

GEN



GENEALOGY
979.402
SA519Y
V.2

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

SAN FRANCISCO



A HISTORY
OF THE PACIFIC COAST
METROPOLIS

By JOHN P. YOUNG

VOLUME II

THE S. J. CLARKE PUBLISHING COMPANY

CHRONICLE BUILDING, SAN FRANCISCO

PONTIAC BUILDING, CHICAGO

1259355

VOLUME II
THE SPECULATIVE PERIOD
1871-1883

CHAPTER XLVII

LABOR AND OTHER TROUBLES DURING THE SEVENTIES

TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD BRINGS DISAPPOINTMENT—GROWTH OF THE ANTI MONOPOLY SENTIMENT—DEMANDS OF THE FARMERS—THE "DOLLY VARDEN" PARTY—BRYCE INVESTIGATES CALIFORNIA CONDITIONS—FRAUDULENT LAND GRANTS—THE PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM OF 1912 FORESHADOWED IN 1877—REVIVAL OF THE CHINESE QUESTION—THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF DENIS KEARNEY IN POLITICS—IRRIGATION AND SMALL LAND HOLDINGS—DIVERSIFICATION OF PRODUCTION—POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF WORKINGMEN.



HE decade 1870 did not open auspiciously for San Francisco or the State of California. In an address delivered to the State Agricultural society in the opening year the speaker, A. A. Sargent, took for his theme the slow growth of the state. He dwelt at length on the difficulty of obtaining farming lands cheaply, and denounced the evils of monopoly, and suggested the necessity of remedial legislation. Among other things he spoke of the disappointment experienced by the people who had expected that the completion of the transcontinental railroad would give a great impetus to business. Instead of this hope being realized merchants, manufacturers and others, he declared, had been brought into sharp competition with the East and were suffering in the process of readjustment.

Disappointed
Hopes

He did not fail to touch upon the existing social condition which, he said, was the outcome of the "flush times" of the state. Habits of extravagance, he told his hearers, had been bred which must be abandoned, because they would prove an obstacle to development if they were continued; and he spoke of the anomalous state of the labor market, intimating that it must adapt itself to the imminent change which closer relations with the East would necessarily bring about. On this latter point he touched lightly, leaving his hearers to infer that the adjustment would not prove difficult if the Spanish land grants could be broken up, and the state settled with small farmers.

Extrava-
gance
Deprecated

Sargent voiced one form of dissatisfaction. Governor Newton Booth in a message to the legislature of 1872 gave expression to another. He too objected to monopoly, but he found fault chiefly with the monopolistic tendencies of the corporations, the principal offenders being the men who had constructed the Central Pacific railroad. He recommended the immediate repeal of the five per cent subsidy act, which permitted the state and its political subdivisions to extend aid to railroads, and strongly urged that freights and fares be regulated "in view of the tendency of railroads to consolidate and become monopolies." He was particularly

Railroad
Regulation
Demanded

severe in his animadversions upon the device by which the Central Pacific managers were enabled to make contracts with themselves, and said that "the organizations of corporations within corporations is a refinement of subtlety and fraud which should be prevented by law."

An Anti-
Monopoly
Governor
Elected

In these recommendations and reflections he was adhering closely to the platform of the republican convention which nominated him, and in which a demand was made for an amendment to the constitution preventing the enactment of subsidy laws, and demanding the immediate repeal of the five per cent subsidy act, which had been passed by the preceding legislature. In the election of September 6, 1871, which resulted in Booth's selection, he received 62,500 votes to 57,500 for Haight, his democratic opponent. The latter, as well as the former, had adopted the anti monopoly slogan; but while the discussions of the campaign revolved about this particular question, voters were merely called upon to decide which candidate would prove the sincerest anti monopolist. An idea of the depth of popular feeling on the subject may be gained from a comparison of the figures of the national election held a year later, when Grant received 8,000 less votes than Booth polled in 1871, and in which nearly 25,000 fewer votes were cast for president than for governor.

Crusade
Against
Monopoly

In 1873 the anti railroad feeling had developed to such an extent that it engrossed the entire attention of voters. The Patrons of Husbandry began an agitation, the effects of which were subsequently witnessed in national legislation, for an adjustment of railroad freight rates on a basis which would exclude the principle of meeting sea competition. Their demand was for a railroad tariff which would prevent a proportionately greater charge for hauling a short than a long distance. In 1873 the Patrons of Husbandry threw their strength to the wing of the republican party, which was antagonizing the railroad, and in the election of September 3 of that year the combination proved strong enough to win a majority in the legislature, the result being the election of Governor Newton Booth to the United States senate as an avowed antagonist of the Central Pacific railroad and its schemes to extend its power.

Demands
of the
Grangers

The alliance between the "Dolly Vardens," as the anti monopoly republicans were called, and the Patrons of Husbandry did not endure long. The platform of the agriculturalists had more planks than that of opposition to railroad exactions, and some of them were not acceptable, and as a result the "Dolly Vardens" went to pieces, and the legislators elected by that party resumed their former partisan relations. As a matter of fact the grangers were too advanced in their views and advocated a programme more in harmony with the sentiment of 1912 than of 1873. They urged that grain sacks should be made and sold by the state in order to destroy an existing ring by selling at cost, thus regulating the prices at which bags should be sold; they asked for the creation of a cooperative bank, and a cooperative system of selling agricultural supplies, and they demanded that facilities should be provided for the free storage of grain so that the farmer might be able to hold his product until the market price proved satisfactory.

Grangers
Satisfied

Although the political alliance of grangers and republicans was short lived it is interesting to note that the demands of the Patrons of Husbandry a few years later were practically conceded by the party in power. A law was passed which provided for the manufacture in the state prison of grain bags. An expensive plant was established at San Quentin, and the product was sold at cost to the farm-

ers. While the result may not have been all that was hoped for, there is no doubt that the prison-made product of grain bags after the Eighties prevented the extortionate practices of a limited number of importers who had for many years manipulated the San Francisco market to the disadvantage of the farmer. There is no means of determining, however, whether the operations of the state were a profitable or losing venture, for the system of accounting of the prison was not devised to furnish such information. The demand for the free storage of grain was also conformed to in a modified fashion by the erection of grain sheds on the San Francisco sea wall by the State Harbor Commission. This system was not designed to warehouse grain for extended periods, but would have undoubtedly developed along those lines had California continued producing cereals on a scale which would have made exportation necessary. The cooperative bank project did not materialize as a public institution, but a concern originally under the auspices of the grangers was started which flourished for a while in San Francisco and then met the fate which usually attends bad financial management.

In the election of 1875 the "Dolly Vardens" were wholly obliterated. Bidwell, their candidate for governor, received only 29,752 votes, while Irwin, who was put up by the democrats, polled 61,500. The election of the latter, however, by no means indicated an abatement of the hostility to the railroad. The corporation had taken advantage of a temporary distraction, and by clever manipulation had succeeded in resuming its interrupted control of public affairs. The speculative excitement which followed the discovery of the rich ore body in the Comstock, known as the big bonanza, had produced a business flurry which resembled prosperity, and as usual under such circumstances, there was a cessation of agitation. There was also an adroit and successful attempt to concentrate attention on public offenders which for the time being diverted assaults from the corporation. In his first message on December 9, 1875, Irwin spoke of "the worse than state prison felons, the unconvicted embezzlers of public moneys and the violators of public trust." It was just about this time that the slogan framed for the democratic party by Samuel J. Tilden, "turn the rascals out" became popular, and the wave struck California with such force that the people, for a while at least, were convinced that malfeasance in office was at the bottom of all their troubles, and that the proper remedy to apply would be a change of officials.

In a message to the legislature Governor Irwin asserted "that the immunity or at least the apparent immunity with which public officers have appropriated to their own use the public funds by an almost open violation of the trusts committed to them has apparently impressed on the lower grade and even average public mind the conviction that to rob the government is legitimate, and that not to do so when one has an opportunity argues a lack of business talent," and there is no doubt that he was in earnest when he added that "society is therefore bound in self protection, in self preservation to crush out this sentiment utterly," and that he really wished to find a remedy when he asked: "How can this be done? I answer, only by pursuing and hunting down with tireless energy and punishing with remorseless vigor the guilty violator of a public trust." But the fact remains the tireless energy and the remorseless vigor of punishment he spoke of were not exercised, and that the failure in this regard furnished Kearney and the so-called "sand lotters" one of their most formidable weapons in the active agitation which began a couple of years later.

**Dolly
Varden
Party
Beaten**

**Governor
Irwin
Denounces
Official
Corruption**

Bryce's
Investigation of
California
Conditions

Men are wiser after the event, and therefore we need not be surprised that James Bryce, when he came to California to make a study of conditions, did not make the blunder of attributing the upheaval which resulted in the adoption of the constitution of 1879 to the discontent of the laboring classes of San Francisco or the machinations of agitators who took advantage of race prejudice to promote their own ends. It is true that he was misled into placing more emphasis on a manifestation than the cause which prompted it, but he put his finger on the sore spot when in speaking of large land holdings he said: "Some of these speculators by holding their lands for a rise made it difficult for immigrants to acquire small freeholds, and in some cases checked the growth of farms. Others let their lands on short leases to farmers, who thus came into a comparatively precarious, and often necessitous condition; others established enormous farms in which the soil is cultivated by hired laborers, many of whom are discharged after the harvest—a phenomenon rare in the United States, which everybody knows is a country of moderately sized farms, owned by persons who do most of their labor by their own and their children's hands. Thus the land system of California presents features both peculiar and dangerous, a contrast between great properties, often appearing to conflict with the general weal, and the sometimes pressed hard farmer, together with a mass of unskilled labor thrown without work into the towns at certain seasons of the year."

Fraudulent
Land
Grants

This condition of affairs was perfectly known to Californians for many years anterior to the Kearney sand lot troubles, and there was in their case an added knowledge of which no account is taken in the quotation, which had been a source of irritation for years, and for which a remedy had been vainly sought. The fraudulent character of the titles of many of the large holdings was understood by the people, who also knew that among the chief beneficiaries of the betrayals of public trust which Governor Irwin excoriated were the owners of great Spanish and Mexican grants, who corruptly influenced assessors to undervalue their holdings in order that they might the easier perpetuate their power. From 1851, when the commission was created by congress to inquire into the validity of the grants until the end of its hearings there was a general belief that most of the land grants were fraudulent, and it was not dissipated wholly when its report was made showing that out of a total of 813 claims, calling in the aggregate for 12,000,000 acres or 20,000 square miles, 514 were confirmed. And when subsequently ninety of the rejected claims were finally confirmed by the United States courts, the belief was not weakened, although the decisions were acquiesced in and even welcomed because they put an end to uncertainty.

The Bogus
Santillan
Grant

To find the origins of this dissatisfaction it is necessary to go back to the early Fifties, when what was called the "Preemptioners' League" was formed in Alameda county by men who were referred to as squatters, but who included in their organization many who afterward were known as substantial citizens. They planted themselves on the proposition that the grants were fraudulent and were quite ready to resist all claims to the ownership of large tracts of land, no matter what the title. It is not surprising that they were imbued with distrust when they found such claims as the Santillan, which set up ownership to all the land of the City and county of San Francisco south of California street. This grant, which was alleged to have been made to Prudencio Santillan in 1846 by the Mexican governor, Pio Pico, was confirmed by the land commission March 1, 1855, but appealed to

the United States supreme court, which threw it out in 1860, pronouncing it an unmitigated fraud.

The agitation of the land question in San Francisco in the beginning of the Seventies was not connected with or influenced in any manner by claims touching directly the interests of its citizens. All the vexed title questions were settled in the City before that date and they had left little aftermath of bad feeling. But the condition in the country was different. In the City the land had been cut up and had passed into many hands; and in the country at the opening of the decade most of the large Spanish and Mexican grants were still intact, and those into whose possession they had come seemed determined to hold onto them by "hook or crook." It was this attitude, and the means taken to maintain it which started the anti monopoly crusade; and when it was entered upon by the workingmen in the City they were merely championing the cause of the small land holder, in whom they recognized their natural ally.

It has already been noted that there were numerous meetings of the unemployed in 1870 and that in July of that year the Knights of St. Crispin advocated the nomination of a political ticket, meeting, however, with opposition from the Mechanics States Council and Eight Hour League. In March, 1871, a branch of the National Labor Union was formed in California and in January of the succeeding year a convention was held by which a platform was adopted which not only foreshadowed the demands contained in that of the workingmen's party in 1877-78, but also bears a striking resemblance to that of the advanced Progressives of 1912. Among its most pronounced features we find these pronouncements and demands:

The equalization of the wages of labor with the income of capital.

The establishment of equitable rates of interest for the use of money.

The maintenance of an eight hour day system of labor.

The establishment of a labor bureau at Washington for the better protection of the industries of the country.

The government holds the public land in trust for the use and benefit of the people, and it should be distributed to actual settlers only in limited quantities not exceeding 160 acres, at the cost of survey and distribution.

All unimproved land should be taxed the same as though settled and improved.

There should be universal compulsory citizen suffrage and secular education.

Government should assume control of all chartered and subsidized corporations, and regulate their charges on the principles of equity and exact justice, and enforce such regulations as will best secure the interests and safety of people.

The election of president and vice president and senators by direct vote of the people.

If there is any plank in this remarkable platform formulated forty years ago which the Progressives of 1912 have failed to adopt it should be pointed out. Nevertheless, in 1872, the framers were regarded as visionaries and when in 1878 the workingmen's party of California reembodyed them in a pronouncement they were denounced as socialistic and incendiary. The history of a city does not permit indulgence in extended economic discussion, but it is desirable in this connection to point out that the enunciated principles of the men who afterward developed into sand letters in 1872 differed in no essential particular from those of the advanced reformers of today and that the entire movement which began in the

Platform
of 1912
Progressives
Anticipated

Working-
men's Plat-
form of 1871

Socialists
Then; Pro-
gressives
Now

year 1871 and culminated in the constitution of 1879, has been grossly misrepresented and misunderstood.

A Popular
Movement

That it was a popular and not a workingman's movement will be more clearly comprehended by the reader when additional facts are presented. It will be seen when the recital is completed that it was in no sense a trades union demonstration. A careful investigator of the activities of these organizations tells us that "one hears but little of the regular trades unions between 1870 and 1880." The soundness of this observation is well attested. The convention which formulated the platform quoted above through its executive committee announced in June, 1872, that "in all future elections the labor party of California would place nominees before the people for each elective office, and even prescribed the manner of making selections, but nothing of the sort was done until 1878, when the unions adopted the plan in nominating their candidates for the constitutional convention.

Effect of
Temporary
Prosperity

Doubtless had the conditions which produced the convention remained unchanged the trades union solidarity of the sixty decade might have been restored, but the speculative era interrupted and for a time obscured the hostility to Chinese immigration which had asserted itself in a pronounced manner during the Sixties, and earlier. That it was merely dormant was shown by the promptness with which the Chinese question was revived and became a dominant one as soon as the shoe of hard times began to pinch. While the big bonanza excitement was having its run, and all classes of the community from top to bottom were infected with the fever of mining speculation, the evil results of permitting the state to be filled with a class of immigrants that might be utilized to develop its resources along certain lines agreeable to large land holders were lost sight of, and during the brief period of meretricious "flushness" views were at times advanced which suggested to the careless observer that there was a real division of opinion in California respecting the desirability of introducing this class of labor into the country.

Chinese
Question
Revived

It is necessary to remind the reader that this manifestation was misleading in order to remove the false impression that the hostility which later developed itself was due to the activities of the labor unions of San Francisco or to the unreasoning prejudices of the working classes of the City. As was shown in earlier chapters the antagonism to Chinese immigration was not based on race prejudice. It is true that in the mines there were frequent clashes, and the Chinese were occasionally subjected to assaults, but these were manifestations of the "know nothingism" of the period, the creed of which was hostility to all foreigners, and was not inspired by racial differences. The action of the municipal council in 1850 in officially extending to the "China Boys" an invitation to take part in the funeral ceremonies of President Taylor, and similar courtesies, give evidence that there was no serious friction; and that the subject when it came up for discussion, as it frequently did, was treated in a large way, proves that the step subsequently taken by the people of California was not in response to riotous demands of the working people of San Francisco, but to the development of a settled conviction that the interests of the state and the American nation would be subserved by excluding a class of aliens whose assimilation would be impossible.

Conquest
of China
Suggested

It is wise in studying the anti Chinese movement in San Francisco to keep in mind the unsettled conditions respecting immigration that prevailed throughout the Union. If due consideration is given to the force of the Know Nothing propaganda, and the intolerance begotten by the manifest destiny idea, which seethed in the



"MEN OF MARK."
BRADLEY & RULOFSON PHOTO & F.

KEY TO BRADLEY & RULOFSON'S "MEN OF MARK."

1. Sir Harry Parks.
2. Tuskuta, Japanese Minister.
3. Hon. F. A. Jennings, Australia.
4. Miss Twain, Humorist.
5. Hon. R. C. McOmack, M. C., Arizona.
6. Right Reverend Bishop Kipp.
7. Hon. Leibel Stannell, ex-Governor, Cal.
8. General Colton, U. S. R. R.
9. Duke de Ventevoure, French Navy.
10. F. L. Tiedje, Capitalist.
11. Sir Lionel Cooper "Baronet."
12. Wm. C. Ralston, Banker.
13. Mrs. Patterson—Mr. J. B. Shillaber.
14. Wm. Laird McCreary, Gentleman, London.
15. Howard Gale, Board of Brokers.
16. Baron von Kottwitz, German Navy.
17. Admiral Winslow, U. S. N.
18. Hon. H. H. Hagdon, ex-Governor, Cal.
19. Baron Burghausen, ex-U. S. Minister, China.
20. Hon. Frank McCoppin, ex-Mayor, S. F.
21. Justice Miller.
22. Henry Rochester, Conquistador.
23. Lloyd Terry, Wells Fargo & Co.
24. Baron von Hohenhausen, German Minister.
25. Col. W. H. L. Barnes, Lawyer.
26. Duke of Manchester.
27. Brigadier-General George Crook, U. S. A.
28. Prof. L. Agassiz, Naturalist.
29. Admiral Farquhar, R. N.
30. Admiral Farragut, U. S. N.
31. Pedro Meizora, Shipitor.
32. Postmaster Deay, S. F.
33. Hon. Donato Pacheco, ex-Governor, Cal.
34. Admiral Aulay, U. S. N.
35. Octavio Pary, Artic Explorer.
36. Hon. Newton Booth, Senator, Cal.
37. Prof. D. C. Gilman, University, Baltimore.
38. General McCallen, U. S. A.
39. Bret Hart, Poet.
40. Josquin Miller, Poet.
41. Charles DeLoz, ex-U. S. Minister, Japan.
42. Wm. S. O'Brien, Capitalist.
43. Jas. C. Flood, Capitalist.
44. Count von Moltke, German Navy.
45. Hon. A. J. Bryant, Mayor, S. F.
46. Judge Denndell, District Court.
47. Charles Crocker, U. S. R. R.
48. Brigadier-General John McComb, N. G. C.
49. Reverend L. P. Hammond, "Revivalist."
50. Hon. Nathan Clifford, U. S. Supreme Court.
51. Hon. H. Peire, U. S. Minister, Honolulu.
52. Viscount of Bon-Retore, Brazil.
53. Arthur T. de Macedo, Brazil.
54. Hon. Thos. H. S. Roy, ex-Mayor, S. F.
55. Tefor Donahue, Capitalist.
56. Sir George Ferguson Bowen, Australia.
57. Hon. Wm. M. Stewart, Senator, Nev.
58. James Fair, Capitalist.
59. Wm. Bradford, Artie Painter.
60. General LaGrange, Sup't. Mint.
61. Harry Meigs.
62. H. I. M. Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil.
63. General Sherman, U. S. A.
64. Hon. Simon Cameron, Statesman, Penn.
65. Milton S. Latham, Banker.
66. Hon. John F. Jones, Senator, Nev.
67. Hon. Sargent, Senator, Cal.
68. Judge Delos Lake.
69. Hon. Wm. Irwin, Governor, Cal.
70. James J. O'Reilly, N. Y. Herald.
71. Lord D'Arcy Osborne.
72. Fred. McCullish, S. F. Alta.
73. Phil. Roach, S. F. Examiner.
74. H. R. M. King Kalakaua, H. I.
75. Judge Stephen J. Field, U. S. Court.
76. Fred. Marriott, S. F. News Letter.
77. Hon. Cornelius Cole, ex-Senator, Cal.
78. Cyrus W. Field, first ocean cable.
79. Loring Pickering, S. F. Bulletin.
80. Hon. Wm. Alvord, ex-Mayor, S. F.
81. R. T. Barnum, Esq., New York.
82. Hon. F. C. Cheney, Governor, New Ham.
83. Wm. Lane Booker, British Consul, S. F.
84. Rev. C. T. Mills, Mills' Seminary.
85. Baron von Oestreicher, Austrian Navy.
86. Hon. Haeger, Senator, Cal.
87. General Schofield, U. S. A.
88. I. Friedlander, the Grain King.
89. James Donahue, Capitalist.
90. Sir Rodmond Barry, Australia.
91. James Lark, Philanthropist.
92. Hon. Sharon, Senator, Nev.
93. D. O. Mills, President Bank of California.
94. Hon. Geo. C. Gorham, Secretary U. S. Senate.
95. Col. Tom. Scott, Railroad King.
96. Duke of Genoa, Italian Navy.
97. Hon. Blasdel, ex-Governor, Nev.
98. Hon. James Otis, ex-Mayor, S. F.
99. Hon. James A. Johnson, U. S. Governor, Cal.
100. H. H. Bancroft, Historian.
101. Wm. H. Rulofson, "The" Photographer.

Entered according to Act of Congress by Bradley & Rulofson, in the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C., 1876.

brains of Californians during the Fifties, we will easily divest ourselves of the belief that opposition to Chinese immigration was merely a device of politicians. The most fantastic notions prevailed at that period. Not only was the doctrine of "America for Americans" being preached, but, as already shown, the desire for absorbing the rest of the world into our body politic was freely broached. In the "Annals of San Francisco" we find the writer seriously discussing the desirability of a white race settling the disturbances in China by playing off against each other the warring factions in that country, and broadly intimating that the United States might easily imitate the example of the British. "Indian sepoys," he said, "fought the battles of England against their own countrymen, Chinese may do the same for Americans."

Fantastic utterances of this sort may be fairly cited to show the wide range taken by California thought in considering American relations with China at a time when, to most citizens of the Union living on the Atlantic sea board, the name of that country was only a geographical designation, and whose knowledge of the Chinese was largely confined to the information gained from a study of the queer characters on tea chests. Californians, however, knew the Chinese. They had observed them at close range, and were by no means disposed to rate them as an inferior people. It is significant that the first governor of California under American rule did not discuss the Chinese adversely, but when he retired from office he expressed it as his "unprejudiced opinion" that they "were more than a match for the white man in the struggle for existence." In view of the fact that Burnett has the distinction of having resigned his office because he was tired of politics, and that the opinion quoted was delivered after he had retired to private life in 1851, it may be cited as evidence that the situation was clearly comprehended long before the advent of Kearney and that Californians were under no illusion respecting Chinese capacity.

Governor Bigler, who followed Burnett in a message to the legislature on April 23, 1852, declared that the Chinese differed from all other immigrants in one important particular. They had come to the country through no other motive than cupidity. "None of them had come as an oppressed people; none of them had sought our shores as an asylum or to enjoy the blessings of free government." And the same legislature to which this message was addressed, in dealing with the question, put its stamp of disapproval upon a phase of Chinese immigration which menaced the state. In March, 1852, a bill was introduced in the senate by Tingley, the object of which was to permit the enforcement in the courts of the State of contracts and obligations made in China to perform labor in California. A similar bill was introduced into the assembly. The senate bill when called up was indefinitely postponed by a vote of eighteen to two.

The rejection of the measure is noteworthy because the principle established in 1852 by a California legislature was accepted by the federal government, which nearly a quarter of a century later passed a law to prevent the importation of laborers by contract. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that the object of the attempt to secure legislation which would sanction the importation of Chinese laborers under contracts to work was disclosed in a debate in the legislature of 1855, when a member asked: "Is it not better with modern skill in engineering to put tools into these 50,000 pairs of willing hands, and in place of trickling ditches have torrents rushing along to make the miners glad and people rich?" The de-

The Oriental
Well Under-
stood

Attempt to
Sanction
Coolie Impor-
tations

Kearney's
Slogan
Not Worse

bate which called out this expression arose over a proposition to remove the Chinese miners from Shasta county, a fact which should be borne in mind by those who labor under the mistaken impression that Kearney's declaration that "the Chinese must go," made in 1877, had in it any element of novelty.

A Non-
Partisan
Agitation

The truth of the matter is that the agitation against Chinese immigration was continuous from the time of the occupation down to the date when it began to attract Eastern attention. That it was non partisan and non political is proved by the fact that all parties were united as to its undesirability, and that all classes were agreed that restrictions should be placed upon the introduction of Chinese laborers was shown a little later when the people of the state voted almost unanimously in favor of exclusion. When the legislature of 1875-76 created a commission to investigate the subject of Chinese immigration it was not prompted by the desire to gather information for the people of the state; the object was to secure and present in official form facts which would appeal to the rest of the nation. There was no considerable number in California at that time who disapproved of agitation. That was made apparent in a message sent to the legislature by Irwin in 1875-6, in which he declared that the laboring people ought to agitate "as long as they have a just cause for complaint." No one objected to such advice at that time; it was only when the matter was brought to a head by the growth of the evils for which Chinese immigration was responsible that any censure was visited on advocates of exclusion.

Desire for
a Servile
Class of
Labor

That the evils which brought about the sand lot agitation were largely caused by the desire which found expression in the legislature in 1852, when the wholesale importation of Chinese laborers was advocated, cannot be doubted. It was the persistence of the hope that cheap Chinese laborers could be brought into the country which strengthened the determination of the large land owners to hold onto their vast estates, and to that disposition more than anything else may be attributed the retardment of the agricultural industry of the state, the diversification of which has since contributed so greatly to the prosperity of California and the growth of its metropolis and principal seaport. Although the earlier misapprehensions concerning the nature of the soil of California had been succeeded by an appreciation which sometimes assumed the form of an exaggerated optimism, the disposition still existed to regard the state as something apart, and so conditioned that some form of cheap labor would be required for its development. It was still assumed that the treeless plains could only be rendered useful by devoting them to grazing. People no longer believed that the absence of trees indicated sterility, but they were more or less convinced that they could be farmed advantageously only by operating on a large scale. Irrigation was sometimes considered, but not very seriously. Where the experiment had been tried it had usually proved successful but it was not generally resorted to in any part of the state. The wool industry in 1873 was still important, and much pride was taken in the statistics of production which had expanded from an insignificant output of 5,500 pounds in 1850 to over 24,000,000 pounds in the later year. The attitude toward wheat growing was nearly the same. There was a confident belief that it would indefinitely continue to be California's most profitable crop, and this opinion prevailed until after the first half of the decade 1880, when the average annual production was 30,000,000 bushels, largely harvested on big farms.

The first serious attempt to deal with irrigation legislatively was in 1875-76, when an act was introduced for the creation of what was known as the West Side irrigation district. This scheme, which failed of acceptance at the time, contemplated a canal for transportation as well as for irrigation, and the latter was designed to assist the grain grower in a region of scant precipitation. The canal was to be led along the western edge of the San Joaquin valley from Tulare to tide water in Contra Costa county. It was pronounced impracticable in its original shape and awakened no more interest than the project of Wozencraft, who procured the passage of an act by the legislature in 1859 which had for its object the diversion of the waters of the Colorado from their regular channel into the great depression between that river and the Coast Range Mountains. Wozencraft's theory was that the filling of the basin would produce climatic changes similar to those effected by the construction of Lake Mæotus in Egypt, and that the waters could be effectively used for irrigation purposes. The matter was never tested because congress refused to cede the lands asked for within three years of the date of the passage of the act, and the scheme was never revived.

Early
Irrigation
Legislation

Irrigation received its first genuine impetus when the prospect of breaking up the big ranches began to take on a more definite shape than that of mere hope. This did not occur until the dissatisfaction of the struggling small farmer attracted the attention and enlisted the sympathy of the city workers, who deserve the credit of being among the earliest to perceive that the growth of the state was largely dependent upon the subdivision of the great ranches and their passing into the possession of small owners. In the convention which formulated the plank which declared that "all unimproved land should be taxed the same as though settled and improved," the danger of permitting a tenant system to be developed received ample attention, as did also the menace contained in the possibility of large land owners being permitted to work their estates with cheap Oriental labor. The necessity of making the state attractive to immigrants, and the good results which would ensue from the creation of a population mainly made up of small farmers were likewise emphasized and the rational view which subsequently prevailed was clearly set forth.

Desire for
Small Land
Holdings

It does not appear that the deliberations of the convention attracted attention at the time, but a year later there was much discussion along the same lines, although it was usually dissociated from the labor question. In 1872 it began to be recognized that the cultivation of raisins might become an important industry, and there was a generally entertained opinion that their production would be promoted by cutting up the big tracts into small farms. The editors of the city papers taking this as a text pointed out that a large number of small farmers would be immeasurably more beneficial to San Francisco than a few great estates, even if the latter should be developed to their full capacity by hired help. It was urged that the independent agriculturalist who owned and tilled his own land usually raised a family, while under the other system the conditions would be certain to produce a nomadic population made up of "blanket men," who would have to ramble about the country in search of a job in the seasons when work offered itself and who would seek refuge in the City at other times and become a burden on the community.

City Opposition
to Land
Monopoly

It cannot be said of this period that the merchants of San Francisco, or the people of the City generally were alive to the possibilities of diversified industry.

Interest in
Immigration

Ideas of development were still in the nebulous stage and there was a marked disposition to drift with the tide. Perhaps there was less interest relatively in the subject of immigration during the early Seventies than was manifested throughout the Fifties, when some at least seemed to clearly perceive that the future of the port depended upon the growth of a large agricultural population, whose wants its merchants would supply and for whose products they would find profitable markets. As late as 1874, when the project was mooted of making a showing at the centennial exposition, which was to be held in Philadelphia two years later, it was not received with any degree of enthusiasm, and the legislature declined to take any part in the enterprise on the ground that the state could not hope to derive any benefit from making an exhibit at a fair held on the Atlantic seaboard.

Growth of
the Canning
Industry

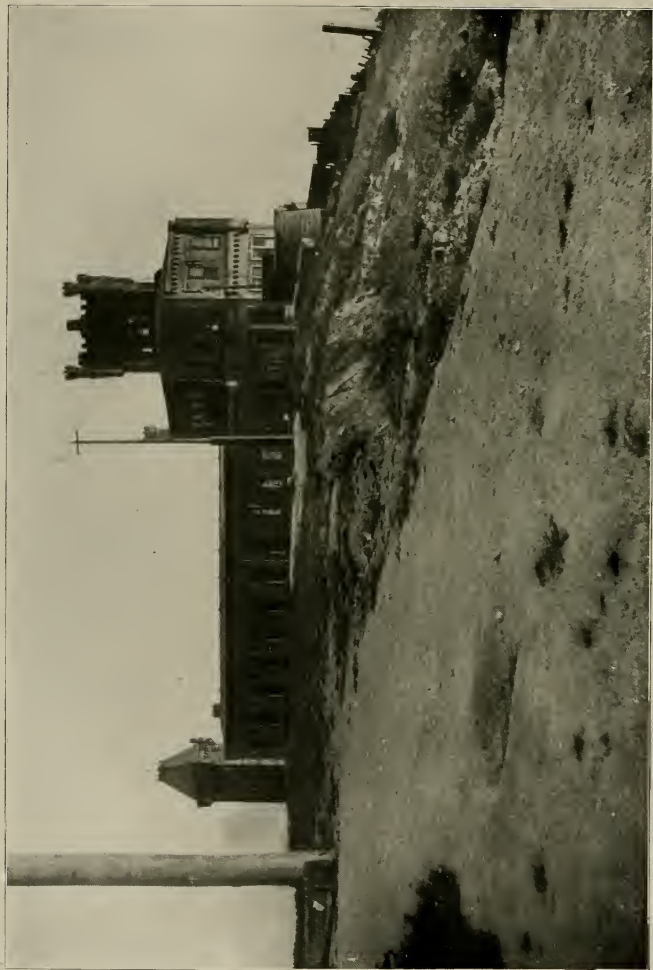
The canning industry, which had attained sufficient importance to have its output statistically stated in the later Sixties, was credited with a production of 132,000 cases in 1870, but the pack was consumed almost wholly within the state. Some of the fruit put up in San Francisco was shipped to Nevada and Oregon, but very few persons entertained the idea of finding markets at a distance for this particular product. This need not be regarded as a surprising statement for the shelves of the grocery stores of San Francisco down to a much later period displayed a larger assortment of fruit canned in the Eastern states than of domestic, and throughout the Pacific coast states and territories peaches put up in Baltimore shared popularity with the products of California orchards.

California
Production
Not
Encouraged

It may be said of the people of San Francisco in the early Seventies that they had not yet found themselves. This does not mean that there were not some discerning minds able to penetrate the future, for there were plenty who were ready to prophesy that California was destined to be a great horticultural and viticultural state, and that its people would some day derive great profit from the pursuit of industries then in their infancy. But the great majority did not act up to this belief and were encouraged to be incredulous by critics who were ready to point out that the products of the young state were inferior to those of older communities. In 1871 the vineyards of the state produced about four and a half million gallons of wine, but inferior foreign wines were imported, and it was the fashion to assume that they were better than the native product, and it was the custom to think and say that while California might produce a fairly good raisin it could hardly expect to rival the excellence of "three crown Malagas."

The
Spirit of
the Times

The spirit of the times was not pessimistic, nor can these exhibitions be fairly regarded as evidence of distrust. The City was still under the domination of the idea that mining and cereal farming would remain its chief dependence, and the merchants believed that communities can become rich by buying more than they sell. The value of a domestic manufacturing industry was not entirely lost sight of by enterprising men. Indeed undue efforts were made to stimulate it in disregard of the economic law that a large nearby consuming population is essential to the development of the factory in an era of sharp competition, and that without an artificial barrier to importation it is hopeless to attempt to successfully produce under a high wage system. One of the most melancholy episodes of this period is the vain effort of W. C. Ralston to promote manufacturing in San Francisco. He was the victim of the delusion that nearby raw materials and remoteness from other centers of manufacturing would offset the disadvantages of a limited market and a high wage scale and paid a heavy penalty for his mistake.



SUMMIT OF TELEGRAPH HILL

The castle-like structure was put up as a place of resort. A gravity road surmounted the hill in the eighties, but the enterprise was abandoned and the tracks torn up. The hill was finally made into a public park

CHAPTER XLVIII

SAN FRANCISCO SURRENDERS TO THE SPIRIT OF SPECULATION

GROWTH OF COMMERCE OF THE PORT—UNHEALTHY URBAN EXPANSION—SAN FRANCISCO WITHOUT A RIVAL—CALIFORNIA PRODUCTS UNAPPRECIATED—GREAT CHANGES IN PRODUCTION—OIL PRODUCTION POSSIBILITIES SCOUTED BY CAPITAL—DISCOVERY OF THE BIG BONANZA—FAKE MINING PROPERTIES—CORRUPT MANAGEMENT OF MINES—EVERYBODY CRAZED BY SPECULATION—EXCITING SCENES IN THE EXCHANGES AND ON THE STREETS—VILE TRICKS OF MANIPULATORS—TREMENDOUS FLUCTUATIONS IN STOCKS—IRRATIONAL ACTIONS OF SPECULATORS—THE MANY FLEECEED BY THE FEW—OUTPUT OF THE PRODUCTIVE MINES—THE ACCUMULATIONS OF A COMMUNITY ABSORBED BY SHARPER—THE "MUD HEN" AND "PAUPER ALLEY"—THE COMSTOCK LODE—FLOOD, O'BRIEN, MACKAY AND FAIR—MANIPULATION OF BIG BONANZA STOCKS—STRUGGLES FOR CONTROL—THE BROKERS—SHEARING OF THE LAMBS AND THE RESULT.



THE condition described in the preceding chapter would hardly be inferred from a study of the commercial statistics of the port of San Francisco, which showed steady gains in imports and exports. The latter, which had only aggregated \$3,649,277 in 1860, increased to \$13,385,991 in 1870 and in 1875 they had expanded to \$23,444,025. The figures of the last mentioned year would be materially added to

Commerce
of San
Francisco

if the products of the state, which were finding their way eastward by rail, were included, as there was a considerable development of the domestic trade after the opening of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. The imports of foreign goods, however, kept pace with exports to other lands, rising from \$7,376,016 in 1860 to \$15,982,549 in 1870, and reaching \$24,677,243 in 1875. There are no available statistics to show the quantities and values of goods brought to San Francisco by rail but there is reason for believing that the facilities of land transportation were largely employed by merchants who very early began to lose sight of the fact that the prosperity of a seaport depends very largely on the use its inhabitants make of their shipping advantages.

As already noted the mines began to show a diminishing output in the Sixties, the yield declining from \$44,095,163 in 1860 to \$17,123,867 in 1870 and averaging about \$16,500,000 during the following five years. The lessening rewards of placer mining undoubtedly turned many from that occupation, and as the opportunities for employment in the country, owing to the system of farming, which was conducted with a minimum of help, a great many of the released miners found their way to the City. This was no unusual phenomenon during the period when

Decline of
Placer
Mining

the gold yield was more than double that of the early Seventies, for it was the custom of the miners to resort to San Francisco during the season when work could not be prosecuted, but under those circumstances the number who sought work was small. In fact the visitors from the standpoint of the business man were regarded as a desirable floating population, as they usually expended the earnings of the summer in securing comforts and enjoyments of a sort from which they were debarred while prosecuting their search for the precious metal. The idlers from the mines in the Seventies sought the City with a much different purpose.

Army of
Unemployed

The decline of placer mining was not followed by a rapid development of quartz mining, which might have attracted and absorbed the disengaged gold hunters who would probably have taken to that occupation had the opportunity presented itself. A comparatively few when the chances of the placers shrunk took up the work of prospecting, but the major part of those released made their way to the City and helped to swell the army of unemployed, which was exhibiting signs of uneasiness. A large part of the growth of population which the census of 1870 showed was undoubtedly due to accessions from this cause, and not to excessive immigration from Eastern states. The population of the state increased during the Sixties from 379,994 to 560,427, a gain of 180,433, of which San Francisco is credited with 92,671, or more than half, a rate of growth which is shown to be abnormal when compared with the figures of the succeeding census, which showed a gain for the whole state of 304,267, San Francisco's share of which was only 84,486 or a little less than a third.

Unhealthy
Urban
Expansion

There was no good reason for this extraordinary urban expansion during the Sixties. It was out of all proportion to the development of industries of the sort calculated to afford employment to large numbers of people. There was some growth of manufacturing during the decade. Woolen mills were established, and the metal trades expanded to some extent, and there was a considerable growth of small concerns, but there was no real factory development of the sort witnessed in the towns on the Atlantic seaboard, where the operations of manufacturers were greatly extended while the Civil war was in progress, and where, under the influence of the Morrill protective tariff, Americans were rapidly taking possession of the domestic market.

Too Much
Thought
About
Distribution

While there was much talk in San Francisco about manufacturing in the latter half of the Sixties and during the early Seventies, and some unusual steps were taken to promote industry of that character, as in the case of Ralston who, in his capacity of manager of the affairs of the Bank of California, used the money of that institution to stimulate the domestic production of furniture and carriages and to forward other enterprise, a course for which he was afterward criticized and even denounced, the business men of the City continued to think of the port chiefly as a distributing center. Those who gave thought to the subject were disposed to take New York and Liverpool for their models, and their energies were chiefly devoted to the problems of distribution rather than of production, an attitude not at all conducive to creative enterprise, and a dangerous one in a city which under the modern system of development, acts as a magnet to draw population which must be provided with opportunities for employment if trouble is to be averted, and the process of growth is not to suffer interruption.

San Francisco during the Sixties and Seventies was the distributing point for the vast area known as California, and for the entire Pacific coast. The figures

of the custom house show that practically all the exporting of domestic products, and the importation of foreign goods for the vast region known as the coast, was done by the merchants of San Francisco. There is absolutely no mention of any exports in 1860 through any other California port than San Francisco, and all the imports passed through the Golden Gate. Ten years later the condition remained unchanged. In 1875, when the exports from all customs districts in the state aggregated \$23,444,025, the amount credited to San Francisco was \$23,266,395, and in 1880, when the state's exports totalled \$31,910,486, the share of the metropolis in the trade was \$31,845,712. The story told by the tables of exports is repeated in that of imports, although care must be taken in making comparisons between different periods to not confuse the statistics which represent goods in transit, with those which show the volume and value of goods received for distribution on the coast. The import totals were greatly swollen after 1875 by the inclusion in them of large quantities of raw silk. In 1870 imports of this commodity only aggregated \$318,041; this amount had slowly increased to \$603,264 by 1875 and in the opening year of the new decade it had swollen to \$10,037,009. Practically all of this raw material passed through the port to the East, only a very small quantity being retained here to be consumed in an attempt to create a silk manufacturing industry which, after a precarious existence of some years, gave up the ghost.

Prior to 1870 the entire volume of imports represented Pacific coast consumption, and the San Francisco merchants enjoyed the profits of its distribution. The habit of direct importation had become well fixed, and the City was perhaps less dependent upon the activities of the importers of New York than any other in the country. It was the boast of San Franciscans at a time when domestic productions were held in less esteem than at present, that the people of the City were able to get the real foreign article while those of Eastern cities were apt to have American imitations imposed upon them by unscrupulous dealers. In view of later developments the propensity to extol the superiority of foreign productions seems foolish, but during the period under review this was the prevalent attitude and it was persistently encouraged by the class who imagined that the future of San Francisco was bound up in its facilities for distribution.

Doubtless this was the natural point of view in the early Seventies. Exports of breadstuffs, which amounted to only \$1,178,676 in 1860, had increased to \$10,090,179 in 1870, and when the latter decade was half completed \$15,813,941 of such commodities had passed through the Golden Gate destined to European ports. Visions of feeding the inhabitants of the old world dazzled men, and it cannot be said that they were unsubstantial for, seven years later, in 1882, there was actually shipped through the port of San Francisco \$40,138,557 worth of breadstuffs. When these dreams were being dreamed the great resource which has since become one of the mainstays of the state was hardly considered. In 1860 we find in the customs statistics a record of \$120 worth of fruit and nuts exported; in 1870 the value of such shipments was only \$44,156, and that amount probably came near to the total of our surplus in the year named, for the shipments by rail, if there were any, were too insignificant to be taken note of, and indeed very little was known about California fruit outside of its boundaries until four or five years later.

San
Francisco
Without a
Rival

American
Products
Underrated

Prosperity
and Wheat
Growing

Great
Changes
in Pro-
duction

There had been tremendous changes in the character and volume of the products of California during the twenty years following 1850, but they were not of a nature to suggest the vast transformation that was to take place after that date. The student of statistics observing the fact that the exports of tallow had dropped to \$6,585 in 1870 and to \$1,879 in 1875, would have inferred the disappearance of the herds that once roamed the great ranches of the state, but he must have been endowed with more than ordinary prevision to have foreseen that the time would speedily arrive when California would be an importer of breadstuffs and an exporter of tens of thousands of car loads of fresh and canned fruits; and that an almost unconsidered mineral product would outrank in importance as a source of wealth the output of the placer and gold mines of the state.

Oil
Industry
in its
Infancy

It is doubtful whether the baser metals or petroleum engaged much of the attention of San Francisco in the early Seventies. "Coal oil" was sought for in a perfunctory manner after the dissemination of the news of the discovery in Pennsylvania but without practical result. It would have been extraordinary if the peculiarities of the region where the California discoveries of importance made in later years had escaped notice. As a matter of fact they did not. Men acquainted with the formations in the Titusville region were sure that the search for oil in California would be rewarded, but they could not enlist the interest of capitalists. In 1876 the "Ventura Signal" published an article complaining of the indifference shown by the latter, but was rebuked by a San Francisco paper, which scouted its contemporary's assertion that oil found in the vicinity of San Buenaventura could "be reduced and placed in the market as a first class burning fluid." "If," remarked the San Francisco editor, "the 'Signal' desires to gain the ear of capitalists and induce them to look at the subject seriously with a view to investing it must go into it more in detail."

Cautious
San
Francisco
Capitalists

This "you must show me" attitude of San Francisco capitalists was characteristic of the period and applied to almost every sort of enterprise excepting the search for the precious metals. The men who had made their money in mines or by speculating in mining stocks were ready to embark in undertakings of the most dubious sort if the lure was gold, and they were not reluctant to invest in real estate and were even ready to put up buildings, but they were disinclined to take up occupations about which they knew nothing. They lacked the confidence which inspired men in the older communities to back the proficient, and not without some cause, for experience had demonstrated quite early that the conditions which made the investment of capital in manufacturing and other industries quite safe in the East were not present in the new state.

Evil of
Excessive
Speculation

That the discovery of the great ore body in the Comstock contributed to this attitude of indifference towards other enterprises than mining is not surprising. For a period it turned the minds of San Franciscans from the contemplation of other modes of acquiring wealth than by speculating in stocks or making a lucky strike in a mine. From 1872 until the decade was well spent the community was kept in a whirl of excitement. Occasionally the flames of speculation flared up more brightly than at other times, but during the entire period they burned with a consuming heat which destroyed the commercial vitality of the people. This was the greatest evil produced by the discovery of the big bonanza. The unscrupulous manipulation of the stock market, and the robberies practiced by unprincipled men who unhesitatingly took the last dollar of their victims, were criminal offenses



Bradley & Rulofson's Celebrities.

OPINIONS: [KEY TO BRADLEY & RULOFSON'S CELEBRITIES.]

- "I consider the Photographic Portrait you have taken of me, by far the very best I have seen." EDWIN BOOTH. S. F. Sept. 14, 1876.
 "Many thanks for my Photos—they are very good." MRS. SCOTT-EMMONS. 23d June, 1876.
 "Have one thousand of my Photos finished in time for the next Australian Steamer." (Geo. BUCKOLD. July 14, 1876.
 "The best I ever had." CHAS. FERRIER. "Never had any better in my life." KINGDOM.
 "Your pictures don't need any recommendation! They speak for themselves." ALEX. DEANING.
 "The best pictures ever taken of me were made at your establishment." ROBERT BELLING.
 "The finest photographs I ever had." THOMPSON WARDEN.
 "Bradley & Rulofson have brought the Art to the highest degree of perfection." BUSTOS CUTCHIA, July 7, 1876.
 "Bradley & Rulofson's pictures beat the world. Over two thousand of their 'Celebrity' pictures were sold in two weeks." STONEY HERALD, Sept. 25, 1873.
 "As giving some idea of the favor in which Bradley & Rulofson are held in the East, we note that they received yesterday forty-five orders from Dramatic Celebrities in the Eastern States." S. F. DAILY ALTA. April, 1876.
 "Bradley & Rulofson's pictures are enviable to the state of arts in California. If the Golden State could make wine that would compare with their photographs, it would be the talk and envy of the world." PHILADELPHIA IRAM, May 26, 1876.
 "Some opinion one who is passing superior in your favor (photography)." U. TAO JANGTSA.
 "Your work is considered by the whole dramatic profession to be the best in the world." JOHN McVILLOUGH.

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Mrs. Jas. A. Oster. | 29. Annie Paxley. | 57. Miss Richter. | 85. Jas. O'Neil. |
| 2. Harry Edwards. | 30. Frank Lawlor. | 58. Harry Sullivan. | 86. Geo. Fawcett Rowe. |
| 3. Miss Johnson. | 31. Anna E. E. F. | 59. Edwin Adams. | 87. Theodore Hub. Hunt. |
| 4. John P. Raymond. | 32. Joseph Mueller. | 60. Emma Lee. | 88. Louisa Hawthorne. |
| 5. Joe. Mass. | 33. Madame Falbri. | 61. Jolly Emerson. | 89. Stephen Russell-Jones Pipes. |
| 6. Emma C. Thursty. | 34. Eleanor Carey. | 62. Mrs. Mary Gladstone. | 90. Mrs. Rufus Bernard. |
| 7. Billy Crane. | 35. Alice Deaning. | 63. Louis L. James. | 91. Minnie Wain. |
| 8. Nelson. | 36. George Rigold. | 64. John Wilson. | 92. Hattie Busch. |
| 9. W. S. Arleton. | 37. Mad. Janarwick. | 65. Fanny Rock. | 93. Frank Mayo. |
| 10. Mrs. Julia. | 38. Charlotte LeClery. | 66. Theodore Washel. | 94. Joe. Murphy. |
| 11. Z. C. Williamson. | 39. Chas. Pope. | 67. Winifred Montague. | 95. Emily McVillie. |
| 12. May Howell. | 40. Elsie Wilton. | 68. Tom Keene. | 96. Julia Dean. |
| 13. E. J. Buckley. | 41. Mary L. Young. | 69. Lawrence Barrett. | 97. W. Peakes. |
| 14. Bella Larnaud. | 42. Thelma Leard. | 70. Edwin Forrest. | 98. James Lewis. |
| 15. Barton Hill. | 43. Alice Kingsbury. | 71. Joe. Emmett. | 99. Clara Morris. |
| 16. Anne Beaumont. | 44. Charlotte Thompson. | 72. Kelly Mayhew. | 100. Catherine Rodgers. |
| 17. Emma de Muska. | 45. Rosegail. | 73. Emily Keel. | 101. M. A. Kennedy. |
| 18. Carrie Wyatt. | 46. Chas. Fehler. | 74. Marie Amice. | 102. Theresa Guano Saurat. |
| 19. Mlle. Anna de Bolson. | 47. Marie Gordon. | 75. Lewis Morrison. | 103. Lolla. |
| 20. Mueghe Moore. | 48. Alice Harrison. | 76. E. A. Sashern. | 104. Gertie Granville. |
| 21. N. Long. | 49. Nelson Decker. | 77. C. R. Holop. | 105. John Jack. |
| 22. Wm. Maystey. | 50. Frank Chantreau. | 78. Horace Lathard. | 106. Mrs. Scott-Siddons. |
| 23. Fanny Davonport. | 51. Mary Anderson. | 79. Wm. Castle. | 107. Robert Fitzman. |
| 24. Nellie Cummings. | 52. T. W. Foxney. | 80. Mrs. Bowers. | 108. Tony Pastore. |
| 25. Mueghe Mithell. | 53. H. J. Montague. | 81. Geo. Chapin. | 109. John Mytman. |
| 26. Nour Tadjapara. | 54. John McVilough. | 82. Miss Zoe Puginin. | 110. Oscar Malone. |
| 27. Jefferys Lewis. | 55. Mrs. Chantreau. | 83. Maurine Barrymore. | |
| 28. Emma Waller. | 56. Edwin Booth. | 84. Jas. W. Wallace. | |

Entered according to Act of Congress by Bradley & Rulofson, in the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C., 1876.

whose consequences were disastrous to the individuals whose cupidity caused their misfortune, but the most serious result was that which flowed from the arrestment of progress, due to the diversion of capital from productive enterprises and turning it into the pockets of men who were neither desirous nor capable of making a proper use of their acquisitions.

The so-called "big bonanza" was discovered during the period of speculation which began with the uncovering of rich ore deposits in the Crown Point and Belcher mines on the Comstock and the Raymond and Ely mine at Pioche, Nevada, in 1872. The excitement produced by these discoveries immeasurably surpassed that which attended the speculative era that began in 1863, when Gould and Curry, Savage, Ophir and Hale and Norcross, all on the Comstock lode, were the stocks chiefly dealt in by the brokers and which a gullible public stood ready to buy despite the fact that watering was unblushingly practiced and that absolutely no dependence could be placed on reports of those in control of the mines, who were more interested in manipulating them so as to absorb the earnings of the people by levying assessments than they were in extracting their ores. There was no doubt about the great richness of some of these mines. Between 1860 and 1876 those in control of Gould and Curry took out \$15,178,118, and during the same period there was extracted from Savage \$15,703,279, yet these two companies paid dividends amounting to only \$8,286,000, while over \$23,595,000 was consumed in operating or was grabbed by the manipulators.

The experience of the Sixties did not serve as a warning to the people of San Francisco and the rest of the state. That they disregarded it was not due to ignorance of the villainies practiced by the manipulators, for the community clearly understood that it was being fleeced, and that in nine instances out of ten the money risked by those who bought on margin was at the mercy of sharpers who were playing a game with marked cards. With most of those who dealt in stocks the process was a gamble pure and simple. There was much affectation of consideration of the possibility or probability of ore bodies being uncovered, but no one was deceived by it; least of all the victims of the villainy who were well informed concerning the propensity of the manipulators, even when rich ores were found to so manage matters that few excepting themselves derived any benefits from the discoveries.

Side by side with the speculation involved in buying and selling on margin there was a practice equally pernicious which caught the credulous in great numbers. Mining companies were created by wholesale whose stocks were greedily absorbed by silly people who permitted themselves to be deceived by lies concerning developments which were circulated to induce the dupes to pay assessments. Men went on year after year paying the demands made upon them by unscrupulous rascals who consumed the money they received in paying themselves extravagant salaries and in maintaining costly offices. The amount thus abstracted by these cunning operators was enormous, while the returns to the investors were comparatively insignificant.

It would be impossible to describe all the methods resorted to by the manipulators to absorb for their own use the wealth extracted from the mines with the money paid in by stockholders for their operation. In a message to the legislature in 1872, Governor Newton Booth made reference to a notorious practice which is punished with imprisonment when the offender is a workingman, or a mere servant,

Discovery
of the
Big Bonanza

Victimized by
Sharpers

Fake
Mining
Properties

Corrupt
Acts of
Manipulators

but was passed over in the case of the leading spirits controlling the large mines which should have paid handsome dividends to the stockholders if their proceeds had been honestly distributed. He said: "It is not uncommon to find one class of stockholders enriching themselves from a company which impoverishes another. So common is this, especially with mining companies, that it has become proverbial and grown into a distinct and disgraceful code of morals, one of whose tenets is that to own a majority of stock or a controlling interest is to own it all. No stockholder in a corporation," urged the governor, "should be allowed to hold any interest in a corporation which is distinct from and may become antagonistic to the interest of the company as a whole." In this criticism Booth indicted the practice by which mine operators in control managed to divert into their own pockets all the gold extracted by paying extortionate prices to subsidiary companies for performing services which should have been performed by the companies for the benefit of the body of stockholders. This disreputable trick was copied from the managers of the Central Pacific, but the avarice of the men who obtained control of the Comstock mines was so great that at times their operations made those of the railroad men seem mere petty larceny affairs by comparison. Mention has been made of the enormous amount extracted from Savage and Gould and Curry, and the insignificant sum paid to stockholders. A large part of the money robbed from the latter was obtained by the practice denounced by Booth.

Cormorants
and
Vultures
of Society

If thus early a governor was called upon to denounce this refined system of robbery there was certainly some excuse for the impassioned sand lot oratory in which the mining manipulators were denounced as "the cormorants and vultures of society." The excesses of the speculative era of the Sixties were small by comparison with those which became glaringly apparent after 1872, and continued until the community was nearly squeezed dry. Saturnalia is a much overworked word, but it is one that best describes the activities of the years of unblushing recklessness during which San Francisco was exploited by the mine manipulators. The astonishing alacrity with which the people embraced the opportunity to get rid of their earnings by cutting loose from all economic traditions is too suggestive of a sort of madness to be classed as a mere experience. Nothing short of a term which implies a complete abandonment of ordinary restraints and disregard of the future can convey an adequate impression of the condition which existed in San Francisco between 1872 and 1877.

Crazed by
Speculation

There have been speculative disturbances in New York which have surpassed the magnitude of the operations in San Francisco following the discovery of the big bonanza, but there never was one in which a whole community involved itself so generally as the people of the Pacific coast city did between the years mentioned. The best testimony on this point is that of a broker who subsequently in reviewing the conditions produced was actually able to find some words in defense of the iniquities of the period. He tells us that the infection pervaded all ranks of society. Asking the question "From whence come our orders?" he answered it by saying: "Imprimis from San Francisco and literally from the kitchen to the pulpit; from every shade in life, and every nationality represented in San Francisco. Chinamen were large gamblers in mining stocks, and wherever the telegraph wires extended large orders would roll in."

Exciting
Scenes

During the height of the excitement the streets in the neighborhood of the mining stock exchanges were so crowded that they became almost impassable.

Police were required to clear the tracks when a slow moving horse car passed through Montgomery street, although that thoroughfare was a half block distant from the scene of operations. So dense were the throngs that brokers had to be assisted by officers to reach their places of business, and the board rooms. And so keen were the people to engage in the gamble that it became necessary to hold informal sessions during which the heaviest business of the day would be transacted.

The term credulous when applied to the participants only describes the practices and not the beliefs of those who took part in these exciting scenes. One of the marvels of the situation was the cynical attitude of the participants. It was no uncommon thing to hear men who had invested their money in stocks speak of the prevalent roguery of those who manipulated them. Volumes could be filled with stories, some of them apocryphal but all illustrative, describing rascalities which resulted in the impoverishment of the victims. A curious feature of these relations was the utter absence of indignation attending the recital which even when tragic would be considered humorous. One current story seemed to impress all classes as particularly funny. It was to the effect that one of the bonanza quartette had imparted in confidence to a minister that a certain stock was going to move upward. Although he was enjoined to keep the information secret nearly every member of his congregation received a tip, and they all bought largely. Exactly the reverse happened; the stock went down and the dupes lost heavily. The minister when he reproached the mining manipulator was met with expressions of regret, accompanied by an offer to reimburse him for his losses, but of course the speculative members of his congregation, in the parlance of the street, had to "take their medicine."

Duping the
Public

The story as related may have been untrue, but those who told it, and their hearers, believed it, or at least were convinced that there was no trick too base or deception too vile from which the big men who controlled the mines would shrink in order to get money. It might be imagined that a community possessed of such beliefs would arise and drive its despoilers from their midst, but queerly enough resentment was modified by the illogical opinion that in some inscrutable fashion the men who were robbing them were conferring a benefit upon the City. The process of reasoning was something like this: "A healthy stock market, one founded upon a discovery of rich ore has always proved a great advantage to San Francisco. With a rise in value, a small owner of stock purchased at low figures becomes comparatively wealthy. Experience shows that, as a rule, a man struggling with debt on his shoulders, should he be one of the fortunate owners of stock in a mine where rich ore has been found will sell at about the time when his profits will pay all his debts, and debts of say \$10,000 paid in this way may pass through the hands of a hundred other people, each one paying some long neglected obligation. This in a way means prosperity to the community; money placed in circulation in this way always does an immense amount of good, taking the stagnation out of a previously dull period."

No Trick
Too Vile

It would be a waste of words to point out the fallacies of this argument made by a well informed broker, but there is not the slightest doubt that a very large proportion of the people of San Francisco really believed that it was the speculation which produced the brief period of prosperity that followed the discovery of the California and Consolidated Virginia mines, and not the wealth which they added to the community. It might have been urged that the sales of stocks of even those

Betting as a
Source of
Prosperity

companies which never returned any dividends to their investors contributed to the prosperity of the City by stimulating the search which resulted in finding paying mines, but it is incredible that any one should have imagined that the betting transactions known as dealings in futures could have profited any one but the brokers, and the winners, except upon the theory that the latter were easily separated from their gains.

Tremendous
Fluctuations
of Mining
Stocks

And indeed this was true. Almost as disastrous in its effects as the losses of dupes was the example of extravagance which successful operators set the community. "Easy come, easy go" was their motto. In the whirl of excitement which marked the close of the year 1874, both Con. Virginia and California made the extraordinary advance of \$300 in price per share in less than thirty days. The fluctuations during the four months beginning with November, 1874, and ending February 25, 1875, of the three leading stocks were no less remarkable than the phenomenal rise above mentioned. California which sold at \$90 on November 17, 1874, advanced to \$160 on December 3d, was sold at \$300 on December 17th, at \$400 on the 23d and at \$480 on the 30th. On January 7th it reached \$790, the top price. A week later it was down to \$590 and on February 18th it was \$50. Con. Virginia had a nearly similar experience, rising from \$160 on November 17, 1874, touching \$710, its highest point, on January 7, 1875, and descending to \$415 on February 4th, from which it mounted to \$440 on February 25th. Ophir which started at \$90 November 17th, touched \$815 January 7, 1875, and dropped to \$77 on February 25th.

Irrational
Conduct of
Speculators

These tremendous fluctuations were caused by the interests battling for control, and those who entered the contest were under no illusions respecting the cause of the phenomenal advances, nor were they wholly unprepared for the subsequent recessions. The volume of transactions was large and the number participating was great. Those not in the ring were without any information whatever and were simply staking their money on the turn of a card, for in the moments which attended the fights for control the people who gambled did not have the sorry excuse which they consoled themselves with at other times that they were acting on a "tip" which they believed to be reliable. One of the most extraordinary features of the mining stock craze in San Francisco was the utterly irrational conduct of the majority of those who speculated. Those who have any acquaintance with the movement of the Eastern stock market, the principal dealings of which are in railroads and industrials, know that the whole line moves up and down in sympathy at times. There is nothing surprising in this unison for the same cause which affects one stock may extend to all similar stocks, and communicate itself to all securities dependent upon business prosperity and adversity. That the value of mining stocks should have displayed the same sympathetic variations seems preposterous and proves conclusively that the mass of San Francisco speculators, in the parlance of the street, were "suckers."

Fishing for
"Suckers"

The manipulators were perfectly aware of this fact and were quite willing to pay for the privilege of angling in the muddy stream for the silly fish. The sales of stocks on the boards had fallen off greatly during the opening year of the Seventies, the total of 1870 reported by one exchange aggregating only \$51,186,000. In the ensuing year this amount jumped up to \$127,888,000, and great eagerness was displayed to secure the listing of new companies. The brokers were prompt to take advantage of this pressure and advanced the listing price from \$200 to

\$600 in April, 1872, and later on raised it to \$1,000. Before the fires of the excitement were extinguished by the calamitous failures of 1876, the listing price was \$2,000, and many utterly worthless mines received the stamp of approval of the exchange because their owners or those in control were willing to pay that figure for the privilege of having their stocks quoted.

In 1876 there were 226 companies listed on one board. No one has attempted to ascertain how many of this number represented absolutely valueless properties. That most of the properties were not paying dividends seemed to make no difference to the infatuated gamblers, who were perfectly aware that many of them were not expected to do anything of the sort. Some pretense of making inquiry into the professions of the listed companies was kept up, but it was only a sham, for most of the stocks dealt in were proved by the event to be those of companies whose existence depended upon the ability of the men managing them to extract assessments from dupes ready to pay out their money in the hope that a rising market would increase the price of their stocks, or that a lucky strike would give them a real value and make them rich.

It was the utterly unwarranted sympathetic movement referred to which caused so much mischief among the small fry investors. If through genuine merit one company's stock made a jump upward, or if through manipulation the price of a dividend paying stock was advanced, the whole line was "boosted." No reason was applied. The discovery of a rich ore body in a mine in one district sufficed to convince the speculator that the chances of a like discovery in another mine were increased and he acted accordingly. No one can tell how much honestly and laboriously earned money passed into the pockets of clever manipulators while the delirium lasted, but the sum must have been immense. That much of the speculation merely resulted in the transference of money from the pockets of one set of gamblers, who may have been respectable citizens, into those of another set equally respectable is undoubtedly true; but if a balance sheet could be made it would show that by far the greatest amount of the resulting transactions, whether of production, or of the movement of the stock market, was absorbed by comparatively few cunning men.

It was estimated that before Con. Virginia and California ceased to be profitably worked they had produced \$133,471,000. Gould and Curry, the first mine on the Comstock in which a large body of ore was uncovered, between the date of the discovery of its richness in 1862 and 1905 was credited with a production of \$15,525,000. Savage produced \$20,552,000; Hale and Norcross \$11,486,000; Challar Potosi \$13,935,000; Imperial and adjoining claims \$28,039,000; Kentucky \$4,905,000; Yellow Jacket \$18,043,000; Crown Point \$33,081,000 and Belcher \$34,415,000. How much of this vast sum exceeding \$338,000,000 was paid out in dividends, or how the latter were distributed it would be impossible to tell. The figures of production were derived from the records of the defunct stock exchanges, but they are not explicit concerning the disposition of the earnings of the mines. That the distribution was not equitable was notorious. That no possible device which would turn the product of the mines into the pockets of manipulators was neglected is known. And that no effort was made to put an end to the shameless robbery of the people until they were practically cleaned out is a matter of history. Nevertheless, to recur to a former statement, an opinion undoubtedly prevailed in what may be termed influential circles that a brisk stock market, no

Many
Companies
Listed

The Public
Fleeced

Output of
the Big
Mines

matter what its accompaniments, spelt prosperity for San Francisco. That this idea should have gained so firm a hold on the class mentioned is due to the fact that the prosperity of the few led to extraordinary extravagances which had the effect of promoting business of all kinds.

Community's
Accumulations
Absorbed

The most of the vast sums represented by the productions of the mines, the majority of which were situated in Nevada, flowed to San Francisco where they were invested or expended by those who were fortunate enough to secure them. Had the distribution been even more inequitable than it really was the result must have been to stimulate business, if only temporarily. But the trouble did not stop with the unfair methods adopted by manipulators to absorb the major part of the profits of mineral production; the greed of the principal beneficiaries was such that they did not shirk from putting up jobs which had the effect of diverting the accumulations of the community, which under normal conditions would have been devoted to the promotion of legitimate enterprises, into nonproductive undertakings, or into the pockets of the parasites who consume what is produced and saved by the industrious and frugal.

An Era
of Foolish
Extravagance

There is no end of anecdotes concerning the profuse display of the beneficiaries of the speculative excitement. We are told of a broker who had three hundred and sixty-five pairs of pantaloons, one for every day in the year, and the papers are filled with allusions which indicate that the motto "easy come, easy go" was lived up to by those who were profiting through the foolishness of the people. They also tell the story in their advertising and news columns of an excessive love of amusement, which took the form of liberal patronage of music and the drama. At no time in the history of the City had the artist been more prosperous than he was during the Seventies, and in that decade was witnessed the remarkable passion for architectural adornment which did so much to convert San Francisco into a place of pinnacles and steeples which, however absurd when considered in detail, gave the town its admittedly picturesque appearance.

The Mud
Hens and
Pauper Alley

It is true too, that while the period of lavish expenditure lasted little was heard of the wrecks produced by the system. "Pauper alley" came into prominence after the bubble had burst, and the wretched "mud hens" who infested it were not conspicuous in the days when the "gent" with three hundred and sixty-five pairs of "pants" flourished. Paupers had been made in plenty in the early Seventies, but it was not until the collapse of the Sierra Nevada deal in 1877 that the alley became a place of resort for a lot of infatuated creatures who had lost what they had, and still hoped that some worthless bits of paper to which they clung would become valuable. Pauper alley was that part of Leidersdorff street south of California. It was a narrow thoroughfare with sidewalks three or four feet wide, and was abundantly supplied with saloons and cigar stands, there being five of the former and four of the latter in the distance of a short block. There were also two pool rooms, two restaurants and a candy stand. There was an entrance to the Pacific Stock Board from the alley, some brokers' offices and a bucket shop. It was always crowded in the flush days, and when those of tribulation came it was haunted by broken down men and bedraggled women, who spent their time telling about the fortunes that had slipped through their fingers, and dreaming dreams of fortunes still to be made. In time it became one of the sore spots which visitors were shown, but it was swept out of existence in the disaster of 1906 and is now only a memory.

The celebrated Comstock mines from which the vast riches mentioned were extracted were in Nevada, but the boundaries of the lode were rather indefinite, and were the subject of jest. Shuck in his "History of the Stock Exchange" relates that an inquisitive person who wished to arrive at the facts questioned a miner and that the following dialogue resulted:

The
Comstock
Lode

"What is the true location out here on the side of Mount Davidson?

"Well, stranger, it is about this way. There hain't but one lode along here. Them locations east and west of this great lode is only to sell to tenderfeet.

"Well, if that is the case, what are the boundaries of this great lode?

"Well, stranger, the boundaries of this great lode is as follows: The footwall is the diorite of Mount Davidson, and the hangingwall is Salt Lake City. All quartz within them boundaries is the Comstock lode."

The joke lies in the application. The number of San Franciscans who had any better information than was embraced in this comprehensive definition of the boundary was limited. And their knowledge of the geography of the mines real or imaginary in which they invested their money was no more meager than that which they possessed of the workings of the properties, or whether they had any existence at all. It is related of a San Francisco woman who visited Monte Carlo and sat at one of the tables where she was a pretty constant winner, but had to be told when she had made a winning, that she answered the testy remark of an Englishman who sat by her side, that he could not see why any one who didn't understand the game should play, by saying "Oh, that's all right. I used to make plenty of money in mining stocks and I never knew anything about them." She was more frank than the average participant in the dangerous game but not more ignorant. The most of them could talk glibly enough about the number of feet in this, that or the other mine, and had mastered the intricacies of the various subdivisions of the leading stocks. They knew to an inch the dimensions of the leading claims, and were familiar with the history of the processes by which a few men obtained control of great ore bodies. If the mystified stranger from the East asked for information they could tell him all about the methods of William Sharon and W. C. Ralston, and of their rivals James C. Flood, William S. O'Brien, John W. Mackay and James G. Fair. They had the story of the rise of these magnates by heart, and they did not allow it to lose any of its piquancy in the telling. But there was little malice in their relations at that time. That came later. If there were animadversions upon the fact that Flood and O'Brien kept a drinking saloon on Washington street, and that they waited on their own customers, they were usually qualified with admiration that men could rise to such lofty heights from so low an estate.

