854 a long editorial bewailed the stagnant condition of immigration and urged California capitalists to establish a newspaper in some of the Atlantic coast cities and devote itself to boosting California as a place to settle. Wide West declared emigrants were needed as business was slumping rapidly and Easterners had been handed such exaggerated statements about the state that they shied from it. The editor concluded his "bad business" tirade with this revelation:

In the East one merchant will ship goods on consignment to California unsolicited, while his next door neighbor will refuse credit to the most careful and responsible merchants of the State.

On the same page the newspaper carried this prosperity note:

A writer on the Boston Journal estimates that if the whole product of California were in silver dollars, it would take thirteen years to count them, counting twelve hours every day in the year, and counting sixty dollars every minute. The total amount received at the mint from California, prior to December 1, 1853, is \$204,000,000.

The year 1855 was a good period for San Francisco. California was producing gold on a great scale, many clipper ships had been built to handle the increasing amount of commerce, builders were rapidly closing up the gaps in the downtown area, and general municipal improvements were widespread. That a boom was in full swing is evident from the fact that women, traditionally cautious were beginning to enter the field of commercial activities. The following "Legal Notice," appearing in the Daily Herald of January 20, 1855 is self-explanatory:

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, that I, MARY WILSON, wife of William Wilson of the City and county of San Francisco, hereby declare that it is my intention, from and after this date, to avail myself of the benefit of the act, entitled "An Act to Authorize Married Women to Transact Business in Their Own Name As Sole Traders," that the business intended to be carried on by me is the Retail Drug Goods Business, and that I will be individually responsible for all debts contracted by me on account of said business, and that the amount invested in said business does not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars.

MARY WILSON, her X Mark.

Witness: Thompson Holmes,
San Francisco, this 5th day of January,
1855.

Trade associations during this period came to the fore and began to function under common rules and regulations for the benefit of their respective members. The Daily Herald of June 27, 1855 published the following notice:

We, the undersigned, Butchers, Dealers in Vegetables, and Fish, and in Provisions, in the WASHINGTON, PACIFIC, NEW WORLD and CLAY STREETS MARKETS, in the City of San Francisco, believing that our comfort and convenience, and that of our customers, will be prompted thereby, hereby agree, that after the FOURTH DAY OF JULY, 1855, we will abstain from carrying on the business in which we are respectively engaged at the above mentioned Markets, on SUNDAYS; that the doors of said Markets shall be closed on that day, and that no business of any kind shall be carried on in said Markets, or upon the premises connected therewith. It is further agreed, that the doors of said Markets, which are now closed on Saturday nights at 6 o'clock P. M., shall be open on those nights until 12 o'clock, and the business in said Markets carried on as usual until that hour.

(Then followed a two column list of names of the dealers, totaling seventy-four in all.)

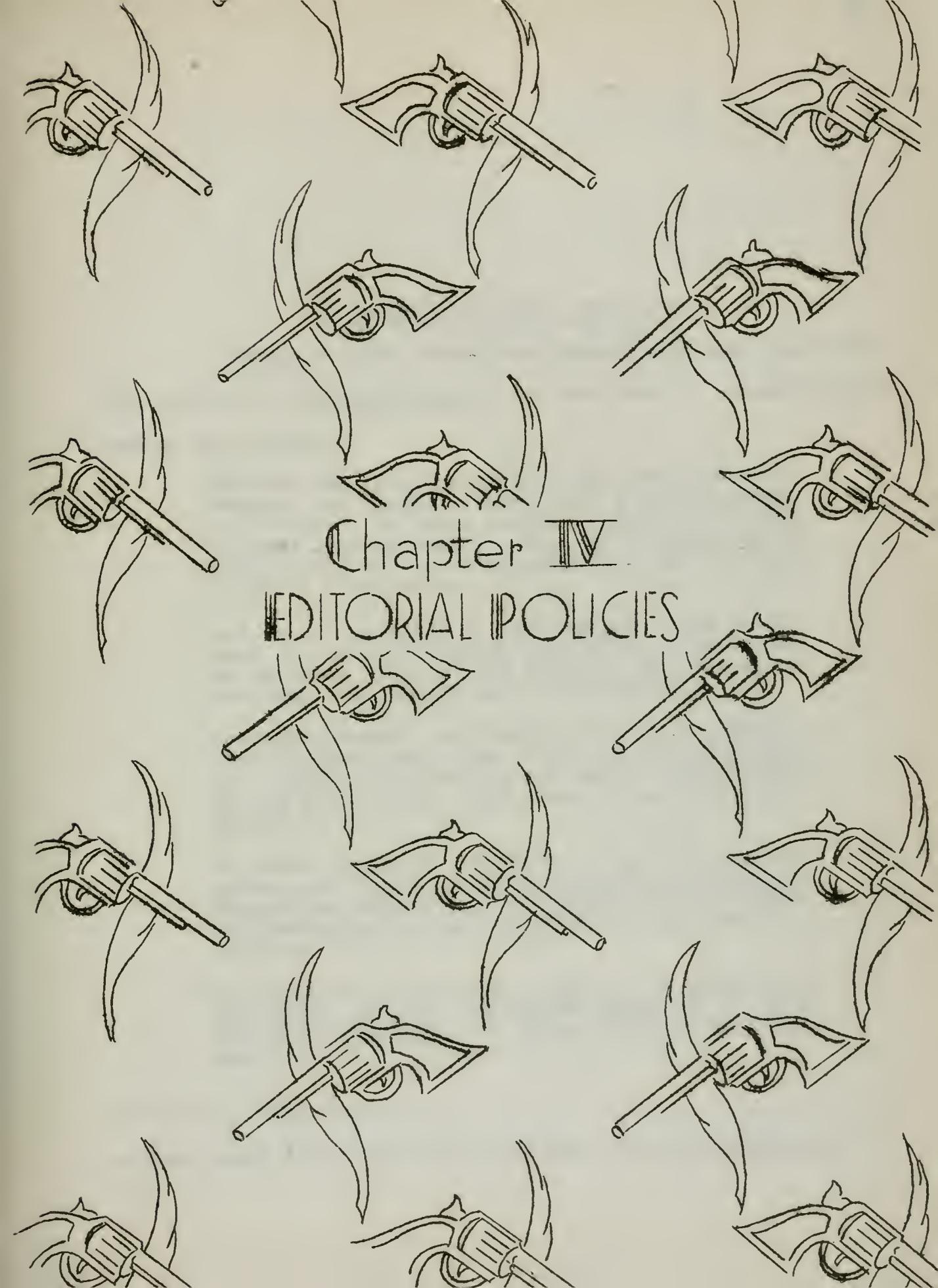
AN EARLY PANIC

In November 1857 word was received by clipper ship of the financial panic in the east. Three or four banks closed their doors at once, and some other financial houses followed suit. San Francisco business was at a standstill for months. In common with other local newspapers, the Wide West soft-peddled the depression in the city and state but "played-up" the reports from the East. Under the heading "Retrenchment" in the issue of January 3, 1858, without a date line but evidently meaning New York City, it stated:

The prevalent crisis in the East seems to have attracted general attention to the necessity of saving the pennies. Attacks on female extravagance has already caused a serious diminution in receipts of various dry goods stores, and the no less merited strictures on their part to regulate boarding house provender, that certain respectable old ladies, whose customers had been in the habit of lunching out, declared in communications to newspapers that if the present condition continues they will be compelled to raise the price of board. Of course the usual abundant published statistics has taken place of Franklin* statistics, relating how much might be saved in the aggregate by drinking one cup of coffee in the morning instead of two, and using one in lieu of double spoonfuls of sugar, (substituting brown for white,) as well as abstaining from useless buttons now adorning backs of dresses and frock coats where the waist joins the skirt. It is not a little singular though a very gratifying concomitant of the "crisis," that the business of liquor saloons has materially fallen off during the prevalence. The New York Times which published extended statistics in relation to the panic, says in this connection:

From information furnished by keepers of liquor and oyster saloons in Broadway and other principal thoroughfares, we find the panic made serious inroads in the treasuries of all those popular places of resort. Oysters, whether on half-shell or otherwise are seldom asked for. People have suddenly dispensed with cigars -- inveterate toppers have come down to six penny drinks, and the brandy bottle, at ten cents a glass, is rarely called for. Trade generally is reported cut by one-third.

*Refers to "Poor Richard's Almanac"



Chapter IV
EDITORIAL POLICIES

PROSPECTUS OF FIRST NEWSPAPER

Early in 1847 Colton and Semple had high hopes for the future of The Californian and published a second prospectus as follows:

This is the first paper ever published in California, and though issued upon a small sheet, is intended it shall contain matter that will be read with interest. The principles which will govern us in conducting it, can be set forth in a few words.

we* shall maintain an entire and utter severance of all political connexion with Mexico we renounce at once and forever all fealty to her laws, all obedience to her mandates.

we shall advocate an oblivion of all past political offences and allow every man the privilege of entering this new era of events unembarrassed by any part he may have taken in previous revolutions.

we shall maintain freedom of speech and the press, and those great principles of religious toleration, which allows every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

we shall advocate such a system of public instruction as will bring the means of a good practical education to every child in California.

* There were no capital W's available, as noted previously.

we shall urge the immediate establishment of a well organized government and a universal obedience to its laws.

we shall encourage immigration, and take special pains to point out to agricultural immigrants those sections of unoccupied land, where the fertility of the soil will most amply repay the labors of the husbandman.

we shall encourage domestic manufactures and the mechanic arts as sources of private wealth, individual comfort and indispensable to the public prosperity.

we shall urge the organization of interior defences sufficient to protect the property of Citizens from the depredations of the wild indians.

we shall advocate a territorial relation of California to the United States, till the number of the inhabitants is such that she can be admitted a member of that glorious confederacy.

we shall support the present measures of the commander in chief of the American squadorn (sic) on our coast, so far as they conduce to the public tranquility, the organization of a free representative government and our alliance with the United States.

we shall advocate the lowest rate of duties on foreign imports, and favor an exemption of the necessities of life, even from these duties.

we shall go for California--for all her interests, social, civil and religious--encouraging everything that promotes these, resisting everything that can do them harm.

This press shall be free and independent; un-
awed by power and untrammelled by party. The
use of its columns shall be denied to none,
who have suggestions to make promotive of the
public wealth.

we shall lay before our readers the freshest
domestic intelligence and the earliest foreign
news.

The Californian has been published upwards of six months; contrary to our expectation, it has about paid its own expenses.

we are daily expecting our new materials, when the paper will be enlarged to about double its present size. It is to be hoped that the increasing population, the establishment of the government at Monterey will increase our subscription list, so as to justify the extra expense of enlarging the paper.

Our thanks are tendered to our patrons and friends for past favours and we hope that our future efforts will meet with a continuance of their confidence.

THE STAR

The California Star's first issue contained an editorial full of promises to serve the public faithfully. It declared itself to be devoted to the liberties and interests of the people of California. It urged the importance of public education and editorially pledged \$50.00 and a lot for the establishment of a school. As early as January 30, 1847 it became prophetic and stated: "Yerba Buena is rapidly improving, destined to be the Liverpool or the New York of the Pacific." The Star intimated that it would not indulge in sectarian discussion.

The paper had a sentimental affection for the Spanish name of the village and even after the name Yerba Buena had been officially changed to San Francisco on January 30, 1847 and so announced in the Star, it did not make the mast-head change until the issue of March 20.

"A DIRTY LITTLE PAPER"

Early in 1847 the editors of the Star and The Californian began to attack each other, setting a precedent and establishing a practice which was to be followed by their successors throughout the next decade and culminating in duels and murder. The Californian being jealous of the new arrival, made statements which were not flattering to the Star, and the Star returned the verbal attacks by referring to the proprietors of the older journal as "lick spittles" who published "a dirty little paper." Regarding its own merits it stated on June 21, 1847 that the Star "is the only independent paper of a respectable size and typographical appearance now established in the whole of the Pacific Coast from the boundary of Mexico to the frozen regions of the north."

These verbal personal attacks were preceded by a controversy on the part of the two papers in September about Alcalde George Hyde who was charged with graft. When the Star appeared on the scene it received a compliment for its appearance by the Monterey rival, praise that went unrecognized and was not returned by the lusty journalistic infant of Yerba Buena.

THE CALIFORNIAN

The Californian had for its motto: "Measure not men!" From the first issue its editorials were of a patriotic and political nature, urging that a convention be called to

adopt a constitution and elect a delegate to go to Washington, D. C., for the purpose of getting recognition and representation in Congress. It also advocated that a mail route be established through the country.

Later an editorial appeared concerning the paper's moving from Monterey to the "Bay of San Francisco on which we are laying a town." The chief measure the new paper seemed to promote was the building up of the rival city of Benicia, in which the editor was interested. He was known also to be too subservient to the military authorities.

During the gold rush when hard pressed for workers the Californian issued a slip on June 2, 1848 which contained two columns of news on the treaty with Mexico, Fremont's trial and a few minor items, two advertisements and the following editorial:

For the purpose of convincing what there is left of the public that the Californian is not extinct not yet altogether used up, we, in our triple character of editor, printer, and devil, have compiled, set up, worked off and circulated this extra, which we hope will do our readers much good; for it would probably very much perplex his Satanic Majesty to tell at what precise period they will hear from us again.

DELIVERY BY MAIL

The editor of the Californian realizing the need for getting his paper distributed to distant points advocated service for delivering mail. In the March 15, 1848 issue the editor offered \$100 to head a subscription for a regular weekly mail service for letters and newspapers. The route

was to connect Sutter's Fort with San Diego via Brazoria.* Montezuma,** Bonicia, Napa Valley, Sonoma, San Francisco, San Jose, Monterey, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles and San Diego. In offering his donation the editor stipulated that the "mail be free for conveying letters and newspapers" between the points mentioned. He urged businessmen in San Francisco and other points to join him in establishing a weekly mail service.

SLAVERY ISSUE

In 1848 the slavery issue arose. California was more sympathetic toward the slaveholders than any free state in the Union. It was filled with men who sympathized with the South. Many writers expressed their approval of the Fugitive Slave Act. Yet slavery was rigorously excluded from California. On March 15, 1848 the Californian delivered an editorial blast against a move in Congress to organize California into a slave-holding territory. It follows in part:

SLAVERY IN CALIFORNIA. We have recently heard it intimated that an effort would be made in the United States Congress to introduce California into the American Union as a slaveholding territory. We do not believe that such should be the case; and we cannot think that a slavery institution will unceremoniously be transferred to our soil by the people who profess to be friends of California. We have not heard one among our acquaintances in this country advocate the measure, and we are almost certain that ninety-hundredths of the present population are opposed to it. We entertain several reasons why slavery should not be introduced here....

* Old name for Sacramento.

**A site on the Sacramento Rivor near Suisun.

The editor then enumerates nine reasons why slavery should not be allowed in California, the principal one being: "It is wrong for it to exist anywhere:"

A FADE OUT

When the older paper had to cease publication because of the exodus occasioned by the gold rush, the Star of June 3, 1848 announced its suspension in this fashion:

Gone too....The Californian ceased issue with an announcement slip on Tuesday last....Verdict of inquest--fever.

It was not long after this "verdict" that the papers united under one ownership and one banner. The Star and Californian, issued on November 18, 1848 was, during its brief existence, an ardent advocate of immediate plans for a civil organization throughout the territory.

ALTA CALIFORNIA

A few weeks later when the Alta California became the new name of the paper it continued an intensified drive for civil organizations among the many new arrivals in the territory. Kemble expressed the hope that these organizations would be "the forerunner of a new State." ...As to the Alta's relation with its clients, Kemble said:

It would be difficult to conceive of closer knit sympathies between the public and a newspaper than those enjoyed by the Alta California in 1849.

The first issue of the Alta of January 4, 1849 stated in its editorial:

The unenviable position which this sheet at present occupies of being the only paper printed in California renders it imperatively necessary that it should be independent and fair.

The editorial continued that it behooved the publishers "to see that it rises above all time serving, expedient, available and personal considerations and look alone to the best interests and good of the greatest number."

Though its publishers were Democratic, the paper was said by Kemble to have remained true to its independent convictions. The journal not only entered actively into the work of forming a provisional government but also pushed the reform of municipal matters in San Francisco.

PREPARATION FOR STATEHOOD

Under the chairmanship of Robert Semple, one of the founders of The Californian, a constitutional convention assembled in Monterey on September 3, 1849. In his opening address he stated:

We are now, fellow citizens, occupying a position to which all eyes are turned.... It is to be hoped that every feeling of harmony will be cherished to the utmost in this convention. By this course, fellow citizens, I am satisfied that we can prove to the world California has not been settled by unintelligent and unlettered men....Let us then go forward and upward, and let our motto be "Justice, Industry and Economy."*

When the constitution had been completed and the convention came to a close Saturday, October 13, 1849 the Alta California reported:

* Hunt, Rockwell D. California the Golden pp. 230, 231.

