

The Gregson memoirs, containing Mrs. Eliza Gregson's "Memory" and the statement of James Gregson ...

JAMES AND ELIZA GREGSON From a photograph taken in Petaluma about 1860

THE GREGSON

MEMOIRS

CONTAINING

MRS. ELIZA GREGSON'S

"MEMORY"

AND THE

STATEMENT

OF JAMES GREGSON

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The Gregson Memoirs

JAMES AND ELIZA MARSHALL GREGSON, California pioneers of 1845, both left manuscript recollections covering, principally, the years 1845-50. The dictated "Statement of James Gregson" was sent by Robert A. Thompson, editor of the Sonoma *Democrat*, to Hubert Howe Bancroft, on April 16, 1876, with a letter requesting compensation for the clerical work involved. The manuscript is now in the Bancroft Library, at the University of California, Berkeley, and is printed here by permission of the Library.

In 1880, a *History of Sonoma County*, on which Thompson had done considerable work, was published by Alley, Bowen & Co. This contains a brief biographical sketch of James Gregson and also a portrait of him.

Feeling that the pioneer women had been neglected by the historians, Mrs. Gregson proceeded to write her own "Memory." This she did on the blank sides of old bill-heads, letters, and other scraps of paper. It was preserved and copied by her daughter, Mrs. Eliza Butler, and is printed here with Mrs. Butler's permission and through the courtesy of her son, Dr. Chester Gregson Butler. Dr. Butler has been assisted in annotating the manuscript by members of the editorial staff. A few parts of the original document have been lost, but the missing portions have been supplied from the copy.

To those interested in the history of the period, Mrs. Gregson's account will be of even more value than her husband's. Here is to be found a rare, detailed record of everyday life written by a pioneer woman. Her "Memory" begins with her life in England and includes her journey to the United States, her marriage, the hardships of the overland journey to California in 1845, the births, sicknesses, and deaths of her children, her husband's work for Sutter, the delightful Indian custom of skinning a coyote alive, the use of cow manure broth to break her husband's fever, the terrible experiences of the Donner party, incidents connected with the conquest of California, the discovery of gold and the resultant rush, the establishment of a home in Sonoma, and many other experiences known only to the pioneer woman.

James Gregson's "Statement" follows the general outline of his wife's account but gives fewer family details. A fair amount of attention is given to his experiences as a soldier, his land warrant for service, and his work with James Wilson Marshall, the discoverer of gold.

Of the two manuscripts, the "Statement" is the better written, probably because it was dictated to Thompson. Since it is a transcription and not Gregson's own writing, the spelling and punctuation have occasionally been corrected. In Mrs. Gregson's "Memory," however, the original spelling has been preserved, but in a few instances the paragraphing has been changed.

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Mrs. Gregson's "Memory"

I was Born in the city of manchester [England] 1824 on the 15 of march lived there untill I was about 4 years old, & then went to A place calld Stockport. afterwards moved into derbyshire where we lived untill I was about 13 years. my memory ofton gose back to my childhood years at that place. wich was named pleasley. the people were old fashened & kind & many of them had lived there ever since they were born some of them were over 100 years old. majority were staunch Methodists. I always thought they were the most contented & happy christian people I have ever seen in all my ramblings through life.

my parents [John and Anna Hughes Marshall] where both born in the north of england. my father was a man fond of company. & he was a good maschinist & made money fast but the worst of it was could spend it as fast, while liveing at that place he made the acquaintance of some young noblemen & he learned to gamble as well as any of them which soon made my mother complain & so things went on from bad to worse untill we had to leave & come back to the north of derbyshire & we came to the city of manchester where we staid for a few months then moved back into the country to a place called by the name bugsworth among the coal mines & lime kilns where my father started a cotton factory for manufactering of very fine stocking yarn. but fates were against him & he failed. & to make matters worse he endorst a note for a man, & the man left him to pay it. so my father got togheter all the money he had & left by the underground railroad for America

leaving myself my mother 3 brothers & one sister my eldest brother 14 years old & he a very delicate boy, myself 12 years & the rest of the children younger and so small to do much work according to laws of English laws every thing was sold under the hammer, my mother thought she would try & save some good blankets to cover herself & children. & to do so she told me to take them when the bumbailiffs were absent and hide them in the top of the dairy house chimneys that house was built on the side of a hill. the front faced the Valley & the dairy was partly under ground. by some means we were suspected & they found them & they were sold at auction leaving us almost destitute

we then moved to a town called hayfield where my Brothers & myself got employment in a cotton factory. & we had to get furniture & bedding for we had nothing. think of it Californians where there are no factory bells to call you out at 5 o'clock A.M. & work until about 8 P.M. with sometimes milk & other times treacle & oat meal much [mush] 3 times a day. notwithstanding all this we got along very well. about this time my mother's sister's husband died in Manchester & she with her two daughters came & made there home with us.

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in the spring of 1839 my father paid our passage in New York. & we came across the ocean my Aunt's family with us. & we settled in the town of Pawtucket R.I. & we lived there until I was 19 years old when a young Englishman [James Gregson] who used to live neighbors to us when I was a little child came to see us. in the spring of 1843 & we were married the next 20 of October.

so from being a weaver in the cotton factory & my husband a blacksmith & boiler maker, we turned our thoughts westward, We lived at his father's house in Philadelphia that winter & in the spring of 1844 we started leaving all behind with just 18 dollars in 10 cent pieces. Oh what a big lot of money to travel to Illinois with we were young and determined to make a living away from the cotton shops. my husband was not very stout & I thought that his trade was more than [he] could stand many years longer & that was the main spring to our proceedings.

Well there was too much fever & ague [ague] & we could not stand that. we could make a good living if we could only keep from shaking. so misfortunes seldom come alone. We had a sweet little babe born to us on the 26 of September [r] 1844. only to stay 3 months & then he died & we laid him away in the grave hoping to meet again when our time on earth is past. again to [o] my father & mother had not lived agreeable & my mother & two Brothers & sister came to [Rock Island County] Illinois in the fall of 1844 & we all lived in a cabin where there were holes in the sides that you could throw your hat through if you wished to. was it any wonder that we were sick or that our babe died. but there was no help for it. we were getting poorer every day.

so in the spring of 1845 we made what preparations we could all of us together & started for Oregon. there was a great deal of talk about that country that we could get homes if we would settle on the land & that there was a big lot of land for a man, & a lot I forget how much for his wife & for each child if they would settle there Well we thought that was a good thing & away we started very poorly supplied in April 1845. it was estimated that it would take us 6 months so we accordingly laid in provisions enough for the trip. that is we thought we had but we were mistaken.

We had 3 yoke of good cattle & one good wagon for 6 persons & our party * took one passenger in at Bloomington [Burlington] Iowa & we had one tent & as few things as possible.

The party evidently consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Gregson, John, Henry, and Mary Ann Marshall (Mrs. Gregson's brothers and sister), and Mrs. Ann Marshall (her mother). The passenger has not been definitely identified.

We had as good traveling as could be expected for people that was fresh from the city & as green as the grass in the fields. from my childhood I always loved to milk so sometimes we used to milk the cows as they [were] feeding on the [grass] along the road. that was before we left the settlements after that we fared rather

hard. for traveling made us very hearty. nothing of especial interest accord [occurred] until we arrived at Fort Hall 4 on Snake River where we found that our stock of provisions was rather low we laid in a little more.

when we were a little this side of fort hall on snake river the provisions being rather low & the cattle being poor, myself & hussband we left our little party & got in with a man by the name of [Elijah] bristow * I did the cooking & washing & my husband drove the team into Callnia our cattle was giving out so we had to cut the wagon down & make a cart of it & throw away some of our goods things began to look very scaly just then.

Elijah Bristow was a Kentuckian who came overland to Sutter's Fort in 1845 and went to Oregon the next year, where he died in 1872. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), II, 730. John Henry Brown states that Bristow (whom he calls Bristol) was one of the group who, as the end of the journey approached, left their teams and went ahead on horseback. In this group he includes also Blackburn, Snyder, McDougal, and Knight. John Henry Brown, *Reminiscences of Early Days of San Francisco (1845-50)* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press [1933], p. 12. Bristow is mentioned in the *New Helvetia Diary, a Record of Events Kept by John A. Sutter and His Clerks* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1939), on pp. 10, 15, 32, and 34. (This work is hereafter cited as *N.H. Diary*.)

We traveled on a day or so & came across a party of emagrants bound for Callifornia & they were looking for recurits [recruits] so we joined their company wich was about 40 wagons in all * they had an old man by the name of Greenwood * for A pilot for the road was new & was but little known to any but the trapers. it was on this road the indians were very bad. When we came to marys river [the Humboldt] they began to molest us. * Sometimes when we were in camp in the evening our cattle would come runing into the Corrail with arrows sticking in their sides & most of them died one evening a pretty young hefeir came in with 2 or 3 arrows in her flesh so that she died & a doctor [Carter] in the company put some stricknine in the heifers meat & left it for the indians to eat, * 3 or 4 of the boys remained to watch & they saw the indians come & take it away I expect they had A Joly time of it.

Henry Marshall, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer," in *The Pioneer*, San Jose, August 10, 1878, states that he "left Independence for Oregon with Captain Welch and one hundred and twenty-nine wagons, and perhaps five hundred persons. We divided first into three companies, and then split into small parties. I came on the way as far as Fort Hall with Welch." This was undoubtedly Dr. Presley Welch who was captain of the train piloted by Stephen H. L. Meek and of which Joel Palmer was a member. See Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains to the Mouth of the Columbia River* (Cincinnati, 1847), p. 16. Palmer and Welch went on to Oregon, but, Marshall writes, "at Fort Hall a train was made up for California and I joined it. The Hudsons [David and William], Elliots [William B. Elliott] and [Michael] Coleman for whom Coleman Valley is named, joined also, with P. McChristian and James Gregson." Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 576-86, divides the 1845 overland immigration to California roughly into five parties: the Swasey-Todd (or Snyder-Blackburn) company; a company of fifteen men

under William L. Sublette; the Grigsby-Ide company; Frémont's exploring expedition; and a party under Lansford W. Hastings. The Gregsons, Marshalls, Elliott, Coleman and McChristian he assigns to the Grigsby-Ide party. Yet Gregson himself, in his "Statement" which we print hereafter, records that "near Fort Hall we fell in with Jacob R. Snyder and Judge Blackburn who were traveling with pack horses, they came on with us Geo. McDougal joined us at Fort Hall and also Knight from whom Knights Valley is named"; and Bancroft states that these men came with the Swasey-Todd party which left the Grigsby-Ide company at Fort Hall. William F. Swasey, *The Early Days and Men of California* (Oakland, 1891), p. 29, also includes them in his party of twelve, but does not mention Gregson or the Marshalls. Apparently the personnel of each company varied during the journey, since it was difficult for all to maintain the same rate of speed.