Money
Made by the
Uninformed

These critics dwelt on the shrewd dealings of the two saloonkeepers and the profits made by them through investments in Comstocks, and upon their sagacity in associating with them in their operations Mackay and Fair, two practical miners who were working on the lode. After the formation of this partnership the unproved ground near the north end of the Comstock lode known as Consolidated Virginia was purchased by the quartette. The claim was 1,310 feet in length and was divided in 1875 into two mines, California with 600 feet and Consolidated Virginia 710 feet. The two mines were represented by 10,700 shares which were bought at \$4 to \$9 a share, the property being acquired by the four for a sum less

Flood,
O'Brien,
Mackay and
Fair

than \$100,000, and considerably less than \$100 a lineal foot. "Con." Virginia—the contraction of Consolidated, was always employed in speaking of the mine—had been worked for many years but had never returned a dollar of dividends, but for reasons known to the new firm its members had unbounded faith in its future.

Not a
Chance
Discovery

That it was not a blind chance was shown by the mode of working. Instead of sinking on the old shaft the firm made arrangements to run a tunnel from the Gould and Curry shaft which had attained a depth of 1,800 feet and was 800 feet from Con. Virginia ground. This drift was begun at a depth of 1,200 feet below the surface, and it was while making it that the body of ore known as the "big bonanza" was discovered. The discovery resulted in the immediate enhancement of the value of the property. So great was the richness of the deposit that its owners were enabled to convert the original 10,700 shares into two issues of 108,000 shares each, each share thus representing the infinitesimal proportion of 1-14 of an inch of the claim.

Big Bonanza
Stocks
Manipulated

During the first six months of 1875 the output of the ore was valued at a million and a half a month and the shares were sold, as already related, as high as \$710 per share, the price quoted January 7, 1875, which represented an aggregate value of \$153,360,000 for the 216,000 shares issued. But this fabulous valuation was enormously increased later. The original capital stock of California was enlarged on February 4, 1875, to 540,000 shares, and on March 14, 1876, a similar course was taken with Con. Virginia. California after the increase was sold as high as \$90 per share, representing a valuation of \$486,000,000, and Con. Virginia sold as high as \$86, the two mines being thus speculatively rated at nearly a billion dollars.

Dangerous
Dividend
Paying Stocks

Although the term speculatively rated is used in describing the valuation placed on these properties the fact that after the subdivision the price of California ranged about \$60 during the year 1875, and that it mounted to \$87 in January, 1876, to \$90 on February 24th, and that it kept near that figure until March 23d, when it was \$88 indicates the degree of confidence felt in the richness of the mine, and the same comment applies to Con. Virginia, which was quoted for some time at near the price made immediately after the increase of the number of shares. These stocks represented dividend paying properties, but their value was not determined by the appreciation of investors who rarely bought with the idea of holding them. The dividend factor was never lost sight of by those who bought, but the buyer was conscious of the fact that he was at the mercy of unscrupulous men and was always ready to sell at a profit, and to hunt cover when signs of an impending storm appeared.

Tricks of
the Market
Riggers

Some of the spectacular rises in value produced by efforts to obtain control have been referred to, but they do not illustrate the uncertainty of the market and the trickiness of manipulators near so effectively as the statement that between November 4 and December 2, 1875, California was depressed from \$54 to \$21 a share, and that Ophir which sold at \$65 October 6, 1875, was down to \$39 on November 4th. In the slang of the street the manipulators "caught the suckers coming and going." The moths fluttering near the flame were constantly having their wings singed, and not infrequently their existence wiped out, but the game went on merrily. The rich mines paid dividends, but the men who controlled them were able to arrange matters so that what they paid out found its way back



CLAY STREET CABLE ROAD CAR, ON THE DAY OF ITS TRIAL TRIP, AUGUST
2, 1872

The inventor, A. S. Halladie, and his wife are seated on the front seat. The line started at the
corner of Kearny and Clay Streets and ended on Leavenworth

into their coffers, albeit by a circuitous route which was eagerly traveled by a community crazed by dreams of sudden wealth.

The extent of the infatuation can be measured by the confidence of the brokers who up to the very eve of the collapse were planning to extend their operations. On the 1st of June, 1875, the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board increased its membership to 100 by adding 20 new names, a list of which has an historical value. They were William Sharon, James C. Flood, Robert F. Morrow, James D. Fry, William S. O'Brien, Alexander Austin, George M. Pinney, Richard C. Hooker, Charles N. Felton, H. H. Scott, John P. Jones, L. T. Haggin, H. Hart, Samuel B. Wakefield, Charles S. Neal, George T. Mayre, Jr., Marcus P. Hall, Eugene E. Dewey, Joseph Quay, and Martin Herman. These new seats were sold for \$25,000 a piece. A year later there were transfers ranging from \$25,000 to \$40,000 Robert C. Page paying the latter sum. Even after the bottom had dropped out the fact was scarcely recognized by those eager to profit at the expense of the credulous, a transfer at \$40,000 being made during 1879 when it was foolishly imagined by some that there was to be a revival of what had become mockingly called "the mining stock industry."

What was characterized as "a stupid and deplorable incident" resulted in the creation of a rival board in 1875, which was known as the Pacific Stock Exchange. E. J. Baldwin, whose good fortune had earned for him the nickname of "Lucky," at that time one of the largest operators on the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board, having forgotten his ticket was refused admission by the doorkeeper. He left in a towering rage swearing that he would start a rival board and he kept his threat. There were plenty eager to break in who were ready to join him in the new enterprise, and on the 19th of May, 1875, the Pacific Stock Exchange was organized. It maintained an existence during the vicissitudes of the years succeeding the failure of the Bank of California, and was finally absorbed by the older concern on September 8, 1904, when the latter was in a condition nearly moribund.

Baldwin was one of the conspicuous figures in the frequent combats for control but was never in the foremost rank, although he was a large operator. In 1874 he contended with Sharon for the mastery of Ophir, but the latter, who had bought James Keene's interest in the mine outgeneraled Baldwin after a contest in the course of which stock that sold at \$65 was gradually driven up to \$150. During this deal the street was greatly bewildered by the tactics of the Sharon interest, the brokers for which appeared to be buying and selling Ophir with singular impartiality. Although the method resulted in occasional instances of compulsory repurchase of stocks which had been sold to deceive, it proved successful and Baldwin failed in his efforts to obtain control. Many of the struggles for control occurred over claims, the possession of which would prove advantageous to those dominating Con. Virginia. A contest of this sort arose over Central No. 1, and Central No. 2, two small claims extending northward from Con. Virginia to the Ophir line. A strike of rich ore had been made in Central No. 1 and Flood and O'Brien determined to get possession of it in order to strengthen their position, and there was a considerable flurry in consequence. Occasionally in contests of this sort the broker availed himself of the knowledge gained by his dealings. It is related of a broker employed by Flood that he bought for his own account 500 shares of a stock which was driven up from \$35 to \$72, and that instead of taking his winning, which would have exceeded \$10,000, he decided to hold his purchase. He

Brokers
Extend Their
Operations

A Rival
Mining Stock
Exchange

Struggles
for Control

subsequently realized a large fortune from the dividends, and the rise in value of his shares, and retired to New York in 1876 with something like \$5,000,000.

Professional
Integrity
of Brokers

The professional integrity of brokers was rarely called into question. The methods employed appeared to give opportunities for shirking obligations but they were rarely abused. Shuck states that "a new member in making a sale or purchase on the street would state the name of his broker in the board. His word would be taken and the transaction compared with the absent broker, and such was the honor and integrity of all concerned, that I cannot recollect a single transaction that was afterward repudiated, although wide differences would occur in the value of the stocks when the board met." Considering the turpitude of the manipulators of the market, this may seem like an undeserved eulogy, but it is amply borne out by the records, which furnish abundant testimony that the people who had dealings with the brokers placed implicit confidence in them, and that they retained it to the last.

Large
Rewards of
Brokers

There was no reason why the broker should stray from the path of rectitude. His rewards were large and he incurred no risks, except those involved in surrendering to the temptations which his real or fancied knowledge of situations subjected him. That his information was not always of the best is attested by numerous anecdotes. It was reported that Coll Deane bought from James R. Keene 1,000 shares of Con. Virginia at \$800 "buyer 90." It never reached that figure, but the belief was entertained by the brokers that the stock would go to \$3,000. Another incident is related in which Flood figured. When Con. Virginia was selling at about \$100 the holder of 1,000 shares told the bonanza king that he was tired of the stock and that he would like to get rid of it. Flood promptly offered him \$100 which he accepted with equal promptitude, thus permitting the purchaser to remark subsequently that the Nevada block was built out of the profits of the transaction.

Duped by
False
Reports

It is not surprising that there were some who got tired. Playing in a game in which a shrinkage of the value of a stock amounted to forty per cent in a single day was not a very restful occupation. California on one occasion broke suddenly from \$500 and sold as low as \$300. Violent changes of this character were produced by the circulation of reports, whose origin could not always be traced, but were usually supposed to emanate from the inside. In this case the break was due to a story that a "horse" had been struck. There may have been a body of barren ore, as represented, but its presence did not destroy the confidence of the operators, nor induce them to sacrifice their shares. The sufferers were the credulous people who were equally ready to accept the manufactured reports of disaster as they were those of finds of Midas like riches. The same kind of men who were panic stricken by a report which caused a drop of \$200 a share bought with eagerness when a fresh rumor was circulated that the barren rock had been passed and only rich ore was again in sight.

Shearing
the Lambs

Sometimes, however, the rigging of the market was overdone. The breaks and recoveries were repeated so frequently that the belief would take hold of the people that "the bottom had dropped out." But these periods of distrust were not of long duration. During the frenzy the normal condition was a lamb-like confidence

which was not disturbed by the sight of the shearer whose glittering shears fascinated rather than repelled. The sheep submitted to be regularly shorn until there was no more wool on the old ones, and while the fresh crop of lambs was growing up things happened from which even silly lambkins could learn a lesson and profit by what they had learned.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE BURSTING OF THE STOCK SPECULATION BUBBLE

EFFECTS OF CALIFORNIA'S ISOLATION—A SHORT LIVED BOOM—THE EASTERN PANIC OF 1873—FAILURE OF THE BANK OF CALIFORNIA—CAREER OF WILLIAM C. RALSTON—RISE OF RALSTON FROM THE RANKS—CAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF THE BANK OF CALIFORNIA—WILLIAM SHARON—RALSTON'S ENTERPRISE—AN EXHIBITION OF PICKLENESS AND INGRATITUDE—THE DEATH OF RALSTON—VICTIM OF A BAD SYSTEM OF BANKING—THE BANK CROWD AND FLOOD AND O'BRIEN—REHABILITATION OF BANK OF CALIFORNIA—FLOOD AND O'BRIEN START THE NEVADA BANK—THE DESIRE TO GET RICH QUICKLY—THE GREAT DIAMOND SWINDLE—THE BITERS BIT—SPECULATION IMPEDED INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT—MANUFACTURES IN 1876—LABOR'S SERIOUS MISTAKE—CROP FAILURE—UNEMPLOYED FLOCK TO THE CITY—BEGINNING OF SERIOUS LABOR TROUBLES—CONDITIONS ON EVE OF THE SAND LOT DISTURBANCES.



AMERICAN interdependence has resulted in making the United States the greatest commercial nation on the globe. The fact is sometimes disguised by the publication of statistics of external trade in a manner which obscures the vastness of domestic transactions, but when the latter are duly emphasized, as they usually are by rational men, the American preponderance is made manifest. This superiority and the resulting integrations has its advantages, but it is also subject to drawbacks. The whole world is now united by commercial bonds of varying strength, but those which bind the states of the Union together have no weaknesses. They have united the country so firmly commercially that an injury to one part is immediately felt by all the other parts, and business disasters or prosperity have ceased to be sectional.

This was not always the case. The isolation of California before the completion of the transcontinental railroad, and the peculiar industrial conditions produced by the extraction of enormous quantities of gold, in a manner insulated the state and prevented it being seriously affected by the commercial adversities of the rest of the Union. This exemption did not immediately disappear when railroad communication was established. During the early Seventies there was exceptional prosperity in the Eastern states, but, as has been shown, San Francisco for the first two years of the decade was afflicted with meetings of unemployed; and those who had the interests of the City at heart were greatly disturbed over the outlook for the future which did not seem at all hopeful, owing to the unfortunately

American
Inter-
dependence

Effects of
California's
isolation

one sided distribution of the land, which was recognized as a great obstacle to the development of the agricultural resources of the state.

A Short
Lived Boom

The bonanza discoveries, as already related, effected a change which disguised the true situation. While the riches extracted from the Nevada mines were being poured into the laps of San Franciscans the problems which had disturbed them before 1872 were forgotten. Business of all sorts flourished because those who made money in mines and who won in stock deals expended it freely. It was a boom period. The sales of real estate increased threefold in as many years, and building operations were extensive, giving abundant employment to workers. The merchants prospered because the money so easily obtained was freely spent upon articles of luxury, the sales of which brought big profits to the vendors.

The Eastern
Panic of
1873

In 1873, on September 18th, the most extraordinary panic ever witnessed in the United States began. The first three-quarters of the year had been prosperous, but on the date mentioned Jay Cooke & Co., failed, and a financial storm followed which almost destroyed the banking system of the country. The panic endured an entire month, and did not spend itself until it had swept away the savings of the toiler, and the capital of those engaged in industrial pursuits. The depression that followed lasted until 1877, when more troubles were added by the extensive railroad strikes of that year, and there were no signs of recovery until 1878. During the most exciting period of this financial storm San Francisco serenely pursued her way, scarcely affected by the disasters of the East. There is no evidence that the failure of the Bank of California and the subsequent depression in the City after that event were in any wise connected with the misfortunes of the people on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. They were purely local in their origin and were easily traced. No investigator of the subject has hesitated to assign the cause, but in framing the indictments against those responsible for the disaster the specifications have often been drawn up in such a fashion that the real culprits have escaped criticism.

Failure of
Bank of
California

The Bank of California closed its doors on the 26th of August, 1875. Almost up to the moment of failure the institution had been regarded as a Gibraltar of finance. It is said that there were persons who were aware of the condition of the bank on the morning of the 26th. That there were rumors of disaster is certain, but they did not shake the general confidence. A broker named Jones who had a deposit of \$75,000, and Glazier & Co. with \$400,000 to their credit despised the rumors, but Ed. F. Hall & Co., a large firm less confident, during the day withdrew \$250,000. A broker, Maurice Schmitt, who had presented checks amounting to \$14,000 and was told to wait awhile when he communicated the fact to his banker was advised not to speak of the matter as the Bank of California was as sound as any in the City. But distrust spreads with lightning rapidity. At two o'clock there was a small crowd at the teller's window, but not a number sufficient to attract attention; at 2:15 P. M. it had swollen to proportions indicating a run; at 2:30 the string extended to the curb of the sidewalk on California street; at 2:40 P. M., Ralston was seen walking from his office to the teller's desk, whom he directed to cease paying out any more money, and the porter was directed to close the iron doors. San Francisco's greatest financial institution had failed.

Career of
Ralston

William C. Ralston, the manager of the Bank of California, was a remarkable man, and one of extraordinary ability. Before the failure there was no one in San Francisco whose popularity even remotely approached his, and it was

based on actions which always claim the esteem of a community. His enterprise was boundless and, apart from his operations in the speculative whirl, was always directed towards the promotion of industry. He was enthusiastically of the opinion that San Francisco could be made a great manufacturing center, and to help achieve that end he promoted and took a direct interest in the creation of several important establishments. Among the manufacturing enterprises in which he was directly concerned were the Mission Woolen Mills, the Kimball Carriage Factory, the West Coast Furniture Company, the San Francisco Sugar Refinery and many others. His activities were by no means confined to manufacturing or to San Francisco. He was foremost among the contributors to the construction of the fine dry dock at Hunter's Point, and actively promoted the work of reclamation on Sherman island. He divined the future of irrigation, and took a substantial interest in the building of the San Joaquin irrigating canal. The desire to see San Francisco a great city was a mania with him, and at a time when the dry rot of the inaction produced by the too stringently economical Consolidation Act had hold of the City, he sought by individual initiative to bring about civic improvements which the people in their collective capacity shrunk from making. To this latter tendency he owed much of the harsh criticism which followed his death.

There was nothing that would contribute to the advancement of the City neglected by him. The Grand hotel, the pride of San Francisco in the opening years of the Seventies was largely built with capital provided by him, and it was he who projected and partly completed the Palace hotel, which for several years after its opening enjoyed the distinction of being spoken of as the largest and best appointed hotel in the world. In like fashion, and with the same object in view, that of making the City attractive, he was instrumental in causing the California theater, which surpassed any previous constructions of the kind in the City, to be constructed. The opening of New Montgomery street was due to his energy, and the far reaching scheme of securing a vast watershed which would develop a sufficient quantity of water to supply the needs of a great city is attributed to him by men who derided his acumen and persuaded the people to adopt a course which has ever since proved a shirt of Nessus to the community.

Ralston was born in Ohio in 1825, and began his career as a clerk on a Mississippi river steamboat. He started for California in 1850, but his journey was interrupted at Panama where he obtained a position as agent for Garrison & Morgan, from which he was promoted to the agency in San Francisco in 1853. While thus engaged the firm started a banking house and took him into partnership. He displayed remarkable business talent, and his tact and ability enabled the concern formed when Garrison & Morgan retired to weather the numerous financial storms of the early days. In 1858 he was in partnership with Donahoe, but the operations of the firm were too circumscribed to satisfy his ambition, and in 1864 he joined with Darius O. Mills and several other capitalists in founding the Bank of California, whose cashier he became, D. O. Mills being its first president, retiring in 1872 when the presidency was given to Ralston.

After the failure of the Bank of California in 1875, the management of Ralston was reflected upon by critics who sought to put on his shoulders the entire onus of the disaster. It was charged that the aid extended to many of the local enterprises, the most of which proved unremunerative, were made without the knowledge of the other directors of the bank, but the history of the institution dis-

Projector of
the Palace
Hotel

Ralston's
Rise from
the Ranks

Cause of the
Failure

credits the criticism, and indeed shows that unprofitable as these enterprises were, the losses which they occasioned to Ralston and the bank could have been borne had there not occurred a tremendous shrinkage of stocks owned by, or upon which large sums had been loaned by the institution, undoubtedly with the full knowledge of the directory.

Career of
William
Sharon

The most prominent name connected with that of Ralston was that of William Sharon. He was a San Francisco broker whose abilities had attracted the attention of capitalists connected with the Bank of California, and was sent by them to Nevada where he conducted a banking business which was chiefly confined to advancing money on stocks. Incidentally he acted as confidential agent of "the bank crowd." In addition to the pursuit of banking of a sort which it would be difficult to induce the present generation to regard as legitimate, Sharon engaged in promoting the construction of ore crushing mills which he was finally enabled to control by foreclosure or through other methods. Sharon and Ralston had early established close relations, and their connection undoubtedly furnished the opportunities which the former availed himself of to make himself enormously rich. Sharon was commonly supposed to have the support of the Bank of California, and he soon became the most important man in Nevada. A corporation was formed known as the United Mill and Mining Company of which Sharon became president and manager, and it took over nearly all of the mills on the Comstock lode and secured a practical monopoly of the ore crushing, by which means the profits of mining were almost entirely absorbed. The monopoly thus acquired was strengthened by obtaining possession of the principal water supply, and of the railroad which hauled the necessary timbers used in the mines.

Ingratitude
and
Fickleness

During the period of prosperity Ralston essayed the role of Lorenzo the Magnificent. He caused to be built in the Cañada del Raimundo in San Mateo county a spacious and beautiful country residence which he called Belmont, and in which he entertained on a lavish scale. While the sun of prosperity shone on the banker there was nothing but praise and admiration of his hospitality, the magnificence of which was extolled as reflecting credit on San Francisco and California. But when the clouds of adversity closed about him and he was no longer here to defend himself, the practices which had made the bosoms of San Franciscans swell with pride were denounced as extravagances, and venomous critics intimated that the display was all a part of a scheme to bamboozle and confuse the people by its glitter.

Death of
Ralston

When the doors of the Bank of California closed on the 26th of August, 1875, there were few who thought that they would be reopened and the institution rehabilitated, and when Ralston's career culminated the next day by drowning this conviction became general. On the day following the closing Ralston was deposed from his position of president and manager. Immediately after the meeting at which this action was taken he proceeded to Black Point where he was accustomed to taking swimming baths. He swam out some distance and was seen struggling in the water. A boat put off to his assistance, but when taken aboard, although vigorous efforts were made it was impossible to resuscitate him. Many of the circumstances pointed to suicide but a large part of the community refused to believe that he had taken his own life because they felt assured, despite the shock given to confidence by the failure of the bank, that his abilities would be equal to the task of restoring the institution, and that he would have had the courage to

make the attempt when his associates called upon him to do so, as they would inevitably had he not been drowned.

The examination of the condition of the bank after the death of Ralston disclosed that its capital had been greatly impaired. Enemies of Ralston charged that he had misappropriated four or five millions of its funds. This may have been true, but not in the sense implied, for it is obvious that his associates must have been familiar with most of his undertakings, and that they approved of them. That there was laxity of management was admitted by friendly critics, but it was claimed by them that there was no turpitude. The fact is Ralston was the victim of a faulty system of banking and an unbounded ambition. There were no restraints on the methods of bankers, and no examinations. Practices which would now be denounced as grossly irregular, and result in the closing down of an institution, were then freely engaged in by the most irreproachable bankers without inviting adverse comment.

The inevitable consequence of this looseness was the creation of a sense of power which made managers lose sight of their trust and caused them to regard the institutions with which they were connected as instruments for the attainment of their own ends. No one can escape this conclusion who will study the actions of those responsible for the conduct of the Bank of California on the day of its failure. They were engaged in a life and death struggle with men who were disputing their supremacy in the financial world and the result proved disastrous to them. Flood and O'Brien had become the great leaders in the stock market, and were ambitious to enter the field of finance. Sharon and his associates were determined to destroy them if possible. On the day of the failure of the Bank of California at the 11 o'clock session Sharon sent in a selling order which by comparison dwarfed any ever before given on the board. It was of such magnitude and was executed with such swiftness that the broker scarcely looked at his book as a stock was called. He simply sold as long as there was a bid offered without making a record of his transactions. As the order developed itself buyers became shy and wary, and when the battle was over Flood and O'Brien were still masters of their position. The stocks of the mines they controlled had been badly hammered, but they had won out. California which had been sold at \$59.50 @ \$56 on August 25th, on the 26th was quoted at \$56.50 and after the board sales on the street were made at \$48; Con. Virginia was \$290 @ \$263 on the 25th, on the 26th \$267.50 @ \$250, and after the board \$240; Ophir during the combat went from \$54 to \$55 @ \$43 and the street bid was \$36.

The only reasonable inference that can be drawn from the events of the day of the failure is that what was known as the bank crowd acted in unison, and that the harmony existing between them would not have been disturbed if the combat had turned out differently. The victory of Flood and O'Brien, so far as it concerned their banking aspirations was a barren one. That they hoped to utterly crush the Bank of California crowd and build a new bank on the ruins of that institution was generally believed, but the laws of California, lax as they were on the score of regulation, were efficacious enough to prevent the consummation of the scheme of vengeance. It was at first contemplated by those who had taken over the control of the Bank of California after Ralston's deposition to declare the institution insolvent, but the liability of stockholders law compelled another course, and rehabilitation was decided upon which was chiefly accom-

Victim of a
Bad Banking
System

"Bank
Crowd" and
Flood and
O'Brien

Sharon
Rehabilitates
Bank of
California

plished through the efforts of William Sharon, who also undertook the completion of the Palace hotel then in course of construction.

The Nevada
Bank
Started

Although the Bank of California was not destroyed, the ambition of Flood and O'Brien to figure in the financial world was realized. On the 4th of October, 1875, they opened a new bank, which they called the Nevada, and on the following day the rehabilitated Bank of California opened its doors. It is not without significance that the Stock Board, which had suspended operations when the Bank of California failed, opened and resumed business the same day that the Bank of California assumed its old time place which it succeeded in doing by paying dollar for dollar of its liabilities within six weeks of its reopening. The new Nevada bank took its place and became a factor in San Francisco finances, but it never realized the hope of its founders. It was a sound institution with abundance of capital, but it never became a real power, and when distrust of the mining stock game took possession of the community its influence waned and disappeared entirely.

Not
Cured by
Experience

The events which led to the destruction of confidence and its effects have been variously described, but the evidence is not convincing that the speculative tendencies of San Franciscans were wholly responsible for their troubles, or that they were cured by awful examples or repeated deceptions. They were occasionally staggered by disclosures, but they did not cease playing the role of dupe until the vitality of the community had become sapped to such an extent that a dry season, by cutting down the productions of the state, had so lessened its consuming powers that business of all kinds was adversely affected. When the hour of adversity came the resources that should have been a mainstay were not developed, and the earnings of the people and nearly all the wealth extracted from the mines had passed into the hands of a few men whose vast fortunes mocked the condition of the reckless who had plunged themselves into poverty in their efforts to get rich quick.

The Desire
to Get Rich
Quickly

To get rich quick was the general desire, and the besetting sin of the community was its cheerful surrender of ordinary perception while thus obsessed. It was not alone the poor and the ignorant who yielded to the temptation, and substituted credulousness for common sense. Sometimes even the biters were bit. In 1872 when the mining stock speculation was at its height a pair of smooth rascals mapped out a scheme which was worked up in such detail, and so ingeniously, that the most suspicious of those who were permitted the privilege of victimizing themselves fell into the trap as easily as if they were mere lambs. Philip Arnold and John Slack received the credit of originating the swindle, but it is more than probable that Asbury Harpending, whose name was made familiar to the reader in another connection, was the genius by whom it was evolved and elaborated.

The Great
Diamond
Mine
Swindle

Arnold and Slack made their appearance in San Francisco in the year mentioned in the guise of honest miners. They brought with them a bag of stones which they had run across in their prospecting rambles. They were not quite sure that they were what they appeared to be, but they suspected that they were diamonds. Merely by chance they strayed into Harpending's office and left the bag in his care cautioning him against speaking about the find until they could satisfy themselves of its value. Harpending incautiously, of course, made reference to the deposit in his care, and incidentally expressed the belief that the suspicions of Arnold and Slack were well founded and that the stones were real diamonds. His methods were so adroit that a number of capitalists had their attention en-

listed. Pending a thorough investigation of the stones which these sage men insisted must be pronounced genuine by experts, enough concerning the wonderful find leaked out to start several parties searching Arizona and Nevada for the new diamond fields.

Meanwhile, after some objections on the part of the owners of the stones, they were sent to New York where they were examined by Tiffany & Co., and pronounced genuine by that firm, and the lot valued at about \$150,000. When this report was received the persons whom Harpending had continued to interest proposed to send an expert named Janin to the field. At first Arnold and Slack demurred, but were finally persuaded that the expert would deal fairly. Janin was authorized in the event of his investigations proving satisfactory to obtain an option from the owners.

Putting Up
the Job

When these arrangements were concluded Janin with one or two others proceeded to the locality where Arnold and Slack had found the stones. The spot where the gems were discovered by them was pointed out, and the expert at once noted other places in the neighborhood resembling it which were searched and more diamonds were discovered. Janin's report and the exhibition of a fresh lot of gems settled the matter. A big company was to be formed which Harpending insisted should be organized in New York in order to give its operations a wider scope, but the San Francisco capitalists were too eager to retain control to permit anything of the sort, and succeeded in nearly monopolizing the affair, only a few New Yorkers being allowed to share in the "good thing."

A Duped
Expert

Meantime the news of the diamond discovery had spread throughout the world. Naturally it attracted the attention of Clarence King, of the United States geological survey, who had been over the region in which the find was said to have been made without discovering any signs of a diamond formation. He at once revisited the locality, and in searching around he found some of the stones in crevices, where they had been carelessly dropped by the "salters," and under such circumstances that he instantly detected the imposition. About the same time some of the stones sent to London by Harpending were identified as African diamonds, and it was soon ascertained that a short time before the alleged discovery by Arnold and Slack a large purchase of gems in the rough had been made in that city, which were carried to America by the purchasers. King's report, and the revelation of the London diamond dealers, put an end to the scheme, which was arrested before it had reached the popular stage, and consequently the common people were not caught in the skillfully laid trap. The "honest miners" who had made the discovery managed to keep away from California, and the courts of this state were not called upon to deal with them. Later the aggrieved San Francisco capitalists brought suit against Arnold and Slack in the courts of New Jersey for the sum of \$350,000, but nothing ever came of the proceedings. How much the swindlers gained by the transaction no one ever learned, for the victims insisted upon preserving a dignified reticence concerning the subject and bore their losses philosophically.

Swindle
Exposed by
Clarence
King

A perfectly sequential narrative might demand in this place the continuance of the story of the mining stock craze down to its culmination in 1879, when a big deal revived interest in speculation, which had been seriously interrupted by the collapse which followed the Bank of California. But it is desirable to anticipate the account of the concluding act in the speculative tragedy by a resume of busi-

Speculation
Impedes
Industrial
Development

ness conditions in San Francisco after the almost total failure of crops in the seasonal year 1876-7, and to take a general survey of the development of the state's resources in order to make perfectly clear the causes which brought about the so-called sand lot uprising a year later, and to show its connection with the retardment of industrial development which was largely brought about by the City's absorption in speculative pursuits.

The
Assessors'
Fine Showing
in 1876

It is difficult to state with precision when the manufacturing industries of San Francisco promoted by Ralston ceased paying, if they ever did return dividends to those interested in them. On the surface they appeared to prosper. The employes were paid regularly, and the number was considerable enough to be a factor in the work of circulating some of the riches derived from the Nevada mines. If it is true that Ralston put into these industries a large part of the money derived from his operations in the mines, he merely diverted the stream which was flowing into the coffers of a few cunning manipulators into the pockets of workmen and through them into the tills of the merchants and others who provide the necessities, conveniences and amusements for urban residents. But, however the results were produced, when the assessor of San Francisco in 1876 made his report of the condition of the manufacturing industry of the City, he dwelt on some of its features with pride, and the presentation was one apparently warranting the feeling, for on its face it indicated that experience was triumphantly disproving the pessimistic assumption that factories could not be profitably operated in a high wage country subject to competition with manufacturers who were producing in places where the level of remuneration was much lower.

Manufactures
in 1876

It showed that San Francisco had seventeen concerns engaged in the metal industry, employing 1,705 men, who produced to the value of \$4,700,000. This, so far as the number employed was concerned, was the leading factory occupation in 1876, but the output of the sugar refineries, which gave work to 280 men, was \$5,155,000. The output of the furniture factories was \$2,135,700, and 760 men were employed, and 930 were engaged in the specialized industry of making bedsteads, the value of the product being \$1,197,200, while 20 found it profitable to devote themselves exclusively to the manufacture of bed springs, the output of which was \$130,000 in 1876. There were glass works and glass cutting establishments. Jewelry was produced to the value of \$1,240,000 and silver plate to the amount of \$260,000, these two occupations giving employment to 525 persons. Seven hundred men were employed in woolen mills, which turned out 120,000 pairs of blankets, 15,000 dozens of underwear, 8,000 dozens of hosiery, 450,000 yards of cloth and tweeds and 500 yards of flannels valued at \$1,800,000, over 2,500,000 pounds of California raw wool being consumed in their production. Tanneries gave employment to 325 men, producing leather valued at \$1,345,000. Harness factories worked 300 and produced \$330,000 worth of their specialty. The domestic consumption of shirts was largely met by a product of \$650,000, turned out by 640 workers, and 147 were engaged in making hats and caps, the annual output of which was \$413,000. Slippers to the value of \$310,000 were produced by 370, and a half a million dollars worth of cordage and rope helped to swell the list of products. The coffee and spice mills gave employment to 124 and the flouring mills to 128 workers. Over a half a million barrels of flour were produced and the product of the coffee and spice mills was worth \$1,327,170. In addition to these we find enumerated among the manufacturing industries that of amalgamat-

ing pans, axle grease, barrels, carriage springs, distilleries, furs, gloves, glue, hose and belting, ink and mucilage, ice, linseed oil, shoe lasts, soap, telegraph instruments, tools, type, vinegar, windmills, wood and willow ware and wire rope.

The informed will note in this list the presence of numerous branches of industry no longer pursued in San Francisco, and of several whose proportions have shrunk greatly since 1876. The causes which brought about this change have been treated as enigmatical, but they appear plain to unbiased economists who have studied them. They were not closely analysed at first and they are still the subject of dispute, but, indirectly at least, there is a general recognition of the fact that Eastern manufacturers, whose extensive market permits them to specialize, can produce more cheaply than competitors whose outputs are limited by the comparatively small populations surrounding them.

It was the general failure to perceive this fact that led to many blunders, not the least serious of which has been the persistent determination on the part of the worker to create by artificial methods a condition which cannot be maintained while there is free commercial intercourse between all parts of the Union. It has been demonstrated that nations by effective customs laws may succeed in raising the standard of living of workers within their borders, and enable them to enjoy higher wages than in other countries, but it is unthinkable that such a result could be achieved if they permitted the producers of other countries free access to their markets. In that event the rewards of peoples of nearly like capabilities would be sure to find a common level. Some would go down in the scale, others would ascend, but the level would certainly be attained. California began to have that problem forced upon her when the railroads and other transportation companies in their eagerness to secure traffic, broke down the barriers of distance which had for a time afforded the workers an incidental protection. Her people were not quick to detect her vulnerability, and the worker refused to recognize the disadvantage which sometimes stared him in the face, but which was often disguised by changes in the development of the state's resources.

As already shown the comparatively swift decline of placer mining was in a measure compensated by the spectacular increase in wheat and wool production at a time when the cereal and the raw material were commanding remunerative prices. Exports of breadstuffs were valued at \$15,813,941 in 1875 and in 1880 they had increased to \$23,762,557. Between July 1, 1876, and June 30, 1877, there were received in San Francisco 514,298 barrels of flour and 10,803,776 centals of wheat, the most of which was exported. In the same season in which this large surplus of wheat was raised 53,110,742 pounds of wool were produced. The sums derived from these two great staples were the chief dependence of the people outside of the yield of the mines and when the latter was subjected to a violent shrinkage, as it was in 1877, concurrently with a crop failure and a diminished wool clip due to the drouth, there were hard times.

The seasonal year 1876-77 was exceedingly dry and the wheat crop was a failure, and as a consequence exports were greatly curtailed, dropping from 12,087,759 to 5,295,911 centals. The wool clip decreased from 53,110,742 to 40,862,061 pounds. The records of the railroad show a corresponding diminution in the output of other staples. In the face of expanding facilities the East bound shipments, which aggregated 107,756,910 pounds in 1876, dropped to 92,820,900 pounds in 1878. The isthmian traffic records ceased to be very dependable after 1875.

Restricted
Markets

Labor's
Serious
Mistake

Good Prices
for Wheat
and Wool

Crop Failure
and Its
Result

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company after that year no longer exerted itself to secure business, but there is evidence that it was sharing the evil effects of the general depression, which was caused by the failure of the state's agricultural resources.

Unemployed
Flock to
the City

A diminished mineral yield in California and Nevada, a greatly curtailed output of the cereals, dwindling flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, started a cityward movement which aggravated a situation already acute. The population of San Francisco, reported in the census of 1870 at 149,473, had probably increased to 225,000 by 1877, and the number of workers it included was largely in excess of the ability of the industries of the City to furnish employment. With the decline of the mining stock craze an era of retrenchment began, and mercantile establishments which had employed help on a generous scale, paying liberal salaries, contracted their forces and threw on their own resources many who had been working in clerical capacities.

A Formidable
Number of
Unemployed

The army of unemployed thus reinforced became formidable. There was undoubted distress and efforts were made to relieve it, but the numbers demanding relief made the problem difficult to deal with. The pangs of poverty are usually conducive to discontent, but in this case dissatisfaction was accentuated by the feeling that conditions which might have been remedied were responsible for the desperate position in which men willing to work, but unable to find anything to do, were placed by neglect and the rapacity of individuals. When such a situation arises every abuse is recalled, and the circumstances over which men have no control are not considered. The shortage of the crops was not dwelt upon, but the disposition to favor large land holders was remembered; the fatuity of a people who permitted themselves to be fleeced by cunning manipulators was never referred to, but the greed of the market riggers was emphasized; if the men who built the transcontinental railroad had conferred any benefit by opening the state to settlement, the fact was overlooked, and only the sins of the providers of the improved transportation facilities were remembered.

Sand Lot
Orators
Echo the
Press

But the indiscriminating mob was not alone in thus viewing the situation. Every bitter word uttered on the sand lot was merely an echo of the criticisms of the daily press, whose columns teemed with suggestions of jobbery and open accusations, which indicated a wretched state of affairs, and an appalling disregard of public opinion by politicians. It was a period of intense suspicion, in which every enterprise of a municipal character was viewed with distrust and not without reason. Bossism was rampant, and its ramifications were national. There never was a time when jobbers were so audacious, or when schemers were more predatory than when Kearney and his hearers roared their disapproval on the sand lots, and it may be asserted without calling forth a contradiction from those who really knew, that the charges preferred against venal officialism from that rostrum were better founded than those of the twentieth century Progressives, many of whom in the late Seventies were profoundly convinced that the sand letters were rank socialists, although they then spoke of the so-called reforms as "destructive agrarianism."

Constitution
Not a
Sand Lot
Instrument

Unless the condition described is clearly comprehended the significance of the sand lot uprising, and the adoption of the constitution of 1879, will always be misunderstood. The instrument named has been referred to by grave historians as a product of the sand lot, and so it was in a way, but not in the way assumed.



VIEW ON MARKET STREET IN 1876



NOB HILL IN 1876
The Stanford mansion on the right

As will be seen later on it was not shaped in the convention by the delegates of the workingman's party, but was constructed by the ablest lawyers in the State of California, many of them in the employ of the detested railroad corporation, but apparently uninfluenced by any other motive than the desire to frame an organic law which would effect all the reforms demanded by the people. That the most of the objects they sought to achieve are now extolled as progressive reforms when taken up in other states, completely refutes the impression generally derived from the earlier accounts, and discredits the judgment of those who imagined and freely predicted that the result of the reforms it sought to introduce would be to drive capital from the state and hinder its progress.

In his "History of California," Hittell, whose judgment was clouded by a strong personal bias, in his narration of the events leading up to and following the adoption of the new constitution, says: "No other state has had a more difficult part to play in its advance, particularly of late years—handicapped as it has been by a larger number of tramps, vagrants and disorderly classes in general, in proportion to population, than any other state, and trammelled and hampered by the conditions and anomalies impressed upon the constitution and laws of the transitory and malignant influence of the sand lot." In view of this indictment, which undoubtedly expressed the opinion of a large class at the time he wrote, it is worth while to examine his charges minutely and to judge by the light of results whether he put his finger on the real sore spot. It concerns the San Franciscan more particularly to get at the exact truth, for the instrument arraigned by him, while it received its popular majority outside of the City, was really an outcome of an agitation within its borders. Whether the constitution proved the barrier to progress he intimates it did, the reader will be able to judge from what follows.

A Biased
View of the
Constitution

CHAPTER L

CONDITIONS ON EVE OF ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1879

CAUSES THAT LED TO "SAND LOT" DISTURBANCES—EVIL OF SPECIAL LEGISLATION CORRUPTION AND WASTE—THE NEW CITY HALL—CITY TREASURY LOOTED—STREETS AND SIDEWALKS IN A DILAPIDATED STATE—KEARNEY'S DENUNCIATION OF OFFICIALS—THE NEWSPAPERS AND THE SAND LOTTERS—BOSSISM IN THE SEVENTIES—BOGUS NON PARTISANISM—THE FEDERAL RING—THE SPECTACULAR CAREER OF GEORGE M. PINNEY—PINNEY BECOMES A BROKER AND A MILLIONAIRE—BECOMES INVOLVED AND FLEES THE COUNTRY—HIS RETURN RESULTS IN OVERTHROW OF REPUBLICAN PARTY—THE DESTRUCTION OF SEVERAL BANKS—BANK COMMISSION ACT OF 1878—ESTABLISHMENT OF CLEARING HOUSE—THE UNITED STATES MINT AND SUB-TREASURY—AVERSION FOR PAPER MONEY—INTRODUCTION OF SAFE DEPOSIT VAULTS.



THE earlier history of San Francisco politics is so inextricably connected with that of the state it is impossible to dissociate the former from the latter. There was no event that occurred prior to 1879 in the City which was not in some manner linked up with the state's affairs, and no municipal enterprise of any sort could be carried through unless it was first sanctioned by the legislature. The evil conse-

quences of this system were clearly recognized, and had been pointed out in a workingman's convention which met in 1871, and in 1876 Mayor Bryant, in his inaugural message, referred to them in these terms. Speaking of certain irregularities which marked the previous administration he said: "It has been the custom for heads of departments in the city government, and sometimes even their subordinates to ignore the board of supervisors and make direct application to the legislature in furtherance of schemes not designed for the public good so much as to increase their own profit, power and patronage."

This but feebly represents the condition of affairs produced by the special legislative system which made the state legislature the arbiter of the destinies of the City. It practically gave official sanction to lobbying by permitting and almost making it necessary for municipal servants to visit Sacramento during the sessions of the legislature in order to press the needs of the City, and to back up the demands of the delegation for recognition. The opportunities this practice presented to venal servants were eagerly seized, and it was not uncommon during the Seventies to see San Francisco municipal officials haunting the lobbies of the capitol engaged in the all around work of the professional lobbyist, their business being but thinly veiled by the pretense that their presence was required in Sacramento to secure action on some city measure.

Denial of
Local
Autonomy

Evils of
Special
Legislation

New City
Hall
Commission

If the vice of special legislation had ended with this disreputable practice the evil might have been borne with some patience, but the activities of the legislative delegations, and the manipulation of the city officials merely inaugurated the trouble to which San Francisco was subjected by being deprived of the management of her own affairs, and by having imposed upon her a rigid system of operation which, while designed to prevent rascality and promote economy, produced the opposite result. The construction of the city hall affords an instance of the injurious workings of this inflexible method. It was marked by blunders and extravagances from the day of the creation of the commission down to the time of the great fire, when it was destroyed before it was completed.

Wasteful
Method of
Construction

A report was made to the legislature of 1873-74 that the city hall begun in 1870 had already cost unconscionable sums and was destined to cost more. It exposed many instances of gross carelessness and something worse; but the charges made no impression at the time. Finally in sheer desperation boards of supervisors were compelled to come to the relief of the suffering taxpayers and protect them from depredation by refusing to appropriate the necessary money to prosecute the work. The original plan of piecemeal construction which legislative action had imposed was doubtless demanded by the people of the City, who during the closing years of the Sixties and the opening of the Seventies had acquired an abnormal dread of bonded indebtedness. They had become so firmly imbued with the idea that the only safe municipal policy was that of "pay as you go," they were unable to perceive the ineffectiveness and ruinous consequences of the installment plan and chose to have their money wasted rather than stolen.

Cost of
City Hall
Under-
estimated

The site of the new city hall was that of an abandoned cemetery, from which the bodies were removed to clear the way for the new structure which the projectors designed making the handsomest and most imposing municipal building in the United States. The plans of an architect named Laver, who had achieved some reputation as the designer of the capitol at Albany, New York, which at the time was popularly supposed to represent the highest American achievement in monumental construction, were selected, and it was estimated that the new hall would cost about a million and a half and that it could be completed in five or six years. There were plenty to dissent from these alluring figures and promises, and predictions were freely made that the expenditures would greatly surpass the estimates and that it would take years to make it ready for occupancy, but their criticism produced no effect.

The
Architect's
Plans
Changed

Laver's original plans were not entirely harmonious; they exhibited a liberal admixture of the orders, but he was not responsible for some of the incongruities which the building exhibited when approaching completion. He had originally designed a lofty clock tower and a mansard roof, and had this plan been carried out in its integrity there would have been a near approach, so far as the general effect was concerned, to the French renaissance; but the commission, influenced by varying motives (sometimes they were those of expediency dictated by the demand for economy, and at other times the product of mere whimsicalness begotten by lack of knowledge of architectural requirements), changed the steeple to a dome and cut out the mansard, thus giving the main structure a squat appearance, not at all pleasing, and depriving it of the power to impress by its mass, which it would have possessed had the resort to the flat roof not given it the effect of a number of detached buildings.

The first blunder made by the commission was perpetrated under the pressure of the demand for economy, and resulted in the sale of that part of the cemetery fronting on Market street. The effect was to put the new hall on a back street. The work of building had not proceeded far before the mistake was discovered and denounced, and in 1875 we find Acting Mayor Hewston, in an address to the board of supervisors, criticizing the absurdity and urging that the lots on Market street be reacquired by purchase. His recommendation was instantly pounced upon and accusations of attempted jobbery were freely made. Nothing came of his suggestion and it was never seriously put forward again, and the work of building proceeded slowly, only such money as could be obtained by the imposition of a direct tax being used for that purpose. In 1876 the mayor in his report called attention to the fact that the hall of records was still in course of construction, and that the original plan of providing its dome with a cast iron roof had been abandoned, and that sheet iron was to be substituted in its stead.

Blunders of
the City Hall
Commission

Object lessons of the kind described were eagerly seized upon, and the disaffected who met on the sand lot adjoining the hall were constantly being reminded of the waste and blundering involved in the construction of the Municipal building. They also were reminded of the delinquencies of public servants, who had abused the public trust by stealing the people's money. There had been several serious defalcations during the decade, one of them almost on the eve of the uprising. The other occurred in 1874. In that year John A. Stanley, county judge of San Francisco, charged the grand jury to investigate the failure of Mayor Otis and Treasurer Charles Hubert to count the money in the treasury as required by law. The accusation was the signal for a separation into camps. The friends of the mayor and treasurer held a big meeting and denounced Stanley. A few days later there was another gathering, more representative in character, which sustained Stanley and demanded the return to the treasury of about \$1,500,000, which had been illegally deposited in a private bank by the tax collector, but it was a case of locking the door after the steed had escaped. Three hundred thousand dollars had vanished. It was never restored and no one was punished.

The City
Treasury
Looted

These were but the spectacular phases of municipal mismanagement. A far more serious cause for discontent was the growth of expenditures. The newspaper critics pointed out that the City had managed to get along in 1869 with a budget of \$2,459,210, and that in 1876 it had increased to \$4,452,940, and they persisted in asking where the money had gone to and where the extravagance would end. The intemperance of utterance on the rostrum in front of the city hall when this subject was under discussion did not exceed that of the editors of conservative journals, the only distinguishing difference being in the choice of words. The moral drawn was the same in the sanctum as on the sand lot, where the orators emphasized their criticisms by shaking menacing fists at the municipal pile.

Sanctum
and Sand
Lot

There was some excuse for strong criticism in the public journals and on the stump. Much money was being spent, but there was little or nothing in the way of improvement to show for the expenditure. The indignant acting mayor, who was chosen by the board of supervisors to fill the unexpired term of Otis, who had died, declared that the plank streets and sidewalks of the City were detestable, "not only in the inconvenience of the travel over them, and their want of durability, but in a sanitary point of view." "They were receptacles of filth," he said, and

Dilapidated
Streets and
Sidewalks

he added "my observation has led me to believe that many valuable lives have been sacrificed to their condition." Prior to 1871 the City had accepted the streets from house-line to house-line, but after that date it only took care of the roadway. While this appeared to be in the line of municipal economy there was so little attention paid to sidewalks by the owners of property that they were often in a dilapidated state, and sometimes a menace to pedestrians. Attention was called by the mayor in 1875 to the fact that there were numerous excavations under the sidewalks of Kearny street, bridged over with timbers which had rotted, endangering the lives of citizens.

Kearney
and
Municipal
Affairs

The criticism of these bad results like chickens came home to roost. They were remembered when the unemployed formulated their protests on the sand lot, and were charged to the incapacity and venality of the men elected to local offices. It has been said that Kearney's diatribes were all directed against the Chinese, but that was due to a mistake growing out of his habit of concluding his speeches with the set phrase "The Chinese Must Go!" He not infrequently introduced this slogan into the body of addresses devoted mainly to municipal subjects. Kearney was the owner of some property, and proudly announced that he was a taxpayer. He was reasonably familiar with the conduct of municipal affairs and became very bitter when discussing such public improvements as the Montgomery avenue extension, which he characterized as a swindle, and the bondholders as cormorants. He took the same view of the Dupont street widening act, which he pronounced as a job. In condemning the Montgomery avenue scheme he was merely voicing the opposition of those who predicted that it would not accomplish its object—a prophecy that was realized—but he made a mistake in following the same leadership in the matter of the widening of Dupont street in 1876, which proved to be a valuable improvement.

Kearney
and the
Local Bosses

Kearney was accustomed to using picturesque but inelegant terms when speaking about public offenders and officials. The latter he lumped together as "blood sucking politicians," and he had much to say about bossism. The exploits of William Marcy Tweed, the great municipal corruptor of New York, were much talked of about this time. After the exposure of his villainies by the "Times" of that city, and his flight and subsequent capture in Spain, and his return to the United States in 1876, his misdeeds were the subject of universal comment. Everywhere he was singled out as a horrible example, and the wretched mismanagement of the corporation of New York was paraded as something unique, but Kearney insisted that he was merely a type and charged that San Francisco had its bosses, whose rascalities were less flagrant than those of Tweed only because their opportunities were smaller, and he had the disagreeable habit of publicly naming persons who should be placed in the boss category.

Kearney
and the
Press

It is necessary to state in this connection that Kearney's indictments were not always framed exclusively on his own information and belief. He had early acquired the habit of visiting newspaper offices, and before he aspired to the leadership of the workmen had actively interested himself in promoting the purposes of men against whom he later arrayed himself. Sometimes he penetrated to the inner sanctums, but mostly he was content to foregather with the reporters, who welcomed him because he often brought items of news, and for the amusement they derived from his peppery discourses, which he was prone to indulge in whenever

he could obtain listeners. He undoubtedly used the influence gained by this intercourse to push himself to the front and later, when he was able to secure audiences, he utilized the information he had acquired without discriminating between suspicions and facts.

The word "graft" had not attained its present vogue in the Seventies, but the practice was fully as rampant then as it ever has been since. Indeed it is doubtful whether during recent years there has been anything even remotely approaching the machinery for despoiling the people as that created in California in the early years of the seventy decade, when the political bosses acted under the inspiration of men who directly or indirectly controlled the disbursements of the federal government on the Pacific coast. The earlier election frauds which were in part responsible for the Vigilante uprising in 1856, were unblushingly repeated by these worthies with some slight variation of method. There were no longer any false bottomed ballot boxes, but there were other modes of falsifying the popular verdict which proved equally efficacious.

These, however, were not practiced for the purpose of controlling the City government which toward the middle of the decade had become a non partisan affair, despite the fact that attempts were made to preserve party lines. The new ballot law, which grew out of the shameful effort of federal officials to compel the workmen at Mare island navy yard to vote the narrow strip of Bristol board called the "tapeworm ticket," had resulted in bringing the bosses together. There was so much "scratching" that party nominations became a negligible factor, and those who devoted themselves to political manipulation found it more expedient to put up men who would serve their purposes. Nominally they were democrats or republicans, but so far as municipal affairs were concerned they were for themselves. This apparent abstention from municipal interference on the part of the local bosses facilitated legislative control, and resulted in greatly strengthening the power of the railroad. The political managers of the corporation were chiefly concerned in perpetuating their hold on the legislature, thus insuring the return of a satisfactory United States senator, and incidentally, by the use of the election machinery created for the purpose of maintaining power at Sacramento, keeping the delegation in the lower house of congress in line. Out of this condition of affairs, and the concurrent looseness of federal management in Washington which lent itself to a system of plundering that has since become impracticable, there arose one of the greatest scandals in the history of San Francisco and which in its consequences was more far reaching than the Vigilante uprising.

This political corruption was intimately connected with the sand lot uprising, but has been passed over by historians, most of whom have wholly omitted mention of it from the list of causes that helped to produce the discontent which brought about the framing and adoption of the constitution of 1879. In the beginning of the Seventies, William B. Carr, or Billy Carr as he was familiarly known later, had developed into a local boss of some consequence. His power was originally gained by acting as a lobbyist at Sacramento for the Central Pacific, his chief business at the capital being to keep the legislative delegation from San Francisco in line for the railroad. One of the instruments employed by him to achieve results was federal patronage, which was dispensed impartially in the interest of the corporation, and of those it had selected for political favor.

Bossism
in the
Seventies

Bogus Non-
Partisanship

The
Federal Ring

Conduct of
Federal
Officials

At that time every federal office in San Francisco was filled with men who divided their allegiance between the government, and the interests or persons who gave them their positions. They openly identified themselves with political movements, a practice not forbidden at the time, and practically took charge of them. The mint, the custom house, the post office and every federal office was filled with politicians who were more than mere figureheads. The situation was not unique in San Francisco; it was paralleled in other large cities, but the remarkable wave of speculation in the early Seventies produced a condition which caused some peculiarities of management of the federal offices in San Francisco which were not witnessed elsewhere.

George M.
Pinney and
the Bosses

In the early part of the decade one Oscar H. La Grange was made superintendent of the United States mint. He was an appointee of General Grant and his selection was probably due to his service as a soldier in the Civil war. He was a capable but a very facile man, and easily accommodated himself to the idea that his position was to be used for the benefit of the party of which he was a member, and incidentally to promote the political fortunes of individuals who were in the saddle at the time. His chief clerk was George M. Pinney, a man of more than ordinary ability, whose talents, however, were oftener exercised in the promotion of his own fortunes and of the band of politicians who had put him in place, than in performing the duties of his office. It was subsequently disclosed that he was so useful politically that even the limited attention he gave to his clerical duties in the mint detracted from his value. Consequently another job was made for him, which had few or no irksome routine attachments, and left him free to devote himself to his own and the interests of his friends. He was made the clerk of United States Naval Pay Inspector Rufus C. Spalding. The acceptance of this position entailed the enlistment of Pinney in the navy. The emoluments were small, but that was a matter of small consequence to Pinney as the sequel will show. Indeed, it is asserted, that he turned over his salary to someone else, which is not impossible but not very probable as he really did all the work, and practically took all responsibility from the shoulders of the pay inspector who, when the exposure was made, admitted that he hardly knew what was going on in the office over which he had nominal charge.

Pinney
Becomes a
Millionaire

While Pinney was acting as navy pay inspector's clerk he bought a broker's seat in the Mining Stock Exchange. He was not as continuously on the floor as other members who were solely engaged in executing orders, but he made excellent use of the facilities of the board, and it is believed that during 1872-3 he was ahead in the speculative game to the extent of a million or more. His luck, as in many other cases, tempted him further. If his accounts of his transactions are true he had early associated himself with Carr in mining ventures in Idaho and other places, some of which proved unprofitable and finally wiped out his fortune and more, for when he became embarrassed he resorted to practices which made it seem prudent for him to temporarily absent himself from California.

Flight of
Pinney

On the 1st of September, 1875, Pinney disappeared from his wonted haunts and it soon transpired that he had fled the country. His flight created a mild sensation, more social than political or financial in its character. It soon leaked out that he had sailed on a British ship named the "Baron Ballantyne," and that he was accompanied by a notorious woman. As Pinney was a married man, and had



LICK MONUMENT TO PIONEERS OF CALIFORNIA, IN MARSHALL SQUARE

established social connections, the interest in his flight centered upon the desertion, diverting attention from other facts of more general concern, which were revealed later in a highly sensational fashion. About a year after his sudden departure interest in the matter was revived by his abandoned wife obtaining a divorce. This gave occasion for a few days' talk, in which but scant attention was paid to his financial relations. The statement that he was in debt, and had defrauded numerous friends and others was widely disseminated, and there were hints that certain banks had been incautious in their dealings with the spectacular clerk and politician, but these rumors died away and were soon forgotten.

If Pinney had been content to remain away from California the course of events might have shaped themselves differently, but he was not. After leaving the City on the "Baron Ballantyne" he got tired of the woman who had accompanied him, and according to his own story he made an amicable arrangement with the captain of the ship, by which the latter acquired possession of the "lady," and for a further consideration of \$2,000 he put his vessel out of her course and landed the fugitive at the port of Pernambuco in Brazil. From thence Pinney took another ship, rounded Cape Horn and went to Valparaiso. He also made a voyage to the Society islands. In his subsequent relations of his wanderings Pinney was not accustomed to stating his reasons for making these voyages, but he allowed it to be inferred that a suddenly developed taste for sea air was responsible for his uneasiness.

It was generally supposed at the time of his flight that Pinney had carried a large sum of money with him, but he afterward declared that he had only \$12,000, which amount was received for the sale of his seat on the stock board, which was negotiated for him by Carr. On the other hand it was stated by persons who had heard of his mode of life in Valparaiso that he was gambling heavily and spending money with a free hand in that city. Be that as it may, Pinney at last reached the end of his tether. Although he was discreetly silent regarding details, it is known that he had vainly sought to persuade Carr and others with whom he had operated to supply him with additional funds, but they flouted his requests and disregarded his threats, imagining that he would not dare to return to the United States. But they were mistaken. One fine day Pinney turned up in Washington and went straight to the navy department, where he surrendered himself as a deserter. Rather inconsistently he later stated that he had been constantly tormented with the fear that he would be arrested but his subsequent course indicates that he was under no such apprehension. He had no reason for anticipating that Carr and his political associates would venture to attack him with such a weapon. They might have set machinery in motion which would have resulted in his capture, but they could not prevent his speaking if he were court martialed, and above all things they desired to have things kept quiet.

Pinney was of a different mind. Having practically made his peace with the navy department officials, who regarded him as a white elephant, and concluded to left him shift for himself, the fugitive clerk betook himself to the office of the "New York Sun" and there unbosomed himself of a story which was published simultaneously in New York and in the "Chronicle" of San Francisco on the 7th of May, 1877. At that time the "Sun" was making a vigorous assault on Naval Secretary Robeson, and the statements of Pinney substantiated its accusations against

The
Wanderings
of Pinney

Pinney
Surrenders as
a Deserter

Pinney's
Disclosures
Create a
Sensation

that official which had been made the basis of an investigation by a committee of the house of representatives. The story of Pinney, therefore, proved as sensational in New York and Washington as it did in San Francisco, although it only developed serious consequences in the latter city, where the revelations of the absconding clerk shook the political and financial world from center to circumference. The major part of Pinney's story, as told in Washington, was devoted to an explanation of the doings of the navy pay office which, he declared, had been manipulated in the interest of a gang of contractors and politicians. His disclosures implicated Senator A. A. Sargent and Congressman Horace F. Page, whom, he declared, were leagued with men named Montagnie, Hanscom and Jordan, all of whom had intimate relations with United States Secretary of the Navy Robeson, who had afforded these contractors unusual facilities for making money. Sargent and Page, in return for the assistance rendered these contractors, were permitted to manipulate the federal offices to advance their political interests. Billy Carr, the local boss, was the active manager of affairs in San Francisco, and in the state, and kept the fences of the politicians mended while they were absent from California.

Naval
Abuses in
the Seventies

At this particular time the attitude of the democratic house of representatives towards naval construction was extremely hostile. It was charged that the navy department, under the control of Robeson, was corruptly administered and appropriations for new vessels were refused. The policy met the approval of the country, the people generally being opposed to the expenditure of large sums of money for the maintenance of a big army and navy. But congress, while denying money for the construction of new vessels, made appropriations for the purpose of keeping in repair those on the list which were deemed available for use, or could be made so by overhauling them. The result was that, under the guise of making repairs, practically new ships were built, and the opportunities for squandering money were multiplied. It was under the operation of this system, and through the influence of Robeson, that the contractors named were put in the way of profitable jobs and were given practical control of the furnishing of naval supplies on the coast; and it was to make things easy for them that Pinney was placed in the navy pay inspector's office in this City. As already related Pinney had purchased a seat on the stock board and was speculating heavily in 1873 and with some success. He was not the sort of man to resist temptation and when the opportunity presented itself to enlarge his operations by making use of the facilities which were created to promote the pecuniary interests of the contracting group he promptly seized it, and apparently extended the fraudulent practices.

Navy
Pay
Certificates

According to Pinney's story, afterward confirmed in court, and by subsequent developments, a species of negotiable paper, authorized and sanctioned by Secretary Robeson, was issued for the benefit of the contractors Montagnie, Hanscom and Jordan. This paper was known as navy pay certificates. They purported to bind the government to pay the three men mentioned for work done or material furnished whenever the funds therefore should be available. These certificates were deposited in various banks as collateral for loans made to the contractors and to other parties. Among the latter Pinney figured largely. To what extent is unknown, and whether his borrowings were always on his own account is equally uncertain. But that he availed himself freely of his privilege there is no doubt.

Pinney's
Disclosures

When Pinney's disclosures were published in the "Chronicle" on the morning of May 7, 1877, Senator A. A. Sargent and George C. Gorham were in the City.

Page had returned to the coast from Washington, but had at once repaired to his home in El Dorado county. Carr lived in San Francisco. Gorham was secretary of the United States senate and his relations with Sargent were close. He was referred to in the article as one of the group constituting what the "Chronicle" called the "Federal Ring." He had been prominently identified with the republican party in California and owed his position as secretary of the senate through the influence thus gained. La Grange, the superintendent of the mint, was also included in the group, and Carr was credited with the active manipulation of the local machinery. The accused men were greatly enraged at the publication, and at once took steps to have the "Chronicle" punished. Efforts were made to procure indictments for criminal libel in several counties simultaneously, but they proved unsuccessful everywhere, excepting in Page's home county where two trials were subsequently had, both of which resulted in disagreements of the juries. The "Chronicle," however, appealed its case to the people of the state, and at the election in the ensuing November a legislature overwhelmingly democratic in complexion was chosen, a result wholly due to the exposures made by the paper, which thoroughly investigated all the ramifications of the frauds alleged against the so-called ring.

In addition to the criminal libel case tried at Placerville several civil suits were brought against the "Chronicle" none of which, however, were pressed. Among these was one filed at the instance of Page, based on the charge made by Pinney that he had loaned the congressman several thousand dollars, which was used in buying votes in his district at \$3 per head. Although this statement was made solely on the authority of Pinney the "Chronicle" had no doubts about its accuracy. When challenged by the suit to prove the allegation the paper had no difficulty gathering information which proved conclusively that votes had been bought in San Leandro, Pleasanton and other parts of Alameda county by wholesale and at the figure named. Among the facts developed by the "Chronicle" was that of the organized and successful effort of Haggin, Tevis and Carr to secure large tracts of land under the Desert Land Act. Simultaneously with these exposures the "Chronicle" also undertook to put an end to the timber land frauds which were being perpetrated on an extensive scale. Although abundant proof of the irregularities was furnished it had no effect at Washington, the public land office at that time being completely under the control of a corrupt gang, whose operations were carried on as boldly as those of the whisky ring, whose frauds were practiced on a colossal scale at the expense of the people.

Although the interests at Washington were powerful enough to stave off inquiries into the land frauds, the showing made by the "Chronicle" profoundly impressed the people of California, and served to greatly accentuate the already formidable opposition to land monopoly that had theretofore been largely based on indisposition of the owners of large Spanish and Mexican grants to part with their holdings, and to the growing perception of the fact that the managers of the Central Pacific had flagrantly evaded the provisions of the Land Grant Act, which required the railroad to sell the lands received from the government at not more than double the minimum price at which public lands were sold, by creating another corporation, of which they were the sole members and selling the lands granted by congress to themselves. As Sargent, Page and the others accused by Pinney were

Votes
Bought at
\$3 Apiece

The Anti-
Monopoly
Spirit
Aroused

zealous servants of the railroad the corporation did all in its power to embarrass the paper which had made the exposure.

Object
of Pinney's
Exposure

The obvious purpose of Pinney in making the exposure was to force the men with whom he had formerly worked to repair the wrongs which he charged them with inflicting upon him by their desertion. He measurably succeeded in this purpose. In the first trial at Placerville he was the "Chronicle's" principal witness, and the evidence he gave, although it was only part of the truth, was of such a character that it must have resulted in an acquittal in any other place than Page's home town. But at the second trial Pinney suffered a complete lapse of memory, and was unable to recall many of the details freely related by him when first put on the stand. His changed attitude was rewarded by a renewal of the old time intimacy with the men he had pilloried in his confession. Several civil suits brought against him were either withdrawn or not pressed, and presently he took on the appearance of a prosperous man about town, living at the best hotel and dressing in excellent taste. He followed no particular occupation, but was reputed to be dabbling in stocks.

Banks
Ruined by
Pinney

The banks on which he had imposed the worthless navy pay certificates were not equally flourishing. The Savings and Loan Society and the Masonic bank, which held his notes to the amount of over a half a million had brought suit against him, probably in the hope that he would substantiate the assertion that he had made in the Washington narrative that Billy Carr and others were interested in the undertakings for which the money was borrowed, and the worthless certificates given as collateral, but they were unsuccessful in bringing about such a result. Pinney had shot his bolt and had accomplished his purpose. The two institutions were powerless, for the paper accepted by them as security was not forged. The certificates when analysed were seen to be mere promises that in certain contingencies the navy pay office would pay certain moneys to persons entitled to draw them if the contingencies occurred. In a certain sense they were not even irregular, for the method, according to the statements of Spalding, was not disapproved by the department in Washington, and Pinney put the matter still more strongly by asserting that it actually had the sanction of the secretary of the navy.

Mismanaged
Savings
Banks

Whatever doubt may exist concerning the character of the navy pay certificates there is none about the result of accepting them as collateral. The two banks mentioned were driven to the wall. In 1878, when the commission created by the legislature of 1877-78, as a result of the scandalous laxity of bank management, began its investigations of the condition of the banks at San Francisco, they were the first to be closed. A singular reticence concerning the nature of the troubles that brought about the establishment of the much needed bank commission has been manifested by writers who have dealt with this phase of the subject. It has been made to appear that the failure of the Bank of California was responsible for all the financial difficulties of the three succeeding years, but it is impossible to connect that event directly with the closing of the Masonic Savings bank and the Savings and Loan Society. As already stated the rehabilitated Bank of California met all its obligations a few weeks after it resumed business. Excessive speculation was the cause of the failure of the greater institution, gross mismanagement and utter disregard of the principles of sound banking explain the misfortunes of the savings banks.

This mismanagement was openly commented upon after the revelations of Pinney, but the storm of criticism only began to rage in real earnest when the commissioners found it necessary to close in quick succession eight banks. The first of these was the Masonic Savings and Loan, which owed its depositors \$1,150,900; it was followed by the Farmers and Merchants, with deposit liabilities of \$373,675; then the French Savings and Loan Society, with deposits of \$5,503,100 closed. The Odd Fellows Savings bank experienced a heavy run in the fall of 1878 and tried to save itself by reorganization, but after a protracted struggle it went to the wall on the 5th of February, 1879, owing depositors \$2,117,100. In one case, that of the Pioneer Loan and Savings bank, known as Duncan's, which closed its doors in 1877, even the sorry excuse of mismanagement could not be urged. The manager was a scoundrel pure and simple, who baited his hook with high interest rates to depositors, and caught the credulous with ease. His record was part of the criminal annals of the City, and hardly deserves to be included in a recital of financial transactions.

Eight
Banks
Closed

Prior to 1876 there had been absolutely no supervision by the state of the financial institutions within its borders. In the year mentioned a feeble effort was made in that direction in an act which compelled banks to make reports of a uniform character, but the disclosures of these publications were of little value, as the opportunity to check their accuracy was lacking. The legislature of 1877-78 sought to remedy this defect by the creation of a commission of three members at a salary of \$3,000 each, and traveling expenses to the amount of \$1,500 per annum. One clerk at \$1,800 was provided, \$900 was allowed for rent and \$200 for fuel, stationery, etc. One of the anomalies of the period was the antagonism aroused by the proposal to create this modest establishment. Had the banks opposed the formation of the commission, considering all the circumstances, their opposition would not have been strange, for they had much to conceal; but it came from an entirely different source. It was the "sand lot" that voiced the loudest objection and it was based chiefly on the assumption that the object of the legislation was to make places for politicians, and that the commission would be converted into an instrument to screen the banks instead of exposing them.

No
Bank
Suspension

The act was passed despite opposition on the 30th of March, 1878, and the first commissioners appointed were Evan J. Coleman, Robert Watt and James P. Murphy. If there was any sincerity in the expressed belief that the new board would accomplish nothing it was disappointed by the result, for within two years after its creation it compelled eight different institutions to close their doors, and made some cautious approaches towards the introduction of a system which demanded that the savings banks should exercise something like care in the acceptance of securities for loans. Their efforts were facilitated by the distrust created by the exposure of the recklessness of management, which resulted in a reduction of savings banks' deposits amounting to \$24,000,000, and a contraction of the resources of the commercial banks amounting to \$6,000,000, although the deposits in the latter had increased \$4,000,000—a serious impairment of the banking power in the short period mentioned.