At a few minutes past three, preliminary matters having been disposed of, the delegates commenced the signing. Scarcely had the first man touched his pen to the paper when the loud booming of cannon resounded through the hall. At the same moment the flag of the different Head Quarters, and on board the shipping in the port, were slowly unfurled and run up. As the firing of the national salute of thirty-one guns proceeded at the fort, and the signing of the constitution went on at the hall, the captain of an English bark then in port paid a most beautiful and befitting compliment to the occasion and the country by hoisting at his main the American flag above those of every other nation, making, at the moment the thirty-first gun was fired, a line of colors from the main truck to the vessel's deck. And when, at last, the thirty-first gun came--the FIRST GUN FOR CALIFORNIA!--three as hearty and patriotic cheers as ever broke from human lips were given by the Convention for the New State.

The Alta refused to bow too deeply or to be too slavishly dependent on military authorities who at times due to the long distance from Washington were apt to take authority unto themselves not in conformity with the best American traditions.

One such attempt was made by General Persifer F. Smith of the U. S. Army who endeavored to take the honors away from San Francisco by establishing the headquarters of the United States Army at Benicia, and discrediting San Francisco as in no way fitted for military and commercial purposes. The Alta led the successful campaign to retain San Francisco as army headquarters.

CALIFORNIA ADMITTED TO THE UNION

Outstanding as news of 1850 was California's admission into the Union. Through the Golden Gate on October 18,

came the steamer Oregon bearing official notification from Washington. The news spread throughout the city and with a wave of emotion the people set aside their daily tasks to gather at Portsmouth Square. The Alta of October 19 chronicles the event in these words:

We have never seen so general and joyous excitement, nor anything comparable with it. The beautiful steamer came gallantly into the harbor gracefully decorated and telling the importance of the news she brought by continued cannonading. At once the American flag went up from every possible place in the city...every one had swung around and every voice was brought into requisition, to welcome the first public flag ever raised in honor of the Thirty-first State of the Union.

The rejoicing of the Alta was caused by something else than patriotism. It was an editorial victory over some of its competitors.

"A WESTERN REPUBLIC"

Previous to the arrival of the Oregon -- flying a banner inscribed "California is a State" -- certain newspapers due partly to the delay of Congress in giving the sanction of statehood to the new territory sponsored the idea that California with her newly discovered resources should become independent of the Federal government. The fledgling Evening Picayune editorially stated in 1850:

No people can lay under the uncompensated exactions which have, for two years past, been forced upon us; and the people are with great plausibility, familiarizing their minds with the idea, long entertained and boldly promulgated before the close of the Mexican War, by those

now in places of executive power and legislative influence at Washington that united with Oregon, and with the inevitable extension of our influence on either hand of us, we may build up here a great western Republic, independent of the world beside. If this idea is treasonable or revolutionary, it is forced upon the minds of our people, by the necessities in which Congress has presumed upon the right to leave us.*

The Pacific News in an August 1850 issue voiced the same sentiments with more of an economic emphasis:

Suppose California should form an independent government--and we trust our New York contemporary will discern no "treason" in the bare supposition -- what a spectacle she would present! We would indeed be a nation "born in a day," the wonder and admiration of the world. Through her mineral resources California would become the richest nation on the face of the globe -- the grand attractive circle upon which all eyes would be pointed as if by enchantment. Her institutions would become permanent, the government strong and lasting, impregnable in its own defense and faithful to freedom and equality. We should collect and expend our own revenues without a distant power sending us in officers to perform that pleasing duty and locking up, at five per cent a month, an amount of treasure sufficient to pay off our indebtedness.**

LAWLESSNESS

Even before the gold rush San Francisco suffered from lawlessness. As early as March 27, 1847 the California Star said editorially:

Some contend that there are really no laws in force here, but the divine law and the law of nature; while others are of the opinion that there are laws in force here if they could only be found.

The city was a melting pot for all classes and races: English, French, German and Italian as well as Moors,

*Coy, Owen Cochran, Gold Days, p. 308.

**Ibid. p. 309.

Turks, Albanians, Chinese, Chilenos, Kanakas, Arabs, Hindus, Russians, Mexicans and Spaniards, creating a melting pot of fierce social differences and sentiment. Naturally these various elements banded into groups for their mutual protection and the promotion of their common interests for good and evil alike. It was the beginning of gangsterism and quickly developed into organized crime.

"THE HOUNDS"

One band of ruffians known as the "Hounds" or "Regulators", operating on the principle that the city owed them a living, terrorized the citizens as early as 1849. They openly boasted of their power and their crimes, and paraded brazenly through the streets, intimidating the people with threats and violence. Little was done to quell this bold gang and their crimes grew more numerous and more degraded; but yet the gullible public remained inactive and tolerated the looting of their stores. The gang continued to take advantage of the situation and considered their operations better and more lucrative than mining for gold. There was no police force; the laws were bad and the public officials were dishonest and weak. In short, San Francisco was wide-open to exploitation.

Eventually Samuel Brannan and other leaders of the community took it upon their shoulders to organize a force to combat the evil-doers. They went to work swiftly and thoroughly, rounded up a score of gangsters and placed them under arrest. But ebb in the crime wave was only temporary, and soon

San Francisco was again over-run with hoodlums. Graft and negligence of duty continued and flourished in the civil administration and in the courts. Local affairs were relegated to the background in the face of state and national problems which seemed to be more pressing.

FIRST VIGILANCE COMMITTEE

Finally the pollution began to stink and something had to be done. What effectiveness the good people lacked in their treatment of the "Hounds" they now made up for in the organization of the first Committee of Vigilance -- June 10, 1851, recruiting about two hundred well-known business men.

The Vigilantes began to function at once. On the first evening of their founding the tocsin sounded, calling them to sit in on the trial of John Jenkins who had been apprehended while housebreaking and taken to the Vigilance headquarters.

In one hour Jenkins had been tried for his offense; in two hours, at the stroke of midnight, he was pronounced guilty of murder and sentenced to be hung. Two hours later a solemn procession marched to Portsmouth Square, where the condemned man-- an ex-convict from Sydney -- in the presence of a thousand grim but approving witnesses, expiated his crime by death.*

This was a bold and effectual stroke and it met with the approval of hundreds of San Franciscans who clamored to get their names on the rolls of the committee.

The Alta California, always outspoken in its criticism (on the other hand often voicing condonement,) was quick

*Hunt, Rockwell D. California the Golden, p. 270.

to report the curtailment of crime:

It is certainly a fact that since the excitement which resulted in the execution...crimes of the more heinous nature have visibly decreased.... Whereas previously scarce a night occurred that we had not a knocking down, drugging, robbery or burglary, since that night there has been but one case of robbery of which we have heard.

The first Vigilance Committee continued to function effectively until June 30, 1852; then gradually fell into discard. Its work had resulted in four executions and thirty banishments; its grisly tokens and expulsions threw fear into the underworld and made the criminals run for cover.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

The press was outspoken in its criticism of the state government in the years 1850-1859. The legislature of 1851 was called by one of the San Francisco papers, "an infamous, ignorant, drunken, rowdy, perjured and traitorous body of men"; but crime and the turbulent conditions in San Francisco were not reported with any degree of ability or consistency. The newspapers seemed to be indifferent to the local evils and perhaps even terrorized by the lower elements. On the other hand the editors lent their talents to advocating municipal improvements in communications, land grabbing, government taxation and less drastic reforms.

The following editorial taken from the Daily Herald of January 7, 1855 is typical of the editor's interest in local affairs:

The treasurer of this County has just received from the State Treasurer, the proportion of the

School Tax for the year ending December 31, 1854, due the county of San Francisco. It amounted to the pitiful sum of \$6,483.24. The amount received from this service last year was \$18,685.11, showing a falling off of \$12,201.87, although the census shows a larger number of children in the County this year than last. We are at a loss, under these circumstances, to account for the great decrease in our share of the Taxes collected.

On January 25, 1855 the Herald ran the following:

TOPICS OF THE DAY

Mr. Farwell has introduced into the Legislature a Bill requiring all voters, residents in any incorporated city in the State, to be registered, to entitle them to the right of suffrage. The Bill makes it incumbent upon the Mayor and Alderman to cause to be made out, at least ten days prior to any State or Municipal election, a list of the legally qualified voters in each ward... The aldermen are required to furnish the Inspectors and Judges of Election with a correct copy of their lists, and no person whose name is not on the list will be permitted to vote at any State or Municipal election. The necessity of such a law must be apparent to all. No honest citizen will object to it... Everyone familiar with San Francisco is aware that for many years past the elections have been carried by the agency of political bravos, who go around the city voting in every precinct, and often times more than once in each. They have openly defied the officers of election, and by a show of brute force, bullied the voters into acquiescence in their demands. These are the vermin that a registry Bill would sweep off; and these are just the creatures the people of this state would most rejoice to be rid of... let them give us a registry law to protect the ballot-box. It deprives no one entitled to it, of the right of suffrage; it merely prevents one cutthroat from neutralizing the votes of ten or a hundred reputable citizens.

Mr. Farwell's bill might be improved in many of its details... The most severe punishment -- at least one year in the county jail -- should be inflicted upon all who assume the names of

other parties on the list, and as such attempt to vote. Unless great care is taken to perfect the details of a bill of this kind, it is liable to great abuse, and in the hands of demagogues may become almost as dangerous as the present villainous system of double voting. It is earnestly hoped that the legislature will listen to the united voice of our citizens, and give us a registry law that will correct the evils from which we have been so long suffering. A greater boon could scarcely be conferred upon us.

These editorials, mild to say the least for such a long-suffering community were feeble protests against the existing evils and directed more at the state problems than local ones. Public opinion in San Francisco never became really aroused until the appearance of the Bulletin, October 8, 1855, under the editorship of James King of William.

TRANSPORTATION

The following editorial in the Daily Herald, January 20, 1856, under the heading of "Topics of the Day" expresses the general desire for better transportation facilities:

There never was probably a project started which has met with more universal approbation than the one for the establishment of a wagon route across the plains. Three months have scarcely elapsed since the idea was first broached and the present time Committee appointed by the people in the principal cities of the State -- in San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville, and Stockton--are working together for its accomplishment. It is a popular project. For some time back the excitement consequent upon the discovery of gold on these shores, and the realization of colossal fortunes in a day, has been gradually dying out, and things are seeking their proper level...

The State of California, at the present time, languishes for want of population. The cities have overgrown themselves, while her broad

fertile valleys, untouched by the hand of man, bloom in primeval luxuriance. At the present time a sturdy and thrifty population would contribute more to the future prosperity of our state than placers of unheard of richness and mountains of auriferous quartz.

For sometime past the people of the State have been looking forward to the construction of the Great Pacific Railroad, and, grounding all their hopes of an increase to our population upon the completion of this gigantic enterprise, have thus far remained quiescent, and have taken no steps to promote immigration; but on reflection, it is apparent that years and years must elapse before such an immense project could be carried out, even if it were commenced now and all obstacles were removed. It is no wonder, then, that the proposed Wagon Route, of the feasibility of which no doubt can be entertained, should have taken such deep hold upon the minds of the people of the state at large, for by it alone can we hope for that speedy augmentation of our population which, it is conceded at present, is so vitally necessary both for our present and future prosperity. Several bills have already been introduced in the Legislature for the establishment of the Wagon Route, but the appearances at present are that the project will be ridden to death, as so many have made it a hobby by which they expect to mount to fame; but we would remind our Legislators that the time is fast passing away--the present Congress is rapidly drawing to a close, and if some action be not taken by the State of California in the premises previous to its adjournment, no appropriation will be made for the construction of a Military Road through the territories.

THE CAMELS ARE COMING

In connection with the subject of the Wagon Route, it may be proper to mention that the bill for the importation of dromadaries and camels has again been introduced in Congress, and there is every prospect of its passage. It will be recollected that during the administration of Taylor a gentleman was sent to Morocco to ascertain if it were possible to import animals of this description. This gentleman who at present resides in the city,

visited Morocco, and had an interview with the Emperor, who informed him that he would give all the assistance in his power for the prosecution of the project. He also visited Tunis, Algiers, and Egypt, and ascertained that dromedaries and camels could be purchased at \$100 to \$150 each; on his return, an amendment was made to the Appropriation bill for the purpose of importing a large stock of these animals, but the amendment was lost by a small majority against it. Most of our readers are aware that dromedaries and camels can travel over a greater space, suffer more privations and subsist on less food, than any other animal at present used for the purpose of transportation. With them a hundred miles a day can be made with perfect ease, and it is known that dromedaries in some cases have travelled upwards of two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. They can be much more easily imported than almost any other class of animals, for they accommodate themselves to the motion of the vessel, and rise and lie down with as much ease as when on land. At the time this idea was first broached, it was thought that these animals could not bear the rigor of winter in the Rocky Mountains or the Sierra Nevada, but it is a well ascertained fact that the mountains of Syria are much colder, and the winter much more severe, than any part of the American continent embraced by the United States. For all purposes of transportation, one dromedary or one camel is equal to a wagon with a team, and will travel with ten times the expedition, besides requiring very little food. The importation of these animals in sufficient numbers would effect an entire revolution in the mode of our internal land travel; and it is only surprising that in so vast a country, and where such long journeys are sometimes undertaken, so little attention has been paid to this subject.

PROMOTION SCHEMES

During the years which elapsed between the gold rush and the Vigilante uprisings frequent mention was made in the newspapers of the evils of land grabbing -- the sale of public lands. It seems that the public's interest was not

concerned at all in those who acquired the land and sold it, regardless of the method of acquisition or sale; nor did the newspapers trouble themselves to ferret out and expose the shady practices involved in the promotion schemes. The land was considered unsettled domain and subject to the claims of the first one to grab it regardless of title or rights.

The editors acting under the impression that the public would be benefited by the public lands passing into the hands of private owners, condoned most of the activities under the guise that it stimulated improvements. The result was wholesale swindling in deals involving both public and private property.

RACE PROBLEMS

Conditions elsewhere in California were in keeping with the tempestuous decade 1850 to 1860. Race feeling ran high throughout the state. According to the press Chinese immigrants arriving in San Francisco were hardly regarded as human beings. The following from the Wide West of March 17, 1854, is reminiscent of the notorious "Middle Passage":

(The Chinese Passengers:) Since Chinese passengers arriving by the "Liberated" were removed to Goat Island, death has been busy among them. It is questionable whether they have received even the attention that mere humanity would dictate. The total number of deaths among them since leaving China is one hundred and eighty.

It is certain, in the light of the following news story which appeared in the Daily Herald of January 4, 1855 that little attention was required to maintain life among the Orientals:

FILTH AMONG CHINESE:- Recent peregrinations of the City Health Officers in the vicinity of Dupont street, have brought to light a state of things, the existence of which one might suppose impossible even among the infamous inhabitants of portions of the street alluded to. We are informed that in many instances the occupants of a house affording shelter to from fifty to seventy-five individuals, are in the habit of cutting trap-doors in the ground floor, and using the apertures thus made for the deposit of every description of filth. Our informant also mentions an instance the mere relation of which is sickening -- in one establishment no less than TEN of these filthy traps were found. We are pleased to add that the work of cleansing these harbors of corruption is being energetically prosecuted under the direction of our efficient Health Officer.

A race war among the miners on the Mother Lode, who were quarreling with the Mexicans, was threatened. The Wide West reported:

(GOLD CLAIM WAR:) According to recent intelligence from Sonora, it is extremely probable that the Challenge* emigrants from this city will have some fighting to do with the Mexicans ere long.

Nor was the prejudice of the great bulk of the inhabitants restricted solely to the Chinese and Mexicans. The Negro, too, came in for his share of unfair treatment. The following "letter from the public" appeared in the Daily Herald of January 24, 1855.

The Negro Vote in The Educational Convention.

San Francisco,
January 23d, 1855.