"At Fort Hall we were met by an old man named Caleb Greenwood and his three sons; John was 22, Britain 18, and Sam 16. Caleb Greenwood, who originally hailed from Nova Scotia, was an old mountain man and was said to be over 80 years old. He had been a scout and trapper and had married a squaw, his sons being half breeds. He was employed by Captain Sutter to come to Fort Hall to divert the Oregon-bound emigrants to California He called the Oregon emigrants together the first evening we were in Fort Hall and made a talk. He said the road to Oregon was dangerous on account of the Indians. He told us that while no emigrants had as yet gone to California, there was an easy grade and crossing the mountains would not be difficult. He said that Capt. Sutter would have ten Californians meet the emigrants who would go and that Sutter would supply them with plenty of potatoes, coffee and dried beef. He also said he would help the emigrants over the mountains with their wagons and that to every head of a family who would settle near Sutter's Fort, Captain Sutter would give six sections of land of his Spanish land grant "After driving southward for three days with Caleb Greenwood, he left us to go back to Fort Hall to get other emigrants to change their route to California. He left his three boys with us to guide us to Sutter's Fort " Fred Lockley, *Across the Plains by Prairie Schooner: Personal Narrative of B. F. Bonney* (Eugene, Ore.: Koke-Tiffany Co. [1923]), pp. 3-5; also quoted in Charles Kelly, *Old Greenwood: The Story of Caleb Greenwood* (Salt Lake City: Privately printed, 1936), pp. 83-84.

The biographical note on James Gregson in the *History of Sonoma County* (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880), p. 475, gives the following version: "while on the road and passing through Humboldt cañon, they were attacked by Indians, who killed all their stocks except one yoke of cattle, which compelled our little party to make a two-wheeled vehicle out of their wagon, on which their baggage was transported, together with those persons who were unable to walk. All the men, also Mrs. Gregson and her mother, traveled on foot the entire distance from Humboldt to Johnson's ranch on Bear creek, the party arriving there on October 20, 1845."

Snyder states that it was a young steer and that was poisoned on September 8 by "a Dr. Carter traveling with us." "The Diary of Jacob R. Snyder," in *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, VIII (December 1931), p. 252. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 578, lists a George Carter in the Grigsby-Ide party.

at last we came to the Sierra Nevada Mountains which seemed insurmountable it wass some time before we could see which way we must go, at last we had to take the wagons apart & take them up in peieces over the mountains & the poor cattle got ove[r] or rather they were draged up with bleeding shines [shins]. the folks got ove[r] as best they could & reached the summit & rested two days. next traveled another day & camped on the banks of a beautiful lake & I think it was lake taho

* that night while all the camp was asleep we were awakened by A very loud noise & trembling of

the ground. which proceedid from one of the campers had A barrill (was caused by the explosion of a keg of Powder in the wagon belonging to Jacob R. Snyder and Co. *

Undoubtedly Donner Lake.

See Note 3. Knight says that he, with McDougal and Snyder, left the party at the Truckee River and went on to Sutter's Fort. Returning to meet his party on the summit, he found that his wagon and other property had been burned by the explosion of a keg of powder. Thomas Knight, "Early Events" (MS in Bancroft Library), pp. 3-4; also Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 577. Mrs. Sarah E. Healy, William B. Ide's daughter, also tells of the explosion in [Simeon Ide], *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of William B. Ide* [Claremont, N.H., 1880], p. 40.

Well we still kept up the march day after day, ever watching and looking for the promised land. after many days myself with some other young folks climbed up a very steep mountain and there standing under a Manzinita bush we saw the valley below streaching far and wide like an ocean. it looked beautiful to us, for we were tired and weary of the mountains, but we were still 3 or 4 days travel from it. At length we arrived at Johnsons ranch on Bear river * from there to Sutters fort on the Sacramento river, * a part of our company went south to San Jose and others to Sonoma. Our family went to whip sawing for captain Sutter, on the Mocosomy [Cosumnes] about 50 miles south east of the fort. * There we staid until the 24 of December 1845 when we returned.) *

Johnson's ranch (where the town of Wheatland now stands), on the north side of Bear River, in Yuba County, was the first settlement reached by the immigrants who came by way of Donner's Pass and down the San Juan Ridge, or the ridge north of Bear River, into Yuba County. The land was purchased at auction by William Johnson after the death of Pablo Gutierrez, in 1844, to whom the land had been granted earlier that same year. Hero Eugene Rensch, Ethel Grace Rensch, and Mildred Brooke Hoover, *Historic Spots in California—Valley and Sierra Counties* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1933), p. 544.

Henry Marshall, in his "Reminiscences" (see Note 3), states that they reached Sutter's Fort on October 20, 1845, but the *History of Sonoma County* (see Note 5) says that they arrived at Johson's Ranch on that day.

On Saturday, October 25, "Sutter sent two Waggon to Pine woods, Gregson and Marshall also went to the P. woods." *N.H. Diary*, p. 9: see also Gregson's "Statement," printed herein.

The material inserted within the marks () has been taken from the copy made by Mrs. Butler, that part of the original manuscript having been lost.

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on the 25 of december 1845 two men by names of harry trow * & Ned Robetson * both english men who had been sailors they had been working with our men whipping sawing they came to us bringing with them An englishman by name hardy. * he wanted my husaband & myself to go & live

on his ranch away up the Sacramento the ranch was on the west side of the river where the feather river emptied into Sacramento we were entered into an agreement with Mr Hardy & Trow to stay with them for 3 years. at the end of that time we were to receive 1 league of land at that ranch. also 100-50 head of cattle for our service which was taking care of said ranch. While they Hardy & Trow would go & work at carpentering for the Spaniards. all appeared right for a time & they commenced to build a frame house as we were living in a tula wigwam. the said Mr Hardy was a very morose ill tempered man very seldom in a good humor. he had one little Indian boy about 9 or 10 years old he used to vent his bad temper on the little fellow. the boy used to run & cling to me for protection [protection] after a week or two the boy ran away & was not seen again.

Henry Trow is mentioned several times in the *N. H. Diary*, beginning with September 18, 1845. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 751, states that he was in Sutter's employ from 1845-46, was mentioned in connection with Benicia affairs, 1847-48, and was later in the mines of Trinity or Shasta.

According to Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 698-99, Edward Robinsin was an American sailor who is said to have touched at Monterey in 1830 and to have "coasted off and on" for ten years; he then settled in the Sacramento Valley. In 1847 he married Mrs. Christina Patterson and lived on Dry Creek, San Joaquin County, but went to the mines for a while in 1848. He is mentioned frequently in the *N. H. Diary*.

Thomas M. Hardy was in California as early as 1843 when he was granted the rancho Rio de Jesus Maria on the Sacramento River near the mouth of Cache Creek. In 1844 he was a carpenter and translator in the Sonoma district, was in the mines in 1848, and in 1848 or 1849 was drowned in Suisun Bay, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 775. He is mentioned many times in the *N. H. Diary*.

one evening in January the later part of that month it had been raining very hard & we were sitting around our fire which was built in the middle of our wigwam Gregson & Trow sitting at sort of a table playing some sort of a game to pass away the time myself & Mr Hardy sitting by the fire conversing about England & our native towns. he said that he was born at Runcorn & that his father & mother lived there. I told him the circumstances in the year 1839 when our family were starting for the United States. our mothers thought it best for we elder children to go to Manchester [Manchester] on Sunday & they would come on the railroad & meet us on Monday morning on the New Bailey bridge. Monday morning came but no Mothers so we 5 children the eldest about 16 years old we concluded to start & did so. we arrived at Runcorn in the evening. after taking our luggage on the bank & not knowing where to go. there was an old man standing there he was tall & gray headed a little piece from there was a long boat house & one dwelling [dwelling] house. standing in the doorway was an elderly lady. in a few minutes she came towards us & asked what are you

doing here where is your parents? We told her all about it. When the tears started & ran down her cheeks & turning to her husband she said we must take these children in somebody may do as much for ours my coussan Sarah said have you children gone from home She answered we have one son gone away now You must come to my house & have your supper & ly down untill 12 oclock to night & then I will awake you & see you safe on the steam packet bound for liverpool. as soon as I had concluded hardy sprang up & exclaimed that is my father & mother. our conversation frequently turned on the same subject.

hardy & trow could not agree so after a short time they quarled & trow left & we could get nothing so we left & came back to the fort the 6 agreement papers between them & us were in Captain Sutters possessions & they where at the hawk farm * which was distroied by fire about the year 49 or 50 so all was gone in that case. I write this on account of a lawsuit which took place in 1867 & 68 & Mr. hardy was drowned about the 1849. leaveing his ranch unsetled. he told me he had a wife & one son in england. Well we left him & when we were leaving he was sorry & beged us to stop with him as we were his own country people.

Hock Farm, on the Feather River, named for a tribe of Indians living in the vicinity, was part of the New Helvetia grant of eleven leagues, which Sutter had obtained in 1841. There he kept large herds of horses, cattle, and sheep, and, after his fort was sold in 1849, went there himself to live.