Bank
Commission
Act of 1878

A compilation made by Wright discloses that up to the end of 1878 dividends had been paid by the savings banks of San Francisco aggregating \$40,981,479. There were then in existence the following banks receiving deposits and paying interest upon them: Hibernia Savings and Loan, the Savings and Loan Society,

Operations
of Savings
Banks

French Mutual and Provident, San Francisco Savings Union, Odd Fellows Savings bank, German Savings and Loan Society, Masonic Savings bank, Security Savings bank, Humboldt Savings and Loan, Farmers and Merchants Savings and California Savings and Loan. They are enumerated here in the order of their importance as determined by their dividends, the Hibernia heading the list, with a showing of \$11,890,806 to the date named, while the California Savings and Loan appeared at the foot with \$127,317 to its credit.

**Establishment
of Clearing
House**

The San Francisco Clearing House was established in March, 1876, and included in its first list of members the following banks: Bank of California, Bank of British Columbia, Bank of British North America, Bank of San Francisco, B. F. Davidson & Co., Belloc & Co., Donahue, Kelly & Co., First National Gold Bank of San Francisco, Hicox & Spear, London and San Francisco bank, Merchants Exchange bank, Sather & Co., Swiss American bank, Anglo California bank and Wells, Fargo & Co. In 1877 the Nevada bank, Lazard Freres, Pacific bank, National Gold bank and Trust Company and Tallant & Co., were added, and in 1883 Crocker, Woolworth & Co., making a total of twenty-one members at the end of the period 1871-83.

**Records of
Clearing
House**

These banks were of varied organization. They consisted of private, incorporated, state and national banks, those in the first named category predominating and the national system being least favored. The clearings of the first full year after the organization of the clearing house aggregated \$519,948,803. In the ensuing year, 1878, they increased to \$715,329,319, but the expansion was largely if not wholly due to the addition of five new members. After 1878 the clearings begin to tell the story of the business activities of the City with more or less exactitude to the careful statistician who takes into consideration other sources of evidence, such as the prevalence of speculation on an unusual scale. Allowing for such aberrations the clearing house records show a remarkable decline after 1878, which was marked by but one mining stock deal of consequence. In 1879 they aggregated \$533,953,955; in 1880 they had fallen off still further to \$486,725,953. After that date there was an improvement, the amount cleared in 1882 being \$629,114,119.

**Bank
Buildings in
the Seventies**

If the spirit of the times was responsible for the incautiousness displayed by some of the banks in the Seventies it cannot be said that their management was entirely devoid of conservatism. It is related that the first bank in San Francisco occupied quarters over a stable on the corner of Kearny and Washington streets, and that the Hibernia Savings and Loan Society, now one of the strongest savings banks in the country, began its career in leased quarters. There was no disposition shown to abandon this frugal course until the expanding business of the City, and its growth of population imposed the necessity of providing better quarters. The Bank of California moved into the handsome structure it occupied up to the time of the fire of 1906 in 1866, and the other institutions sought to advertise their prosperity by external appearances, not always with the same success architecturally as that institution, although one of them enjoyed the proud distinction for a long time of having introduced the first iron front into San Francisco. In 1878 it was estimated that only 2% of the resources of the banks were invested in premises, buildings and furniture. In that year the largest value reported as devoted to that purpose by any bank was \$250,000. Some idea of the change in this regard

will be inferred from the statement that in 1910 bank premises in San Francisco were valued at \$22,656,000, an amount representing 4% of their resources.

An event of financial interest occurred in 1874. In that year the Mint building on Fifth street between Market and Mission, begun in 1867, was completed and occupied. Up to 1874 a building on Commercial, about sixty feet west of Montgomery street, had been serving the purposes of the government. The property had been acquired in 1853, and the sum of \$335,000 was expended in its purchase and in revamping and adding to an old building which, although called the U. S. Assay Office, was not recognized by the government, and in providing coinage machinery. The lot was only 60x60 feet, and the transaction occasioned considerable scandal at the time, it being asserted that the property and plant were not worth at the outside more than \$75,000. It was illy adapted to the use to which it was put, and there was persistent criticism, which, however, did not accomplish anything until 1867, when the government bought the Fifth street property, and later began the structure which was completed in 1874 and was for many years regarded as one of the chief architectural ornaments of the City. It is built of sandstone with a classical facade on Fifth street, and is surrounded by streets on all sides. Its equipment was of a superior character, and its opening, and the subsequent importance attached to it by the government proved a source of satisfaction to the state and the entire coast, implying as it did a recognition of the fact that, although situated three thousand miles or more from the seat of government, the people living on the Pacific slope were citizens of the Union.

After the abandonment of the Commercial street property by the mint in 1874 the old buildings were torn down and a new, but very unpretentious structure was erected on the site for the officers of the subtreasury and other federal officials. By 1877, however, the business of the subtreasury had expanded to such an extent that the whole building was taken possession of by the subtreasurer and his force, and the other government officials had to find quarters elsewhere. One of the interesting features connected with this important office, whose transactions mount into the millions, and in which many millions of government money are stored under the care of a subtreasurer, is the short roll of men who held the latter office up to 1883. The list embraces the names of Jacob R. Snyder, David W. Cheeseman, Charles N. Felton, William Sherman and Nathan W. Spaulding.

The banking annals of this period indicate that the tendency toward combination was not developed at that time. The disposition was entirely in the direction of creating new institutions and the result of multiplication was to weaken, whereas judicious mergers might have strengthened the banking power of the City. The California Trust Company, organized in 1867, and incorporated in 1868, and reorganized in 1872 as a national gold bank, was a victim to the diffusive tendency. In the troubles of 1875 it was obliged to close its doors, but was able to resume in 1876. In 1880 it went into voluntary liquidation, paying its depositors in full.

In 1871 congress passed an act authorizing an issue of \$45,000,000 gold notes redeemable on demand. A Boston company had applied for the privilege of organizing a bank which would use these notes but it never put its project into execution, and no national gold bank was ever put into operation outside of California. The first bank of this sort organized was the First National Gold Bank of San Francisco, which went into business in January, 1871, and received its notes for circulation in the following March. The yellow notes emitted by this and other

The
United States
Mint

The
United States
Sub-Treasury

Combination
Not Favored

Paper
Money
Unpopular

gold banks became measurably familiar in San Francisco during the Seventies, but greenbacks did not circulate. The disinclination for paper money, however, was no greater during that decade than it is at present. Although there are now numerous national banks in San Francisco whose circulation runs up into the millions, the notes emitted by them under the authority of the government are almost wholly used outside of the state, the tender of paper money in ordinary business transactions being very unusual.

**Unsuccessful
Experiment
of Farmers**

A freak experiment in banking was made in 1874, when the Grangers' bank was incorporated. It was the outcome of a movement of the farmers against the middleman. There was great dissatisfaction on the part of the wheat grower over the manipulation of ocean shipping charters, and the existence was charged of a ring which neglected no opportunity to put up rates for carrying grain to Europe. The purpose of starting the bank was to finance a scheme of securing ships under favorable conditions and loading them with cargoes to be sold on the way to Europe, or on arrival in port. The theory of the farmers that they were made the victims of charter speculators seemed to have been borne out by the facts, but the experiment of the Grangers' bank proved a failure, and while it maintained a precarious existence for many years, it was finally obliged to go into liquidation in November, 1895.

**Safe Deposit
Vaults
Introduced**

In 1875 the safe deposit system was introduced in San Francisco by the California Safe Deposit Company in the basement of a building erected on the corner of California and Montgomery streets. Prior to that time the practice of allowing depositors to place tin boxes in the vaults of banks had prevailed, and the innovation was hailed as a great convenience. The subsequent failure of the bank which maintained the vaults, and the flight of its manager, gave a great shock to renters, who at first feared that the confidence they had reposed in the safety of the contents of their boxes had been violated, but examination disclosed that the apprehension was groundless. Curiously enough, however, the agitators of the sand lot, with whom the corruption of bank officials was a favorite theme, persisted to the last in asserting that Duncan had robbed the vaults before his flight.



A VIEW OF NORTH BEACH AS IT APPEARED IN 1876

CHAPTER LI

THE SAND LOT TROUBLES AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

STATE RIPE FOR REVOLT—THE LONG AGITATION FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION—THE LEGISLATURE OF 1877-78—A LONG LIST OF GOOD MEASURES TO ITS CREDIT—"PIECE" CLUBS—NUMEROUS REFORMS EFFECTED—THE MAIL DOCK RIOT AND THE PICK HANDLE BRIGADE—THE FIRST POLITICAL MEETINGS ON THE SAND LOT—THE WORKINGMAN'S PARTY—DENIS KEARNEY AS A LEADER—KEARNEY'S ATTAINMENTS—HISTORIAN BRYCE'S BLUNDER—THE MANIFESTO OF THE WORKINGMAN'S PARTY—FIRST W. P. C. TRIUMPH—SIMILARITY OF WORKINGMEN'S PLATFORM TO THAT OF 1912 PROGRESSIVES—CROCKER'S SPITE FENCE—KEARNEY SHOWS THE WHITE FEATHER—"WORK OR BREAD"—A GAG LAW PASSED—AN INADEQUATE POLICE FORCE—THE FIGHT FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND ITS ADOPTION—THE NEW ORGANIC LAW NOT A SAND LOT PRODUCT—REFORMS EFFECTED—PROMINENT PART PLAYED BY "CHRONICLE" IN SECURING ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.



THE conditions described in the preceding chapter make clear the fact that the state was ripe for revolt against the existing order of things, but it would be wrong to infer from what has been related that the adoption of the constitution of 1879 would have been impossible had there been no sand lot agitation. That impression has been conveyed by writers who were opposed to the many radical innovations of

the new organic instrument, and who sought to destroy its effect by charging that it was the product of a lot of violent agitators and lawbreakers. That the disaffected elements headed by Kearney supported the instrument when it was submitted for adoption, and that their votes contributed to its acceptance by the electorate of California is true, but it is well to keep in mind the fact that it required the majority rolled up in the interior of the state in favor of the constitution to offset the majority cast against it in the City, where the Kearneyites were strongest.

That a new constitution would have been adopted sooner or later is evident, and it is highly probable that the desired result would have been achieved much more readily if Kearney and his followers had not furnished opportunities for misrepresentation which put the advocates of the new organic law formed by the convention chosen in 1878, on the defensive. The movement for a new constitution was not the outcome of the agitation of 1877. It may be said to have begun as early as 1852, when the subject was introduced in the legislature and a proposition to revise was defeated because it was charged and believed that the main object of the proponents was to bring about state division. It was again revived in San Francisco in 1856, when dissatisfaction with the judges inspired Samuel P. Webb,

The
State Rife
for Revolt

Agitation
for a New
Constitution

an ex-mayor, to urge the Vigilance Committee to bring pressure to bear on the governor to call an extra session of the legislature for the purpose of considering the proposal to revise. The committee refused to act on the suggestion on the ground that the Vigilante constitution prohibited interference in political matters. In view of the fact that the Vigilantes, not as an organization, but nevertheless with a solidarity that proved highly effective, supported the new people's party, it may be assumed that it was the conservatism and not the limitations of the Vigilance Committee that caused opposition to this innovation which foreshadowed the "recall" proposition that became popular half a century later.

Numerous
Proposals
to Revise

In the same year Governor Johnson, in a message to the legislature, referred to the subject of revision and declared that the only opposition to making the attempt came from those who feared that a constitution if framed would not be submitted to the people. He pointed out that this apprehension was groundless, as the amendment to the constitution proposed by the legislature of 1855, which required such submission, had been ratified by a vote of the people in 1856. In 1861 Governor Downey called attention to a third failure to secure revision and intimated that he was satisfied with the result as the reforms demanded were such as could easily be secured by a simple amendment. The matter came up again in the legislature of 1873-74, and there was much talk about the law's delays and the dilatory tactics of the courts of San Francisco. Land monopoly and the stupendous frauds practiced by the grabbers of the public domain were discussed, and woman suffrage was made the subject of a report and a recommendation that the question be taken up in the coming constitutional convention, which was believed to be imminent.

Convention
Ordered by
Popular Vote

These successive efforts to bring about action proved fruitless, but in the legislature of 1875-76 reports were made in each house denouncing the evils of land monopoly, and calling attention to the flagrant abuses of the timber and desert land acts passed by congress. Specific charges of grabbing land on a wholesale scale were made, and it was urged that the result of the illegal appropriation of the public domain would be to greatly accentuate the troubles already experienced by the state because of the existence of the large Spanish and Mexican grants, whose owners refused to divide them, thus deterring settlement by perpetuating a land monopoly. The outcome of the discussion was the passage of an act recommending the calling of a convention "to revise and change the state constitution," which provided in accordance with the law that the question should be submitted to a popular vote at the next general election.

The
Demand for
Revision

This act was approved April 3, 1876, and the proposition to hold a convention was voted upon September 5, 1877, and the people decided in favor of revision, 73,460 favoring the holding of a convention and 44,200 against, out of a total of 146,199 voting. The failure of the 28,521 to express their desires was later criticized as indicating that the majority of the people were not eager for revision, but there was no comment of that sort at the time, the vote being accepted as decisive. The mandate of the people was accepted by the legislature of 1877-78, and an act calling the convention was passed during the closing days of the session and approved April 1, 1878.

Legislature
of 1877-78

The legislature of 1877-78, which passed the act calling the convention, was spoken of as being under the influence of the sand lot, but there is absolutely no

foundation for this assumption. It was overwhelmingly democratic in its composition and elected a United States senator representing that party named Farley, who was unquestionably under railroad domination. But while the anti monopoly sentiment was in the ascendant, as was evinced by the determined effort to amend the law of eminent domain, so that the railroad might have its aggressive tendencies restrained, and also by the earnest attempts to pass a railroad commission bill which would pave the way to the regulation of freights and fares, the legislature was in no sense a radical body and had no sympathy with violent methods, a fact attested by its readiness to consider a law, inspired by fear of the turbulent methods of the unemployed in San Francisco, which, had it been passed and enforced, would have abridged freedom of speech.

Curiously enough this legislature which, like the constitutional convention, has been stigmatized as under the influence of the sand lot, has to its credit a greater number of reform measures and acts directly affecting San Francisco than any preceding California legislative body. It was the last legislature privileged to deal with special matters, consequently many of its enactments have had a permanency which otherwise would not have attached to them. Among the number was the one-twelfth act, introduced by Frank McCoppin, a former mayor of San Francisco, and chairman of the city delegation in the senate. It provided that the revenues for the year should be divided into twelve parts, and that the expenditures of the different funds should be made on this basis, the object being to avoid the creation of deficits. The principle of this act was subsequently embodied in a charter and worked admirably. There were attempts to disregard the curb, and the law was violated in the interests of contractors; but it proved a stone wall against their predatory attacks, which, however, was breached later by a vote of the people which amended the constitution so as to compel the City to pay claims which arose through flagrant violations of law, thus presenting an instance of direct legislation striking down a safeguard devised under the representative system, and sanctioning loose methods and venality by a popular vote.

The legislature of 1877-78 also passed a bill reducing street-car fares to five cents, and making them uniform throughout the City. Up to this time the charge for a single fare was ten cents, but four tickets could be obtained for twenty-five cents. A law was also passed to regulate the quality and price of gas to consumers, fixing the maximum rate at \$8 a thousand cubic feet. Henry George, the author of "Progress and Poverty" was the first inspector appointed under the provisions of this act. A measure, also inspired by the demand for regulation, and which was subsequently known as the free gas and water act, was likewise adopted. Its authors fondly imagined that they had devised a method which would insure the people of San Francisco against the rapacity of corporations, and that the privilege which the measure accorded of allowing anyone to use the streets to lay gas or water mains, would assure cheap gas and water to the community. The expected competition never materialized, for the established gas company absorbed all would-be competitors who entered the field. There were several which did so, chiefly for the purpose of selling out. No attempt was made to introduce a rival water system. The chief result of the reform measure was to practically turn over the streets to irresponsible persons who were continually excavating and destroying pavements as fast as they were laid, to the great annoyance of the community.

Much
Legislation for
San Francisco

Street Car
Fares Reduced

"Piece"
Clubs Made
Unlawful

Another great reform measure, which failed of its purpose, was the so-called "piece club" bill, introduced in the assembly by John F. Swift, an independent member from San Francisco, subsequently appointed minister to Japan and later defeated in an attempt to be elected governor. Swift was a republican and a man of exceptional ability and force and was a student of politics. The act referred to was designed to put an end to the practice which existed in San Francisco at the time of groups of men assuming that they controlled votes, forming themselves into clubs and offering for a consideration to give their influence to candidates. The name "piece club" was derived from the slang use of the word "piece" for money. The measure never proved efficacious, and finally lost all virtue when, in accordance with the changing mood of the people, legal sanction was practically given to the process of disintegrating parties by putting a premium on the small group system.

Other
Reforms
Effectuated

It was this legislature that passed the act under which the system of public libraries in California was inaugurated, and under which nearly every city and town in the state has provided itself with free reading facilities. The author was a San Franciscan named Rogers, whose chief aim was to secure for San Francisco a privilege which would permit it to imitate the example of Boston, but he broadened the scope of the act so as to permit all parts of the state to take advantage of its provisions, with the result above mentioned. Another bit of legislation which effected a partial reform of the defective banking laws of California was the creation of the bank commission referred to at some length in the preceding chapter, and which placed the operations of financial corporations under the supervision of the state and was the first decisive step in the direction of much needed publicity. The excesses of the stock market also came in for attention and an act was passed imposing a tax of ten cents on every certificate of stock issued or transferred, the object being to make dealings in futures unpopular. The law did not prove effective, but the craze for dealing in margins came to an end a short time after by the complete subsidence of the mania for dealing in mining stocks.

The
Pick Handle
Brigade

It will be seen from the above resume of the efforts to secure a revision of the organic law of California that it was not a sand lot movement, but that it was state wide, and that all of the features which were later denounced as radical innovations had been demanded by large sections of the people before the name of Denis Kearney had been made familiar to the public by the newspaper accounts of his denunciations of capital and the Chinese. It is a fact not entirely overlooked, but the significance of which has escaped attention, that Kearney's participation in the only riot which occurred during the troubled days before the adoption of the constitution was on the side of law and order. The affair referred to occurred on the 25th of July, 1877, and its occurrences were grossly exaggerated. A couple of days previous some hoodlums had made attacks on several Chinese laundries and set fire to one, on the corner of Turk and Leavenworth streets. On the following day a committee of safety was organized under the auspices of William T. Coleman. It was decided by the leaders that this citizen's committee should bear no other arms than pick handles, and this fact was seized upon to give it the name it bore. Denis Kearney was a member of this "pick handle brigade," and acted with it on the night of July 25th when an attack was made on the Pacific Mail

dock by a mob with intent to burn it, which however, was frustrated without much difficulty by the police and the citizen's committee, some of the latter being provided with rifles for the occasion. On the same night a lumber yard was fired, or accidentally burned. In the attempt to disperse the crowd which gathered, and which was chiefly composed of idle spectators attracted by the flames, several shots were fired. It was reported that a number of persons were killed, but the police records merely state that "several men were shot and otherwise wounded on this occasion." Two days later a man named James Smith was arrested on the charge of having fired the lumber yard and was held in \$20,000 bail, but the crime was never proved against him.

That this disturbance was merely a sporadic ebullition, and not the result of a plan, or even of deliberate instigation, was shown by the action of the committee of safety which was disbanded on July 30th. Had there been any apprehension of further disturbance the citizen's committee would not have dissolved so speedily. The attempt to make it appear that the affair was a sand lot manifestation proved successful later when the facts concerning the disturbance and its origin were forgotten. Truth demands the statement that the trouble arose out of the presence in the City of an unusually large number of unemployed men who assembled in crowds to discuss the news of the railroad strike in the East, and its accompanying acts of violence, and the manifestations were only a faint reflection of the disorder witnessed in several Eastern cities about the same time, which in some cases called for the intervention of the military.

The first sand lot meeting at which Kearney was present took place early in the following September. There had been gatherings of a miscellaneous character, near the place where the stand stood which was subsequently used by the agitators, during several months preceding the advent of Kearney, but they were of such a character that the newspapers took no pains to report them. They were usually addressed by speakers who had panaceas for alleviating human woes, and sometimes their audiences numbered several hundreds. On the night of September 7th, Denis Kearney had made a speech in Dashaway Hall on Post street in the course of which he announced that he would speak on the sand lot in front of the city hall on the ensuing Sunday.

This announcement was printed in the papers, and the crowd, as a result, was large; and as Kearney indulged in intemperate language the meeting was reported. There was nothing extraordinary in this latter circumstance, but there would have been ground for adverse comment had it been ignored as meetings of a similar character held in halls before and after that date received attention. There was a meeting of the unemployed in Union hall, a large structure on Mission street, on the night of September 21st, which was addressed by Philip A. Roach, a prominent democrat, and one of the proprietors of the "Examiner," in which he denounced the actions of the "pick handle brigade" in unmeasured terms. At the same meeting Kearney spoke, and although he had acted with the committee of safety on the night of July 25th, he was unsparing in his criticism of the motives of those who had organized the brigade and proclaimed that their purpose was to make serfs of the workingmen.

After the first meeting in September on the sand lot the socialists, temperance orators, phrenologists, fakery and visionaries of all kinds, who had formerly occu-

Citizens'
Committee
Promptly
Dissolved

First
Sand Lot
Meetings

Big Crowds
on the Sand
Lot

Workingmen's
Party

piéd the neighborhood on Sunday afternoons were completely dislodged and the embryo workingmen's party of California took possession. The proposition to form a workingmen's party which had been urged in the early Seventies had been renewed after the disturbance in July, but although suggestions to that effect were made in August, no practical steps were taken to accomplish that purpose in advance of the election of 1877. The legislators chosen in that year were democrats or republicans, with the exception of a solitary independent sent to the assembly from a San Francisco district. It has been stated that the legislature of 1877-78 was dominated by the sand lot, but to maintain that assumption it is necessary to assume that the democratic majority was insincere in making its pledges, for every demand of the sand lot had been anticipated by the platform of that party, and it was to the promises thus made that it owed its success at the polls.

Denis Kearney
as a Leader

It is difficult to judge the motives of men, and it is not essential that the historian should essay the task. Very often those who figure prominently as leaders are merely the creatures of circumstances, and the actions attributed to deep design on their part, are forced upon them by the march of events. Denis Kearney was a leader of that sort. He was absolutely destitute of originality, but he was quick to seize upon a suggestion. It has already been stated that he was a frequent visitor to newspaper offices before he began to figure prominently as a champion of the workingmen. In the course of these visits he became acquainted with a reporter of the "Chronicle" named Chester Hull, a versatile writer endowed with a strong sense of humor, which often took the form of practical joking. Kearney early disclosed his ambitions to Hull, and the latter undoubtedly advised, and certainly gave Kearney the idea that in order to win success he must avoid scattering. Hull's colleagues in the city room of the "Chronicle" declared that there was only one subject on which he seemed to feel deeply, and that was the danger to the people of the Pacific coast, and the white race generally, from the encroachments of cheap Oriental labor, and that he furnished Kearney with the slogan "The Chinese Must Go" and impressed upon him that continued iteration of the phrase would attract attention and win recognition.

Kearney's
Literary
Attainments

Whether the phrase was inspired by Hull, or was of his own devising, Kearney constantly employed it, and invariably ended his harangues with the emphatic declaration. It was undoubtedly the strongest weapon in his oratorical armory, but there were others which he used with equal facility. The educational attainments of Kearney have been frequently dwelt upon by writers who have reached the conclusion that he was not a scholar, and that he had only a smattering of information. The facts are not entirely out of harmony with this assumption. Kearney was born in Ireland, and was a young man when he emigrated to this country. The only learning he had when he arrived in San Francisco in 1868 was of a very rudimentary character, but he was an assiduous reader and was much addicted to history, from which he drew some remarkable inferences. He was also interested in the speculations of Darwin, and at one time was disposed to sympathize with the individualistic views of Spencer. If he could express his views in writing he refrained from doing so when visiting the newspaper offices, contenting himself with verbally conveying the information he brought.

Kearney
on the Stump

He was a voluble speaker, however, and was never at a loss for words in a discussion, or when on the stump, but was not very choice in their use. He was



VIEW OF CITY IN 1876, LOOKING SOUTHEAST FROM MARKET STREET CUT

accustomed to using such epithets as "blood sucker," "bloated monopolists," "bloody cormorants," "thieving land grabbers," etc., but there is a reasonable presumption that they were not genuine explosives, but were worked up for sand lot consumption, for when he employed them privately they were apt to have an intonation which suggested the winks of the Roman augurs. He was quick at repartee and thoroughly understood his audiences. He indulged in tricks of "oratory" which few men would have ventured upon in addressing a body of men who took things seriously. Irony was one of his favorite weapons, and in using it he approached perilously near incitement to riot. One of his favorite devices was to veil a threat in doggerel verse. On one occasion he concluded a vigorous description of the voracity of the bloated monopolists and bondholders with:

There was a bloody swallow
Who lived up a bloody spout;
And when the bloody rain came,
It washed the bloody fellow out.

He had a stock of quotations which he drew upon regularly without much regard to literal accuracy, but they were usually appropriately employed. He was an assiduous reader of the newspapers and his Sunday harangues on the sand lot often were a resume of the contents of their columns during the week. He derived most of his information from the "Chronicle" whose exposure of the Navy Pay Office frauds and the abuses of the timber and desert land acts were just the sort of pabulum he required to satisfy the appetites of his followers, who had an ingrained belief that the rascalities of officeholders were at the bottom of all their troubles. Bryce in his "American Commonwealth" asserted that "the activity of the "Chronicle" counted for much, for it was ably written, went everywhere and continued to give a point and force to Kearney's harangues which made them more effective in print than even his voice had made them to the listening crowds." This was a gratuitous assumption, and one which Bryce would not have made if he had investigated the subject he wrote about. He frankly admits that when it was suggested that the only way in which he could learn the details of the sand lot troubles would be to go through the files of the newspapers between 1877 and 1880, that he refused to do so as such a search would involve too much trouble.

An Assiduous
Reader of
Newspapers

Had he taken this trouble he would have discovered that there was no foundation for his implication that the "Chronicle" reports of Kearney's speeches were much of a factor in keeping up interest. On the contrary he would at once have perceived that Kearney was making effective use for his own purposes of the exposures made by that journal, and that he was merely a vulgar echo of its charges of venality and corruption which were made with precision and directness by the newspaper, and implicated some of the men from whom Bryce gained the material for his chapter on the sand lot troubles, which, however, in spite of its inaccuracies, reveals the true causes of the upheaval. There was nothing, however, said by the "Chronicle" that begins to approach the blackness of the picture painted by Bryce, who said: "Both in the country and in the City there was disgust with politics and politicians. The legislature was composed almost wholly of office seekers from the City or petty country lawyers, needy and narrow minded men. Those who had virtue enough not to be 'got at' by the great corporations had not intel-

The
Newspaper
and Historical
Accounts of
Events

ligence enough to resist their devices. It was a common saying in the state that each successive legislature was worse than its predecessor. The meeting of the representatives of the people was seen with anxiety, their departure with relief. . . . The judges were not corrupt, but most of them, as was natural, considering the scanty salaries assigned to them, were inferior men, not fit to cope with counsel who practiced before them. Partly owing to the weakness of juries, partly owing to the intricacies of the law and the defects of the recently adopted code, criminal justice was halting and uncertain and malefactors often went unpunished. It became a proverb that you might safely commit a murder if you took the advice of the best lawyers."

Historian
Bryce's
Blunder

Mr. Bryce's blunder did not consist in an underestimation of the gravity of the situation; where he erred was in permitting the men who were responsible for the condition he described to make him believe that they were good citizens, and that the "sand lotters" who were denouncing the real malefactors, and the newspapers who were pointing out the offenders, were to blame. He was apparently imbued with the idea that the men who imparted to him the distorted views which he reproduced as his own, were wholly disinterested, and he lacked the acumen to perceive that they were under the dominating influence of the corporations indicted by him as corruptors of public morals. In short, Mr. Bryce expressed the opinion pretty generally entertained at the time he wrote that innovations, the result of upheavals from the bottom, were dangerous to the existing society. If he had to rewrite the chapter which is here criticized, and would do so in the light of his professed admiration for Roosevelt, he would in honesty be compelled to admit that in all essential particulars the avowed programme of Denis Kearney, and the reforms advocated by the ex-president are alike.

Bryce's
Comments
Cause
Irritation

The comments here made are not a digression; they are necessary in order to bring out a fact which Bryce himself states, that the people of California were irritated by his treatment of the sand lot episode. In a footnote to a later edition of his "American Commonwealth" he says: "When I visited San Francisco in 1881 and again in 1883 people were unwilling to talk about the Kearney agitation feeling, it seemed to me, rather ashamed of it, and annoyed that so much should have been made of it (more they declared than it deserved) in the Eastern states." It will be necessary further on to explain the cause of this irritation which Mr. Bryce does not make clear. It was not due, as his readers may readily assume, to the natural desire of a community to stand well in the eyes of the world, but to the inability of the people who reproached him to perceive that the turpitude he had depicted, and their own inattention to civic matters, were responsible for the sand lot uprising.

Organization
of the
Workingmen's
Party

To recur to the so called sand lot troubles, and in order to dissociate them entirely from the ebullition of midsummer with which they had no connection whatever, it should be mentioned that it was not until October 5, 1877, or more than two months after the demonstration, against the Chinese laundries that the working men's party of California was organized with Denis Kearney as president, John G. Day as vice president, and H. L. Knight as secretary. This movement, however, was not a forerunner of the cohesiveness which was later displayed, for there were rival factions and not infrequently two sets of orators were declaiming at the same time on the sand lots against monopoly and the venality of officials.

But the following of Kearney was by far the largest and in a comparatively brief period he succeeded in silencing the rivalry of his opponents. About the middle of the month the Kearney ring issued a manifesto which was published in the morning papers in which the phrase "The Chinese Must Go" occurred, and coupled with it was the assertion that the workingmen would bring about that result by force if necessary. Apart from this declaration the statements in the manifesto read very like a vulgarized edition of Bryce's arraignment. "Congress," said the manifesto, "has often been manipulated by thieves, speculators and land grabbers, bloated bondholders, railroad magnates and shoddy aristocrats—a golden lobby dictating its proceedings. Our own legislature is little better. The rich rule them by bribes. The rich rule the country by fraud and cunning; and we say that fraud and cunning shall not rule us."

This manifesto was written by Knight, but the major part of it was dictated by Kearney, whose part in it can be recognized by the allusions to Patrick Henry, whose peroration in his speech in the Virginia House of Burgesses on the Stamp Act, "As for me, give me liberty or give me death" was constantly in the agitator's mouth, as were also the expressions "bloated bondholders" and "shoddy aristocrats," which he turned off as glibly as Roosevelt did his pet expression "malefactors of great wealth." Hull declared that Kearney once said to him that he did not quote Patrick Henry so much on account of the sentiments expressed by the revolutionary orator, as because the name Patrick made an impression on his hearers, or as he was pleased to call them "them chaws."

The fulminations of Kearney, and his attempts to call into existence a workingmen's party, might have met the same fate as the effort made in the beginning of the decade, under the auspices of the Knights of St. Crispin, if it had not been for the death of one of the state senators from Alameda county on January 6, 1878. This necessitated the calling of a special election at which a candidate put forward by the workingmen's party, named John Bones, was seated by a large majority. At another by-election held in Santa Clara county to fill a vacancy in the senate and one in the assembly the workingmen also proved successful and in March they elected their candidate for mayor, and several of the city officials of Sacramento. There is reason for believing that had the untimely deaths not occurred, the movement might have expended itself in bloviation, but the leaders were intoxicated by the successes achieved at the polls and they went ahead with their plans regardless of the fact that the legislature of 1877-78 was effecting many reforms, and entirely ignoring the possibilities which the adoption of a new organic law held out in the way of abating the evils and corruption which they made the groundwork of their complaints. But it should be added as the session of the legislature wore on it gave abundant cause for suspicion that it would fail to redeem its promises. There were indications that the act which provided for the election of delegates to a convention to revise the constitution would be side tracked, and as a matter of fact its passage and approval were delayed until within a few days of adjournment. There had been a flagrant exhibition of attempted railroad domination when the bill creating a commission was up for action in the assembly. On several days ex-Governor Stanford sat in the rear of the assembly chamber and directed the course of corporation members who were hard pushed by the anti monopolists. It was a remarkable display of indifference to public opinion, but no more startling

Manifesto
of the
W. F. C.

The
Workingmen's
Party's
First
Triumph

than C. P. Huntington was making daily in the capitol at Washington where with equal boldness he marshalled the supporters of the corporation in the senate and house of representatives.

Demands of
Laborites
Resemble
Those of
Modern
Progressives

There was no lack of material for assaults when the workingmen's convention met in San Francisco on January 21, 1878. There was no election pending but a platform was adopted stating the aims of the new party and making promises. A resume of its declarations and demands discloses a similarity to that adopted in 1871, and in most features resembling that of the advanced "progressives" of 1911. It started out with an expression of opposition to coolie labor and the introduction of coolies into the country. This is about the only particular in which it differs from the pronunciamientos of the twentieth century reformers as will be seen at a glance by reading an epitome of the remaining planks. These demanded that government land be held for actual settlement and cultivation; that individuals holding more than one square mile were to be restricted to that quantity, and that it should be devoted to cultivation and pasturage; that all lands of equal value and productive nature be subject to equal taxation; that import duties on raw materials not produced in the United States be abolished; that a system of finance be adopted consistent with the agricultural, manufacturing and mercantile industries and requirements of the country uncontrolled by rings, brokers and bankers; that the pardoning power be taken away from presidents and governors and be vested in commissioners; that malfeasance in office be punished with imprisonment for life without recourse, and no pardon for delinquents; the contract system in the state prisons and reformatories to be abolished and goods manufactured there to be sold at not less than current market rates for the product of free labor; all labor on public works to be done by day labor; eight hours to be a sufficient day's work and to be made so by law; all public officers to receive fixed salaries and no fees; president and vice president and United States senators to be elected by direct vote of the people; the common school system to be cherished and supported; a system of compulsory education to be provided; a special fund maintained to secure attendance of such poor children as would otherwise be unable to attend school; education to be entirely secular in public schools and lectures at stated intervals to uphold the dignity of labor and mechanical vocations as paramount to all other walks of life.

A Much
Criticized
Omission

A careful reading of this declaration will disclose that it is infinitely less radical than the demands put forward by the advocates of governmental conservation of forest lands and water rights and the antagonists of what are called trusts. With the single exception of the declaration against coolie labor it will be noted that the platform deals with national and general issues and apparently avoids those that are local. Although antagonism against the railroad was running high at the time, denunciation of the corporation and demands for its regulation were absent from the document. This was all the more surprising as Kearney's sand lot diatribes were filled with vitriolic allusions to the iniquities of the Central Pacific and the greed of its managers. The omission did not escape criticism. It was commented on at the time, and later it was openly charged that Kearney and his associates had deliberately excluded all reference to the railroads for a consideration.

Crocker's
Spite Fence

The reputation of the railroad for "fixing" things was so general that an omission of the kind referred to would have attracted attention even if it had not been

inconsistent with the professions and conduct of some of the agitators. Less than three months previous to the drafting of the platform Kearney had been arrested for making a threatening demonstration against one of the railroad magnates. On the night of October 29, 1877, he had led a mob of two or three thousand of his followers to Nob hill and there held a mass meeting, the principal purpose of which was to menace Charles Crocker, who had gained an unenviable notoriety by the erection of a spite fence around the property of a man named Yung. Crocker was the owner of the block of land on California street bounded by Mason and Jones and Sacramento, with the exception of a single lot 25 feet in width owned by Yung to whom he offered a sum far exceeding the value of the holding, which Yung refused to accept. Yung was greedy and determined to extort all he could, and Crocker declined to submit to the extortion. But he did not let it rest at that. He erected a high fence which towered above Yung's little house and shut out all light and air excepting from the street in front. Crocker's exhibition of arrogance was severely criticized, but no attempt to interfere with the maintenance of the nuisance was ever made by the authorities, and the spite fence became a sort of show place, visitors to Nob hill having their attention directed to it by guides whose explanations were not always complimentary to Crocker.

On the October night referred to Kearney made the high fence, and the "wrongs" of Yung the theme of his speech. Yung had begged for mercy, and was willing to sell at any price when he found himself shut in, but discovered that he was dealing with an obdurate man who had become rather proud of his ability to punish any one who dared to oppose his wishes. Kearney made a fiery address in which he described the grabbing propensities of the railroad magnates and denounced them as thieves. A formal demand was made that they should discharge the Chinese in their employ and they were threatened with dire consequences if they failed to comply. Crocker was also given a month's notice to take down the spite fence, and was warned that if he did not do so the workingmen would tear it down for him on the 29th of November. Subsequently Kearney was charged with misdemeanor on two complaints, one based upon his Nob hill speech and the other upon the language used by him in an address made in Irish American hall. On the night of November 3d, while addressing an open air meeting near the corner of Kearney and Washington streets he was arrested and taken to the city prison. It was feared that an attempt to rescue would be made, and Day, Knight, C. C. O'Donnell and Charles Pickett, the other active leaders, were locked up on a charge of inciting to riot. The incarcerated men united in a round robin addressed to the mayor in which they declared that their speeches had been misrepresented by the press, and that they had no intention of disturbing the peace, and that they "were willing to submit to any measure to allay the excitement." The communication was disregarded, but subsequently when they were tried in the criminal court it was held that while the facts might indicate grave offenses they did not constitute criminal riot, and they were released.

It was stated at the time that Kearney displayed rank cowardice, and he was taunted by some of his followers who accused him of showing the white feather. A week after his release Kearney led a procession of sand lotters through the streets, the marching men carrying banners demanding work. A big meeting followed which was noted for the tameness of its addresses and an absence of refer-

Kearney's
Nob Hill
Meeting

Kearney
Shows the
White Feather

ence to the railroad managers or to the Yung fence. As the meeting was held on November 29th, the day fixed for the tearing down of the Crocker fence, the failure to mention the subject was variously commented on, some attributing it to cowardice, and others to an amicable arrangement with the managers of the Central Pacific, by which they were to be spared further annoyance.

Work or
Bread
Demanded

Nothing more forcibly illustrates the state of unrest pervading the community than the events following Thanksgiving Day. Employment conditions continued to grow worse. Men streamed into the City from the country, and the army of the idle was also increased by the necessity imposed upon merchants and others of reducing their forces. The distress was appalling, and the charitable associations were absolutely unable to cope with the situation. On January 3, 1878, Kearney returned to the City from a stumping tour in the interior, where he was coldly received by the farmers, and led a band of men to the city hall, where as their spokesman he demanded that the mayor give them work or bread, or a place in the county jail. The mayor upon whom the demand was made told the crowd, which had in the course of its march increased to about 1,500, that he had no authority to comply with their demand that work be provided as there was no money to pay for their services. The crowd then adjourned to the sand lot where inflammatory speeches were made which moved the grand jury to action, and on the 5th of January indictments were presented against several of the speakers. On the 22d of January, Kearney and Wellock were tried, but the result was the same as in the former cases, the law being held inadequate.

A
Gag Law
Passed

It is not at all likely that the decisions would have been any different had the "recall" been in operation at the time, but the legislature being in session it listened to the appeal of a frightened community and hastily passed an act which was approved by the governor on the 19th of January, three days before the abortive trial of Kearney and Wellock. It was an amendment to the penal code providing that if any one in the presence or hearing of twenty-five or more persons should utter any language with intent either to incite a riot at the present or in the future, or any acts of criminal violence against persons or property, or who shall suggest or advise or encourage any acts of criminal violence against any person or persons or property, or shall advise or encourage forcible resistance to the laws of the State of California shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and be punished by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by both. An act was also passed increasing the police force, and \$5,000 was appropriated to pay the expenses of the National Guard during the recent troubles, and \$20,000 additional was placed at the disposal of the governor.

Gag Law
Promptly
Repeated

This absurd act, which was promptly christened the "Gag Law," did not long disgrace the statute books, but it was there a sufficient length of time to dispose of the absurd charge that the legislature of 1877-78 was under the domination of Kearney and his followers. The general attitude of the legislators of this session was fully as distasteful to the corporations and vested interests as the menacing talk of the sand lotters, but there was no bond of sympathy between the democratic majority in the legislature and the agitators. To the contrary they dreaded the advent of a workingman's party far more perhaps than the corporations whose managers had learned by experience that it is not difficult to manipulate practical politicians, while the democratic leaders feared that the activity of the sand lot leaders would result disastrously to their organization.

An incident occurred a short time after the trial of Kearney and Wellock which clearly establishes that the troubles during the winter of 1877-78 were wholly owing to lack of decision on the part of the authorities, and the inefficiency of the police, due to the meagerness of the force which had not been increased in nearly twelve years, although the population had almost doubled during the interval. On the 3d of April, 1876, the legislature had passed an act creating a new criminal court in San Francisco, a section of which created a police commission consisting of the mayor, police judge, chief of police, judge of the city criminal court and a county judge, who were to serve without compensation. But this imposing array of commissioners was not provided with an increased force. No change was made in the number of police which remained the same as in 1856 when the Consolidation Act fixed it at 150.

On March 16, 1878, a large meeting was held in Platt's hall for the purpose of voicing opposition to a proposal to condemn the Spring Valley Water Works. The meeting was called at the instance of men who had antagonized Ralston's plans, and it was supposed by those who engineered it that the usual cut and dried proceedings would take place, and that strong resolutions denouncing the project would be passed without difficulty. Kearney created a diversion by bringing a lot of his followers to the hall, and they took possession of the meeting electing him president. Just what the outcome would have been had he presided to the end it would be impossible to tell, but he was not permitted to do so. Unfortunately for Kearney he made the mistake of attempting to deny freedom of speech to a man named Edward Numan, declaring that no politician should speak at a meeting over which he presided. In the course of the wrangle which followed this arbitrary declaration by the sand lot leader, John Hayes, the man after whom Hayes street and valley were named, mounted the platform saying, "If you do preside over this meeting you don't run it," at the same time giving Kearney a shove which knocked him off the stage and into the audience. On this occasion, as at other times, Kearney exhibited the discretion which serves better than valor. Later he caused Hayes to be arrested on a charge of battery, but the police judge who heard the case with nice discrimination decided that the shove was not for the purpose of committing an assault, but merely to assert the rights of the meeting.

Had the action of the legislature regarding the strengthening of the police been anticipated by a few years there would have been a different story to tell. In April, 1878, an act was passed increasing the police force to 400; but what proved of more consequence, the composition of the commission was completely changed. Instead of the cumbersome body created by the act of 1876, which imposed additional duties upon officials elected to perform other functions, there was substituted a commission which was to consist of three representative citizens of the City to be chosen by the judges of the Fourth, Twelfth and Fifteenth Judicial Districts. The first appointees under this system were Robert Tobin of the Hibernia bank, ex-Mayor William Alvord, of the Bank of California and Major Richard Hammond. It would be a mistake to accept the common assumption that the enlargement of the police force and the creation of an intelligent commission brought about the tranquillity which marked the summer of 1878, despite the constant efforts of Kearney to keep alive the agitation, but the obvious purpose to restrain the too demonstrative agitators undoubtedly had a quieting effect, and the election of delegates to

Authorities
Inactive and
Police
Inadequate

Jack Hayes
Knocks
Kearney Off
Platform

Police Force
Increased and
a New
Commission
Created

the constitutional convention held on June 19th was unattended by any excitement within the ranks of the political parties, including the newly formed workingmen's organization.

**Futile
Attempt to
Form a
Coalition**

The leaders of the democratic and republican parties, although the framing of a constitution did not seem to call for partisan action, were so greatly concerned over the rapid headway being made by the workingmen's organization that they attempted to bring about a coalition. Advances were made by the republicans but were rejected by the democrats who proposed that all party issues should be discarded, and that a convention should be held at Sacramento in May to nominate delegates at large in the congressional districts, and that the best men in their localities be nominated in the counties. This proposition was not acceptable to the republicans and it was finally determined that the plan of the Vigilance Committee of entrusting nominations to committees of prominent citizens should be followed, and in accordance with this resolve eight nonpartisan delegates were named in each of the four congressional districts.

**Attempt
to Dislodge
Kearney**

The term nonpartisan was distinctly a misnomer, for the result was to array the people of the state into two distinct parties, on a well defined issue which was narrower than it appeared to be on the surface, for while the talk revolved about the selection of good men to frame a suitable organic law, the real struggle on both sides was for political supremacy. The workingmen encouraged by their successes early in the year believed they were strong enough to obtain control, and the two old parties were apprehensive that they might and so were the corporations. Prospects of political success created dissensions within the ranks of the workingmen which threatened a rupture. An attempt was made on the 6th of May to oust Kearney from the presidency. The workingmen's state committee charged him with corruption and using the party to further his personal ends. This internal dissension was undoubtedly promoted by outsiders to create a diversion, and it resulted in the workingmen holding two conventions which met on May 16th. Kearney was supported by all the ward clubs of the workingmen, and his antagonist, Frank Rooney, who was openly charged with being paid by the railroad to bring about a split, and who headed the rival movement, had scarcely a corporal's guard as a following.

**Delegates
Elected to
Constitutional
Convention**

The election which took place on June 19, 1878, resulted in the choice of 78 nonpartisans, including all the delegates at large, 32 in number; 51 workingmen, 31 of whom were from San Francisco; 11 republicans, 10 democrats and 2 independents. In view of the fact that the constitutional convention of 1879 has repeatedly been called a sand lot body, and the organic law framed as submitted by it a sand lot instrument, these figures are interesting. They conclusively disprove the charge, showing as they do that less than one-third of the convention was made up of workingmen's delegates. The composition of the membership also refutes the assumption. It consisted of 58 lawyers, 39 farmers, 17 mechanics and 3 journalists, the remainder being of varied occupations.

**The
Men Who
Framed the
Constitution**

But far more important than these figures is the significant fact that the dominating body in the convention was a minority of able men, chiefly delegates at large, whose leadership was accepted, and under whose guidance the instrument was framed. It is usual to denounce lawyers as mischief makers when acting in a legislative capacity, and no one was fonder of reviling the profession than Denis Kear-

ney, but it is an undoubted fact that every article in the Constitution of 1879 which he extolled as a reform was due to the constructive ability of corporation lawyers, who, disregarding their affiliations, apparently labored with only one object in view, that of framing an organic law which would embody all the reforms demanded and do away with the abuses which the earlier constitution had fostered.

It is noteworthy that during the deliberations of the convention which met at Sacramento September 28, 1878, and continued its sittings through 157 days, adjourning Monday, March 3, 1879, that there was little comment and no serious criticism of the work of the delegates. This attitude of reserve was due to early perception of the fact that the convention as a whole was determined to do its best, and that it was not dominated by cliques. That the workingmen did not control was made clear by the election of Joseph P. Hoge, a prominent corporation lawyer, as president, and the rejection of Marcus D. Borruck, an avowed friend of the railroad, and on its pay roll, who although he received the endorsement of the caucus of nonpartisans, republicans and democrats for the secretaryship, was beaten in the convention by a decisive vote. The subordinate offices, which were eagerly sought for their friends by the workingmen delegates, all went to the coalition. Thus it happened that while individual delegates chosen by the workingmen attracted attention and caused some amusement by their crudities, at no time was there any fear that they would obtain control. And least of all did their attempt to embody opposition to Chinese immigration in the instrument excite adverse comment, for, as the sequel showed, the people of California were nearly a unit in favor of exclusion. The Chinese article was thoroughly discussed and assented to by men high in the esteem of the nonpartisans, and no one thought it an absurdity, nor did it prove to be so for despite the assumption of its being in conflict with the federal constitution it has been given practical effect. There were some proposals made which historians have characterized as crudities that would hardly be recognized by that designation at present. There was for instance a proposition that election ballots should be numbered, and that the names of persons voting be checked on the registration list. An effort was also made to give the ballot to women, but it was voted down, commanding only 55 affirmative votes, while 67 voted against. Another measure providing for the appointment of all judicial officers, who were to hold their positions during good behavior was also voted down.

These and some other propositions have met with more favor since, but in order to comprehend the nature of the problem presented to the voter at the election which took place on May 7, 1879, and to enable the reader to decide whether the new instrument deserved the opprobrium heaped upon it, an epitome of its main provisions will prove more useful than a list of the proposals that failed of acceptance. Chief among the innovations, and the one about which much of the argument that followed submission revolved, was that relating to taxation. The article dealing with this subject defines "moneys, credits, bonds, stocks, dues, franchises and all matters and things, real, personal and mixed, capable of private ownership as property subject to taxation, exempting growing crops and property used exclusively for public schools or belonging to the state, county or municipality, providing for a reduction from credits of debts due to bona fide residents; making mortgages and contracts by which debts were secured, for the purposes of taxation interests

Workingmen
Play a
Subordinate
Part

Taxation
Provision
of the New
Instrument

in the property affected thereby, and prescribing that all land cultivated or uncultivated of the same quality and similarly situated, should be assessed at the same value.

Double
Taxation
Charged

This article was more heatedly debated in the campaign preceding the election than any other provision. It was urged by the opponents of adoption that it would result in double taxation. This was denied by its advocates, who pointed out that under no circumstances could that occur, as it provided for a reduction from credits of debts due to bona fide residents, and in the case of mortgages, that the amount of the mortgage should be deducted from the assessed value of the property, which would simply result in a change in the person called upon to pay the tax, the mortgagor instead of the property holder paying. The farmers were appealed to and warned that they would only increase their burdens, as the money lenders would be sure to charge a higher rate of interest, and they were told that the new system of taxation would put back the development of the state ten years.

State
Board of
Equalization
Created

A State Board of Equalization was created, to be elected at the general elections, and which was to consist of four members, representing districts. The creation of this commission was designed to put an end to the flagrant inequalities brought about by corrupting assessors. The section creating it provided in the plainest possible terms that the state and county boards of equalization should exercise the power to raise or lower assessments, and in the case of the state board it recited that "under such rules of notice as the state board may prescribe as to the action of the state board" it should have the power "to increase or lower the entire assessment roll, or any assessment contained therein, so as to equalize the assessment of the property contained in said assessment roll, and make the assessment conform to the true value in money of the property contained in said roll." This provision was extolled by the advocates of adoption who pointed out that its effect must be to put an end to the corruption practiced by corporations and large land owners, and that the inevitable result would be the breaking up of land monopoly. Subsequently the supreme court of the state held that the constitution did not mean what it said, and that the State Board of Equalization had power only to raise or lower the entire roll of a county.

Supreme
Court
Defeats
Will of
People

This extraordinary decision produced consequences which the court appeared to have overlooked. When the Board of Equalization exercised its authority to raise the entire roll of counties in cases where the assessors had made flagrant undervaluations the result was to make the holders of mortgages pay more than the face of their securities, and the owners of money were subjected to a like discrimination. Thus it became necessary to submit another amendment to correct the court-created defects, but the reform fever had passed away and the correction went no further than to exempt mortgages and money from the operation of raising or lowering the entire roll of a county. The board still retained considerable power which it exercised to some purpose in later years, and the salutary effect of the taxation provision relating to the equal taxation of farming lands similarly situated was distinctly due to the knowledge that serious undervaluation would be punished by raising the valuation of the property of the innocent as well as the guilty.

The provision creating a railroad commission and clothing it with extraordinary powers, and imposing upon it important duties, was the most obnoxious feature of



SHAM BATTLE AT HARBOR VIEW, JULY 3, 1876

The site selected for the exposition of 1915 is on the flats between the hills and the bay



the instrument to the corporation which ruled the political destinies of the state. In his "History of California" Hittell distinctly asserts that the Railroad Commission was created by a combination between the workingmen and the grangers, which was the case, but in subsequent parts of his work he intimates that it was the product of a scheme deliberately contrived to defeat the will of the people. This view found expression in other quarters, but it is manifestly absurd. The truth of the matter is that the drastic remedies for railroad abuses which were provided were ahead of the times. Powers conferred upon the commission which in 1879 were denounced as too extensive, and features then feared because they were believed to be too radical are now commonly accepted. Had the people of California been true to their own interests and elected honest and vigorous commissioners they might have escaped twenty-four years of railroad domination which is justly chargeable with the creation of most of the popular discontent in California, and is directly responsible for most of the political vagaries into which the people have plunged during recent years.

Railroad
Commission
Created

An examination of the article creating the Railroad Commission discloses that it anticipated all the recent demands for reform. It provided for publicity of the most far reaching character and gave the commissioners the power to regulate freights and fares and practically demanded that they should resort to a physical valuation of railroad properties in order to make a proper adjustment. That these powers were never exercised was wholly due to the indifference and neglect of the people to elect commissioners who would honestly represent them, and to choose legislators who would provide the necessary funds to enforce the laws. The first efforts of the corporation after the adoption of the constitution in 1879 were directed to placing its creatures on the Railroad Commission, and the State Board of Equalization, and the sovereign people cheerfully voted for the candidates put forward by them. It is a remarkable commentary on the fallibility of popular institutions that the very element responsible for this miscarriage became the chief complainants against the iniquities of a political system whose defective workings are directly traceable to the laches of the class to which they belong.

Demands of
Reformers
Premature

The hostility of the railroad to the new organic law was shared by corporations generally, their chief grievance being the insertion of a provision making directors or trustees jointly and severally liable to creditors and stockholders for all moneys embezzled or misappropriated during their term of office. This reform which has since been adopted by many other states of the Union was bitterly antagonized in the convention by the same element that had arrayed itself against the Railroad Commission clause, and would not have found its way into the instrument if it had not been forced in by the united action of the granger and workingmen delegates.

Corporations
Hostile to
New
Instrument

It would be impossible if it were desirable to describe all the reforms attempted by the framers of the Constitution of 1879 in a history of a political subdivision of the state, but it has seemed essential to a better understanding of the troubles of this particular period to make it clear that the instrument was not the outcome of a transitory ebullition, or the product of a hysterical demand for reform. This seems all the more necessary because San Francisco agitators and the City itself have been held responsible for the instrument, which singularly enough would have been rejected had its adoption depended upon the votes of its citizens. The Consti-

Supporters
of the
Constitution

tution of 1879 undoubtedly was the product of an agitation, the focal point of which was the City, and would not have been framed or adopted had it not been championed there, and for that reason it becomes part of the history of San Francisco, and the duty of the historian to determine whether the people who urged it were demagogues, knaves or merely citizens seeking to effect needed reforms.

Death
Blow to
Special
Legislation

Among the reforms effected which more particularly concerned the City was that which struck down the vicious practice of special legislation and gave San Franciscans the right to manage their own affairs. This was accomplished by a provision which enabled urban communities within the state to make and enforce within their limits all such local, police, sanitary and other regulations not in conflict with general laws. The new instrument set up a principle of vital importance to the City, and the whole of California. In the first constitution adopted no reference was made to water rights, but the new instrument declared that all water appropriated or to be appropriated for sale, rental or distribution was a public use and subject to regulation and control by the state in a manner to be prescribed by law; and rates for water used for domestic purposes were to be annually fixed by boards of supervisors or other governing bodies. Here we have an exhibition of prevision which presents a marked contrast to the demagogic and bureaucratic conservation movement of the East, which was not inaugurated until practically nothing was left in that part of the country to conserve. Under the Constitution of 1879 the power has existed to effectively regulate and conserve the waters of the state, and it rests with its people to exercise the authority so wisely conferred.

Subsidies
Prohibited

Another wise provision directly affecting San Francisco, but applying to the whole state, was that which prohibits the loaning of the credit of any city or county or other political subdivision, in aid of any person, association or corporation; also the making of any gift of public money or thing of any value to any individual or to any municipal or other corporation, except institutions under the exclusive management and control of the state, and such aid as might be granted by the legislature for the support of orphans. The state was also forbidden to subscribe for stock or to become a stockholder in any corporation whatsoever. These prohibitions were suggested by the experience of various political subdivisions of the state and of the state itself in dealing with the railroad. The mania for forcing development by a resort to subsidies had temporarily subsided, but the delegates in the constitutional convention were far seeing enough to make a probable recrudescence impossible.

Defects
of the
Instrument

The instrument whose principal features are here outlined was by no means perfect. It had the defect of most modern constitutions, that of embodying what should be statutory in an organic law, thus opening the way to assaults by judicial construction. It had other faults also, but they were not so virulently assailed as those parts which the modern progressive by imitating has placed the seal of his approval upon, and pronounced the work of statesmen. Much of the adverse criticism of the Constitution of 1879 was perfectly honest. There were plenty who believed that it contained the seeds of destruction. To many it seemed the last word in agrarianism, and to others it appeared to be "communistic," a portentous word in those days so near to the atrocities of the Paris Commune. Those who had these fearsome apprehensions may be excused for their mistakes, but there

is no apology that can atone for the deliberate misrepresentation which followed the adoption of the constitution and was continued down to a period when the mis-statements carried their own refutation.

If the instrument was misunderstood it was not because it failed to receive a thorough discussion. It is doubtful whether a document of the kind was ever more earnestly studied. Its features were examined in every possible light, and as usual under such circumstances much heat was imparted to argument. As required by law the text of the instrument was advertised for a number of days in the public press, thus making it easily available to all who could read. Its merits and demerits were descanted upon in the papers, and on the stump. Halls were hired and numerous public meetings were held which were addressed by prominent speakers. The opponents of the measure, assisted by the corporations formed, a bureau for the preparation and dissemination of adverse literature, and it was stated that funds to the amount of \$700,000 were at its command. Through the efforts of this bureau nearly every newspaper in the state was induced to antagonize the instrument which they denounced as a sand lot product, and which they predicted would in the event of its adoption drive capital from the state and ruin all its industries. The "Chronicle" alone of the San Francisco papers advised its adoption. A few interior journals of small circulation also ranged themselves on the side of the new organic law, but the boast was made by the bureau that there were twenty papers against the new constitution to one favoring it, and it was assumed that this tremendous preponderance of newspapers opposed would result in the defeat of the instrument. But the "Chronicle" went everywhere and was daily filled with editorials and articles discussing every article and section, leaving no argument advanced against the new constitution unanswered. Attempts were made to intimidate the proprietors by a resort to Vigilante methods. An organized effort was made to induce advertisers to withdraw their patronage, but it failed because the paper made it tolerably clear that it would hold the conspirators responsible for resorting to underhand methods.

Finally after an exciting canvass of over two months the people pronounced their verdict. To say that the result stupefied the antagonists of the instrument but feebly expresses their astonishment. Up to the last moment boasts were made that it would be rejected by a large majority. The election took place on May 7, 1879, and owing to the fact that the constitution was voted on as a whole the ballot was short and quickly counted. In a couple of hours the result in the City was known. Out of a vote of a few over 38,000 there was a majority of 1,600 against. The dissemination of this fact filled the opponents with enthusiasm, and was the cause of some premature rejoicing. Before ten o'clock at night the returns received from the interior were of such a character that the "Chronicle" felt warranted in making an elaborate pyrotechnical display which announced to the waiting City that the constitution had been adopted. It is significant of the confidence of the paper in the result that the fireworks which celebrated the victory were bought on the previous day in anticipation of the outcome, and that men were stationed on the roof of the publication office, which was then on the corner of Bush and Kearny streets, soon after dusk, to await the signal to set off the bombs and rockets and the red fire which celebrated the triumph of its campaign.

A
Thorough
Discussion

Vote on
the Adoption
of the
Constitution

**Constitution
Adopted by
Big majority**

When the returns were all in it was found that the new constitution had been carried by a majority of 10,825 in a total vote of 145,093. The estimated number of qualified electors was 161,000. There has been no election in the state since that has succeeded in bringing out as large a percentage of citizens entitled to vote as that of May 7, 1879, which resulted in the adoption of the constitution falsely attributed to the sand lot and its influences.

CHAPTER LII

CONDITIONS AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

PREDICTIONS OF DISASTER—THE LAST BIG STOCK DEAL—DEALING IN FUTURES PROHIBITED—NEW ORGANIC LAW IMPROPERLY DEALT WITH—WORKINGMEN CUT LOOSE FROM ALL ALLIES—KALLOCH ELECTED MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO—THE MURDER OF CHARLES DE YOUNG—THE ATTEMPT TO IMPEACH KALLOCH—JUDGES OVERAWED BY A "POPULAR" DEMONSTRATION—KALLOCH'S ADMINISTRATION HELD UP AS AN AWFUL EXAMPLE—JUDGE MADE LAW—RAILROAD TAXES SHIRKED—RAILROAD PROPOSES GROSS INCOME TAX OF $2\frac{1}{2}$ PER CENT—REPEATED FAILURES TO ADOPT A CHARTER—BRYCE REVISES SOME PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED VIEWS—HENRY GEORGE'S SAN FRANCISCO CAREER—PREDICTIONS THAT CAME TO NAUGHT—SAN FRANCISCO'S BOSSES—CHRIS BUCKLEY PREPARING FOR LEADERSHIP—THE BOSS REPAIRS THE FORTUNES OF THE SHATTERED DEMOCRATIC PARTY.



OR a time after the adoption of the constitution it seemed as if an influential part of the community had determined to bring about the realization of their prediction that the new instrument would cause capital to abandon the City and state. The depths of pessimism were sounded, and the constant iteration of the belief that the restrictions imposed would work injuriously would have produced

Pessimism
and
Predictions
of Disaster

that effect if it were not for the fact that business was already at so low an ebb that a wave of disappointment which came near producing despondency could not make it much worse. The numerous bank failures of the year preceding adoption, the practical cessation of mining stock speculation, the reduction of the price of grain and the general disinclination of the forehanded to spend as freely as formerly all had their effect in creating a state of mind which easily lent credence to the charge that the new constitution was at the bottom of all the troubles of San Francisco, and to the reiterated statement that men with money would refuse to come to California, and that those who had any would desert it for other fields where war was not being made on capital.

The last mining stock deal of consequence in San Francisco occurred in 1879. The people had not completely learned their lesson, and once again permitted themselves to be made victims of the clever manipulators who by the aid of mere rumor were able to entice the hard earned dollar from the pockets of thrifty men and women. A story was started that excellent indications were found in a mine known as the Sierra Nevada. When the rumor was first circulated the stock was selling at about five or six dollars a share. Under the steady pressure of the manipulators, assisted by the credulity of their dupes it rose steadily until it had

The
Last Big
Mining Stock
Deal

passed the \$200 mark. Long before that point was reached it was pretty generally understood that there was absolutely no foundation for the hopeful reports, and that the affair was a gamble pure and simple. But that did not deter the fatuous from entering the game, and pitting their wits against the men who were dealing marked cards. The usual result ensued. The bottom suddenly dropped out of the market. The manipulators made a large clean up, and a lot of foolish people mourned their losses.

Dealing
in Futures
Prohibited

But it was the last depredation of the sort committed in San Francisco. The Sierra Nevada deal practically closed the mining stock speculation era. The constitution adopted on May 7th is sometimes credited with accomplishing that result, but it is not improbable that this final experience made a sufficiently enduring impression on the people to save them from the egregious folly of permitting themselves to be regularly shorn by a band of unconscionable men who devoted all their faculties to putting up schemes of robbery. It is more satisfactory to believe that the wisdom begotten by experience brought about the result than to accept the theory of the historian of the San Francisco Stock Exchange, who assumes that it was the provision in the new organic law which put the broker in the disagreeable position of having to make good the losses of his client if the latter chose to resort to law. He tells us the law was iniquitous, but that it was enforced for more than twenty-five years. It simply recited that all contracts for the sale of shares of the capital stock of any corporation or association on margin, or to be delivered at a future day, shall be void, and any money paid on such contracts may be recovered by the party paying it by suit in any court of competent jurisdiction. This provision was changed by an amendment to the constitution adopted in 1908, which practically restored the privilege of dealing in margins.

New Organic
Law Not
Supported

Immediately following the adoption of the constitution there was considerable ferment in political circles. The pessimism of the sympathizers with the idea that the new instrument was going to destroy prosperity did not extend to those who knew anything about legislation and the judiciary. They did not accept the view that the best mode of making an unwise or oppressive law odious was to strictly enforce it and cause a demand for its repeal. They proceeded upon entirely different lines and plainly made it appear that the obnoxious provisions could be nullified by failing to provide the necessary machinery for their enforcement. This at once suggested to the advocates of the instrument whose votes had secured its adoption that it would be necessary to elect a governor and legislature who would cooperate to give the new constitution effect. With this object in view the formation of a new constitution party was resolved upon. This at once produced a division in the ranks of the friends of the new organic law. Kearney and his followers assuming that it was the workingmen's party that had won the victory, would not listen to a coalition which would result in the subordination of their organization and insisted on naming a candidate. The result was a division which easily secured victory for the republicans, whose candidate, George C. Perkins, was elected governor by a considerable plurality. Against him were pitted Hugh J. Glenn, nominated by the new constitution party and W. F. White, the father of Stephen A. White, who was subsequently elected United States senator.

Beaten
by Ridicule

The democrats were not in the contest as a party. By far the greatest part of their organization had been absorbed by the Workingmen; but Glenn and most



VIEW OF CITY IN 1876, LOOKING EAST FROM MARKET STREET CUT

of the other nominees on the new constitution ticket were Bourbons of the most pronounced type. Glenn was the owner of the largest cultivated ranch in California, and apparently did not regard the constitution as a menace to landholders for he had warmly advocated and worked for its adoption. He was a man of integrity and not a politician, and was somewhat old fashioned in his ways. He carried a cane with a curved end and was in the habit of hooking it to his arm. Kearney seized on this peculiarity and mimicked it on the sand lot, at the same time sneering at the title "honorable" bestowed upon him and called him an "H. B.," which he translated into "Honorable Bilk." The nickname was promptly taken up and the new constitution party's adherents were called "H. B.'s" by republicans and workmen alike. In the campaign of ridicule which followed the followers of Perkins and Kearney were allied in the effort to defeat Glenn. The workmen almost forgot that there had been a constitution adopted, and that the determination to nullify it had been openly expressed by the followers of Perkins and devoted themselves wholly to the work of defeating Glenn. The result was foreseen. In the election which closed the campaign, Perkins received 67,966, Glenn 47,665 and White 44,482 votes.

During the campaign preceding this election the orderly conduct of affairs in San Francisco was disturbed by an incident growing out of the successful effort of the workmen to control the municipal government. In June the workmen after nominating their state ticket proceeded to nominate candidates for municipal affairs. The only candidate for mayor was Isaac S. Kallloch, a minister who had advanced ideas respecting religion which he disseminated from the pulpit of Metropolitan hall, a building devoted as much to secular as to religious purposes. The fact that Kallloch was likely to be nominated was generally known, and as he had an unenviable record at the East he was warned that it might be produced against him. He disregarded the warning and the "Chronicle," without comment, reproduced an article published in a Boston paper describing the proceedings of the ecclesiastical body which had unfrocked him, and deprived him of his ministry in that city. Kallloch did not attempt to deny the truth of the publication, but announced that he would get even with the proprietor of the "Chronicle" in a speech which he intended to make from the balcony of the Metropolitan temple. He carried out his threat by making an assault on the mother of Charles de Young, which the latter resented on the following morning by attempting to kill the trader, but was unsuccessful, only slightly wounding him. This occurred on the morning of August 26, 1879. Kallloch was subsequently elected mayor by a considerable majority.

**Kallloch
Elected
Mayor**

Hittell in his history intimates that the success of Kallloch was due to the excitement produced by the shooting, and the sympathy which it procured for the preacher, but there is no foundation for this assumption. The political condition in San Francisco at that time resembled that of a few years later when Schmitz was elected. The community generally, not merely the workmen, were convinced that affairs were in a bad state, and the people were in a frame of mind to bring about a change, and it would probably have been effected even if the workmen's candidate had been an entirely unimpeachable man. But that is merely speculation and might be passed over, but his further statement that "the newspaper continued to assail him," and his suggestion that the continued assaults incited the

**The
Murder of
Charles
de Young**

son of Mayor Kallloch to kill Charles de Young is a mistake, and needs correction. The "Chronicle" did not continue its assaults on Kallloch. After the affair of August 26th, and the election of Kallloch it adopted the attitude of allowing the new mayor to proceed in his own way to convince the community that its warnings were not idly given. It was not because of continued assaults by the paper that its editor was murdered by the son of Kallloch, but from apprehension of what might be disclosed at the trial which would have taken place a few days later. Charles de Young had been charged with committing an assault with a deadly weapon, and as there was every probability that it would be made to appear that the act which provoked the assault was called forth by misrepresentations in the "Chronicle," he had gone East and procured the legal evidence necessary to establish that the "Chronicle" had not misrepresented Kallloch in any manner whatever, and that his reputation was such that it became the duty of a public journal to expose him. Kallloch's son learned of the investigations being made not only in Boston, but also in Kansas, and on the evening of April 23, 1880, he entered the publication office of the paper and shot down its proprietor without warning.