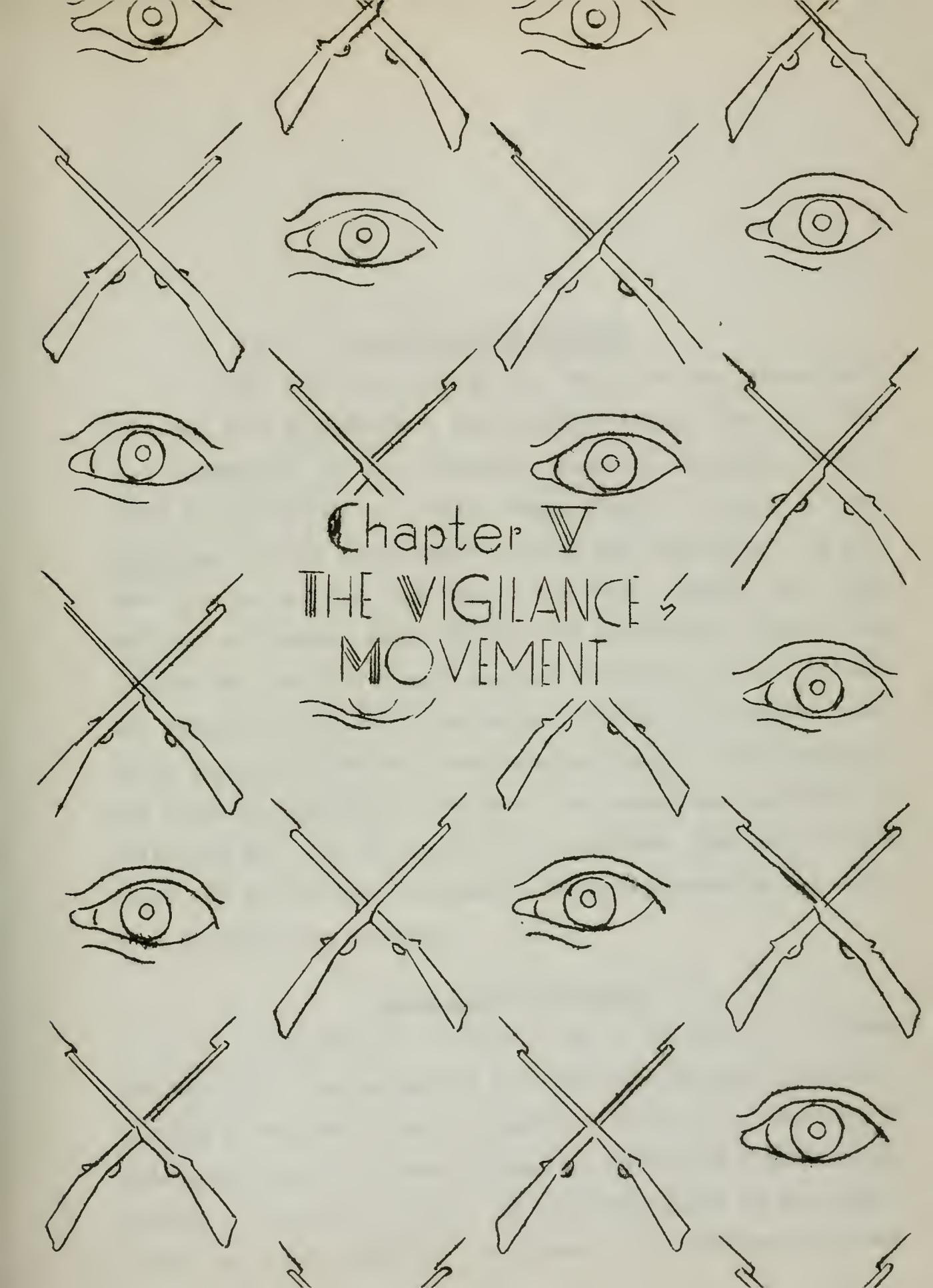
TO THE EDITOR OF THE SAN FRANCISCO HERALD:

My name having publicly appeared in a correspondence, conducted through your paper, as

*Name of the mining claim.

to whether a negro voted at the late School Convention, held in this city, and it having been stated in the last letter on this subject, (which appeared in your paper of this morning) that I was "familiar" with the fact, I hope will be sufficient excuse for intruding myself. Allow me to state my position on that occasion, as I do not wish it misunderstood. I entered the convention an hour after its organization, and was there sometime before I discovered that there was a Negro in the room. I immediately went to every Teacher and Commissioner connected with the schools, over which I had the supervision, and told them they were absolved from any further attendance at the convention, giving them, at the same time, my reason for doing so. I also inquired of those who were present at the organization of the convention, whether the Negro was considered as a member? The information I derived was, that he was a Teacher of a Colored School, and was suffered to remain and listen. I watched closely to see whether he voted. My impression was that he did not vote; for had his attempt to do so come within my knowledge, I should most assuredly have left the Convention, with such an expression of disapprobation as would have made it quite unnecessary for this lengthy communication.

I am yours, respectfully,
JAS. W. STILLMAN.



Chapter V
THE VIGILANCE
MOVEMENT

THE VIGILANCE MOVEMENT

No single event in San Francisco's journalistic life had such an immediate and positive effect upon its frontier newspapers as the Vigilance uprising in 1856 precipitated by the murder of editor James King of William of the Bulletin. Editor King exposed graft and corruption in high civic places perhaps not wisely but well enough. His journalistic colleagues were divided for and against his reform crusade and for justifiable reasons they were for and against the summary execution by the people of King's assassin. But those journals which had stood against King's reform campaign and which inferentially condoned his murder had neither opportunity nor time to modify their policies. They were simply wiped out by the most unanimous circulation-advertising boycott in newspaper history.

JAMES KING OF WILLIAM

James King of William came to California in 1848 and was for a time connected with the banking firm of Hensley, Reading & Company, first at Sutter's Fort and afterwards in Sacramento under the name of Hensley, Merrill & King. Subsequently he became a partner in a banking house in San Francisco and later conducted a business in his own name. Reverses

overtook him and he entered the banking house of Adams & Company where he had charge of their business until the memorable financial explosion of 1855.

His connection with banking firms had given him an insight into the financial juggling of the times and furnished the clue for those secrets on which he afterwards founded the popularity of his journal -- exposing corrupt practices. Embittered by his misfortune and honestly desirous no doubt to rid the community of some of the rogues and knaves who were occupying high places when Adams & Co. failed, he found congenial employment in attacking several well-known bankers, influential lawyers and popular politicians through the Bulletin. He turned against them with telling effect the knowledge acquired during his financial experiences and startled everyone no less with the facts than with the personal fearlessness of his assaults. His first attacks were against the political banking house of Palmer, Clark & Co. and I.C. Woods, the managing partner of the bankrupt firm of Adams & Co., and others connected with the management of its assets.

PUBLIC APPROVAL

To an angry and suspicious community, sore from its recent injuries at the hands of the bankers the advent of such a champion as King of William was hailed with pleasure. Thus sustained, the Bulletin increased the range of its batteries and extended its fire to the shoulder-strikers, ballot-box stuffers, and political vagabonds generally in the city. He wrote with a biting pen, and was well informed in the

affairs of those whom he attacked. His paper spread like wildfire. In six months the daily edition had grown to a circulation of seven thousand copies. It became a power in the state; King became the idol of a large portion of his readers.

The following rhymed "letter to the editor" appeared in the Bulletin October 10, 1855:

FOR THE BULLETIN

In California still it may be said,
That rogues and villains make their daily
bread,
Cooly concoct their plans for every day,
The good and unsuspecting to betray,
Tho' Meiggs, and Woods, and Saunders have
cleared out,
There's many such remain without a doubt;
Devoid of shame, and who for paltry gold
Would swear the biggest lies that could be
told.
But who would dare these villains to expose
In public print and make so many foes?
I do not mean the rogues who have gone away,
But others, such as amongst us stay.
Yes, now we have a friend who dare speak out,
The Bulletin explains their whereabouts.
Let rogues beware, each week and month will
show
Their names and deeds in print full anyhow,
And honest folks will learn thus to beware
Of men who for their characters don't care.
(Signed) A.

Again on January 11, 1856 the following letter from the public was published in column one, page one, of the Bulletin:

The City Press and the Bulletin.
Mr. Editor: I have felt compelled to discontinue the morning Herald, as many of my neighbors have done; and as they are also dropping the Chronicle, I fear I shall soon be constrained to discontinue it also. Three successive times have I dropped the Herald, and in

the hope it had changed its false policy, have received it again -- now I have done with it. It is a great shame that the City Press should be so prostituted to the promotion of sin and shame. They came down and published that issue of abuse and falsehood uttered in court by Frederick Cohen, and suppress the facts of the case. Shame on such Editors! Go on, sir, in the way you have began with the Bulletin. A generous public will sustain and protect you. Every good man approves of your course, and the rest are not worth minding. A corrupt and suborned Press will soon run its race, or reform, or cease to exist. I want to see your paper enlarged to meet the public wants. Your subscription list is not yet half full -- you may count on a circulation of eight or ten thousand. Corrupt and unprincipled officials, with the aid of a corrupt Press to deceive the people, will ruin any Community. Such is the cup which this ill fated city has drunk to its very dregs -- and to cap the climax we have been cursed with two or three of the most corrupt monied institutions that ever existed. They are narrowed down to one -- and that, thank God, you now have by the horns. Hold on to the monster; it will struggle and hook very hard, but it grows weaker every day, while every day your strength is augmenting, and soon you will be able to hurl the monster down to dwell with his departed contemporaries in the abode of infamy and shame. I have been privileged to mark the progress of affairs in this city from the beginning. Go on -- take courage -- every honest man is with you.

OBSERVER.

The Bulletin did grow to meet the public wants, fulfilling the wishes of "Observer" as indicated in the above letter: (See illustration) October 8, 1855 it was a four page publication 11-1/2 by 16-1/4 inches bearing four 2-1/2 inch columns. November 5, 1855, the Bulletin was enlarged to four pages 13-1/2 by 19-1/2 inches, bearing five 2-1/2 inch columns. December 7, 1855 saw a four page Bulletin of 16-1/4 by 22-1/2 inches, bearing six 2-1/2 inch columns; and by April 1856 it had grown to seven 2-1/2 inch columns and an overall size of 20 by 25 inches.

The following "letter from the public" appeared in the Bulletin of February 13, 1856 and is indicative of the editor's popularity:

Mr. Editor: I have been delighted at the fearless and uncompromising spirit with which you have attacked every species of vice and immorality which have stalked among us unblushingly at noonday. Your paper has done more for the cause of virtue than all other publications in the city combined. It is like a boomerang cutting in all directions, and often where it is least expected....

In the middle of November 1855 a fateful event occurred which ultimately led to widespread consequences. Charles Cora, a gambler, shot General William H. Richardson, United States Marshall, during a brawl in a saloon.

The murder was not particularly notable of itself, but, as an addition to the long list of the preceding months in city and state, it made an impression which was greatly strengthened by the comments of the Bulletin, but which would have weakened and died away if the editor had not boldly drawn attention to the attempts made by the friends of the murderer to secure immunity for him by corrupt methods. It was openly hinted that a large sum of money had been subscribed, the amount mentioned being \$40,000, which was to be employed to fix the court or buy a jury, and color was lent to the rumors by the repeated delays in the trial of the case... James King of William let loose his stream of invective which washed away the indifference of an apathetic and nearly cowed public, and called forth in its stead one of the most remarkable exhibitions of virile dealing on primitive lines ever witnessed in this or any other country.*

Reputable citizens grew grim when it seemed that Cora would go free. The case became the topic of the day.

*Young, John P. Journalism in California, p 28.

Meetings were held and men spoke of a revival of the Vigilance Committee of 1851 to arouse the city to action. Rival newspapers were quick to criticize the Bulletin's appeal for immediate popular action. It is true that the other publications attacked the court too, criticizing it for delay and lax practices; but they did not agree with King of William that extra-legal measures were necessary and arrayed themselves on the side of the so called "law and order party."

One of the Bulletin's bitterest enemies was James Casey, editor of the Sunday Times, whom King of William had exposed as an ex-convict from New York, and a corrupt office holder. Casey was virulent in his attacks on King but received more in return than he could stand. The Bulletin of May 10, 1856 published the following:

The fact that Casey has been an inmate of Sing Sing Prison in New York is not an offense against the laws of the State; nor is the fact of his having stuffed himself through the ballot box as elected to the Board of Supervisors from a district where it is said he was not even a candidate, any justification why Mr. Bagley should shoot Casey, however richly the latter may deserve having his neck stretched for such fraud upon the people.

The friends of Cora used this attack as a means of goading Casey on to avenge himself. Consequently, on May 14th toward five in the evening Casey concealed himself in a doorway near Washington and Montgomery streets to await the coming of his enemy; without any warning whatever James King of William passed on the street corner to his doom. Casey advanced from his hiding place and fired point blank. That shot was the call to arms and the summons of the Vigilance Committee of 1856, for King died a few days later.

FORT GUNNYBAGS

The committee of 1851 had maintained for five years an organization of sorts and with King's assassination it went into action again under the leadership of William T. Coleman. Officers were chosen; companies were formed; recruits were secured from all fields of industry; doctors, lawyers, merchants and laborers; and the organization made it clear to the public that it would take matters into its own hands. Fort Gunnybags in the block bounded by Front, Davis, California, and Sacramento streets appeared overnight complete with breastworks, executive offices, prison, hospital, armory and a full complement of provisions and arms. It was perhaps revolution but the citizens were organized for the sole purpose of administering justice and ridding San Francisco of long-standing evils. They were not to be denied.

Charles Cora and James Casey were quickly brought before the Committee, tried and sentenced to death. On the day James King of William's funeral procession wound its way through the streets of the city, two grisly carcasses swung from the gibbets in front of the fortress as a warning to the underworld.

Governor Neely Johnson, mouthpiece of strong and unscrupulous interests, declared the city in a state of insurrection and issued a call for mobilization of the militia; but the military forces were conspicuous by their absence, most of them being signers of the Vigilante pledge. On August 18, 1856 the Vigilantes disbanded.

Some of the San Franciscans, especially those late from the eastern part of the United States, were opposed to any measures bordering on mob rule, feeling that reform could be brought about in a legal and orderly fashion; but in a community where fortune-making and private enterprise was uppermost in the public mind little collective opposition was offered to the criminal element until the murder of James King William.

THE PEOPLE'S BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

The day before the assassination of James King of William San Francisco boasted of five morning newspapers; the California Chronicle, Herald, Town Talk, Globe, and Alta California; all were going establishments. The Chronicle led the field in circulation; the Herald published the bulk of the auctioneer's advertising and the other publications merely carried on under rather precarious financial stress. The first two journals opposed the reorganization of the Vigilance Committee at every turn, the others upheld the views of the Committee and condoned the action of the organization. On their editorial policies rested the future of their business and the day after the murder saw the opposition papers fall from public grace.

Subscriptions were cancelled by the hundreds and advertising copy was abruptly stopped. The California Chronicle valued at \$50,000 in its heyday, never recovered its former prestige and was finally sold in 1857 for a paltry \$5,000. The Herald lost its auctioneer ads, which had assured

the paper of a handsome income since 1851 and was immediately reduced to one-fourth its former size; yet it lingered on for another ten years shorn of its former eminence. The Herald which had been particularly strenuous in its opposition to the Vigilantes was singled out for immediate ruin. The dissatisfied merchants who supported the advertising together with irate subscribers literally stormed the newspaper office to cancel their business. Copies of the Herald were collected and publicly burned.

This action did not meet with the unanimous approval of the Vigilance Committee. It was deprecated by William T. Coleman, a prominent merchant, who was chosen to head the handed protestants against official corruption and laxity, and who argued that no good results could be expected from direct or indirect attempts to curb the liberty of the press. He did not prevail, however, and the Herald was sacrificed.*

Following the people's boycott of anti-vigilance newspapers, the Alta California, which had justified the action of the committee received the majority of the business withdrawn from the Chronicle and the Herald and became the leading morning newspaper. The other pro-vigilance publications also prospered.

The Alta and the Bulletin always on friendly terms, often lent assistance to each other. The following editorial by James King of William appeared in the Bulletin of February 2, 1856; it is indicative of friendly co-operation.

We beg to make our acknowledgment to the editors of the Alta for the assistance they rendered us

*Young, John P. Journalism in California, p30

yesterday, in getting out our paper. The boiler of our press room bursted, after about a dozen or so copies of our paper were struck off. On representing our predicament to the Alta, they generously allowed us to use their press to work off our edition. Fortunately, we got off in time for the river boats nearly our entire country edition, but our city subscribers were late in getting their copies.

If some enterprising men would get out from New York a press something like those used there, it would pay well to run it here. There is not a steam printing press this side of the Rocky mountains that can strike off our inside in less than about two hours. We don't know what we should have done yesterday had not our neighbors of the Alta came to our help. It was a pity we had been pitching into them the same day they were helping us, and if we had only known the old boiler was about bursting, we should have kept back for one day that article against the Alta.

The press we use is the fastest in the State, but that of the Alta works much smoother. The engineers say it would take the old foggy concern of the Chronicle about six hours to work off our edition.

What was more natural than the fact that most of the morning newspaper business should go to a journal on friendly relations with the Evening Bulletin, organ of the Vigilance Committee?

PIONEER HARDSHIPS

The modern reader who is familiar only with the newspaper as it appears today -- a product of the latest method of news presentation, illustrations, elaborate display advertising, colored comic pages and other features made possible by technology applied to printing -- will note with interest what a publisher could produce in an isolated California village in 1848. The tools he worked with were crude and limited; paper was expensive and hard to get; and printers' supply houses were thousands of miles away. Fonts of type were few; the Adams steam power press, invented in 1835, was not in general use. The makers of pioneer newspapers were beset with such difficulties that modern journalists are bound to admire the initiative and perseverance of the pioneers and to wonder at their products.

SIZE OF PAPERS

Today's newspaper has adopted a size that is almost uniform for American dailies, about twenty-two inches in depth and sixteen inches in width. The pioneer papers had to experiment with sizes which would fit the primitive presses and afford the greatest saving of paper, ink and type. The

first edition of The Californian, printed on coarse Spanish cigarette paper, had two columns. The size of the publication was 11-3/4 and 10-1/4 inches.* It was printed on one side of the sheet.

The problems of the make-up editor of a metropolitan newspaper were not present. They were not troubled with spotting lead stories for eight columns, dressing up pages with contrasting headlines, boxes and pictures or holding stories for late teletype items. Editorial news, advertising anecdotes, reader-ads and miscellaneous matter were jumbled together.

LAWYERS, AUCTIONEERS

The first newspaper advertiser in California was a linguist who offered his services as a translator. His ad appeared in the first issue of The Californian August 15, 1846. The same issue printed an official card by the Civil Magistrate prohibiting the sale of liquor in Monterey.