So in the latter part of April 1846 we returned to the fort & my husaband worked for Capt Sutter somtimes in the blacksmith shop & sometimes diging ditches for they had no fences around the farm. & there was no work for woman excepting a little cooking & very little at that. & our cloathes we had to patch untill the original peice could scarcely be found. our men worked for 1 dollar per day. & common dress goods \$1 per yard. so it took \$8 to buy 1 dress & our food was very coarse flour & sometimes pretty good beef no coffee or tea or sugar or Milk or butter. the flour being unbolted acted on us the same as medicen & making very bad work.

in 1846 the United States & me[x]ico went to war. & the war extended of course to Call [California]. in the early part of the year 1846 my husband inlistid in freemonts [Frémont's] batalion

as a volunteer he was stationed at the fort during that summer. * While some of the others went down [to] southern California.

The "Pay Roll of the Garrison at Fort Sacramento" (MS No. 94 of the Fort Sutter Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library) shows that Gregson enlisted as a private on August 8 and was discharged on November 8, after three months service at \$12.50 a month.

now I shall have to refer back again to the year 1845 when we arrived at the fort the governor of California [Pio Pico] sent a written document to Captain Sutter authorizing him to drive back the Americans & not to let them stop in the country. * Well most of the emigrants had but very little of anything left & it was out of the question. We could not & would not leave. It was then that the big-hearted old Captain spoke in his usual way. by. Jo! You stand by me. I stand by you [to] the end.

The proclamations and orders from Pio Pico were received on October 21, according to *The Diary of Johann August Sutter* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1932), p. 28. See also *N.H. Diary*, p. 8. Pico was acting on orders dated July 10, 1845, which he had received from the Mexican Government, instructing him to prevent the entry of immigrant families into the department. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 605, citing the following MSS: Manuel Castro, *Documentos para la historia de California*, I, 152; Superior Government State Papers, XVIII, 8; Departmental State Papers, VI, 89, and VIII, 11; *Documentos para la historia de California*, II, 202, etc.

Some Americans brought general Valago [Vallejo] and his brother Salvador Valago & 1 Frenchman [Victor Prudon]. 1 American [Jacob P. Leese]. & 1 Englishman [Robert Ridley] prisoners to the fort for safe keeping, & the few soldiers that remained at the fort kept guard over them. They were treated very kindly. * During that time we received rations.

The statements made here are well supported by most of the works on the Bear Flag revolt.

now to show how the Indians did with a thief the house we lived in was two or three [two or three hundred] yards south of the fort. one day while I was sitting doing little or nothing I heard some very loud yells I went for to see what was the matter & there was about 9 or 10 Indians. & they had caught a large coyote & they had skinned him alive. & although it was a very hot day in July the poor thing would shiver as if he was freezing. & every time he would shiver the Indians would dance & through up their hands & yell with all their might. there was a few white persons watching. I suppose the Mr Coyote had been stealing their beef.

during the harvest time the Capt employed the wild diggers [Digger 7 Indians] & they would come in gangs of 50 together & as naked as they were born. they cut the grain with sickles & Butcherknives. & they were fed on boiled bran sometimes a few beef bones thrown in their food was put into long wooden troughs & laid on the ground & the indians would sit on each side of the trough & scupe their mess with thier hands. & it was laughable to see them When it was two hot they would shake their hands.

there was a few white wimen besides myself. there was Mrs McDowel * & Mrs leihy. * & Mrs Montgomery in other years latter Mrs Wallace [Wallis] of Mayfield near S.F. city. * about this time I saw Mr Hardy & it was the last time I eve[r] saw him, the summer is past again & on the second day of Sepber there was a weding at the fort the mans name was Wyman & the girls was Amearci Kelsey. * and on the third day Ann E Gregson was born.

James McDowell and his wife, Margaret Pyles, and daughter Maggie A. came overland to California in 1845 with a party Bancroft was unable to identify. He was employed as a gunsmith by Sutter, 1845-47. In August 1847 he moved with his family across the Sacramento, bought a rancho there and built a house. In May 1849 he was murdered, and the next year his widow had the townsite of Washington laid out on her land. She married Dr. E. C. Taylor in 1851 and died at Washington in 1883. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 723.

The wife of Daniel Leahy who was an Irish cooper at Sutter's Fort, 1845-46, and in 1847 owner of a lot in San Francisco, where they lived at least until 1854. He died in Nevada in 1875, leaving a family in Oregon. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 709.

Sarah Montgomery came overland with her husband, Allen, in 1844 with the Stevens party. He died in 1847, and she married, on October 25, 1849, the notorious Talbot H. Green (Paul Geddes, a fugitive from justice). When the facts came out about Green, she divorced him and married Joseph Sawyer Wallis, in 1854. John Adam Hussey, "New Light upon Talbot H. Green," in this QUARTERLY, XVIII (March 1939), 32-63. Bancroft records, *op. cit.*, IV, 743, that in 1885 Mrs. Wallis was still residing at Mayfield, "taking part sometimes in public meetings of progressive and strong-minded females."

America Kelsey, daughter of David Kelsey, came to Oregon in 1843 and to California in the Kelsey party of 1844, with her father and mother, two sisters and possibly a brother. George F. Wyman, whom she married in 1846, was sent by Sutter to raise recruits for the Micheltorena campaign in December 1844, and is often mentioned in the *N.H. Diary*. He was living at Spanishtown (now Half Moon Bay), San Mateo County, 1878-84. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 699, and V, 780.

there are several incedents happened during the summer of 1846 one very warm day in July 46 I was sitting in my house when I heard loud yells outsides I arose & went to see what was the matter When lo & behold in front of the fort was 8 or 10 indians & 2 or 3 white men. the indians had

caught a very large Coyota in a trap. the coyota had been stealing their beef & they were punishing him for it. they had skined it alive & every time the poor thing would Shiver with pain. they would throw up their hands & yell with delight. So much for indian justise. *

This is a repetition of what Mrs. Gregson has related before.

during the years 45 & 46 & 47. I must [not] omit to name the families that was at the fort there was Cap John A. Sutter the oldest resedent & at Whose instigation the fort was erected to proctect himself & all others that might have need of it. the old Capn was very generous to a fault. so large was his heart that he could not say no, peace to his ashes. & there was Mr John Bidwill [Bidwell] who was the cleark for the Cap S. Bidwill was an honest steady sobber man useing nether liqure or tobacco & Gorge McKinstry * & Cap Kern * who was Fremonts draughtsman, over the paths to Call & among the familys in 46 & 7 where Jim Smith who married our mother * & they lived in one of the adobe houses outside of the fort & Gregsons who lived in one end room of the same— & a family named Mc Dowel * Mr & Mrs McD & 3 little girls lived inside of the fort Mr & Mrs leighy * & their 2 little girls, & they buried their oldest little boy,

George McKinstry, Jr., who came overland in 1846, was active in relief measures for the Donner party. He was the first sheriff of the Northern District, at Sutter's Fort, 1846-47; took part in public affairs at Sacramento in early mining times; and had a trading post on the Cosumnes, 1849-50. From 1871-74 he was a physician at San Diego. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 725.

Edward M. Kern came as an artist with Frémont's expedition of 1845. He served as a lieutenant in the California Battalion in 1846, being in command at Sutter's Fort after the Bear Flag revolt. He left California in 1847. Kern River and Kern County were named for him. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 699. The correspondence and records kept by him at Sutter's Fort, known as the Fort Sutter Papers, are now in the Henry E. Huntington Library, at San Marino. Mrs. Anna Hughes Marshall married James Smith on January 11, 1846, at Sutter's Fort. *N.H. Diary*, p. 22.

Smith, a native of England, naturalized in 1844 after having been in California three years, was a farmer in the Sacramento Valley. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 723.

See Note 20.

See Note 21.

there was a great deal of sickness among the emigrants & several deaths occord. there was a doctor Gilde * who said to the people if [he] was taken with that malarry [malaria] desease he knew how he would be doctored. bleeding was his theory, so he was accatked [attacked] with the same desease. so he requested one of the men to bleed him & and he died soon afterwards.

Swasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29, says that Dr. W. B. Gildea was a dentist, from St. Louis, whom he persuaded at Fort Laramie to join his California-bound party of twelve, which included Jacob R. Snyder, William Blackburn, and others. The *N. H. Diary*, p. 3, records the arrival at Sutter's Fort, on September 27, 1845, of "Dr. W. B. Gildea and J. Greenwood with a small party preceding a large company from the States." Dr. Gildea, employed by Sutter, took charge of the pharmacy and became the physician at the Fort. Swasey, *op. cit.*, p. 35. He died there on January 24, 1846, and was buried the same day. *N. H. Diary*, p. 24.

in the summer of 46 there was a company of U.S. Soldiers stationed in the fort & I think it was the west side of the fort. that there was quite a lagoon of water where the indians used to wash & bathe. Well the Soldiers used to bathe there to. one day some soldiers & indians were washing & bathing When one of the soldiers was taken with the cramps & before any of the indians could get him out he was drowned & they buried him with military honors. I never learned his name^{*} in the fall of 46 there was quite a number of emigrants came to the fort but they scattered to other parts of Cal. some few remained at the fort

This was William König, a German from Leipzig. *N.H. Diary*, p. 49.

now comes on another part of the war in Cal Captain Fremont was about Monterey & he wanted some horses that were away north of the fort & he wanted them brought down to him for his use & he said that if the few white men that was at the fort would volunteer, he would provide for their families & that they should receive soldiers rations. So Mr Gregson & others went & got the horses & drove them to Monterey. leaving their families in charge of the American Government until the war should cease or stop.^{*}

See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 358-59. Each volunteer was to receive \$25.00 per month, with horse, saddle and bridle. His family were to be furnished with flour and meat by the government (the cost to be deducted from the soldier's pay) and might be quartered at "Fort Sacramento" if they desired. Document dated October 28, 1846, at Fort Sacramento and signed by Edwin Bryant, Benj. S. Lippincott, and others. Fort Sutter Papers, MS No. 51.

Well he went & left me & my little girl about six weeks old. to do [the] best I could. I got along pretty well until nearly Christmas with nothing to do only take care of the little one, the worst of it [was] I had very little to eat & I got so thin in flesh that I could scarcely carry the few cloths that were on my back. I was nursing a fat cross baby & had very little nourishments—about that time Mrs Leahy she says to me come & live with me & we will put our grub together it will be better

for us both, as her husband was gone to so I moved the few things I had & stayed with her & Mrs Montgomery.