Enemies
of the
Editor

The proprietor of the "Chronicle" had many bitter enemies and among the most malignant were his newspaper rivals. They gratified their animosity by rearousing the resentment which the "Chronicle's" antagonism to the railroad and corporation aggression had inspired. The paper was hated at the time by republicans who held it responsible for its defeat in the election of 1877-78, which followed the exposure of the irregularities of the federal officials in this state through Pinney's revelations; it was detested by the mining stock market manipulators because of its incessant exposures of the frauds practiced by them, and had capped the climax of its offenses by winning the fight for the adoption of the new constitution; it had also incurred the enmity of Kearney and his followers because it refused to assist in the schemes of the leader to gain control of the offices. This list of offenses is sufficiently long to explain a temporary unpopularity, but the record does not support the attempt to slur the reputation of the paper; nor does it excuse the failure of Hittell and Bryce to plainly state whether the arraignment of Kallloch was true or false, and if true whether it was or was not the duty of a newspaper to make known the fact that the man seeking to become the chief magistrate of the City was a person unfit to hold that high position.

A
Workingman's
Mayor
and
Republican
Supervisors

When Kallloch was elected in 1879 there were three party organizations in the field. Democrats, republicans and workingmen had put up candidates. As was the case when Schmitz was first elected the workingmen succeeded only in electing the head of their ticket. The material proposed by them for supervisors was so obviously unfit for office that nothing short of an upheaval such as that which occurred when Schmitz was chosen a third time could have carried them into power. They were not like the delectable gang selected by Ruef for supervisory honors, the members of which were so hungry for spoils that the boss declared they were ready "to eat the paint off of a house." They were chiefly a lot of impracticables, destitute of reputation and absolutely non representative citizens. Although the Australian ballot had not yet been adopted the existing system of voting insured a fair vote and guaranteed secrecy. "Scratching" tickets had almost become an art, and there was not sufficient enthusiasm, even in the ranks of the workingmen's party, to procure even a remote approach to straight voting. As a result the

workmen's candidates, and those of the democracy for supervisory honors were beaten and the republicans elected the entire board, and also the administrative officers with the exception of the mayor.

There was trouble from the moment of Kallach's accession to office. The mayor and the board of supervisors were constantly at loggerheads. There was a continuous agitation, for which the mercantile element in the community held Kallach responsible because of his violent public harangues, which at length became so virulent that the board of supervisors took official notice of them. At a meeting held April 28, 1880, the judiciary committee presented a report recommending that steps be taken to remove the mayor from office. The report charged that Kallach had advised the discontented elements to parade the streets, and that he had threatened individuals with mob violence, and that under the pretense of counseling the vicious and turbulent against mob violence he had insidiously suggested that they hold themselves in readiness for bloodshed and the overthrow of lawful authority. The report concluded with these words: "We have abundant reason to express our regret and the public indignation at his conduct in filling the position to which we believe an unfortunate occurrence elevated him, and in which position his example and influence have been and are more heinous, prejudicial and injurious to this community than those of the brutal, degraded persons who have been arrested and convicted for the unlawful acts which he aided and abetted."

Proceedings
Against
Kallach

The document which was filled with scathing denunciation from beginning to end was read while Kallach was presiding over the board, and he put the resolution calling for his impeachment, which was unanimously adopted, without comment. An act of 1874, which provided that an official might be proceeded against by summary process, was resorted to three days after the submission of the report. Meanwhile a big mass meeting was held which was captured by the sand lot and its original purpose of supporting the supervisors was converted into an endorsement of the mayor who was styled in a resolution "the most upright, honorable and just official that has ever presided over the municipality of San Francisco," and at the same time the supervisors were denounced as partisan and corrupt. Two or three days later the complaint was filed in the superior court, and on May 27, 1880, five of the twelve judges of the City assembled to try the case. The charges were (1) Incendiary language. (2) Corrupt procurement of places in city offices. (3) Accepting free passes on railroads. The evidence was not heard, four of the five judges concurring in the dismissal of the charge on the ground "that the language of the statute is to be confined to the neglect of official duties." Judge Latimer dissented on the ground that the provision of the constitution relating to free passes was self operative and worked forfeiture of office.

Specifications
of the
Impeachment

Kallach escaped because the judges were overawed. The result foreshadowed the possibilities of the recall system. Few men stand firm against a large body of voters whether they express their opinions in mass meetings or at the ballot box. Men disposed to trim do not concern themselves very greatly regarding the opinions of the whole community. They know that the judgment of the entire electorate can never, or very rarely be obtained. But they do know and dread the power possessed and exercised by zealots obsessed by a single idea. The judges who found loopholes for Kearney and Kallach to escape through knew that the great majority of San Franciscans were much incensed at the mayor and feared

Judges
Overawed

that he would precipitate riots, but they also knew that as soon as their fear should pass away many of them would resume their old habits of indifference and allow the compact minority to settle matters at the polls.

Kalloch Administration
a Bogey

For a long period after the administration of Kalloch the memory of the troubles he created survived and served as a political bogey. It was sufficiently strong to play its part in defeating the adoption of two charters prepared by freeholders and submitted to the people in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution. In each case the freeholders, responding to the growing sentiment in favor of concentration of power in the hands of the chief magistrate, anticipated the short ballot movement by providing for an enlarged number of appointive offices, but with results fatal to their work. The question whether efficiency would be increased or decreased by a change of system was scarcely discussed. The opponents of the proposed charter simply asked: "But suppose we get another Kalloch?" That sufficed and curiously enough this objection was as often urged by those who had brought about the election of the political preacher, as by the element which sought to remove him from office.

Preserving
Existing
Institutions

It did not take long for the people to adapt themselves to the workings of the new constitution. Even those who had prophesied all manner of evil from its adoption very soon began to find virtues where formerly they had discovered nothing but defects. Only those who felt that they must maintain their reputations as prophets still continued to talk about the instrument "driving out capital," and pointing to the alleged hegira of rich men, which consisted of the departure of few mining speculators, like Keene, for New York, where their talents could be exerted in a broader field. The bitterness of defeat had not entirely disappeared, but the disposition to pluck the flower of success from the nettle of discomfiture had caused it to cease rankling. There were few disposed to accept the sober advice of the retiring Governor Irwin, who urged that no method was so effective to secure the repeal of an unwise or oppressive law as its strict enforcement. The legislature of 1880 proceeded on no such assumption. It soon came to be regarded as a very conservative body, and has been extolled as such by writers who could find no words strong enough to denounce the excesses of the sand lot. One of these informs us that the main purpose in each house "was to stay the tide of encroachment and preserve existing institutions so far as could be done under existing circumstances."

Judge
Made
Law

In this work the legislature was ably seconded by the courts, which commenced to read new meanings into the constitution, before the echoes of the campaign which resulted in its adoption had died away. In his message of January 3, 1881, Governor Perkins announced to the legislature "that the power of the State Board of Equalization had been neutralized by a decision of the supreme court" of the state, and he suggested that a new constitutional amendment was necessary to cure the wounds inflicted by the judiciary. He referred to what was known as the Wells Fargo decision, the effect of which was to deprive the State Board of Equalization of the power to raise or lower the assessments of individuals, and confining it to the raising or lowering of the entire roll of a county or counties. The need for the amendment which he suggested was occasioned by the fact that in the exercise of its power to raise or lower the entire roll of a county the board punished the innocent property holder with the guilty, increasing the assessment of the person who had originally been assessed to the full value of his holdings,

as much as it did that of the shirker who, by connivance with the assessor sought to escape his share of the burden of taxation. But it was not to correct this judge-made law that the amendment was proposed. Its object was to do away with the anomaly of taxing gold coin and mortgages at more than their actual value, a result of the Wells Fargo ruling which advertised, if not the stupidity or venality of the court, at least made it plain that it was ready to defy the will of the people, who sought in creating the State Board of Equalization to invest it with the power which was deliberately taken from it by the decision.

The taxation question was never allowed to rest in San Francisco, but it absorbed more attention than usual immediately after the adoption of the constitution. The active discussion of the injurious effects of evasion by the corporations and large landholders, while the new organic law was under fire, had directed attention to many evils, and the newspapers of the City were acutely alive to the fact that the system was working against the development of the state and injuring its chief commercial center. The agitation against the railroad's successful shirking became very pronounced and resulted in a practical move by John P. Dunn, who had been auditor of the City of San Francisco and was subsequently elected state controller. That official stimulated the attorney general to action, and in 1881 he caused the institution of a hundred cases against the railroad in thirty-three different counties. They were brought to recover over a million dollars of delinquent taxes. A tedious litigation ensued which was finally removed to the United States courts, in which the state lost, but a writ of error was sued out and the case carried to the United States supreme court. Before a decision was reached by that body a compromise was effected which involved the attorney general in a scandal, as it was generally assumed that the \$800,000 paid by the corporation under the arrangement would not have been paid had not the railroad received an intimation from Washington that the case was sure to be decided in favor of the state.

Railroad
Taxation
Shirking
Scandal

About this time the legislature formulated an amendment to the constitution which proposed to substitute for the then method of assessing and taxing railroads a gross income tax. Creed Haymond, who had previously figured as a legislator, and an antagonist of the railroad, had become chief counselor of the Central Pacific. He was a lawyer of ability and had served the state as code commissioner. Very soon after the assumption of his duty as adviser of the managers of the railroad Haymond announced that the policy of the corporation would be changed, and that an era of good feeling was to be brought about by acting in harmony with the people. As a condition precedent to the accomplishment of that result, Haymond argued that it would be necessary to remove the friction produced by the existing taxation system, and he proposed to bring about the desirable change by substituting a gross income tax for all other taxes imposed on railroads by the state. An amendment to that effect was submitted to the people which was vigorously discussed and rejected at the polls. The objections urged to the amendment were the inflexibility of the provision fixing the rate at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and the current belief that $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent would not produce as much as the railroads should pay; but the true cause of the failure to secure approval was the suspicion that the corporation would find some way to defraud the people if the amendment should be adopted.

Railroad
Proposes
Gross
Income
Tax

Attempt to
Reenact
Consolidation
Act

Although the provision of the constitution which more directly than any other concerned the people of San Francisco was that which would enable it to emancipate itself from the much objected to interference of the interior with the administration of local affairs, the people, when the privilege was accorded them of establishing a municipal government to their own liking, were in no hurry to secure the much desired boon. Nothing had been attempted in that direction when the legislature met in 1880, and as there was no movement looking to the selection of freeholders to frame a charter, a senator from San Francisco sought to furnish the City with a ready-made organic law by reenacting the Consolidation Act of 1856, with all of its amendments. It would have been a hodge podge affair, but it was advocated by the conservative element on the ground that most of its provisions had been construed by the courts, and that the people knew just what it contained. There was little ground for the latter assumption, for it was as puzzling as the celebrated Schleswig-Holstein question, for its intricacies were only understood by the clerk of the board of supervisors and one or two lawyers who made a special study of its amendments. Nevertheless the conservative instinct which had gained in strength from the time of the adoption of the act in 1856 would have made it acceptable, for a time at least. But, although it passed the legislature, and was approved by the governor, it was promptly declared unconstitutional by the supreme court.

Failure
to Adopt
a Charter

Although it was claimed by the conservative element in the City that the Consolidation Act with all its defects was still an admirable system of municipal law, an attempt was made in 1880 to obtain a new charter by following the provisions of Sections 6, 7 and 8 of Article XI of the Constitution of 1879. It was submitted to the people on September 8, 1880, but was rejected by an overwhelming majority, 19,143 voting against and only 4,144 in favor of the new instrument. In 1882 another board of freeholders, presided over by John S. Hagar, the author of the provision in the constitution which permitted cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants to frame their own organic laws. The deliberations of the freeholders were numerous, and their work was vigorously criticized, but less than half of the electorate entitled to vote went to the polls and the charter was defeated by a narrow margin, 9,336 voting for and 9,368 against the new instrument. As 39,102 votes had been cast at the general election preceding it was assumed that the people did not take much interest in the matter, and the subject was not revived again until 1886 and it was not until 1898 that an instrument was framed which met with the acceptance of the people.

Cause of
Rejection
of Charters

The cause of the failure of the first two charters submitted under the provisions of the Constitution of 1879 was intensified conservatism. The reaction after the adoption of the constitution, the experience with Killoch and general distrust of change disposed the people to cling to that which they had, preferring it with its recognized defects to something which might bring unsuspected evils. The charter submitted in 1880 provided for an enlargement of the powers of the mayor. It was argued that such a provision would add to the responsibility and dignity of the mayoralty, and would result in "a great improvement in the selection of mayors, insuring the very best and most favorable men for that office," but the fear of another Killoch outweighed every other consideration, even that of the limitation of the tax rate, which would have made it impossible for the supervisors

to levy a tax of more than \$1.17 on the hundred, which would have provided \$1 for the ordinary expenses of the municipality, the 17 cents extra being added to meet the interest and sinking fund demand, and to provide a park improvement fund. This limitation was opposed by the element which later became the staunch supporter of the dollar limit, because its lack of flexibility might impede the improvement of the City.

The charter voted for in 1883 had for its chief opponents the office holders, who would be deprived of their jobs by its operation. Something in the nature of a conspiracy developed to prevent its submission to the people. The election commission, under the pretense that there were no funds to meet the expenses of holding a special election, refused to call one, but a taxpayer, ex-Supervisor Gibbs, applied to the supreme court for a writ of mandamus to compel the commission to call the election, which was granted. The strongest point made in advocating this instrument was that it afforded protection to the defenseless taxpayer against the raids of the predatory office holders, to whom was applied the significant appellation of "tax eaters." The interest of the people in the matter, however, appeared to be very slight, only 18,764 turning out to vote. As 41,292 ballots were cast at the general election in 1880, the presumption is that less than one-third of the citizens entitled to vote availed themselves of the privilege.

This abstention from voting may suggest to the student of civics that the people were contented with the results achieved by the government, under which they were operating, but the evidence is entirely against the accuracy of such an assumption. Dissatisfaction was rife, and the complaints of inefficient municipal management were loud. All of the practices which later caused such a commotion in the City when the Schmitz-Ruef administration was in power were freely charged against the supervisors of that period. One of the provisions of the rejected charter of 1880 was designed to accomplish the salutary result of placing a check on the indiscriminate and fraudulent granting of franchises. It reserved to the common council created by the instrument the power "to alter, amend or repeal any ordinance for the grant of a franchise, right or privilege at any time after the passage of such an ordinance." The object of the framers of the charter was to prevent a repetition of the scandalous grabbing of franchises which occurred in 1879, the chief beneficiaries of which were the systems of street-car lines now in existence. These grants were made by the board of supervisors elected when Kallach was elevated to office, and because they antagonized him they were generally accounted as respectable.

The liberality of the supervisors in the matter of franchises, however, was not nearly so great a cause of discontent as the failure of the successive municipal governments to make a showing of improvements for the large and constantly increasing sums demanded from the taxpayer. Indeed, it may be fairly asserted that the major part of the community at the time attached no value to a street-car franchise, and simply regarded its conference as a means to secure much needed extensions of traveling facilities. Although uncomplimentary comment upon the alacrity displayed by the supervisors in granting everything that was asked for was frequently heard, much of which suggested turpitude on the part of officials, it was usually of the cynical nature inspired by observation of the general laxity attaching to municipal activities. There was very little apprehension expressed

Opposition
of Office
Holders

Franchisees
Freely
Granted

Cynical
Attitude
of the
Community

that the moral fiber of the community was being broken down by practices which in private life would be designated by such ugly words as rascality and thieving.

Increased
Expenditures
but No
Improvements

There was ample reason for the statement frequently made during the campaign of 1883 that the air of decay that pervaded the City was mortifying to the self-respecting citizen and offensive to the eye of the visitor. The expenditures for municipal purposes had increased from \$2,459,210 in the closing year of the sixty decade to \$4,452,940 in 1876. This great increase excited very little comment during the "flush" days when speculation in mining stocks gave a meretricious but fleeting prosperity to the community, but when the craze had passed away, and business men and property holders found it difficult to make ends meet, the pressure of taxation which some of the daily journals charged operated "as a confiscation of rents in many parts of the City" and bore with severity on the owner of a little property who happened to be out of a job, questions began to be asked, the burden of which invariably was: What becomes of the money? What do the people get for it? Though asked with emphasis they remained unanswered a long time.

A
Change of
Attitude

Before passing to another illuminating phase of the political history of San Francisco, that of the advent of Christopher A. Buckley, and the bossism which disgraced the City in the Eighties the acceptance of the new constitution, and the changing point of view of some of its severest critics needs to be described so that the subject in its relation to San Francisco may be disposed of finally. Bryce in his account of the turbulent proceedings of 1877-78-79 and 80 says: "When I was in San Francisco in 1881 people talked of Kearney as a spent rocket. Some did not know whether he was still in the City." That is true, and it would have made little difference to them if he had been, for the community had got over its fright and was disposed to look at things more dispassionately. Most of those intelligent enough to weigh the effects of what had been accomplished were quite ready to agree with Bryce that the "new constitution is anything but agrarian or communistic, for it intrenches vested rights, especially in land, more thoroughly than before. . . . It is anything but a workingman's constitution; it levies a poll tax without exemption and disfranchises a considerable portion of the floating vote." And he summed up the situation thus: "After all, say the lawyers and bankers, we are going on as before, property will take care of itself in this country, things are not really worse so far as our business is concerned."

Historian
Bryce's Final
Judgment

This stated the case plainly. It indicates that the ones who made the outcry were more scared than hurt, but Bryce added a comment some years later, the underlying idea of which, had it seized him earlier, must have induced him to pitch some of his criticism in a different key and place the chief blame where it really belonged—on the shoulders of the class who were too busy with their personal affairs to give any time to civic duties. He says: "Neither are things better. . . . Though the new constitution has not altered the economic condition of the workingman and farmer, it might have been thought that the crisis . . . would cause good citizens to take a more active interest in politics, make them see the necessity of getting better men into the offices and the legislature, and indeed of purifying public life altogether. But I could not discover that these consequences have followed. . . . It may be that another shock is in store for the Golden State more violent than the last, although equally within legal limits, for

of mere mob law and anarchy there seems no danger. . . . The president of the Vigilance Committee of 1856 told me that all that he had seen happen in San Francisco since the days when it was a tiny Spanish mission station, made him confident that everything would come out straight. Probably he is right. American experience shows that optimists generally are."

Of course Bryce, who leaned upon Henry George's statement that the farmer and workingman had gained nothing from the new constitution, was mistaken. The farmer did gain that which he sought, for the State Board of Equalization, although its powers were curtailed by judicial decisions, did use the remnant that was left to them to compel assessors to deal fairly with all classes in placing their valuations upon the land; and this course more than anything else made the owners of large estates realize that more profit would come to them from dividing them up and selling than could be derived from holding them intact. That, and the agitation of the Chinese question, which culminated in the Exclusion Act, completely changed conditions in the interior of the state and started it on its career of agricultural development which, with the growth of population, and the subdivision of the land into small holdings took on more and more of an intensive character, and has placed the state in the front rank of the horticultural producing regions of the earth.

Henry George, whose remarkable book, "Progress and Poverty," is part of the history of San Francisco, the municipality having afforded him the leisure to write it by providing him with a sinecure in the shape of a gas inspectorship, was completely led astray by his theory of taxation. He failed to recognize the true cause of the trouble, and assumed that the tendency to monopolize the land must increase in California, and indeed generally unless all the burden was placed on that class of property. He was also out of sympathy with the movement against Oriental immigration, being firmly convinced that absolute free trade and the single tax would work every reform desired. It is now pretty generally conceded that, while one of his principal contentions was sound, that respecting the difficulty of fairly assessing other classes of property than land, that he was entirely in error in assuming that the process of increasing holdings would continue, and that nothing short of an indirect method of confiscation, through the medium of placing all the burden of carrying on the government on the landholder, would result in dividing up the great Spanish and Mexican grants into small farms.

No movement in California is more remarkable than that which followed close on the heels of this erroneous prediction. The period we are describing had scarcely closed when abundant signs of the disposition of the holders of large estates to divide and sell began to manifest themselves. The provision of the constitution requiring land of like quality, and similarly situated, to be equally valued they saw would put an end to the old trick of assessing fertile unimproved land at fifty cents an acre, while that of the small farmer, who had put a few improvements on his little tract, was valued at ten, twenty and sometimes fifty-fold that amount for purposes of taxation. The recognition of the fact that the importation of coolies would no longer be tolerated also helped to bring about a change of view. Unless Orientals were permitted to enter in sufficient numbers to create a labor condition which would have all the advantages and none of the drawbacks, so far as the employer was concerned, of the African slave system of the South, which

Bryce's
Mistake

Henry
George's San
Francisco
Career

George's
Unrealized
Predictions

was terminated by the Civil war, the owners of large grants realized that their holdings would not become very valuable while held intact.

**Bryce's
Recantation
of Error**

It is true, as both George and Bryce assert, that the Constitution of 1879 was not an agrarian instrument, and in no sense communistic, and to that extent the recantation of the latter may be regarded as part but not full reparation. In order to completely repair the injury it should be recognized that the people of San Francisco and of the state at no time were in sympathy with any proposition to destroy vested rights. A careful reading of the most extreme pronunciamientos of the workingmen and grangers entirely negative the assumption that they urged or desired the destruction of the existing system. Indeed it would be preposterous to assume that the grangers, who were the allies of the workingmen in the constitutional convention, would deliberately seek to divest themselves and their constituents, who were nearly all land owners, of their property.

**A Reform
Movement
that Failed**

The truth of the matter is that the upheaval in San Francisco was chiefly inspired by the determination of a part of the community to bring about a reform in the management of civic affairs. It cannot be repeated too often that the effort made in San Francisco and California in the late Seventies foreshadowed the awakening of the rest of the country, which was deferred until the twentieth century was well advanced. Whether the latter will have the same outcome as that witnessed in California remains to be seen. For, while the new constitution by its introduction of a more equitable system of taxation did much to increase the material prosperity of the state, and helped to greatly increase its population, it is undeniable that no lasting reforms of consequence were brought about in the management of the municipal affairs of the metropolis. That the ebullition did not produce permanent results is due to a recrudescence of the spirit of incivicism that produced the troubles of 1856, the equally serious ones of 1877-80 and the disgraceful exhibition of official turpitude which was witnessed when Ruef's man Schmitz was elevated to office. That affairs were in a sad condition at those particular periods is true, but it was really very little worse than during those moments when the "spot light" was not on San Francisco.

**Swing of
the Political
Pendulum**

It is essential to a true understanding of the condition which was created by the revulsion that followed the adoption of the constitution of 1879 to bring into plain relief the fact that the moral sensibilities of the people of California were weakened by the undeserving criticism to which the effort to reform was subjected by the publicists of the whole world, who insisted that it was a movement for the destruction of property rights, and the overturning of the existing social order. For a time, as Bryce tells us, the people of California and particularly of San Francisco were ashamed of themselves. They shrunk from the opprobrium heaped upon them, and no crime seemed greater in their eyes than a departure from the normal. The demand was for peace and quiet. Peace at any price, even that which they were called upon to pay when they resubmitted themselves to the domination of the railroad, for one of the queer outcomes of the Kearney upheaval was the swinging of the political pendulum to the other side, and the practical alignment under the banner of the corporation of men who had a little earlier been its bitterest opponents.

**Fear of
Innovation**

But this result, bad as it was, did not remotely approach in its injurious effects the evil worked by the fear of innovation, and the creation of the sentiment that it is better to stand some things than to be continually fussing about them. And



HARBOR VIEW AS IT APPEARED IN 1876
The photograph was taken from Russian Hill

this bred the indifference to which Bryce pointed, and which was aptly illustrated by the fact that in so important a matter as the adoption of a new charter for the City in 1883, not more than one-third of the qualified voters went to the polls. It is not extraordinary in the presence of such apathy that the bosses should have undertaken the work which the citizens neglected; nor is it strange that political "heelers" should have taken advantage of the power which the indifference of the community had enabled them to usurp to line their own purses while permitting others to profit improperly at the expense of the taxpayer.

San Francisco, like the other cities of the country, always had its bosses. They were probably no worse than those of other places much less talked about, but they sometimes possessed qualities which distinguished them from the general run of grafters. It is doubtful, however, whether any boss the City has produced, no matter how spectacular his career, could have taught those who manipulated the municipal affairs of New York and Philadelphia any new form of robbery of the taxpayer, not even Chris. Buckley, whose bare-faced villainies went on unchecked for years chiefly because the people had become tired of "fussing." For some years after the adoption of the Consolidation Act, the occupation of the political boss had become unprofitable because of the continuance of the very undemocratic plan of depriving the people of the right to select their own officials, which had been inaugurated by the Vigilantes. The candidates of the people's party were nominated in a back room by a committee of trusted citizens and were voted for cheerfully, and without a thought on the part of the voter that he had been deprived of an important privilege. He was merely looking for results, and not thinking of theories of government. When the citizen found that the men chosen by the committee acting in secret had reduced expenditures he was satisfied. That was the good government test applied by the average voter of the period between 1856 and 1870, and somehow or other it was less productive of thieving bosses than the democratic plan.

But the Consolidation Act contained the germ of a trouble which soon developed into an abuse. It was a rigid document constantly demanding legislative action to make it meet the growing requirements of the City, and this created a real or fancied necessity on the part of city officials of going to Sacramento to secure special legislation. This practice, as already stated, was animadverted upon by Mayor Bryant, in a message to the board of supervisors in 1876, with considerable severity, but his criticism was not accompanied by details. As a matter of fact the condition was much worse than he represented. It was not an unusual thing for a city official during the session of the legislature to spend the major part of his time about the capitol, and while in Sacramento he was not always occupied with efforts to secure legislation for his particular office. Not infrequently his principal work was pushing the interests of the railroad which, during the early Seventies, was demanding a great deal from the people.

It was through this loop hole that Sam Rainey, who subsequently developed into a boss, became a full fledged lobbyist. The abundant leisure he enjoyed, and the fact that he was on the City's payroll made him a useful and not over-expensive servant of the corporation. When he began his career as a "practical" politician the ward system of electing supervisors was in vogue, and the boss developed was in consequence a man of smaller caliber than the later product who had to consider

Political
Bosses of
San
Francisco

Consolidation
Act Promotes
Lobbying

The Day
of the
Small Boss

the problem of controlling the entire City. Rainey was a man adapted to a small part and never stood very high in the esteem of the railroad managers. He held a position in the fire department and could be depended upon to deliver a certain number of votes at an election, and had superior qualifications as a manipulator of primaries, because he had at his command a number of men who were made to feel that their positions were dependent on his favor. His chief duty as a lobbyist was to keep the contingent in the legislature subject to corporation blandishments toeing the mark. This task was not always an easy one, for at times the feeling against the railroad ran so high that the venal group would be cowed into submission.

**The
Real Boss
in San
Francisco**

The real boss of San Francisco at this period and for many years afterward, was the railroad, and its principal agent was W. W. Stow, the chief adviser of the Central Pacific in political matters. There was no ambiguity about the position of Stow, and it is indicative of the spirit of the times that he was, rather proud of his calling, and that the community did not look upon and execrate him as they did his successor. It was possible in the early Eighties for a chaplain of the legislature to write eulogistically of Stow and speak of him as a man of probity of character. This biographer declared that "the railroad complains that it is compelled to employ agencies that will secure it against hostile and oppressive legislation, and procure remedial legislation when needed. Mr. Stow," he said, "is charged with the duty indicated." And he added: "It is admitted universally that Mr. Stow wields a tremendous power in general politics, and in matters committed to him as the political adviser of the Central Pacific Company."

**W. W. Stow's
Political
Career**

Stow, by virtue of his position of political manager of the Southern Pacific, became the boss of San Francisco, although he did not exercise his functions in the same fashion as Buckley, and some of the lesser political manipulators, whose jobbing had for its object direct personal gain. Stow was a salaried official of the corporation, and his status as a lawyer gave his operations an air of respectability which was lacking in that of the others. The latter were in reality his agents and worked under his orders, and that accounts for the fact that party ties in San Francisco bound the minor bosses of the City very loosely, for while they were nominally democrats or republicans, they were always railroad men, and could be trusted to work together to carry out any project which would inure to the benefit of the corporation, or advance the personal fortunes of its managers. Stow was undoubtedly an efficient manipulator, and to his efforts more than those of any other man was due the cohesiveness of the corporations by which municipal reform was blocked. Stow was also credited with the prevision which resulted in the men connected with the Central Pacific securing the franchises which enabled the Market Street Railway Company to create a system which penetrated all parts of the City, but justice demands that the fact be recognized that when the privileges were accorded the community considered that it would be the beneficiary rather than the men upon whom they were conferred.

**Small
Caliber
Bosses**

The great scandals growing out of the relations of Spring valley and the community did not occur until after the Constitution of 1879 conferred upon the board of supervisors the power of establishing rates. But prior to that time there were numerous efforts made to sell the water system to the City, in several of which the railroad participated by indirection. The political alliance between the two corporations, however, did not attract much attention until, to use the language of

Stow's biographer, "they were compelled to employ agencies to secure themselves against hostile and oppressive legislation." These agencies were the little bosses until the ward system was superseded by the election of supervisors at large. Rainey has been mentioned as one of these, and about the same time Owen Brady and Jack Mannix were prominent in the manipulation of the democratic machine. Kelly and Crimmins, a pair of saloonkeepers, were more or less conspicuous in the underground work carried on in the interest of the republican party, but they did not count for much as the star of the local democracy was rising, and the promises of the success of that party were holding out inducements to the cunningest and most corrupt politician the West ever produced to assume its headship.

Brady and Mannix were men of small caliber. The former was a hackman, with a stand at the old Lick house, and the latter kept a saloon on Market street. Brady was an adroit manipulator on a small scale. He was not very popular as the trifling degree of power he possessed upset him and caused him to become very arrogant, and especially so to those who when aspirants for office sought his assistance. Mannix was a rough and ready fellow, not indisposed to maintain his supremacy by force of arms and held his following largely by the admiration they felt for his fistic prowess. Neither of the pair profited greatly by their political exertions, though they were for a time recognized as being in absolute control of that part of the City known as "the Front," which did not ask for skilful leaders. Although called bosses they were in fact merely a pair of men each able to deliver "a bunch of votes" and were dealt with as such by the representative of the railroad, which was the real boss at the time.

When Buckley appeared on the scene Brady and Mannix had to succumb to his cleverness. This man, one of the most extraordinary politicians ever produced in this or any other city, was born in Ireland and emigrated to America while still a boy. He first resided in New York, but after a few years of metropolitan experience he made his way to Vallejo and opened a saloon which was frequented by the sailors of the ships lying at the navy yard. At that time Buckley professed to be a republican and was secretary of the Republican County Committee of Solano. In his youth Buckley was a dissipated man and his health was undermined by his excesses. One of the results of his early indiscretions was an affliction of the eyes which destroyed his sight. He was not totally blind, but he could not see to read or write, nor did he dare to entrust himself on the street, or attempt to cross one without a guide. He could distinguish forms, and was even able to tell whether a person was dark or fair. When he consulted oculists and was told by them that the cause of his affliction was due to indulgence in liquor he at once ceased drinking and became temperate in other respects.

In 1880 Buckley came to San Francisco and entered into partnership with a man named Fallon, who ran a saloon on Bush street which soon became a resort for ward heelers and "sports about town." It is doubtful whether Buckley deliberately entered upon his career. The probabilities favor the belief that he "found himself" in the course of prosecuting an ambition which he entertained of securing a monopoly of the gambling privilege in San Francisco. Before he concluded to make San Francisco the field of his operations he had visited the City and familiarized himself with the situation, and believed that with the aid of the police it would be possible to drive out of business, and from the City, all the so-called

They
Could
Deliver Votes

The Blind
Boss, Chris
Buckley

Buckley's
Early
Ambitions

"tin horn" gamblers, and conduct what he called "a respectable establishment." He failed in this object, but in the course of his investigations he made the acquaintance of Fallon and effected the arrangement above referred to, and as part proprietor of the saloon soon established relations with its frequenters and gained a knowledge of the seamy side of municipal life which his peculiar talents permitted him to coin into money.

**Buckley
Prepares for
Leadership**

The story of Buckley's depredations belongs to the next period. It was not until 1882 that he became a considerable factor in municipal politics. He was well known to the newspaper men who sought the Bush street saloon for political information, and his name occasionally crept into the columns of the daily papers without, however, creating any considerable impression. Rainey, Brady and Manix were much more spoken about at that time as manipulators of democratic local politics, and Bill Higgins was considered the shrewdest republican soldier of fortune. Kelly and Crimmins were occasionally heard of, but they were not "dignified" by the title boss. When thought of at all it was as ward "heelers" with the ability to concentrate a part of the "push" on a particular object and were rated accordingly in corrupt political circles.

**Broderick
and Buckley
Compared**

The only boss produced by San Francisco whose accomplishments are at all comparable with those of Buckley was Broderick. The two men were vastly dissimilar in character, but resembled each other in their ability to organize and control men by devious methods. Broderick's devotion to the Union cause has blinded many to his faults, and their evil consequences, and he has had panegyrists who have spoken of his personal integrity, but no one will ever be found to lift his voice to proclaim any good quality possessed by the Blind Boss of San Francisco who for nearly a decade ruled the political destinies of the City, controlled conventions and the legislature and actually aspired to national honors, an ambition he might have realized if a sudden awakening had not exposed his putridity to the people and compelled him to flee the country.

**Shattered
Fortunes of
Democracy
Repaired**

It has been assumed that the conditions which made the reign of Boss Buckley possible were the outcome of the disorganization of the democratic party, due to the sand lot upheaval. It cannot be overlooked that it was through his exertions that the democratic organization was restored to power in the City. There is no intention to convey the impression that the democratic party was in any sense responsible for Buckley. Unless its misfortunes can be charged with the crime of presenting to him the opportunity which he promptly seized the party must be held blameless. It was so thoroughly shattered by the Kearney explosion that there was scarcely a corporal's guard left to protect it from aggression. In 1882 there were so few avowed democrats in San Francisco that the trick of capturing the organization was an easy one. Buckley and Rainey saw their chance and seized it. They worked together for a while but in a comparatively brief period Rainey became, not an entirely negligible quantity, but only of secondary consequence, his value being determined by the number of men he could round up for the primaries or an election. He was no longer consulted by the railroad, which did all its business through the Blind Boss while he remained docile and Rainey, like the others mentioned, took their orders from him.

CHAPTER LIII

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE CITY

DEMAND FOR REFORM—COMMUNICATION OPENED WITH ALL PARTS OF THE STATE—STREETS AND SIDEWALKS IN BAD CONDITION—A GROWING SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF GOOD PAVEMENTS—KEARNY STREET WIDENED—DUPONT STREET CHANGED TO GRANT AVENUE—OBJECTION TO EXTENDING FIRE LIMITS—SUTRO'S INVESTMENTS IN REAL ESTATE—JAMES LICK AND HIS BEQUESTS—CITY HALL CONSTRUCTED ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN—GETTING RID OF THE SAND DUNES—THE PALACE HOTEL OPENED—BALDWIN HOTEL—CONGESTION IN DOWN TOWN DISTRICTS—POPULATION SPREADING WESTWARD—"SOUTH OF THE SLOT"—DRIFTING AWAY FROM THE MISSION DISTRICT—CHANGES EFFECTED BY IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES—INVENTION OF THE CABLE TRACTION SYSTEM—THE FIRST CABLE ROAD—COAXING INVESTORS TO BUILD STREET RAILWAYS—STREET CAR FARES REDUCED TO FIVE CENTS—GREAT DEMAND FOR STREET CAR FRANCHISES—WHOLESALE GRANT OF FRANCHISES—NOB HILL MANSIONS—ACTIVITY OF REAL ESTATE DEALERS—RECLAMATION OF GOLDEN GATE PARK—MULTIPLICATION OF URBAN CONVENIENCES—FIRST ELECTRIC LIGHT—TELEPHONE INTRODUCED—WATER SUPPLY—RAILWAY AND SEA TRANSPORTATION.



HEN things are running awry in England their publicists sometimes console themselves, and try to reassure the people by saying that the country will muddle through somehow. The expression muddle conveys the impression that those who utter it are satisfied to see governmental and other affairs conducted in an unsystematic fashion, but there is no ground for any such assumption. It really

Muddling
Through

amounts to a declaration of belief that no matter what contingencies may arise the English people will prove resourceful enough to cope with them successfully. It is not an admission of weakness, or incapacity, but a recognition of the fact that the prescience of man is not sufficiently developed to foresee all that may occur, or when he can foresee that circumstances will not always permit taking steps to avert the undesirable happening. In short "muddling" may be translated into a much pleasanter phrase, one which when applied to a man stamps him as one who can be depended upon to deal with an emergency, whether foreseen or unexpected, in a manner calculated to avert disaster, even if it does not convert the evil into a benefit.

William T. Coleman must have had some such thought as this in mind when he told Mr. Bryce that no matter what happened to Americans they could be depended upon in the final resort to preserve their institutions and respect property rights. When he spoke in 1881 he was in a position to review the happenings of the Seven-

Looking
Backward

ties and was able to perceive that, despite the turmoil of the decade, the speculative mania, the financial shortcomings and the depression of business which resulted in much unemployment, and the industrial changes wrought by the completion of the transcontinental railroad, San Francisco continued to move forward, not always steadily, but sufficiently so to permit the impression to be gained when looking backward that there was no serious interruption to progress.

A Tame
Demand
for Reform

Indeed if the historian chose to cut out the political turmoil, and the other disquieting features of life in a growing city, and confined himself to a recital of the changes produced, and the advances made during the period between 1871 and 1883, he might, by merely telling the truths of accomplishment, make it appear that the twelve or thirteen years under review were prosperous and not altogether unhappy, even though they were marred by discontent and untoward political occurrences. A hundred years hence in looking backward the sand lot episode will be lost sight of, and the only fact connected with it that will be recalled will be its apparent relation to the production of a state constitution, which was regarded by the world at the time of its adoption as an instrument full of menace to existing institutions, but which a few years afterward came to be regarded as but a tame expression of a desire for reforms which proved ineffective in many particulars because it failed to receive the moral support of the whole country.

A
Hundred
Years
Hence

A hundred years hence the historian will be more interested in noting that the apparently turbulent era was one in which attempts at civic improvement were made after a period of apathy and complete indifference that lasted over fourteen years, and during which the good citizen of San Francisco was chiefly concerned about keeping down the tax rate, and rarely gave a thought to the desirableness of making the City a pleasant place of abode. When he turns from the political field he will find plenty to note, for between 1871 and 1883 there were many significant developments, world wide in their character, in which San Francisco shared. Among these were the introduction of electricity as an illuminant, and of the telephone as a means of intercourse. The records show that the metropolis of the Pacific coast was prompt to avail itself of the benefits which these great inventions conferred. They also make clear that San Francisco was foremost in the movement to extend urban transportation facilities, and that long before 1883 it was on the high road that led to the reversal of the pent up policy of the Consolidation Act which, although it could politically circumscribe the area of the City, could not prevent its overflowing and creating a great urban community, the interests of whose citizens are so interlocked that names affect them but slightly.

Communica-
tion with All
Parts of the
State

During this period it may be said that communication was effectually established between San Francisco and all parts of the state, making regions that were formerly remote easily accessible, and putting all parts of California in touch with each other. There were also improvements of equal importance in sea transportation, which tended to enhance the value of the port as a distributor of domestic and foreign products. It was during the Seventies also that San Francisco thought concentrated itself on the project of joining the two great oceans by a canal, turning aside from its little concerns to contemplate the broader possibilities affecting its future. And if the historian is very inquisitive he will discover that the seventy decade in San Francisco ushered in a taste for more luxurious living that displayed itself in the erection of private residences which advertised the affluence of their owners if they did not invariably confer distinction upon the architects who de-

signed them. And synchronizing with this architectural manifestation he will note an increased pretentiousness in the hotels and business structures which indicated confidence in the final outcome, no matter what the builders may have thought while under the domination of the fear that capital would desert the City.

It is related that in 1849 Montgomery street between Clay and Jackson was made passable by constructing a sidewalk some seventy-five yards in length by using in part bags of Chilean flour, which were pressed down nearly out of sight in the soft mud, a long row of cooking stoves and a double row of boxes filled with plug tobacco, all of which were cheaper, because a drug in the market, than lumber at \$500 or \$600 a thousand feet. Barrels of provisions and useless gold washing machines served for crossings instead of stepping stones. It was not long before material less costly, and better adapted for street paving and sidewalk purposes offered itself, but the evidence we have indicates that they were not eagerly availed of by the busy citizens of the new town, who for quite a period were more intent on making money for themselves than upon the improvement of the City. Finally with the cheapening of lumber a semblance of streets was created. Plank roads and plank sidewalks were laid in all those parts of the growing town frequented by the people, and the satisfaction with which their introduction and use is commented upon by the writer of the "Annals of San Francisco" indicates that they were regarded as giving the City a decidedly up to date appearance, which they may indeed have done, for those were the days when the exploits of the fast trotting horse were celebrated by telling what he could do on such a roadway. "Two forty on the planked road" was as much used a bit of slang on the Atlantic seaboard in the Fifties and Sixties as on the Pacific coast.

Planked
Roads and
Planked
Sidewalks

The cheapening of lumber, however, had its drawbacks as well as its advantages. It caused the people of San Francisco to adhere to its use for street and sidewalk purposes long after it should have been abandoned for more sightly, sanitary and durable material. In a report made by the superintendent of streets in 1876 he stated that grading, macadamizing, paving, planking, sidewalks, etc., represented an expenditure of \$1,087,026 during the preceding fiscal year, but no stranger viewing the dilapidated wooden sidewalks, which were still doing duty in what was even at that time the "down town" district would have supposed that much money had been spent on San Francisco thoroughfares, and he certainly would not have agreed that those which were passable were cared for by the City. It was, however, beginning to dawn on some of the citizens, who were not too greatly enamored of low taxes, that cobble stones were unsightly, and that streets laid with them could not be kept clean, but when they were abandoned finally it was not for such reasons, but because "the cobble stone paving, owing to the instability of the foundation . . . is rendered costly in consequence of frequent repairs." It was therefore deemed advisable to use the granite block because it was more durable. "It has proved," said the street superintendent, "the best pavement yet laid in the City for heavy travel, and while the expense of laying is slightly in excess of cobble, it is beyond a doubt the best and most satisfactory material that has as yet been adopted."

Cobble-
Stone
Street
Pavements

For many years the belief was persisted in that imperfectly squared blocks of basaltic rock, laid in the sand, without a foundation of any sort really made a desirable and satisfactory pavement. It did not matter that roadways thus constructed sometimes presented as billowy an appearance as the agitated waters of the bay;

Good
Pavements
Demanded

they were cheap and durable. The wooden sidewalks which endured on many of the principal streets all through this period were likewise adhered to, not so much, however, because they were cheap, as because there was no public sentiment which demanded anything better. That there was not complete indifference is true; there were some who, throughout the Seventies, were continually demanding improvements, but they made little impression in the face of official declarations of the sort put forth by Health Officer Meares on July 1, 1876, in his annual report: "When we consider," he said, "that our City is but little over a quarter of a century old, and that it already has a population of nearly 275,000 and rapidly increasing, instead of being surprised at the condition of our streets, and imperfect character of our sewerage, we are only astonished at the wonderful amount of work that has been accomplished in so short a time. Indeed, what has been accomplished is the result of an enterprise, energy and intelligence unsurpassed, if equalled by that of any city of modern times."

Taxpayers
Dread
Improvements

Reading between the lines we discover the existence of a sentiment favoring improvement which must have been pretty strong to induce the health officer to take up the cudgels for the street department and come to the aid of the apprehensive taxpayer, who had come to fear the word improvement, because it stood for increased taxation in his mind without being coupled with any anticipated benefit. But while this sentiment prevailed and influenced the community generally to such an extent that it could not be induced to enter upon any scheme in its collective capacity, there was no lack of individual exertion and several very important improvements were made during the decade 1870, notably the Dupont street widening and the Montgomery street extension. This latter undertaking was attended with some scandal, and did not prove to be as great a benefit as expected. An act was passed in 1872 which authorized a board of works, consisting of the mayor, tax collector and the city and county surveyor, which was created by one of its sections to carry through the opening. The desire for the improvement was not unanimously entertained by the property holders affected, and suit was brought, in which it was finally held by the supreme court that the proceedings were irregular, and that the board of works had exceeded its authority because they had not secured a majority of the frontage of the property as required in the act of 1872. The frontage of the district was described at 424,096 feet, one-half of which would have been 212,048 feet. It was assumed by the board that the owners of 212,965 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches had signed the petition, but this showing included the signatures of certain persons to whom the property signed for was not assessed. The court held that the law required the signatures of those assessed and whose names were on the assessment roll, and that the signatures of executors and administrators and of agents must be excluded, because "in any transaction in which executors and administrators pretend to act as such they cannot create any liability on the estate . . . unless the authority for doing so is produced. As there were some 6,050 $\frac{3}{4}$ feet represented by signatures of the kind disapproved of, the court in 1879 held that the proceedings of the board were invalid.

Dupont
Street
Widening

The Dupont street widening scheme was inaugurated in 1872 and successfully carried out, but it was one of those half way measures which cause regrets in after years that the projectors were not bolder men. Dupont street, or as it is now known in its widened part, Grant avenue, was one of the early narrow thoroughfares, the width of which scarcely entitled it to be regarded as more than an alley.



CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH
 RUINS OF GRACE EPISCOPAL CATHEDRAL

TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH
 FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH

The success which attended the widening of Kearny street suggested that the property owners of Dupont street might be similarly benefited. Hence an assessment district was created, which, however, provided only for the widening of that part of the street south of Bush, it being assumed that the gradients north of the latter street would prove an obstacle to the extension of business towards North Beach. As in the case of Montgomery avenue extension there was dissatisfaction on the part of some of the owners assessed for benefits, and a good deal of complaint by some whose property had been taken to add to the width of the street.

It was not until some years after the widening that the name of the widened portion of the street was changed to Grant avenue. This latter step was taken not out of disrespect to the naval hero, but because the laxity of the police had permitted the name of the street to become a by-word and reproach, the upper end of it being almost wholly occupied by dissolute women, who lived in wretchedly constructed houses, for which they paid exorbitant rents. It was many years before the stigma was completely removed, and it was not until after the fire of 1906 that Grant avenue took rank as an important retail center. The Montgomery avenue extension has thus far failed to accomplish the purpose of those who projected and put it through, but it is not impossible that the development of the North Beach section through the instrumentality of the 1915 exposition may realize the dream of thirty-five years ago, and make it an important cross-town business thoroughfare. In 1912 it was still surrendered to the small neighborhood business of the Latin quarter, composed largely of Italians who began their settlement on Telegraph hill and around its western base about the time when the improvement began.

Dupont
Street
Changed to
Grant
Avenue

Throughout the Seventies there was more or less attention given to the question of sewerage, although the development was largely due to private initiative and was not carefully systematized. In 1876 a report was made by Wm. P. Humphreys, the city engineer, in which he stated that up to July 1, 1875, there had been constructed nearly seventy-five miles of public sewers at a cost of \$2,684,691. There were three kinds of sewers, the preference being given to those of brick, which cost \$2,252,253, but there was also a number constructed of redwood, upon which \$378,395 had been expended and \$54,043 worth of cement pipes. Prior to 1858 there was no record of any public sewer, and their construction was not officially noted until after that date. It was many years before the necessity of symmetrization was realized, and when the agitation for something approaching a system began many defects were disclosed in the work which had been performed under imperfect laws and lax supervision.

The
City's
Sewers

Notwithstanding the repeated lessons received by San Francisco in the Fifties attempts to reduce the danger from conflagration by extending the fire limits were always resisted, usually on the pretense that the requirement that buildings be constructed of less inflammable material than wood would inflict a hardship on the small property owner. Oftener than otherwise the opposition came from men who desired to increase the revenues from rentals by building with cheap materials. This desire was responsible for the fiction which was diligently promoted, that redwood had fire resisting qualities, or that at least it was so slow in burning that it gave something like a practical assurance against danger. Repeated experiences and high insurance rates did not dispel this illusion, and in every attempt to extend the fire limits it usually cropped out, and caused embarrassment to those who sought

Contracted
Fire Limits

to enlarge the area within which owners would be compelled to build substantial structures. The fire limits in 1874, when they were amended, were very contracted, in the northern part of the City, being bounded on the west by Stockton street, along which they extended only as far south as Clay, where the line was deflected to Dupont and along the easterly side of that street to Bush and then back to Stockton along the southerly line of Bush. An examination of this irregular boundary discloses the fact that the rights of the public were subordinated to individual influences, but there is not the slightest doubt that the people did not seriously demand the protection which the establishment of reasonable fire limits is supposed to afford.

Sutro's
Investments
in Real
Estate

A conspicuous feature of the growth of San Francisco during the Seventies was the disposition of men who had made money in mining, and other enterprises in California and the adjoining state of Nevada, to invest in city real estate. When Sutro lost control of the tunnel which he had projected and put through he returned to San Francisco, where he had resided during the earlier part of his career, and bought a large quantity of land, chiefly in outlying districts of the City, which have since been surrounded by quarters devoted to residential purposes. Among other properties, he purchased the bare hills of the San Miguel ranch and named his acquisition Mount Parnassus. On these hills he planted Australian eucalyptus trees, which grew rapidly and soon formed a dense forest. He also bought the heights overlooking the ocean opposite the seal rocks and created the gardens which bear his name. The acquisitive instinct was much stronger in him than the constructive, and he left few monuments of a structural character to perpetuate his memory. A hotel opposite the seal rocks which he built was destroyed by fire, and the small residence erected on Sutro Heights constitute his principal contributions to the improvement of the large territory which he acquired. During his lifetime he collected a large library, which he intended to house in a fine building and confer it upon the City. He never carried out his purpose and his estate after his death was dispersed among his heirs.

James
Lick

A man of different temperament, who did much to promote the development of San Francisco, died in the City on the 1st of October, 1876. He has already been mentioned as the owner of the hotel which bore his name, and in the construction of which he assisted. James Lick was a pioneer of the days preceding the discovery of gold, having arrived in California in 1847. He had an abiding confidence in the future of the town and began investing in real estate in the time of the alcaides and bought at extremely low figures. He was also a purchaser of country lands, and profited greatly by their advance in value. Although the owner of the best hotel of the period in San Francisco he lived in a mean house, denying himself comforts, and earned the reputation of being a miser. He was an unmarried man but had a natural son whom he afterward adopted. It was generally understood that the mother of the boy was the daughter of a miller in Fredericksburg, Pennsylvania, who had refused her hand to Lick on the ground that he was too poor. A romantic story, with more truth in it than the average romance usually contains, is told of a quarrel and bitter words that followed the denial, in the course of which Lick told the miller that one day he would have a finer mill than the one he was leaving. He kept his word and built a mill on Guadalupe creek in Santa Clara county, the interior fittings of which were of mahogany. Near by he put up a fine house which he never occupied, and on the grounds erected a fine conservatory which was purchased from him later and removed to Golden Gate park.

Lick was eighty years of age when he died, but some years before his death he took steps to prevent any complications in the disposition of his estate, which was valued at more than \$3,000,000. In 1874 he created a board of trustees who were to carry out several purposes which he indicated to them. Prior to this creation he had endowed the Society of California Pioneers, of which he was a member, with valuable property, at the same time conveying to the Academy of Sciences the lot on which the office building on Market street still owned by that body now stands. The trustees first selected by him became dissatisfied with his arbitrary requirements and following a dispute they resigned in a body. On September 21, 1875, he named a new board, consisting of Richard S. Floyd, Faxon D. Atherton, John Nightingale, Bernard D. Murphy and his son, John H. Lick, whom he had legally adopted. To these he deeded his property in trust to carry out several of his expressed desires. The first of these was the creation of an observatory which was to be provided with the largest telescope in the world, \$700,000 being named for that purpose. The second was the establishment of a school of mechanical arts at a cost of \$540,000. An Old Ladies' home and a free bath house were each to have \$150,000, and several hundred thousand dollars were to be set aside for orphan asylums. He also directed that a statue to Francis Scott Key, the author of the "Star Spangled Banner," be erected in Golden Gate park and a monument to the California pioneers in front of the new city hall, then in course of erection.

Lick's
Gifts to
the People

During the remaining days of his life Lick did not get on harmoniously with his second board of trustees and demanded their resignation. They promptly complied with the exception of Floyd, who formed a member of a third board, consisting of Edwin B. Mastick, William Sherman, George Schoenwald and Charles M. Plum. The son, who had received the sum of \$150,000 as compensation for the renunciation of his claims, after the death of his father brought a suit which the trustees compromised. It required nineteen years to execute all the designs outlined by Lick, and at times there was criticism of the slowness with which the work proceeded, but on the whole his intentions were faithfully carried out, and the City and state contain numerous monuments which will perpetuate his memory long after his oddities have been forgotten.

Trust
Properly
Carried
Out

The plan of entrusting the construction of the new city hall to a commission did not prove satisfactory, and the legislature in 1874 conferred upon the board of supervisors the power to complete the unfinished contracts let by that body, and authorized the expenditure of a sum not exceeding \$25,000 for the preservation and protection of the building. In 1875 nothing had been accomplished on the main structure, but the work on the hall of records was well advanced. Doubts had already arisen concerning the plans, and the opinion was freely expressed that serious changes would have to be made in them in order to secure a building adapted to the City's needs. There was also a wave of pessimism regarding the ability to carry through an undertaking which it was beginning to be perceived would involve a much greater expenditure than was originally contemplated. But when Mayor Bryant entered upon the duties of his office in 1876 conditions had changed, and he remarked in a message to the board of supervisors that "there ought to be no difficulty in securing out of the large amount of taxes collected, sufficient funds to carry on the gradual completion of the building, and the erection of other public buildings needed."

City Hall
Construction
Proceeds
Slowly

The "New
City Hall
Ruin"

From this time until its completion the plan of piecemeal construction was followed, the supervisors setting aside annually a sum derived from direct taxation to prosecute the work. This programme was interrupted several times, and there were periods during which no progress was made, work being wholly suspended for want of funds. The result was to greatly enhance the cost, and, as already stated, to materially change the original design. The delays were the cause of considerable irritation, and productive of many scandals growing out of the suspicion that the piecemeal method adopted enhanced the cost of the work executed and increased the opportunities for jobbery. But the sentiment in favor of the pay-as-you-go plan which later crystallized into the dollar limit on taxation prevailed, and the outcome was a very costly edifice, entirely unsatisfactory in its arrangements and the completion of which was delayed for so many years that the building was sometimes jocularly alluded to as the new city hall ruin.

Cessation
of Civic
Progress

Although Mayor Bryant, in 1876 spoke of the abundance of money available from taxation for other building enterprises, there was none of any consequence undertaken. A needed fire house or two and some cheap frame structures for schools were built, but there was no creditable display of civic energy. The work of reclaiming the sand dunes, which were gradually assuming the appearance of a park, was proceeding with some regularity, and a little bit more attention than formerly was being paid to the upkeep of the squares in the City, but even this exhibition of public spirit began to flag when the depression set in after 1876, and during the period when the workingmen's mayor and the republican board of supervisors were at outs there was almost a complete cessation of civic progress or caretaking.

Palace
Hotel
Opened

The lack of energy displayed by the people in their collective capacity, however, was offset by the enterprise of private citizens, whose efforts during the period were directed towards providing better business structures, finer hotels and more comfortable and elegant homes. The Palace hotel, projected by Ralston, the construction of which was begun in 1871, was opened on the 2d of October, 1875, under the management of Warren Leland. At the time of its completion it enjoyed the reputation of being the largest and finest hotel in the United States. It contained a thousand rooms and accommodated 2,500 guests at a time, its capacity being tested in 1883, when three in excess of that number were entertained on the same day within its hospitable precincts. The size and solidity of the building may be inferred from the statistics of the material consumed in its construction. There were 31,000,000 brick, 32,000 barrels of cement, 10,000,000 feet of lumber, 28 miles of water and 20 of gas piping used by the builders, who sought to impart to the vast structure strength sufficient to resist earthquakes and fire resisting qualities by thick walls and the liberal use of iron.

International
Fame of the
Palace

The most attractive feature of the hotel, which had a fame wider than national, was its great court, surrounded by galleries. It was designed on a scale which permitted vehicles to enter and deposit their passengers inside the hostelry, and was so large that the glass roof with which it was covered permitted the entrance of sufficient light to make the court as bright as the day outside. It never failed to make a strong impression on the stranger guest, and became a great resort for the politicians of the City and others who cared for the interchange of thought. The interior of the hotel, which had 90,000 feet of floor space, was destroyed in the fire of 1906, but its walls were unaffected by the shake. When the work of rehabilitation was undertaken it cost the owners of the property nearly \$90,000 to take down

the walls, which they decided to remove in order to permit the construction of a building more in accordance with modern ideas of comfort. There was no question about their strength. The building could have been restored on its original lines, and might have endured for centuries if so reconstructed, but the rooms were too large and the ceilings too lofty to suit present day taste, so the vast structure with its hundreds of bay windows, which made it the most conspicuous edifice on Market street, disappeared to make way for a thoroughly up-to-date building.

The Baldwin hotel was another notable structure erected toward the end of the seventy decade. It occupied the site of the present Flood building on the corner of Market and Powell streets, its frontage extending along the latter thoroughfare to Ellis street. While not so large as the Palace, it was an imposing building and gave character to Market street, the popularity of which received a marked westward impulse with its completion. Like its rival on the other side of the street, and nearer to the Ferry, the Baldwin was provided with innumerable bay windows and was crowned with a dome-like structure at the corner of Market and Powell. Although it came within the rather lax requirements of the fire limit ordinance it was in no sense a fireproof structure, the vast quantity of wood used in the construction of the bay windows making it very vulnerable. It possessed the added drawback of a theater, which occupied the northeastern portion of the building, being entered from Market street through a narrow lobby, the remainder of the frontage on that thoroughfare being occupied by stores, with rooms of the hotel overhead. The theater was opened in March, 1876, and the hotel in the ensuing February. The Baldwin was destroyed several years before the conflagration of 1906 by a fire which originated in the scene lofts of the theater.

The
Baldwin
Hotel and
Theater

In the interval between the last of the early conflagrations, and the middle of the Seventies, there was not much that could be called notable in the way of business construction. The success of the Bonanza firm called into existence the Nevada block, a pretentious building on the corner of Pine and Montgomery streets, which was erected in 1875-76. It was without architectural distinction, and did not escape the prevailing bay window mania. In 1881 James Phelan erected on the gore formed by the intersection of O'Farrell and Market streets a brick edifice of five stories. Its great frontage on Market street, and the solidity of its construction, made it a conspicuous feature of that thoroughfare, which had by that time asserted its supremacy over the streets running north and south, although Kearny and Montgomery streets still held their places as retail centers. Montgomery street was gradually declining in popularity owing to the encroachment of business offices, while Kearny continued to grow in favor, and in the early Eighties was the thoroughfare most affected by shoppers, but it began to share its popularity with the north side of Market when the stores in the Phelan block were opened.

Business
Buildings

In the report of the street superintendent, who had charge of the thoroughfares of the City in 1876, the necessity for more crossings on Market street was dwelt upon. He declared that "the immense pedestrian travel" across that thoroughfare made it positively necessary to provide such conveniences. At that time a very large proportion of the population of San Francisco lived in the district south of Market street. The small streets running parallel with the main thoroughfare were filled with the residences of mechanics and artisans, many of whom owned their own homes. The numbered streets running north and south were well filled with buildings, mostly of frame, many of them with stores underneath and used as lodg-

South of
Market
Street

ing houses overhead. The movement toward the western addition had not become very pronounced, as may be inferred from the fact that when the first cable road was built it was not deemed advisable to carry it further westward than Jones street. A year later, however, in 1874, it was extended to Leavenworth street.

Population
Spreading
Westward

Until the cable roads afforded facilities for penetrating westward, the tendency towards congestion in the district south of Market, between Second and Tenth streets, was very marked and produced results which made themselves apparent in the thronged condition of the City's principal street, especially on the blocks between Montgomery and Fifth. In 1880 when the population of the City was only 233,959, the number of pedestrians who crowded the sidewalks appeared to be as great as twenty years later, when the expansive movement had acquired force and the people were dispersing themselves over a wide area formerly occupied by sand dunes, which were rapidly disappearing before the advancing home seekers, who were building in localities which a few years earlier were regarded as inaccessible and wholly unsuited for residential purposes.

Streets
Thronged
at Night

The street crowds at night were a particularly noticeable feature. The climatic conditions being such as to tempt people out doors after sun down, the evening saunter developed into a habit, and the south side of Market and the west side of Kearny became a fashionable promenade. The wide sidewalks were crowded from curb to house line with a leisurely moving throng, and rapid progress could only be made by taking to the street or passing over to the less popular side, which would be nearly deserted. This parade was repeated on Saturday afternoons after the matinee performances in the theaters, which were mostly situated on Bush street, the Baldwin having penetrated farthest west. The north side of Market street and the west side of Kearny continued to enjoy the favor of promenaders long after large department stores, erected on the south side of the principal thoroughfare, began to offer attractions in the way of brilliantly illuminated show windows, which rivalled those of the more popular side.

"South of
the
Slot"

This tendency was so marked that it created an impression that the north side of Market street would always enjoy supremacy, and it had a decided effect on the prices of real estate. In the period we are now dealing with the region "south of the slot," a slang phrase suggested by the cable road on Market street, had not put forth any claims to recognition as a business center. Mission street was still a thoroughfare lined with private residences, some of which had seen better days, but none of which were remarkable either for size or beauty in the down town district. The owners of property, however, were not inclined to underrate its value, but with the prescience which such possession begets peered far into the future and predicted changes which were later wrought. But the public generally insisted upon thinking of "south of the slot" as a section destined to permanently hold the unenviable distinction which attaches to congested quarters in large cities.

Society
Deserts
the Mission

Beyond this region was one held in higher esteem and which was even thought by its admirers to possess advantages over other sections sufficient to make it the fashionable residence district of the City. Years after the prestige of the eminence between Third street and the bay had departed it was still thought that the charms of the Mission "warm belt" would outweigh any attraction offered by other parts of San Francisco, and that it would take the place successively occupied by South park and Rincon hill. Several commodious and some pretentious houses were built on spacious grounds, surrounded by the trees, shrubbery and flowers which

respond so readily to the effort of the cultivator in that part of the City, and for many years it was the established belief that certain localities in the Mission would always be selected by people of wealth as an ideal place for homes; but a changing taste, due to a growing appreciation of marine scenery, and the introduction of the cable traction street car system turned the tide in another direction, and left the once fashionable locality to develop itself along other lines.

No city in the world has been more affected by an improvement in transportation facilities than San Francisco. All the large urban communities in the United States have been greatly benefited by the extension of street railways, and some may have profited more, but none has been so completely revolutionized as the metropolis of the Pacific coast. The topography of San Francisco was such that the Americans who established themselves on the shores of the little harbor of Yerba Buena marked out a line of growth for the future city which would have confined it to the flat lands lying along the bay, and to the gently undulating tract between the reclaimed part east of Montgomery street and the Mission. The abrupt rise commencing at Kearny street, it was supposed, would prove an obstacle to expansion westward, and the slow growth of the City in that direction justified this belief; for while there were some who ventured to make their homes on the hill which was afterward called "Nob," and in the valley and region beyond, they were few by comparison with those who elected to follow the line of least resistance which trended southward.

It was not until the cable scheme of traction was a demonstrated success that people began to find the marine views attractive, and to see merit in the region stretching westward towards the ocean. In the early part of the seventy decade A. S. Hallidie, a manufacturer of wire rope in San Francisco, conceived the possibility of pulling cars up the steep hills west of Kearny street, and devoted himself to the perfection of a plan to accomplish that object. The idea was not wholly new, for cars had been made to ascend and descend by gravity in English coal mines, but the application of the method to passenger transportation was entirely novel, and the devices for taking hold and letting go the cable and bringing the car to a stop were devised by Hallidie, who is accorded the honor of being the inventor of the system, which promised to come into general use in cities, and would have done so had electricity not superseded it as a motive power. In San Francisco the steep hills still make the use of the cable necessary in some parts of the City, and the probability of it being wholly displaced is remote.

The first cable road built in San Francisco was not an ambitious affair. Its starting point was at Clay and Kearny streets and it negotiated six short blocks, the terminal being at Jones street. It was sufficiently long, however, to demonstrate the feasibility of surmounting the hills by that mode of traction, and to give an impulse to the settlement of a hitherto neglected part of the City. The first trip over the new Clay street road was made on June 28, 1873, and the line was opened for general traffic in September, 1873. Shortly afterward it was extended to Leavenworth street, which remained the terminal point of the line until population caught up with and flowed past and into a section then regarded as far removed from the center of business.

The success of the new system in overcoming the steep grades of Clay street, not only settled the problem of bringing the hilly region lying west of the busy down town section within easy reaching distance, it also suggested the feasibility of

Changes
Due to
Improved
Trans-
portation

Invention
of the
Cable System

The
First
Cable Road

Success
of Cable
Roads

employing the cable for the purpose of drawing the cars operated in the level districts, thus doing away with horses. The improved method of traction was adopted for roads on Sutter, California and Geary streets before the close of the decade, and by the Presidio and Ferries line. The Market street system (which was first operated as a dummy line and later with horses) turned to the cable in 1883, the Valencia, Haight and McAllister street cars being drawn by wire ropes after that date. At that time the Valencia street branch of the Market street line terminated at 28th street and the Haight and McAllister street lines at Stanyan street.

Terminals
of Street
Car Lines

Although the cable had proved its merit, and was being adopted in other cities, it did not succeed in displacing all the horse-drawn cars in San Francisco. The original tram line, the North Beach and Mission, and the omnibus system, adhered to the old-fashioned mode of propulsion until electricity began to be employed as a motive power. For various reasons no attempt was made by those companies to dispense with horses, even after the cable was voted a complete success, and regarded as the final thing in street railway locomotion. For many years the cable of the Sutter street line extended no further in the direction of the Ferry than to the intersection of Sansome and Market, and that of the California street line ended at Kearny street, where a Y was employed to reverse the cars. The Geary street line had its terminus at the intersection of Kearny and Market, where it maintained a turntable in front of what is now the Chronicle building, but which when the new system was first opened in 1880 was a saloon and a noted rendezvous of politicians.

Types of
Cars Used

The adoption of the cable resulted in a resort to varied types of cars. The evolution of these is interesting, as it exhibited a disposition to break away from adherence to a style of vehicle which departed only very slightly from the stage coach or omnibus which it supplanted. The early roads were provided with cars of the sort used in Eastern cities, with small windows and very low tops, and were drawn by two horses. There were also some one-horse cars operated from motives of economy, the passengers upon which were expected to deposit their fares in a box which was under the supervision of the driver who, when his searching glance failed to discover the dime or ticket, reminded the negligent rider of his omission by vigorously ringing a bell. The desire for innovation, or the assumption that it would provide a greater seating capacity, led to the adoption by the Presidio and Ferries road of a car circular in shape, a queer looking affair, which was abandoned when the cable was substituted for horse power.

Riders
Like Open
Cars

The real or fancied necessity of using a dummy to draw the car, and the strong predilection of San Franciscans for open air, suggested the placing of seats on the side and in front after the manner of an Irish jaunting car, the space in the center being occupied by the gripman and the machinery for taking hold and letting go the cable and to manipulate the brakes. The great popularity of these outside seats determined the type used on several of the cable roads, which became a combination of open and closed car; but the Sutter street line retained its dummies, which were of the same construction as the one first operated on Clay street, until the wire rope was discontinued as did also the Presidio and Ferries line. The Market street system reconstructed its old cars, building an addition to them which was used by the gripman and which was provided with side seats, the passengers on which could be reached by the conductor. The California street line later adopted a car which was termed a double ender, as it permitted the gripman to operate the

car from either end. It was provided with open air seats in front and rear and contained an inclosed space in the center. The Market street system and the Geary street line also embraced in their equipment cars that were wholly open, but the boisterous breezes at certain seasons of the year made them undesirable and they fell into disuse, not, however, until an attempt was made which was fairly successful, to secure a coach which could speedily be converted into an open or closed car at will.

Although urban transportation facilities occupied a large share of public attention during the Seventies it did not take the form it assumed at a later day, when the various systems had become well developed. There is no evidence whatever that the public at that time regarded the conferring of a franchise on anybody seeking one as the granting of a valuable privilege. Precisely the opposite state of mind existed, and those who proposed to build new lines, which would open outlying districts, were hailed as public benefactors; and if they had needed such assistance they could easily have procured the backing of the entire community. This attitude was by no means due to ignorance of the possibilities which the future had in store for those who would invest their money in such enterprises. The curious, by turning to the files of the newspapers of the period, will discover editorials in which the writers, sometimes coaxingly, pointed out the rich returns which the venturesome might expect. The profitable experience of investors in Eastern cities was much dwelt upon, and the probability that it would be repeated in San Francisco was alluringly presented.

There was but one thought entertained generally in connection with street car extension, and that revolved wholly about the consideration that the City would be vastly benefited by making all parts of it easily accessible. And it is a singular fact illustrative of the attitude of San Francisco toward the subject of street car service, that the bill introduced by Frank McCoppin in the state senate in the session of 1877-78, fixing the street car fare at five cents, was not in response to any extraordinary pressure either for reduction or uniformity, but was due to the conviction of the author that cheap urban transportation was desirable, and would promote the development of the City. There was so little opposition on the part of the corporations to the passage of the act that some over-suspicious persons feared that the strange display of acquiescence was owing to the presence of a "bug" which would make its appearance later.