When the California Star came on the scene January 9, 1847 as a rival weekly to The Californian, it carried only legal advertising. Three enterprising attorneys, Jones, Pickett and Hastings placed their cards in the new paper. In February followed a type of ad which later became common in early San Francisco newspapers -- auction sales. It was placed by Dickson and Hay. Another type of advertising which was to

*Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers Vol. III No. 3, p.109, gives these dimensions. John P. Young in his Journalism in California, p.5, states the size was 12-1/2 by 8-3/4 inches.

take much space in early California journals was patent medicines and in January 1848 the California Star carried an announcement covering three full single columns extolling the curative powers of Brandreth's pills.

Due to the lack of variety in printer's type the layout for ads was simple, especially in The Californian. They were set in the required number of lines of small nonpareil type, from the first word to the last, and were given no heads.

"... IF OTHERS WILL MIND THEIR OWN BUSINESS ..."

The art of ad writing in this early period was crude and the psychological approaches -- through the avenues of pleasure, self-improvement, curiosity, fear, testimonial, results and other well-known lines of appeal -- were not used. The examination of an available copy of the Californian of March 15, 1848 reveals the advertisement of a baker whose way of soliciting business would hardly meet with approval in one of our up-to-date advertising agencies. It reads:

George Denecke respectfully informs the public that he carries on the Baking business in all branches, and believes if others will mind their own business, they will have a chance of doing full as well as himself.

San Francisco, March 15, 1848.

When cash was not handy the old way of barter and exchange was used, as in this ad from another issue of the Californian:

I wish to let a contract of 10 or 1500 dollars, payable in cattle, and 1 or 200 wild mares, if the contractor should wish, for the building of an adobe fence. Provision and tools will be furnished if required. Further information can be

had by addressing a letter,

Isaac Williams,
Rancho del Chino,
San Francisco, October 20, 1848.

GRAND RAFFLE

There was no Better Business Bureau to interfere with the freedom of the advertiser, no regulations existed. The manner of disposing of a house is illustrated by the following ad from the Californian:

Grand Raffle:- The undersigned being desirous of disposing of his house in Monterey, and as it is difficult to find a purchaser to pay its value immediately, he has adopted the method of raffling it, as less onerous to the purchaser. It is useless to recommend the establishment, all those who have ever visited Monterey, must be aware of its excellent locality, it being without exception the best situation for business in this town.

The Raffle will be held in presence of the Alcalde of Monterey and sufficient notice will be given in the papers of the day, which will be as soon as the tickets are sold. The number of tickets will be 270 at \$30 each....

Manuel Diaz,
Monterey, November 11, 1847.

"WOOLEN AND COTTON HOES"

The booster edition of the California Star carried an eleven inch ad listing "Great Bargains at the New York Store." This was the largest space given to a single advertisement. In the same issue Robert A. Parker, later proprietor of the famed Parker House advertised that he had just received from the United States and Sandwich Islands an extensive assortment of "woolen and cotton hoes and half hoes blue

and sec'd mourning prints, Cheshire cheeses and cognac brandy."

C. C. Smith & Co., New Helvetia,* advertised:

Just received, and offer for sale, a New and General Assortment of Summer Clothing -- also keep constantly on hand, the necessary outfit for parties wishing to cross the mountains with pack animals -- viz: Riding and pack saddles, Parfleashes, etc. etc.

March 3, 1848.

C.C. Smith & Co. was the business name of Sam Brannan, owner of the Star. This enterprise was one of the sources of the Mormon elder's wealth.

THE FIRST GOLD AD

Though the history-making gold flakes were found in January 1848 at Sutter's mill the news of the discovery did not break into the San Francisco journals until March. By May the commercial importance of gold mining became apparent, when the Star of May 27th inserted an ad by Mellus and Howard, Montgomery street, stating that "the highest market price would be paid for gold in either cash or merchandise." They also offered their goods for sale "for cash, hides and tallow or placer gold."

At first the gold discovery stopped the two newspapers by taking away their working forces; but when gold began to circulate the town and the demands that grew out of the new commerce became evident, it created a new field for advertising in the journals of San Francisco.

*New Helvetia was the name of the area around Sutter's Fort.

By December 1849 traffic in the precious metal increased to such an extent that ads like the following appeared in the Pacific News of December 1:

GOLD DUST INSURED

Shipments of Gold Dust insured through to New York and New Orleans, including the risk of crossing the Isthmus, on Policies of the, Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, at the lowest rates of Insurance, by Burgoyne & Co., Bankers, Montgomery street.

BERFORD & CO.

United States & California Express, and Independent Mail Company. Packages of every description, Letters, Coin, Gold, Dust, etc., will be forwarded to and from San Francisco, Sacramento City, Stockton, Pueblo de San Jose, to all parts of the mines, and every part of the United States and Europe.

To prevent the possibility of loss and delay, this office will send a special agent on each of the Pacific and Atlantic steamers.

Offices for purchases and sale of real estate -

R. G. Berford & co. *san Francisco
 T. J. Bayless & co. sacramento city.
 Chas. Plitt & co. Pueblo san Jose
 R. G. Berford & co. Stockton.

GENERAL ADVERTISING IN THE 1850s

"Copies of Eastern newspapers were advertised for sale. So eager were the settlers for news from their home towns, that when a man brought on a ship 1500 copies of the

*San Francisco, Sacramento and "San" in San Jose also Company were not capitalized.

New York Tribune, they were sold at a dollar a copy."*

Patent medicines and cure-alls predominated the advertising. The Daily Herald, January 24, 1855, informed the ailing part of the population that Henry Julian the druggist at Kearny and Washington streets had just received by express,

2000 of the finest, large SWEDISH LEECHES for sale wholesale and retail.

ADVERTISING INCREASES

Advertising in the San Francisco papers made no marked advance in form, appeal or style during the 1850s, though it became more readable as printing improved. The ads increased in volume to such an extent that occasionally extra pages were used. They often spread over the front page to the exclusion of all news. In some journals advertising ran five inches to each line of news and editorial matter. In the years following 1855 news space increased but advertising still held the lead by a ratio of three to one.

Ads continued to be mixed with news and notices. Attempts to classify were feeble and haphazard. Invitations to come to church were likely to be sandwiched in between reasons for buying imported liquors and admonitions to use Halloway's pills.

The Alta, April 27, 1850, gives the entire front page to advertisements of all kinds, from shipping to dry-goods,

*White, Stewart Edward, Old California.

none more than a column wide or two inches deep. Curious little pictures of clocks and ships, houses, horses or hoopskirt frames, and a little hand with a pointing finger were inserted in the upper left hand corner of many of these advertisements.

A glance at one of the ads gives interesting side lights on early business activities. Shipping was brisk. A small illustration of a boat heads the following:

GLIDDEN & WILLIAM'S LINE OF

Clipper ships from Boston to San Francisco.

Sailing once every month and oftener, as the trade may require. Among the ships already dispatched in this line there are now loading, and to arrive, the famous clipper ships

STAFFORDSHIRE, 1800 tons
WITCH OF THE WAVE, 1500 tons

also the new clipper ships

BEVERLY LADY FRANKLIN
HIPPOGRIFFE POLYNESIA

and the fast sailing ships

CHOTA RADUGA

There are also being built for this line two magnificent clipper ships of 1250 tons each, with accommodations of the best style.

We would call attention of shippers and passengers to the advantages of a regular line of ships sailing promptly on the day advertised.

Heretofore it has not been uncommon for ships to be two and three months loading up, to the great injury of those who have placed their goods on board.

Arrangements for freighter or passage may be made with

FLINT, PEABODY & CO.
HEAD OF BROADWAY WHARF.

Washing was expensive in 1854 according to a one column picture ad, which ran in the Alta. It was of a Chinese laundry on which was printed:

Ah Sing. Washing \$3 per doz.

SUBSCRIPTION AND AD COSTS

The Californian in its earliest editions announced that it would be issued every Saturday morning at a subscription cost of \$5 per year or \$2.50 for six months. It did not give its advertising rates.

The issue of March 15, 1848 announced the sale of advertising space by the square* instead of by the inch depth and column width, the system universally adopted a few years later and still used. Its rates as listed in a caption in column one, page one, were:

Advertisements of 5 lines or less 50 cents; every succeeding line 12-1/2 cents. One square of 15 lines \$1.50. Every subsequent insertion, half price. By the year, subject to change at pleasure, for one square \$30; two squares \$50; three squares \$70; four squares \$85; one column \$100.

Advertisements of 5 lines or less 50 cents; direction will be inserted until forbid, and charged accordingly. All transient advertisements must be paid in advance.

The California Star's prices were:

Terms. --Invariably in advance one copy per annum-cash \$6; two copies per annum \$10. Advertisements. --One square (10 lines) 2 insertions \$3, and \$1 for every additional insertion, yearly advertising \$20 per square.

*The size of a square was 300 ems.

The joint Star and Californian which started publishing in the fall of 1848, charged at the rate of \$2 for one insertion of fifteen lines.

J.M.Scanland in his article on "Early San Francisco Journalism," in the Overland Monthly of September 1894 describes conditions and costs as follows:

As there were no vacant houses and people had no time to build, the goods were sold on the ships or on the wharf. The charge for such ads was from \$3 to \$5 per inch each insertion.

When the Alta California became a tri-weekly in 1849 the yearly subscription price was raised from \$6 to \$12.

The California Daily Courier of Wednesday June 30, 1851, published its advertising and subscription rates demanding "Cash in advance."

In the Courier at the top of page one, column one, this statement is found:

Terms of Advertising:
CASH IN ADVANCE

For one square of 12 lines and over six lines, first insertion	3.00
For same, every subsequent insertion.....	1.50
For half square of six lines or less, first insertion	2.00
For each subsequent insertion.....	1.50
For one square as above, per month, without change..	1.50
For half a square.....	10.00
Business cards of not more than 4 lines per quarter..	12.00
Legal advertisements per square.....	4.00
Legal advertisements per half square.....	2.00

For each renewal or chang of any Monthly Advertisement, full price of a first insertion extra. Advertisements ordered to be inserted until forbid, will be charged at the rate per month, and payment for a month in advance required.

It is to be noticed that the misspelled words in the announcement continued on the front page of each edition for

Shrewd discerning men are quick to discover the best medium for bringing their business before the public, and we must commend their discrimination in the present instance. We have now a heavy circulation, to which large accessions are being daily made, while the comprehensive arrangements we have effected to obtain the latest intelligence from all parts of the world, is a guaranty that our readers will always be kept thoroughly posted on the affairs of the world.

The editor then goes on to summarize the items of news to be found in this particular issue and in commenting on alleged frauds in the custom house while under the administration of one Mr. King, remarks plaintively:

The unhappy people of California seems exposed to blood-suckers on all sides. The clique having control of the state squeeze us in the true Chinese fashion--the city from time to time gives us another twist--and now it seems that the Federal officers have been trying their hand at a little public plunder.

CONSISTENCY IS ABSENT

After such a comment one of skeptical mind might look askance at the contents of the editor's own advertising columns.

This issue (June 29, 1853) contained more than six columns of lottery advertisements featuring as prizes "Mammoth Gold Ingot, Monster Gold Bar, and Three Diamonds." These ads described in lavish detail to the credulous pioneers the wealth that was to be theirs in "gold bricks, dazzling diamonds and rubies, elegantly chased watch cases with lever action works, hand tooled furniture, sets of opals, porcelain vases, Japanese dressing cases, Chinese lacquered tables, ivory

card receivers etc.etc."All this could be had for one dollar; just take a chance.

Other newspapers of San Francisco and Northern California were filled at the time with similar advertisements spreading through column after column -- with no seeming end to the resources of the promoters who footed the bills.

Predominant in the raffle advertising in the Herald was "The Mammoth Ingot of Gold Raffle at Duncan's Chinese Salerooms." Mr.Duncan used five separate advertisements (77 column inches) to proclaim his "mammoth drawing, 2400 prizes, value \$65,000, to be decided on July 5, 1853."

"JEWELS FROM PARIS"

In his 24 inch lead advertisement on the front page Mr. Duncan declared:

In presenting to the public the following catalogue of the richest and most costly goods ever offered in this city, we pledge the reputation of our well known house for the same fair and impartial distribution of prizes which has heretofore governed our raffles. The jewels are from Paris and the first London firms with invoices attached. The entire cargo of Chinese goods has been selected with the greatest care....

The advertisement states:

...the distribution of prizes will be under the superintendence of a Committee of Twenty-five Well Known Citizens chosen on the day of the Raffle by the ticket-holders present.

The first prize, of course, was the Mammoth Ingot of Gold:

Prize One --- One solid INGOT OF GOLD, from the U. S. Assay Office, placed at its stamped value
....\$5000.

No one can doubt the authenticity of that value, especially when offered to the gold-wise, gold-hungry citizens of San Francisco in 1853. However, a skeptic might take serious issue with the values placed on the 2399 other prizes. Take items Nos. 226 to 238:

Four cases of Puzzles fitted in lacquered boxes and containing all the samples of Chinese ingenuity in this line....Value \$20 each.

Was a Chinese puzzle worth \$20 -- even to a credulous pioneer? The Duncan firm seems to have struck a curiously disquieting note in a catch-eye advertisement inside the Herald on page four, calling attention to the "Galaxy of Prizes" offered on page one, and disarmingly explains:

There are four objections to Raffles:

- 1st.--The articles are placed at an absurd high value.
- 2nd.--The distribution of prizes can be made unfairly.
- 3rd.--It disturbs legitimate trade.
- 4th.--The public are losers and not gainers.

Mr. Duncan then declares that none of these disadvantages beset his raffle. He insists on the good values and points out that the artistic and economic life of the city will benefit because many "Mechanics" will obtain wages when he builds a massive addition to the showrooms which are to house Duncan's "Paintings and other Works of Art."

RAFFLE COMPETITORS DISAGREE

Reeve's Twelfth Grand Raffle "of the most magnificent assortment of diamonds, watches and jewelry," to the total of \$30,000 (tickets at \$1) was only less lavish than that of

Duncan in its advertising spreads in the Herald. It filled 33 inches.

Curiously, while he lists his total of prizes at a much more modest figure his first prize is "One Solid Gold Bar of California Gold, valued at \$8,488" in the drawing set for July 2, 1853...much more than the value of Duncan's gold bar.

There had been quite a lot of excitement concerning a previous Raffle of Reeves in the advertising columns of the Herald during the month of May.

As early as May 10, 1853 Duncan's Mammoth Ingot Raffle was plugging away daily with 45 and 60 inches of advertising in the Herald. There were no advertisements by Reeves.

On May 20, 1853, on page two, column five, there appeared a one-inch advertisement under the heading "Jewelry" which read:

A CARD-- The question is asked me every hour in the day what the Diamond Watch is worth that is up for Raffle valued at \$8000. My answer to the fore-going is that I will for \$6000 produce Two as Good or Better and will forfeit \$6000 if I do not deliver them in 100 days from the time I receive the order. I saw this watch some months ago and examined it well.

J. W. Tucker.

Three days later, May 23, 1853, appeared a 10-inch advertisement on the front page of the Herald reproducing Tucker's advertisement and challenging him to prove his statements and make the two watches.

The advertisement included a wordy deposition in

legal language which Reeves declared had been presented to Tucker by "a committee" and which Tucker had refused to sign.

The advertisement contained a statement signed by the heads of eleven jewelry firms in San Francisco in which it was stated that "in their opinion" the value of \$8000 placed on the watch "is fair in this market."

At the end of the advertisement was this note:

Sacramento Union and Californian, Marysville Herald, Stockton Journal, Sonora Herald and Nevada Journal please copy and bill George F. Reeves.

The advertisement ran for three weeks and on each day is contained the note for the country papers to copy -- and bill George F. Reeves. Truly, the Raffle promoters were good to the budding newspapers of California.

PUFFS FOR THE FAVORITE

Although Reeves continued to advertise in the Her-ald at length, he did not receive a word of free publicity. When he finally did hold his raffle on July 11th -- the same day incidentally as the Duncan Raffle -- the drawing was not even reported in the next issue of the Herald. Duncan obtained plenty of space and all of the 2400 winning numbers were printed.

The story of the Raffle as reported in the Herald July 13, 1853, read:

THE RAFFLE

All other items seemed yesterday absorbed in Duncan's Ingot of Gold Raffle, which came off

at 9 o'clock in the American Theatre. The house was soon crowded to an excess that would have gratified a "star" upon a benefit night, and among the audience was quite a display of ladies and young girls, through whose brains, doubtless, floated visions of rich shawls, diamond bracelets and the heavy ingot itself.

It was announced that a Mr. Vincent G. Chandler had won the gold brick and, in conclusion, Mr. Duncan thanked everyone concerned and announced he was going to make San Francisco his permanent home.

MORE LOTTERIES

In this issue of the Herald, July 13, 1853, is a five inch advertisement which reads:

THE EXCITEMENT

Now the excitement of the Mammoth Ingot Raffle and the Monster Bar Raffle are over, customers are notified that tickets are still available for Randolph's Third Diamond Raffle, positively the last of the season....

On page four, however, was a ten inch advertisement making the initial announcement of:

GREAT REAL ESTATE LOTTERY!