Well at that time we could hear nothing from the seat of war one day there came A man with letters to Captain Sutter & Cap Kern stating there had been a battle with the Spaniards on the Salinas [Salinas] plains & there was 4 Americans killed & 7 wounded. with no names [mentioned] We few women were very uneasy about this time. for we did not [know] whether we were widows or not.

*

The battle of Natividad, or Salinas Plains, occurred on November 16, 1845. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 363-72. An account of the battle was printed in the *California Star*, San Francisco, August 21, 1847. The men killed were Capt. Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Ames, and Thorne (or "Billy the Cooper"?). See also James Gregson's account printed herein.

about a week before Christmas it commenced raining as hard as it could for a fortnight without intermission & the whole of Sacramento was overflowed, & on about that week the man of war boat Portsmouth came up from Yerba Buena [Yerba Buena] up the Sacto to within 2 or 3 hundred yards west of Sutter's fort the Captain & crew were very kind to us ladies Mrs Leahy & Mrs Montgomery & myself & our families went to visit them, before they left Yerba Buena the people at that place told them that there were no ladies at the fort besides the squaws. & they were well pleased to find they were mistaken.

that winter was a very wet one & we were scarce of food and fuel & we had hard work to keep fires. the Indians were told to supply us with fire wood but the whole valley [was] flooded to the foot hills & they had hard work to supply themselves as far as I can remember it was as bad as the year 1861 & 62, but there was no one to keep any account of it.

another item which I must not forget I was living with Mrs Leahy & in the same house with Mrs Montgomery. Mrs Leahy had two little girls Mary Ann & Libby. Mary Ann [was] between 4 & 5 years old. well Mrs Leahy was very kind to me for which I hold her in grateful memory She had been teaching Mary Ann her letters as best she could. She asked me if I would teach her little girls to write as she did not know how herself I told her Yes I would & was very glad for I had no

employment so at it I went during that time Mrs Montgomery would watch us with great interest. one day she says to me will you teach me Mrs Gregson. I looked at her to see if she was in earnest. & I told her yes if you want to learn. She said if you will learn me how to write I will do something very big for you if I am able. So I fulfilled my part but she forgot her part.

Well the winter passes away & early in the year 47 the startling news arrives at the fort that some emigrants [members of the Donner party] had just come in from the sierranaveds [Sierra Nevada] almost starved to death. & that they had left a large party starving in the mountains. So what was to be done there was but a few people at the fort. & old Captain Sutter sent out his vacquars [vaqueros] that is the indians that he had trained he sent them out to bring in about 12 head of the fatest [steers] & they did as they were told. they killed the beefs & barbaqued the meat & packed it on the best mules that was to be found & started them off.

there was a few white men went along with the indians to rescue the starveing people. amongst the white men that went out was one young man that had just come in from the mountains he volenteered to go back again. he had no relations nor any intrest but humanity & a big heart prompted him & taking of his waikcoat & his watch & a letter to be sent to N.Y. to his sister in case he should never return. poo[r] man he was froze to death. *

Charles T. Stanton, a native of New York but more recently a resident of Chicago, with William McCutchen had left the Donner party about September 18, 1846, somewhere in eastern Nevada and had pushed through to Sutter's Fort. There he left McCutchen, who was ill, and traveled back with food, seven pack-mules and two Indian vaqueros, rejoining the party on October 19—the first to bring back supplies. He later led the way three times over the pass, but on December 21, snow-blind, exhausted, and starving, he dropped behind and was left to die. George Rippey Stewart, Jr., *Ordeal by Hunger* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1936), pp. 55, 77, 125, 301, and 302.

there was but a few white women but we did all in our power for them. in two or 3 weeks back again some of them came. the mules allmost all dead & 3 or 4 indians besides white people. & they wanted more food for the starving ones that could not come. I shall never forget the looks of those people for the most part of them were crazy & their eyes danced & sparkled in their heads like stars. among the first lot that came out were 18. 5 girls & wemen the rest were men. the[re] were only two men survived a Mr fowler * & Mr Edey. * & 4 of the females were named Graves * the

youngest one was about 11 years old & one married lady Mrs Fosdick* her husband died & she buried him in the snow.

Mrs. Gregson probably means William M. Foster, from Pennsylvania, a son-in-law of Mrs. Lavina Murphy. His wife, Sarah A. C. Murphy, survived, but their baby son died in the mountains. Foster was a member of the fourth relief party. In 1847-48 he kept a furniture store in San Francisco, and later was a storekeeper in the mines. Foster's Bar was named for him. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 745; see also Stewart, *op. cit.*

William H. Eddy, a carriage-maker from Illinois, was one of the most active in saving other members of the party. His wife Eleanor, son James P., and daughter Mary all perished in the Sierra. Eddy married Mrs. F. Alfred in 1848, and Miss A. M. Pardoe in 1856, and died at Petaluma in 1859. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 788-89; and Stewart, *op. cit.*

Mary Ann (20), Ellen or Eleanor (15), Lavina (13), and Nancy (9). Their father and mother—Franklin Ward Graves and his wife Elizabeth—and brother Franklin, Jr. had died in the Sierra. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 299; and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 764.

Sarah Graves Fosdick (22), wife of Jay Fosdick and daughter of F. W. Graves. See Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 142. In 1848 Mrs. Fosdick married William Ritchie, and in 1856, Samuel Spiers. She died near Watsonville in 1871. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 744.

praphs I might as well speak a little more about Mrs fosdick. the wemen would take the lead over the snow & beat the track for the men to walk in. but for all that the men sunk down & died. the wemen even led them by the hand & made the camp fires & gave them food one morning Mrs fosdicks husband was dieing he tried to travel but did not succeed & the rest of the party could not stop for him to die. So she told them I will stay with him untill he dies You go I will overtake you in about 2 hours she was seen 10 coming with her husbands black silk Neckercheif around her neck She told them he is dead. Fowler said can we have him to eat. She said you cannot hurt him now. so some of them went back & brought some of his flesh & cooked it. So speak about womens rights say they are weak & ought to have no rights.

the second party that came out were Mrs reeds family* & one servant women* & a part of the two donnors familys. Jake & Gorge donner the[y] were two brothers with their wives & children. of the gorge donner family* there was 5 girls elithey [Elitha] & Leah [Leanna] & frances and gorgeana [Georgia] & Elza [Eliza]. of jake donnors family* two sons I was gorge donner & one girl named Mary donner. poor girl both her feet were frozen & they were in shocking condition the flies had blown them & there was maggots in them & she suffered a great deal. there was a doctor at the fort

he came & put some medesien on them but her feet was ruined * another women by the name of Kesburg she left one dead baby in the camp & started with one little girl 2 years old it died & she had to bury it in the snow. She left her husband behind I shall speak of him

Margaret W. Reed, wife of James Frazier Reed; the Reed children: Martha J. (Patty), James Frazier, Jr., and Thomas K.; and Virginia E. Backenstoe, generally known as Reed, for she was Mrs. Reed's daughter by her first husband. Stewart,*op. cit.*, p. 300, and Bancroft,*op. cit.*, V, 690.

Eliza Williams, half-sister of Baylis Williams. Stewart,*op. cit.*, p. 300.

See Bancroft,*op. cit.*, II, 783; and Stewart,*op. cit.*, p. 299.

Ibid.

Mary's foot, frozen and numb, had fallen into the fire at Starved Camp. After the party arrived at Sutter's Fort, Mary was carried through to San Francisco, where her foot was treated by Andrew J. Henderson, surgeon of the U.S. Ship *Portsmouth*. Eliza P. Donner Houghton, *The Expedition of the Donner Party* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 128, 313. She was married in 1859 to S. O. Houghton, but died the next year, and he, in 1861, married her cousin Eliza, the author of the book just cited. Bancroft,*op. cit.*, II, 783.

{ They left old Mr & Mrs [George and Tamsen] Donner with no one else but Keysburg [Lewis Keseberg] whose cabin was about 8 miles this west side of the nevada line. The old man Donner was too sick to travel and one of his hands were very sore. Mrs Donner would not leave her husband. So they left her some beef and promised to return for them in a short time. Mr. & Mrs. Jake Donner died in a short time after the arrival of rescueing party to them. In due time the men went out again and the weather was getting milder and the snow not so deep in the mountains. The first camp was Keysburgs they found him in his cabin cooking his supper of human flesh. they followed the tracks to the other camp but found no one, but the foot prints of Mrs Donner where she had apparently been cutting meat from a steer which had been buried in the snow, showing, plainly that she had not died from starvation. returning to Keysburgs camp, they asked him where is Mrs Donner? He said she died and he cut her flesh up and had it in a box and her husbands too for there was the sore hand. There were boxes filled with human flesh all cut and packed in butcherly style. The next thing where was her money, for Mr & Mrs Donner had about \$800.00 dollars it was not to be found Keysburg denied any knowledge of any money. }

*

so that one man by the name of big Ofallen^{*} put a rope around his neck & strung him up to a tree two or three times untill he was black in the face. & then he told where there was \$500 but would tell no more. so they brought him down to the fort. where he & his wife stayed that winter.

William O. Fallon [or o'Fallon], an Irish trapper, was known as "Mountaineer," "Big," or "Le Gros" Fallon. He was a member of the fourth Donner relief, and his diary, published in the *California Star*, and quoted in J. Quinn Thorton, *Oregon and California in 1848* (New York, 1849), II, 232-39, was the foundation of the charges against Keseberg.

one day old Mrs Lenox we thought we would like to see the maneater I told the old lady you go in first & I will follow. during the conversation Mrs Lenox asked him how human flesh tasted & he said it was better than chicken & several times that winter his wife would arrouse the people by 11 screaming murder at midnight she said that he wanted to kill her. Kesburg got offended at the folks for saying that he killed Mrs Donner & he sued them at law. during the examination he said that he got 4 pounds of tallow out of her. once he called one of the little donner girls to come to him but she answered him no you killed my mother he stayed about the fort for some time afterwards I saw but very little of him^{*}

Cf. Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-65, 287-93; see also Charles Fayeette McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party* (San Francisco: T. C. Wohlbruck, 1931), pp. 184-206. McGlashan and Mrs. Houghton, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-70, did not believe that Keseberg had murdered the Donners, nor did Bancroft. Keseberg died in the County Hospital at Sacramento, on September 3, 1895, aged 81 years.