This being the situation, it is not surprising that in 1879, when a sudden demand for franchises manifested itself, there was little or no concern displayed by the public, although a warning note was sounded here and there, and attempts to divine the cause of the activity were made by editors who were in the habit of explaining the reasons that moved municipal servants to action. It was suggested that the provisions of the constitution adopted earlier in the year might result in the framing of a city charter which would be less liberal in the matter of conferring franchises than the existing Consolidation Act. It is more than probable, however, that the movement was due to an awakening on the part of those who had given attention to the subject to the possibilities of a privilege which was not estimated by the community generally as a very great one, becoming extremely valuable in the future.

Whatever the moving cause in the year named, there were franchises granted to numerous companies, all of which were simultaneously seized with the desire to extend their lines. The most of these were to run fifty years and the demands for

Coaxing
Interests to
Build
Railways

Street
Car Fares
Reduced to
5 Cents

Franchises
in Great
Demand

Extension
of Street
Car Lines

some of them were framed in a manner highly suggestive of a desire to occupy as many streets as possible with the view of excluding future competitors. It was in 1879 that the corkscrew privilege was extended to the Central railroad to build from the intersection of Market with East street, along East to Jackson, along Jackson to Sansome, thence to Bush, up Bush to Kearny and one block on that street to Post and along Post to Stockton and on Stockton to Geary and out the latter street to Taylor, along which it ran to Market street, crossing that thoroughfare into Sixth, which it traversed as far as Brannan street, along which the tracks were laid as far as the Brannan street bridge. This same company was also permitted to extend a line from the intersection of Taylor and Turk, along Turk, Fillmore and Post to Lone Mountain cemetery, and from the intersection of Turk and Fillmore along Turk to First avenue to D street and thence along D to Sixth avenue. It was also granted the privilege of constructing from Taylor along Turk to Market and down the latter to Dupont and across to Post. It also reached out for a line from the intersection of Sansome with Bush and along the latter street to Market and along Market to the city front. Still another line, commencing at the intersection of Sansome and Pine, and along Pine to Market and two more, one from Sansome and Washington, thence along Washington to East, and the other from the intersection of Geary and Powell streets, along Powell to Market.

Corkscrew
Routes

It is possible that the supervisors, in extending the privilege to operate over the sinuous route described, thought they were conferring a benefit upon the community, for the line mapped out by the Central seemed to have been dictated by the idea of extending its car service to all the developed business and residential portions of the City, but it is in the highest degree improbable that the projectors of the road believed that a zigzagging route, such as they had provided, would become popular or retain its popularity as the inhabited area of the City extended. Even in the days when the horse-drawn vehicles had accustomed the average citizen to patience, it was deemed too circuitous for practical purposes, and was used only by those to whom time was no object. But the crookedness of the line proved a valuable asset in the end, and when the work of consolidating began the foresight of the projectors in preempting all the down town streets was well rewarded.

Wholesale
Grants
of
Franchises

Although no other franchise granted at this time disregarded the public interest as flagrantly as the Central, the supervisors were extremely liberal in dealing with the Market street system. A description of all the privileges asked for and granted to this corporation would be as uninteresting as the catalogue of the ships of the allies of Agamemnon before Troy. But it is worth noting that it was the Market Street Company which set the ball rolling in 1879. There was a breathing space of some months after the California Street Company, which had obtained its franchise in June, 1876, and on February 17, 1879, had its duration extended to 50 years, at the same time that a franchise was asked for a road, to be operated by steam dummies westward from Central avenue. On September 20th the Market street people began to get busy and put in a big batch of demands, all of which were granted. In the November following the North Beach and Mission came to the front and secured many privileges, some of which it never availed itself of as, for instance, to operate its lines by cable. On the same day, November 14th, the Sutter Street Company obtained a batch of 50-year franchises, and two weeks later the City Railroad Company came to the fore with several requests, as did also the Omnibus Company. On the 29th of November the Clay Street Hill Company was

permitted to extend its operations as far west as Van Ness avenue, and the project of constructing a road from the intersection of Haight and Stanyan streets to the beach near the Cliff house was launched, not, however, without calling out protests against cutting off a corner of Golden Gate park.

One of the anomalies of this scramble for franchises was the failure of some of those seeking privileges to realize the possibility of their growing in value with the increase of the City in population and wealth. When A. R. Baldwin, Andrew S. Hallidie, James Moffitt, Nathaniel J. Brittain and Arthur M. Bowman on December 30, 1879, sought the privilege of building and operating a road to the presidio from the intersection of Montgomery avenue and Union street, they thought that a period of twenty-five years was sufficiently long for their purpose. They were sagacious business men, presumably gifted with an average degree of foresight, but they were evidently convinced that the granting of a franchise was a mere matter of form, and that its extension could be procured whenever asked for by those interested. Their course was in marked contrast to that of the California street and some of the other roads which seized the opportunity to lengthen their franchises, some with the view of harmonizing the duration of the privileges they had previously obtained, and others for the purpose of prolonging the life of their grants as long as possible.

Facts of the sort described, and the perfectly acquiescent attitude of the community would seem to indicate the utter absence of turpitude in the city officials, but it is nevertheless true that more or less suspicion was aroused by the readiness of the supervisors to bestow any favor that might be asked of them; and it was broadly intimated that their complaisance was not wholly due to public spirit. Still the criticism was by no means harsh, even the public press opposed to the party in power accepting their action as a matter of course. Indeed it may be said that from this time forward, no matter what the character of the men elected to office may have been, the assumption was more or less general that supervisors were not in office, to use the slang of the day, "for their health."

There had been too much laxity of public sentiment in previous years to warrant the assumption that the mania for speculation which manifested itself during the three or four years following the discovery of the big bonanza was responsible for the lowering of the moral tone which marked the close of the decade. There was a period of comparative immunity from municipal scandal after 1856, but that was due to the fact that the people were content to vegetate and refused to make any public improvements whatever. As soon as the fever for development took hold of the community there was a different story to tell. The sternness of opinion produced by the Vigilante experience relaxed, and the best of citizens became absorbed in projects for the expansion of the City, and were not inclined to narrowly scrutinize the methods by which the desired result was to be achieved. This state of mind explains the complacency with which the giving away of franchises was viewed. Attention was concentrated on visible effects and future results were inferred, and their benefits anticipated and sometimes discounted.

In 1874 Leland Stanford began the erection of his mansion on the corner of Powell and California streets. Although constructed of wood it was imposing in appearance, owing to its proportions and its commanding situation, and when it was occupied in 1875 the people of the City spoke of it as palatial. This description was also applied to the mansions erected by Crocker and Hopkins, the partners of Stanford, who selected that neighborhood as a place of residence, as did also David

Men Who
Overlooked
Possibilities

Criticism
of
Supervisors

Relaxation
of Vigilance

Mansions
Erected on
Nob Hill

Colton, a man high in the councils of the railroad magnates, and usually regarded as one of them. This circumstance caused the locality to be popularly designated Nob hill, the word "Nob" being drawn from the English reservoir of slang, a fact worth emphasizing, as there has been a disposition since the fire for the uninformed to speak of it as "Knob" hill. The effect of this selection was very marked. It at once decided that the movement of the fashionable world would be westward. There was not an immediate abandonment of the localities formerly affected by the well-to-do, but the least observant were able to perceive that the stamp of fashionable approval and improved transportation facilities would cause the filling up of the western addition. In some way this movement responded to the instinctive desire for compactness, which manifests itself in all cities, and which perhaps is due as much to the gregarious tendencies of man as to the realization of the advantages of contiguity for business and purely social purposes.

New
Localities
Opened
to Settlement

While the major part of the community was merely pleased to see the results which followed the inauguration of the Clay street road in 1873, the few long headed ones, foreseeing that there would be profit in opening up other localities, and binding them to the business center, were prolific in schemes to that end. It was natural that the Central Pacific coterie should be prominent in such a movement, for the prime reason for building a transcontinental railroad was the conviction that it would open the country to settlement and thus enhance the value of land which was lying useless.

Real Estate
Dealers
Promote
Railroad
Extension

Thus it happened that owners and speculators in real estate proved a great factor in the promotion of railroad extension, and as is usual under such circumstances, while appearing to be catering to a demand for expansion, they were in reality creating the demand to which they responded. This is made clear by the presence of the names of prominent real estate operators in many of the grants of franchises in the closing year of the seventy decade and in the opening years of the eighties. They are found associated in many cases with those of men known to be closely connected with the railroad, and sometimes with those of the magnates themselves. It is not possible that in thus allying themselves with the latter that they regarded their action as an evasion of the spirit of the law, which required corporations to confine themselves strictly to the purpose for which they were created; if they did they acted openly and the community as a rule regarded them as enterprising citizens.

Speculation
in Real
Estate

The part played by the active speculator in real estate in a growing city is not always clearly recognized by the community, which sometimes views his operations with distrust. This is especially true of a city whose development has been rapid by comparison with that of cities on the Atlantic seaboard, where the enhancement of the value of real estate seems to be dependent on the immediate rather than the remote demand for business and residential purposes. The history of real estate movements in San Francisco reflects the speculative tendencies of the people and to some extent the course of business. From the very beginning an astonishing degree of confidence was shown in the future. It has been remarked by a competent observer that "the record of sales since 1867 show that Market street values never dropped except in the case of a few sales after the fire of 1906." The significance of this statement becomes apparent when accompanied by the information that there have been periods of stagnation, during which the high water mark of a particularly active real estate movement would remain stationary for many years. The hand on the dial never moved backward. A Market street owner may have been



MARKET STREET, LOOKING WEST, ABOUT 1880



UNION SQUARE IN 1880

unable to get an advance on his purchase price but he was never compelled to sell at a sacrifice. He could rarely be persuaded to sell for less than the record figure.

In 1867 the volume of real estate transactions in San Francisco amounted to \$17,000,000. Two years later it jumped to \$30,000,000. Successful operators in the mines and other investors came into the market and bought freely. It was the fashion for the lucky speculator, who was not wholly given over to the gambling mania, to put aside a part of his winnings for a nest-egg, or as a resource in case of disaster; and he usually regarded a bit of land as a safe investment, and particularly desirable because it could not be realized upon too swiftly in moments of excitement. The miner who struck it rich was also disposed to "salt his pile" by putting it into a form of property which the cautious always extolled as the most dependable. Hence when, as in the years of the first Comstock excitement, men were suddenly becoming rich, there was a rapid expansion of the volume of sales, a larger proportion of which than usual represented permanent investments.

While there was no disposition on the part of owners of land in San Francisco, even in periods of depression, to make sacrifices, the effects of bad business very promptly exhibited themselves in the dullness of the real estate market. The spurt of 1867-69, as already related, was followed by something like a complete collapse of trade, and a spirit of uneasiness created by the presence in the City of an unusual number of unemployed. Under the influence of this depressing condition sales of real estate declined greatly, dropping from \$30,000,000 in 1869 to \$12,000,000 in 1873. Two years later, owing to the bonanza discovery on the Comstock, they mounted to \$36,000,000, the fortunate speculators and the lucky miners following the example set for them four or five years earlier. But the pendulum swung from one side to the other in those days with great rapidity, and with the passing of the speculative excitement, induced by the rich mineral discoveries, there was a cessation of interest in real estate which caused sales to shrink to \$10,000,000 in 1879, and during several years following they hovered in the neighborhood of that amount.

When the ordinance which provided for the creation of Golden Gate park was accepted the area reaching from Stanyan street to the sea, within the limits north and south of the reservation, was a waste of sand dunes. No more dreary outlook existed anywhere than these rolling hills presented, and it required a powerful imagination to conceive of them being transformed into grassy and tree covered slopes. Familiarity with the propensity of the sand to keep in motion was not calculated to cause those who had to deal with the problem of reclamation to minimize the difficulties which would beset their work, but there was an abiding faith that a park could be made and before the decade 1870 had run its course even the doubters were convinced that the impossible was not being attempted. The progress of redemption was slow at first, the sums appropriated for the purpose being small. During the five years preceding 1875 there was expended less than half a million dollars, a part of which was derived from the sale of lands, and as late as 1882 there was set aside for maintenance and additions as small a sum as \$77,718, and in the next year this amount was cut down to \$38,006. Despite these meager allowances there was constant improvement. Roads were made; trees and shrubbery were planted; steps were taken to arrest the drifting sands, grasses which had served that purpose in foreign countries being imported and in the early Eighties it had already become the custom to point with pride to what had been accomplished, and

Investors
in Real
Estate

Depression
Affects
Real
Estate

Reclamation
of Golden
Gate Park

to explain to the stranger that the growing green area which he saw when being taken to the Cliff house, which was still the show place of the City, was as unpromising in appearance as the rolling hills of sand which still surrounded the artificial oasis.

San
Francisco
Reclaimed
from the
Sands

The creation of Golden Gate park was one of the many progress marks in the growth of San Francisco, a little more striking than previous accomplishments in the way of reclamation, for the most of San Francisco was at one time a sand waste. Much has been said about the filling in of the water front by the pioneers, and their enterprise in providing for the needs of a growing commerce by bringing shipping and shipper as close together as possible cannot easily be overstated, but the transformation of the area over which the City later spread itself into acceptable sites for building was no less marvelous. The San Franciscan of 1912 who did not see the City earlier than 1883 can scarcely realize the changes made by the persevering industry of its earlier citizens. It is difficult for him to picture Market street as a place covered with sand dunes that deflected the line of travel, and he can hardly bring himself to think of the locality now bounded by Third and Folsom, and First and Market streets, as a vale in the sand hills in which lupin, yerba buena, yerba santa, wild lilac and other flowers flourished, and which, perhaps because of the forbidding appearance of the nearby sands, was called "Happy Valley."

Disappearance
of Old-Time
Resorts

Years before the close of the Seventies Happy Valley had disappeared from the map, and the "Willows," a once popular resort at Valencia and Eighteenth streets, and Hayes' park had ceased to draw visitors, being completely superseded by the superior attractions of Woodward's Gardens, a large part of the popularity of which was due to flowers and a bit of lawn it maintained, a distinction it had to share later with Golden Gate park, which finally so surpassed it in attractiveness, that it too passed with the other things known to the Pioneers. These were the changes which stood out most prominently, for the complete metamorphosis was accomplished so gradually that even the "old timer" found it difficult to remember when the appearance of this, that or the other locality was transformed by the removal of sand dunes, and the filling up of hollow places, or when streets were graded, which were later built upon, thus concealing the rugged and unpromising character of the original sites.

Increase
of Urban
Comforts

The topographical changes effected during the period were no more remarkable than those which contributed to the comfort of the inhabitants, such as the extension of illuminating facilities. The introduction of gas occurred within a few years after the discovery of gold and its use developed slowly, but that was also the case in the older communities of the East. In 1854 there were 237 consumers and this number had grown to 9,400 in 1870 to whom 180,000,000 cubic feet of the illuminant were sold. In 1880 the consumption had more than doubled, reaching 489,000,000 cubic feet, and the consumers numbering 14,300. By this time the streets in the business section were tolerably well supplied with lamps, but the supervisors did not respond with promptitude to the demands of the increasing numbers who were pushing out into new districts, a fact not unconnected with the high price charged for gas, which was \$4.50 per thousand cubic feet in 1870, having been reduced from \$6 under the pressure of competition, which, however, was ended by the absorption of the City Gas Company, organized in that year, by the old company.

Rival Gas
Companies

The decade 1870-80 was noted for its activity in gas production rivalry. In 1862 a franchise had been granted to the Citizens Gas Company, but it did not

begin to furnish gas until January, 1866. It was absorbed in 1868 by the San Francisco Gas Company, the same fate being experienced by the City Gas Company, formed in 1870. In 1871 the Metropolitan Gas Company came into existence and furnished gas at \$3.50 a thousand, but it passed into the hands of the old company a few months afterward and the people were at once called upon to pay \$4 a thousand. Owing to real and threatened competition the rate fluctuated between \$4.50 and \$1.50 per thousand cubic feet during the years 1871-73, and on December 31, 1874, it was \$3.75, which price was charged until November, 1878, when the municipality for the first time exercised the power conferred upon it by the legislature of 1877-78 and fixed the rate at \$3. A further reduction was made in 1880 to \$2.75 and in 1882 the price was put down to \$2.00. Between 1882-1885 there was fresh competition, during which the rate was forced down to 90 cents. The experience of the consumers during the Seventies was responsible for the passage of the act which gave to any corporation desiring to exercise the privilege the right to occupy the streets with gas pipes. It was thought by the author of the measure, and all the ardent reformers of that period, that the problem of obtaining cheap gas was solved by this step; but subsequent experience demonstrated that it merely helped men with the predatory instinct to profit at the expense of the old company, which had developed sufficient strength to buy out fresh competitors as fast as they appeared on the scene.

But by far the most interesting development in the illuminating field was the appearance of the electric light. The first public exhibition of this new illuminant was made upon the roof of Saint Ignatius college, on the 4th of July, 1876, by the Reverend Joseph M. Neri. Three French arc lights were displayed on the north end of the building, which stood on the site now occupied by the Emporium department store on the south side of Market street. Old French machines used during the siege of Paris in 1871 were employed to generate the current, and also one Brush machine made by Father Neri, who lectured on the new light, and predicted that it would revolutionize the lighting of the world. There was an exhibition made by the Brush Electric Company at the Mechanics Institute Fair in 1879, and in the same year the California Electric Light Company was incorporated, its first plant being erected on a lot on Fourth street in rear of what is now the Pacific building on Market street. Prior to the exhibit by the Brush Company two arc lights, the electricity for which was generated by a Gramme machine, brought from Paris by Charles de Young in 1878, were installed in the editorial rooms of the "Chronicle." The editor was greatly impressed by an exhibit he saw in the exposition of that year, and was induced by the inventor, Jablikoff, whose carbon candles were first used, to introduce the new light to America. Owing to the irregularities of the engine, and other imperfections, the light produced was very unsatisfactory, but the "Chronicle" was insistent in proclaiming that electricity would be the light of the future. It is interesting to note that when electricity was first put to practical use in San Francisco the cost to the consumer for an arc light, then the only electric lamp used, was \$10 a lamp per week, with the current cut off at midnight.

An innovation touching the life of the people almost as closely as the introduction of electricity as an illuminant was the telephone. Although the original patents of Bell were filed as early as 1876, a demonstration of the wonderful discovery being made at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in that year, the instrument did not pass into instant use and was not introduced into San Francisco until 1880.

First
Electric Light
in the City

Introduction
of the
Telephone

In that year George S. Ladd organized the first company within Pacific coast territory, to which he gave the name of Pacific Bell Telephone Company, becoming its president, which office he filled until his death, in 1889. The Pacific Coast Company received from the National Bell Telephone Company (predecessor of the Bell Telephone Company) of Boston an exclusive and perpetual license for the territory comprising the states of California, Nevada and Washington, and a portion of Utah and the territory of Arizona. The company formed by Ladd was also accorded certain privileges by the municipality. The first list of subscribers published by the company contained 170 names. The astonishing popularity and almost universal use of the instrument at present make it seem incredible that it should have been regarded with anything but enthusiastic favor, but it is true that the first people who became acquainted with the new device were in doubt whether it would prove a boon, and there were some even who were afraid to use it. The secretary of the company relates with considerable glee that he had to be persuaded by Mr. Ladd to take hold of the receiver of the first experimental "phone" installed in San Francisco.

The
Calaveras
Cow Pastures

Incidental reference has been made to the refusal of the people during the period immediately preceding the failure of the Bank of California to purchase the Spring Valley Water Company's system, which was controlled by Wm. C. Ralston. The subject of the acquisition of the plant was up for discussion at frequent intervals during the 1870 decade, but the deep seated aversion to the incurrence of indebtedness, and the fear that the community might be overreached in buying, operated to prevent the carrying out of any project of municipal control. In 1871 General Alexander made some computations which indicated that a daily supply of 60,000,000 gallons could be developed from the peninsula water shed, but critics pointed out that he had neglected to indicate where 21,979,000,000 gallons could be stored. The season of 1871-72 was a wet one, and there was a measurable abatement of interest in the water supply question, but in 1872-73 the rainfall was under the normal and the agitation for city ownership was at once revived, and in 1874-75 extensive surveys of various sources of supply were instituted. The resulting report recommended the acquisition of Calaveras creek, draining the northwest slope of Mount Hamilton, and adjacent outliers to the north, forming the principal tributary of Colomas creek. This proposition was received with ridicule, and the proposed source of supply was nicknamed the Calaveras cow pastures, but the city officials attempted to negotiate with the owners of the desired property. They proceeded so slowly, however, that Spring Valley anticipated any action on the part of the municipality by purchasing the derided watershed.

The
Rogers
Water Bill

The company made this purchase in May, 1875, and there were comparatively few at the time who took umbrage at what was later regarded as an attempt to prevent competition. In 1876 a bill was introduced in the state senate by Rogers of San Francisco, which was denounced by the "Bulletin" as the consummation of a plan devised by Ralston to sell Spring Valley to the City without the consent of the people. It had opposed the acquisition of a supply by the City, at an earlier date, and declared that the people were in no hurry to have the bill passed, as they had some resources for cheap water that were not yet exhausted. Incidentally it recurred to a statement previously made that Ralston had devised a scheme to buy out Spring Valley for \$7,000,000 and sell it to the City for \$15,000,000. Whatever may have been planned no results followed. Spring Valley continued to operate its

plant and it was broadly intimated by a part of the press that it deliberately invited the opposition which prevented acquisition by the City. One paper in commenting on the situation, remarked in April, 1877, that the gossips on the street were whispering that Spring Valley was master of the situation, and that the commission created by the Rogers act would play into the hands of the monopoly by recommending a scheme which would be sure to be rejected, thus prolonging the company's lease of power.

If there had been no further opposition to the acquisition of Spring Valley at this time, the project would probably have suffered from neglect, for the winter of 1875-76 was one of abundant moisture, and it had become the habit of San Franciscans to regard with complacency the water situation when the reservoirs were full. But the ensuing season was exceedingly dry, the rainfall being the smallest recorded in many years. The subject of a municipal supply was at once revived, and another investigation of possible sources was made by Colonel George H. Mendell, U. S. A. This developed a number of possibilities which were thus enumerated in the report:

1. Existing supplies and undeveloped sources claimed by Spring Valley.
2. Clear Lake.
3. Lake Tahoe.
4. El Dorado Water and Deep Gravel Mining Company's water properties and rights on south fork of American river.
5. Blue Lakes (Moquelumne river).
6. McGregor Water and Mining Company. Rubicon river (south fork of middle fork of American river).
7. San Joaquin and San Francisco Water Works.
8. Feather River Water Company.
9. Lake Merced.

Although the presentation of this formidable list of sources of supply suggests that the City was earnestly seeking to emancipate itself from the domination of the Spring Valley Company the discussion of the period does not show that such was the case, for it revolved wholly about the question whether the established water company's property should be acquired. All the arguments were directed against the purchase of Spring Valley, little or no attention being paid to the possibility of developing an independent supply. Spring Valley made an offer in 1877 to sell at \$13,500,000, which the City met with a proposal to pay \$11,000,000 for its properties on the peninsula, which the water company refused to entertain, whereupon there was talk of acquiring the Blue lakes and conducting their waters to the City. It is doubtful, however, whether a project of any sort involving the necessity of incurring a heavy bonded indebtedness would have met with public favor. Indeed the disposition to procrastinate was manifest throughout, the enemies of Spring Valley being apparently as well satisfied to let matters drag along as those to whom was imputed the dark design of complicating the situation by proposing conditions which it was asserted with great vehemence the people could not be induced to accept.

In the following winter the rainfall was again bounteous and as usual the water question ceased to be an absorbing one; besides the people were engrossed with the more menacing trouble of its discontented unemployed and a little later by the necessity of considering the new constitution in process of formulation and which they were presently called to vote upon. That instrument when it began to assume shape

Investigation
of Possible
Water
Supplies

Spring
Valley
Offers to
Sell

Bounteous
Rains
Diminish
Interest

inspired the hope that it would solve the water problem by placing the power of rate regulation in the hands of the people. Although in the heat of antagonism the opponents of Spring Valley were in the habit of charging that the waters supplied by the company were unfit for human consumption, and horrible monsters of various sorts were exhibited in glass and labeled as products of the water company, the people were perfectly satisfied with the quality of the beverage supplied to them, and were only concerned that it should be furnished cheaply. Consequently the possibility held out by the new instrument was accepted without suspicion that rate regulation might prove a frail thing to lean upon, and perhaps bring greater evils in its train than those from which the community at times had made ineffective efforts to escape.

**Regulation
of Water
Rates**

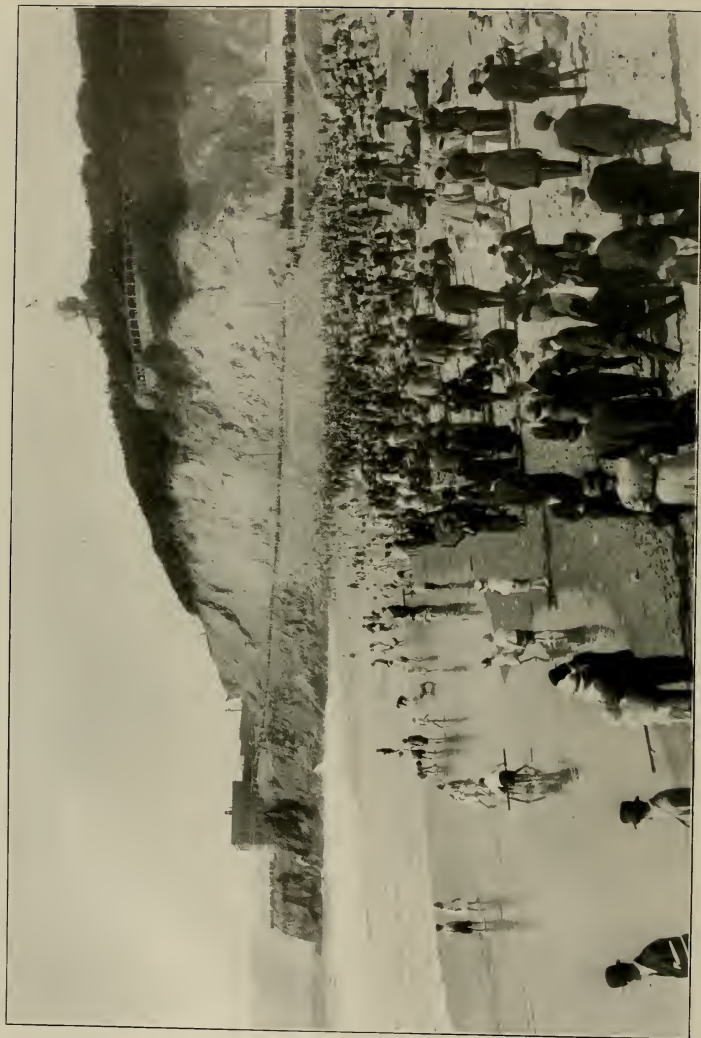
How much was expected from the rate regulating power may be inferred from the fact that not long after the supervisors began to exercise the function the theory was advanced that the City had a right to tap the mains at its pleasure, and take water free of charge for the flushing of sewers, the irrigation of parks and other municipal purposes. The water company resisted, and carried the matter into the courts, which sustained its contention that the City was not entitled to free water for any purpose whatever. Under the earlier practice the City had escaped paying for a great deal of the water it used, but the later definition of the rights of the water company given by the courts compelled the City to pay for what it used the same as other consumers. This decision resulted in the creation of the pumping system in Golden Gate park in 1885, which developed a sufficient supply for all park purposes and greatly promoted the progress of the reclamation work in the people's pleasure ground, while reducing the cost of maintenance, which was continually increasing owing to extension of lawns and the addition of beds of flowers.

**Increased
Consumption
of Water**

As in the case of the consumption of gas the growth of the City caused a rapid increase in the demand for water. In 1865, according to the figures of the engineer of Spring Valley, San Francisco with a population estimated at 110,000, used 2,360,000 gallons of water. In 1870 the consumption had increased to 6,040,000 gallons, the population being 150,000; ten years later a population of 233,000 required 17,050,000 gallons. If the records of the company are at all dependable in this particular the consumption between 1880 and 1885 did not increase at all, the estimates of population and consumption for the two years being the same. There were causes operating which may have diminished the demand made upon the company, but there was no ground for the assumption that population had remained stationary during the five years. Indeed the population estimate for the earlier year was 33,000 more than that shown by the census, and the 265,000 estimate of the later year was probably as faulty as that of 1880.

**Awakening
of Southern
California**

The extension of urban transportation facilities during the period was not more marked than the improved modes of communication with other parts of the state which occurred during the Seventies. By far the most important event of the period was the opening of the line between San Francisco and Los Angeles by the Southern Pacific Company, which occurred in September, 1876. Prior to that date a line of steamers plying between San Francisco and San Diego, touching at San Pedro, and a daily coach which traversed a road running along the coast, provided the only means of transit for passengers and freight, the latter being wholly carried by water. The new railroad ran through the San Joaquin valley, crossing the Tehachapi range. Travel between the two cities was so light at the date of its



NEW CLIFF HOUSE AND SUTRO HEIGHTS

opening that one daily train afforded all the facilities required. At that time Los Angeles was still in the *dolce far niente* stage of its existence, and scarcely had any aspirations, but its neighbor, San Diego, was filled with ambitious views for the future. Later came the awakening of the City of Angels, and the subsequent development of its horticultural and other resources. The progress of the South and that of the intervening country in the great valley and along the coast between the two cities has called into existence other railroad lines, over which scores of passenger and freight trains are dispatched daily, caring for a traffic whose volume could scarcely have been conceived at the time of the opening of the original line.

At the opening of the decade 1870-80 there were 925 miles of railroad in California. During the following ten years 1,270 miles were added, and in 1883 the mileage had increased to 3,806, nearly all of which, with the exception of some few lines under private ownership, and which were in no sense rivals, were under the control of the men who had built the Southern Pacific. In describing the political conditions created by the monopolization of the traffic system of the state only passing reference was made to the building operations of the Central and Southern Pacific which tended to aggravate the situation created by the disappointment which followed the opening of the first transcontinental line. The earlier hostility to the corporation was very largely influenced by the greed displayed by the managers in appropriating every possible method of making money which grew out of the construction and other operations to themselves. The creation of construction and land handling companies composed of insiders was greatly resented and the methods adopted were denounced as bare faced robbery. It was urged that the selling of the lands granted to the Central Pacific en bloc was an evasion of the law which contemplated that they should be sold to actual settlers at a price not to exceed the double minimum of the government, and there was a demand for an investigation by congress which however, went unheeded.

The resentment created by these practices was greatly increased when the people awakened to a full realization of the purpose of the Southern Pacific projectors, who were practically the same men as those in control of the Central Pacific. At first the movement to build to the Colorado river was hailed with satisfaction. It was regarded as a step in the direction of opening a vast area which despite its uninviting appearance, owing to the absence of trees, was known to be fertile, only needing the application of water to bring it to a high state of productivity. Great stress was also laid upon the value to the City of increased means of communication with the southern part of the state and the possibility of developing a large commerce with that section. But these considerations were not strong enough to offset the growing indignation when the impression became general that the prime object of building the Southern Pacific eastward was to shut out all rivalry by barring out all possible transcontinental competitors.

The real purpose of the Southern Pacific Company was not perceived until after the passage of an act by congress authorizing the incorporation of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company which designed building from Springfield, Missouri, through New Mexico and Arizona to the Colorado river, and from thence to a point on the Pacific which was not designated in the act. This line was to receive no aid in the form of money or bonds, but a land grant as liberal in its terms as that made to the Union and Central Pacific roads was provided for by congress. This road was to have been completed on or before July 4, 1878, and was usually

Extension of
Railroad
Facilities

Shutting Out
Rivalry

Huntington's
Washington
Lobby

spoken of as the thirty-fifth parallel line, because its route was to keep as near as practicable to that degree of latitude in constructing westward to the Colorado river. At that time the Central and Southern Pacific maintained a strong lobby at Washington which was under the immediate direction of Collis P. Huntington, who carried on his operations with what appeared to be an utter disregard of public opinion, which, however, was not keenly sensitive at the time, and only actively interested itself in the far western railroad problem when the subject was stirred up to serve political purposes, as it was when the Little Rock disclosures were made to besmirch the reputation of James G. Blaine and strike at his presidential aspirations.

Heading Off
the 32d and
35th Parallel
Lines

Huntington had no difficulty in inducing the contingent he controlled in congress, which embraced the major part of the state's delegation, to introduce a bill which gave the Southern Pacific the right to build eastward to a point where it would connect with the Atlantic and Pacific, and had attached to it the same land grant terms as those accorded to the thirty-fifth parallel line. This put the California railroad manipulators in a position to prevent the Atlantic and Pacific gaining entrance to the state, but the attempt to monopolize was menaced from another quarter. In 1871 congress had passed an act organizing the Texas and Pacific Company, which was to start from Marshall, Texas, and have its Pacific coast terminus in San Diego, traversing a route which would keep as close to the thirty-second parallel as practicable. The Texas and Pacific, like the Atlantic and Pacific, was to receive a grant of public lands for every mile of road constructed, but in addition it was authorized to issue construction and land bonds. Colonel Thomas A. Scott of the Pennsylvania railroad, became identified with the Texas and Pacific railroad and visited San Diego in 1871 and entered into an arrangement with that city which would give his transcontinental road control of a large part of the water front of San Diego bay. There is little doubt but that he would have been able to carry through the enterprise had it not been for the crisis of 1873, which made it impossible for a man, even as strong as Scott was financially, to borrow on a scale commensurate with the requirements of the undertaking.

Southern
Pacific of
Kentucky
Formed

Meanwhile the Southern Pacific, despite the monetary stringency continued to push its line southward towards Los Angeles and eastward, reaching the Colorado river at Yuma in the early part of 1877. Up to this time the pretense of a separate organization was kept up, but a few years later the men who controlled both the Central and Southern Pacific companies resorted to Kentucky, where a corporation was formed which, under the name of the Southern Pacific of Kentucky, operated both roads. Colonel Scott's efforts had been completely blocked by the energy and machinations of C. P. Huntington, as were those of the backers of the Atlantic and Pacific enterprise who suffered equally with Scott from the disastrous effects of the financial crisis of 1873 and the succeeding years of depression. Long before the Kentucky corporation had been created the people of California had become thoroughly awakened to the purpose of what they called "the Railroad" to completely monopolize the traffic of California, and to control all the land approaches to the state, and the knowledge of this intention greatly intensified the antagonism which manifested itself in the upheaval of the "Dolly Vardens," and as much as any other cause contributed to the adoption of the Constitution of 1879. Great results were expected from the carrying into effect of the provisions of that instrument, but

although it conferred the power to control, by finesse and corrupt practices the corporation succeeded in escaping even a semblance of regulation, and it was claimed by the enemies of the constitution that the article which created the Railroad Commission and invested it with extraordinary powers was a cunning device of the railroad to escape legislative interference. The origins of the railroad article and the arguments and steps which led up to its incorporation in the constitution absolutely disprove this assertion, and the history of the methods adopted by the railroad to nullify its provisions prove that the failure to regulate was wholly due to the apathetic tendencies of the people of California, who after gaining an advantage permitted themselves to be deprived of it by the cunning of politicians.

The division into two parties of the bulk of the advocates of the Constitution of 1879 caused the Legislature which had imposed upon it the duty of giving many of its provisions effect by statute to fall into the hands of tools and friends of the corporation, and they deliberately deprived the newly created commission of the power to accomplish anything by reducing the appropriation for its maintenance to an insignificant sum. This in itself must have proved effective, even if the railroad had not supplemented the services of its legislative creatures by corrupting a majority of the commission who were the obedient servants of the corporation. There was one member of the trio first elected who constantly antagonized his colleagues, and with the assistance of that part of the press favorable to the new constitution kept the public fully advised respecting the means adopted to nullify that part of the instrument which provided for the regulation of railroads. The effects of the agitation exhibited themselves in an overturning of the state government, and the election of the minority commissioner, General Stoneman as governor, but the upheaval did not benefit the people. The railroad, which recognized no party or interest other than that of the corporation, was as successful in manipulating the offices which directly dealt with its affairs and continued to control the Railroad Commission and the State Board of Equalization by the simple device of making the people vote for the men of its choice instead of selecting their own servants.

In 1882 a suit was brought against Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker and C. P. Huntington by the widow of D. D. Colton, an early associate of the railroad magnates. Although Mrs. Colton lived in San Francisco the case was tried in Sonoma county by Judge Temple. Its disclosures caused a great sensation, not only in San Francisco, but throughout the country. Letters from Huntington to Colton were placed in evidence which clearly pointed to the corruption of legislatures and judges, and were full of revelations concerning the devious methods pursued by the men sued in carrying out their purposes. Colton's interests had been so bound up with those of the men who were practically his partners that it was difficult to disentangle them when the attempt was made to settle up his estate. He owned shares of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific, and had interests in the subsidiary corporations controlled by the railroad magnates, among them the Western Development Company, the Ione Coal and Iron Company, the California Steam Navigation Company, the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company. Colton died in 1878 and his widow sought to settle up his estate and secured the services of a prominent attorney who failed to bring about an agreement. She then resorted to Lloyd Tevis who, while professedly acting in her interest, effected a settlement by reducing her claim which amounted to \$1,000,000 to \$200,000 of which he was to receive \$50,000 for his arduous services. Subsequently Mrs.

A
Political
Upheaval

Widow
Colton's Suit
Against
Railroad
Magnates

Colton repudiated the Tevis agreement on the ground that it had been made under "the influence of fear and misrepresentation, threats and fears of violence and in ignorance of her legal rights." The court decided against her, holding that in Tevis and Samuel Wilson, her attorney, she had excellent advisers.

The
Colton-
Huntington
Letters

The trial which began in 1882 extended over three years, and at its conclusion the community was convinced that the widow had been overreached, and that the men her husband had been associated with were as unscrupulous in their private as they were in their public dealings. Concerning the latter there remained little doubt. The flood of light thrown on the railroad's doings confirmed the suspicions and observations of the people. Huntington in his correspondence had in the most cynical fashion described the means he had adopted to debauch United States senators and representatives, and the publication of the letters besmirched many prominent names. The means adopted to kill off competition, as in the case of the purchase of the vessels of the California Steam Navigation Company, and the bargain by which their owners agreed to refrain from future rivalry in order that the Southern Pacific might have the people of Arizona completely at their mercy; the workings of the subsidiary companies which grafted at the expense of the main corporation; the plain allusions to the steps taken to secure control of the legislature and the references which compromised judges constituted an indictment which should have aroused the country, but its only effect was to provide a fund of amusement for the readers who revelled in Huntington's exhibitions of wit, the keen thrusts at his associates, especially Stanford, whose extravagances he denounced as childish exhibitions, and his miner's slang gave a vogue to such expressions as "caved down the bank" which they retained for a considerable period. But they did not greatly help the reform movement, the tide of which had receded some years before Judge Temple's decision was rendered.

Growth
of the Port
and Changes
in Shipping

The importance of the port of San Francisco continued to increase during the Seventies. The tonnage steam and sail which aggregated 1,171,000 tons in 1869, and 1,233,900 in 1872, rose to 2,027,000 tons in 1883, but there were many changes in transportation methods and in the products shipped during the period. The most marked feature was the rapid substitution of steam for sail power. In 1869 the foreign steam entrances totaled 205,000 tons. This tonnage increased to 306,300 in 1883. During the same period the domestic transportation from sail to steam was still more striking, rising from 119,200 tons to 436,800 in 1882. The increase in efficiency brought about by the substitution of steam for sail is but feebly expressed by these figures. The improved facilities for handling cargoes and the greater rapidity of transit did much to strengthen the conviction firmly entertained from the time of the occupation that the unrivaled harbor of San Francisco would cause the City on its shores to become one of the great marts of the world, and it showed no signs of weakening during the gloomiest hours of political agitation, although it must be conceded that the steps taken by the Harbor Commission to utilize the advantages which its magnificent position gave the port, at no time between 1871 and 1883 were of the sort calculated to cause serious apprehension or even annoyance to the railroad monopoly.

Iron Vessels
Supersede
Wooden Craft

Among the innovations in sea transportation in the early Seventies was the substitution of iron and steel propelled vessels for the wooden side wheel craft which filled the pioneer with admiration. In 1874 the Pacific Mail steamship sent out from the East the "Acapulco," "Colima" and "Granada," of 1,759, 3,886 and



THE CROCKER AND COLTON MANSIONS ON NOB HILL
Destroyed April 18, 1906



JUNCTION OF KEARNY, MARKET AND GEARY STREETS, ABOUT 1885

2,572 tons burthen respectively. These were followed at intervals during 1874 by the "City of New York," "City of Para," "City of Panama," "City of Rio de Janeiro," "City of San Francisco," and the "City of Sydney." These vessels ranged from 2,000 to 2,500 tons and were intended for the Australian and China trade. The "City of Peking" and "City of Tokio" of 5,080 tons each were also used in the China trade, and their addition to the Pacific fleet of the Pacific Mail Company attracted a great deal of attention as they were the largest iron steamships built in the United States up to that time. The company maintained a regular semi-monthly service between 1872 and 1874 and was operated without opposition, but in the latter year the monopoly enjoyed from 1867 to that date was broken in upon by a rival line running three steamers the "Vasco de Gama," "Vancouver" and "Lord of the Isles."

In the ensuing year Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, David S. Colton, Lloyd Tevis and Mark Hopkins appeared as the directory of a new line of steamers composed of British bottoms. It was called the Occidental and Oriental, but was generally spoken of as the Central Pacific railroad's line. The new corporation owned no steamers, but chartered three belonging to the White Star line, named the "Belgie," "Gaelic" and "Oceanic." From the very inception of the enterprise the object of those engaged in it became apparent. It was simply launched for the purpose of obtaining control of the Pacific Mail, an object which it finally accomplished. The first steamer of the assumedly opposition line, the "Oceanic," arrived from Hong Kong June 25, 1875, and the vessels above mentioned were maintained in the China trade for several years although it was soon recognized that there was perfect harmony between the two companies.

An event in maritime circles was the arrival of the "Altoona" from China in 1874, the first tramp steamer to enter the port of San Francisco. She brought a cargo and was "loaded back." During this year thirty steamers from Hong Kong entered the harbor and in the year following the largest tonnage of any year between 1869 and 1886 was recorded, there being 46 arrivals from Oriental ports with a tonnage of 136,000. Seventeen tramps were included, and this irregular class of vessels from that time forward became a familiar sight in the bay and at our wharves. Prior to 1871 there were several steamers plying between San Francisco and Honolulu making connection with an Australian line at the latter port. In 1871 a line was created which gave more or less regular service between the City and the islands, but it was withdrawn in 1873. The Pacific Mail attempted to provide facilities by putting on the "Costa Rica," but she was wrecked after making five round trips, and there were no regular sailings until 1878, when the company instituted a monthly service which was supplemented by calls made by the steamers plying between San Francisco and Sydney, which also made monthly trips. In 1882 Claus Spreckles, who was largely concerned in sugar planting in the islands secured the steamer "Suez" of 2,125 tons, and she made six round trips in that and the succeeding year. The "Alameda" and "Mariposa" were built in Philadelphia and were of 1,939 tons burthen each. They began their service October 15, 1883, the "Alameda" sailing on that date.

The Australians from an early period displayed a strong desire to establish commercial relations with the United States through the port of San Francisco. Prior to the opening of the transcontinental railroad they had run steamers to Panama, but the quicker service obtainable by connecting with the railroad at San

A Rival
Oriental
Steamship
Line

Advent
of the
Tramp
Steamer

Commercial
Relations with
Australia

Francisco made it desirable to transmit the mails between the colonies and England from this port overland to New York. To accomplish this object an American company was formed in 1870 which operated two steamers, but it only continued in existence a couple of years. In the meantime a British line started to operate between Auckland and San Francisco via Honolulu, but this enterprise collapsed within the year, and the only communication between the United States and the antipodes, until the Oceanic Company was created in 1885, was that maintained by the Pacific Mail Company. The latter corporation after the active interference with its Chinese trade by the Central Pacific people ceased to make travel on their isthmian line attractive. It is improbable that a successful rivalry with the trans-continental railroad could have been maintained owing to the enormous saving of time by the land route, except by offering inducements in the shape of a material reduction in the rates of fare, and improvements in accommodations, but neither was resorted to by the company which was completely dominated by the railroad interest. The new propellers acquired by the Pacific Mail Company during the Seventies were less commodious than the displaced side wheel steamers, and the service was no longer as good as it had been during the palmy days of travel by way of Panama, and before the middle of the eighty decade the line had few attractions for through passengers.

**Overland
Stage Routes**

The waning popularity of the Pacific Mail Company did not affect the pioneer mind in the same fashion as the disappearance of the stage coach of early days. The facilities afforded by the steamship company were immeasurably superior to those which the overland stage line offered, and were availed of by a much larger number than that which traveled by the perilous Indian infested route, but the sea trip made less impression than the stories of the hazards, discomforts and queer experiences encountered in crossing the vast expanse between California and the Missouri river, which was popularly regarded even in the far West as being mainly a desert region. The newspapers for years after the opening of the trans-continental road were filled with reminiscences of the days of coaching, and the characteristics and exploits of the stage driver were dwelt upon with that insistent note which proclaims the assurance of the writer that he is describing a popular character if not a hero, but tales of the sea trip were rarely told. Experience on ship board and the trials of the immigrant undergone in the effort to reach the new El Dorado were the themes of many writers, and formed the material for tales of experiences of the pioneers that were always interesting and often very tragic, but the pleasures of the enforced idleness, and the glories and magnificence of the old wooden side wheel steamers found few to sing their praises.

**Visions
of Joining
Two Oceans**

But while the romance and picturesqueness of the isthmian and Nicaraguan routes made comparatively little impression on the literature of the period, and for that reason may be assumed to have failed to fire the imagination of those who traveled over them, what the travelers saw created an enduring opinion which contributed greatly to the promotion of the sentiment in favor of realizing the dream of Balboa—that of uniting the two great oceans by a canal. The interest in this undertaking exhibited by the earlier settlers, and more populous Eastern section of the Union was sporadic in character, but its practicality and possibilities were never absent from the minds of Californians, and especially San Franciscans, who, while they may have differed respecting the merits of the Nicaragua or the Panama plans, were profoundly convinced that the scheme of joining the Atlantic and Pacific was

feasible, and were ready to lend enthusiastic encouragement to any project that promised to realize their sanguine expectations.

It is not extraordinary therefore that when de Lesseps visited San Francisco after the organization of his Universal Inter-oceanic Canal Company in 1878, and the obtainment of a concession from the Colombian government to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Darien, that he should have been welcomed with open arms. Even the believers in the practicability of the plan of uniting the two oceans by means of a canal over the much longer route through Nicaragua, which they had interested themselves in from the days when the first concessions were granted to the Accessory Transit Company and its successor the American and Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company, joined in the demonstration. They had regarded as most feasible the project authorized to the latter company, and felt assured that if the rivals of Cornelius Vanderbilt, assisted by the filibuster Walker had not interfered with his plans, that sooner or later he would have constructed the canal which he bargained to dig when he obtained the transportation privileges from the Nicaraguan government. But when de Lesseps, who had successfully cut through Suez, arrived on the scene, and apparently was in a position to accomplish the great feat of cutting through Darien, San Franciscans not only welcomed him but gave him all the support they could command. It was not much in a monetary way, for when de Lesseps visited the City it was still in the throes of an unparalleled depression; but the press and the public men spoke words of encouragement to the enterprise and continued their friendly attitude towards the French project until mismanagement and apparent incapacity to carry through the undertaking chilled the sentiment.

This spirit and attitude were the outcome of the firmly intrenched belief that the future greatness of San Francisco was linked up with the expansion of its sea commerce. And thus while it happened that the energies of a few men were concentrated on the development of land intercourse, and whose efforts were accompanied by signal success, no matter what their motives may have been, the business community fixed its hopes on water carriage. When the fight against railroad monopoly was being most fiercely waged, and the people seemed by their course to concede that everything depended on the ability of the commonwealth to restrain the aggressions of the great corporation and to do justice to those who had made it possible to build up the great system which was being used to oppress them, there was no relaxation of the confidence felt that an intelligent use of the ocean would finally solve the problem in favor of the City. Thus it happened that during a period otherwise depressed, continued efforts were made to increase the facilities of the port by the extension of the sea wall and the addition of wharves and piers. The steps taken as subsequent experience showed were not always intelligent, nor were they unaccompanied by scandal due to bad political management, but they were always in the direction of getting something better, and to that extent responded to the desire of those who urged that the ocean could always be depended upon to prevent San Francisco coming under the domination of the much feared railroad monopoly.

De Lesseps's
Visit to San
Francisco

San
Francisco and
Sea Commerce

CHAPTER LIV

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE UNREST DURING THE SEVENTIES

THE CHINESE QUESTION—FEDERAL COURTS AND CHINESE—THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT—VOTE ON CHINESE EXCLUSION IN 1879—CHINESE SERVANTS—SAN FRANCISCO HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS—THE WINE DRINKING HABIT—THE FREE LUNCH—SAN FRANCISCANS NOT GIVEN TO DISPLAY—VULGAR OSTENTATION NOT COMMON—RICH MEN WITH SMALL ESTABLISHMENTS—SOCIAL CHANGES—DECLINING INFLUENCE OF THE PIONEER—CENTENNARY OF FOUNDING OF THE MISSION—SUNDAY OBSERVANCE—THE TREATING HABIT—MERCANTILE LIBRARY LOTTERY—SALMI MORSE'S PASSION PLAY—THE AUTHORS CARNIVAL—A LAW ABIDING PEOPLE—RECEPTION OF GENERAL GRANT—CELEBRATIONS AND PAGEANTS—AMUSEMENT—VOGUE OF OPERA BOUFFE—CHANGE IN TASTE OF THEATERGOERS—SPORTS—RACING ENCOURAGED—EVIDENT WANE OF NEGRO MINSTRELSY—FIRST PRODUCTION OF "PINAFORE" IN AMERICA—PROBABLE ORIGIN OF MOVING PICTURE IDEA—PRIZE FIGHTING—BASEBALL—WALKING CONTESTS—CHILDREN'S SPORTS—NEARBY RESORTS—GROWTH OF SUBURBS.



THE social life of a people cannot be described by a broad generalization. Bryce in his "American Commonwealth" attempted to picture that of San Francisco during the decade or so prior to his visit in 1881, and has conveyed an impression that was something less than flattering, although his animadversions were interspersed with a fair share of commendation. He told his readers that "living far away

Bryce's
Picture of
Society in
the Eighties

from the steady influence of the Eastern states the Californians have developed, and are proud of having done so, a sort of Pacific type, which though differing but slightly from the usual Western type, has less of the English element than one discovers in the American living on the Atlantic side of the Rocky Mountains," a statement which he immediately follows with: "Add to this that California is the last place to the west before you come to Japan. That scum which the westward moving wave of emigration carries on its crest is here stopped because it can go no farther. It accumulates in San Francisco and forms a dangerous constituent in the population of that great and growing City—a population more mixed than one finds anywhere else in America, for Frenchmen, Italians, Portuguese, Greeks and the children of Australian convicts abound there side by side with Germans, negroes and Irish."

This summing up has the defect of a half truth. It is true that San Francisco was a cosmopolitan city at the time he wrote, and it is perhaps indisputable that the westward movement carried to the City some of the scum and offscourings of

San Francisco
Not
Disorderly

the East, and the other parts of the world; but the assumption it conveys that the product was a disorderly community is absolutely without foundation. Ambassador Bryce is a distinguished writer and bears a high reputation as an investigator, but in this instance he omitted the precaution of ascertaining the facts, and accepted the statements of men who were in the position of trying to conceal the part they had played in an affair the details of which show that they were panic stricken without cause. San Francisco was not a disorderly city, even at the time when the vagaries of the sand lotters were being most dwelt upon by the Eastern press. When a few laundries were being attacked in the City in midsummer 1878, the mobs in Chicago were fighting with the militia and regular soldiery, and there was more violence and bloodshed in the course of a few days than was witnessed in San Francisco during a quarter of a century. The proof of the assertion that San Francisco was not inhabited by a disorderly population at that time is furnished by the fact that within a few days after the affair which called the provisional police known as the "pick handle brigade" into existence the organization disbanded and gave itself no further concern, which it would have done had its leaders believed that the population was inclined to be turbulent or law defying.

Kearney's
Associates
English
Associates

The offensive inclusion of the various nationalities named by Bryce with "the children of Australian convicts," was a gratuitous insult for which he was probably not responsible, because the statement bears the earmarks of an easily recognized source of information, that of the bureau which disbursed the funds provided by the corporation to defeat the "sand lot" constitution. If at that time, or any other time there was a sufficient number of children of Australian convicts in San Francisco to attract attention and cause comment, the fact was utterly unknown to the statistician or the people generally. As for the Frenchmen, the Italians, Portuguese and Greeks, they were as law abiding as any other part of the community, not excluding that which claimed to be the most respectable. As a matter of fact the nationalities named took a smaller part in the agitation than some not named, and had Mr. Bryce investigated he would have learned that the men most prominently identified with Denis Kearney were English socialists who for several years prior to 1877-78 had been preaching the gospel of dissatisfaction to San Franciscans.

San Francisco
Not
Intolerant

The attempt to make it appear that there was something distinctive in the population of San Francisco that accounted for the troubles of 1877-78 must necessarily prove abortive because after the occurrences of 1851 and 1856 there was nothing to distinguish the actions of the inhabitants of the Pacific coast metropolis from those of other American and European cities which contain nearly homogeneous peoples. After the summary correction of the troubles of the early Fifties there were fewer riots and exhibitions of mob violence in San Francisco than in any other section of the Union. In the most staid communities of the East the lives of negroes were frequently menaced, and on occasions riots occurred in which they were severely handled. There never was even a remote approach in San Francisco to the intolerance exhibited in the anti Catholic riots in Philadelphia and some other cities during the so called "Know Nothing" excitement, and the City never disgraced itself by squabbling over the merits of rival actors. The persecution of the Chinese, so far as San Francisco was concerned, was a figment of the imagination, and the sum total of the indignities heaped upon the race would appear small by comparison with those to which Africans were subjected in all the big cities of the Atlantic

seaboard, not to speak of those sections of the South where fear of black domination has become ingrained.

While the Chinese were regarded as an undesirable element an innate feeling that fair play demanded that those who had been permitted to enter the country should be properly treated prevailed, and even in the one much quoted instance when a mob destroyed Chinese wash houses no violence was committed on their persons. The immigrants from China, while not welcomed enthusiastically, were practically unmolested. The young hoodlum occasionally tumbled a launderer's basket of clean linen in the mud, but, as a rule, the Chinese walked the street without inviting notice except from the stranger in the City who discovered in them objects of interest. Their merchants did business on the same terms as their white competitors, and, although there has always been a Chinese quarter since the early Fifties, it was no uncommon thing to find enterprising merchants from China planting themselves in the midst of white rivals and on the best streets in the City.

The
Chinese
Fairly
Treated

But despite these facts, which senatorial and other investigations disclosed, there is no doubt that the presence of the alien race in disproportionately large numbers created an outside impression as injurious as that which the foreigner derived from visiting the slums of New York. The spirit of toleration was largely responsible for the tumble down and unsavory appearance of "Chinatown" of which much account was made against San Francisco by visitors who refused to take into consideration the fact that federal laws, and the unwarranted interference of outsiders had tied the hands of the community, and prevented proper regulation. The overcrowding habit was not forced on the Chinese; their gregarious instincts and ingrained economy promoted herding, but the City was powerless to prevent the practice, for when it attempted to enforce cubic air ordinances it was met with the charge of discrimination, and even its efforts to bring about sanitary reforms encountered that obstacle. The precaution adopted in all penal institutions to guard against prisoners becoming infested with vermin by causing their heads to be shaved was waived in the case of Chinese because the United States supreme court, through one of its justices had held that the queue had sacred or other associations, and to deprive him of it would be an act of cruelty.

Federal
Courts
Prevent
Regulation

The world has since seen the Chinese divest themselves of their queues because they were a badge of servitude, a fact which the justice was perfectly acquainted with, and which was well understood by San Franciscans whose determination to prevent the invasion of their state by a people regarded by them as impossible of assimilation, a determination which finally prevailed and the consummation of which was hastened by the agitation of 1877-78. Although Kearney's war cry "The Chinese Must Go" did not prevail, because the people, for the reason before stated, did not desire to drive out those who were here and practically on invitation, it did crystallize the sentiment against their coming. The objection had been strongly urged before Kearney shouted his slogan on the sand lot. There had been inquiries and reports prior to 1877, and the legislature of 1877-78 appointed a senatorial committee of investigation consisting of E. J. Lewis, M. J. Donovan, Frank McCoppin, George H. Rogers, William M. Pierson and George E. Evans, which held repeated sittings in San Francisco during the summer of 1878 and developed such evidence, that its dissemination subsequently turned the tide of sentiment in the East against Chinese immigration. Its recommendations did not produce imme-

First Chinese
Exclusion Bill

date fruit, for a compromise measure suggested, which would have permitted the introduction of laborers in small numbers which passed both houses was vetoed by President Hayes.

Vote on
Chinese
Exclusion
in 1879

The misrepresentations concerning the state of sentiment in California influenced Hayes to this course. In vetoing the "fifteen passenger bill," the compromise measure referred to, he imagined that there was no general apprehension of evil consequences resulting from the presence of an unassimilable element, but all excuses of this sort were swept away by the action of the people in the election of September 3, 1879, when the electorate of California, with a secret ballot, out of a total vote of 161,405, cast 154,638 against Chinese immigration, and only 833 in favor of their admission. Subsequently a measure passed congress which effectually put an end to the agitation against the Chinese. Although the legislation adopted has not wholly excluded the undesirable element, and has occasionally given rise to scandals growing out of attempted evasions of the law with the connivance of those entrusted with its administration, on the whole it has worked effectively.

Sentiment
Changed
Regarding
Immigration

In 1881 Governor Perkins sent a message to the legislature in which he stated that immigration into the state during the preceding five years had almost ceased, and recommended that publications should be made under authority of the state of its resources, prices and locations of lands available for settlement, the object being to attract a desirable population. This recommendation presented a marked contrast to the attitude assumed in 1876 when the legislature was dominated by men who were convinced that California could not be benefited by representation at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Although the exclusion legislation desired had not been secured at the time when Perkins made his recommendation, the men to whom he made it saw the handwriting on the wall, and if there were any who still believed that the best interests of California demanded the introduction of an abundant supply of cheap Oriental labor they had ceased to have any influence. It was now recognized that the development of California, and the future of San Francisco, depended upon making the state a home for a homogeneous people who would build up its fortunes by developing its manifold resources.

Home Life
and Chinese
Servants

These were experiences which the discovery of gold and California's position facing the Orient imposed upon her people, and they greatly affected social conditions, but not always in the manner which adverse criticism suggested. It is possible, however, to trace a connection between the slow growth of home life in San Francisco, and the servant difficulty which became acute at an early day because of the presence of Chinese. While the latter were good servants, and far more acceptable than whites, to many if not most employers, their presence in the kitchen, and their employment in other household occupations, tended to degrade those pursuits in the eyes of those who might otherwise have resorted to them for a livelihood. The loose talk about Chinese cheap labor has in a measure disguised the fact that Orientals never gave their services too cheaply to their white employers. At no time, even during the period prior to the comparatively effective operation of the exclusion law, were the rewards of Chinese servants low. The demand for capable help was always abreast of the supply, because the domestic class of workers could not be recruited from the source available to the Eastern people. Although wages were high, being easily more than double or even triple the rates paid on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, good servants were difficult to obtain, hence the resort to lodgings and restaurants, hotels and boarding houses.

Hotel
Cooking
Criticized

Much was said in praise of the hotels of San Francisco by travelers and other visitors during the Seventies, owing to the enterprise displayed in the erection of the Palace, which called particular attention to them. They enjoyed a reputation not surpassed by those of any other city in the country, but occasionally they were adversely criticized. During this period the "American plan" was general in the larger hostelrys, and it had the defect common to all hotels of the United States of presenting an abundance of viands badly cooked and illy served. An actress visiting San Francisco in 1878 writing her experiences several years later remarked: "I alighted at the Palace hotel, at that time the richest and most comfortable one in California. . . . The service was bad, and just those menus (much praised) insupportable to the spoilt palate of a European. The *cuisine* of America is awful. I shudder when I think of it." As the critic was a princess, as well as an actress, her verdict is entitled to respectful consideration as representing the best opinion attainable on a subject which occupied the superior mind more fully a quarter of a century ago than it does at present.

Epicurean
Resorts

While this slighting estimate based on the highest standards cannot be lightly set aside, it may be asserted that the Palace, the Cosmopolitan and the Occidental at that particular time compared more than favorably, so far as ministrations to the inner man were concerned, with the very best in the East. The variety and profusion of the viands served on their tables testified to the abundance of the resources of the neighboring country, and those who partook of them, when they were not too completely dominated by the idea that perfection in cooking depends on having things prepared in the way one is told they should be by the gastronomic authorities there was satisfaction. Visitors were often inspired to visit the markets which supplied these tables so bountifully. The disciples of Brillat Savarin, however, when they dropped into San Francisco were not compelled to live on the American plan, which by the way, was regarded by many as not much worse than the European table d'hôte. It was possible for them to resort to restaurants where the cooking was unexceptional, and the prices reasonable, and in which the patrons were accustomed to balancing the merits of a dish, and to asking for a particular vintage with which to wash it down. Indeed no less an authority than George Augustus Sala, who spent a few days in the City in the early Eighties, told the readers of his letters published in a London paper, that the people of San Francisco knew better what was good to eat than any other Americans, and that its people got more enjoyment out of the table than most others he had met on this side of the water.

"Three
for Two"
Restaurants

But the crowning glory of San Francisco was not its big hotels and its "first class restaurants." It really rested on its "three for twos." By this expression the San Franciscan designated those restaurants in which three dishes were served for a quarter of a dollar, or for "two bits," and on a still cheaper class where a tolerably filling meal could be obtained for even less than twenty-five cents. The latter, however, were not nearly so much in evidence as the "three for twos" which, owing to their popularity were prosperous concerns and able to pay high rents, which permitted them to establish themselves on prominent streets and display their attractions through plate glass windows. There were restaurants of this sort that served five or six thousand meals daily. The service was not distinguished by the leisurely movements of the waiters, but responded to the hurry-up demands of the guests. But the viands put before the patron were abundant and wholesome if they were not served on eggshell china. The meats were especially good, and the

portion of beef or mutton was large enough to satisfy a vigorous appetite. There were no "kick shaws," and the cooking came in the category of plain; but there was a variety to choose from. The diner at these restaurants usually ordered soup, a portion of meat and a dessert. The meat was always accompanied with potatoes which were included in the portion. Or the soup might be cut out and a vegetable ordered in its place, or the combination of three dishes could be formed in any manner desired by selecting from the long list of soups, meats, vegetables and desserts, which were priced at 10 cents a dish. Bread and butter were supplied with the three dishes without extra charge; coffee, tea, chocolate, beer or wine appeared on the list at the uniform price of ten cents and were often substituted for the soup or the dessert.

Hotel and
Restaurant
Appointments

The appointments of these restaurants while not expressing luxury were not repelling. The napery was clean, the tables always being covered with white cloth at the beginning of the meal; the glass glittered even if it was heavy and not elegantly shaped, and the dishes were substantial white granite able to stand hard knocks. It may be said in passing that the refinements of the public table did not make themselves noticeable at an early period in San Francisco. Marchand's and the Poodle Dog served their epicurean patrons on dishes no better than those found in the United States or Popular, two "three for two" restaurants well known during the Seventies, and the big hotels did not disdain taking precautions against the destructiveness of waiters and dishwashers.

Wine
Generally
Served at
Restaurants

Another class of restaurants occupying an intermediate place between the two bit establishment and the more expensive French places served a good dinner, accompanied with a pint of wine, for fifty cents. The cooking in these places was usually French, although specialties suggestive of Italy figured in many of them. One of the striking peculiarities of these restaurants was the invariability of the bill of fare. Their successors still exist in the City, and patrons who visited them thirty or more years ago may to-day order dishes, which were specialties in the early Eighties, without glancing at the menu, in the full assurance that they will be forthcoming. It should be added that at all these restaurants wine was served. At the "three for two" places the portion was a good sized glass of white or red wine, at the fifty cent and the dollar establishments a pint accompanied the meal. During the Seventies considerable quantities of French claret in the wood were imported and sold at the restaurants, but they were almost wholly displaced before the eighty decade had grown old by California products, the superiority of which over the ordinary wines of France was conceded by a people who from habitual use had learned to distinguish between a good and bad beverage.

The
Wine-
Drinking
Habit

The almost universal use of wine by the frequenters of restaurants never failed to make an impression on the visitor to San Francisco who came from parts where the custom of drinking at meals had not obtained. Undoubtedly it contributed to an opinion which was generally entertained by Americans that the people of the Pacific coast metropolis were free livers. But the practice warranted no such assumption. It was no more suggestive of indulgence in the luxuries of the table than the drinking of coffee. The chances are that not one in twenty who partook of wine with their meals ever drank any other sort of liquor, and perhaps not one in fifty ever knew the sensation of getting drunk. To the unaccustomed stranger public drinking suggested dissipation, but an injurious opinion of this kind was no more warranted than that which was probably conveyed to Sandy's relations in

Dumfrashire, or some other place in Scotland, when he wrote home that he had not been more than a day in London before "bang went a sax pence." Estimates of morals and manners are largely a matter of environment, and it is necessary to get well acquainted with a people in order to determine the effects of their idiosyncrasies, or to decide whether their way is better or worse than the one to which you have been accustomed.

It sometimes happens, however, that a community may earn an undeserved reputation by indulgence in pride over possessions or accomplishments which are not regarded as especially admirable by those who lack them. San Francisco was afflicted with this drawback in the Seventies, for many of its citizens at that time were under the impression that a distinction was conferred upon their City by certain bar rooms which were asserted to surpass in elegance those of any other city in the country. One of these was described as having "chaste oil paintings, water colors and fine engravings in rich frames." Its furniture was "real and handsome," and the "large mirrors behind the bar reflected back the rich cut glass and silver." As a matter of fact it was not exceptionally fine, nor were any of the others for which that distinction was claimed, but there was one feature about these establishments and all the others where drinks were dispensed which for a long time really challenged attention, and that was the free lunch counter, an institution not unknown to the rest of the country, but which in San Francisco was developed to a degree unheard of elsewhere. Stale crackers and hardened bologna sausage did not satisfy the *habitués* of the bars of San Francisco; the list of good things dispensed to their patrons was a long one and embraced the best the market afforded, and not infrequently the lunch counter proved a genuine rival of the restaurant.

The spirit that led San Franciscans to boast of their barrooms was by no means indicative of the true character of the people. Bryce's intimation that there were many millionaires in California who made a vulgar display of their wealth at this particular period is not borne out by the facts. The disposition towards extravagant display in public did not extend to private life. Indeed much of the notoriety achieved by Ralston in connection with his life at Belmont was due to the exaggerated regard of a large part of the community for the virtue of thrift. He dispensed hospitality on a scale unusual in California at that time, but it would not have been deemed exceptional in European countries, nor in the neighborhood of the wealthier Eastern cities. The tally-ho in which he tooled his guests to the beautiful country seat in San Mateo county, and the fanfare of the trumpeter were a challenge to the frugal ideas of men, who although they had acquired competencies still retained the opinion that a public conveyance for a long distance or a "one horse shay" in town was plenty good enough for anybody.

Ralston's mode of entertainment, even though it may have been regarded as ostentatious was no more typical of San Francisco than the dressing of a man named Budd, who as caller of the board was a great favorite of the brokers of the City, and a well known character in the community. It was said of Budd that he had a suit of clothes for every day in the year. Whether an inventory would have disclosed that number it would be difficult to state, but that he was a conspicuous dresser, and delighted in making a display of his clothes, every San Franciscan could testify; but the very fact that Budd was an object of comment because of his sartorial habits indicates that the men generally were not addicted to elaborate

Bar Rooms
and the
Free Lunch
Counter

Not Given to
Display

Dressing and
High Living

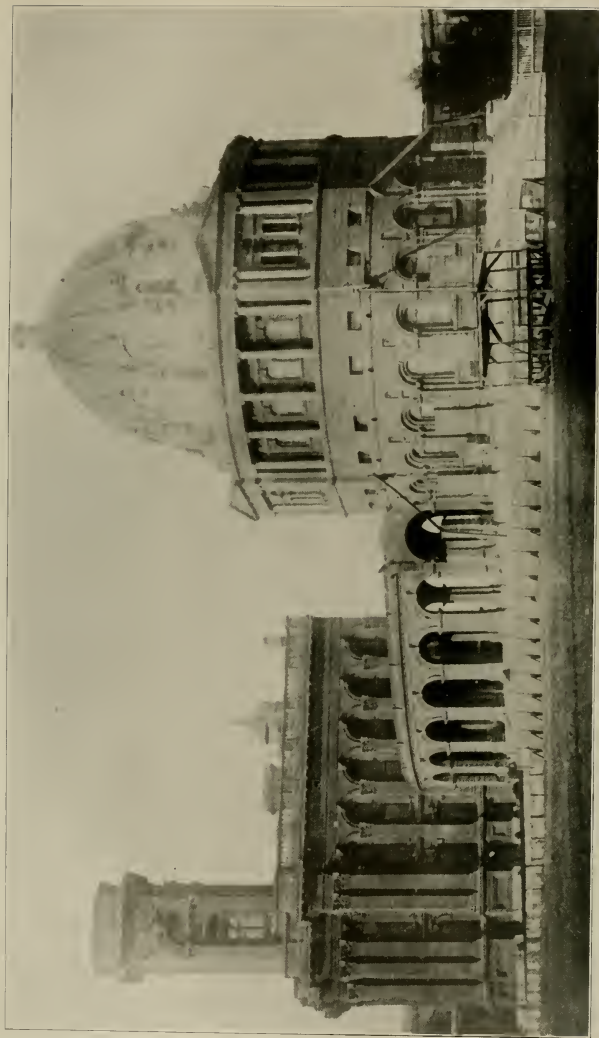
dressing. As in all communities given over to speculation the brokers made their impress, and in San Francisco during the period when stocks were booming they were extravagant livers. Many of them drove their own teams, and were often seen on the road to the Cliff house putting their horses through their paces. There was some "high living" in those days but there was no serious complaint about its high cost. We are told by a eulogist of the brokers that if one of them "could get through the month with his personal expenses for less than \$1,000 a month he was fortunate" and did not make a fuss.