Richardson's Albion Ranch

of

1,000,000 Acres

Total Value

\$150,000.

Tickets \$5.

The advertisement described the natural advantages

of a huge tract owned by "Mr.Wm.A.Richardson of Saucelito" in Mendocino and described details of ambitious plans for a state-wide lottery with offices in San Francisco, Sacramento and Stockton"where maps would be perused and sites selected." The drawing was set for September 26.

But something happened to that ambitious scheme -- at least as far as the San Francisco Herald was concerned. The advertisement ran for ten days and then disappeared.

Files of the paper show no further mention of the Great Real Estate Lottery. Nor was there any news report on it in September.

THE SUN AT CHRISTMAS

The pages of the Sun of December 20, 1856 show the wares offered for sale to the Christmas shoppers of that day. Among holiday liquors there was "a choice of Morizets Champagne, Native Wine, American Brandy and bottled Sherry."

There was a "Boomerang" reduction of liquors in one store. Those who carried a thirst after the New Year were informed that on January 6, alcohol would be sold by order of the Collector of Customs because of violation of customs.

Election hats were for sale to "gentlemen who have won." Another hatter put it this way:

Outside show is everything in this world. One of Fisher & Co's. new HATS tells the story.

A little star displayed here and there was not a beckoning toward Bethlehem but to Madame St.Denis who "can be consulted on matters of Courtship, Law and Business--explains

the past, predicts the future." Or to Mrs. Faule from New Orleans who adds "Love" to her list of topics taken under advisement. But Madame De Cassins--not to be outdone by her two competitors -- had her ad spotted by many tinier stars in a crescent moon and offered holiday bargains in the same line on occult merchandise promising "great reduction in the price of consultation."

Other wares offered to San Franciscans included: Marble yard, Oregon seed potatoes, gun powder, carbonate of soda, window glass, French Merinos, pens, paints, sugar, Dundee bags, Manilla cigars, horns, cedar, naphtha, cheese, coats, sewing cotton, piano-fortes, carpets, millinery, varnishers and polishers, sheeting metal, pig iron, Oregon butter, onions, Admantine candles, Thorndyke tickings and arrowroot.

THE POETS AND THE ADVERTISERS

The newspapers of the 1850s put value on contributions in rhyme. This was true of the news columns but many an ad was prepared by versifiers who schemed to reach the prospective purchaser of a raincoat or a pair of shoes through the avenue of sublime sentiments.

"Lady Pedestrian" is credited with this quaint bombast in the Bulletin of October 1, 1856. It is named:

SONG FOR AUTUMN

They're all my fancy painted them
 They're love, they're sublime.
 I never saw anything so sweet
 As these new shoes of mine.
 They make my feet look so genteel
 That I am quite surprised;

They're surely gems in shape of shoes
That should be immortalized....

There were three more verses of this ad for the H.
& D. Boot and Shoe Stores.

Fats and crude poesy were also found in the same
issue:

THE EAGLE HAT STORE

Practical hatters must lead the van.
A stylish hat can be made by them---
For it is the work in they spend their time
And their success is in their work being so fine.

A more skillful production was that which occupied
four inches in column three, front page, of the Bulletin on
January 2, 1856:

A SONG FOR TEA DRINKERS

Let the soldier seek fame in the din of battle,
And the lover find joy in his mistress' dark
eyes;
Let parents find joy in their firstborn's prattle.
Or poets in rapture praise Italy's skies;
I'll take for my theme no such subjects--
they're killing--
As war, love, or babies have no charms for me;
I sing not of cries, maiden's sighs, or blood-
spilling,
But I'll sing of the joys of a good cup of
Tea.

Men talk of champagne, of cock-tails and punches.
Of Hock and Catawaba, Scheidam, and Sauterne,
Of smashes and toddies whilst taking their
lunches;
But can these things compare with a smoking
Tea urn?
Other drinks fire your blood, give you headache
and fever,
And oft make you sick as a mortal can be;
But headaches and fever, a nausea, never was
known to exist in a good cup of Tea.

You get up in the morning -- you couldn't sleep
 soundly;
 Your system's disordered--you feel very bad;
 You've pain in the back, and your head's aching
 roundly,
 You think of the doctor, and the thought
 makes you sad,
 With a woman's perception, your wife see's
 your're ailing,
 She knows which you like--Souchong--Hyson--
 Bohea;
 With a look of affection and a smile of true
 feeling,
 She presents you a cup of your favorite Tea.

Let such as would guard against a sickness or
 sorrow,
 Go at once to the 'China Tea Company's' store;
 If you can't go today, be sure go tomorrow;
 It's on Clay street, the number two hundred
 and four,
 Right opposite the Plaza -- there you'll find
 all you want,
 In the grocery line, preserved fruits; but
 you'll never repent,
 If you buy from James Evrard your groceries and
 Tea.

His Teas always being of the latest importa-
 tion,
 Are warranted fresh as a rosebud in May,
 And the best that ever grew in the Great Chi-
 nese nation;
 So ladies, read this, and then try it, I pray,
 He has all kinds of jellies--I'll mention this,
 too;
 So a last word of parting; good reader, do you
 Get from two hundred four Clay street your
 groceries and Tea,
 For whatever you buy he sends to your house
 free.

JAMES EVRARD
 Sole Agent for California and Oregon.

One advertiser used the interests of the day, as the
 optician whose announcement appeared on page four of the
Evening Bulletin, January 17, 1856:

PLAZA DIGGINGS

Another wonder has been found
A Spectacle Mine! ! Most true,
 Whose spects lie thick above the ground,
 With glasses white, green and blue,
 With frames of silver, steel and gold,
 Their lens will suit all eyes.
 Sights short and long, age young and old
 Their quantity will surprise.
 Your sight to suit with proper glass
 Requires the skill of an optician
 Let all afflicted ones who pass
 Call in and see this good physician.
 This mine is on the street called Clay
 And opposite Portsmouth Square.
 Reader! whose eyes need aid, this day
 Be sure call in there.

Lawrence & Hanseworth, Opticians.

ADVERTISING IN THE WEEKLIES

In the Wide West -- a weekly -- layout and headings were more orderly. There was no advertising on the front page. Ads for ships, finance, schools and colleges, merchandise and theatres were grouped. Larger cuts than thumbnail size were used by the weeklies. The English and Classical High School located on Powell street between Jackson and Washington streets, in its advertising had a cut one and one-half inches deep and a column wide, a picture of the school building and grounds.

The "reader" ads were not designated as "advertisements" probably because there was no law requiring it. Such ads today must be so captioned or in some way "branded" to show their commercial nature. "Readers" are written like an item of news. For example:

Since Moses issued the ten commandments we have seen nothing among all the writing extant that

in any way approach them. Latterly, however, J. M. Hutchings has brought out the miners' Ten Commandments, and we think that for the object for which they were written they cannot be surpassed. Each commandment is illustrated by a special wood engraving, showing up the force of the injunction to which it is attached. As a curiosity alone it is well worth sending home. It is to be found in all bookstores south of Oregon, North of San Diego and West of the Rocky Mountains.

Jamaica ginger and bitters were heavily advertised in the 1850s. They took up a good part of the space in Wide West. Jamaica ginger was advertised as "a cure for dyspepsia, cholera, colic, summer complaints, fever, ague, rheumatism, nervous disability and general weakness." Bitters were recommended as a tonic and blood purifier.

ATTEMPTS AT STYLE

A fancy drygoods house featured its ad in stepping lines all in capitals thus:

WHO WANTS
 RETICULES,
 CABAS,
 PORT-MANNIES,
 CARD CASES,
 RIDING WHIPS,
 PORTFOLIOS,
 FANS,
 PARASOLS,
 IVORY BREASTPINS,
 &c.....&c.....&c.....

WHO WANTS
 TOILET BOTTLES,
 COFFEE CUPS AND SAUCERS,
 INK STANDS,
 CIGAR STANDS,
 ASH HOLDERS,
 CARD RECEIVERS,
 POWDER PUFF BOXES,
 PAPER WEIGHTS,
 Or Any Other Choice Porcelain Ornaments.

INVERTED ILLUSTRATION

The California Courier, Friday, August 8, 1851, carried an illustration in connection with a hat cleaning and manufacturing firm. It was a two column by two inch horizontal picture but it was run in a vertical position in the newspaper. This was no error as the picture appeared daily for over a month.

NOBLE SENTIMENTS

The rhymsters also displayed their talent. In the Wide West patriotism was used as a lever to induce men to buy a cap or hat. The noble sentiments that turned a man's head toward cover read:

1776 FOURTH OF JULY 1854

News For The Million

Read! Be Wise And Act!

Lives there a man, to taste so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This hat of mine is shocking bad;
Another new one must be had.

If such there be, Oh! let him come
To the Pioneer Hat Emporium.
And see the stock that is on hand,
The best assorted in the land.

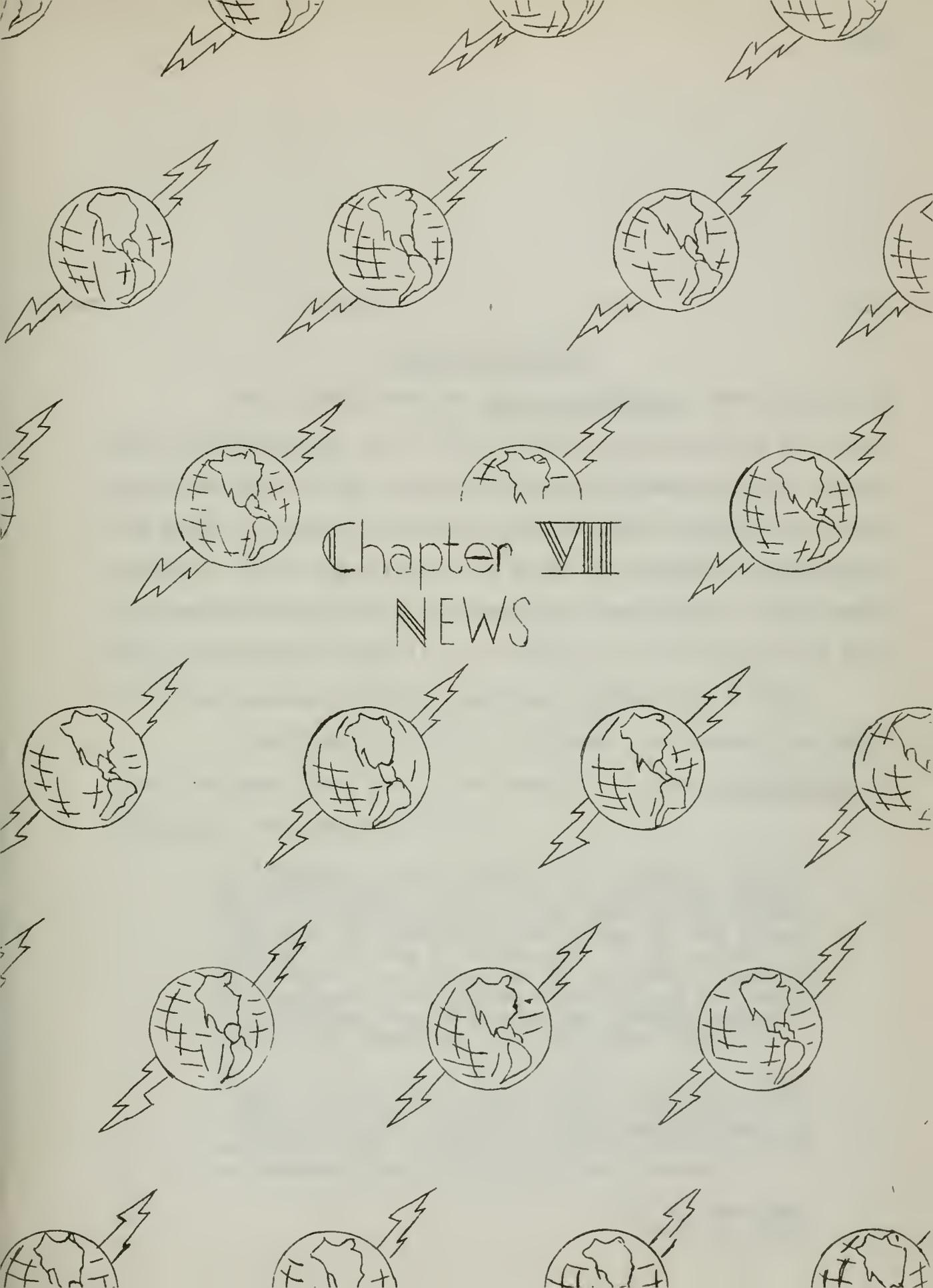
Readers of the Wide West of June 7, 1856 were treated to two and one-half inches of admonition in the following:

An Ode to The New Temperance Beverage.

Sherbet's the stuff to brighten the eye, bring
bloom to the face,
Improve every feature and add more charm to
each grace,

Not like the blossom of rum, but with fresh glow
of health.
A treasure beside which all other is very poor
wealth.

For sale at the Davis Drug Store.
Drugs fresh and pure
And medicine sure to cure
Are to be had, with more
At the Davis Street Drug Store.



Chapter VIII
NEWS

THE CALIFORNIAN

The first issue of The Californian carried news of the declaration of war with Mexico and announced that Congress had made a war appropriation. This news was three months old when it reached the California readers. An "extra" on September 5, 1846 contained the story of Commodore Stockton's proclamation announcing the American occupation. This story had a Los Angeles date line of August 17, indicating how fast the news traveled from Los Angeles to Monterey in 1846.

Opportunity for the citizens to sustain the American flag was given in a proclamation in the Californian of March 15, 1848, which read:

In compliance with orders from Governor Mason, the undersigned will visit all Northern Departments of California for the purpose of conferring with the people in reference to the necessity of raising a Battalion of Volunteers in California for services in the South, and for the purpose of enlisting those of our patriotic citizens who feel a desire and determination to sustain the American flag wherever raised...

Persons at, and in the vicinity of San Francisco, wishing to enlist, will apply to G. H. Johnson, in San Francisco for that purpose, at any time prior to 20th of April, when all will be mustered into service as above stated.

L. W. Hastings,
March 8, 1848.

THE STAR

The first issue of the California Star carried news about the Army and progress of the war with Mexico, communicated through "the electric telegraph at Jersey City -- from the New Orleans Delta of May 29." As the first copy of the Star came off the press January 9, 1847 this news was seven months and eleven days old.

Other international news covered by the Star after resuming publication on July 15, 1848 touched on the revolution in France and Louis Philippe's abdication of March 17, and rumors of peace between the United States and Mexico. On August 14 the Star published the treaty of peace and the end of the Mexican war, which was celebrated in San Francisco by illuminating the town.

"GOLD HAS BEEN FOUND"

The momentous story of the discovery of gold was printed first in the Californian of March 15, 1848 after being a public secret for almost two months. It was worded:

Gold Mine Found.--In the newly made raceway of the Saw Mill recently erected by Captain Sutter, on the American Fork, gold has been found in considerable quantities. One person brought thirty dollars worth to New Helvetia, gathered there in a short time. California, no doubt, is rich in mineral wealth, great chances here for scientific capitalists. Gold has been found in almost every part of the Country.

Other mining discoveries of lesser importance to history but no doubt of significance to the reader of that day, were found in the same issue:

Quicksilver Mines. -- By a gentlemen recently from the vicinity of the quicksilver mine at Santa Clara, the property of Messrs. Forbs & Co., we learn that the average quantity extracted per day, is about 200 pounds, and that with quite inferior machinery and with but few hands. Other mines have been found in different parts of the country.

GOLD AND THE EDITORS

It is easy and natural for the hind-sighted critics of the twentieth century to remark about the indifference of the newspapers to one of the world's great stories-- the gold find. But certain factors must be kept in mind. Earlier rumors of gold had preceded the reports that came from Sutter's Mill and had brought no tangible results. Even the modern newspaper, with all the means of rapid news communication at its command, overlooks events that later prove of historic import, while interesting stories that have little bearing on future generations are given ample space.

The editors of the two San Francisco papers were actuated by community interests; on every side they saw the results of three-fourths of the population in a sudden frenzy forsaking homes and shops. Land values dropped more than fifty per cent. The excited populace left all merchandise, not suitable for mining, heaped on wharves jutting into the bay, which soon became the graveyard of ships deserted by crews that had rushed off to the gold regions. Their own printing establishments stood idle. The workers had forsaken the type fonts, hoping to get their hands on a more precious metal. These factors were enough to discourage any editor or

publisher and to drive him into an attitude of indifference and even towards expressions of ridicule.

From such a background came Kemble's facetious editorial utterance in the Star of March 25, 1848 in which he suggested that the property holders improve their land by plowing and cultivating their lots. They could also put to work some of the idlers of the saloons who might unearth treasures as "reports were about that precious metals were to be found in the ground in California."

A GOLDEN SILENCE

The editor of the Californian maintained a stubborn silence about the mines while he let a correspondent express the paper's point of view:

I doubt, sir, if ever the sun shone upon such a farce as is now being enacted in California, though I fear it may prove a tragedy before the curtain drops. I consider it your duty, Mr. Editor, as a conservator of the public morals and welfare, to raise your voice against the thing. It is to be hoped that General Mason will dispatch the volunteers to the scene of action, and send these unfortunate people to their homes, and prevent others from going hither.*

Robert Semple then in Benicia, after having sold out his interest in The Californian in 1847, was alleged to have joined his successor's attitude in the statement:

I would give more for a good coal mine than for all the gold mines in the universe.**

*Coy, Owen Cochran, Gold Days p. 60.
**Ibid. p. 56.