{So the spring of 1847 came and the war being ended, the soldiers began to come back again, and we women would watch for any news, at last they returned, and some of the friends that I had been with all winter went to San Francisco. But we stayed at the fort, and Gregson and Mr. Lenox engaged with Capt Sutter to go upon Bear river and get out Mill-stones for him, which they did.^{*}

Lenox, or Lennox, is mentioned in the *N.H. Diary* on pp. 50, 70, 72, 75, 89, 95, 97, 108, 112, 129. In one instance he is called J. Lenox, although Bancroft (*op. cit.*, IV, 712) gives his initial as "T". The millstones were for the grist mill that Sutter was building at Birghton, a few miles above the Fort.

I wanted to move to Yerba Buena as it was then called, but my wishes were not considered and we then with Lenox's, moved to the tan yard on the American river and stayed that summer,^{*} and in the latter part of the summer Gregson along with most of the people, was taken down with the

Sacramento fever, which came very near taking his life, so near that the doctor * came in for his pay, and we gave him all [the] cows and horses we had for money we had none. The doctor thought my husband would die in a few short hours My mind was in a terrible state for what could I do. The fever was raging and he was delirious. I sat down and thought and I asked the old lady Lenox, is there nothing I can get for him I must do something or he will die, and you are a western woman can not you tell me of something some herbs? she answered no. Then I went out in the fields. I could find nothing no not even a blade of grass. All that there was, was some cow manure and it came to me, the cows have eaten up all the grass and herbs, why not the manure make a good medicine. So I took some of it wrapped it up in a cloth and boiled it then I filled a pint bowl full and took it to him. When he saw it he said, You want to poison me. I told him no see me drink. with that he took the bowl with both hands and drank it all and went to sleep.} * slept 3 or 4 hours but the fever was gone [and he] himself [was] as weak as an infant. *

The *N.H. Diary* (p. 54) records that on June 26, "Mistresses Lenox & Gregson moved down in the Hatterhouse." This was probably either Andrew J. Ward, a physician who had come to California with the New York Volunteers, or Dr. Bates, both of whom are mentioned frequently in the *N. H. Diary*. Capt. R. E. o'Neill, of San Francisco, has known of Hispanic-Americans using cow and sheep manure broths to break a fever. There may be cinchona, quinine, or some other chemical febrifuge in the mixture, but more probably it is a case of the patient's getting well in spite of the treatment.

during this time myself & my babe was sick but not as sick as the men & the indians suffered tererable they died almost in heaps & was not able one to bury the other when he died my husband recovered his health partly but not fully for a long time. but he went back to work again. & our little girls health being in very poor state in October I had a chance to go down to San Franco * I took her down so to see if it would not do her good & while there we stayed with Mrs Leahy she was very kind to us & as she had several boarders I did all the work I was able so to help pay our board my babe remained sick & one day I watched her expecting every hour would be the last When she reveived a little I took her to doctor leavensworth * he was very kind & would take no pay & the little one recovered.

The *N.H. Diary* records, on September 25, 1847 (p. 80): "The Launch has been despatched by Sunset Supercargo Mr Keseberg, Passengers Mrsers Keseberg & Gregson "

Thaddeus M. Leavenworth, a native of Connecticut, was a physician and Episcopal clergyman who had come as a chaplain with the New York Volunteers in 1847. He was an alcalde of San Francisco, 1847-49, but went to Sonoma County to live in 1850.

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then I wanted to go home but there was no conveyance & I had to wait. mind in those days there was no steamboats or any other boats but a little la[u]nch belonging to Sutter & it had no regular runing [One day there appeared a little steamboat * she was sailing on the bay she was a pretty little thing, the first one that ever steamed across the bay. Her name was Sitka. They were going up the Sacramento river to the fort. So Mr. Leahy engaged a passage for me and my child. So I naturally thought I shall be at home in a day or two. But I was sadly disappointed. It took 9 days and nights to steam up that river. The boiler leaked, and I do believe that I could have walked home quicker. To make matters worse we were short of provisions and I did not mind for myself but my little girl fared badly. So we got home the day before Christmas day 1847. *

See John Haskell Kemble, "The First Steam Vessel to Navigate San Francisco Bay," this QUARTERLY, XIV (June 1935), 143-46.

The *N.H. Diary* (p. 98) records on December 4, 1847: "Afternoon the little Steamboat arrived here from San Francisco having had a voyage of 7 days, Passengers Messrs. McKinstry, Petit, Stevens, Edde, Scott & Mrs. Gregson."

And after a few weeks which was in January we left the tan yard and went to live at the sheep corral. * Mrs. Lenox and myself we had each one a house to ourselves and there was a small store close by. The proprietor was a Scotchman I have forgotten his name. He left the store in charge of another man named Coats. * The store was robbed one night while Coats was away and the thief escaped.

This was on January 19, 1848, according to the *N. H. Diary*, p. 110.

James Coates. The proprietor of the store was possibly Samuel Norris, who Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 755, says was of German or Danish birth. The robbery occurred on March 8 or 9, according to the *N.H. Diary*, p. 1229

It was about Dec 1847 when the mill stones were finished the grist mill was being built on the American river about 3 miles across in an easterly direction from the fort. * At this time Sutter engaged my husband and I to go to Coloma. My husband to be the blacksmith for a saw mill which was being built by Capt Sutter and James Marshall. Myself to cook for the hands which were about

15 men. One man by the name of Bennet, * the others I have forgotten. Well a day or two before we started which was about the last day of Dec. [Several lines have been erased here.] The weather was rather bad and it took us two days and a half to make the trip. We reached our destination just about 11 A.M.

See Note 46. The *N.H. Diary* (p. 96) notes that the last of the millstones arrived at the mill on November 28, 1847. Charles Bennett was sent by Sutter to Monterey to apply in his behalf to Col. Richard B. Mason, the military governor, for a grant of land (of the millsite and surrounding country), to include mill, pastures and mineral privileges. Although he had been instructed to say nothing about the gold to anyone, he gave away the secret at Benicia on the way down, and again in San Francisco. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 43-44, and John Henry Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-72.

The Indians that were about had never seen a white child, and it was soon noised abroad that there was a white child on the place and the Indians came from a distance of 40 miles to see her. They would come to the door and look and then they would cover their faces with their hands, and were very much astonished at the sight.} * they even went so far as to pinch her shoulders & pull her hair to see if she was a real human they were very fond of her one squaw wanted me to swap babes with her.

after a week or two we heard that the mineral that was taken out of the tailrace of the sawmill [was gold] & the hands would occasanale bring in a little gold dust

after a while I got tired of seeing nothing but squaws & I wanted to see a white woman again so they took me and my child about 15 miles to a place I think it was the dimond springs to see Mrs Wimmer & her family * I 13 stayed two days & nights & then returned home. [Well I found her camping out and Sleeping in the wagon. she was very glad to see me and we did not sleep very much, but put in the time talking while I stayed, which was two days and nights, and then I returned home. She showed we while there a nugget of pure gold nearly as large as my thumb. William Scott who had been stopping with the wimmer family had found it the last of January 1848, and there was no gold excitement at that time. * The exact date on which gold was really discovered, I am unable to state as it was some time before we could believe that it was real gold. In a few days however after we got settled at Coloma The work hands were digging the tail race at the mill,

and one evening they had turned on the water so as to sluice out the dirt. The next morning Jas Marshall and Pete Wimmer were standing on the bank examining the work, when Marshall said to Wimmer, "What is that glittering down in the tail-race?" Wimmer jumped down and picked up some substance, which proved to be fine scale gold, and there was no other kind of gold found in that place, as we afterwards learned. The work hands would occasionally bring in a little gold dust. }

*

Peter L. Wimmer came overland to California in 1846 with his wife, Elizabeth Jane. He worked for Sutter as a millwright in 1847-48 and was one of the men employed at the Coloma mill when gold was discovered by James Marshall, on January 24, 1848. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 778. Mrs. Wimmer tested the first piece of gold found by Marshall, by boiling it in her soap kettle. This (a flake, not a nugget) is now in the Smithsonian Institution. See Philip Baldwin Bekeart, "James Wilson Marshall, Discoverer of Gold," in *Quarterly of The Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. I, No. 3 (September 1924), 14-30. The Wimmers later claimed that a nugget in their possession was the first gold found by Marshall. William Wallace Allen and Richard Benjamin Avery, *California Gold Book* (San Francisco, 1893), pp. 5-6, 72-74. In 1849 the Wimmers moved to what is now Calaveras County, and from 1878 to 1885 they resided in Southern California. Bancroft, *loc. cit.*

William W. Scott, who had come overland in 1845 in the Grigsby-Ide party, is said to have been the first man to whom Marshall showed the gold he discovered. The nugget described by Mrs. Gregson is very likely the one the Wimmers later claimed was the first piece of gold found by Marshall. See Note 58.

about this time there was a man named humphrys * he was a minealoligist [mineralogist] & so [when] the weathre opned out people began to come into the mines one man by the name of turner * [came] & brought his daughter Mary & I persuaded him to leave her with me untill he went to bring the rest of his family & he did so which pleased me very much She was about 16 years old. one day as our work was done we went down to the mill which was about half a mile down the hill. & we thought we would wash out some dirt & try to find gold well we saw something shining in the bottom of the tailrace so we got down & gathered some. but turning to my companion I said this is too light & if we take this up to the house the men will laugh at us so we went home no better than we was.

"April 2d. Mr. Humphrey a regular Miner arrived, and left for Columa with Wimmer and Marshall." *The Diary of Johann August Sutter*, p. 46. Isaac Humphrey had been a miner in Georgia, and knew how to make a rocker and wash out the gold. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 791.