Vulgar
Ostentation
Uncommon

All things are relative. If the brokers of the period were able to keep their personal expenses down to the figure named, and accomplish the result of making their fellow citizens think that they were a recklessly extravagant lot, it was due to the fact that the mode of life of the people generally was pitched in another key than that of vulgar ostentation. And indeed this was the case as the letters of Huntington to Colton plainly show. One of the railroad magnate's chief grievances against his associate Stanford, was that the latter had allowed the newspapers to get hold of the fact that he had bought some costly diamonds for his wife, and drew out from him that remarkable zoological observation that "the higher a monkey climbs a tree" the more likely he is to expose himself, especially if he is painted sky blue. Indeed the earlier policy of the managers of the railroad was to avoid ostentation. It was disclosed in a trial in 1871 that the president of the Central Pacific, Leland Stanford, was only allowed \$10,000 per annum for filling that important office. It is true that he had numerous other sources of revenue due to his connection with the railroad, but the amount of his official salary at that time furnishes an excellent measure of the living scale of the more fortunate members of the community, which is more often determined by the high salaried class than the accumulators of great fortunes in whom the spirit of thrift has become second nature.

Personal
Property
of Rich Men

The reports made to assessors by property holders are not usually regarded as dependable as "holy writ," but they enable us to form some sort of a concept of the mode of life of the fortunate, and those of the year 1875-76 provide a complete refutation of the charge that the men who had made great sums in mines or by speculation loved to make ostentatious displays of their wealth. Consulting the personal property roll of that year we find that James C. Flood, the richest of the bonanza firm living in San Francisco, returned a total of \$10,975 worth of personal property. His establishment in the City was a very modest one containing \$6,000 of furniture; a piano worth \$500; plate to the value of \$500; paintings valued at the same amount; two horses were put in at \$600; a carriage at \$1,000; a Rockaway at \$275; three buggies at \$600 and a phaeton \$500, these items totalling the above sum. There was no other mining magnate who returned possessions even remotely approaching in value the amount named. The railroad magnates did not report enormously greater personal possessions. Leland Stanford, whose residence was spoken of as "palatial," in 1875-76, appeared at the head of the roll with \$40,150 worth of personal property charged to him, \$25,000 of which was furniture and \$10,000 in hard cash. His horses and vehicles, for purposes of taxation were valued at only \$2,200. Another of San Francisco's wealthiest citizens, Lewis T. Haggin, affirmed that his personal property, consisted wholly of furniture and was worth only \$2,000.



THE CITY HALL AS IT APPEARED IN 1880 BEFORE THE COMPLETION OF THE LARKIN AND McALLISTER STREETS WING
The Stand in front of the circular Hall of Records was on the "Sand Lot" and was used by Denis Kearney and other agitators during the troublous period preceding
the adoption of the Constitution of 1879.

Of course, despite the fact that the property owner is in the habit of making oath that his personal belongings are worth what he says they are in his statement, there is good reason for believing that the assessment roll is more in the nature of a work of fiction than a reliable statistical presentation. But while uncertainty attends its figures, they furnish sufficient evidence that there was not much vulgar ostentation, and that, considering the wealth at their command the rich men of this particular period comported themselves, so far as outward appearances were concerned, in a seemly fashion. The charge of extravagance with far more propriety could be brought against the general run of the community, because its members indulged their desires with much more freedom relatively than the men who, by indirection at least, were charged with contributing to the discontent of the period.

A Free-
Handed
People

The criticism which Bryce voiced would have been applicable to a later period than that dealt with by him. When he visited San Francisco in 1881 the City was in a transition state. Its former leaders were being overshadowed in importance by the owners of greater wealth, and they resented the fact, apparently unconscious that the prestige they had enjoyed was due to the same causes which was putting their successors at the head. In the formation of new social centers, that which calls itself society does not inquire narrowly into the origin of wealth, it merely recognizes the existence of the latter. In that respect it differs in no essential particular from any other aristocracy. The bluest blood of modern times, before it took its cerulean hue, ran very red in the veins of robbers and murderers. Long possession of wealth and the advantages it brings in the way of culture fix the social status of individuals. So it happened that toward the close of the Seventies, and in the beginning of the Eighties, the disposition to brand as upstarts and parvenus all the aspirants to social recognition began to assert itself, and when a wealthy mining magnate had the presumption to buy a house which had once housed a merchant prince and gave a grand ball in it he was sneered at, not alone by those into whose set he was intruding, but by the people at large who always pass a harsher judgment on the "climber" than on the set which he or she seeks to penetrate.

Social
Changes
Noted

Before this transition began there was a gradual lessening of the influence of the pioneer who had sometimes been looked up to because he had come to the City or coast in 1849. The new generation, and the accessions from the East who greatly outnumbered the earlier arrivals were prone to think that the old ways of doing business might be improved upon, and that it was better to peer into the future or deal with the ideas of the present than to adhere to the traditions of the past. It cannot be said that there ever was a society in San Francisco based on the pioneer idea, but there was a distinct tendency up to the Eighties on the part of the successful pioneer's family to assume that the early appearance of its head on the scene gave his offspring the right to consider themselves as belonging to "the old families." The real old families of California, those perhaps best entitled to the appellation, had never asserted themselves to any extent in San Francisco, as in other parts of the state which had grown less rapidly in wealth and importance. Perhaps the explanation may be found in the numerous notices which appeared in the papers during the later Seventies, of the demise of this, that or another old Californian, which were usually accompanied by the statement that Don So and So, "though impoverished at the time of his death was a member of one of the old

Lessening
Influence of
the Pioneer

Spanish families of California, and was at one time owner of the famous ranch this, that or the other."

Centenary
of Founding
of the Mission

Perhaps the last strong reminder of days past and gone in which the old Californian figured in San Francisco was that which he gave by participating in the celebration of the centenary of the founding of the Mission Dolores. In the parade of 1876 held to commemorate that event, one of the most interesting features was a troop of Caballeros, many of them old Californians. They numbered three hundred and gave exhibitions of their horsemanship on native horses. The saddles they rode were the richly silver mounted affairs of earlier days, and the trappings were covered with the same precious metal. Far more interesting than their ability as riders, or the gorgeous dress they wore was a fact noted by Father Gleason in a passing observation. "The old bitterness which for years existed between the Mexican and Spaniard," he tells us was to a great extent smoothed over by the friendly rivalry of the occasion, which brought up memories so dear to them.

The Name
Changing
Habit

As the City grew in numbers some curious practices of early days were greatly abated and others ceased entirely. In the earliest pioneer period men were not particular about the names they bore, but a little later, prompted by various considerations there was a regular epidemic of desire for change. At first the legislature interested itself in the matter of these "new births," but after a while the duty of considering demands of this sort was relegated to the county courts. There were injurious comments made on the queer predilection which may have fitted many of the cases, but the most of the changes were prompted by practical motives. Germans and other foreigners who had brought with them to the new El Dorado names which did not sound well when translated, or which the people in their new environment found it difficult to pronounce, sought to have them converted into prosaic everyday titles which would not attract attention, but there were some undoubtedly who sought to exchange a plain cognomen like Smith or Jones to something more distinctive. There is at least one instance of this sort in which one of the former tribe was transformed by act of the legislature into Amor de Cosmos.

Sunday
Observance In
San Francisco

In an earlier chapter reference was made to the swing of the pendulum which resulted in the passage of a Sunday law which was never enforced. At frequent intervals attempts were made to bring about a stricter observance of the first day of the week, invariably without success. The only effect of these agitations was to cause irritation, and finally, on the recommendation of Governor Stoneman in 1883, the legislature repealed the law. There was absolutely no change in consequence. People continued to act as they had while the law was in force, but the most noticeable and offensive practice, that of selling goods on Sunday, ceased, the abandonment of the practice being entirely voluntary. Before the Eighties numbered four San Francisco was a quiet city on Sunday. Very few stores, and they were in the meaner quarters of the town, were kept open, and there were no more martial strains of music heard as the picnic parties marched to the wharves. Theaters did not close their doors, and there was no pretense of holding sacred concerts within their walls; but so far as the community generally was concerned it was not disturbed, and to find occasion for offense it was necessary to seek for it, for there were no longer any flagrant exhibitions of disregard for the sensibilities of those who held to a rigid observance of rules that the cosmopolitan population of the City insisted upon characterizing as puritanical.

The
Treating
Habit
Assailed

That there was a tendency towards strictness in the closing years of the Seventies and in the beginning of the Eighties was evidenced by the attempt to induce the legislature of 1877-78 to pass an act forbidding the practice of drinking at bars. The movement originated in San Francisco and was urged by those who thought that the evils connected with drink were principally, if not wholly, due to the treating habit which prevailed to an alarming extent about this time. The habit of entering saloons was largely promoted by the comparative neglect of home life, and a scarcity of clubs, and was indulged in by all classes of society. The business man entertained his customer at the numerous bars, and the customer reciprocated. The lines of what later became the "cocktail route" were well marked out in those days, and the number who went over it daily was large. Curiously enough while treating was so prevalent the temperance movement was stronger in the City than at any time before or since. There was an organization known as the "Dashaways" carrying on an active campaign against the drink habit and the measure of its popularity may be gathered from the fact that its membership was extensive enough to permit the purchase of a fine piece of property on Post street, and the erection upon it of a commodious hall. The subsequent history of the organization was not entirely creditable. After the failure of the anti-treat bill there was a gradual abatement of the more demonstrative forms of the drink habit, and with the growth of clubs and the multiplication of modes of amusement the missionary spirit subsided and the Dashaways finally diminished in numbers until the organization wholly faded away, those remaining faithful to the last dividing among themselves the sum derived from the sale of the property acquired during the active career of the association, at the same time furnishing the cynical San Franciscan with a new verb—to dashaway.

New Year's
Calls no
Longer
Fashionable

Among the other practices which once had great vogue in San Francisco, and was made much of during the Seventies, was that of New Year's calling. About the beginning of the Eighties it commenced to lose the stamp of fashionable approval. For several years it remained a popular institution, but it ceased to be observed by those who had once prided themselves on keeping open house and making a display of hospitality whose most prominent feature was the dispensing of liquid refreshments. About the same time that the New Year's calling habit lost its fashionable character the habit of drinking champagne at bars fell into desuetude. This was a custom begotten by the desire of the gold miner of early days to show his liberality, and perhaps to advertise his good fortune. It was known as opening a bottle or treating to wine, the word "wine" in the vernacular of the period being exclusively retained for the sparkling product of the grape.

Mercantile
Library
Lottery

There were other changes during the Seventies indicating the approach of the community towards the conditions existing in the older communities. In 1870 no one thought of deprecating the proposition to lift the Mercantile library out of the slough of despond created by a big debt, by holding a lottery. Not the slightest difficulty was experienced in persuading the legislature to pass an act authorizing the scheme, and on October 31, 1870, there was a drawing, at which a capital prize of \$60,000 and other sums were distributed. A grand concert marked the occasion, but it was not designed to mask the true nature of the affair, which was a frank appeal to the strong gambling instinct still existent, to help an institution which, through a combination of bad management and insufficient patronage had become financially embarrassed. The lottery was a social as well as a financial

success; everybody who could do so attended the drawing, the board of brokers being present in a body. The capital prize was won by some one in New Orleans, and the surplus was devoted to the purposes of the library, which, however, never flourished and finally gave up the ghost, its books being merged into the collection of the Mechanics institute. Nine years later the sentiment had changed so completely that men who were prominently identified with the promotion of the lottery scheme were foremost in causing to be inserted into the Constitution of 1879 the section forbidding the legislature to authorize lotteries or gift enterprises, and directing it to pass laws to prohibit the sale in California of lottery or gift enterprise tickets.

Salmi Morse's
Passion Play

Perhaps the swing of the pendulum from the side of laxity to that of strictness received its most significant illustration in 1879, when a playwright named Salmi Morse succeeded in persuading the local manager of a theater to produce a piece which was called "The Passion Play." Its first performance was at the Grand opera house on March 3, 1879, and the actors who took part were from the Baldwin theater. The production was at once attacked by press and pulpit, and the board of supervisors passed an ordinance forbidding any representations of a religious nature on the stage. Out of deference to what seemed public opinion the performance was suspended. Subsequently, however, there was a more tolerant disposition displayed. Those who had seen the first representations declared that there was nothing to offend the sensibilities of the religiously inclined, and that the performance at Oberammergau was no more calculated to excite reverential emotion than that of the artists who were in the cast, some of whose names afterward became known to the world.

Passion Play
Actors
Arrested

This temperate criticism was regarded as indicative of a changed attitude and it was resolved to repeat the production and the house was reopened on April 15th. At the close of the performance James O'Neill, who personated the Savior, was arrested and a couple of days later he, together with F. E. Brooks, W. J. Dugnan, J. M. McConnell, William Seymour, David Belasco, A. D. Bradley, Lewis Morrison, J. H. Long, J. H. Wooland and E. A. Ambrose, all members of the Baldwin theater, were called to answer charges of misdemeanor for violating the ordinance forbidding the presenting for money any play having it in any religious incidents. O'Neill was fined \$50 and the author appealed the case, which was finally decided adversely to the defendants, Judge Morrison of the fourth district court holding that the board of supervisors had the right to pass such an ordinance, and adding that the life and death of the Savior was not a proper subject for theatrical representation.

Merits
and Demerits
of the Play

There was much difference of opinion concerning the merits or demerits of the performance, and it may have been due to the fact that the severest critics, and the opposition generally came from those who had not seen the performance. Those who did were sure that its effect on the spectator must be to arouse reverence. It was finely staged, probably under the direction of David Belasco, who since that time has acquired international fame. The tableaux have never been surpassed in this City, and the acting was without the flaws which mark the performances of amateurs. The play itself had no great literary merit, but its author, Salmi Morse, had the dramatic sense well developed, and the art to adhere closely to the English style of the King James version of the Bible. After the decision of Judge Morrison no further attempt was made to repeat the performance in San Francisco, but

it was essayed in New York, where it was accorded a cold reception and was violently attacked, especially by the Protestant clergy. It should be noted that in bringing proceedings against the violators of the ordinance the women in the cast were not molested. May Wilkes and Kate Denin played the parts of the Virgin Mary and Herodias.

The favorite mode of raising money for charitable purposes during the Seventies continued to be that of earlier years with a modification. The benefit performance had not lost its vogue entirely and amusement was still relied upon to coax the dollars from the pockets of the forehanded into the coffers of the organized charities. In the summer of 1879 the active spirits of the period laid plans for a great entertainment to be held at the Mechanics pavilion, and to be known as the Authors' Carnival. The pavilion at that time was situated on the corner of Eighth and Mission streets. It was a large frame structure extending nearly the length of the block along Eighth, in the direction of Market street, and was well adapted to the affair, the chief feature of which was a nightly pageant in which all of the representatives of the characters made familiar by noted authors participated, costumed to suit the part. There were booths dedicated to the leading lights of literature, and in each the principal and sometimes all of the creations of the author were depicted. This was particularly true of those of Dickens, whose popularity at that time was attested by the fact that the spectators generally were able to recognize them without assistance. The procession made up of the varied characters with knights and ladies, kings and beggars, beaux and saint was a glittering and interesting spectacle as it moved through the broad aisles of the pavilion and was witnessed during ten nights by thousands. All of the participants were amateurs and their only reward for a great deal of hard work was the consciousness of doing a good deed, and the privilege of being admitted to the grand ball which wound up the affair. The total receipts for the ten days amounted to \$44,819.50. In the ensuing year the carnival was successfully repeated but with lessened enthusiasm, and smaller pecuniary results.

Author's
Carnivals

These activities and charities and the amusements of the period which are yet to be described, indicate that the people of California were becoming very like those of the older states of the Union, yet Bryce thought he saw characteristics which distinguished them from the normal American. Californians "had formed the habit of buying and selling in the mining exchanges, with effects on the popular temper both in business and politics which everyone can understand," but seemingly he failed to comprehend their real temperament for he assumed that there was bred in them a distaste for patient industry, and a recklessness and turbulence in their inner life which did not fail to express itself in acts. It cannot be insisted upon too strongly that this view is a mistaken one, and that the people of the state, and particularly of San Francisco, did not lack stability of character. It is true though, as he asserted, that the most active minds of San Francisco were too much engrossed in business to attend to politics, but it is absolutely untrue that "the masses were impatient, accustomed to blame everything and everybody but themselves for the slow approach of the millennium, and that they were ready to try instant, even if perilous, remedies for a present evil." Unless it can be said that an agitation carried on for many years can be regarded as evidence of an impatient disposition and a resort to legal methods to remedy grievances can properly be characterized as a demand for the application of perilous remedies, the distinguished

Stability
Not Lacking

Englishman must be considered to have made a blundering diagnosis of the trouble from which San Francisco suffered, which after all that has been said on the subject consisted mainly in the people getting twenty-five or thirty years in advance of the modern movement which Roosevelt thinks he is leading, but which was mapped out for him by California in its so-called "sand lot" constitution.

San
Franciscans
Law-abiding

Otherwise Californians were a perfectly normal people, pretty much like the people of other states of the Union. They took their amusements and religion in the same way, perhaps accentuating their preference for the former a little more strongly than the people of other American cities, and although San Francisco "was a New York which had no Boston on one side of it, and no shrewd and orderly population on the other to keep it in order," it managed to perform that duty for itself, and its defenders can safely challenge comparison with other cities whether in Europe or America, in the full assurance that the record will show that for a half a century it has managed to preserve the peace better, and has had a more law abiding population than any other city occupying the position Bryce assigned it when he said "California more than any other part of the Union is a country by itself and San Francisco a capital."

Reception
to General
Grant

San Francisco had so many distinguishing features during the Seventies and early Eighties it was hardly necessary to invest its people with characteristics they did not possess. There was, for instance, its propensity to enter wholesomely into anything in which it took an interest, a disposition oftener present in places that do not aspire to headship than in capitals. When General Grant passed through San Francisco, in the early part of the winter of 1879, he was accorded a reception which he subsequently declared caused him to feel more emotion than he had experienced during the entire course of his travels. The enthusiasm of the welcome enhanced the delight of setting foot in his native land after a long absence, and the heartiness made him feel as though he had reached home, as indeed he had, for San Francisco knew him before he had distinguished himself and written his name large in history. The population of the City has grown greatly since the day when a fleet of vessels numbering hundreds welcomed him outside the heads, and escorted the Pacific mail steamer, on which he was the honored passenger, to its dock, but never since have the throngs on the streets through which the procession moved on the day of his arrival seemed denser. The whole country for hundreds of miles around had invaded the gaily decorated city and its main thoroughfares were overflowing with humanity. An observant police officer who had occasion to investigate made the assertion that the outpouring was so great that practically every house in the City was deserted by its occupants while the ovation was in progress, but happily without evil results so far as the safety of property was concerned.

Celebrations
and
Decorations

There is a period in the life of a young and growing city in which more stress is laid upon celebrations than after its position is assured. In that joyous time which began early in San Francisco demonstrations were largely, if not wholly, spontaneous, and the result, not infrequently, was more striking than that produced under the stimulus of high organization. In pioneer days there were numerous impromptu processions which lingered in the memory of the people for many years, and later there were "turn outs" involving some preparation, but which were devoid of the attendant feature of involuntary contributions. The demand made upon the purses of merchants and others, as a city grows in size, weakens

the voluntary spirit and finally spontaneity becomes a lost virtue. In the reception tendered to Grant there was no further preparation and organization than that necessary to shape a demonstration which was absolutely spontaneous, and it was unnecessary to suggest decoration. This spirit was carried into all public affairs and, as a result, when occasion seemed to suggest the propriety of giving the City an air of festivity there was something like an approach to the exuberance of display witnessed in Dutch towns in the time of Charles V. In 1883, when the triennial conclave of the Knights Templars was held in this City large sums were expended by private individuals upon decorations. Flowers were used in great profusion, intermingled with bunting and silk, very few business houses on the frequented thoroughfares omitting this mark of attention to the visiting strangers. This visit was signalized by the unveiling of the statue of Garfield in Golden Gate park, the ceremonies attending which were witnessed and the oration of the day heard by over 60,000 people. The orator was Henry Highton and his theme was the career of the murdered president and the dangers attendant upon license of thought and speech.

There is much more of artificiality in the pageants of the present day; the music heard in the processions is better, and when the effort is made as in the case of the Portola celebration, the floats are more gorgeous and the crowds on the streets are greater, but the uniforms of the marchers bear no comparison to those of the citizen soldiery. The flags and banners borne by the marchers of the present lack the color and bullion which were so greatly affected by celebrating organizations of the Seventies. The advent of the National Guard, with its uniform of blue, and its improvement in discipline, desirable features in their way, was at the expense of picturesqueness, the desire for which made the dragon parades of the Chinese, and the introduction of other Oriental features, welcome at a time when a violent verbal crusade was being waged against the entrance of Chinese into the country. And this is one of the peculiarities of the San Franciscan temperament worth noting. While the strongest expressions possible were used in denouncing the customs of the aliens, their idolatrous practices were not interfered with, except by the busy missionaries, who sought to convert them. There is no record of any attempt to molest the Chinese in the worship of their gods, nor were their funerals, in which pagan superstitions were obtruded on the people on the busiest streets, ever publicly disapproved of by the authorities or objected to by the community, although they might have been on the ground that the peace of the City was violently fractured by the clashing of cymbals and other noisy devices resorted to by the friends of the deceased to scare away the devils.

Indeed the people of San Francisco were exceptionally tolerant in the matter of street usages during this period. The main thoroughfares were by no means slightly overhead, or in good condition under foot. Market street was paved with squares of basalt, which were laid in the sand, and in places, owing to the subterranean work, the pavement presented a billowy appearance. In the process of what was called street cleaning the dirt was pressed into the gaping interstices between the blocks, later when dry to be shaken loose and driven about by the brisk breezes. The practice of circulating hand bills prevailed, announcements of all kinds being distributed to pedestrians who immediately threw them away, thus adding to the disreputable appearance of the thoroughfare which, however, was no worse than that which a glance upward revealed. Stretched from side to side

Pageants
and Uniforms
of the Past

Street
Scenes in
the Seventies

of the street, at frequent intervals, were lines from which banners and business signs depended at all seasons of the year, the display becoming particularly riotous during political campaigns, when aspirants for office sometimes announced that the "present" incumbent was again running. Over the uneven pavement advertising wagons, ringing noisy bells and resorting to other devices to attract attention, jolted. Frequently footsore handmen marched at the head of a funeral, playing Chopin's funeral march, a post mortem attention accorded to all the departed members of the numerous organizations of the Latin quarter, and to some others. Occasionally when a musician was thus honored, the size of the band, and the volume of its performances, arrested attention, but usually the cortege would pass unnoticed by the hurrying throng. With the cessation of intra mural burial the funeral parade gradually grew less popular and threatens to become a mere memory.

Wane of
Minstrelsy

The alternations of hard and "flush" times in San Francisco beginning with 1870 may have affected the box offices of theaters, but the records do not indicate any diminution in the amusement loving characteristic of her people. A comparison of the attractions presented between 1870 and 1883 in the City and at the East indicates that nearly every performer of note found his way to San Francisco. As the City, during the entire period, was the only place on the coast where an actor, or a singer, could expect remunerative audiences, Los Angeles and other flourishing cities in this and the neighboring states to the north being still in the village stage of existence, their success and rewards are a phenomenon worth noting. During the years mentioned there were some significant changes in the taste of amusement seekers. Italian opera had lost a great deal of its popularity, and minstrelsy was in the decadent stage until it enjoyed a revival through the efforts of Billy Emerson, who maintained an "opera" house on Bush street, in the late Seventies and early Eighties. Much of the troupe's success was due to the wit of "Charlie" Reed, who perceived the waning inclination of audiences for the ordinary features presented by minstrels, and had the sagacity to introduce a new local burlesque every week, in which the foibles of the people were dealt with, sometimes without gloves. These gave the performances a vogue for a while and when they ceased to please minstrelsy was no longer an institution in San Francisco. The Standard theater on Bush street, run by Emerson, was the last house in the City in which minstrel performances were regularly given in the old days.

Popularity
of Opera
Bouffe

The failure of Italian opera to hold the affections of San Franciscans during the early part of this period was due more perhaps to the general decline in which it had temporarily fallen than to any other cause, but there are traces of a growing desire for opera in the vernacular, and for more novelty and less devotion to the works of the favorite composers of the earlier period. It was no longer possible to present "Norma" four or five nights in succession, and the music lovers had a surfeit, for the time being, of "Il Trovatore" and other operas which they knew by heart. It is not strange, therefore, that they hailed with satisfaction a change, even though the purists thought it was one for the worse. But whatever may have been the real opinion of advocates of "good music" their criticisms did not prevail. Grand opera for a time was neglected and opera bouffe, and a little later English opera of a new school, usurped its place. In the early Seventies the music of Offenbach and of some of his imitators took the City by storm. A French company, whose prima donna had achieved a Parisian success, visited the City, and played an engagement at the California which extended over several weeks,

during which the "Grande Duchesse," "Genevieve de Brabant" and numerous other operas were sung, some of which still hold the stage while others like "Fleur de The" are no longer heard. In 1874 the company again visited the City, introducing to the music loving public "La Fille de Madame Angot," which made quite a furore. In 1879 Maurice Grau brought Aimee, whose San Francisco popularity dated back to the beginning of the decade. The company produced "Madame Favart," "Girofle-Girafle," "Les Brigands," "La Petit Faust," and "La Belle Helene," in addition to the early favorites. An incident connected with the visit of the company was an attempt to signalize the conclusion of the engagement with a "French ball," which was to be a gay affair, to be participated in by Aimee and others. It proved a great disappointment, and was voted tame by those who attended expecting to witness the abandon generally attributed to the Moulin Rouge.

Toward the close of the decade, in 1879, there was a revival of the old time yearning for grand opera which was gratified by Mapleson, who brought out Marie Roze, who sang in "Lucia," "Favorite," "Trovatore," "Martha," "Rigoletto," "Faust," the "Masked Ball" and "Mignon" at the Baldwin theater during April, and on May 5 opened at the Grand opera house in "Aida," which attracted six large audiences. The success of this season was in marked contrast to that of a German company, which had produced "The Flying Dutchman" at the Grand opera house, with a noted tenor. Wagner's music had not attained the vogue it later obtained in the City, the inclination for the more melodious if lighter music being still dominant. The attachment to the old favorites, however, had greatly weakened, and even Anna Bishop, who had so long maintained a hold on the people, and who visited San Francisco in 1873, did not seek to revive it, but contented herself by singing in concert at Platt's hall, on the corner of Montgomery and Bush streets.

Revival
of Grand
Opera

The most striking change in the popular musical taste was that which developed itself towards the close of the Seventies, closely synchronizing with the rising popularity of Gilbert and Sullivan. The plays of the former had been made familiar to the people by the stock company of the Baldwin theater, which had at different times produced his "Palace of Truth," "Pygmalion and Galatea," "Sweethearts" and "Engaged," the enterprising manager taking advantage of the absence of an international copyright law to appropriate the plays. "The Sorcerer," the libretto of which was written by Gilbert, and the music by Sullivan, had attracted little or no attention in this country and there was no temptation to steal it, but the English success of "Pinafore," written in 1878, tempted the agent of Alice Oates to appropriate it very shortly after its first production in London. Oates was then performing in San Francisco at the Bush street theater, producing in English the operas of Offenbach, Le Cocq and other French opera bouffe composers. On January 1, 1879, she introduced to the San Francisco public Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pinafore," said to have been its first presentation in America. It did not make any particular impression, the audience failing to catch the point of the satire, owing to their unfamiliarity with the doings of the British admiralty, and it must be added, that as interpreted by Oates and her company, it did not greatly resemble the later productions.

First
Production in
America of
Pinafore

But the early indifference was more than compensated by the eagerness with which the opera was received a few months later. On June 6, 1889, Emily Melville opened with an amateur company in the Standard theater, singing the part

A
Pinafore
Craze

of Josephine, and three days later Charles E. Locke, in the Bush street theater, across the street, offered "Pinafore," with R. D. Graham as Sir Joseph Porter, and Anna Ainsworth as Josephine, stating on the house bill that the new opera was "obtained in London direct from the author." Graham had been with Oates, and had sung the part of Sir Joseph when the opera was originally presented in San Francisco, but his later interpretation scarcely suggested his first effort. In less than a month another company was attracting audiences to the Metropolitan temple, and in October the San Francisco Yacht club produced "Pinafore on the Water." The Tivoli, on the night of July 3, 1879, introduced "Pinafore" to its patrons in conjunction with "Trial by Jury," and they were the attractions at that place of amusement for 84 continuous nights. The Tivoli was then situated on the northwest corner of Sutter and Stockton streets in a frame building surrounded with shrubbery, which gave some point to its claim to being a garden, and combined the dispensing of refreshments, particularly beer, with melody. In October Emily Melville introduced a newly formed company to a Bush street theater audience. Although composed of local talent it was by no means amateurish. It sang "Pinafore" and other English operas for several months. Nearly all of the company, which subsequently visited Eastern cities, entered the profession, and Emily Melville long continued a favorite in this City, the East and in Australia.

Change in
Dramatic
Taste

The change in the taste for the drama during this period was fully as marked as the altered attitude of the San Franciscan toward Italian opera. There was a marked diminution of the interest once taken in sombre plays, and the tragedian or interpreter of Shakespeare had to come well heralded in order to secure a good audience such as would a few years earlier have filled a house when "Richard III," "Hamlet," "Othello" or any of the favorite Shakespearian plays were presented. When George Rignold in 1876 visited the City and presented "Henry V," at Wade's opera house, he played to crowded houses, but the reputation of the actor and the mounting of the piece were the attraction and not the name of Shakespeare. A little later a local Shakespearian revival was attempted with great success at the California, but it was wholly due to the novelty of the music by a local composer named Kelly, a musician of merit. It was sufficiently distinctive to excite the desire of Charlie Reed to burlesque the music and the accompanying reading of the lines, which he did in an amusing fashion, without, however, shaking the faith of the admirers of Kelly, who were firm in their conviction that a new musical star had arisen. Adelaide Lee Neilson in July, 1880, by her great talent, revived an interest in "Romeo and Juliet," but her success merely illustrates the truth of what has already been said, that Shakespeare had ceased to be a name to conjure with unless the representation happened to be by an actor of her merit, or of the rank of Edwin Booth, or by the unfortunate Sheridan, a member of a local stock company, whose genius might have won world wide fame if its fires had not been quenched by strong drink.

Stars
Visit San
Francisco

During the Seventies and the early Eighties San Francisco was not neglected by the stars of the first magnitude, all of whom appeared to think that a visit to San Francisco was necessary to round out their fame. Among them may be enumerated Mrs. D. P. Bowers, E. A. Sothorn, Eben Plympton, Robson and Crane, Charles Fechter, Dion Boucicault, John T. Raymond, Clara Morris and Charles Wheatleigh, whose visits began in the early Fifties and continued at intervals

down to 1877. The death of Otille Genée in Berlin in November, 1911, recalled the fact that she successfully maintained a German theater in this City; between 1865 and 1884, during which time she introduced many clever artists. An event often referred to with pride was the first appearance on the stage of Madame Modjeska, who made her debut in this City and achieved an instant success. The event occurred August 20, 1877, and the distinguished artist in after life frequently referred to the influence the cordial reception and the recognition she received had in promoting her subsequent artistic career.

During the Seventies there was apparent a growing disinclination for Irish melodrama which had once been so popular in San Francisco. Barney Williams and his wife had disappeared from the scene, but had they appeared again with their "Irish Boy and Yankee Girl" they would no longer have been welcome, nor, toward the close of the decade did the "Connie Soogah" and "Arrah na Pogue" meet with the same favor as during the Sixties and early Seventies. But while the melodrama had ceased to interest Irish portraiture had not. When Edward Harrigan, who had during the Sixties entertained San Francisco audiences at the Bella Union with sketches, which he afterward rounded out into a series of plays illustrative of tenement life in New York, returned to the City in 1878, he was welcomed with open arms. He played several weeks at the Bush street theater, and the popularity of his presentations was enhanced by the support he received from Annie Yeamans, another old time favorite, whose characterizations at the Eureka theater in 1865 had established her in the good graces of the amusement lovers of the City.

Harrigan's
Success
in the City

Two influences in San Francisco during this period stand out very plainly in the annals of amusements. The first is that exercised by the stock company formed by Maguire, and which occupied the stage of the Baldwin for several years; the other was the insistent demand for music which met a response in the formation of the first Tivoli company, for which the claim has been made that it inaugurated in America the practice of giving opera all the year around. The Baldwin company was made up of artists, and the boastful assertion that it was one of the best stock companies in the United States was justified by the subsequent careers of the members, who nearly all, after its disbandment, took their places in the theatrical firmament as stars. In this company were included at one time James O'Neill, Lewis Morrison, Bishop, the well known comedian, and an actor named Jennings, whose versatility was extraordinary. The industry of the company was marvelous, it being the custom of Maguire to present a fresh play weekly. Many of the plays thus produced were London, Paris or Berlin successes of the moment, there being few scruples against, and no law to prevent the appropriation of foreign copyrighted pieces. The result was the early introduction to San Franciscans of many plays not seen in the United States outside of their City. Maguire, whose career as a manager dated back to the earliest pioneer days, had many ups and downs, but was always recognized as a resourceful caterer. Much of the success achieved by the Baldwin Stock Company was due to David Belasco, whose remarkable abilities were clearly recognized and appreciated by the amusement loving people of San Francisco long before the world pronounced its eulogies.

The
Baldwin
Theater Stock
Company

The Tivoli garden, which began to assert itself as a musical resort in 1879, published a Christmas souvenir in 1880, in which it reviewed some of its successes. Commencing September 25, 1879, it produced "The Wreck of the Pinafore;" "The

Success
of the Tivoli

Doctor of Alcantara;" "The Sorcerer," which ran 28 nights; "Madame Angot's Daughter," 26 nights; "Girofle-Giraffa," 28 nights; "The Little Duke," 24 nights; the "Grande Duchesse," 21 nights. Altogether during 1880 it repeated "Trial by Jury" and "Pinafore" 84 nights. The artists who assumed the roles in these operas were not great, but they became favorites not easily displaced. Among them were Hattie Moore, Harry Gates and H. de Lorme, who managed to retain their hold on the public after the Tivoli had entered the regular amusement field by opening an opera house on the north side of Eddy street near the junction of Market and Powell, which was probably the first house in the United States in which opera was presented every night of the year. It should be added that from the beginning the work of the Tivoli orchestra was excellent, a fact which more than any other contributed to the early success of the garden, which finally developed into a regular opera house which remained one of the best known places of amusement until its later home on the corner of Eddy and Turk streets was destroyed in the great conflagration.

Chicago Fire
Benefits

During this period while there was an abatement of the propensity to resort to the theaters for assistance for charitable purposes, the benefit habit still continued, although the calls on the profession were less frequent than in the early days. On the occasion of the Chicago fire in 1871 there was a prompt movement to raise money for the sufferers. In October all the theaters gave benefit performances at which considerable sums were raised. The Metropolitan, California, Bella Union, Alhambra and the Oxford, a music hall, all responded to the appeal, as did the school department and pupils, whose contributions amounted to \$1,500. The musicians also gave a performance at Platt's hall, the proceeds of which added to those resulting from the theatrical benefits and the individual contributions made a handsome sum which helped the Chicago unfortunates to weather a hard winter.

Amusement
Business
Still
Prospering

At the close of this period it was still the practice in amusement circles to count San Francisco as one of the best "show towns" in America, and the fact that it required the expenditure of a very considerable sum to transport an organization across the continent, and that when the coast was reached the City was the only place where a remunerative engagement could be played, amply testifies to the accuracy of the observation, for, as already shown, venturesome managers did not hesitate to bring large companies throughout the Seventies and the early Eighties, and usually they were well rewarded for their enterprise. At the beginning of the decade 1880 there were perhaps fewer theaters than ten or twenty years earlier, but they were in a better class of buildings and the amusement business was on a higher plane than formerly. At this time there were about a dozen places of entertainment where performances or concerts were regularly given, the largest of which was the Grand opera house, built during the period when mining speculation ran high. It was situated on the north side of Mission near Third. It had a spacious stage and seated a large audience. Its foyer and lobbies permitted circulation between acts, and they were freely resorted to during seasons of grand opera. It was illuminated by gas, and had a central crystal chandelier not surpassed in size or magnificence by any other in the country. In addition to the Grand opera house, the California, Baldwin, Bush street and Standard theaters were flourishing at this time, not to mention the Bella Union, the Adelphi, Mercantile Library and Platt's hall, the Metropolitan temple and a number of minor halls, whose stages were rarely unoccupied.

That a people as devoted to amusement as San Franciscans were during the Seventies and early Eighties, should also have been lovers of outdoor sports is not surprising. The all around athletic spirit had not reached its present high stage of development, but racing and contests for supremacy of all kinds, whether on the track, or in the field, were in great favor, and attracted large crowds. In those days the attitude of the public towards the race course was vastly different from that assumed within the past few years. The legislature of 1873-74 instead of devoting itself to the restriction of the pleasures of the turf, was inclined to promote them, and did not see anything wrong in backing one's judgment of a horse. At that session an act was passed closing a number of streets opposite Golden Gate park which led into Fulton street, for the purpose of creating a race track. Prominently identified with this venture were Leland Stanford and others connected with the railroad. The establishment of the track in this situation was largely influenced by the plans of those connected with the street car system. At the time of its creation, to most people in San Francisco it seemed a location which would not soon be reached by the advancing tide of home seekers, but those who invested their money in the enterprise foresaw that they would get it back in the near future when the demand for lots would make it profitable to cut up the tract.

When the Bay district track was first established public sentiment against racing, as implied by the action of the legislature, was not aggressive. There were some who maintained that betting was demoralizing and should not be permitted, but the argument that the contests resulted in improving the breed of horses appealed strongly to the practical, and besides, strange as it may seem, at that time the professional gambler was not nearly so much in evidence on the race track as at a later period. Although the people loved to see a race betting on the races had not developed into a mania, and the fleecing of the unwary was not much practiced. The betting instinct was probably as strong, but the game had not been systematized so that the race track operator could gather in the nickel of the newsboy with the same facility that he does larger sums. Men who bet for "the sport of the thing," in early days if called upon to answer for the practice were always ready to urge that they were encouraging a great industry, one that would bring profit and fame to California.

That was before the advent of the automobile, when no one foresaw that the horse would succumb to a rival. The belief in the value of such contests was supported by visible evidences of what seemed to be a result of racing. The stock farm established at Palo Alto by Governor Stanford, in a way, did more to spread the fame of California and its climate than all the books published by "boosting" committees to boom the resources of the state. The horses raised on this farm, and on the Santa Ana ranch of E. J. Baldwin in Los Angeles, were seen in every state of the Union, and proclaimed the fact that an animal reared out of doors and at large during the winter is apt to have qualities not found in those trained under less element skies. The success attained at these ranches was the magnet that drew the stables from all parts of the United States to winter in California. The presence of so much "equine talent," and the recognized benefits of raising fine stock effectually silenced criticism of the racing practice. At that time fine stock was an engrossing subject in California and occupied the minds of others than the frequenters of the race track. To this fact may be traced the invention of the universally popular and highly educational moving picture. It was a San

Racing
Receives
Legislative
Encourage-
ment

The
Public and
Horse Racing

Origin of
Moving
Pictures

Francisco photographer named Muybridge who first attempted to determine with the aid of the camera how a race horse appeared in motion. Leland Stanford provided the funds which enabled Muybridge to make his interesting experiments, which were subsequently illustrated in a handsome volume, the pictures and comments in which effectually revolutionized preconceived notions, and pointed the way to the successful introduction of the motion picture shows which play so large a part in the life of today.

**Pugilism
Experiences
a Revival**

Prize fighting which, during the Fifties and Sixties, was accounted among the manly arts, and was patronized by princes, was overdone during those decades in California. The great heroes of the first decade after the occupation were the heavy weight sluggers, all of them sooner or later finding their way to the Golden State to give exhibitions or to wage their battles. John C. Heenan (the Benicia Boy), Yankee Sullivan, Tommy Chandler and others had boxed in San Francisco, and had their admirers, who found no difficulty in overlooking such eccentricities as those exhibited by Yankee Sullivan, who added to his shoulder hitting accomplishments that of ballot box stuffing, and who also had the reputation of having elected a man to the supervisorship who was not even a candidate. For this and other offenses he was taken in hand by the Vigilantes of 1856, and became so alarmed over the prospect of having his neck stretched that he tried to commit suicide by severing the arteries of his arm with a table knife. This worship of the pugs abated considerably after the hanging of Casey, the object of Yankee Sullivan's affections, and finally, in the middle of the Seventies, legal prohibitions of boxing put an end to exhibitions, but it was no unusual occurrence for a match to be arranged for a prize fight to be pulled off in the adjoining county of San Mateo or over the bay. By the beginning of the Eighties the taste for the prize ring, which had been kept under control for several years, showed signs of reviving. A visit made by John L. Sullivan in 1883 was responsible for something like a furore in sporting circles, and for several years after public exhibitions were quite common. There was little effort made by those who managed these affairs to conceal their real character. Fights to a finish were unblushingly arranged for, and were witnessed in public halls by the most influential men in the community.

**Professional
Baseball
and Other
Sports**

The game of baseball had many votaries and, as in the East, it assumed a professional form during the period. In 1876 a club of Californians, known as the Centennials, and consisting of ten members, visited the East, and played with the prominent organizations without, however, greatly distinguishing itself. Later California clubs began to give a better account of themselves and their ranks were sometimes drawn upon to strengthen Eastern teams. Andrew J. Piercy, whose experience on the diamond dated back to 1861, in 1881 joined the Nationals of Chicago, and figures in the records as the first Californian who crossed the Rockies to play in the National League. As a drawing entertainment baseball did not succeed very greatly during the seventy decade, but in 1881 it began to become popular and later the interest in it developed to such an extent that sporting analysts speak of it as a "boom." Tennis and golf had not attained to any degree of popularity. There were a few tennis courts in the state, but the playing was amateurish and attracted little attention. Yachting, always a favorite sport with San Franciscans, retained its hold, and the fleets of the rival clubs were constantly being added to, as well as their resources for the entertainment of members. But public events were of comparatively rare occurrence, the yachtmen, as a rule, preferring the pleasure of sailing for sailing's sake to exhibitions of speed.

In April, 1879, Charles E. Locke, who was running the Bush street theater at that time, engaged a man who had successfully conducted a pedestrian endurance contest in New York to come to this City to manage a match. The Mechanics' pavilion was secured, and on June 5 several walkers began a six-day match. The novelty drew thousands to witness the uninteresting sight of a number of men wearily traveling over the oblong path, and making a record, and the enterprising man who projected the entertainment "coined money." This first exhibition was followed by several others, but the furore soon died out. While it lasted several San Franciscans developed the walking habit sufficiently to be in demand in other cities to which the craze had extended, among them Gus Guerrero, Bobby Vint, Frank Hart and Peter McIntyre. During these contests the trainers of the contestants pushed the latter to such an extent at times that police interference was threatened. It was no unusual occurrence during the closing days of a contest to see a man walking or staggering along half asleep. The amusement, while quite tame otherwise, gratified the morbid desire to see others suffer and also ministered to the gambling propensity; but there is no evidence that it increased the ability of the spectators to endure, or that it promoted the pedestrian habit, although it is true that for a period all the small boys in town were doing endurance stunts, for the time abandoning their roller skates.

Six-Day
Walking
Contests

No story of the doings of a community which overlooked the performances of the small boy would be complete; and the same may be said of the doings of his sister. The rising generation in San Francisco was not very different from that in the older states of the Union. The boys and girls of the City play the same games as those of other cities, but they enjoy an advantage over those of regions where unpropitious weather interferes with outdoor sports in being able to play in the open at all seasons of the year. Although many children in San Francisco grow up without acquiring an intimate acquaintance with snow they are not unfamiliar with the delights of coasting. The topography of the City lends itself admirably to that diversion and they may be seen at all times of the year engaged in the occupation, their coasters being on wheels and not on runners as in more inclement countries. About the end of the period 1871-83 the use of cement for sidewalk construction opened a new outlet for the energies of the youngsters, permitting them to transfer their activities on the roller skate to the open air, and the practice of outdoor skating became general. The proximity of the ocean, and the cheap street-car fare makes the beach on the ocean side of Golden Gate park a popular resort, and while sea bathing is not indulged in to any extent by old or young, large numbers of children avail themselves of the opportunity to wade in the surf and disport themselves on the sands at all seasons of the year.

Sports of
the Children

In the earlier years, before Golden Gate park was thought of, the Cliff house was the objective of all visitors to the City. From its porch a large colony of seals, which inhabited the rocks, could be seen dragging themselves up their precipitous sides or swimming about undisturbed by the occasional vessel entering the Golden Gate, near which the rookery was situated. The traveler had to see the seals and all who came saw them. The San Franciscan visited the Cliff for quite a different purpose. A visit to it was usually a punctuating mark in an afternoon drive, refreshments solid and liquid being a specialty. The house itself at the time and the nearby stables, where the "teams" were put up, presented a bustling

The Cliff
House and
Ocean Beach

appearance on Sundays and holidays, and on other days there were always signs of life, but it was not a popular resort until made accessible by the street cars, which carried a passenger for a single fare from any part of the City to the beach, which thereafter took on many of the characteristics of a sea side watering place, although outdoor bathing has never been included in the list of diversions offered. The annual plunge of the members of the Olympic club on New Year's day is merely indulged in to demonstrate that midwinter weather in San Francisco permits bathing, but truth demands the admission that the inclination for sea baths at other seasons of the year has never been highly developed, although the love of salt water exhibits itself in the patronage bestowed upon the nearby Sutro baths, which are under cover.

Favorite
Sunday
Outings

During the Seventies and well into the Eighties the picnic grounds on the Alameda, Marin and Contra Costa side of the bay were much more favored than Golden Gate park and the beach. The tide of ferry travel indicates this as much as it does the growth of Oakland and the other trans bay towns. The ferry lines maintained by the railroad in 1872 carried 2,415,141 passengers both ways, and in 1883 the number had increased to 6,493,841. During the Seventies the favorite Sunday outing was a visit to one of the many picturesque spots in the counties named. They were quickly reached and the fare was small, and there was a current belief that the change of climate proved beneficial to the voyager. That the change was experienced is undeniable, for there are seasons of the year when the mere crossing of the bay secures a difference of temperature amounting to several degrees. The climatic peculiarities of the City and the ease with which a different brand of weather may be obtained has resulted in San Franciscans regulating their summer outings with a view to securing warmth. If they wish to keep cool they stay home.

Growth of
Oakland

It would be a mistake to assume that Oakland at this particular time only served the purpose of a suburban retreat for San Franciscans. It had already offered such attractions to many doing business and working in the City that they preferred to make their homes there, and as early as 1871 there were plenty who looked forward to the time when Oakland would become industrially and commercially important. In that year an interesting pamphlet was published by the "boosters" of that town, in which it was asserted "that Oakland must eventually become the base of the greatest part of the commerce concentrating at the Bay of San Francisco." The writer, however, took the precaution to assure his readers that he was "not predicting the downfall of San Francisco." "On the contrary," he said, "we believe San Francisco will prosper and increase. We are looking forward to the time when the commerce concentrating on the Bay of San Francisco will be five fold greater than it is at present." The prediction, so far as it concerns expansion of volume of commerce on the bay has not yet been realized, but the growth of Oakland during the seventy decade shows that the booster was gifted with foresight, for the value of its property advanced from \$4,563,767 in 1870 to \$28,348,778 in 1879-80, a more than five fold increase during the period. The other towns about the bay made progress, but their advances were not so marked during this period as later, when the growing wealth of the City permitted its inhabitants to indulge in the luxury of a town and country house. This has had the effect of promoting the growth of suburban population centers on the peninsula and in the neighboring counties, and also of calling into existence numerous resorts within reaching distance of the City, whose prosperity reflects that of the metropolis.

CHAPTER LV

VARIED ACTIVITIES OF THE PEOPLE OF A GROWING CITY

SAN FRANCISCO POLICE FORCE IMPROVED—A GANG OF BANDITS EXTERMINATED—TWO NOTORIOUS CRIMINAL CASES—THE DELAYS OF THE LAW—A TWICE DESPOILED BANK—FIGHT FOR THE PROTECTION OF SAILORS—THE BARBARY COAST—THE BAR AND ATTEMPTS AT REFORM OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE—COLONEL E. D. BAKER AND OTHER NOTED LAWYERS OF SAN FRANCISCO—JUSTICE FIELD OF THE SUPREME COURT—CALIFORNIA'S FIRST CHIEF JUSTICE—THE RAILROAD AND THE LEGAL PROFESSION—CORPORATION LAWYERS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—JOURNALISTIC INFLUENCE DURING THE PERIOD—GEORGE K. FITCH AND THE "BULLETIN"—THE "SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE"—THE "ARGONAUT" AND ITS FOUNDER—BEGINNINGS OF THE SUNDAY MAGAZINE IN DAILY PAPERS—WELL KNOWN WRITERS—ART IN THE SEVENTIES AND EARLY EIGHTIES—LIBRARIES—CALIFORNIA'S FREE LIBRARY SYSTEM—HENRY GEORGE'S LAND THEORIES AND HIS GREAT BOOK—JOHN F. SWIFT'S POLITICAL NOVEL—JOAQUIN MILLER—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON'S LIFE IN SAN FRANCISCO—BANCROFT'S PACIFIC COAST HISTORIES—MONT EAGLE UNIVERSITY—STANFORD'S FOUNDATION—EDUCATIONAL—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS.



HE critics of San Franciscan conditions during the Seventies would be able to find little in the police records to justify their assertion that it was a particularly turbulent city, or that the criminal element was unusually active during the period. Statistics of crime are not always dependable, but such as exist show that San Francisco was no worse than any other seaport city of its size at any time between

1871 and 1883, not even excepting the two or three years during the time it was supposed to be at the mercy of sand lot mobs. The number of arrests per capita indicate something like the average urban showing of departure from the straight and narrow path, with fewer of those exceptional crimes, which attract general attention, than at any time during many years previous. Indeed the country provided more in the way of sensational criminal events during the twelve years than the City.

By far the most exciting occurrence related in the criminal annals of the Seventies was the capture near Los Angeles county in May, 1874, of the bandit Vasquez, who had terrorized the state for several years, and in the course of his career had murdered several persons. A reward of \$8,000 had been offered for Vasquez if caught alive, or \$6,000 for his body, by special authorization of the legislature. He was captured by a ruse. One of the posses in search of the bandit learned that he was concealed in the house of a man named Greek George. Pre-

Police
Records and
Crime

Capture of
Bandit
Vasquez

vious experience suggested that his captors would have to adopt some method of approaching his place of concealment which would not excite suspicion, and the device of concealing themselves in the body of a wood wagon was adopted. By this means Greek George's place was reached without alarming the inmates until the posse had surrounded the house, when a woman gave the alarm. Vasquez jumped from a window, but found his retreat cut off by armed men. He fought for his life but was brought down by several shots. He was so severely wounded that it was thought he would die, but he recovered and was taken to Tres Pinos in San Benito county and was there tried for a murder committed by him and found guilty and was hanged on March 19, 1875. While waiting his trial one of the band named Chavez wrote a letter to the authorities in which he threatened to kill everyone who had anything to do with the conviction of Vasquez, but the latter exhorted his follower to change his course of life, warning him that he would come to grief if he failed to do so. Chavez attempted to adopt the convicted bandit's advice and made his way to Arizona where he was subsequently recognized by a couple of men who, in pursuit of the reward offered for the robber, killed him while he was resisting capture.

Last of the
Organized
Bandits

The capture of Vasquez was notable as disposing of the last band of organized highway robbers infesting the state. Vasquez was less ferocious than Murietta, and the depredations of his band were not near so serious as those committed by the earlier outlaw, but the more settled condition of the interior, and the growing interdependence of the people, and the increased travel resulting from it, caused his operations to be viewed with more alarm than those of his predecessor. His boldness created a feeling of uneasiness resembling that produced in Italy by the organized bandits of that country, and it was feared that the band he formed in 1873, unless dispersed would make the state as unsafe for the traveler as those regions in which robbers were in the habit of seizing travelers and holding them for ransom. Vasquez in addition to being a bold robber and a ruthless murderer had the reputation of being a gay Lothario and had several affairs with women. It was generally believed that his capture in Los Angeles county was due to information supplied by a woman whom he had deserted.

An
Extraordinary
Criminal

The two most noted criminal cases of this period were those of Wheeler the strangler, and the murder of a man named Skerrit. George Wheeler on October 20, 1880, delivered himself to the police stating that he had strangled his sister-in-law at 23 Kearney street. The name of his victim was Della Tillson. She had been living with her sister who had married Wheeler several years earlier in Massachusetts. Wheeler had become infatuated with Della, and had been intimate with her and she had borne him a child. Later Wheeler went to Cisco in Nevada, and there Della met a man named George Peckham, with whom she sustained relations. Wheeler discovering this forced Della to accompany him to San Francisco. His deserted wife with the help of Peckham located him in San Francisco about a month earlier than the strangling, and the three, Wheeler and the two sisters, lived in the same house together. On the night of the murder Wheeler had occasion to go out on business, and when he returned he found Della with hat and gloves on, apparently having also been out. When Wheeler questioned her she told him she had been with Peckham and that she intended to marry him. According to Wheeler, Della sat on his knee when she made this confession, and he became so enraged that he choked her to death. Della was a

comely looking young woman, and was about twenty-one years of age when murdered. Wheeler at first thought of attempting to conceal his crime, and placed the body of his victim in a trunk where it was found by the police after he had informed them concerning the murder. Despite the fact that he had confessed, Wheeler made a fight for his life and was tried four times. He was finally convicted and hanged January 23, 1884, more than three years after he had committed the crime.

In August, 1883, Nicholas Skerritt, a dry goods dealer doing business on Bush street near Montgomery, and the owner of a number of houses in the City, made the acquaintance of a man who gave the name of La Rue, and who represented himself as from Colorado. Skerritt had some trouble collecting his rents and La Rue threw out the suggestion that he was in a position to take care of the property, and if it were made worth his while he might be induced to invest. The acquaintanceship and negotiations began on the 5th of August, and Skerritt spoke about them to a Mrs. Dixon, with whom he was intimate, and to others, thus laying the foundations for an audacious scheme for the despoilment of his victim. On Sunday evening August 12th, Skerritt had an interview with La Rue at the house of Mrs. Dixon, where the former boarded. On Monday Skerritt disappeared and was not seen again. On the Wednesday following Skerritt's disappearance the husband of Mrs. Dixon, and a couple of other persons, and the bank with which he did business received dispatches from Sacramento, signed N. Skerritt, which stated that he had made a clean sweep of all his property and that he had gone to Colorado to complete the transaction. The dispatch also stated that he had one-half of the amount to be paid in hand, and added, "La Rue will take charge. Favor him. He is solid and reliable."

The day the dispatch was received La Rue made his appearance at the Dixon's and took away part of Skerritt's effects. Dixon was inclined to suspect that there was something wrong and concluded to bring the matter to the attention of the police. A detective was assigned to the case who soon ascertained that deeds had been filed which transferred nearly all of Skerritt's property to La Rue. The detective, whose name was Hogan recalled the fact that in 1878 a man named Wright Le Roy had been sent to prison for forgeries committed in Alameda. The similarity of the name and peculiarities connected with the Alameda forgeries suggested that the perpetrator might be the same person and the detective worked on that theory. It was learned that Le Roy, who was a lawyer, had been liberated from prison on the 27th of May, 1883. The identity of La Rue and Le Roy as one and the same person was soon established, but although the police were satisfied that there had been foul play it was several days before the body of Skerritt was found in the toilet of one of his own houses, to which he had been lured by his murderer. When Le Roy was arrested a bunch of keys was found on his person all of which were accounted for but one which apparently belonged to a Yale lock. Duplicates of this were made and furnished to the police, who after a long search discovered that the key fitted the front door of No. 620 Market street, a house in which Le Roy had a room. In this room were found some of the personal effects of Skerritt, and among other things a dozen large cans of chloride of lime with which the murderer intended to consume the body of his victim. Le Roy was tried for his crime and convicted and hanged January 18, 1885.

A Remark-
able Bit of
Detective
Work

An
Audacious
Criminal

Delays of
the Law

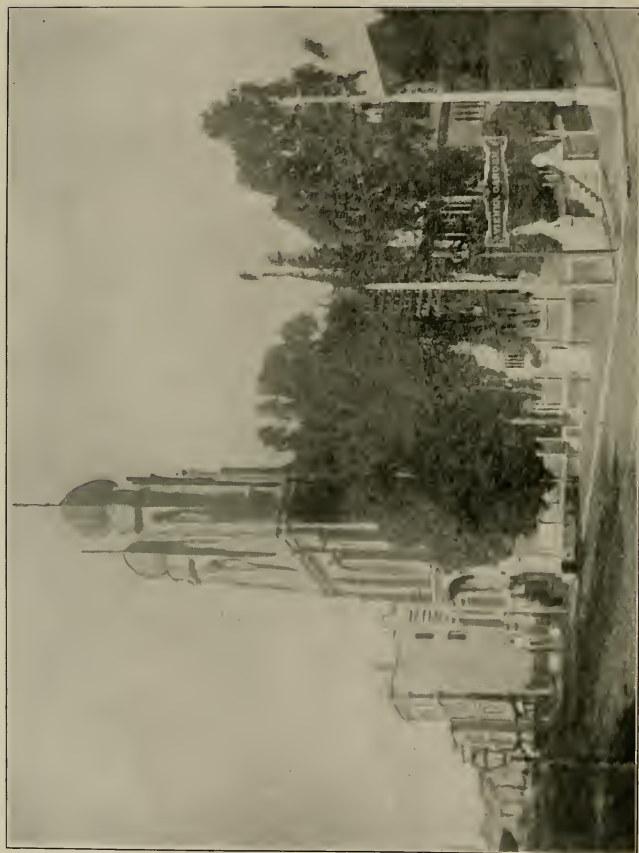
In 1874 a doctor named J. Milton Bowers arrived in San Francisco from the East and established himself in San Francisco. His subsequent and previous career connected him with a series of remarkable crimes which, however, were not disclosed until nearly a decade later when they resulted in long drawn out trials which drew forth much adverse comment on the law's delays and the defects in criminal procedure, and started an agitation for reform. This movement is referred to because modern or recent reformers have assumed that the defects complained of are a comparatively recent development. The case of Wheeler the strangler, who was able to secure the postponement of retribution, although he had confessed an atrocious crime, for over three years has just been cited, but it was by no means isolated. At this particular time, and all through the Seventies, the course of justice was slow except in those cases in which the criminal showed no disposition to fight for his life or liberty. The assumption was common that it was only the rich malefactor who profited by the technicalities of the law, but it was signally refuted by the facts. Lawyers were found ready to defend criminals whose crimes attracted public attention for the sake of the notoriety, and the advertisement which a successful defense gave them. In the game of wits played by the lawyers of San Francisco against the law makers and the courts the former oftener than otherwise proved successful. The modern censor who assumes that a particular case of villainy unwhipt of justice marks a new departure does the times in which he lives an injustice.

A Bank
Twice
Despoiled

History may not repeat itself, but the infirmities of men do produce extraordinary parallels which might easily be passed off for repetitions. The wrecking of the Safe Deposit Company by Brown and Bartnett after the depression of 1907 furnishes an extraordinary instance of criminal coincidence, because the institution whose depositors they robbed had been victimized by the man who founded the bank of which the Safe Deposit Company was the successor. J. C. Duncan, the president of the bank on the corner of California and Montgomery streets in the basement of which were established the first safe deposit vaults in San Francisco, disappeared on October 8, 1877. Examination disclosed the fact that the institution was insolvent, owing its depositors \$1,213,000. Warrants for the arrest of the would be absconder were issued, charging him with embezzlement. He was caught, after making two unsuccessful attempts to escape by sea, in a dressmaker's rooms concealed in the framework of a bureau, from which all the interior fittings had been removed. Duncan received four trials which disclosed mismanagement, misappropriation and misrepresentation, but in each instance the jury disagreed and he was finally discharged.

Fighting
for Abused
Seamen

Occasionally a lawyer of distinction would array himself on the side of justice and win popular applause. A notable instance of this kind was the action of W. H. L. Barnes in the "Crusader" case in 1874, in which he secured the conviction of a couple of officers who had brutally treated sailors. The case attracted world wide attention and King Oscar of Sweden bestowed knighthood upon Barnes for the part he took in bringing the men to justice. The action against the "Crusader's" officers was due to a movement started by Henry George, while editor of the "Evening Post," a year earlier. On September 27, 1873, the ship "Sunrise" entered the port, and the captain reported the loss of three sailors on the voyage. Investigation by a reporter of the paper disclosed that the captain and second mate were guilty of the most atrocious cruelty, and that their favorite method of



VIENNA GARDEN, NORTHWEST CORNER OF SUTTER AND STOCKTON STREETS, IN 1880

securing prompt action from the crew was by knocking the sailors down with iron belaying pins. Some of the evidence pointed to the lost sailors having been murdered. The stories related by the "Post" forced the federal grand jury to action, and that body found numerous indictments. George induced Barnes to assist in the prosecution, and the captain was convicted and sentenced to four years imprisonment, while the first and second mates were subjected to fines and the owners were compelled to pay damages to the abused crew, which however, amounted to only \$50 a piece, excepting in one case where the sum was made \$300. The trial in the federal court consumed nearly a month, and was followed with the greatest interest, but the sensation speedily subsided.

It is claimed that the "Sunrise" trials started the movement which finally made the life of a sailor on shipboard more bearable than it was during the period when officers dealt with their crews as they saw fit, undeterred by fear of having to account for their actions. For several years after the "Sunrise" affair the doings of sailors ashore and afloat occupied public attention. Practices which had gone on unchecked for years were exposed by the newspapers and legislation demanded. The offense of shanghaiing was frequently committed on the water front, and occasionally the person unwillingly coerced into the performance of a seaman's duties would prove to be of sufficient importance to cause a commotion and inquiry. Most of these victims of summary engagements, however, were men who failed to complain of the indignity to which they had been subjected and their disappearance was scarcely noted. When an exposure was made its effect was to cause the careful to shun the water front, the usual field of operations of the crimps, and no reform of consequence was effected until several years later, when the Seaman's Union, cooperating with officials in the enforcement of the United States shipping laws succeeded in measurably abating the practice, and another equally vicious which was carried on by unscrupulous conductors of sailors' boarding houses who had no hesitation about delivering over careless seamen, who had involved themselves in debt to captains who were willing to make up a crew without inquiring under what conditions they were obtained.

Queerly enough the practices of the sailor boarding house keeper were as strongly denounced by the British shipping interest, as by the friends of seamen operating in San Francisco. It was charged that the sailors of ships arriving in the port were induced by the boarding house keepers to desert, which was doubtless true, although it would seem that the great discrepancy between the wages paid to seamen shipping from American ports and those paid to sailors who had signed in England would prove sufficient temptation to British seamen to desert without other incitement. It was no unusual occurrence for vessels arriving in San Francisco harbor in the days when it was filled with fleets of grain carriers, whose crews had signed for absurdly low wages compared with those ruling in this country to lose a number of their seamen. As soon as the latter learned of the possibilities of better remuneration they absconded. And it often happened that a ship master, compelled to lie in the harbor awaiting a cargo, found it cheaper to promote desertion by making it uncomfortable for the crew, rather than maintain them on board in idleness on pay, even though the latter was small. Hence the necessity of finding new crews when cargoes were obtained, and these were often provided in the irregular manner mentioned, with the full connivance of owners.

Effect of
the "Sunrise"
Trials

The
Shanghaiing
Practice

Sailors and
the Barbary
Coast

The occasional disorderliness of sailors is responsible for the impression that sea ports are more addicted to vice and crime than other cities, but an examination of the criminal records of San Francisco do not disclose any evidence which supports the assumption that the seafaring element contributes largely to the prison population, or that it provides much work except for the inferior courts. Sailors cause crime, but they are oftener the victims than offenders. It cannot even be said that the resorts which they frequent when ashore are created for their benefit, or that they are called into existence to enable criminals to prey upon the unwary tar who is "out for a time." The locality known as the Barbary coast earned its bad reputation long before it received the name which suggests the seafaring class. As early as 1851 the "Annals" of San Francisco relate that the quarter affected by the criminal classes "lay around Clarke's Point, in Broadway, Pacific street and the immediate vicinity," and that even at that time "the police hardly dared venture into the neighborhood. When they attempted to apprehend some criminal there they went in force." The location described is no longer a haunt for many criminals, as the most of that class find it easier to secrete themselves in less public places; but a proportion of the element is established there and preys upon Jack, whose worst offense usually is making "rough house" in the course of which he generally becomes the sufferer. Jack's patronage contributed to the support of the grogeries and brothels in which the Barbary coast abounded in early days as now, but it forms but a small part of the whole, and he cannot fairly be held responsible for a blot which has existed for more than sixty years, and has been tolerated largely because it is believed something of the sort is indispensable to a seaport.

Reformatory
Efforts
that Failed

It is human to attempt to fix the responsibility for crime by holding some particular cause or set of causes accountable for its prevalence. A community rarely takes the blame on itself even though the evidence is overwhelming that it is due to its carelessness and disregard of the necessity of exercising perpetual vigilance to check or overcome the criminal propensity. When San Francisco in 1851 was agitated because of the failure to enforce the laws its people had the remedy in their own hands, but they failed to apply it, and continued inactive until the Vigilance Committee of 1856 swept technicalities aside and secured rough justice by a resort to extra legal methods. In 1851 the editor of the "Daily Herald" was fined for contempt by a judge named Levi Parsons, because he denounced the failure of the courts to check crime. The offending newspaper man was William Walker, who afterward engaged in a filibustering expedition against Mexico and later in Nicaragua. He refused to pay the fine imposed and was committed to jail by Parsons. There was a popular outburst and a big indignation meeting and Walker was released by the superior court. Later the legislature tried to impeach Parsons but found the evidence insufficient. Analysis of the sentiment which caused the popular outburst discloses that it was not nearly so much due to recognition of the fact that the courts were corrupt and inefficient as it was to resentment at what was regarded as interference with freedom of speech.

Freedom
of Speech

That no good result could be expected from an exhibition of indignation which was not directed at crime itself apparently was not perceived by the indignant people who had come to regard an infringement of personal liberty as a graver matter than the correction of manifest evils. The ebullition was a flash in the pan. It was not followed by persistent effort and no reform was effected or even

attempted. The discussion degenerated into absurdities equalling those of the early theologians over the meaning of a word. The bar, which might have settled the matter, divided, but the major part was for the sacredness of precedent, and bitterly resentful against what it regarded as attempted interference with the orderly procedure of the courts and the supremacy of the law. It refused to recognize that adherence to forms was impeding the enforcement of the law and rendering the purpose for which laws are enacted impossible of accomplishment.

This attitude was not due to inferior capacity, or to the presence at the bar of San Francisco of an exceptional number of corrupt or indifferent lawyers. Despite the amusing stories told about the lack of qualifications of some of the earliest judges, and others concerning the eccentricities of practitioners, the reputation of the bar has stood high, and its personnel has compared favorably since the days of the alcaldes with that of any other city in the Union. Its defects were those of the profession throughout the United States. It was too devoted to the form and had too little regard for the substance of the law, and the object for which laws are made. Procedure had become a fetich, and the fear that departure from it would impair the fabric, and perhaps undermine the foundations of society caused San Francisco lawyers to underrate the gravity of a pressing evil. By seeking to avert one trouble they precipitated another. The advocates of law and order who in 1856 resisted the rising indignation against forms were not actuated by corrupt motives, but their course was responsible for the uprising in which all law was swept aside, but which, fortunately for the community, did not in the sweeping destroy order. Indeed, paradoxical as it may seem, it was defiance of the laws supposed to be made for the preservation of order which secured for the distressed San Franciscans the boon of order, and that fact has always been pleaded in justification of the Vigilante uprising of 1856.