But the Californian had to bow to the inevitable tide that swept the multitudes to the mines. It cried out a final lament in the issue on May 28, 1848 which proved to be its only one for months:

The whole country from San Francisco to Los Angeles and from the seashore to the base of the Sierra Nevada resounds to the sordid cry of gold! gold!! gold!!! While the field is left half planted, and house half built, and everything neglected but the manufacture of shovels and pick axes, and the means of transportation to the spot where one man obtained \$128 worth of the real stuff in one day's washing, and the average for all is \$20 per diem.

GOLD DIMS THE STAR

The struggling Star, after its contemporary had folded up, notified its subscribers:

Pay up before you go -- everybody knows where. Papers can be forwarded to Sutter's Fort with all regularity. But pay the printer, if you please, all you in arrears.

The Star twinkled with dimmed lustre for two more weeks, and finally faded entirely on May 27, leaving San Francisco without any editorial illumination for sometime.

It was from the April 1, 1848 issue of San Francisco's first newspaper the Star, that the New York Herald of August 19, 1848 obtained the information which formed the first outside news story of the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill.*

*This first publication of the gold discovery in the New York press was unearthed by Douglas S. Watson, Chairman of the Publications Committee, California Historical Society.

RIVER BOATS

One means of sending and receiving news between San Francisco and the mining towns in the 1850s was the river boat service. On October 26, 1849 the McKim started its regular trips to Sacramento running on alternate days with the Mint.

Sacramento was the point from which the northern mines were reached and became with Stockton a center for the distribution of provisions, clothing and supplies. The river-boats carried the city newspapers to the interior and brought back news from the mining camps.

OVERLAND MAIL AND PONY EXPRESS

The Overland Stage connected San Francisco with St. Louis. It was started in 1858 and brought eight mails a month as against two by water. The fastest time made was 21 days. About the same time the Overland was organized the Pony Express came into being, bringing the first mail to Sacramento on April 13, 1860. Of the three hundred people it employed, eighty were riders who averaged 75 miles per day. Newspapers of the time found in them a source of copy --the dangers they encountered, the Indians, weather reports, and feats of nerve and endurance on the long ride from Missouri to California.

The mail charges were high--\$5 for a single letter. To avoid this high cost correspondents in the East coded their reports and forwarded them on tissue paper.

THE TELEGRAPH

Opening of the first electric telegraph system in

California was celebrated by the citizens of San Francisco on September 22, 1853.* The line ran from the lighthouse at Point Lobos over the sand dunes to the Merchants Exchange in the city, a distance of eight miles, and was used to flash news of the arrival of ships.

In October of the same year a telegraph line was opened between San Francisco and San Jose and the same month extended to Marysville, via San Jose, Stockton and Sacramento. Thus, California editors were able to receive flash reports of important happenings in the state even at this early period, although there were long intervals when the wires were down and the telegraph was not working.

It was not until 1860 that the telegraph line was extended to Los Angeles with copper wire which had been brought around the Horn by sailship. In February 1861, news dispatches brought by the Overland Mail via the Southern Route were relayed to San Francisco by the telegraph from Los Angeles, but the service was subject to frequent interruptions. Later in the year eastern capitalists became interested in the establishment of wire services to the West and gradually increased the scope and efficiency of the telegraph.

CONTENTS OF EARLY PAPERS

The newspapers in San Francisco in the 1850s devoted some space to departmental material; that is special and

*Hunt, Rockwell D., and Ament, William S., Oxcart to Airplane.

supplementary information grouped under an appropriate heading and run as a weekly or daily feature. Unlike the departments of today which carry serialized articles by columnists and free lance writers or specialists and cover everything from trade and technical journalism to fiction writing, these early features consisted mainly of reprinted items from other publications. The following British journals furnished much of this material.

<u>London Times</u> (1785)	London
<u>Quarterly Review</u> (1809)	"
<u>Blackwood's</u> (1817)	"
<u>Scotsman</u> (1817)	Edinburgh
<u>Chamber's Journal</u> (1832)	"
<u>Dublin Review</u> (1836)	Dublin
<u>Punch</u> (1841)	London
<u>Saturday Review</u> (1855)	"

The Daily Herald of January 21, 1853 contained on page two, column one, a department called "Topics of the Day." It had 11-1/2 inches of news matter which was highly personalized. This was followed by a write-up of local concerts and recitals, four and one-half inches, headed: "Musical." The balance of the column was devoted to "Theatrical" and consisted of three inches of review material on local amusements. This column was definitely a department which appeared daily.

Every Sunday edition of the Herald carried on page two, column five, six or ten inches headed: "The Theatrical World." It recorded the doings of actors and criticisms of productions.

FORTY-NINERS LOOK BACK TO 1761

The Daily Herald of December 29, 1853 in a news story mentions a paper of July 13, 1761, a copy of which hung in a local saloon. The story title is "A Venerable Relic -- a curiosity."

A Boston Gazette and County Journal dated Monday, July 13, 1761, upwards of 92 years ago the year after the accession of George III to the crown of England hangs in Barry's Saloon.

According to the Herald, the Gazette was started in 1719 and was the second paper published in America. The editor of the Herald notes that there were

...many slave ads in the papers of that day. The old French War was on (Quebec taken by English, under Wolfe two years before) and Frederick the Great was battling Maria Theresa of Austria.

The Boston Gazette was 12 by 15 inches, three columns to the page with five columns of news. There was no set editorial. It took forty-six days for news from Europe to arrive.

Nothing impresses more strongly the great changes which have been wrought by steam and clipper models -- imagine now having to wait forty-six days for news from Europe!

comments the Herald's editor. (News from Europe had become a matter of days rather than months)

...a century hence and the newspaper of today will be regarded with the same interest by our posterity

states the editor.

THE DAILY HERALD

The following is a resume of the news items which

interested the editors of San Francisco as shown by the newspapers:

Exploration parties were in the Sierra Nevada passes in search of a route for the proposed Atlantic Railroad. Edward F. Beale, the Indian Agent working at Tejon in Tulare County, established friendly relations with the tribes that made his administration one of the best in the United States.

Army engineers were exploring the territory of Utah and the Mormon Temple was being built in Salt Lake City.

As to the convening State legislature:

...one of the first questions agitated will be the removal of the seat of Government from Benicia to Sacramento.*

Public official's salaries in the new San Francisco charter under consideration were \$6000 a year for the Mayor, his clerk \$3000; the Recorder \$4000, his clerk \$2000; and the comptroller, alderman and assessor \$1200 each.

The arrival of a steamship always rated front page, with the passenger list given in full. All information brought by the ship was news of the first water. It ranged from murder items to notices of shipwrecks in other parts of the world.

A transportation note read:

Passengers from New Orleans made the through trip to Baltimore via Mississippi and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in seven days and

*Daily Herald of December 29, 1853.

two hours; the shortest time on record.*

Lola Montez took unto herself a husband in the Mission Dolores and left for Sacramento that night.

The first notice of the Lemantour land fraud came rumbling out of Monterey where discovery was announced of the title of Jose Lemantour to one-half of San Francisco's land.

Joaquin Murietta and his band had been spotted near San Diego-San Juan Capistrano, according to a report copied from a Los Angeles paper.

THE WIDE WEST

The Wide West was "Published every Sunday morning-- A weekly newspaper, devoted to Literature, the Fine Arts, and the Diffusion of General Intelligence."

"Drops of Punch," a column devoted to reprints from the London journal appeared spasmodically for approximately six months, ranging from 5-1/2 to 10-1/2 column inches.

In the issue of August 6, 1854 "Drops of Punch" consisted of 12 inches in column five of the front page. The following sub-heads appeared below:

"Lord Palmerston on Penmanship," "Petty Spite," "Wanderings of English Lady's Maid in Russia," and "Orthography at War":

Is it Kronstat with a K?
Is it Cronstat with a C?
Is it Cron with s, t, a, d, t?
Or do you leave out the d?

*Daily Herald of December 29, 1853.

Is Sebastopal the word?
 Or Sevastopal do you say?
 It really does seem most absurd
 Not to spell one name one way.

Other "Drops of Punch" were headed: "The Rights of Women," "Nero and Nicholas," "The Russian Fleets:"

The Emperor of Russia is such a rogue, that if his sailors are worthy of their sovereign, his navy ought to be spelt with a K.

"Fun, Facts, and Fancy," usually a full length column of 24 inches, was a regular department which invariably appeared either on page two, column seven or on page three, column one. On April 16, 1854 it consisted of 11-1/2 inches. On April 23, 1854 it carried 24-1/2 inches; the following sub-heads introduced each item: "Errors there is no Rectifying" "Theory of Odors"; "Human Trees and Stones"; "Story of a Butterfly"; "Origin of the 'Aztec' Children"; "Imitative Powers of the Chinese"; "A Popish Miser"; "A Curious Sermon"; "Bulwer Lytton's Failures."

This column of Sunday, July 23, 1854, 22-1/2 inches, covered all sorts of items from "The Origin of Weeping Willow" to "A True Saying," as follows:

Somebody says, "He is a brave man who is not afraid to wear old clothes, until he is able to pay for new."

The column for July 30, 1854, 22-1/2 inches, contained the following sub side-heads: "Lawsuits," "Language," "Do Martyrs always feel Pain"? "Curious Custom of the Koras," "Salt Your Chimneys," "How the Fireproof Safe was Discovered," "Anagrams."

Then followed a hodgepodge, without side-heads:

"Bob, lower yourself into the well and holler for help."

"What for"?

"To frighten Daddy, and make some fun."

Bob did as he was requested, but got more fun than he bargained for. It was administered with a hickory sapling. Distance, 5-1/2 feet.

A Wife once kissed her husband, and said she,
"My own sweet will, how dearly I love thee"!
Who ever knew a lady, good or ill,
Who did not dearly love her own sweet will?

A wise man never grows old in Spirit, he
marches with the age.

"Why is a woman's tongue like a planet"? "Be-
cause nothing short of the power that created
it, is able to stop it in its course.

"Batch of Riddles" was a department varying from three to six inches and appearing in about every other issue. It was a series of poetic riddles reprinted from Blackwood's magazine.

"Questions and Answers" was another feature which appeared from time to time. The issue of August 6, 1854 gave it ten inches. The issue of October 22, 1854 gave it six inches at the top of the first column on page two. Following is a sample question and answer:

Q. Who is the author of the following lines:
"Though nature weighs our talents, and
dispense
To every man his modicum of sense,
Yet much depends, as in the tiller's toil,
On culture, and the sowing of the soil."

A. They are the production of an individual
named Cowper.

The Wide West ran a series of stories under the caption "California Characters" which were especially written

by one "Whittlestick."

"Literary Notices" appeared regularly. Following is an excerpt from the issue of April 2, 1854 which gave this department 68 inches:

Autobiography of an Actress; or Eight Years on the stage. By Anna Cora Mowatt.

There are no works save those of fiction that are so generally entertaining as the lives of actors, especially when written by themselves. The very egotism necessarily accompanying the frequent use of the personal pronoun lends to the book an interest by making the style almost conversational. The work before us, purporting to be an account of eight years on the stage, is one-third taken up with the life of its gifted subject previous to her entering the dramatic profession. It is none the less engaging on that score, however, and the narrative of the varied incidents which gradually modified and at length completely changed the views of the writer in regard to the usefulness of the Theatre as an institution, will be no less serviceable to those who may entertain similar convictions than interesting to the general reader.

The Wide West of August 6, 1854 devoted 21-1/2 inches to "Literary Notices" on page two, column four. "General Gossip" was another feature and consisted mainly of reprints. The issue of April 16, 1854 gave it 22-1/2 inches as did the issue of August 6. The items which appeared under this heading were introduced merely by a row of asterisks. It was located on page two. Here are some examples.

****The use of grapes as an article of food is much recommended in cases of consumption. They contain a large quantity of grape sugar; the kind which most nearly resembles milk sugar in its character and composition, it having a great attraction for oxygen, and therefore readily affording materials for respiration.

***American ladies seem to be fond of getting titled husbands in Europe. The latest case is that of Miss Corbin, who has been a resident in Paris for a long time, and has just married one Marquis de Dempierre. The lady is said to be very wealthy. The Gentleman's chief possession is his title.

***A rattlesnake was recently killed on the Calaveras, a short distance from Campo Seco. When dissected, fourteen rattles were found on its tail.

***If we may believe the census, every fifth person in the United States owns a horse, and every tenth a dog.

***Some half-dozen new magazines have been started in England during the last two months.

CALIFORNIA COURIER

The California Courier practiced the printing of poetry in the editorial columns on page two. The issue of August 8, 1851 devoted eight inches to the following:

An esteemed friend now in this city, sometime since, while away up in the mountains, wrote an acquaintance residing in Boston a description of his locality, his appearance, & c., and his success with "the shovel and the pan" had not been very satisfactory, gave rather a dark side to the picture. In replying to the letter, his correspondent sends the following poetical reference to his friend's "Forlorn condition." It will bear reading, and stand criticism.

The Exile - By Jeems*

A pilgrim from the eastern shore,
 Stood on Nevada's strand,
 A tear was in his hither eye,
 A pick-axe in his hand--
 A tear was in his hither eye,
 And in his left, to match
 There would have been another tear,
 But for a healing patch.

*See Biography of Stephen C. Massett, Theatre Research Monographs, Vol. I.

And other patches too he wore,
 Which on his garments hung,
 And two were on that ill-starr'd spot,
 Where mothers smite their young.
 His hat, that was a 'Castar' once,
 Was broken now, and dim--
 And wild his bearded features gleamed
 From out the tattered brim.

The pilgrim stood, and looking down
 As one who is in doubt,
 He sighed to see how fast that pair
 Of boots was wearing out.
 And while he filled an ancient pipe
 His wretchedness to cheer,
 He stopped with hurried hand to pick
 A flea from out his ear.

Then spoke that pilgrim from the east--
 "I am a wretched man;
 For lust of gold has lured me to
 The shovel and the pan.
 I saw, in dreams, a pile of gold
 Its dazzling radiance pour--
 No more my visions are of gold,
 Alas! my hopes are ore.

"Thrice I have left the cursed spot,
 But mine it was to learn
 That fatal truth, that 'dust we are,
 To dust we shall return.'
 So here, condemned by fates unkind,
 I pass my wretched span,
 And mourn, too late, that e'er I took
 The shovel and the pan."

The pilgrim paused, for now he heard
 His distant comrad's shout;
 From his pipe he drew a parting whiff,
 And knocked the ashes out.
 And stooping, as he gathered up
 His shovel and his pan
 The breeze his latest accent bore--
 "I am a wretched man."

EVENING BULLETIN

The Bulletin of Thursday, October 11, 1855 used an
 entire column, ten and one-half inches of material headed

"Scraps from Punch." It was the only news matter on the front page, column one. Page four, column one carried a poem (four inches) and a three and one-half inch article "Instinct and Mechanical Skill of Insects."

This publication ran a regular daily column "The Fireside" later re-captioned "The School and Fireside." It varied in size and contents but always appeared in column one, page four and invariably began with a poem. It covered a multitude of topics: "Beautify your home"; "Microscopic Marvels"; "The Cranberry Cure for Erysipelas"; "A Source of Smiles"; "Pearl Divers."

Following is a typical survey of "The School and Fireside" column which appeared in the issue of February 14, 1856: (22 inches)

1. "A Child at Play" -- a twenty-three line poem reprinted from Chamber's Journal.
2. "Wearing Flannel" -- a 2-1/2 inch article from Hall's Journal of Health.
3. Remarks from the Scientific American on "Flannels" took up 3-1/2 inches.
4. "How to Wash Flannel" -- a 2-1/4 inch article.
5. A 2-1/2 inch article taken from the Boston Traveler on "The Distribution of Wealth in the United States."
6. Then followed eight inches of material ranging from facts to jokes.

A "Spirit of the Morning Papers," department always appeared at the head of the editorial column, on page two. It consisted of comment by James King of William on items which

appeared in other San Francisco newspapers. Typical is the following from the April 24, 1856 issue:

The Town Talk condemns the "Hawes procession."
 The Sun thinks the Bulletin is wrong "in condemning McDuffie and the other gamblers."
 The Herald has a "Sink or swim" article on sewage, but does not come to any very definite conclusion on the subject.
 The Alta starts out with the proposition that "The world is governed too much," and winds up by concluding that San Francisco has not been governed enough by the last Legislature.

The Bulletin conducted a regular department called "Communications" in which letters from the public were grouped. The issue of January 29, 1856, page three, carried eleven letters. These were the most important: "Quakerism and the Quaker"; "Proposed Amendments to Section 13 of Mr. Hawe's Bill"; "Ballot-box Stuffing and Illegal Voting"; "St Mary's Library Association."