Turner and his daughter Mary have not been identified.

by & by her parents moved into the mines & camped close by us. I must say here that for about 3 months we our liveing was very poor We had salt beef so poor & salty that it looked like blue flint —& salt Salmon too salty & oily that it was not fit to eat & boild barley sometimes boiled wheat & peas dried neither bread or Coffee or tea or sugar. 1 keg of Butter strong enough to run away of itself so that is the way we lived for about 3 months.

about this time gold hunters began to arive with pans & in A short time the new[s] began to spread far & wide about the first of May some men came up from Sonoma & told me that my little sister Mary Ann was married to a Doc. Ames an assistant Doc in the N.Y. Volunteers * she being only a little past 13 years old.

Thaddeus M. Ames, a native of New York, had come to California with Stevenson's Regiment of New York Volunteers in 1847, in Co. C. He was later a doctor in Mendocino County and represented that county in the State assembly in 1862-63. He died in Green Valley, Sonoma County, in 1876. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 696.

somewheres about this time old James Marshall & J gregson went prospecting for gold a little further up the river than they had been and they found plenty of scale gold my husband asked Marshall to divide with him. 14 he very quickly answered no you are working for me. Very well says gregson I will work no more & I shall gather gold for myself which he did now the people were coming in from all parts of the of Call & chili & by & by the oragononians commencing to arive early in the gold excitement Mr Gregson made the first pick & afterwards made a good many picks & drills for the miners. & the men stopt working on the mill every thing was gold crazy run away sailors and solders came into the mines my mother & two brothers & my sister came to hunt for gold. my sisters husband had deserated & she did not know where he was at that time. Somewhere, about July or august he came into the place where we were living & we were hideing him for fear of him being arested. at this time Mrs Wimmers little boy was born * & we had to bring him out to light as there was no other Doctor.

The child was born in August 1848. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 778.

in 1848. goods began to arive in the mines & every kind was very high prised flour \$1 per pound. Coffee \$10 per pound tea \$18 per pound & other things in proporsion eggs \$18 per dozen. \$1. yard

for common calico. We wemen folks took in all the sewing such as makeing overalls We could make \$10 per day.

there was several families camped arround us & there was a store started. & another house built covered with canvas also some houses built down on the flat close by the Mill & the wemen folks got plenty of sewing to do but salt & bad living so long began to tell on my husband & little girl they were both taken sick & no one knew what was the matter my husband was scarcely able to walk & on the 25 of september my daughter Mary Ellen was born * that same day my other daughter was taken down sick & did not walk for 7 months afterwards: & there I was with two sick ones & myself not able to help either one of them. We paid Doctor tenent * \$300 but he did not know anything. so that was all the same as thrown away. after staying there untill the latter end of October 1848 the doctors told my husband that he must leave that part of the country or he would die.

Mary Ellen later married a member of the McChristian family.

Possibly Samuel J. Tennent, an Englishman who, while a surgeon on a whaler at the Sandwich Islands, had left his vessel and come to California on hearing of the gold discovery. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 745.

So we engaged Robert Spence * to move us away to sonoma. & every day that we got aw[a]y from the mines he got a little bit better & when we arived at Sonoma he could walk pretty well & he began to get well very fast. not so our oldest daughter her teeth droped out of her mouth & she was a poor sick child for some months during [which] I took in washing & ironing & sewing to help suport my family. the prise of every thing was very high Well so we worked along that winter as best we could I would sew untill 1 or 2 oclock in the night & in the day I would wash & take care of the two babes

Robert Spence had been a member of Co. E of the California Battalion, in which he had enlisted at Sonoma in October 1846.

in the spring of 49 he [Gregson] was feeling so much better that he [decided that] he would try the mines again so he started off leaveing me & the two little ones. I still did all the work that I could get to do. during this time there was severall families living in sonoma valley there was Mr & Mrs 15 Bruner * & they were taking care of goargannia & Eliza donner of the donner party & Mr & Mrs

Carriger, * & John & Tom Hopper * & old Valajo [Vallejo]. It would take a long time to write every incident that occurred during this spring suffice to say nothing of any importance happened until a man by name of Wm Scot died * he came through to California the same year as we did

Christian Bruner (or Brunner) and his wife Mary, natives of Switzerland, had lived in New Orleans before coming to California in 1846. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 733-34. The Donner girls had been cared for, soon after their rescue, by the Brunners at their ranch about twenty-five miles from Sutter's Fort, and later at Sonoma. In 1857 Bruner was sent to San Quentin for killing his nephew, but was pardoned in 1861. Houghton, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-54, 165, 171 ff, 293-97, 317-19, 325-31.

Mr. and Mrs. Nicholas Carriger, immigrants of 1846. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 743, and *Hist. of Sonoma County*, pp. 673-76.

See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 787-88, and Charles L. Camp, "William Alexander Trubody and the Overland Pioneers of 1847," in this *QUARTERLY*, XVI (June 1937), especially pp. 135-36.

See Note 59.

Shortly after that a sailor stopped at my house for to light his pipe & being alone with my two little ones I was somewhat afraid when looking at my children he asked what was the matter with them & where was my husband I told him that my man was somewhere in town & that both my little ones were sick. The oldest one had not walked for nearly 7 months & the little one had a blood tumor growing on her face between her eyes. * he said he could show me a herb that would cure Annie but the other one he could do nothing for her, so he told me to get some marshmallow & boil it & give her it to drink & also to bathe her in it & he said she would walk in two weeks. I did as he told me & sure enough she got up on her feet in less than two weeks & walked. She startled me one day by holding up both her hands & saying see mama Annie can walk. *

A blood tumor is a hemangioma, either hereditary or the result of mechanical injury. These benign growths or birthmarks are now usually removed at birth.

Scurvy is now a relatively rare disease due to the widespread information concerning vitamin C, which is contained in practically all fresh fruits and vegetables.

during the winter & spring of 1848 & 49 & all through that summer I took in washing & sewing to support my family & I toiled as best I could. The reader of this must not suppose that I had no enjoyment or friends for Mr & Mrs Bruner were very kind & got me employment so that we did not lack for food or cloaths, although it took all that I earned. Again my husband returned from the mines sick. & in the fall of 49 my mother & sister Mary Ann & two Brothers left the mines & came

down to sonoma. & my Brother Henry & my husband went up to suttersville* on the sacramento & there bought lots & built adoby houses & the winter of 49 & 50 it rained so hard & the overflow washed them all away so were left without any recorses that is without any money again.

Early in 1846 Sutter had laid out the town of Sutterville, three miles below the Fort on the Sacramento River. The settlement flourished until after gold was discovered and Sacramento came into being. The new town soon rivalled and then surpassed Sutterville and the latter gradually faded away. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 15.

during that fall the tumer on babes face had grown to the size of an egg & it was expedient that it must be taken off so it happened there was an army surgioun in town & he with the help of my Brotherinlaw Dr Ames the work was accomplished the fee \$100 and 50 that was our first going in debt so what with debts hard work & little means we remain poor untill this day.

Well in the year 1850 my husband & my Brother henry* came out to green valley in analey township. & they went to Capt Cooper* & got a permit to settle on the ranch where we now reside. Mr Gregson & Henry marshall & John came out here in January 1850 & built a log cabbin & made some fences & got some potatoes of Cap [Stephen] Smith of bodago [Bodega] paid 10cts per pound, the first planted in green valley on the 1 of May 1850 I started with Mr & Mrs [T.] Churchman* with oxen in the wagons slow traveling We were 2 days & two nights We had to camp out the weather 16 was very fine, & when we came to green valley it seemed almost like a paradise it was like a picture grass & clover & flowers in abundance the grass was as tall as myself.

Henry Marshall had come to California with the Gregsons in 1845, had enlisted in Captain Sears' company of Frémont's Battalion in 1846, was wounded at the Battle of Natividad, and joined his mother, brother, and sisters at Sonoma in 1847, where they were living in an old adobe on the Petaluma ranch, opposite Petaluma. He went to Green Valley to live, early in 1850. Marshall, "Reminiscences," in *The Pioneer*, August 10, 1878.

John B. R. Cooper, a half-brother of Thomas O. Larkin, was claimant for Rancho El Molino, in Sonoma County. See *Hist. of Sonoma County*, pp. 150-51, and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 765-66.

Churchman is mentioned in the *N.H. Diary* as early as April 1847. He went to work for Sutter on his mill in May. *Op. cit.*, pp. 127, 136.

Well we staid for about 1 month in the mashall cabbin dureing that time gregson & the boys raised another log cabbin on the gregson ranch, so we moved into it & set up housekeeping with what little we had. the deer was plenty & when we wanted meat our men would go & kill some. I tell you it was rather lonely for some time. the churchmans family went over into the other valley & settled

there after a time some others like ourselves came into the Valley to squat on Coopers claim & so it remained in green Valley. in June & July 1850 Mitchill Gilliams^{*} with his family & a man called major I. W. Sullivan^{*} came & settled on the left side of our ranch, & also lank [Lancaster] Clyman^{*} & family settled on the other side that is west of us & a little to the left of us. others came in untill the Valley was pretty well settled, between here & petaluma there was no settlements, & there was plenty of elk & the men of the Valley made up a party about the 1 week in July & started hunting elk & they came back on the eight. now I must tell a little about myself a night or 2 before the men went out hunting in my dreams of the night I saw a white garment spotted with bright blood. I was rather uneasy & I did not want gregson to go for fear that he would get hurt some how, & I did not rest very good untill he was home again. Well on the 9th day of July about 9 oclock in the morning the hawks were very bad & they would come almost into the house & pick up a chicken gregson snaped his rifle two or 3 times & he laid it on the table to fix it. I was sitting in front of the door with my 2 little girls one on eather side of me. I was feeling rather sick with the head ach when the gun hammer went down & shot me through the left shoulder making a bad wound but not fatally & then I saw the same cloth with spots of blood it was 3 months before I was healed. & on the 24 of September our son William F was born I must not forget to say that all the neabours were very kind unto us during our misfortunes & sickness Well we did not raise much produce this year but still we did not starve quite

Mitchell Gilham became a permanent settler in Green Valley in 1851. *Hist. of Sonoma County*, p. 172. An M. Gillian (possibly the same) had settled near Sebastopol in 1850. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

Major Isaac Sullivan married Miss Polly Gilham in 1851. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

Lancaster Clyman was in Oregon in 1843-44. He may have been a brother of James Clyman. See Charles L. Camp, ed., "James Clyman, His Diaries and Reminiscences," in this QUARTERLY, V (March 1926), 47.

in the winter of 49 & 50 I sold a roan horse for \$100 With the proceeds I bought the flour to do us during the first year in Green Valley. I also brought a cat & kittins & we had one black horse old nig he was not a work horse so Gregson had to borrow some mony to buy a yoke of oxen so that he could haul rails to fence in some land & brake the sod so as to plant potatoes & some garden vegetabl

Sometime in august 1850 my sister Mary Ann Ames & her husband came out from sonoma Valley & took up their abode with us & they had a son born about the 24 or 25 of october. he lived about 4 weeks when by some mistake she gave him some medesane which caused his death the same fall we had a sick man by the name of fred Starkey^{*} but he got well & left soon 17 afterwards Mary Ann & Doc moved into thier own little cabbn a little futherup the Valley. the year of 50 is past with its privations its accidents & sorrow & some enjoyments & myself & 2 little girls & 1 little boy we spent our christmas with our Mother Mrs Marshall.