These observations apply equally to a later as to the earlier date, and they are still applicable. The community in its collective capacity is responsible for the failure of the laws. Its negligence in the years preceding 1856 and its indifference at times since then explain why confessed murderers are able to occupy the attention of the courts for years, and escape punishment at last, and why public and other thieves go unwhipt of justice. But as leaders and moulders of thought members of the bar through their failure to devote themselves to the work of reformation may fairly be charged with a greater degree of remissness than those who only follow impulse which oftener than otherwise is misdirected and for that reason comes to naught. From the beginning San Francisco has had able and brilliant lawyers, and many of them have enjoyed the confidence of the community through periods longer than is assigned to a generation. They cannot be attributed to the 1849-1861 or the 1861-1871 eras, nor that which witnessed the complete revision of the constitution which was the organic law when they commenced their careers. Their services in many cases extended through all three periods. The scope of this history does not permit extended biographical notice, but it is essential to the establishment of the fact that the bar of San Francisco never lacked the talent to accomplish that which reformers have vainly endeavored to bring about, to show that from 1849 to the present day able and earnest men have practiced in our courts who have neglected the higher duty imposed upon them as officers of the court, to labor for the general welfare, and have instead devoted

The San
Francisco
Bar

The Bar
Neglects
Its Duty

themselves to the furtherance of individual interests rather than those of the community.

Career of
E. D. Baker

Perhaps the most brilliant, if not the ablest member of the San Francisco bar was Colonel E. D. Baker, whose oratory and death on the battlefield made him a national figure. Baker arrived in San Francisco in 1852. His scholarly attainments exhibited in a course of lectures in which he showed great erudition won for him a wider recognition than is usually gained by the lawyer until he has had years of practice. His inclination ran to politics and in 1859 when he was defeated in a contest for a seat in the house of representatives he went to Oregon and within a year that state sent him to the United States senate, in which body he sat at the outbreak of the Civil war. He left the forum for the battlefield, and was killed at Ball's Bluff, one of the first engagements of the rebellion, while leading his regiment. He was an eloquent speaker and had the power only possessed by the real orator to move an audience. His orations are masterpieces in their way, full of poetry and fire, and are as readable to-day, as they were on the occasions of their delivery. His body was brought to the City and interred in Lone Mountain cemetery, the funeral being made the occasion of a great demonstration.

Able
Lawyers of
Early Days

Less brilliant, but a man of solid attainments was Hall McAllister, who practiced continuously from 1849 down to a recent date, his position at the bar always being among the very foremost. He was an acute analyst, a student and a man of great courtesy which he extended even to the witness in the box. He was not remarkable as a speaker, but had a convincing method with a jury growing out of his thorough knowledge of the subjects he undertook to discuss. Joseph P. Hoge, another of the early lawyers who continued in practice through the Seventies, and was president of the Constitutional Convention of 1879, commenced his career as an editor, served in congress from an Ohio district and was a strong advocate of "fifty-four forty" when the Oregon boundary question was up in that body. Hoge, like Baker, had a strong inclination for politics, but after his arrival in California in 1853 he devoted himself closely to his profession and was entrusted with many important cases. He ranked high as a corporation lawyer, and his services were eagerly sought in difficult cases. His partner, Samuel M. Wilson, made a specialty of mining law, an important branch of practice for many years. The firm was reputed to enjoy the confidence of more millionaire clients during the Seventies than any other in the City. Wilson had the dual quality of being as convincing before a jury as in the closet. He worked up his cases thoroughly and relied upon clearness of presentation rather than oratory to win.

A Lawyer
of Varied
Activities

John B. Felton, who arrived in San Francisco in the spring of 1854, was a man of varied activities, and his name appears in many connections in the annals of the City. He had many important cases and was reported to be in the enjoyment of very large fees. Felton was an extensive reader, but not a close student, depending on his nimble intellect rather than on thorough knowledge to win his cases. He was the attorney of Limantour, who attempted to grab the greater part of San Francisco by means of a fraudulent land grant. Felton was politically ambitious, and entered the campaign for the United States senatorship against Newton Booth, but failed to achieve success. Less brilliant than the man who won the prize certain energetic qualities possessed by Felton would have made him a more desirable representative in the upper house of congress, but his affiliation with great corporations made him unavailable. Felton pursued his practice well into

the Eighties, dying in 1889. Lorenzo Sawyer who came to the City a year earlier, was elected city attorney in 1854. He early showed an inclination for the bench, but did not attain his desire until after experiencing defeat at the polls. He was elected to the supreme court of the state and some of the decisions written by him are pronounced models of patient investigation. In 1869 he was appointed judge of the United States circuit court, in which capacity he frequently displayed the qualities which had won distinction for him on the state supreme bench.

Among the lawyers of early days was Peter H. Burnett, the first governor of the state, and who enjoyed in addition to that distinction the extraordinary one of resigning the office. Burnett was not the nominee of a regular convention. He was put forward by Colonel Stevenson and was declared the nominee for governor of the democratic party, was elected December, 1849, and resigned January, 1851. After his resignation he took up the practice of the law in San Francisco, but only long enough to raise sufficient money to extinguish certain obligations he had incurred in Missouri. Burnett was a man of positive convictions and in the Vigilante days arrayed himself on the side of the Law and Order party and spoke fearlessly against the committee. He was appointed supreme judge by Governor Johnson in 1857. In 1863 he assisted in founding the Pacific bank and after that date ceased to practice. Niles Searles, a contemporary of Burnett, had an interesting life, but can hardly be classed as a San Francisco lawyer, although in the latter part of his career he had some important city cases. He was appointed chief justice by Governor Bartlett in 1889. Searles' first case in California was gained while he was a waiter in a restaurant. A singular incident in his career was the abandonment of his profession during several years following 1864, when he went to New York and carried on the patrimonial farm. Searles was one of the early "Know Nothings," and the fact militated against his political ambitions in after life.

Lawyers Who
Abandoned
the Profession

John T. Doyle, who was probably in continuous practice longer than any of the more prominent of the lawyers who came to the state in pioneer days arrived in the City in 1851. In 1850 he had been superintendent of the company which purposed digging a canal through Nicaragua, and thus gained an insight into transportation matters which resulted in his selection by Governor Irwin in 1876 to be one of the Railroad Commission of which Stoneman, afterward governor, was a member. Doyle was by all odds the most practical man on the commission, his associates Stoneman and Smith being content to let him do the work. Doyle was an indefatigable investigator and had the virtue of persistence in a marked degree. The report of the commission of 1876, submitted to the legislature of 1877-78 was chiefly written by him. It was extremely voluminous, and the railroad derided it as a farago of nonsense, but many of the principles advocated by Doyle have since been accepted. Later, in his legal capacity, Doyle made a vigorous fight for the foreign stockholders of the Central Pacific. His facility with the pen made him a formidable antagonist, and he was as cordially detested by the railroad managers as any man in California. Doyle was also chiefly instrumental in securing for the Catholic diocese of San Francisco a large sum from the Mexican Mission "pious fund," after a long litigation in the course of which he became so thoroughly acquainted with the early history of California that he was recognized as an authority.

An
Antagonist
of Railroad
Monopoly

Versed in
the Common
Law

Alexander Campbell, a pioneer lawyer whose career in San Francisco commenced in 1849, and who continued to practice in the City until a few years ago, when he retired to Los Angeles, where he died recently at the ripe age of 91, was among the lawyers who ranged themselves on the side of the Law and Order party. He was a man of integrity, like many others who opposed the extra legal methods adopted by the Vigilance Committee, and had no sympathy with the rogues and the politicians who were causing the trouble which resulted in the upheaval. He had a clear mind and depended on plain statement rather than rhetoric in addressing a jury. He was thoroughly versed in the English common law, and had made a study of the libel laws of Great Britain and the United States, and his services were sought on that account.

A Lawyer
Who Reached
the Supreme
Bench

The only California lawyer who attained to a seat on the supreme bench of the United States in the early days was Stephen J. Field, whose career as a lawyer and as a justice of the supreme court of the United States are closely interwoven with the history of the state. Field was a brother of David Dudley and Cyrus West Field. He found his way to California in December, 1849, and was elected alcalde of Marysville three days after his arrival in that then bustling mining camp. His political predilections carried him into the assembly of which body he was a member in 1850, and in which he took a leading part in the framing of the codes. The passage of the Practice Act is attributed to him, and it is related that it was never read except by title and that its six hundred sections were adopted under suspension of the rules and that the completed work was signed by the governor on the assumption and assurance of Field that it was all right. The story of Field's career is more illustrative of the condition of the bar of California than that of the City. During the period between his arrival in California and the date of his appointment by Lincoln in 1863 to the supreme court, the most of his time was spent in the interior, but subsequently he came to be more representative of San Francisco and its peculiar interests. In early life he figured in numerous political quarrels. On one occasion he challenged B. F. Moore of Tuolumne, David Broderick being his second. Moore averted an encounter by declaring that as a candidate for congressional honors he could not take part in a duel. It was arranged that Field should arise in his seat, be recognized by Broderick, who was president pro tem of the senate, and denounce Moore as a liar and coward. As usual there were factions who went to the senate chamber armed, but the expected fracas did not occur, because Moore deemed it discreet to read a retraction. As a member of the United States supreme court Field was often heard from, his industry leading him to write voluminous reports. In his exalted position at Washington he was not highly regarded by the people of California who persisted in styling him a friend of the railroad. His strong corporation leanings were manifested in many of his decisions and his ability, while never questioned, was always exercised on their side as against the people.

A Devotee
of Speciali-
zation

Henry E. Highton a lawyer, who arrived in San Francisco the year the Consolidation Act was framed, like several other San Francisco practitioners had some newspaper experience. He was neither a profound nor a successful lawyer, but had facility of expression which he acquired before his admission to the bar in 1860. He was one of the very few lawyers who thought it worth their while to raise their voices against the evils of special legislation, and assailed the Consolidation Act on the ground that it gave too much power to the legislature. High-

ton laid great stress on specialization, and took extraordinary pains to especially fit himself for the conduct of cases in which a knowledge of accounting was requisite, but his proficiency never secured for him the recognition he sought, and he finally deserted San Francisco for Hawaii after spending forty of the best years of his life in this City.

Oscar L. and James McM. Shafter came to the coast on invitation of the once prominent firm of Hallett, Peachy and Billings. Oscar was elected to the Supreme court in January, 1864, but resigned before completing his term. James was by far the ablest of the brothers and was one of the strongest antagonists of the innovations proposed by the constitutional convention of 1878, of which body he was a member. He gave more study to the subject of taxation than most of his colleagues, and was regarded as an authority concerning those phases touching land.

James A. Waymire began his career as a soldier and was in the service of the United States as a lieutenant of cavalry. He did not take kindly to military duties and resigned and adopted stenography as a profession, but his natural aptitude for law caused him to make a study of it, and he was admitted to the bar by the supreme court of Oregon in 1870. His ability was not speedily recognized, and he had to resume stenography, and in 1872 he was appointed reporter to the supreme court of the State of California. In 1874 he moved to San Francisco and devoted himself to building up a practice. As a stenographer Waymire had been identified with newspapers, and had acquired facility of expression and an incisive style. During the contest over the adoption of the Constitution of 1879 Waymire was a stanch advocate of the instrument and contributed many articles in its favor to the columns of the "Chronicle." He was appointed a superior judge by Governor Perkins in 1881, and while on the bench wrote many decisions which attracted attention. Through his relations with clients he became interested in the promotion of irrigation, financially as well as legally, and devoted some of the later years of his life to the work of establishing the credit of district irrigation bonds. He had the misfortune to become heavily involved through his faith in that class of securities, and despite his great industry and undoubted talent he died a poor man.

S. C. Hastings, whose name has been perpetuated in the law school founded by him, was the first chief justice of the State of California, being chosen to fill that position by the legislature in December, 1849. After leaving the bench he became attorney general of the state. He subsequently amassed a considerable fortune, \$100,000 of which he devoted to the creation of the law school now affiliated with the State University. His relations were largely with San Francisco, although he did not practice or do business in the City, and the first board of directors of the school he established were, with one exception, members of the bar of the metropolis. The list comprised the names of Joseph P. Hoge, W. W. Cope, Delos Lake, Samuel M. Wilson, O. P. Evans, Thomas P. Bishop, John R. Sharpstein and Thomas I. Bergin. They chose Hastings as their dean, although his contributions to the science of law hardly entitled him to that consideration. He was a much abler business man than a lawyer, and while on the bench was noted for the extreme brevity of his decisions.

One of the most talented and at the same time most eccentric of the early lawyers of California was Rufus A. Lockwood, who took service with Horace

Two Brothers
in the
Profession

A Lawyer
Who Worked
His Way Up

California's
First Chief
Justice

An Erratic
Lawyer

Hawes, another man cast in the same mould as himself, as clerk, contracting to work for six months at \$10 a day to be paid daily. He subsequently allied himself with Tilford and Randolph, two of the best known lawyers of argonautic days. Lockwood while engaged with the latter suddenly abandoned his professional work and took a job as longshoreman on the water front. On another occasion he made his way to Australia and went into retirement as a sheep herder. Despite his unquestioned ability he was a man of unbalanced mind, and was looked upon as a crank by his associates who had little sympathy with his peculiar views respecting the organization of society, which caused him to anticipate some of the modern prophets by preaching its early destruction. His integrity was as great as his eccentricity, and he was one of the few lawyers of his period who could not be induced to take a case, no matter how tempting the fee, if he did not believe in the justice of the claim. Lockwood was an inveterate gambler and not infrequently parted with his last cent at the gaming table.

A Noted
Southern
Attorney

Edmund Randolph was one of the numerous contingent of Southerners who came to California close upon the discovery of gold, and won a reputation as a great cross-examiner by his searching methods which were as often designed to entangle the witness as to ascertain the truth. He figured in the first constitutional convention, and is credited with part of the constructive work of that instrument. Like many of the earlier lawyers, Randolph was a student and fond of historical research, but did no original work. He was an extensive reader and his mind assimilated and arranged the matter of his reading in an orderly fashion. He was an excellent conversationalist, and enjoyed the rare distinction of being permitted to do much of the talking without exciting resentment. It is told of him that on one occasion when a guest at a formal dinner at which several were to speak that he occupied all the time devoted to talking, and that the sidetracked speakers were the most urgent that he should proceed with his discourse which was an entirely impromptu presentation of the causes responsible for the introduction of several features of the federal constitution, and had no relation to the topic assigned to him for the evening.

Lawyer and
Politician

John S. Hagar was an able lawyer with a decided predilection for politics and an inclination for the bench. He came to California in 1849, commenced practice in 1850 and was elected to the state senate in 1852. Later he was elected United States senator, and while the election was in progress absolutely refused to be present in Sacramento. Hagar was a close student of municipal governmental affairs, and in the convention of 1878, of which he was a member, occupied himself in shaping the section which permitted cities to frame their own charters. He subsequently presided over the Board of Freeholders which framed the first charter under the Constitution of 1879, but which was rejected by the people. Among other positions held by him was that of collector of the port of San Francisco. The qualities of Hagar's mind are difficult to describe. His associates gave him credit for great acumen, but declared that he lacked the ability to make others perceive that which he saw so clearly himself. Although a successful man in the matter of attaining to dignities Hagar never achieved any particular distinction as an advocate.

A Group
of Able
Members of
the Bar

Joseph F. Winans; James A. McDougall, U. S. senator in 1861; Milton S. Latham, who enjoyed the double distinction of the governorship, which he held for five days and a term in the United States senate; Charles H. S. Williams;

Wm. Walker, whose talents were mainly devoted to intrigue; John Currey, elected to the supreme court, an able man who retired from practice in 1878 on account of impaired eyesight; E. W. McKinstry, Eugene Casserly, Sanderson, justice of the supreme court; Wallace, Ogden Hoffman, all helped to fill a large space in the public eye during the Fifties, Sixties, Seventies and even into the Eighties, many of them holding their own down to a recent date with their younger rivals and accommodating themselves to the changing order of things, which after all was only in externals as this narrative will disclose to the attentive reader.

It is doubtful whether the San Francisco bar during this period made a national impression as great as that of some smaller cities of the East, a fact easily accounted for by the remoteness of the City from the seat of government and to an undue development of rivalry and factionalism. The latter frequently operated to prevent the selection of able men for important office, as did also the comparative unimportance politically of a small state. The activities of the railroad had a disastrous effect upon the political fortunes of many members of the legal fraternity. The corporation's influence was exerted in various ways detrimental to the state. Its smiles and frowns were alike injurious. It kept many able men from making attempts to obtain political distinction because they feared its antagonism, and caused the disablement of others equally capable through its patronage. Connection with the railroad was not always profitable. Its friendship was often as blighting to the recipient politically as its rewards to them were financially great.

The Railroad
and the
Lawyers

Something like the foregoing personal description of the bar of San Francisco is necessary to remove the injurious impression created by the unwarranted assumption that the Constitution of 1879 was the product of the sand lot. As a matter of fact it was produced by the ablest men in the state, and the major part by far of the competent men in that body were from San Francisco. It should be said, and it reflects credit on the profession, that notwithstanding the fact that many of the delegates were corporation lawyers, they did not betray the trust reposed in them by the people. The debates of the convention from beginning to end show a desire on the part of some who were erroneously assumed to be making the constitution unworkable to produce an instrument which would embody the reforms demanded by the people, and the fact that they succeeded in doing so, and gave to the state a document, the underlying principles of which are now being accepted by the nation, and perhaps it may be said the whole world, reflects luster on their single mindedness. Had the City in its subsequent efforts to secure good municipal government been as ably assisted by the trained judgment of the best part of San Francisco's bar the metropolis might have escaped many of the tribulations it since has been compelled to undergo.

Corporation
Lawyers in
the Conven-
tion

The influence of the press has never been underrated by the American people although the manner of its exertion has never been clearly understood. As in the case of the bar it must not be judged by its exceptional performances, or the success or failure of its direct efforts. Superficial observers occasionally seize upon the fact that a newspaper has been beaten in a political fight and draw the inference from it that its sayings or teachings have had no effect on the community. There never was a more erroneous view. During the period 1871-83 the San Francisco "Bulletin" wielded a great influence although the men it advocated for office were often defeated. Under the editorship of George K. Fitch that journal constantly

Influence of
the "Evening
Bulletin"

preached economy in municipal management, and succeeded so thoroughly in saturating the public mind with the belief that the great desideratum in city government was to keep down taxes that absolutely no consideration was given to any of those objects which are now foremost in the minds of civic reformers of the present day. There never was a question regarding the intensity of Fitch's belief in the desirability of avoiding all expenditure for municipal purposes the necessity of which could not be clearly demonstrated. He refused to recognize the possibility of indirect benefit and presented cogent arguments against launching into schemes for betterment which involved the incurrence of municipal indebtedness. He was a vigorous thinker and writer, and had the assistance of able editors who preached his economic gospel incessantly, until San Francisco believed in it so thoroughly that for many years no good citizen, or bad one for that matter, thought of advocating a bond proposal for any purpose whatever.

Journalism
at the
Close of
the Seventies

The "Call," during the Seventies, was owned jointly by Loring Pickering and George K. Fitch. It was a better newspaper than the "Bulletin," the policies of which it reflected feebly, but its management was not enterprising. The "Alta California" still existed but refused to keep up with the modern journalistic movement which was beginning to assert itself at the time, but permitted its editorial columns to be occasionally invaded by a vigorous writer. It ceased to be a real newspaper about the close of the period, and was only valuable for political purposes. It subsequently fell into the hands of James G. Fair, who retained it many years in the hope of realizing upon a bad investment, but his money did not suffice to keep it alive, and it finally perished, and with it an Associated Press franchise which was regarded as valuable, but could only be made so by the exercise of newspaper judgment, and a liberal expenditure of money. The "Examiner" was still a democratic organ leading a placid existence, undisturbed by the rivalry of its contemporaries and satisfied to win the applause of a small circle of readers who read its elucidation of the principles of their party undistracted by the presentation of news sensational or otherwise. The "Chronicle" was growing steadily in favor under the editorial direction of Charles de Young who was, in the parlance of the profession "a born newspaper man" and considered the exposure of corruption one of the leading functions of a public journal. In pursuing this course he made many enemies who unscrupulously attacked his character and impugned his motives but a reproduction of the most of these assaults, with the names of his assailants, would be accepted by the modern Progressive as an endorsement.

The San
Francisco
"Chronicle"

Bryce in his "American Commonwealth" in describing the sand lot episode remarks that "the activity of the 'Chronicle' counted for much, for it was ably written and went everywhere." The compliment applied to an earlier period as well as to 1878, for it had been the policy of its editor to secure forceful writers, and although their work usually appeared in its columns unsigned the personality of many of them became familiar to the public. In the earlier days of its existence the editorials of the "Chronicle" were compensated for on a space basis and outside contributions were received from informed persons whose connection with the paper was not generally known, but as it grew older while retaining the same mode of compensation it maintained regularly two and sometimes three writing editors. Among the most vigorous of these were Frank Pixley and Samuel Seabough. James F. Bausman, less forceful in expression than Seabough, was em-

ployed at the same time as the latter, and his literary efforts were easily recognized by his marked predilection for quotation.

Two German dailies and French and Italian publications catered for the foreign population. The Latin peoples were not exacting in their demands, but the readers of the "Demokrat" asked for and were presented with the important news, and a well written editorial column. In the evening field the "Bulletin" during this period maintained uncontested precedence. Its rival, the "Evening Post," established by Henry George in 1871, under his management developed a tendency to sensationalism, but he lost control of the paper in 1874, and thereafter it had many nominal owners who conducted its fortunes for a while and then retired. Several of these unsuccessful essays were made by newspapermen of ability who, however, proved failures as publishers of an expensive evening journal. The journalistic mortality was very light during the period, excepting in the weekly field in which fatalities were constantly occurring. The only notable demise of a daily was that of the short lived San Francisco "Mail" which was started in the early part of 1876 by D. D. Dalziel, the husband of the soubrette Dickey Lingard. Dalziel was a stranger in the City but managed to secure the confidence of Mark L. McDonald, who had political ambitions. When the latter was disappointed in his efforts to obtain the United States senatorship in 1877 he withdrew his financial support from the "Mail" and it speedily collapsed. During its brief career the "Mail" had in its employ a good writing force, among them Frank Pixley, David Nesfield, Arthur McEwen, Thomas Flynn and others, but it was never strong on the news side.

Weekly journalism had a notable addition during this period in the "Argonaut" established in 1877 by Frank M. Pixley, who had associated with him Fred M. Somers and Jerome C. Hart. The "Argonaut" owed its vogue chiefly to the virulent attacks of Pixley upon Jews and Catholics, whom he assailed unceasingly. On its literary side it was well edited, and had departments which were widely copied from by Eastern journals. This was especially true after Hart assumed control. Somers, who was its first managing editor, had been a reporter on the "Chronicle" and was nearly killed by an assemblyman named Wilcox, who was called the "Mariposa Blacksmith," for telling some plain truths respecting the latter's corporation affiliations in a letter to the "Chronicle." The weekly journals of this and the preceding period, with the exception of the "Argonaut," devoted themselves largely to local comment and gossip, subordinating other features to those directly interesting to the San Francisco public. Their columns outside the space devoted to this main purpose was filled chiefly with contributions from workers on the daily press, a list of them disclosing the names of the brightest writers in the City.

Toward the close of the Seventies the daily papers in their Sunday editions began to encroach on the field of the weeklies. The "Bulletin" had for many years published a supplemental sheet of two pages on Saturday evenings, chiefly devoted to selected matter, with an occasional original contribution in the shape of a short story, or a bit of verse. The selections were excellent, and greatly appreciated by readers of discrimination. The "Call," "Alta" and "Chronicle" up to the close of 1876 adhered to the old plan of presenting news, printing letters or volunteer sketches when they came to hand or when offered by the staff and not waiting for Sunday. In the early part of 1877 Charles de Young was aiming at the Sunday magazine

Daily and
Weekly
Publications

The
"Argonaut"
and its
Founder

Sunday
Magazines
of the
Dailies

idea, but experienced considerable difficulty in securing the necessary contributions. An examination of a Sunday paper dated April 22, 1877, exhibits this plainly, the features on the first page being eked out with local news stories. There was a letter from Charles Warren Stoddard from Greece, one of a series he had been specially engaged to write from Europe; a London letter from a regular contributor who signed herself "Eve's Granddaughter;" a New York letter, which like the London contribution, was devoted to news and was a weekly feature. In addition there was an article captioned "Painter and Palette," signed J. P. Y., which purported to describe the personal peculiarities, especially the foibles of the local artists, the list of them being quite a long one. The remainder of the page was filled with local news. On the second page, two columns were devoted to news and gossip about theaters and actors and alongside of this to correct its levity was a column headed "For the Farmers," in which the merits of fertilizers and other matters of interest to agriculturists were impartially treated. On the sixth page there was a short story, literary notes, a column "For the Ladies," and two columns of book reviews. On the seventh page there was some selected reprint, a half column of religious news and close to it a column and a half of sporting news, principally relating to the doings of the outside world in that field of activity, and on the eighth and last page there was a slashing article on the mining stock market accompanied by a cartoon, the only illustration in the paper.

Writers of
the Early
Eighties

From this time forward the Sunday magazine showed signs of amplification, and in time became a feature of the morning papers, widening the field for local contributors who began to increase in numbers, finding an expanding market for their literary wares in the weeklies and the two local magazines. A list of the writers of this period discloses the names of some that will be recognized outside of San Francisco and of many who perhaps deserved fame without achieving it except locally. Among the most noted may be mentioned Kate Douglas Wiggin, Flora Haines Longhead, Edward W. Townsend ("Chimmie Fadden"), Prentice Mulford, Charles Warren Stoddard, John P. Young, Minnie Buchanan Unger, Thomas J. Vivian, Charles and Millicent W. Shinn, Ralph Sidney Smith, Annie Lake Townsend, Albert Sutcliffe, John Bonner and his daughter Geraldine, Yda Addis, Marie Theresa Austin, George Hamlin Fitch, Robert Duncan Milne, Belle Strong, H. D. Bigelow, Kate Bishop, H. J. Dam, Clay M. Greene, George H. Jessop, W. H. L. Barnes, W. C. Morrow, Fred M. Somers, Jerome Hart, Oscar Weill, George Chismore, Kate Kellogg and others.

Legislature
Seeks to
Encourage
Art

In September, 1878, an article appeared in the London "Times," in which the assertion was made that "San Francisco does not care for art and learning; it has not been educated to see beauty in an intaglio. A brilliant is the measure of its taste and we cannot affect to be surprised." The criticism was as undeserved as are most of the sweeping summaries of the vices and virtues of peoples. There were many in San Francisco in the Seventies who thought more of the "almighty dollar" than of art or literature, but there were also plenty who were not Philistines. The growth of the taste for literature and art usually keeps pace with accumulation. Sometimes it precedes, but very rarely. Appreciation and expressions of devotion accomplish little unless conditions exist which tempt talent and genius. It is difficult to stimulate the latter, but the attempt is sometimes made. In the session of the legislature of 1871-72 a bill with that object was introduced in the assembly by Obed Harvey of Sacramento, which contemplated the encourage-

ment of California artists of ability. Fortunately the hard headed committee called upon to deal with it reported against its passage on the ground that there was no money available for such a purpose. Although there is some support for the London "Times" comment on San Francisco's lack of art culture, the critical faculty was not wholly undeveloped in those days. Mark Twain refuted the assumption in an effort made by him to describe the peculiar charm of a painting of "Samson and Delilah" which was one the attractions of a popular saloon. He asked: "Now what is the first thing you see in looking at this picture down at the Bank Exchange? Is it the gleaming eyes and fine face of Samson? Or the muscular Philistine gazing furtively at the lovely Delilah? Or is it the rich drapery, or the truth to Nature in that pretty foot? No sir! The first thing that catches the eye is the scissors on the floor at her feet. Them scissors is too modern—there warn't no scissors like them in them days by a d—d sight." When Mark burlesqued the propensity toward rigorous realism he furnished undoubted evidence that art appreciation was tolerably well developed, for he was not accustomed to waste his jokes or coin expressions that would be obscure to his readers. As a matter of fact he knew that the taste for art existed and that it would assert itself in due time.

And so did a group of painters, larger than ever gathered in any American city outside of New York at the time or since. There are more works of art in San Francisco now, or there were before the great conflagration, but there have never been as many artists in this City since the late Seventies and early Eighties as there were then, and the reasonable inference is that there were relatively more patrons of art at that time. That fact, however, is easily accounted for by the necessity of providing the newly erected mansions with paintings and sculpture. Some of the owners were too busy to go to the mountain, hence the mountain went to them, and found them liberal patrons. Toward the close of the decade 1870 there were many painters in San Francisco, some of whose works would do credit to any gallery. A list of them embraces the names of Julian Rix, Thomas Hill, Joe Harrington, Samuel Brooks, William Keith, Jules Tavernier, Virgil Williams, Benoni Irwin, Raymond D. Yelland, William Marple, Edwin Deakin, Senor Gutierrez, S. W. Shaw, Richard J. Bush, the Tojettis, Domingues and his sons Virgil and Edward, G. J. Denny, Benjamin Sears, Charles D. Robinson, Norton Bush and Meyer Strauss. With these must be counted David Neal, Toby E. Rosenthal, Reginald Birch, Joseph D. Strong and Thaddens Welsh who hailed from San Francisco, but were abroad at the time. The most of these devoted themselves to making San Franciscans, and the world generally, familiar with Californian scenery, particularly that of the Yosemite valley and the majestic redwoods of the Coast Range of mountains. It may be fairly said of the San Francisco of this period that it was less under the domination of the idea, very prevalent at the time, that a chromo lithograph was a work of art, than most parts of the cultured East. The number of excellent bits of scenery and genre and still life to be found on the walls of many very modest houses in San Francisco during the Seventies is far more noteworthy, as bearing on the subject of general culture, than the fact that the men who had made big fortunes in railroad building and mining were filling their galleries with costly works of art obtained abroad, which were not always selected with the best judgment. Truth demands the statement, however, that the foreign purchases were not made at the expense of the local talent, which was

Art in San
Francisco
During the
Seventies

not neglected until those possessed of the means to buy were able to say that they had good examples of the really creditable work of the best artists. Their patronage, often inspired by local pride, has been amply justified by the ripened judgment of later critics.

Private
Libraries

The literary taste of a community is not determined by observation of a few isolated facts. There is doubtless some foundation for the assertion made about this time that some of the libraries of the new rich of the period had been acquired in very much the same fashion as the other things they required. Men who suddenly obtain the means to procure things much talked about are very apt to buy them without much circumlocution. There is no short cut to learning, but collections of books can speedily be made if the motive for making them exists, and some were doubtless formed in one, two, three order, and with more thought of the appearance they would present ranged on shelves or in cases than was given to their contents. Still the fact that a writer could find sixty-four private collections of books in San Francisco, and eleven private libraries worth mentioning should amply refute the assertion that its citizens did not care for learning. It is true that the author told her readers that there were wealthy Californians who lived in superb style, "with palatial mansions luxuriantly furnished . . . in which one may search in vain for a book," but there could not have been many such, for she managed to find fairly ample collections in most of the more pretentious residences ranging from one to several thousand volumes.

Evidence of
Taste for
Literature

While none of these private collections were large, she found evidence of individual taste in most of them, and in not a few instances traces of the bibliophile and occasionally the earmarks of the bibliomania. The largest assemblages were those of Alfred Cohen, John B. Felton, Milton S. Latham, who are each credited with 5,000 volumes. John T. Doyle, John R. Jarboe, Leland Stanford, Frank G. Smith and Archbishop Alemany had each gathered over 3,000 volumes, and there is an extended list of owners of from one to two thousand volumes. The interesting feature of the enumeration is its revelation of the idiosyncrasies of the owners. Men scarcely suspected by their casual acquaintances were disclosed to be the possessors of well developed fads. There was H. H. Haight who had a passion for Scotch literature; John B. Felton was devoted to Shakespearian and dramatic works generally; A. A. Cohen had a taste for suppressed editions; William Doxey at that early day began collecting Dickens; John T. Doyle ran to Mexican and Spanish history; Ralph C. Harrison was interested in typography; L. S. B. Sawyer gave attention to binding and loved to show the beauties of the tree calf and the elegant tooling on the covers of his pet works; P. A. Thompson ran to Americana; Joseph W. Winans was a lover of rare editions; W. A. Woodward of the "Alta" picked up an old and curious book wherever he could find one; Ralph W. Kirkham had a strong penchant for illuminated missals; Albert J. Le Breton collected Californiana; J. E. McElrath had begun to collect Civil war history; A. A. O'Neill boasted the ownership of numerous first editions in his 4,000 collection; there were some too, who disclaimed singularity and admitted that they bought books for what they could learn from them and not because of peculiarities of typography, style of binding or date of publication.

Origin of
Public
Library
System

The possession of books by a very considerable number of private individuals does not conclusively refute the idea that San Francisco "did not care for learning," although it goes a considerable distance in that direction, but a movement

which had its inception in 1877, the result of which has been to give every community in the state a good library points to a very lively and intelligent appreciation of the value of education, and a nice discernment of the mode of acquiring knowledge. In the latter part of 1877 a meeting of citizens was held in Dashaway hall, San Francisco, the outcome of which was the introduction of a bill in the legislature of 1877-78 which became a law on March 18th of the latter year, which authorized the creation of free public libraries in California. The act was introduced by Senator Rogers of San Francisco and named as trustees of the public library to be formed in the City under its provisions: Henry George, John S. Hagar, A. S. Hallidie, A. J. Moulder, George H. Rogers, E. D. Sawyer, Irving M. Scott, Louis Sloss, C. C. Terrill, R. J. Tobin and John H. Wise.

Growth of the
Public
Library

It cannot be said that the new institution had plain sailing from the beginning. The community was still under the thrall of the tradition that money expended for any other purpose than actual administration of municipal affairs was unwise. Innovation was frowned upon, and there was some difficulty in persuading the holders of the purse strings of the City to make the modest appropriation of \$24,000, the amount set aside for a beginning, and even this small sum had to be secured by mandamus proceedings, a doubt being raised concerning the propriety of establishing a library at the expense of the general taxpayer. With the money at their command the trustees bought 6,000 books which were installed in Pacific hall on Bush street above Kearny. In the ensuing year a more liberal appropriation was made, the instantaneous popularity of the new library seeming to be the cautious supervisors to warrant that course. The sum of \$48,000 was allowed and the number of volumes was increased to 30,000. The original rules governing the use of books were not very liberal. At first they were not permitted to be taken from the library, but even under this restricted system the number of visitors grew rapidly. In 1880 the act of 1878 was superseded by a new law which made the mayor an ex officio member of the board of trustees and gave that body the exclusive control of all Public Library matters, and they at once adopted a more liberal policy. Books were given out for home use. The records show that during the fiscal year ending June, 1881, 354,000 books were used in the library and in the homes of the people, and that there were 10,500 card holders. The library was housed in Pacific hall until 1888, when it was moved to the McAllister street wing of the city hall which was then being constructed on the piecemeal plan. The appropriations made at this time by the supervisors for its maintenance were far less than allowed under the law, but they sufficed to increase the stock of books, and to permit continuous improvements in administration. During the earlier years of its career the Public Library had no branches; the policy of providing the latter was not inaugurated until the year of the removal of its collection of books to the city hall.

The other public or quasi public libraries of the City were more or less affected by the establishment of the municipal library. The Mercantile, organized in 1852, and incorporated in 1863, seemed to feel the rivalry most severely, but its career previously had been so filled with vicissitudes it would be impossible to say whether it was most hurt by the new free public library or bad management. In 1865 it secured \$20,000 through life memberships, and with the addition of a few thousands in the fund of the association it bought a lot on Bush street, between Montgomery and Kearny, and erected a building which was dedicated in June, 1868. This re-

Fortunes of
the Mercan-
tile Library

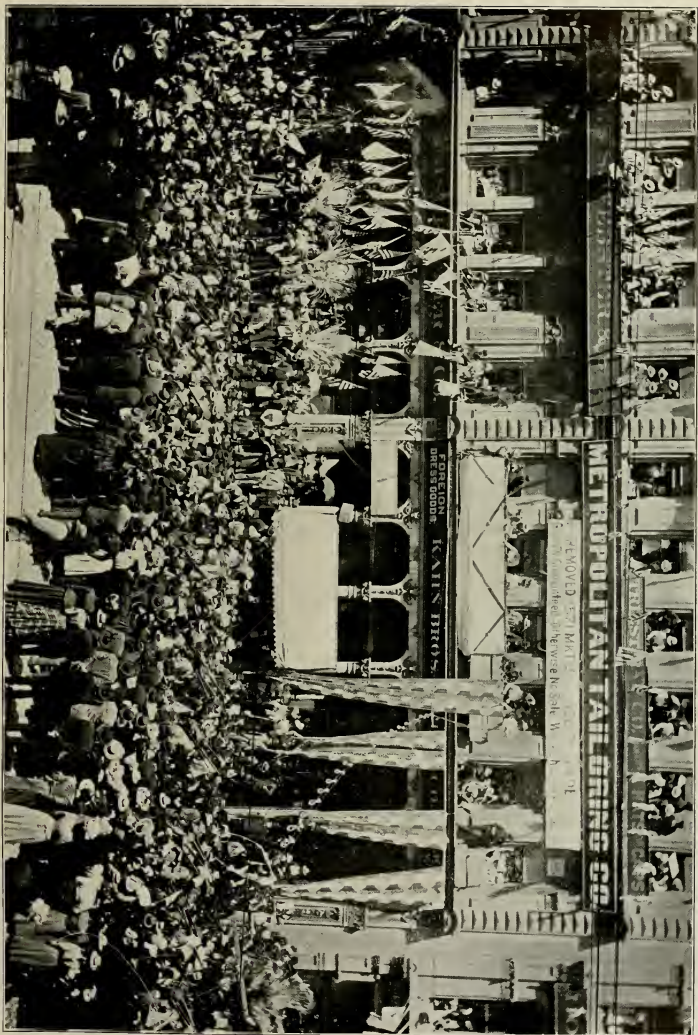
sulted in the creation of an indebtedness of \$240,000, and many expedients were resorted to in order to get rid of the burden. A big musical festival planned by Camilla Urso, and held in the Mechanics' pavilion netted \$20,000 and in 1870 the legislature passed an act authorizing a lottery scheme, which, with its three gift concerts, netted \$310,120. Despite the fact that the institution was freed from debt, and that its collection of books was housed in a good building it did not flourish. The collection, while in no sense one that would meet the requirements of scholars engaged in research, was not a bad one, but relatively too much money was expended on costly works. The initiation fee was nominal, only \$2, but the quarterly dues aggregated \$12 annually, and they could not be successfully maintained against an institution which charged nothing and practically provided the same class of literature as that demanded by the patrons of the Mercantile.

The
Mechanics
Institute
Library

The Mechanics' institute in which the Mercantile finally became merged was more judiciously managed, and its library, while not so pretentious as that of the Mercantile continued to increase in volumes and value even after the free Public Library had become a popular institution. It had its vicissitudes also, but was never compelled to ask for outside assistance. It had its dark days when those conducting its affairs found it difficult to make expenditures keep within income, but from the beginning it kept adding to its collection, which at first was little better than a lot of public documents, until it was destroyed in the conflagration of 1906. In 1866 the institute erected a building on Post street, between Montgomery and Kearny, and at the time of the fire was meditating expansion. In 1878, and during the closing years of the period 1871-83 the institute was very prosperous and its activities quite varied. It promoted annual industrial fairs which were very popular, and maintained the only building in the City capable of holding a large gathering. Its pavilions, erected at different times in various parts of the City, indicate the population trend. The first Mechanics' institute was on Montgomery street near Post on leased ground. Later a building was put up on Stockton street between Post and Sutter. From there the institute moved to a large structure erected on Mission street and extending north on Eighth. Subsequently the institute acquired the block on Larkin street opposite the city hall, on which it built the pavilion consumed in the fire of 1906. None of these constructions had any architectural merit. They were barn like affairs, unattractive externally and internally, but they served their purpose. Toward the close of the Seventies the library of the institute numbered about 30,000 volumes. In 1878 a report stated that the collection embraced about 20,000 in the circulating and 10,000 in the reference departments.

Numerous
Collections

The Odd Fellows Library, a long established organization, had about 35,000 volumes in 1878 and its chief patrons were members of the order. Its librarians had from a very early period devoted attention to the collection of Californiana. The competition of the Public Library or some other cause made it difficult to keep abreast of the other circulating libraries in the matter of current literature and the management concluded to sell the books of the association several years before the disaster. The San Francisco Law Library, incorporated in 1870, continued to flourish during the period, and although its collection was, as its name implies, designed to meet the needs of lawyers, it embraced many rare books which became its property by bequest or gift. In 1878 it contained 18,000 volumes. Its support was derived from membership dues, and a docket tax of \$1 exacted from every liti-



THE WELCOME HOME OF THE CALIFORNIA REGIMENT, AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

gant in a case brought in the City. In the same year the Academy of Sciences had 16,000 volumes on its shelves. There were several class libraries, among them one devoted to microscopical subjects which laid claim to completeness. The Society of California Pioneers in addition to its primary purpose of bringing together the argonauts and gathering historical material concerning them had accumulated 3,000 volumes, many of which were devoted to Pacific coast exploration. La Ligue Nationale Francais, located in a building on Sutter street between Montgomery and Kearny, had 10,763 and the Y. M. C. A. over 5,000 volumes. The compiler of this information was careful to add that in the private collections mentioned as being possessed by members of the legal profession no law books were included, and presented a list of 45 private law libraries aggregating 56,430 volumes, the largest of which was that of McAllister, which contained over 5,000 volumes.

That the appreciation of literature and art were not universal may be readily inferred from a fugitive expression of Hittell, who conveys the impression that the gardens created by Sutro in 1875 were admired for their "art treasures," which were in reality poor replicas of masterpieces, interspersed with German grotesques and effigies of animals, the whole being arranged somewhat after the fashion of a Swiss toy zoological garden. The flowers were beautiful and well kept, but the general effect of the gardens was destroyed and vulgarized by the cheap statuary. The tolerance accorded to the fountains set up by Cogswell about this time, and the effusive welcome given to the present made by an actress in 1876, which was dedicated with great ceremony on the 4th of July of that year, and still stands in the most conspicuous spot in the City, were frequently made the subject of unflattering comment, but the period when Lotta made her gift was one in which cast iron had great vogue in the United States and its acceptance can scarcely be said to measure the level of San Francisco culture. It was received in the spirit which prompted the offering, that of enthusiastic mutual liking, and is likely to remain an enduring and interesting monument of the days when San Francisco wore her heart on her sleeve and laid great stress upon the virtue of friendship.

Lotta's Gift
to San
Francisco

The works of the few authors who have received the stamp of universal commendation are supposed to convey a more vivid impression of the scenes and people who inspired them than those of writers who failed to achieve fame in the literary field, but sometimes the true spirit of the times may be more readily gleaned from the pages produced by men whose literary skill has not been recognized as entitling them to be placed in the first rank. J. Ross Browne, who lived in the foothills back of Oakland, ending his varied career in 1875, in some of his work drew truer pictures of California life than Bret Harte or Mark Twain, whose characters were oftener exaggerations than types. Browne, like numerous other Californians, took no satisfaction in contemplating the present, and was no admirer of the past. His descriptions were rasping but truthful. He was always peering into the future and found little comfort in so doing. His philosophy was compressed into a saying that "the smallest steambot that paddles up the Hudson river is greater than the greatest monument of antiquity," and his estimates of the great men of his period were cast in this mould. But Californians read his books and enjoyed them.

The Work of
J. Ross
Browne

In attempting to find the keynote of the literary expression of this period we discover the cause of the complaint of the editor of the "Golden Era" who lamented that California writers had taken to going abroad for their themes. It is true, as he said, that the new aspirants for literary fame no longer cared to picture Cali-

Writers of
Serious Books

formia types and scenery, and perhaps with good reason. The field had been worked over as thoroughly as some of the placers described by Bret Harte, and the characters that once inhabited and hunted for gold in them had disappeared or had conformed to a new order of things. There were still gamblers of the kind made familiar to the world by the men who gave California its early literary distinction, but they were no longer disposed to advertise their calling by extravagance of dress or manners. A great change had come over the people and their singularities and angularities had ceased to be striking. It is not surprising, therefore, that literary expression took a new form, and that its products were of the sort that might not usually be expected in troubled times. That the critics who only give consideration to fiction or imaginative work of other kinds should occasionally pass the sweeping judgment that the period was comparatively barren is not strange, but it is nevertheless true that towards its close a San Franciscan produced a book which made a more profound impression upon mankind than any other written and published during the nineteenth century.

Henry
George's
"Progress
and Poverty"

It is not necessary to agree with Henry George's theories as expressed in his "Progress and Poverty," in making this admission. Many of his assumptions have been contradicted by results, but that does not alter the fact that his method of presenting the world's troubles took a stronger hold on men than the more scientific appeals of Karl Marx or the vagaries of the Bellamy school of economists. George's name and his book are not talked about as much as they were formerly, but their impress is visible in all recent economic writing. His sympathetic method of treatment proved infectious, and it may be said of "Progress and Poverty" that after its appearance, even a professor in a Scotch university would scarcely attempt to discuss an economic subject in the old-fashioned way which disregarded the necessity of arousing and retaining human interest.

George's
Theme Fur-
nished by
California
Conditions

The fact that George was a practical newspaper man has been stated, and incidentally an allusion has been made to his appointment as gas inspector of San Francisco. It is fitting to add that the position, which involved no labor and was practically a sinecure, was conferred to enable him to pursue his literary labors. When he was afforded the opportunity he devoted himself wholly to the work of producing "Progress and Poverty." That his theme was suggested by land conditions existing in California at the time he wrote is clearly apparent in every page of his work. He was profoundly convinced that the monopolistic tendency then so pronounced could only be arrested by a process resembling confiscation, and he thought he had devised a workable mode of accomplishing that result. George's fundamental mistake was the same as that made by Adam Smith; he overlooked the possibility of other forms of wealth than land proving more attractive, and he absolutely ignored the tremendous centripetal urban influence which has in many sections of the Union caused the land to be deserted instead of being eagerly sought after and monopolized as he expected it would be, and he greatly underrated the capacity of man to modify the inexorable law of population pressing on the limit of subsistence. Nevertheless his single tax theory, so far as it applies to the taxation of land in cities, is gaining ground, and it is not unlikely that some day in the interest of simplification it will become the practice to exempt improvements from taxation, although it is in the highest degree improbable that the world will ever accept his fundamental recommendation that all other forms of wealth than land be exempted from the burden of maintaining government.

The influence of the period also asserted itself in the writings of John F. Swift, an able lawyer and a politically ambitious man, but too frank and plain spoken to succeed in the field of politics. Swift was the author of a novel "Robert Greathouse," one of the earliest examples of the new school in which politics and economics are blended with fiction. It was readable, but was principally remarkable for the fact that some time after its appearance he sought to recall it because his political enemies were culling opinions from it which were calculated to injure him in his campaign for the governorship of the state, in which he was unsuccessful, chiefly because he had ventured to have views respecting the organization known as the American Protective Association, a revival or survival of the early Know Nothing party. Swift was fond of literary work, and in addition to "Robert Greathouse" wrote "Going to Jericho;" he was also a contributor to magazines and reviews, but his activities in this direction did not divert his mind from civic affairs, and as a legislator his reputation for constructive work stood very high.

John F. Swift
as a Writer
of Fiction

One of the interesting features of the literary life of this period is the fact that a reputation in any part of the vast region known as the Pacific coast was not confined to the immediate locality where it had been gained. San Franciscans were apt to count a man who had made his mark in Nevada or Oregon as one of themselves, and they were equally prone to appropriate or annex the talent of the stranger. Charles Nordhoff, who revisited the state in 1871 and wrote "California for Health, Pleasure and Residence," which was followed by others, was taken up in this manner and finally made his home within the borders of the commonwealth whose attractions he had made so familiar to the outside world. C. C. Goodman, for many years editor of the "Salt Lake Tribune," and Rollin M. Daggett, both accomplished and graceful writers, were as well known and appreciated in the City as they were in Utah and Nevada. Joaquin Miller might fairly be claimed by Oregon, although his literary connections were chiefly San Franciscan during the period. In the later Seventies and early Eighties he was a regular contributor to the "Chronicle." As in the case of Robert Louis Stevenson myths grew up about Miller which create the impression that his qualities failed of recognition in newspaper offices, and it is told that letters offered by him were thrown in the waste basket. The story had some foundation in fact. Joaquin Miller wrote an almost undecipherable hand, one of the sort calculated to incite mutiny in a composition room, and while he was contributing to the "Chronicle" two of his efforts baffled the ability of the entire editorial force to straighten them out and they were not published.

Joaquin Miller
and Other
Literary
Workers

There was less foundation for the story long current about Robert Louis Stevenson's connection with the "Chronicle" in December, 1879, and the alleged failure of the city editor to appreciate him. Stevenson was in the City at that time, but a careful examination of the books of the "Chronicle" failed to reveal his name, nor could anyone connected with the editorial department of the paper recall him when the statement was first made although there were several members of the Bohemian club on the staff of the paper at the time who would have known of the circumstance had he made application for work. The assertion was also made that he wrote articles for the Sunday editor, but that he did not think enough of them to rescue them from its files. A careful search disclosed no signed article, and it is improbable that he made any anonymous contributions. Charles Warren Stoddard was in San Francisco during the period when Stevenson was supposed

Robert Louis
Stevenson in
San Francisco

to have written for the "Chronicle" but in his reminiscences of the author he fails to speak of him as seeking employment, or as being otherwise engaged while in the City than in securing material for his novel "The Wrecker." Stoddard states that Stevenson was in the habit of visiting him in a tumbledown place on Rincon hill, which he says the author called "the most San Franciscally part of San Francisco." While in San Francisco Stevenson roomed at 608 Bush street. According to the story of his landlady he lived very abstemiously, during a time subsisting himself on 45 cents a day, but despite all that has been written on the subject it is an open question whether he was compelled to do so. Some of those who knew him well, Joseph D. Strong among the number, after Stevenson had become famous intimated that the vicissitudes he endured were of his own making, and comported perfectly with a decided disinclination to exert himself in any manner that was not absolutely congenial.

Bancroft's
Histories and
His Methods

It has been suggested that Stevenson could not have made assiduous search for literary employment in San Francisco without learning of that marvelous workshop maintained by Hubert H. Bancroft, who during the Seventies, and well into the Eighties, was producing a series of histories more comprehensive than any ever before issued from the press of any country on the globe. The name of Bancroft is appended to all the volumes of the vast output of reading matter and information which is embraced in the thousands of pages grouped under the designation Bancroft's histories, but no secret was made of the fact that the major part of the writing was done by a corps of assistants working under his direction. Among those who were at various times in the employ of Bancroft were Ivan Petroff, Thomas H. Long, Enrique Cerruti, William Nemos, Henry L. Oak and others. Mr. Bancroft practiced no deception; he planted himself on the proposition that "to the student it is a matter of indifference" who did the writing of the histories that bear his name. The chief thing to consider, he insisted, was whether they were accurate or the reverse; but the critics refused to accept his standard and flatly declared that "as history most of the work was worthless because it was not cast in a form that will live." Their judgment was sound. But there is no gain-saying the fact that the numerous volumes contain a tremendous quantity of information which has been freely drawn upon by writers, many of whom, like Herbert Spencer, have acknowledged their obligations, and have not hesitated to speak of the labors of Mr. Bancroft in an appreciative fashion, and to characterize the publication of his histories as "a great undertaking."

Bancroft's
Works Form
a Library

It does not much matter what estimate was placed on the Bancroft histories by captious critics, one fact stands out plainly and it reflects credit on San Francisco and California. No other city of thrice the size of San Francisco would have supplied the stimulus which prompted Bancroft's undertaking, which can only be fittingly described by the word monumental. The histories were subscribed for with a liberality that excited the surprise of Eastern publishers. The series which embraced "Central America," "Mexico," "North American States and Texas," "Arizona and New Mexico," "California," "Nevada," "Wyoming and Colorado," "Utah," "Northwest Coast," "Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana," "British Columbia," "Alaska," "Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth," "California Pastoral," "California Inter Pocula," "Popular Tribunals," "Essays and Miscellany" and "Literary Industries" and "Native Races" constituted a library in itself. The fact that the vast collection found a place in many private homes, and

in most of the libraries of the world did much to advance knowledge concerning regions that had hitherto been neglected, and the candid judge has been compelled to admit, even though the general reader has often not found them entertaining, that their contents justified the publication of the Bancroft histories. In the preparation of his great work Bancroft accumulated a large collection of books and manuscripts which he later sold to the University of California. They constitute one of the most important sections of the growing library of that institution, numbering more than 60,000 titles.

The "Overland Monthly," which had gained a national prestige through the work and contributions of Bret Harte, never prospered greatly. Its publishers never learned the art of making the advertising carry the reading matter. Perhaps this was not so much due to lack of business judgment as it was to the sparseness of population. In 1882 the "Overland" emerged from a cloud of adversity and entered on a fresh career under the editorship of Millicent W. Shinn. There was no material improvement in its fortunes, but for several years it attracted to its pages contributors, many of whose names are still familiar to the reading public and not a few of which have red marks opposite them. In the list may be found David Starr Jordan, Dan de Quille, Melville Upton, Charles Edwin Markham, John Vance Cheney, Irving M. Scott, Horace Davis, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Josiah Royce, F. K. Upham, Warren Olney, John S. Hittell, Frank Norris, John T. Doyle, Charles G. Yale, George Davidson, Frank B. Millard, Douglas Tilden, Clarence Urmy, E. W. Hilgard, Morris M. Estee, John P. Irish, James D. Phelan, Samuel Davis, James O'Meara, Joseph T. Goodman, Edward S. Holden, Joseph L. Conte, D. G. Gilman and many others less well known, whose work was fully up to the magazine standard of a later day and infinitely superior to that of the present catchpenny stuff which finds its way into many monthly publications. A couple of years earlier than the revival of the "Overland" a magazine known as "The California" was launched. Its career was brief, but the curtailment was in no sense due to literary deficiencies. Its list of contributors embraced many of the names of those appearing later in the "Overland," but the appetite for magazine literature was not then as avid as it has since become.

Magazines
During the
Eighties

If the activities described in the preceding pages do not dispose of the unwarranted assumption that San Francisco was indifferent to learning, the lively interest in the subject of the higher education displayed during the period must effectually do so. Such incidents as the contest of the will of Horace Hawes, who sought to devote his estate to the creation of a university, could not have divided a city into camps unless a large proportion of the people had a high regard for the benefits of learning. Hawes died March 12, 1871, at the age of 58, leaving an estate valued at nearly half a million, consisting of property in San Mateo county and San Francisco. By the terms of his will he sought to establish an institution of learning where law, medicine, agriculture, mechanics, art, commerce and fine arts were to be taught, which he desired should be called Mont Eagle university. His failure to make proper provision for his wife and son and daughter caused the will to be attacked on the ground that the testator was insane at the time of its execution. The will was set aside and Mont Eagle was not created. That Hawes was a very eccentric man, and in his later life had become extremely egotistical and overbearing there is no doubt, but he was not insane. His political activities, and his penurious disposition had raised up many enemies for him who regarded

Horace
Hawes'
Unsuccessful
Attempt to
Found a
University

him as an abnormality. He did not fit in with his surroundings, but his cynical attitude was not wholly unwarranted. About his public spirit there can be no question. That he exerted a great influence during his career no one denied, even when the dispute over the will was most acrimonious. He was branded as insane because he took the extreme view that it was more desirable to do something for the general welfare than to make liberal provision for his family.

Foundation
of Leland
Stanford, Jr.,
University

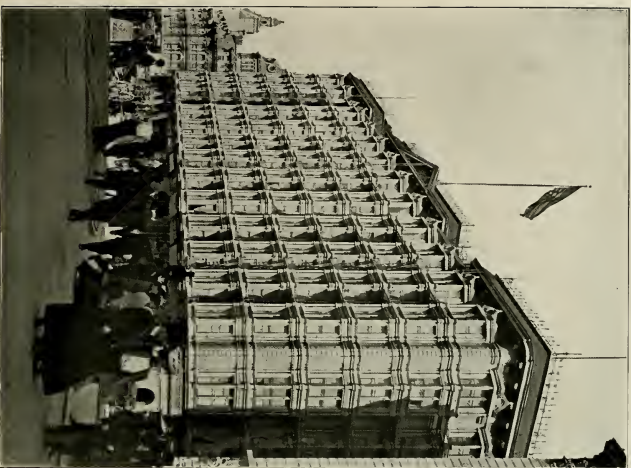
Political animosity may in a sense be held responsible for the creation of a public opinion whose reflex action resulted in the failure of the Mont Eagle project, and there is ground also for the assumption that the great Stanford foundation was inspired by the resentment caused by the refusal of the legislature to confirm the appointment of Leland Stanford as regent of the University of California. On the retirement of Perkins from the governorship he named Stanford for the position of regent, but the senate refused to confirm and his name was withdrawn by request. The statement was made at the time that Stanford was greatly chagrined, and there was much talk of his avenging the insult put upon him by creating a rival university. That he was desirous of an appointment as regent indicates that he took an interest in the higher education, and that he may have had in contemplation a liberal endowment of the state institution, but Creed Haymond, who had a large part in the drawing up of the Leland Stanford, Jr., enabling act, subsequently asserted that the project of a separate foundation had been long entertained by Stanford, and that he desired to serve with the governing body of the State university in order to thoroughly acquaint himself with the requirements of a great institution devoted to the higher education.

Public
Schools
During the
Period

The public school system of the City during this period furnished an interesting illustration of the close relation between the general welfare and the advancement of learning in this country. At the beginning of the period funds were abundant, but with the collapse of the speculative boom the municipality was obliged to practice retrenchment. In 1880 the salaries of teachers were reduced from 16 2/3 per cent to 45 per cent. Preceding this reduction there was a vigorous discussion of the question whether it was not a serious mistake to depart from the original simplicity of the American public school system, and the tendency to broaden the curriculum was deprecated. The opinions expressed were not responsible for the action of the authorities in cutting down appropriations, but were rather in the nature of an excuse for the enforced contraction of the revenues of the school department. In September, 1875, before the necessity of reduction was felt, there were 515 teachers who received an aggregate of \$525,820 per annum, and in addition 24 who taught in the night schools, and a superintendent and deputy superintendent, making the total expenditures for salaries in that year \$544,070. The highest salary paid was \$4,000 to the superintendent and the lowest \$600 per annum. Ten principals received \$2,400, six \$2,200, thirteen \$2,100. Nearly four hundred of the 515 teachers of the day schools received less than one thousand dollars per annum.

Growth of
Public School
System

In 1871, the beginning of our period, there were 56 schools and 416 teachers and the number of pupils enrolled aggregated 26,406. The average daily attendance was 16,978 and the expenditures for all purposes amounted to \$705,116, making the cost per capita of the average daily attendance \$41.53. The school census indicated that there were 28,971 children of school age in the City at the time. The estimated value of school property was \$1,786,400. Owing to uncer-



PALACE HOTEL, BEFORE THE FIRE



TOWERS OF THE OLD CITY HALL, LAIRKIN STREET WING

tainties respecting the valuation of personal property the relation of school expenditures to the wealth of the City cannot be accurately stated, but in 1870 the assessed value of all property in the City was given at \$114,759,510. In 1883 the assessed value of San Francisco property was \$201,992,152 and the school expenditure was \$791,175, the cost per capita based on average daily attendance being \$25.66, a reduction of \$15.87 per capita compared with the earlier mentioned year. The number of schools in the meantime had increased from 56 to 63 and the teachers from 416 to 687. There were 40,722 pupils enrolled and the average daily attendance was 30,827.

The variation of the figures of daily attendance in the public schools from those of the census figures are largely accounted for by the growth of private and parochial schools, particularly the latter. During the period described the educational activities of the Catholics were very marked. In 1872 the Christian Brothers were chartered to grant degrees. In 1874 the Sacred Heart college was opened and not long after St. Joseph's academy for small boys. The numerous convent schools were well attended and altogether the pupils of the various Catholic institutions must have aggregated several thousand in 1883. The number attending the private schools and finishing academies for young ladies was also very considerable. These facts must be kept in mind. They are frequently lost sight of by commentators who make the error of assuming that the difference between the number of children of school age and the average daily attendance at the public schools exhibits a lamentable degree of truancy.

Among the earlier troubles experienced by the school department was one which accompanies the selection of text books. In 1877 the state superintendent of public schools was charged by C. Augustus Klose with having been improperly influenced by a Cincinnati firm. The superintendent who was accused of having received a bribe brought suit against his accuser and recovered \$1,000 damages. Another source of trouble grew out of the mode of appointing teachers, and there were several serious scandals. In 1879 it was discovered that the series of questions prepared for the examination of applicants for positions was being sold in San Francisco. The principal of the Eighth street, now Franklin Grammar school, a man named Moore, was found with a set of questions in his possession which enabled him to guarantee, through a go-between named Ewald, the passage of the required tests by anyone patronizing him. He had obtained the questions through a clerk in the office of state superintendent, named Carr. When the exposure was made Moore and Clarke fled the state and escaped punishment, but the discovery was not without good results, as it was responsible for the provision in the constitution which has stood in the way of like abuses.

In discussing the social changes of this period we are brought face to face with the fact that a new generation had come on the scene. At the beginning of our period the number of Americans, not of Latin origin, who could claim California as their native state, was small; but toward the middle of the decade they became numerous enough to follow the law of mutual attraction. In 1875 the observance of the national holiday was still something more than a perfunctory performance, and it was saved from that ignominy by the spirit of the boys of the City, who had determined to make the Independence Day parade interesting by departing from the conventional. The novelty they hit upon was the reproduction of the typical dress of the miners of argonaut days. The affair proved a great success and

Private and
Parochial
Schools

Text Book
Troubles

Native Sons
of the Golden
West
Organized

suggested a permanent organization of the boys for the perpetuation of memories of pioneer times. On July 11th a number of the native sons met and organized. The objects of the association were stated to be "social intercourse, mental improvement, mutual benefit and general promotion of the interests of its members." Only males of sixteen or over "born in California or west of the Sierra" were eligible to membership. In March, 1876, the organization was incorporated, Joseph Fishbourne being its first president. The original membership was less than a hundred. In the following year, in December, a "parlor" was formed in Oakland, and after that date the order grew rapidly. In the early stages of its growth the Native Sons' organization escaped criticism, but later it was contended that politicians derived benefit from their connection, and occasionally the figures of election returns seemed to support the imputation; but it is an open question whether membership sentiment operates more strongly in it than in other social bodies, whose numerical strength in the City and state has increased as rapidly. But whatever the result it is undoubtedly true that the original purpose in forming the Native Sons was to keep alive state pride, and that its chief attraction as an order has, from the beginning, been the possibilities it presents for social intercourse.

**A PERIOD OF GREAT PROGRESS
FOLLOWED BY DISASTER**

1883—1906

CHAPTER LVI

TRANSPORTATION TROUBLES OF SAN FRANCISCO MERCHANTS

RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS CORRUPTED BY THE CORPORATION—EFFORTS TO REGULATE
DEFEATED—CORPORATION COMPELLED TO PAY ITS BACK TAXES—THE FRESNO RATE
CASE—BUYING OFF SEA COMPETITORS—MERCHANTS SHOW SIGNS OF REVOLTING—
FORMATION OF TRAFFIC ASSOCIATION—THE TRANSCONTINENTAL ASSOCIATION—
NORTH AMERICAN NAVIGATION COMPANY—THE MOVEMENT TO BUILD A COMPETING
RAILROAD—SUBSCRIPTIONS TO SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY RAILROAD—TERMINAL FACILI-
TIES SECURED—THE ROAD TURNED OVER TO THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE—
THE PEOPLE BETRAYED—PACIFIC COAST JOBBERS AND MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIA-
TION—GROWTH OF SOUTHERN PACIFIC SYSTEM—MONETARY TROUBLES OF 1893—
BUSINESS DEPRESSION IN SAN FRANCISCO.



HEN Bryce made his survey of conditions in California several years after the so called "sand lot upheaval" he remarked that "the city government of San Francisco is much what it was before the agitation, nor does the legislature seem any purer or wiser. When the Railroad Commission had to be elected the railroad magnates managed so to influence the election, although it was made directly

by the people, that two of the three commissioners chosen were, or soon afterwards came under their influence, while the third was a mere declaimer. None of them, as I was told in 1883, possessed the practical knowledge of railway business needed to enable them to deal in the manner contemplated by the constitution, with the oppressions alleged to be practiced by the railroads. . . . I asked why the railroad magnates had not been content to rely on certain provisions of the federal constitution against the control sought to be exerted over their undertaking. The answer was that they had considered this course, but had concluded that it was cheaper to buy the commission."

It is true, as Bryce here asserts, that the railroad bought up a majority of the Railroad Commission elected by the people, and that course was adopted to save trouble. Had the people been capable of exercising the discrimination necessary to secure able men who would have proved true to their trust they might have accomplished something in the way of control, but that result could only have been achieved by a fresh agitation directed against the legislature which deliberately, because controlled by the railroad, refused to make the necessary appropriations to enable the commission to perform the duties imposed upon it by the constitution. Mr. Bryce speaks of the third member of the commission who could not be bought by the railroad as "a mere declaimer." In forming this estimate of

A Corrupt
Railroad
Commission

Railroad
Fools the
People

Footo he fell into the trap which the railroad cunningly set for the dear people. It was by discrediting every one who sought to correct railroad abuses that the reform of the corporation was delayed over thirty years. By fooling the people into the belief that railroading was an esoteric mystery the shackles were fastened on San Francisco more firmly than they were before the agitation, and they had to pay dearly for the childlike faith they reposed in the soundness of the judgment of those who contended that "whatever is is right."

Efforts to
Regulate
Defeated

Had Mr. Bryce, and like critics, not put those who were contending for corporation regulation out of conceit with themselves San Francisco would have worked out many problems, and effected many reforms which would have saved the nation a great deal of trouble later. As these troubles were more or less intimately related with the fortunes of San Francisco, it is necessary to describe them briefly in order that the degree of influence they exerted over the growth of the City may be determined. The connection cannot always be clearly established, but it can easily be shown that by benumbing the growing disposition to regulate San Francisco helped to extend the term of the railroad monopoly for many years, and thereby contributed to the political corruption which finally aroused the people and caused them to bring about an approach to the results aimed at by the agitators who forced the adoption of the Constitution of 1879.

The First
Railroad
Commission

The first Railroad Commission elected consisted of George Stoneman, Joseph S. Cone and Charles J. Beerstecher. Stoneman had held the position of commissioner under the Irwin administration prior to the adoption of the Constitution of 1879. Cone was a land owner in the northern part of the state and Beerstecher was one of Kearney's lieutenants, an utterly corrupt creature who sought the office for what there was to be made out of it. The only member of the commission who showed any disposition to exercise the powers conferred by the Constitution of 1879 was Stoneman, whose ability was called into question by just such tactics as those reflected in Bryce's estimate. Because he urged that abuses existed he was characterized as "a mere declaimer," and thus the hands of his colleagues who thwarted every proposal obnoxious to the railroad were held up by an influential public opinion. The legislature of 1883 took up the matter, and the corporation committee of the assembly reported as a result of an investigation that Cone, although wealthy before becoming commissioner had received deeds for large tracts of land from the railroad company while in office, that Beerstecher had been bought outright and that Stoneman, although he had tried to do his best, had always been thwarted by his colleagues.

Railroad
Compelled to
Pay its Taxes

The success of the railroad company in dealing with the commission emboldened it sufficiently to defy the tax gatherer, and during a period of four years the corporation refused to pay the taxes levied upon it by the State Board of Equalization. Suits were brought against it in the federal court at San Francisco, and were pending when the state attorney general ordered their dismissal. His action aroused indignation and Stoneman, who had been elected governor, chiefly upon his anti-railroad record, called an extra session of the legislature which assembled March 24, 1884, the objects stated in the call being almost entirely confined to proposed regulative measures for the railroad corporation and the collection of the revenues. The assembly was in sympathy with the recommendations of the governor, and framed nineteen bills, but the senate under the leadership of a San Francisco republican named McClure, an able but unscrupulous opponent of the Constitution of

1879, and wholly devoted to the interests of the railroad, contrived to defeat all but four which were of slight consequence. In the ensuing legislature another attempt was made to deal with the question of railroad taxation. An amendment was proposed for submission to the people providing for the levy of a $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent tax per annum on the gross income of railroads. Although it met the approval of the legislature, it was rejected at the election of November 2, 1886. In the meantime, after the dismissal of the suits by Attorney General Marshall, new suits had been instituted in the federal courts in which the state proved successful, and the corporation was compelled to pay a sum which represented the amount with penalties added that Marshall, the attorney general, had sought to sacrifice to the railroad when he compromised and dismissed the cases, and the unpaid taxes of 1885-86.