REPORTING NEWS IN 1855

The busy person who gets his news from glancing at headlines and scanning the opening paragraphs of the lead stories in a modern daily would receive meager satisfaction if the news were presented in the style of the 1850s. The heads were small and generalized and paragraphing considered a waste of time and space. Two examples from the Herald illustrate the point and are copied as found. On July 7, 1855 appeared:

A SAD STORY: On Thursday night the Coroner held an inquest upon the body of a female named Elizabeth Crawford who died at her residence in the vicinity of Russ' Gardens. The apparent cause of death was a violent disease of the

bowels. The remarks and exclamations of the unfortunate woman just previous to her decease, revealed a distressing narrative of misplaced confidence. The witnesses to her death were only able to ascertain from her incoherent remarks that she had been betrayed and abandoned by the author of her ruin. The physician employed in the case said the immediate cause of death was a protracted disease of the character above specified. The verdict of the Coroner's Jury was rendered accordingly. It is to be hoped that the case may be more thoroughly investigated with the view of exposing the seducer, that the verdict of public opinion may drive him from the pale of society.

The Fourth of July issue of the same year reported:

PAINFUL CASUALTY: Mr. John P. Hill, a well-known resident of this city died yesterday morning from the effects of an accident that occurred to him on the night previous. The deceased was the brother of Captain Hill, commander of the ship Northern Empire, which vessel arrived from New York on Sunday last. The ship was being hauled to her berth at the Broadway wharf on Monday evening and was almost alongside when the deceased in attempting to get on board, missed his footing and fell, his head striking with great violence against the anchor fluke producing a fracture of the skull. The deceased lingered until past midnight when he died. The funeral took place from the vessel last evening. Mr. Hill was a native of Portsmouth, New Hampshire and was aged 30 years. He was formerly of the firm of Hill and Brodhead of Boston, Mass.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE NEWS

With the physical growth of the city came the advent of an organized social life. In the interior the towns were small and life was dull. But San Francisco was brilliant, light-hearted and its streets gay. It had its famed hotels, distinctive restaurants and glamorous theatres. Nowhere is the rise of the social life of the times better shown than in

the amusements. As early as 1848 San Franciscans were lovers of theatrical performances. They applauded what was good and denounced what they thought was poor, and prominent actors pronounced the critics of the various newspapers to be men of discernment.

VOLUNTEER FIREMEN

Much of the social activity of the day centered in the balls, displays and parades of the fire department. Numerous companies, resplendent in uniforms and with brass bands held functions on any occasion deemed worthy of such a turnout, and there were many. The papers played up such amusements going into detail on celebrations. Where today wealthy socialities get the spotlight, society of the fifties consisted of the young blood that belonged to a fire company.

One occasion for a parade was the acquisition of a new fire truck by a local company. The Lafayette Hook and Ladder Company (members of which were French) paraded their new wagon before the admiring populace. The event was reported in the Herald:

In full uniform, the presence and appearance decidedly military, the dress consisting of fine blue cloth pants and close fitting jackets of some material trimmed with gold and scarlet. The truck and apparatus is the property of the city and the company is governed by the rules and regulations of the City Fire Department Organization....after parading through the city the procession halted at the Arcade Saloon where an abundant collation had been providedthe procession...then proceeded to Mission Dolores where they were received and entertained by the Rough Diamond Fire Company Number 13.

Good brothers all, and more than willing to leap at the first alarm. One wonders if their hurry was to put out a fire or wear a fancy uniform and concludes it might possibly have been the latter.

The Herald of July 3, 1855 listed the names of some of the fire fighting companies:

The Empire Fire Company, number 1, 55 men, new engine.

California, number 4, 30 men, engine tastefully decorated.

Monumental, number 6, 82 men, immense engine.

St. Francis Hook and Ladder Company, 30 men, new truck.

Pacific Fire Company, number 8, 45 men.

Pennsylvania number 12, 70 men in full uniform in military order.

Vigilance No. 9, 80 men, bouquet of artificial flowers on engine presented by Miss Procilla Nuttage.

Sansome Hook and Ladder Company.

San Francisco seems to have had its ultra-ultra social set as early as 1851, according to the following "society notice" taken from the Alta California of February 15, 1851:

Knickerbocker Club:- The members of this association met for the further organization, by the adoption of a constitution and by-laws. Quite an animated discussion arose upon the question of who should be admitted as members, various propositions were offered, but it was finally settled that none but those who were "to the manor born" could be considered as genuine Knickerbockers.

"WHITE MAN'S BURDEN"

The Indians were, of course, unable to cope with the white man; their lot was a pathetic one as evidenced by the

following story taken from the Daily Herald of January 24, 1855:

Starving Condition of the Indians in the North.

A second meeting of the citizens of Pittsburg, in Shasta County, was held on the 13th of January, at which the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, that whereas, to our personal knowledge, the Pitt River, McCloud, and other Indians inhabiting this entire section of the country, are in a suffering condition for want of provisions, our streets and doors being continually thronged with the miserable, emaciated forms of these people, begging for food, compelling us either to support the whole tribe or witness cases of actual starvation. We therefore deem it our duty to take some action in the case, through which relief may be furnished them temporarily, and likewise to a greater extent than our individual means will permit.

Resolved, that relief ought to be furnished these Indians in some manner from the funds at the disposal of the Superintendent of Indian affairs, for the benefit of the California Indians; and as it appears from late information received from the Superintendent, that he has no authority to give them relief in their present location, and as the lateness of the season prevents their removal to the Nome-Lackee Reservation, we, therefore, believe that a Temporary Reservation at least ought to be established in this vicinity. Their condition calls for immediate relief, which can be afforded by collecting them at some point in this immediate section...

CRIME IN THE NEWS

Crime in the interior was rampant throughout the fifties despite the efforts of some localities to follow the example set by the first San Francisco Vigilance Committee.

The following article which appeared in the Daily

Herald of January 22, 1855 typifies mining camp justice:

CHRISTMAS FESTIVITIES AT BESTVILLE

A letter from Bestville, on the Salmon, says:-
 "On Christmas Day Robert Craig, an Irishman had his heart slightly curtailed, which caused immediate death. The murderer was not arrested. We have been frozen up for a month, but last night it snowed and we got to work to-day, January 1st." From another source we learn that the murderer was a butcher named Morgan, who made his escape. It was committed in a trading tent, and said to have been instigated by the trader. The miners called a meeting, gave the trader twenty-five lashes and gave him the alternative of leaving in ten minutes or being hung. He accepted the former.

The miners have determined to compel all the "squaw men" to leave the diggings.

PROPHECY

All in all the frontier press played well and colorfully its destined role in the founding of the great new Western Empire that was so ably prophesized in The Californian of August 29, 1846:

Vista of an American State. -- The destiny of California is fixed -- she is to become a free and independent state -- a member of the North American Confederacy. She is no longer to be subject to a foreign arbitrary power, to domestic revolutions or military rule. She is to make her own laws, manage her own resources, and found those institutions in which her children are to find a happy home.

...Golden harvests will wave over hills and valleys, where now only the briar and bramble are seen; and where only the howl of the wolf is heard, the gloomy silence of the wild cascade will be broken by the thunder of factories, where art and industry will roll out upon the public their richest products. Commerce will enliven every bay, and penetrate into the gorges of the distant mountains.

...Such is the destiny of California, such the patrimony which the aged, now descending into their graves, bequeath to their children. Who would dread such a vista? Who bar his offspring from such a heritage?

FRONTIER JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCOAPPENDIXSHORT LIVED NEWSPAPERS OF SAN FRANCISCO 1847-1858

NEWSPAPERS	ESTAB- LISHED	DISAP- PEARED	REVIVED	DISAP- PEARED
California Star (1)	1847	1848	Merged with the	
Californian (2)	1847	1848	Californian	
Star and Californian (3)	1848	1849	Name changed to Alta California (4)	
Pacific News (5)	1849	1851		
Le Californien (French)	1850	1850	Merged with the Public Balance	
Daily Journal of Commerce (6)	1850	1851		
Daily Herald - also known as Herald and Mirror after 1863 (7)	1850	1856	1856	1869
California Courier - also known as Daily Courier and Pacific Courier	1850	1852	1854 1857	1854 1857
Watchman (Presbyterian) (8)	1850	1850		
Evening Picayune - also known as Evening News and Evening Picayune (9)	1850	1851	1852 and 1853 Absorbed by the Daily Evening News	1854
La Gazette Republicaine (French)	1850	1850	1854	1854
California Illustrated Times (10)	1850	1850		
Public Balance	1850	1851		
Illustrated Guide	1850	1850	Nothing published	
Daily Balance - also known as Standard and Pacific Standard	1851	1851		
Hombre	1851	1851		
Morning Post	1851	1851		
Pacific Evening Star	1851	1853		
Sunday Dispatch	1851	1852	1854	1854

(1) First newspaper established in San Francisco: January 9, 1847.

(2) Second newspaper established in San Francisco: May 22, 1847. Founded originally in Monterey on August 15, 1846: First California newspaper.

(3) First newspaper merger in California: November 18, 1848.

(4) First Daily newspaper in California: January 22, 1850.

(5) First Democratic newspaper.

(6) Second daily newspaper in California: January 23, 1850.

(7) Crippled by the Vigilance Committee of 1856.

(8) First religious newspaper.

(9) First evening newspaper.

(10) First pictorial newspaper.

FRONTIER JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCO

APPENDIX (Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	ESTAB- LISHED	DISAP- PEARED	REVIVED	DISAP- PEARED
Gold Hill News - also known as Golden Hill News and Golden Mountain News (1)	1851	1851	1854	1854
Christian Observer (Methodist)	1851	1851		
Clarion	1851	1851		
Sloat's San Francisco Prices Current & Shipping List (2)	1851	1852		
Western American	1852	1852		
Johnson's San Francisco Shipping List & Prices Current - also known as San Francisco Prices Current & Shipping List And Prices Current & Shipping List	1852	1859		
Daily Morning Times	1852	1869	Absorbed by Alta Calif.	
Evening Journal	1852	1856	1863	1868 ✓
San Francisco Daily Whig - also known as San Francisco Daily Whig & Commercial Advertiser and San Francisco Daily Com- mercial Advertiser	1852	1854		
Daily Times & Transcript (3)	1852	1855	Absorbed by Alta Calif.	
L'Écho Du Pacifique (French)	1852	1863	Name Changed to Courrier de San Francisco	
Staats-Zeitung (Gorman)	1852	1853	Renamed Freie Presse	
Bugle	1852	1852		
Satan's Bassoon	1852	1852		
Freie Presse (German)	1853	1854	Absorbed by the Calif. Demokrat	
Curiosity Shop	1853	1853		
California Temperance Organ	1853	1854	Name changed to Star of the West	
Weekly Catholic Standard	1853	1854		
Daily Sun	1853	1856		
Le Present et L'Avenir - also known as Present and Future	1853	1853	Name changed to Public Ledger	
Public Ledger	1853	1854		
Messenger (French)	1853	1856		

- (1) A religious tract: First Chinese newspaper in the United States.
- (2) Kemble gives the year 1852 for the founding of this publication; but it was listed in the minutes of the "Editor's Convention" of 1851.
- (3) Established originally in 1849 at Sacramento as the Placer Times; merged with Transcript in 1851 and became the Times and Transcript. Moved to San Francisco in 1852.

FRONTIER JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCO

APPENDIX (Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	ESTAB- LISHED	DISAP- PEARED	REVIVED	DISAP- PEARED
The Oriental (Chinese) (1)	1853	1854	1855	1857
Daily Evening News - also known as Evening News and Picayune	1853	1856	Absorbed the Evening Picayune	
Daily California Chronicle	1853	1858		
California Weekly Journal	1853	1853		
Young America	1853	1854		
Bon Ton Critic (2)	1854	1854		
Pacific Statesman	1854	1854		
Star of the West	1854	1854		
Wide West (3)	1854	1858		
Golden Hill News (Chinese) (4)	1854	1855		
Young American on the Pacific	1854	1854		
Police Gazette (5)	1854	1854		
Journal of Commerce	1854	1854		
La Cronaca (Spanish-Italian) (6)	1854	1855		
Weekly Leader	1854	1854		
Pathfinder - also known as the California Evening Pathfinder and Post	1854	1856	1856	1858
California Mail	1854	1855		
Abend Zeitung (German)	1854	1854		
Town Talk	1854	1858	Absorbed by the Daily Morning Times	
El Dorado	1854	1854		
Pacific Recorder (Baptist)	1854	1854		
Water Fount (7)	1854	1854		
Uncle Sam (8)	1854	1854		
Masonic Record	1854	1854		

(1) First genuine Chinese newspaper in the United States.

(2) Dr. J. F. Morse, the editor of this publication, was sentenced to prison in 1854 for grand larceny.

(3) Expensive illustrations and the exodus to the Frazer river during the "gold rush" of 1858 cost this publication its life.

(4) Second genuine Chinese newspaper in the United States.

(5) J. F. Dunn, the publisher of this newspaper, was stabbed to death.

(6) Lafuente, one of the proprietors of this newspaper, was sentenced to San Quentin for murder.

(7) Published in New York but dated San Francisco for California circulation.

(8) Published in Boston but dated San Francisco for California circulation.

FRONTIER JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCOAPPENDIX (Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	ESTAB- LISHED	DISAP- PEARED	REVIVED	DISAP- PEARED
French Publications founded in 1854-1855: (Short-lived)			Length of existence:	
Patriote				3 months
Courriere de Californie				6 weeks
La Presse				1 day
Gazette Republicaine				3 months
Le Francais				1 month
Colibri				2 months
Mineur				6 months
Spectateur				6 months
Passe-Partout				3 months
Revue Californienne				1 month
Tam Tam				1 week
Oriental (Chinese-English)	1855	1857		
Medical Journal	1855	1855		
San Francisco Journal (German)	1855	1858		
Criticus (German-English)	1855	1855		
Fireman's Journal - also known as Spirit of the Times (1)	1855	1861	1861	1870
Daily Citizen	1855	1855	Transferred to Sacramento	
Sud Americano (Spanish) (2)	1855	1855		
Deutscher Demokrat (German)	1855	1855		
Weekly Cosmopolitan	1855	1855		
State (3)	1855	Published only three issues		
Daily American	1855	1856		
La Phare (French)	1855	1863	Absorbed by L'Union Americain	
Bibliothèque Populaire (French)	1855	1855		
Western Standard (Mormon)	1855	1857		
Weekly Sunday Times (4)	1855	1856		
Weekly Law Journal	1855	1855		
Eco del Pacifico (Spanish) - also known as EL Eco del Pacifico; formerly the 4th page of L'Echo Du Pacifique	1856	1863	1863	1868
Sunday Varieties	1856	1865		

(1) First sport sheet in San Francisco

(2) Lafuente, who was sentenced to San Quentin, was also one of the founders of this newspaper.

(3) The date given here by Edward C. Kemble is incorrect; the State was probably started in 1858. See page no. 40 "Gentlemen of the Press," Henry George.

(4) The owner of this publication was James P. Casey who was hanged by the Vigilantes for the assassination of James King of William, 1856.

FRONTIER JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCO

APPENDIX (Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	ESTAB- LISHED	DISAP- PEARED	REVIVED	DISAP- PEARED
Daily True Californian	1856	1856		
Weekly Legal Intelligencer	1856	1856		
Phoenix	1856	1856		
Daily Globe - also known as Morning Globe and Daily National Globe	1856	1859		
Weekly Courrier de San Francisco	1856	1863	Part of L'Echo Du Pacifique	
Mercantile Gazette and Shipping Register	1856	1867		
Daily Evening Post - also known as Post and Pathfinder	1856	1858		
Fillmore Ranger	1856	1856		
Star of the Empire	1856	1856		
Daily Evening Star (Back page of the Deutsche Republikaner)	1856	1856		
Deutsche Republikaner (German)	1856	1856		
Weekly Young America	1856	1856		
Eagle of Freedom	1856	1856		
Voice of Israel (Jewish)	1856	1857	1870	1874
Evening Times	1856	1856		
Daily American	1856	1857		
California Republican	1857	1857		
Weekly Gleaner (Jewish)	1857	1863	1863	1868
California Free Press	1857	1857		
California Register	1857	1857		
Weekly Mirror of the Times (Negro)	1857	1858		
Weekly Spirit of the Times (1)	1857	1858		
District Court Reports	1857	1858		
Pacific Courier - also known as California Courier	1857	1857		
Daily Evening Ledger	1857	1857		
News Letter	1857	1858		
Daily Evening Plainedealer	1857	1857		
Daily Evening Argus	1857	1858	1858	1864
Pacific Methodist Examiner and Inquirer	1857	1863	Transferred from Stockton	
Athenaeum - also known as the California Critic	1858	1858		
California Home Journal	1858	1858		
Daily Evening Telegram	1858	1860		

(1) This publication was the continuation of the Fireman's Journal.