Possibly D. Frederick Starke. See *Hist. of Sonoma County*, pp. 592-93.

1851 after a rather stormey winter [with] plenty of work [there was] nothing for both myself & husband provisions high cloaths high prised & very little coming in making everything hard on us, & to make matters worse we just began to get letters from his kinsfolks in the east then we learned that Mr & Mrs Gregson were both dead & the rest of the family scattered or married & the youngest boy John gregson was in the Orphan Asiulm. Well richard gregson wanted to come out to Callna after a time father borrowed \$300 to help him & he concluded that it was not enough & he never came & we had to foot the bill so what with one thing or another it kept us on the bed rock with plenty of work & but little pay. & fathers health not good if he went to work a day he would be taken down sick so we had to hire a good deal.

& in 52 we had another boy born on the first of Sept so making one more to cloath & feed^{*} about this time old Johney Moor & gregson started a blacksmith shop on the hill Well it did for a while but the benifits were all on one side & we came out the losers

John N., who later became a resident of San Luis Obispo, Calif.

In 50.1 [1851?] gregson went upon the hill to see if [he] could get some deer meat & being tired he sat down to rest right on the spot where we now live. Well he with some hired men went into the woods & cut down trees & scored the logs & with help he got them out & hauled them here & as was [the] custom the neighbors all turned out to raise a hewed log house & green Valley was pretty

well filled with neighbors by this time. we moved into this house on the 20th of October 53 & it was only half finished for seaverall years.

about this time Newburg & bernhard kept a store near freestone^{*} (but before this Miller & Walker opened a store a little the other side of Sebastopol)^{*}

Edward Newburgh and Isaac Bernhard (natives of Bavaria) opened a store in Green Valley in 1853, but gave it up in 1857 (or 1864 according to another account) when they went into business in Petaluma. *Hist. of Sonoma County*, pp. 538 and 577.

James M. Miller and John Walker settled in Analay township, Sonoma County, in 1850, and opened a store about one mile south of Sebastopol. *Hist. of Sonoma County*, pp. 171, 172, 175.

in the spring of 54 on the last day of May another daughter was born to us^{*} somewheres in the summer of 54 I [think] it was the neighbors began to want their claims surveyed & Cap Cooper came into the Valley to look after the land & received pay for the same. [Here a few words have been cut from the bottom of the page.] our line & Henry Marshalls the surveyor mark & it did not sute. We gregsons had been paying taxes for more land than we had inside our fence & Marshall had it surveyed ove[r] twice & he was not yet satisfied but wanted it done over again but the surveyor Mr Gray^{*} told him that it was right & that he knew his bissiness better than mashall so that ended that part & we was in possesione of our rights (160 acaers) We fenced in our ranch planted some Apple trees & grapevines & so this classes & all we can make goes on to the farm again

Eliza Jane Gregson (now Mrs. Thomas Bennet Butler) was born on May 31, 1854.

Possibly Nicolas Gray, of St. Louis, Mo., who had come to California to survey the Larkin ranches.

18

in the early part of 52 [possibly 53] my Brother Henry & my mother went on a visit to the eastren States—namly Mass & R.I. to see my eldest Brother F Wm. M. who never left there. it was during that visit that my Brother henry became acquainted with Mary Jane Coterril & latter in that year he married her & a few weeks latter they all came back again to Call. & they lived [in] a adobe house down below where they live now. my children called her our new Aunty—

Well nothing of importance transpiring only the common routine of business incidently to farming & such kind of work. such as ploughing & clearing planting out orchards & vineyards & raising stock & milking cows trying all ways to make a liveing & our girls & boys getting large enough to help us. so that we might be able to pay our debts

& on the 5 of Oct 1856 our son Henry M was born in 56 our country about sonoma county begins to improve, towns springing up all over & the people building houses & leaveing old cabbins to be used for outhouses. & the people begin to talk county fairs & improve their stock. & farms improveing more & better fences & more usefull emplements to work with

At healdsburg the first county fair we recieved a silver butter knife for the best butter.

Well passing along we have another daughter born to us the 20 of March. 1858. * caroline one more daughter born to us on the 29 of October 1862. *

Adelia J., born on March 28, 1858, later married George Fraits, of San Luis Obispo County. *Hist of Sonoma County*, p. 476.

Another son, Luke B., was born on March 27, 1868. *Hist. of Sonoma County, loc. cit.*

there are but few persons that can write their history while they are alive suffice it to say all our children are maried & scatered over the land & myself & husaband are almost alone as we were 42 years ago.

19

Statement of James Gregson

I was born in England and came as a boy of twelve years to Philadelphia * and went to Illinois in the spring of 1844 and with my wife joined a train for Oregon at Independence in [April] 1845, and at Fort Hall we determined to come to California. There we met Greenwood, the mountaineer, who told us we could get land of the grant holders and agreed to fetch us in. He got \$2.50 apiece to pilot us in to California. There was in our train about thirty wagons and perhaps—persons including men, women and children. * Near Fort Hall we fell in with Jacob R. Snyder * and Judge

Blackburn^{*} who were travelling with pack horses. They came on with us. With our party came George McDougal,^{*} a young man. He was brave and handsome. He joined us at Fort Hall, and also Knight from whom Knights Valley is named.^{*} The Elliotts^{*} were along, and John Grigsby,^{*} and the McChristians and family,^{*} and the Hudson family.^{*} We had no trouble at all at the sink of the Humboldt [except that we] had a few shots fired into our cattle. Ide, who issued the proclamation at Sonoma,^{*} was also along. He was a prominent man; he was well provided.

James Gregson was born in Little Bolton, Lancashire, England, on September 14, 1822. In 1837, in Philadelphia, he was bound to James Brooks as an apprentice to the blacksmiths' and machinists' trade and served until he was 21 years old. *Hist. of Sonoma County*, p. 474.

See Note 3.

Snyder had left Independence on May 12. The diary of his trip to California is printed in the *Quarterly* of The Society of California Pioneers, VIII (December 1931), 224-60. For biographical material concerning him see *op. cit.*, pp. 203-19, and Swasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-77.

William Blackburn, a Virginian, was with the Swasey-Todd party, according to Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 721, and Swasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 and 179-80.

George McDougal, from Indiana, was also with the Swasey-Todd party. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 723, and Swasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 and 177-79.

Thomas Knight, a native of Maine, had been a trader in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 702, for his later history. His MS recollections and statement concerning "Early Events in California" are in the Bancroft Library.

William B. Elliott, a native of North Carolina, came from Missouri in the Grigsby-Ide party with his wife (Elizabeth Patton) and seven children. He joined the Bear Flag party in 1846. For further information concerning him see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 790.

John Grigsby, of the Grigsby-Ide party, a native of Tennessee, was later a leader in the Bear Flag revolt at Sonoma. For his further history see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 767.

Patrick McChristian took part in the Bear Flag revolt the next year, went to the mines in 1848-49, and, after a short residence at Santa Cruz, became a farmer at Sonoma. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 721. His MS "Narrative" is in the Bancroft Library.

William Hudson, with his family, his brother David, and sister, Mrs. John York, and her husband, also came in the Grigsby-Ide party. David, after taking part in the Bear Flag revolt, serving in the California Battalion, and working for a brief period in the mines, lived in Napa Valley until 1873 and then moved to Lake County. William and his family lived at Santa Rosa. *History of Napa and Lake Counties* (San Francisco: Slocum, Bowen & Co., 1881), p. 241, and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 789-90.

William B. Ide's Bear Flag proclamation was printed in this *QUARTERLY*, I (July 1922), 74-79. For further information concerning him see Simeon Ide, *op. cit.*, and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 688-89.

We got into the Sacramento Valley the last of October, and went to Sutter's Fort, and there I was employed as a whipsawyer with Henry Marshall who came out with us. The lumber was to build a

schooner on the headwaters of the Cosumnes River, fifty miles from the Fort. We cut a good deal of lumber. While there an Indian came in who had never seen a white man; he had a hat made like their baskets and all covered with feathers. I traded him a white shirt for it, and afterwards traded it to a Mormon for a horse. We went in to the Fort in the fall of 1845. Captain Sutter sent for us, and the lumber got to the Fort a few days before Christmas. He gave us \$30 a thousand for lumber payable in goods.

We then entered into a contract with Mr. Hardy who owned a great estate at the mouth of the Feather River where the town of Sacramento was. * We stayed with him three months, doing general farm work and living in a tule shanty. I only stayed there three months and then went back to Sutter's Fort. Hardy fell off of a schooner in Suisun Bay and was drowned.

See Note 15. On December 27, 1845, Sutter "Started H. Trow for Hardy's—also started Gregson for do." *N.H. Diary*, p. 19.

I went to work digging a ditch for Captain Sutter with Henry Marshall, at \$2.50 a rod, a foot wide at the top and four feet deep, and two feet at the bottom. * We worked at this Fort until the war began. When we first came in we heard that Sutter was favorable to the Americans. Then I went to work for the Captain at anything he wanted. Soon after we got in, a proclamation was read notifying the Americans to leave. After it was read Sutter told us to stand by him and he would stand by us. *

On February 4, 1846, Gregson commenced working again for Sutter, and on May 18 he and Marshall finished the ditch. *N.H. Diary*, pp. 26 and 39.

This was on October 21, 1845. See Note 18.

Frémont came to the Fort in February 1846. In the fight with the Klamath Indians Captain Gillespie killed an Indian with a coat of mail made of wood slats and a warp of sinew. I saw the coat of mail when it was shewn to 20 Captain Sutter on his return. Captain Gillespie afterwards commanded sixty men as volunteers.

I was at Sutter's Fort when Vallejo and the Bear Flag prisoners [were there and] took my regular turn as a guard of the prisoners. I had been enlisted into the services of the United States for three months at \$12 per month. [When I] guarded the men they all appeared quiet. We used to take them

out to exercise—Bob Ridley, J. P. Leese, Victor Prudon, Salvador and General Vallejo—then stood guard over them. I stayed there until they were released on parole. Then I enlisted in the California Battalion in Captain Brown's Company and went down to meet Frémont at Monterey. We had no trouble until we got to San Juan South. We had twelve Walla Walla Indians along, Captain Burris [Charles Burroughs] in command.

We saw the long glittering lances of the Mexicans as we got into the plain. We were joined about this time by Captain Weaver [Charles M. Weber] and thirty men which gave us about sixty men. The sun was about an hour high when the fight began. We had eight hundred head of horses and four pieces of artillery. We put the horses in the corral at the Gomez ranch and left a dozen men to guard them and took part and fought two hundred Mexicans with fifty men. We formed in line and counted off. Captain Burris [Burroughs] said for No. 1 to fire while No. 2 was to hold his fire, but we soon got mixed up and fired on the Indians who were in advance and fell back, and the Mexicans charged us boldly and we give them the best we had and charged at them. I was close to Burris [Burroughs] when he fell, the captain of the Mexicans killed him, he rode up close to him, and fired, I thought with a pistol. Burris [Burroughs] was killed before we could get him to the rear. We lost a man named Ames and Billy the Cooper of Weaver's [Weber's] Company, and Foster who was a lieutenant. All killed with musket balls or pistols. *

See Note 33. Swasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-72, also gives an account of the Battle of Natividad. The Gomez ranch was Rancho de los Verjeles of Joaquin Gomez.

After the charge we held the ground. We thought we killed ten of the Mexicans; they retreated. We went to Gomez's house and got two men to go to Monterey and tell Frémont we were there—they got in safely and told Frémont. We buried our dead, when Frémont came up with three hundred men and we all then went to the Mission of San Juan and encamped. Most of us were enlisted into Captain Ford's Company. * [We stayed] at San Juan three or four weeks, then started for the lower country with Frémont. I think he was a confounded scamp and a coward.

Henry L. Ford was captain of Co. B of the California Battalion. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 361.

We crossed the Santa Inez Mountain on Christmas day in a dreadful storm, lost fifteen head of horses, left cannon on the mountain and went down a trail. We might have gone through Gaviota Pass. One of the most noted things that happened was just before we got to San Luis Obispo on the Salmon. We captured an Indian with dispatches, shot him and went on to San Luis Obispo and caught Pico, caught him in bed, surrounded the house and took him down to San Luis Obispo that night and tried him by court martial. [He was] found guilty of violating his parole and sentenced to be shot. We thought he would be shot. We were marshaled out and Frémont released him on the condition that he would stay with and pilot us over the mountains. His family came and begged for him. The boys thought it was a shame to kill the Indian and not Pico. *

This was not Pio or Andrés Pico but their cousin José de Jesus Pico. See John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago, 1887), pp. 598-99, and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 777-78.

At Santa Barbara we had no trouble. We lived on beef, had no bread. We had with us about 450 men. As we left San Buena Ventura the Mexicans rode up on top of the hill and the next morning we marched out in battle order, artillery in the center. The Mexicans came out and Frémont got scared and ordered us up a hollow. We could not get through and had to come back, and camped on the Santa Anna River [Santa Clara River]. There we had no trouble until we got to Los Angeles—and had none there.

I came up by land to San Francisco in the spring of 1847 with ten Mexicans. We were given ten dollars apiece and indebted to Major Reading for this. * We came up by the coast. All shipped at Santa Clara and I went on to San Francisco and gave up my horse. I was in San Francisco without money, and I had to buy clothes from a sailor. I was standing on Black's Point. * 1st Lieutenant Revere * came up and asked me what man-of-war I belonged to. I told him I did not belong to any. He asked me if I had no coat. I told him "No" and showed him my papers. He told me to come the next day and he would give me a coat, which he did. I had nothing to eat and asked him if he could not give me an order to get something. He said that he had nothing, but to come tomorrow and see Captain Dupont. * The next day I met Captain Dupont and asked him to give me something to eat until I could get to Sacramento. I lived in San Francisco three months and crossed to Sonoma

with J. P. Leese in the sloop *Amelia* and from there to Sacramento. The officers gave me a horse at Sonoma and I went to Sacramento City.

Major Pierson B. Reading was the paymaster of the California Battalion. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 689. Reading's muster roll of the Battalion is in the California State Library but is not available to scholars.

Black Point, the site of the present Fort Mason, at the end of Van Ness Avenue.

Lieutenant Joseph Warren Revere, of the *Cyane*, who had raised the United States Flag at Sonoma in July, remained in command of the northern district for several months. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 692>

Samuel F. Dupont, commander of the *U.S.S. Congress* and later of the *Cyane*. Dupont Street (now Grant Avenue) was named for him.

I paid in work to Captain Sutter for my wifes relations [rations?] while I was gone, and I never got but ten dollars for my services and a 120-acre land warrant; this was the summer of 1847. Myself and a man named Lenox helped to get out the large mill stones for Captain Sutter's grist mill on the American River, * then we made a contract to do the blacksmithing for Sutter and Marshall who were partners in building a saw mill at Colusa [Coloma] where gold was discovered. Up to this time I had not heard of gold. Where I first worked with the whipsaw was afterwards all worked out for gold. My wife was to cook for one or two men. I was to work for three years, to be paid in cattle. The morning we were to start for Colusa [Coloma] from Sutter's Fort, Marshall came into the Fort with a little vial of about an ounce, greenish glass, which was over half full of scale gold. * I looked at it and this was the first gold seen in the country. That vial was sent to Capt. [Joseph L.] Folsom in San Francisco, and in six weeks there came back word it was gold of fine quality. It was sent down on the old launch. 22 I think Major McKinstry took it down, a cousin of Judge [E. W.] McKinstry.

*

See Note 46.

See Bekeart, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-30.

Marshall arrived at the fort "on very important business" on January 28. *N.H. Diary*, p. 113.

I went up to the mill with my wife and went to work. There were a number of men there, five or six white men. I recollect Weaver * and his family, Marshall, Humphreys and Charles Bennett (he died in Oregon), two Mormon teamsters and perhaps a dozen Indians. In the daytime the Indians would dig in the race, which was twenty feet deep in some places and an average of ten feet. At night we would turn the water in and shut it off in the morning, and we would find the gold in the crevices

of the rock. It was all scale gold in that race. I went up there just after New Year's Day 1848. It was in the race every morning, we did not pay much attention to it. We picked it up off and on for six weeks without any excitement. A letter came to Marshall from Sutter [reporting] that it was gold of a fine quality. Marshall was then living with me. We had salt salmon and boiled wheat, and we, the discoverers of gold, were living on that when gold was found, and we suffered from scurvy afterwards.

A Mormon named Weaver (Franklin or Miles) was one of the workmen on Sutter's flour mill at the time gold was discovered. Reva Holdaway Stanley, "Sutter's Mormon Workmen at Natoma and Coloma in 1848," in this QUARTERLY, XIV (September 1935), 278.

Myself, Marshall, Humphries, and Bennett were living together in a double cabin. Soon as we got word it was gold I said to Marshall: "Let us go up the river, the south fork of the American River, and see if we can't find some gold." We had a pick and pan. We went up the river three miles to a bar and called it Live Oak Bar. We went out on the bar and picked out lump gold of the size of a bean with our fingers, without digging—in all a pint cupful. I said, "This lets up our contract. Now," says I, "James, suppose we divide this gold." "No," says he, "I don't divide. You are a hired man." I said, "That ends our contract." The next day I went back and dug and took out a good deal for myself. It was the first prospecting done.

The people flocked in after that, and I got sick and had to come to Sonoma. I brought down about \$3,000 in the fall of 1848. I went back in 1849, in the spring, and worked three months and came back. While in the mines we found a man deserted, on the middle fork of the Feather River. He had chronic diarrhoea. Mills visited him. At last one morning he was found dead. He had written on a tin plate, "Deserted by my friends, but not by my God." My partner was named Mills—perhaps it was D. O. Mills^{*}—he and me were working together. Some young fellows came into Spanish Bar^{*} where we were, from Napa, and they had one hundred pounds of flour to sell. I told Mills we had better buy it. We gave an ounce for it and found some nice butter rolled up in the center.

This could not have been D. O. Mills, for the man who was to become the well-known banker did not reach California until June 1849 and immediately embarked on a trading trip up the San Joaquin River. Spanish Bar, on the Middle Fork of the American River, above the junction of the North and South forks, was one of the most important points on the stream. Because the gold found there was coarser than in many other places, the profits were larger, and the place later produced more than a million dollars.

We left with eight hundred dollars and came back to Sonoma in the fall of 1849 and have been here ever since. I bought land of Captain Cooper. I have a daughter who is now Mrs. Robert Reid of San Luis Obispo, who was born at Sutter's Fort, September 15, 1846. She was the first white child born in the Sacramento Valley. *

This was Ann E. (or Annie), born on September 3, 1846, according to Mrs. Gregson and the *History of Sonoma County*.