FRONTIER JOURNALISM IN SAN FRANCISCOAPPENDIX Continued)

NEWSPAPERS	ESTAB- LISHED	DISAP- PEARED	REVIVED	DISAP- PEARED
Daily National	1858	1860		
Daily Evening Republican	1858	1858		
Illustrated Pacific News	1858	1862		
Telograph Hill	1858	1858		

GENEALOGY OF SAN FRANCISCO
DAILY NEWSPAPERS
1846-1939

ALTA CALIFORNIA:- SAN FRANCISCO'S OLDEST DAILY

CALIFORNIA'S FIRST
NEWSPAPER

The Californian
(Monterey)
August 15, 1846

Californian
(San Francisco)
May 22, 1847

SAN FRANCISCO'S FIRST
NEWSPAPER

California Star
January 9, 1847

Star & Californian
November 18, 1848

Alta California
(Weekly)
January 4, 1849

Alta California
(Tri-weekly)
December 10, 1849

Alta California
(Daily)
January 22, 1850

SACRAMENTO'S FIRST
NEWSPAPER

Placer Times
(Sacramento)
1849 -- 1851

Transcript
(Sacramento)
1850 -- 1851

Times & Transcript
(Daily)
(Sacramento)
1851 -- 1852

Times & Transcript
(Daily)
(San Francisco)
1852 -- 1855

Town Talk
1854-1858

Morning Times
(Daily)
1852 -- 1869

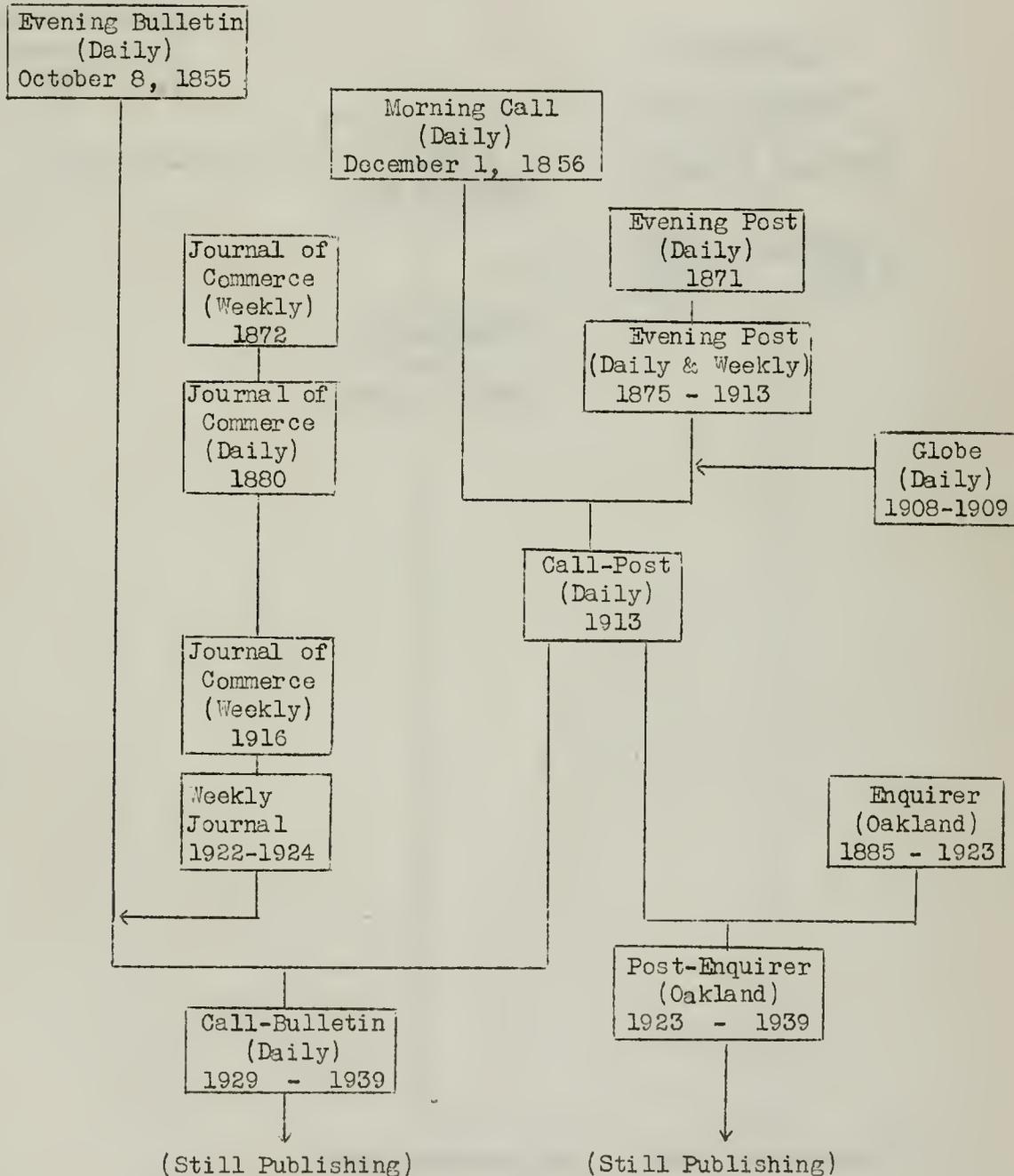
(Suspended Publication 1891)

GENEALOGY OF SAN FRANCISCO
 DAILY NEWSPAPERS
 1846-1939
 (Continued)

EXISTING DAILY NEWSPAPERS

(1) CALL-BULLETIN

(2) POST-ENQUIRER

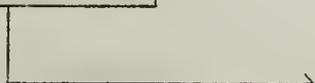


GENEALOGY OF SAN FRANCISCO
DAILY NEWSPAPERS
1846-1939
(Continued)

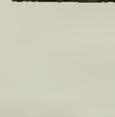
EXISTING DAILY NEWSPAPERS (Continued)

(3) EXAMINER

Democratic Press
(Weekly)
1863



Examiner
(Weekly)
July 12, 1865



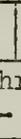
Examiner
(Daily)
1880 - 1939



(Still Publishing)

(4) CHRONICLE

Daily Dramatic
Chronicle
January 16, 1865



Daily Chronicle
1869 - 1939

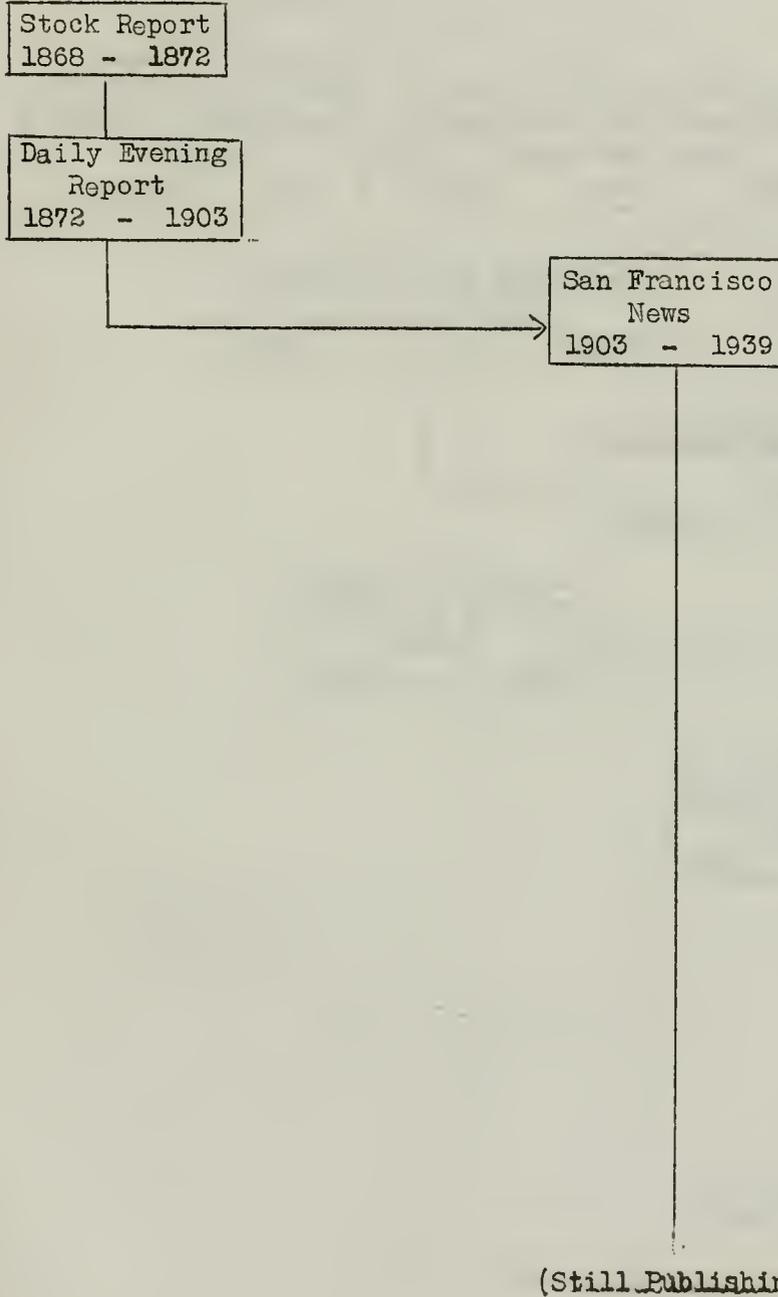


(Still Publishing)

GENEALOGY OF SAN FRANCISCO
DAILY NEWSPAPERS
1846-1939
(Continued)

EXISTING DAILY NEWSPAPERS (Continued)

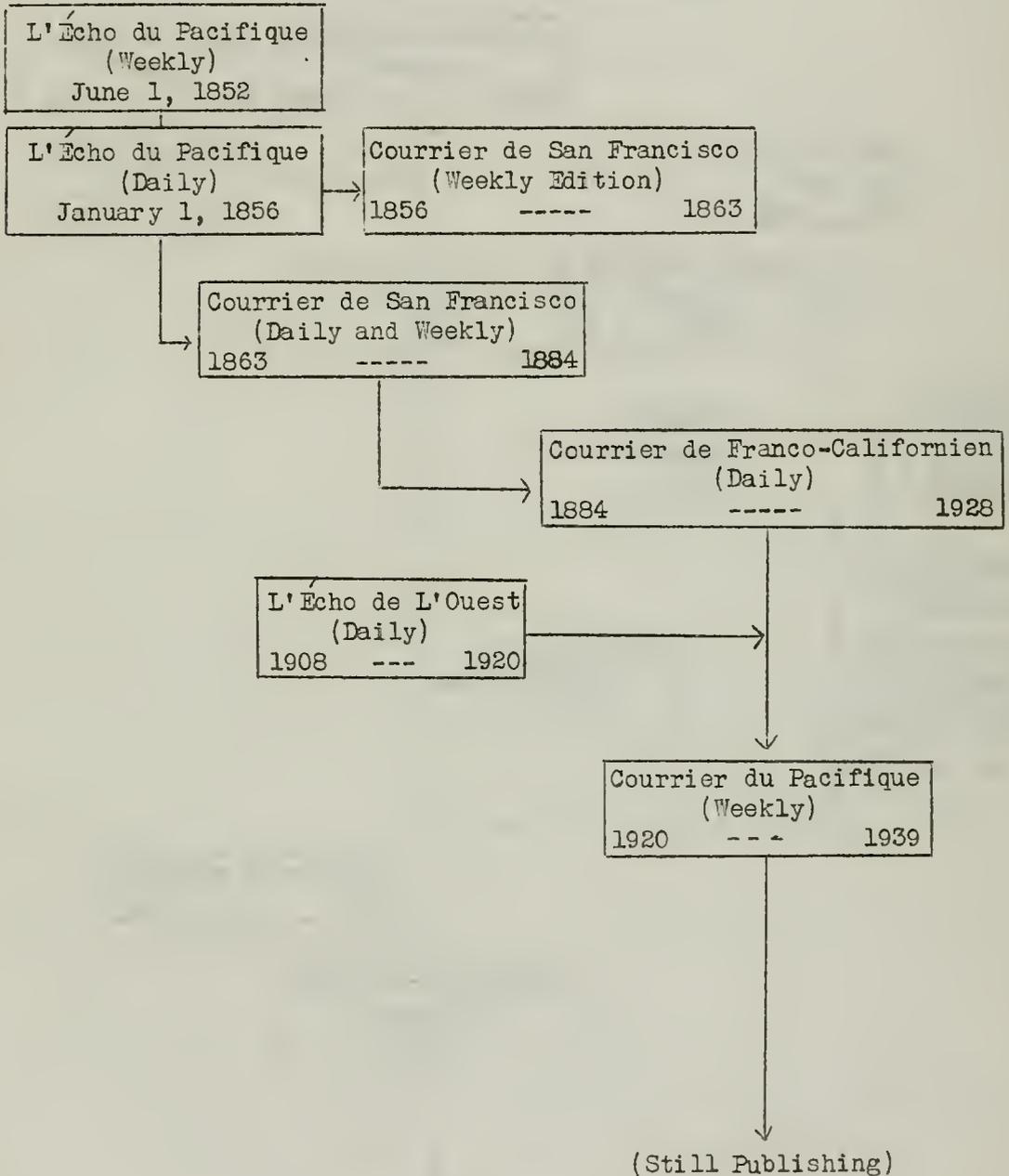
(5) SAN FRANCISCO NEWS



GENEALOGY OF SAN FRANCISCO
DAILY NEWSPAPERS
1846-1939
(Continued)

OLDEST FRENCH NEWSPAPER IN SAN FRANCISCO

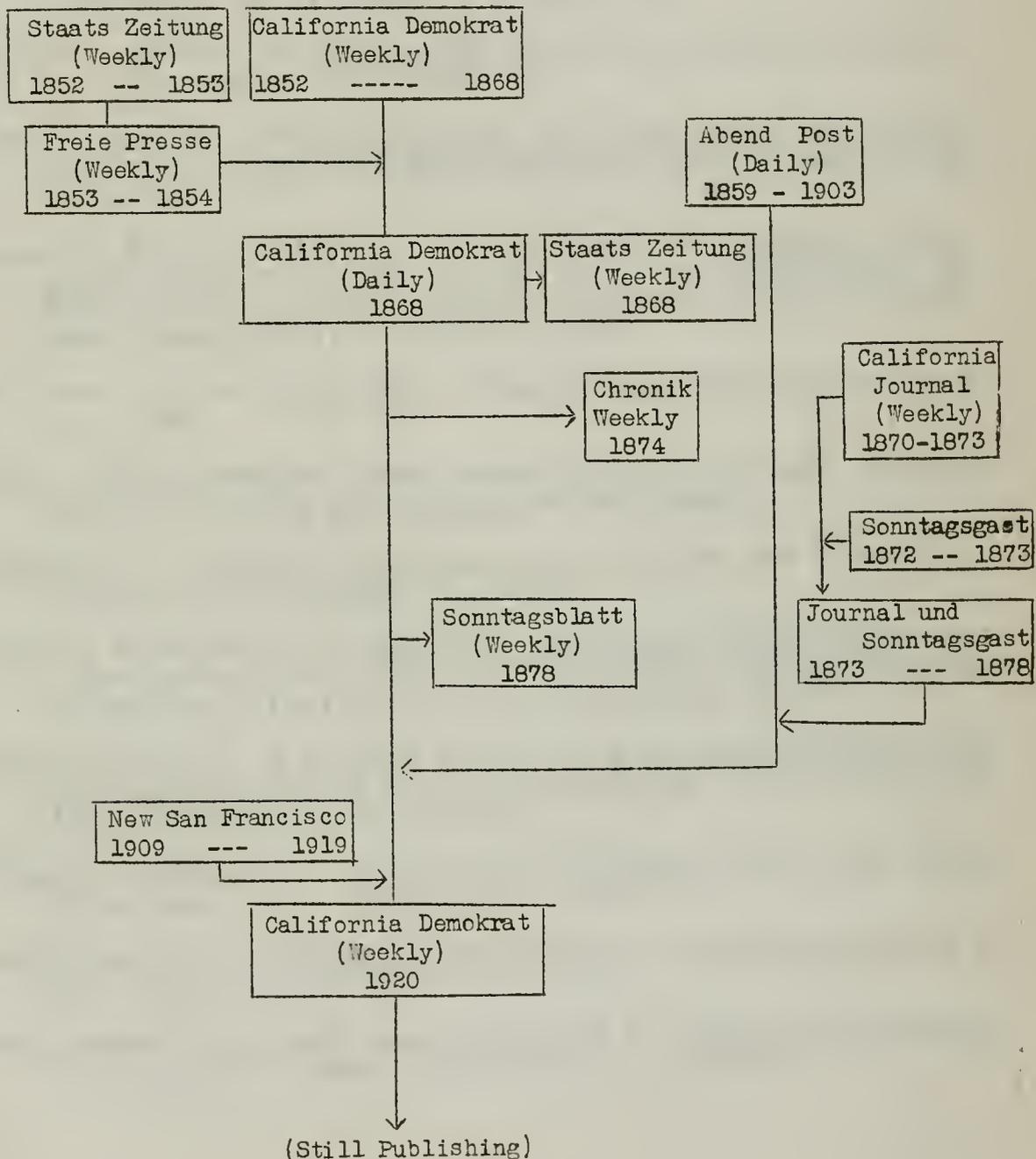
COURRIER DU PACIFIQUE



GENEALOGY OF SAN FRANCISCO
DAILY NEWSPAPERS
1846-1939
(Continued)

OLDEST GERMAN NEWSPAPER IN SAN FRANCISCO

CALIFORNIA DEMOKRAT



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