The history of the Railroad Commission during the entire period 1883-1906 was practically one of nonaccomplishment. The commission which followed the Cone, Beerstecher, Stoneman body was as flagrantly defiant of popular opinion as its predecessor. Two of the members, Carpenter and Humphreys, arrayed themselves on the side of the railroad and Henry S. Foote was in opposition. In the only case of importance before them, that of Richards & Harrison who alleged discrimination and extortion, relief was denied by the majority. Foote's antagonism was forceful, but accomplished nothing against the instructions of the railroad. In 1887 W. H. Robinson brought a case before the commission which resulted after a long hearing in a reduction of the passenger fares between San Francisco and the Alameda shore points. After that date various cases were decided by the commissions in which the complainant was occasionally favored, but none of these decisions were rendered so as to form a principle or establish a precedent. In 1896 a vigorous effort was made to secure a horizontal reduction of grain rates amounting to 10 per cent, and the commission yielded to pressure, but the courts interfered, deciding that a horizontal reduction without an investigation of each particular case would be unconstitutional.

The most important matter in many respects which the commission was called upon to decide was that of Edison vs. Southern Pacific and known as the Fresno rate case, which was brought in April, 1900. The Southern Pacific, when the San Joaquin valley railroad was built from San Francisco to Fresno, reduced its rate of fare from \$5.90 to \$3.75. The Constitution of 1879 provides that when a railroad reduces its passenger or freight rate to meet competition it may not restore the same without the permission of the Railroad Commission. When the Southern Pacific subsequently entered into an arrangement with the company which had acquired possession of the San Joaquin valley railroad it promptly restored the fare to \$5.90. The commission, when the case was brought before it under pressure of public opinion, and perhaps because the Southern Pacific was confident of the final outcome of its contention, decided that the rate could not be restored. The corporation promptly carried the matter into the courts and the case was finally decided in its favor by the supreme court of the state on the ground that the \$3.75 was an excursion rate, and that the railroad constantly kept on sale the regular \$5.90 ticket. The action of the court in sanctioning the disreputable trick came in for severe censure, but it had been accustomed to adverse criticism and treated the matter lightly.

Useless
Commissions
and Accom-
modating
Courts

The Fresno
Rate Case

**Buying Off
Sea Compe-
tition**

In view of the fact that the commission was regarded with distrust by the people, very little attention was paid to a decision rendered in the federal circuit court in 1883 which deprived it of the right to regulate steamship as well as railroad rates. The court held that as the steamships of the Pacific Coast S. S. Co., which brought the action to test the matter, passed beyond the three-mile limit, the commission had no jurisdiction over them. As a result of this decision numerous alleged competitive steamship lines were started at different times and were kept in operation until the railroad deemed it expedient to buy them off. The consequence was disorganization of business and the practical impossibility of establishing a line or lines which might have given an effective competitive service.

**Bakersfield
Oil Cases**

One other case of importance which came before the commission in 1901 rounds out the story of the inglorious and often shameful doings of the commission from which so much was expected. In 1901 the condition of the oil market was such that relief had to be afforded producers or disastrous consequences must follow. In April of that year what was called the Bakersfield oil case was brought before the commission and was, after a hearing, settled by compromise, the attorneys of the litigants signing an agreement. The railroads involved were the Southern Pacific, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, and the San Joaquin valley railroad. It was afterward held by the attorney general of the state that the agreement fixed the rate, an opinion which might have been important in the event of higher prices for oil creating a condition which would have enabled the railroads to put into practice the rule of "all the traffic will bear."

**Merchants
Show Signs
of Revolt**

The merchants of San Francisco had submitted, sometimes with good and oftener with bad grace, to the exactions of the Central and Southern Pacific for more than twenty-one years without revolting against their masters, but in 1891 conditions became intolerable and there were signs of rebellion. The railroad treated them with base ingratitude, for during the agitation which resulted in the adoption of the Constitution of 1879 the sympathies of the merchants had been with the corporation and against the people, and in the various disputes touching the regulation of rates within the state they had maintained an aloofness which more than anything else contributed to the defiant attitude of the Railroad Commission. In 1891, however, the arrogance of the corporation became unbearable. Not satisfied with dominating and controlling land traffic the railroad determined to interfere with the use of the sea.

**Round About
Methods of
Shipping**

For some time merchants had found that they could ship domestically produced goods from New York to Europe and reship them from the latter country to San Francisco and save money by the transaction. They adopted this course because the regular clipper lines sailing out of New York were operated under an agreement with the transcontinental railroads, as were also the steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and the rates had been put up to a figure which made ocean competition a mere farce. The circuitous method of shipping to San Francisco via Europe, despite the necessity involved of crossing the Atlantic twice and rounding the Horn effected a saving of \$4 a ton. The railroad, however, was disinclined to submit to the loss of patronage, and set in motion the superserviceable Washington authorities who denominated the roundabout traffic an evasion of the coastwise and navigation laws of the United States, and ordered the confiscation of the cargoes. This drove the merchants who had resorted to the circuitous route into litigation which ultimately resulted in their favor. The feeling aroused

by this insolent action of the railroad was intense, and for a time it seemed to the dispassionate observer that a crusade had begun which would result in curbing the pretensions of the corporation by making use of the facilities which the finest harbor on the Pacific coast, and the open sea afforded, to effectively regulate freights.

The first result was the establishment of a line of steamers by the Johnson Locke Mercantile Company known as the Atlantic and Pacific, which began operating in the summer of 1891. It soon, however, became evident to the merchants that the advantage gained by employing ocean facilities were nullified by the excessive rates charged by the railroad to carry produce to and from the harbor. The through rate might be lowered, and as a matter of fact was, but the chronicler of the interesting episode remarked "San Francisco still stagnated. The number of stores and tenements to rent continually increased; realty of all sorts produced continually less income or failed to produce any and values of property sank." There was no exaggeration in this statement, and in contemplating the situation the community, under the inspiration of the merchants, fell into line, and supported a movement, which, had it been carried out as originally designed must have afforded the desired relief. It will be seen in the sequel, however, that the primary purpose was entirely lost sight of, and that a popular uprising was used to rivet the shackles of railroad domination more firmly on the people of San Francisco.

A Good
Plan that
Failed

Naturally as the movement gained force appeals were made to the Railroad Commission for relief, but that body, true to the traditions it had created, showed itself incapable, even if it had been desirous of assisting the merchants in their efforts. It was found that the commissioners lacked the data to formulate a tariff, and that none of its members had any familiarity with the business of rate making. A condition precedent to making a successful fight was an intelligent showing of the situation and this could only be made by creating an extra official body with a competent manager, acquainted with the intricacies of rate schedules and the needs of the community. To attain these ends it was resolved to form a traffic association. A meeting of merchants was held in the offices of A. J. Lusk & Co., over which Isador Jacobs presided, and invitations were sent out for a more representative gathering which was called for October 19, 1891. This was largely attended. James B. Stetson was called to the chair, and after stating the purpose of the proposed organization a resolution was adopted in which it was declared that the object of the new association would be to forward "the construction of canals, competitive systems of railroads, steamship lines, and for any other purpose that might tend to develop the interests of the state, and to seek new fields for our merchants to distribute their goods, products and manufactures." The matter of canals especially interested the gathering, which by resolution caused the creation of a permanent committee, of which John T. Doyle was appointed chairman, to encourage the construction of a waterway across Nicaragua.

Traffic
Association
Formed

A few days later, on October 24, the executive committee appointed at the general meeting elected its officers. James B. Stetson was chosen president and Thomas J. Haynes, secretary. The committee was composed as follows: F. L. Castle, J. C. Siegfried, F. W. Van Sicklen, Robert Watt, B. F. Dunham, Isaac Upham, Isador Jacobs, Eugene B. Beck, A. W. Porter, William Haas, J. H. Wise, A. J. Marcus, A. S. Hallidie, Barry Baldwin, J. B. Stetson, S. N. Griffith, C. T. Settle, J. A. Hodges and W. H. Wood. Joseph S. Leeds, a railroad man of large

Traffic
Manager
Appointed

experience was engaged as traffic manager and entered upon his duties December 1, 1891. Although the movement was designed to afford relief from oppressive rates to the large district tributary to San Francisco, very little sympathy was extended by the interior which showed no signs of a desire to cooperate. This was all the more singular as the arguments of the executive committee and subsequently of Mr. Leeds were chiefly directed against the evil results flowing from the railroad's policy of repressing domestic production in order to promote its through business.

Transconti-
nental Asso-
ciation and
Ocean
Competition

Perhaps the fact that the association appeared to lay more stress on the desirability of bringing down through rates may have had something to do with the apathetic attitude of the interior. The first active step taken in carrying out the Traffic Association's programme was to encourage a competing clipper line. The effect of its establishment was to render the Pacific Mail traffic unprofitable, and this caused the withdrawal of the subsidy extended by the Transcontinental Association to that corporation. The Transcontinental Association at that time embraced the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, the Atlantic and Pacific, the Burlington and Missouri, Canadian Pacific, Chicago and Rock Island, Colorado Midland, Denver and Rio Grande, Great Northern, Missouri Pacific, Northern Pacific, Oregon and California, Rio Grande Western, Southern California, Southern Pacific (its Atlantic and Pacific systems), St. Louis and San Francisco, Texas and Pacific and the Union Pacific system. All these railroads were banded together for the common purpose, so far as the transcontinental organization was concerned, of nullifying the advantages of sea competition which object was successfully accomplished until the Traffic Association by pledging the support of its membership to the competing clipper line brought about a change.

North
American
Navigation
Company
Formed

In his first report made in 1892 Leeds, after felicitating the members on what had been accomplished, added: "The State of California needs to have cheap communication within itself. The annual produce of the state should have an easy market. Transportation between local points should be the minimum. The harbors of the state should be maintained open and free to commerce; unnecessary restrictions and tolls on trade should be abolished." He also added a recommendation that the Railroad Commission be abolished, as it was a useless body. Although stress was laid on the necessity of cheap communication within the state no active steps were taken in 1892 to achieve that result, the energies of the association being solely directed to the lessening of through rates. In that year the association voted to send Leeds and Frank S. Johnson to negotiate with the Panama Railroad Company for terms to move freight across the isthmus, and the outcome was the establishment of a line of steamers known as the North American Navigation Company, which, however, was not very long lived, owing to the fatal facility with which the railroad was able to detach its patronage by offering special rates to weak kneed members of the association.

Lower
Local Rates
Needed

The monetary stringency of 1893 made itself felt on the coast, and particularly in San Francisco where business was almost at a standstill. As is usual in times of depression, discontent manifested itself and a crusade was started against the railroad which equalled in bitterness that which was followed by the adoption of the Constitution of 1879. An agitation was started for the removal of the Railroad Commission which proved unsuccessful. The patronage of the North American



POSTOFFICE



UNITED STATES MINT

Navigation Company dropped off so greatly that its condition became precarious and it was found necessary to aid it with subscriptions; it was impossible, however, to secure any financial assistance for a proposed railroad which was to engage in competition with the Southern Pacific for local business. A mooted enterprise which was to connect San Francisco and Salt Lake was lost sight of during the stagnation. The Traffic Association, however, continued its activities. The project of an interior line which should be a real competitor of the Southern Pacific, to be operated with especial reference to the needs of cheap communication with the Great valley, was kept alive. The citizens of Stockton, Fresno, Merced, Berenda, Madera, Modesto, Tulare, Bakersfield and other points in the San Joaquin valley were conferred with by a committee, and the advantages of an independent line pointed out, and some interest was excited. Through the instrumentality of William R. Wheeler, the Merchants Freighting Association was formed, and the apprehension that competing steamers might be put on the routes between the Southern California ports and San Francisco resulted in the extension of more favorable rates by the existing companies.

Although Leeds in his first report to the executive committee had said: "It has been found that the principal feature of the trouble has its basis or foundation in the local rates in this state," and supplemented this declaration with information which fully warranted his conclusion that "the high local tariffs to and from the interior had the effect of holding the traffic of the whole state upon an unreasonably high basis, and to a large extent curtailed the trade of the business centers of the coast," and was emphatic in the expression of the opinion that "the local rates are very much more burdensome (than through rates), because they serve not only the purpose of securing an immense local revenue, but serve as a high protective tariff against the possible introduction of a measure of sea competition to the interior country of this coast," the efforts of the association during two or three years following to provide a remedy for the situation were feeble and mainly confined to talk. Although the Southern Pacific was at this time furnishing an example of the injustice of its local rates by bringing to San Francisco from Liverpool via New Orleans, many commodities at much less cost than was assessed against local shippers for moving the same commodities from San Francisco to Bakersfield in Kern county at the head of the San Joaquin river, the Traffic Association apparently was less concerned to bring about a change in this latter regard than it was to force down through rates. This attitude did not escape attention and criticism. Public opinion was fully alive to the desirability of correcting an evil which Leeds had so forcefully pointed out, but no move in the direction of securing an independent line was made until the Atchison, Topcka and Santa Fe in pursuit of its usual policy took advantage of a popular movement to break into the territory of the Southern Pacific.

There is no doubt about the integrity of the motives of the mass of subscribers to the San Joaquin valley railroad, who were later called upon to give effect to Leeds' recommendations. Outside of a limited few they believed that their contributions would be devoted to building a railroad which would be operated independently of any transcontinental line, and with the sole object of promoting the utilization of the water facilities of San Francisco for the benefit of the distributor of products received by sea and for that of the producers of the great interior valley.

The Santa Fe
Takes a
Hand in the
Game

Contributions
for Building
a Competing
Road

It would have been impossible to secure the support of many who subscribed had there been any suspicion that the road was to be built to turn over to a company belonging to the Transcontinental Association. The members of the Traffic Association had been told, and the people generally were aware that between 1877 and 1903 over \$14,000,000 had been paid by the Transcontinental Association to prevent the Pacific Mail Steamship Company competing with their lines. They knew that the Transcontinental Association was responsible for the fact that Brazilian coffee was laid down at Denver via New York at \$1.25 per 100 pounds, while the rate from San Jose de Guatemala to Denver via San Francisco was \$1.92½; and that tea was moved at rates which were slowly but surely depriving the importers of San Francisco of all chances of doing business. Possessed of this knowledge they were disinclined, or would have been, had the idea been suggested to them, to assist an undertaking which would strengthen the association whose purpose it was to choke off competition by sea.

**The Valley
Railroad
Project**

The attitude toward the revived project to build a railroad into the great valley, to be operated as an independent line, however, met with more favor. In June, 1893, a prospectus had been issued at the instance of the Traffic Association inviting citizens to subscribe to the capital stock of a line to be constructed from the city of Stockton to the head of the San Joaquin valley in Kern county, the length of the line being about 350 miles. It was stated that the ultimate intention was to construct from Stockton to San Francisco, and thus make a continuous line from San Francisco to the head of the valley having a length of 350 miles. Owing to the monetary stringency and general depression in the latter part of 1893 it was found impossible to raise the requisite funds. This project was taken up again in 1894 and the proposed road was named the San Francisco, Stockton and San Joaquin railroad. The capital stock was fixed at \$6,000,000, divided into 60,000 shares of \$100 each and a trust fund was formed and trustees named "to preserve the road as a competitive carrier." The enterprise made no headway during 1894, but was not formally abandoned by the Traffic Association. In January, 1895, the project received an impulse from an outside source which later developments disclosed was the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. The connection of that company with the revised project was not understood by the community, but there must have been a suspicion if not a certainty in the minds of the members of the Traffic Association that the original purpose of the enterprise had undergone a change.

**Subscrip-
tions to
Valley
Railroad**

A meeting was held on January 22, 1895, at which bitter speeches directed against the Southern Pacific were made by several speakers. Thomas Magee said that he had been told while in the San Joaquin valley that "of every three drops of rain that fell there, two of them were owned by C. P. Huntington." The dominant note of all the addresses made was intense hostility to the monopolistic corporation. Claus Spreckels was a leading spirit, and on the subject of subscriptions warned those present that unless at least three millions were subscribed for the building of the new road the project would fall through. Subscriptions were then received and Spreckels put down his name for \$50,000. On the ensuing day Claus Spreckels increased his subscription to half a million and John D. and Adolph Spreckels each subscribed \$100,000. In the course of a week \$1,500,000 was subscribed and an address was issued to the public in which it was stated that "the

proposition is to make it a people's road, owned by the people and operated in the interest of the people, and it is to you as part of the people that we turn for assistance."

Following this declaration a canvass was made and Claus Spreckels offered to double his subscription to \$1,000,000 conditioned upon \$6,000,000 cash being raised. The appeal was responded to, but not as heartily as the intimation the need of a \$6,000,000 subscription implied. The Hibernia bank made an absolute gift of \$50,000 to help along the undertaking, and Mrs. D. D. Colton subscribed \$50,000. On February 20, 1895, a meeting of the subscribers was held in the Chamber of Commerce and the name adopted for the new corporation was the San Francisco and San Joaquin valley railway. A report was made that \$2,248,000 had been subscribed and on February 25th the new road was incorporated. Incorporation was followed by speedy action in the matter of securing a terminal. The legislature was then in session and was dealing with a bill which originally designed authorizing the Harbor Commission to lease sites on water front property belonging to the state for grain warehouses. An amendment was introduced in the interest of the new railroad which would enable the commission to lease to any railway company, not having terminal facilities in San Francisco, and desiring the same, for a period of fifty years, any property belonging to the state. The bill passed the assembly by an overwhelming majority, but the Southern Pacific contingent in the senate made a vigorous but unsuccessful opposition and the measure became a law.

Terminal
Facilities
Obtained

The passage of this act was speedily followed by active building operations, and by significant developments which, however, were overlooked in the enthusiasm of the moment, or perhaps not comprehended. A plan was submitted to the directory which created a trust, the powers of which were recited in a preamble as follows: "To cause said corporation to so operate said road that the basis for freights and fares shall be the lowest rates of charge which shall yield sufficient revenue to the company to pay for the proper maintenance, operation and betterment of said road. . . . And said trustees further agree that they will not knowingly vote said stock for the benefit or in the interest of any corporation or person, or interests hostile to the interests of, or in business competition with the San Francisco and San Joaquin valley railroad, or in favor of any party or parties, or company or companies owning or controlling any parallel line of road to the detriment of the corporation hereinbefore mentioned. And said trustees further agree that the said road shall not be leased to, nor consolidated with any company which may own, control, manage or operate any of the roads now existing in the San Joaquin valley, and the trustees shall not, nor shall their successors, have any power as stockholders to assent to any such consolidation or lease, or in any way to put the said road under the same management as that of any other railroad now existing in the said San Joaquin valley."

San Joaquin
Valley Rail-
road Built

On April 5, 1895, a meeting was held and this trust provision was approved, and the following were named as trustees: A. B. Spreckels, James Cross, Daniel Meyer, Thomas Brown, James D. Phelan, F. W. Van Sicklen, Lovell White, Christian de Guigne and O. D. Baldwin. In the meantime a terminal had been selected, the spot chosen being that known as China Basin. The choice was approved by the State Board of Harbor Commissioners and the directors of the road

China Basin
Secured by
Santa Fe

accepted the site. A bill authorizing the lease was passed by the legislature and signed by the governor on March 26, 1895, ratifying the transaction, and thus was dexterously completed the job by which the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe effected entrance into San Francisco and secured valuable terminal privileges from the people. The only outspoken opposition to the leasing of China Basin came from Mayor Sutro, who as ex officio member of the Board of Harbor Commissioners took part in the conferring of the site. He was dissatisfied with the course taken and expressed distrust regarding the outcome.

Valley Road
Turned
Over to
Santa Fe
Company

It would be impugning the business capacity of the men who acted as trustees to suggest that they were overreached. The provisions of the document creating the trust clearly indicate that what was later accomplished was contemplated by those who drew it up. There is no doubt that the most of the subscribers, had it been made perfectly plain to them that the San Joaquin valley railroad scheme was resorted to merely for the purpose of effecting an entrance to San Francisco, would have given it their hearty support. At that time it was believed that the introduction of a rival road would destroy the power of the hated monopoly, and this belief created a powerful sentiment in favor of any concern which promised to prove a competitor. Nevertheless it is a fact that the original object of building a railroad into the great valley was entirely lost sight of by those who built the road and then sold out to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. That corporation was not shut out by the provisions of the trust it did not exist or operate in the valley at that time; it will probably never "consolidate with any company which may control, manage or operate any of the roads then existing in the San Joaquin valley," but since it obtained possession of the San Francisco and San Joaquin valley railroad it has never maintained a competition with the Southern Pacific of the sort the people looked for when they bought its stock which they later cheerfully surrendered when paid par value for the same. In short the San Joaquin valley railroad is not "a people's road, owned by the people and operated in the interests of the people."

The People
Betrayed

The historiographer of this popular enterprise announced: "It will be necessary later to publish a volume leading up to the actual beginning of operations of the first competing railroad," but this second volume never appeared for the excellent reason that the San Joaquin valley railroad never developed into the competing road hoped for, and certainly at no time afforded the sort of relief the Traffic Association sought to obtain through its construction. San Francisco, until very recently, has been deprived of the advantages which its water facilities should confer as effectively as before 1895, and since that date it has been compelled to struggle to maintain its position in the San Joaquin valley. Had the original plan of the Traffic Association of 1891 been adhered to, and the San Joaquin valley railroad been made a purely local concern, devoted solely to promoting the development of the commerce of the port of San Francisco there might have been a different story to tell. It was claimed that the transference to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe of the San Joaquin valley railroad was rendered necessary because the road could not be made to pay. That may be true, but with a copy of the original trust provisions before one it is difficult to believe that those most active in the enterprise ever designed making it pay, or that they ever had any other object in view than that of serving the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company.

Almost concurrently with the operations of the Traffic Association another organization which was formed in May, 1892, and named the Merchants' Shipping Association was striving to bring about a proper utilization of the water facilities of the port of San Francisco. Its efforts were attended with a considerable degree of success, and the association continued in active operation until 1894, when assurance was received that a clipper service between Atlantic ports and San Francisco would be maintained. It was estimated in August, 1892, that 42,000 tons of merchandise were on their way by sea to San Francisco from New York, and about 15,000 from Philadelphia. Twenty-four vessels were at one time engaged in this trade, and it was noted that there was a growing disposition on the part of Eastern business men to enter the Pacific coast market to obtain goods for distribution on the Atlantic seaboard so that the vessels carrying merchandise to the Pacific coast could secure return cargoes. It was this situation which brought about the cut rate movement of the Pacific Mail Company that resulted in serious loss to both clippers and steamers, and was followed by the withdrawal of many of the former and the cessation of the subsidies which had been paid by the Pacific Mail Company to shut off the competition of the clipper lines.

When the project of building a people's road into the great valley was under consideration it was assumed that it could "rely with certainty each year upon traffic in all portions of the valley where irrigation is practicable, and with almost unerring certainty upon a sufficiency of moisture in the foothill country of the Sierra Nevada to produce a crop. It was further shown that the traffic of the Southern Pacific in the valley increased five fold in five years." There was no doubt in the minds of any one concerning the future of a people's road. Mr. Leeds in a report pointed out at the time of the origin of the Traffic Association that only about 14 per cent of the arable land of the valley was under cultivation. The number of acres cultivated was about 2,500,000, and there were at least 4,520,000 acres more of arable valley land which would soon be brought into use, while there was a large quantity of mill timber which would furnish business. Horticulture was in its infancy but was destined to greatly expand. Although in 1892 the population was still sparse the railroads moved 10,000 carloads of orchard and vineyard products, 390,000 tons of wheat and large quantities of barley, hay and vegetables. The petroleum output was also beginning to give great promise.

In the light of later events it is easily seen that Mr. Leeds was not over optimistic, and indeed no attempt has ever been made to show that there was any real apprehension that the Valley road could not be made to pay. Those who put through the Valley railroad scheme and turned over the road to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe may be given credit for sincerity of purpose, but the fact remains that the upheaval of 1892-95 really accomplished no valuable permanent results. The people who were active in promoting the organization which was instrumental in the creation of the North American Navigation Company and which started the movement for a Valley road soon found this out. For a while they fancied their work was done but in 1899 they had to come forward again to defend San Francisco's interests. In that year a suit was instituted by the Traffic Bureau of the Business Men's League of St. Louis, et al, versus the Transcontinental Railways. The object of the suit was to break down the terminal route making system. To meet this assault the Pacific Coast Jobbers and Manufacturers Asso-

Making Use
of the Ocean

Resources of
the San
Joaquin
Valley

A Dead
Sea Apple

ciation was formed. It originally embraced the merchants and manufacturers of the Pacific coast terminal cities. Wakefield Baker was the first president, and was later succeeded by H. D. Loveland. The association intervened in the suit and bore the brunt of the battle and won the contest which confirmed the principle of recognizing water competition as a factor in rate making.

Pacific Coast
Jobbers and
Manufacturers
Association

The activities of the Pacific Coast Jobbers and Manufacturers Association continued until the organization of the Traffic Bureau of the Merchants Exchange in October, 1908. It succeeded during this interval in securing the abolition of the state toll charges made by the Southern Pacific on traffic which did not cross the wharves. The Harbor Commission imposed a toll of 5 cents per ton upon all traffic crossing the wharves of the port, and the railroad extended the exaction to all freight entering the City whether it entered the City by water or land. The association succeeded in inducing the Interstate Commerce Commission to take up the matter, and after investigation that body declared the charge illegal when applied to interstate traffic. The decision proved the entering wedge to free all the commerce of San Francisco from the discriminating charge, effecting a large saving to shippers, which in 1911 was estimated at fully a million dollars. Before the Jobbers and Manufacturers Association terminated its existence it inaugurated the movement for the abolition of the discriminatory industrial switching charge which was successfully prosecuted before the Interstate Commerce Commission by the Traffic Bureau.

Growth of
Southern
Pacific
System

The answer of the men to whose energies the building of the first transcontinental railroad was due to the complaints and denunciations of the people has always taken the form of pointing to the development of the state which has resulted from the promotion of facilities for communication. The corporation has rarely attempted to defend its practices, but has at times dwelt upon its accomplishments. If the fact could be obscured that these latter were practically achieved with the money of the people it would be readily conceded that they proved themselves great benefactors. The growth of the state since the Central Pacific began operating in 1865 is reflected in the expansion of the operations of the corporation which later developed into the Southern Pacific. It is a marvelous showing, and it is not surprising that those who were directly concerned in bringing it about should sometimes become confused respecting the causes that produced the results for which they claim so much credit. And it is not necessary in contemplating them to suppress or underrate the part played by the managers and active spirits of the corporation in developing the railroad system which from its humble beginnings in California has become one of the greatest in the United States.

Traffic
Operations
of Southern
Pacific

In 1865 when the first report was made the operative receipts of the Central Pacific were \$405,882; in 1910 they had increased to \$135,022,607. The freight carried which aggregated 57,981 tons in 1865 reached 25,962,704 tons in 1910, and the 124 freight cars of the first named year had multiplied themselves to 44,979. Nine passenger and baggage and express cars sufficed in 1865 and 1,942 were needed in 1910, and the number of locomotives employed had risen from 12 to 1,808. In 1865 from 18 to 56 miles of track were operated; in 1910 the system embraced 9,752 miles of railroad. No statistics are available to determine what proportion of this vast volume of traffic was contributed by California, but in the fiscal year 1906-07 the freight moving eastward from California aggregated 1,851,-



OLD FERRY DEPOT IN THE EIGHTIES

058 tons and into California 1,209,223 tons, while the movement within the state was 10,430,811 tons. A couple of years later the Southern Pacific handled 1,031,484 tons from San Francisco, and brought to the City 1,860,065 tons. During the fiscal year preceding the fire the Southern Pacific carried out of the state 169,879 tons of green deciduous, 250,067 citrus and 214,667 tons of dried fruit. The corporation by no means monopolizes the carrying business of the state, but it has the lion's share, as may be inferred from the fact that its chief competitor the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe absolutely declines to furnish statistics.

The earlier policy of the Southern Pacific was not calculated to promote the object which the congress of the United States had in view in extending aid to the constructors of the first transcontinental railroad. High passenger rates operated to discourage immigration into the state and population increased very slowly compared with that of other sections of the Union. In 1880 California had 864,694 inhabitants, in 1890 the number had increased to 1,208,130, but during the ensuing ten years only 276,923 were added, the population in 1900 being 1,485,053. An explanation of this slow growth may be found in the fact that little attention was paid to colonizing before 1900, but after that date vigorous efforts were made to induce settlement by making low rates which promoted immigration. Between 1901 and 1910 the Southern Pacific carried 625,328 passengers at colonist rates, the number being 93,547 in 1893. During the same period the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe exhibited a like activity, and to the combined efforts of the two companies can be traced the phenomenal increase of population between 1900 and 1910 which exceeded 62 per cent, and which represented nearly as great an addition to the inhabitants of the state as there were people within its borders twenty years earlier.

It would be easy to trace an apparent connection between the advancement and retardment of progress in San Francisco and the operations of railroads which serve it, especially those of the company which dominated for so many years. Between 1883 and the great fire of 1906 San Francisco had many variations of fortune. There was a period of prosperity after 1883 which endured for several years, but in 1891 the people were complaining of stagnation, and as related in the account of the movement which led to the construction of the San Joaquin valley railroad, the merchants and the community generally adopted the view that the short sighted policy of the Southern Pacific was responsible for the troubles they were experiencing. But it would be a mistake to lose sight of the fact that there were other causes operating, and that San Francisco was suffering in common with the rest of the country. In 1893 the United States was visited by one of the most disastrous panics ever experienced in this country. The Pacific coast was no longer isolated, and its inhabitants had to accept the evil with the good which results from interdependence and improved communication. Earlier, under different conditions, San Francisco was able to escape and even to profit by the currency troubles of other parts of the Union. In 1893, although it still maintained its system of gold payments, it was caught in the maelstrom. Its business men perhaps may be held accountable for the money ills of the period as the exploitation of the Comstock mines and the consequent silver troubles may be directly traced to their activity.

Central
Pacific Man-
agers and
Immigration

The Monetary
Trouble of
1893

CHAPTER LVII

MONETARY PECULIARITIES OF SAN FRANCISCO AND CALIFORNIA

THE USE OF GOLD COIN IN CALIFORNIA—WHY THE STATE WAS ABLE TO MAINTAIN SPECIE PAYMENTS—AN EXCESS OF SUBSIDIARY SILVER CAUSES TROUBLE IN SAN FRANCISCO—THE VARIABLE "BIT" AND THE HOSTILITY TO THE 5-CENT NICKEL—THE TRADE DOLLAR EXPERIMENT—IGNORANCE OF EFFECT OF SILVER DEMONETIZATION IN SAN FRANCISCO—THE TRADE DOLLAR REDEMPTION JOB—FALL IN SILVER PRICES INJURES MINING INDUSTRY—CAPITAL AND RATES OF INTEREST—BANK CLEARINGS—THE CRISIS OF 1893 AND THE SUBSEQUENT BUSINESS DEPRESSION—CALIFORNIA PRODUCERS SUFFER FROM FALLING PRICES—SAN FRANCISCO VEGETATES—HAWAIIAN TRADE—TEA MARKET SLIPS AWAY—IMPORTANCE OF ALASKAN TRADE—CUTTING UP BIG RANCHES—OPERATIONS OF MINT AND SUBTREASURY—OBSTACLES TO MANUFACTURING DEVELOPMENT—AGRICULTURE—IMMIGRATION.



HE adherence of California to the gold standard throughout the Civil war, and the subsequent period during which the national currency was at a discount, was regarded as an exhibition of financial wisdom by most Californians, although there were some who stoutly contended that its effect was to deter people with small sums at their command from making their homes in the state, and that it abso-

California
and the
Gresham Law

lutely prevented the investment of outside capital. Curiously enough, although the state maintained gold payments with apparent ease, the fact did not attract the attention of the economists, who did not seem to regard as anything out of the usual the ability of California to defy what was later declared to be an inexorable law, namely, that the inferior money must inevitably drive out the superior. There was an excellent opportunity during the period to study the operation of the so-called Gresham's law, but no one thought of doing so, perhaps because no one up to the time of the agitation over the silver question had thought of making an observation of Sir Thomas Gresham, which had reference only to the impossibility of keeping silver coins of full weight in circulation side by side with coins whose weight had been impaired by clipping, apply to all sorts of currencies. At any rate there was no serious study made then, nor after, of the effects of the Specific Contract Act of California, although some valuable suggestions might have been derived by students. They might have learned, for instance, that a superior currency can never be driven out of a country which is able to maintain a supply of gold, and that it is impossible under abnormal conditions for a debtor people to retain a sufficient quantity of the metal which by universal consent has been

Why
California
Maintained
Specie
Payments

selected as the medium for settling balances between nations foreign to each other.

The rest of the American Union during the Civil war was compelled to use paper money, not because an inferior currency drove out the superior, for there was no such occurrence, but because it could not procure gold or retain it after obtaining it; California was able to remain on a gold basis because she had an abundance of that metal and was practically a creditor country. So when her people resolved to adhere to specie payments they found no difficulty in doing so despite the enormous temptation which the opportunity to use the depreciated legal tender money of the United States presented, the resort to which at one time would have been regarded as a patriotic act by the people of the other states of the Union. There was absolutely no barrier to the adoption of the so-called inferior currency except the persistent determination of the people to use gold, which found expression in voluntary contracts sanctioned by a law which could only be made effective by the pressure of public opinion.

A Subsidiary
Coin
Nuisance

While the wisdom or unwisdom of adhering to gold when the rest of the nation was using an unconvertible paper currency was sometimes discussed, curiously enough a collateral consequence of the refusal to use United States paper money has almost escaped comment. In 1862 the government began the issuance of fractional paper currency. San Francisco, and California generally, absolutely rejected the new issues and insisted upon being provided with subsidiary silver coinage. The supply was not overabundant during several years after 1862, but the people managed to make shift and submitted without much complaint to the inconvenience caused by the rejection of the fractional paper currency. This condition continued for several years until the government began to discover a source of profit in minting subsidiary coins. The mint regulations and the science of money were not well understood by congress, and an abuse was permitted to grow from which California was the chief sufferer. Methods of getting the subsidiary coins into circulation worked well, but there was no device by which, when the quantity emitted became greater than could be absorbed, the excess could be withdrawn from circulation.

Money
Changers
Profit by
An Abuse

As a consequence San Francisco in course of time contained more of this sort of money than it required and it went to a discount. Subsidiary silver being a legal tender to the amount of only \$5, storekeepers soon refused to receive it in greater sums, basing their declination on the fact that the banks refused to receive deposits of small coins. Money changers' shops sprung up on all the principal streets of the City, and they did a brisk business selling twenty dollars in gold for twenty-two dollars of subsidiary money. The presumption is that the brokers sold the depreciated silver to employers who paid it out to wage earners, and that they made money buying and selling. The abuse continued during several years without any attempt to remedy it being made until some years after the election of Newton Booth to the United States senate, about the close of the decade 1870, when an act was passed by congress which permitted the holder of subsidiary coins to take them to the subtreasury and exchange them for legal tender money. The cure was almost instantaneous. The money changers disappeared as if by magic, only a very small number surviving, who devoted themselves to the legitimate pursuit of exchanging domestic for foreign money.

Hostility
to Small
Coins

Perhaps the toleration of this monetary abuse was attributable to the same cause which made the "bit" an amount determinable by the nature of the transaction.

There was no such coin as a "bit" in existence at any time, but in the early days a foreign piece rated at $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents was known as such and passed current for a time, but utterly disappeared when the government was able to supply domestic money. But the term "bit" was retained and is still in use, although shorn of its variability. In the careless period a "bit" was indifferently 10 cents, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents or 15 cents. If a person in a store asked the price of an article and the salesman told him it was a bit, and he tendered a silver quarter of a dollar he received ten cents change. If he offered a silver ten cent piece it was received without comment; but if the price was "two bits" twenty-five cents was expected. The dime was the smallest coin used during the early Seventies, the nickel being viewed with distrust until it was popularized by the passage of the legislature in 1878 of the act fixing the rate of street-car fare in San Francisco at 5 cents. As for the cent piece it has not yet attained complete recognition, although its use is growing. During the years following 1880 many efforts were made to introduce the one-cent piece without success. The small coin was regarded with hostility by the classes which might reasonably be expected to derive the most benefit from its use, and on several occasions was made the object of a boycott. No cents were coined at the United States mint in San Francisco until November, 1908.

Owing to the scarcity of coins in the days immediately following the gold rush, and to the neglect of the government to exercise its function of providing a circulating medium numerous private coining establishments were started which proved profitable to those who conducted them. There was no concert of action in the production of these unauthorized coins, and apparently no serious abuse grew out of the irregular practice which was almost unavoidable. The makers secured a big seigniorage, but there were no complaints of debasement. In 1874, however, at the suggestion of San Franciscans the government was induced to embark upon a coinage scheme which had an extraordinary and disgraceful outcome. For many years a profitable business had been done by San Francisco banks buying Mexican dollars and shipping them to China. When the Comstock mines began yielding on a large scale the idea was conceived that a market could be made for silver by coining a "trade dollar," which would contain several grains more of the precious metal than that emitted from the Mexican mints. The conservatism of the Chinese defeated the project. They were accustomed to the Mexican dollar and showed no disposition to accept the proposed substitute.

The Trade
Dollar
Experiment

The act demonetizing silver was passed in 1873 and its influence was soon apparent in the declining price of the white metal. In 1872 the value of a fine ounce of silver at average quotation was \$1.322; in 1873 it was \$1.298; in 1874 it fell to \$1.278. It does not appear that the San Franciscans who interested themselves in the trade dollar device to arrest the falling price of silver associated the latter with the act of congress which struck the standard dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains from the list of legal tender coins; the depreciation was accounted for solely by the enlarged output of the Comstock mines, and it was thought that the only mode of maintaining the value of the metal was to secure additional purchasers. Men as keenly alive to the interest of the silver miner as Stewart, afterward senator from Nevada, were unaware of the effect of the act, and did not criticize it adversely until years after its passage. It is quite probable that the leading financiers of San Francisco with whom Linderman, the director of the United States

Ignorance of
Effect of
Demonetiza-
tion

mint consulted, were equally ignorant or indifferent to the consequences of demone-
tization. It is inconceivable that they would have remained quiet if they had un-
derstood that the deprivation of the legal tender quality of the standard dollar
would have the result, as it did later, of cutting the price of silver in half.

The Trade
Dollar
Redemption
Job

But whether they knowingly or unknowingly assented to the act of 1873 it is
undeniable that the trade dollar panacea was suggested by San Franciscans. Un-
der this act trade dollars of 420 grains were coined between 1874 and 1879 to the
amount of \$36,000,000. The trade dollar was not a legal tender, but for a time
it freely circulated in California, and to a limited extent throughout the rest of
the country. This practice was speedily arrested, however, by the refusal of the
banks to receive them for deposit, an action which made the country familiar with
their nonlegal tender quality, and at once put an end to their circulation. In the
meantime it was discovered that the Chinese did not take kindly to the new coin,
and the mint authorities in 1879 discontinued their coinage. Many years later
the stupid transaction had a finishing touch put to it by congress directing that the
trade dollars should be redeemed at par. This was done on the assumption that
the dollars had been received in ignorance of their true character by those holding
them, and that the public faith demanded that the deceived persons should be
reimbursed. As a matter of fact the dollars which were redeemed had all passed
into the hands of a gang of speculators who had bought them up at their value
as silver bullion. Very few, if any, were in the hands of deceived receivers. The
speculators made a great sum out of the transaction which was sanctioned by con-
gress, although it had full knowledge of the fact that it was a rank job.

Effect of
Declining
Value of
Silver

It was stated in the chapter devoted to the description of the mining stock
speculation during the Seventies that much of the prosperity which preceded the
collapse of the market in 1876 was due to the large amounts of treasure poured
into the lap of San Francisco from the mines of Nevada. While the output of the
Comstocks was on the great scale which marked the early years of the boom the
falling price of silver naturally had little perceptible effect. In a comparatively
brief period it is estimated that the leading mines produced nearly \$300,000,000,
Con. Virginia alone being credited with \$130,000,000 of that amount. While the
big bonanza and the other productive mines were turning out such immense quan-
tities of bullion the dropping price of the metal made a small impress, but when
output and price declined concurrently, as they did after 1876 the result was
disastrous and must be included in the causes which contributed to the depression
in 1877-78, and which continued during several years following.

Capital
and Interest
Rates

The extent of the depression has already been described. It was exhibited in
the numerous bank failures which occurred, and in the shrinkage of the deposits
in savings banks of the City which decreased from \$55,871,000 in 1875 to \$42,323,-
000 in 1881. At the same time there was a great diminution of the resources of
the commercial banks, which declined from \$30,329,000 in 1877 to \$21,000,000 a
few years later. In 1878 deposits in the commercial banks aggregated \$38,000,000;
two or three years later they dropped to less than \$23,000,000. In 1880 the clear-
ings of the San Francisco banks were only 68% of those of 1878. During the
struggle over the adoption of the constitution in 1879 one of the arguments most
frequently urged against the proposed instrument was its assumed effect on cap-
ital. It was declared that it would take unto itself wings and fly to more hospitable

climes. The diminished deposits and the abandonment of San Francisco by men like Keene, who had made a profession of stock gambling, lent color to this assumption, but the records indicate that sufficient was left for carrying on profitable enterprises, for interest rates steadily diminished after 1879. At the beginning of the seventy decade loans as large as \$100,000 were made at 11% per annum, and in 1878-9 the ruling rate was 9%. During the ensuing three years 8% to 9% was the figure. In 1882 a loan was made to a large capitalist at 9%, but since 1883 few mortgages have been recorded in San Francisco above 7%. The general rate for many years after 1883 was 7%, the lender paying the mortgage tax.

Bank clearings in San Francisco until after 1900 did not as accurately measure the business activities of the City as in some other communities, owing to the persistence of the habit of paying bills in coin. The practice of sending out collectors inaugurated when remittances were made by steamer still survives in San Francisco, and the day set apart for that purpose is known as "Steamer day," but checks are more generally used than formerly. During the Seventies and Eighties many business men refused to make checks for small amounts. An investigation made by a reporter in the early Nineties disclosed that many firms were accustomed to paying all accounts under \$20 in coin. Employers rarely paid by check. But as these habits prevailed almost down to the time of the disaster in 1906, the clearing house figures exhibit the fluctuations in business if they fail to show its true volume.

Collections
and "Steamer
Day"

In 1878 the bank clearings of the City were \$715,329,319; in 1880 they were only \$486,725,953. After that year improvement began to exhibit itself, but recuperation was very slow. In 1883 the volume had increased to \$617,921,853, but in the ensuing year it fell back to \$556,856,691, but this was only a temporary relapse, the expansion being steady after 1884, rising to \$851,066,172 in 1890 and to \$892,426,712 in 1891. San Francisco was now no longer an isolated city. It could not, as in the Sixties, detach itself from the currency troubles of the rest of the Union. Its adherence to the gold standard, and its general conservatism were powerless to protect it from the monetary blunders of the country to which, perhaps, it contributed as much as any other section, for singular as it may seem, the financial clement of San Francisco, despite the obvious advantage that must have resulted to the City from a successful adherence to the bimetallic policy, was strongly in favor of the single gold standard. Its bankers and business men were therefore not in a position in 1892, when there were signs of an impending storm, to say "I told you so."

Story Told
by Bank
Clearings

In that year there was a decided halt and signs of retrogression. The clearings dropped from \$892,426,712 in 1891 to \$815,368,724 in 1892 and in 1893 and 1894 they descended still lower, reaching \$658,526,806 in the latter year. It will be recalled that in 1891 the advocates of a valley railroad pictured the condition of business as extremely bad in San Francisco, and as is usual in the case of advocates of a particular remedy they attributed the trouble wholly to local causes, ignoring others equally potent. A comparison of the alternations in the volume of clearings in the Eastern centers of trade shows that the San Francisco depression synchronized closely with that which culminated in the great panic of 1893, when the failures in the United States aggregated the enormous sum of \$346,779,889, more than three fold those of the previous year, and exceeding those of the

The Crisis
of 1893

year 1884 by \$120,000,000. The crisis of 1893 was attributed to the government currency. By a process of reasoning which was not clearly understood by the people, it was made to appear that there was distrust of the government paper money, a rather queer assumption in view of the fact that greenbacks were sold at a premium. It was on this pretense that President Cleveland on August 7, 1893, convened congress in extra session, but there was a much simpler explanation of the trouble which he ignored. For years the prices of products had steadily declined, and in the year mentioned all classes of producers had become greatly distressed. This condition existed throughout the administration of Cleveland, the lowest price level after 1873 being reached in 1906.

California
Producers
Suffer from
Falling
Prices

San Francisco was not affected by a scarcity of currency. It was able to maintain gold payments during the period of stringency, but California producers suffered greatly through the fall of prices, and industry was almost paralysed in Nevada, owing to the decline in the value of silver, which had fallen from \$1.322 an ounce in 1872 to 78 cents in 1893. All the mines in that state and Utah, except a few of extraordinary richness, had shut down, thus impairing the purchasing power of once good customers. The exports to foreign countries, which aggregated \$45,767,673 in 1883, in 1893 had dropped to \$33,853,345 and in 1894 they were only \$26,410,672, ten millions less than in 1879. In 1881-82 the receipts of wheat and flour at the port of San Francisco, expressed in terms of cents of wheat, amounted to 23,316,320, and the exports reached 24,862,095 cents during the seasonal year. The value of the wheat shipped during the calendar year 1882 was \$31,355,442, and of flour \$4,808,291. In 1891 California was still exporting grain on a great scale, receiving \$27,323,251 for her shipments of wheat in that year, and \$5,781,590 for flour. After 1892 the exports of wheat and flour began to dwindle. In 1898 they were only \$5,694,448 of the former and \$3,383,755 of the latter.

Falling
Prices Affect
Wheat and
Wool
Production

It is usually assumed that cereal farming ceased to be attractive in California because horticulture offered greater profits. This is true, but the fact is often lost sight of that wheat farming was not an unprofitable occupation before 1882, and that, had it not been for the tremendous drop in prices after that date, wheat might have continued for an indefinite period one of the leading products of the state. In 1882, according to the government reports, the average export price of wheat was \$1.19 a bushel; in 1898 it was 98 cents, but during the interval it had fallen as low as 58 cents, notably in 1895. As practically all the wheat raised in California was produced in the northern part of the state, and shipped abroad through the port of San Francisco, the great reduction in price, and the consequent disinclination to engage in the production of that cereal materially affected the business interests of San Francisco by curtailing the consumptive ability of the region tributary to the City. The City was also a sufferer from the diminishing product and the falling price of wool. In 1876 the wool crop was estimated at 56,550,970 lbs.; in 1900 the product was only 21,360,000 lbs. and five years later it was 22,000,000 lbs. In 1875 the price of coarse wools was more than twice that of the later year. The government statistical abstract quotes the average in the former year at 47 cents; and in 1896 at 29 cents. In 1896 it fell as low as 19 cents. As in the case of the cereal wheat the diminished production of wool was due as much to decreasing profits of sheep raising, as to the introduction of other



BAND STAND, GOLDEN GATE PARK

methods of utilizing the soil, which might have proceeded without interfering with the wool industry, had not falling prices made sheep raising an undesirable occupation except under very favorable circumstances.

In view of these great impairments of the incomes of California producers it is impossible to find an explanation of the depression which began to manifest itself in 1891 in San Francisco in currency troubles of the sort loudly complained of in the East. The depression was not due to a lack of money necessary to transact exchanges or move crops; it was caused by the failure of the producer to secure a proper reward for his exertions. When this happened he curtailed production, and as a result suffered from diminished returns for his smaller output, which he was compelled to sell at a price which meant a loss to him, or at least insufficient remuneration for his labors. On the other hand during the period of ascending prices, when the wheat grower, silver producer and wool raiser were receiving remunerative prices for an increasing product, there was great prosperity in city and country. The latter condition is plainly reflected in the expansion during the years between 1888 and 1891. The disastrous results of the depression which set in after the last year mentioned are seen with equal clearness in the statistics quoted; in the agitation for lower freight rates and better railroad facilities, and in numerous other ways which will be apparent when we come to consider the other activities of the City, not directly connected with productivity, but which are fully as dependent upon the latter as though they were part of the industrial machine.

Perhaps it is no more characteristic of San Francisco than of the nation at large that her people should take things easily when conditions are prosperous; but it has been charged that after the agitation in 1877-78, and the succeeding depression, there was a disposition shown by San Franciscans to take things as they came. With the recrudescence of prosperity in 1883-4 there was not that manifestation of enterprise which may be properly looked for in a community ambitious to grow and fill a large space on the map. As was shown in the chapter devoted to describing the activities of the railroad, which then practically monopolized the traffic of the state, although there was as much reason as later to resent the corporation's treatment of its patrons, and its usurpation of political power, public sentiment was practically dormant. The press intermittently sought to arouse the people, but without achieving much success.

Until 1891, when the Valley railroad movement began, the merchants and the people of San Francisco appeared to be satisfied. "Let well enough alone" was the unexpressed motto. Those who were in business during the prosperous period were satisfied with their profits, and were not eagerly seeking to create new sources of income. The inactivity of the merchants was reflected in the conduct of municipal affairs. There was a pronounced indisposition to take any step which might add to the tax burden. Innovations were regarded with hostility, and comparatively few realized the absurdity of a community with abundant means at its command adopting the methods of the necessitous who are compelled to buy or build on the installment plan. The city hall, begun in the early Seventies with a great flourish, was still uncompleted, being built piece meal, the work at times halting for months because supervisors failed to make necessary appropriations. The municipal machinery was badly out of joint and a new charter was needed, but

Sufferings
of the
Producer

"When the
Devil Was
Sick"

San Francisco
Vegetates

the earlier failure to adopt an instrument discouraged effort. Men of narrow views, but animated by the best of purposes dominated public sentiment, and San Francisco was beginning to vegetate.

Complacent
San
Franciscans

The evil effects of inaction were not recognized at the time. The City was increasing its population and wealth, and the volume of business was constantly expanding, and there seemed no need for concern, although a tendency was beginning to manifest itself in the interior press to sharply criticize the inaction of the metropolis, a practice which developed to disagreeable proportions a little later, when the possibility of contrasting the rapid advances being made by Los Angeles, which during the Eighties began to emerge from the *dolce far niente* stage of existence and was growing with great rapidity. The increase in population in San Francisco between 1880 and 1890 from 233,959 to 298,997, while not as great as that made during the previous decade, was considered a healthy showing, and the exhibit otherwise was not bad. The City still retained its preeminence as a port of entry. Imports, which amounted to \$35,221,571 in 1880, had increased to \$48,751,323 in 1890, while exports during the same period rose from \$31,845,712 to \$35,962,078. As all the other ports of the state in 1890 only had an export movement amounting to \$355,877, and did not import enough to merit being noted in the government's reports, there was no alarm felt. There was much to support the complacent indifference to the intimations that were being made that San Francisco had better look to her commercial laurels in these figures, and likewise in the expanding east and west bound traffic of the railroad, which showed an increase in the local east bound from 255,560,900 pounds in 1876 to 419,817,320 in 1888, and of west bound from 340,674,400 to 696,366,810 pounds during the same period.

Growth of
Hawaiian
Trade

There were other causes for complacency, so far as the merchant was concerned. The treaty with Hawaii, while it did not result in giving the people of the Pacific coast cheaper sugar, was undoubtedly a great stimulus to trade between the mainland and the islands. In 1875, the year preceding the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii, the total production of sugar on the islands was 25,000,000 pounds; in 1901, under the stimulus of the indirect bounty given to the Hawaiian planters, the output was enlarged to 691,000,000 pounds, and practically all of it came to the port of San Francisco, where part of it was refined, the remainder being shipped to the East, chiefly by rail, the Southern Pacific making a rate which for many years, until the Tehuantepec route was opened, made water competition impossible. In addition to sugar the islands produced rice, pineapples, coffee, hides and skins and bananas which, during the reciprocity period and up to the time of annexation, which took place in 1898, were wholly handled in the port of San Francisco, which also enjoyed by far the greater part of the export trade to the islands. This active commerce gave employment to considerable shipping in addition to the regular lines of steamers plying between the ports of San Francisco and Honolulu, and greatly stimulated the sale of California products, as well as those of other countries distributed by local merchants.

High Prices
for Free
Sugar

The importance of this rapidly developed trade was largely instrumental in closing the eyes of the people of San Francisco to the one-sided operation of the reciprocity treaty, under whose terms the planters of the islands were practically made a present of the remitted duty, the price of sugar in San Francisco actually

being higher during the entire period while the convention was in force than in the states on the Atlantic seaboard, where the population consumed duty-paid sugar. The fact that the planters were chiefly San Franciscans, or operating with San Francisco capital reconciled the community to the indignity of seeing a raw material pass through their port on its way to the East, and after paying a high rate for railroad transportation, being sold in the markets of that region at an average rate of a cent a pound less than it was sold for in San Francisco.

During the Eighties the merchants of San Francisco were still building on the prospect that the City might prove a great distributing market for tea, but they were gradually disillusionized. One of the complaints voiced during the anti railroad agitation which resulted in the building of the San Joaquin valley railroad, was based on the disappearance of this prospective trade. The steamship lines cooperating with the Southern Pacific arranged rates in such a fashion that the cargoes destined for the East passed through the port of San Francisco unbroken, and merchants in Chicago were enabled to ship tea back into territory formerly securely held by the jobbers of the City. It was contended that this action was in open violation of a ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission that had been secured by a San Francisco commercial house, which, however, there was no attempt ever made to enforce. There is no doubt that the Southern Pacific, had its policy been to build up the port of San Francisco, could have compelled such an adjustment of rates that the City would have realized its dream of being a great tea market; but at that time, and for a long period afterward, the managers of the railroad were almost wholly devoted to the long haul idea, and expended the most of their ingenuity in devising schemes which practically compelled the consumer to pay all the traffic could be made to bear.

In a circular arraigning the Southern Pacific for its alleged discrimination against San Francisco, issued about 1892, and designed to promote interest in the Valley railroad project it was shown that imports of tea into San Francisco had fallen from 170,696 packages in 1886 to 154,353 in 1891, and this reduction was attributed to the cause above named. The only answer made to complaints of unfair treatment was that Suez canal competition forced the railroad to adopt a course which it would have liked to avoid, but San Francisco merchants were indisposed to accept the explanation in view of the fact that tea was being moved from Yokohama to Salt Lake City via Portland, Oregon, at $1\frac{1}{8}$ cents a pound, while the rate for the same commodity from the Japanese port mentioned to Salt Lake City via this port was $2\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound. The struggle to retain the coffee market which the merchants of San Francisco had succeeded in building up did not attract general attention until it was made perfectly clear in the course of the animated discussion in the early Nineties that for some inexplicable reason rates were so adjusted that New York merchants could control the coffee market as far west as Denver, and completely shut out the Central American product handled in San Francisco.

One of the sources of mercantile prosperity during the years between 1883 and 1893 was the trade developed in Alaska, which was almost wholly confined to this City during that period. The trade reports prior to the acquisition of the Philippines, dealing with the non-contiguous territory of the United States, did not command so much attention as later, but the volume of business was by no means

Failure to
Create a
Great Tea
Market

Why the
Tea Trade
Dropped Off

Importance
of Alaskan
Trade

inconsiderable, and occasionally people would be reminded of the importance of Alaska by publications issued by the treasury department. One of these states that up to 1890 the government had received \$5,956,565 in payment for the seal skins taken by the company which had bid for the privilege, and that the value of the seal skins of various kinds and of other furs taken in Alaska aggregated \$46,466,330. The salmon pack of the territory from 1878 to 1889 was valued at \$6,439,997 and between 1865 and 1889 the number of codfish taken in Alaskan waters was 24,585,300. The same authority computed the value of merchandise shipped from Pacific coast ports to Alaska between 1868 and 1890 at \$15,845,506. Prior to 1896, when the rush to the Klondike began, this large business was mainly confined to San Francisco, and was one of the causes which helped for a time to conceal the evil effects of the changing price conditions which disturbed the rest of the country as well as California.

**Changes in
Production**

Fortunately for the state and its metropolis when the cultivation of the staple products which had once proved a profitable resource declined, its people were able to turn their attention to other pursuits. When the output of the gold placers began to shrink attention was paid to the production of cereals, and the diminishing product of the mines was offset by the generous yield of wheat, and by large wool crops. In turn, when cereal and sheep raising ceased to be profitable industries horticulture was resorted to on an increasing scale, and concurrently with its development other resources were being exploited which constantly tended to increase the revenues of the producers, and which would probably have brought about a transition without a shock had the general arrestment of progress throughout the Union not occurred.

**Yield of
the Mines
Declining**

At the beginning of the decade 1880 California had already adapted itself to the change involved by a reduction in the output of gold from an annual amount exceeding forty millions during the Fifties to about twenty millions, by greatly extending her agricultural operations. And although there was a further decline during the Eighties, the yield being only \$11,212,913 in 1889, she was adapting herself to the changed circumstances created by this loss of revenue from this source, and also to the lessening profits of the Nevada trade, resulting from the shrinkage of the operations on the Comstock, due in part to the exhaustion of the rich deposits and the impossibility of profitably working low grade ores at the prices to which silver had fallen during the years following demonetization.

**Progress in
Horticulture**

The result of turning to other sources when wheat farming ceased to pay is visible in the growth of horticulture. After 1887 the production of fruit became of enough consequence to merit the collection and preservation of statistics, and we can gather from them the rapid advances made between that date and 1893. The total yield by no means aggregated anything like the amount of the shrinkage in gold production, and the decline in the value of the wheat and wool crops; but it represented many millions of production. There was being produced on a constantly increasing scale many fruits which a few years earlier were almost unknown, and they had become a commercial factor of importance. The output of prunes had expanded from 7,500,000 pounds in 1887 to 52,180,000 in 1893, and the crop was valued at a couple of millions. The yield of peaches had grown from 8,000,000 to 16,800,000 pounds during the same period. Apricots were grown in larger quantities as were also pears, prunes, nectarines, figs, hops, walnuts, almonds, oranges, lemons, honey, beet sugar and raisins.

The value of these products to the producers footed up several millions annually, but the change involved in the production of one or two crops to the diversified plan of farming which had taken its place had produced results which would hardly be divined from a study of the figures showing the value of output. The transition from cereal farming and wool growing to horticulture had effectually disposed of the burning questions of the decade 1870, especially that of land monopoly. The tendency which Henry George deprecated in his "Progress and Poverty," and which he predicted would increase as the years rolled on, had wholly disappeared. The land owners were no longer desirous of holding their estates intact; on the contrary they were eager to cut them up and sell them. They had ceased to hope for any change of sentiment that would permit them to operate their holdings with cheap Oriental labor. The decisive vote of the state against Chinese immigration, and the action of congress and the acquiescence of the nation in the policy of exclusion made it clear that the development of California's resources would have to be made by free labor.

Cutting Up
the Big
Ranches

In considering the subject of land monopoly Henry George had been guided too largely by observation of tendencies in old world countries where the prestige attaching to the ownership of land made it the most desirable form of wealth. And his intense convictions regarding the efficiency of free trade to produce conditions which he thought would better humanity had caused him to underrate industrial progress in other directions than agricultural production. It was impossible therefore for him to foresee that owners would desire to exchange their land for other forms of wealth. This is what actually happened. The increasing burden of state taxation compelled assessors to abandon their former practice of favoring the large owner. Although the State Board of Equalization was deprived of the power to reach the individual shirker, or favored property owner by the Wells, Fargo decision, the expedient of raising the roll of an entire county had its effect, and public sentiment soon compelled an approach to fairness within county boundaries.

Henry
George's
Prophecy
Miscarries

The value of all property within the state as found by the assessors in 1879 was only \$549,220,968; in 1892 this value had increased to \$1,275,816,228, of which latter amount only \$187,008,874 or 14.66 per cent of the whole was personal property. A large part of this enhancement was due to the growth of population which increased from 864,694 in 1880 to 1,208,130 in 1890, but it is clearly apparent that the addition of inhabitants without the assistance of the changed system of taxation would not have produced the result noted. Between 1870 and 1880 a relatively greater addition was made to the population than during the 1880 decade, but the assessed value of all California property which was \$637,232,823 in 1872 was only \$549,220,968 in 1879, the year of the adoption of the constitution.

Effects of
Fairer Mode
of Assessment

The increase in the value of property as reported by the State Board of Equalization was slow in the first years after 1879. In 1882 it was only \$608,642,036, of which \$134,048,419 or 21.85 per cent was personal. After that year the increase was rapid, rising to \$763,729,430 in 1883 and reaching \$1,275,816,228 in 1892, only 14.66 per cent of the total in the latter year being personal property. In 1876, as already stated, public sentiment on the subject of inviting desirable settlers from other parts of the Union to make their homes in California was not strong enough to impress the legislature that an exhibit at the Centennial Exposi-

Inviting
Settlers

tion in Philadelphia of the resources of the state would prove beneficial, but eight years after a governor devoted part of his message to pointing out the good that would result by disseminating information in the East concerning the capabilities of the soil of California and the opportunities afforded the settler to make for himself a prosperous home within its borders.

Prosperity
Breeds
Indifference

In these changed conditions we can trace the causes which contributed to the general prosperity after 1884, and the impetus given to business in San Francisco during several years after that date. The multiplication of small farms, and the diversification of agricultural pursuits, gave employment to increased numbers in the country and in the city. New sorts of occupations were provided and industries which had figured but slightly in former years began to grow and became important factors in the work of wealth creating. The merchants of the City prospered and were contented with results and took their good fortune without inquiring too narrowly whether in their capacity of intermediaries they were doing the right thing for the community they served. Perhaps it was too much to expect that the oppressions of public service corporations should have been regarded by merchants as too exacting when they appeared to be so easily borne by a prosperous people, but the business men of the City were subsequently indicted for their neglect by organizations of their own formation which did not hesitate to expose the fact that they had almost unresistingly permitted the railroad to have its own way in every particular affecting the destiny of the community it was serving.

Trade
Rather
Than
Production
Encouraged

While prosperity endured there was little stress laid upon the comparatively slow growth of manufacturing in San Francisco. The merchants of the City were far more interested in affairs in which they were more directly concerned, and were not inclined to object to the course of the railroad whose policy it was to secure as much traffic as possible without inquiring too closely whether it was pursuing a "penny wise and pound foolish" course. In the literature of the Traffic Association of 1891 reference is made to the enormously greater amount per capita drawn from California by the railroad than from the people of other parts of the Union more liberally dealt with by transportation companies, but the attempt to explain the cause was not always satisfactory, for the reason that the chief movers in the effort to bring the Southern Pacific to terms were almost solely interested in distribution. They were importers and exporters, and were therefore more concerned about through than local rates. The importance of the latter being made reasonable was elevated to the first place, and the development of the state was wholly subordinated to that of bringing products into California.

Capital
Reluctant to
Engage in
Manufacturing

It is doubtful, however, whether any serious economic benefit could have been effected by the pursuit of a policy of stimulating manufactures in a period when the consuming population was too small to encourage production on a scale permitting the products to be sold in profitable competition with the great factories of the East. The fruitless attempts of Ralston and others to force results had made men wary. A population such as that existing in California at that time, whose capital had been acquired through the prosecution of other industries than manufacturing was not inclined to invest money in undertakings with which they were unfamiliar, and which required an extraordinary quantity of demonstration of a verbal kind to convince possible investors that they could be made profitable.

High Wages
Deter

The labor question had lost a great deal of its acuteness after the Seventies, and while during the Eighties there were many strikes, the most of them proved



MONTGOMERY STREET, LOOKING SOUTH, AS IT APPEARED BEFORE THE
FIRE

unsuccessful, and in some instances employers were able to wholly displace union men. There was a recrudescence of the anti Chinese agitation, and manifestations of syndicalism under the auspices of the Internationals, but these were directed more particularly against public service corporations and local industries unaffected by outside competition. It may be stated in a general way that the labor condition in San Francisco, so far as the activities of the unions was concerned was not such as to deter capital from making investments, but the wage scale which even employers did not seem inclined to disturb was so high that manufacturing in competition with localities where workers were compensated on a much lower basis offered no temptations to cautious men with experience, and none at all to those who are inclined to put their money in industrials only when they see in them something suggesting an approach to certainty of returns.

Nevertheless outside of the circle engaged in distribution, and those who approached the traffic problem solely from the standpoint of the distributor, there was criticism of what was deemed the obstructive policy of the railroad, whose freight schedules seemed to be arranged with especial reference to moving raw materials out of the state at the lowest possible rate, and bringing into California finished articles at rates which made profitable manufacturing impossible. It was charged that wool in the grease was shipped to the East at an absurdly low figure as it must have been to have permitted the scouring process to be successfully conducted at the end of a 3,000 mile haul; and it was also alleged that absurdly low rates were made for raw sugar—\$7.50 a ton to the Missouri river in some cases. The excuse made by the railroad for these discriminations was the alleged necessity of providing loading for empty cars, the assumption being that the west bound traffic greatly exceeded in volume that of the east bound, but the true explanation in both cases was the desire of the railroad to secure a traffic which, unless the rates were made extremely low, would have moved by sea.

Whether it would have been worth the while of the railroad to move raw cotton and iron from the East to the Pacific seaboard at relatively low rates is still a debatable question. It was at one time thought, and particularly during this period, that cheap raw materials would have stimulated the growth of manufactures, but the experience of the Woolen Textile Mills proved the fallacy of this assumption. Nothing short of a protective system could have overcome the advantages enjoyed by the older sections of the Union. The Californian Woolen Mills had cheap raw materials but they lacked cheap skilled labor and failed in consequence. The people of San Francisco have for nearly half a century seen vast quantities of raw silk pass through their port destined for factories in the New England and Middle states, and although vigorous and persistent efforts were made to start the industry they never proved successful. Some silk was spun and a very handsome flag was woven by an enterprising man named Newman, but the investors with him in the enterprise never made even. Under the circumstances it is astonishing that a single cotton textile factory should have survived the vicissitudes of years. The fact can only be accounted for by stating that the unions have not regarded, until recently, the industry as important enough to engage their particular attention.

It was urged during the period we are now dealing with that the chief obstacle to the development of a manufacturing industry in California was the lack of

Railroad
Tariffs
Discourage
Manufacturing

Cheap Raw
Materials
Not Utilized

Obstacles
to Manufacture

coal. Undoubtedly dear fuel added to the difficulties of the situation, but as will be seen as the narrative progresses, the situation has not been materially changed now that California has cheap oil and abundant hydroelectric power. Indeed the troubles of manufacturers seemed to have increased with the abundance of fuel and power. Certain industries in San Francisco which had flourished, despite the drawback mentioned, notably those of metal and shipbuilding, fell off in a marked fashion concurrently with the development of the oil fields and the utilization of the water power of the state. The closer relations of the City with the Eastern section of the Union after the Eighties, in a measure explains the trouble. They intensified a rivalry which it was becoming increasingly difficult to withstand, and concurrently the growth of other industrial centers in the state served to bring about a condition of affairs not at all favorable to the expansion of the manufacturing industry in San Francisco.

Failure of
Economic
Theories

The over acute economist who finds himself able to explain the alternations in the fortunes of a business community by concentrating his attention on some particular cause or causes, usually experiences no difficulty in explaining slumps in business. He sometimes oracularly announces that a period of dullness following upon briskness is due to over speculation, or some similar cause. Such an explanation may have seemed sufficient to account for the severe collapse in the Seventies, but it hardly fits the condition that arose after 1883. The state was developing steadily; its lands were being entered on by industrious settlers who were utilizing their holdings and intelligently diversifying agriculture, thus accomplishing the homely object of avoiding the putting of all the industrial eggs in one basket, a practice which had caused the farmer and the state generally to suffer greatly when the enormous fall in prices occurred. And the farmer was not alone engaged in the work of diversification. Gold placer mining, as indicated by the quoted figures of output had become a diminishing source of dependence, but quartz mines were being opened and attention was being paid to the production of the commoner minerals. But despite all these encouraging features, and a practical cessation of mining stock speculation during the Eighties, California in common with the rest of the Union experienced a great depression in 1893 in which the metropolis was the most conspicuous if not the chief sufferer.

Puzzles
for the
Economist

Some day a school of economists may arise with the ability to disentangle the contradictions, and tell why California and San Francisco should have progressed with gratifying rapidity during the Eighties, and when the prospects seemed brightest suddenly receive a setback, which, if less spectacular than that suffered fifteen years earlier was fully as severe. It is not necessary for the historian to do more than describe what occurred; he may point to apparent causes, but it is not his duty to attempt to furnish a symmetrical explanation of contradictory circumstances, and he certainly has no right to try to bring the contradictions into harmony by suppressing mention of facts which he regards as inconsequential. The subject is too complex to be solved offhand, and there can be no solution of the problem involved unless all its bearings are carefully studied.

Conservative
Methods

A few years earlier when the unsoundness of several banks in San Francisco was disclosed, a prompt explanation of the cause was offered by the critics. The numerous failures of 1876 and the years immediately following were attributed to bad banking methods and the utter lack of surveillance. In 1878 legislative

action was taken which should have resulted in a decided improvement, and the comments in the public press during the Eighties indicate that the belief prevailed that excellent results were achieved by supervision. Several unsafe institutions were obliged to close their doors because it was found that they had impaired their usefulness by bad loans. Eight banks were compelled to liquidate in the first two years after the passage of the Bank Commission Act, and with their elimination it was supposed that the banking system stood on a solid foundation. The exactions of the commission deterred the formation of new savings banks, and during the eight years following 1879 none was established in the City. The savings banks already in existence commanded complete confidence, their deposits increasing from \$42,323,000 in 1881 to \$63,154,000 in 1888. The evidence of the clearing house shows that equal confidence was felt in the commercial banks, the clearings rising from the low point of \$556,857,691 in 1884 to \$892,426,712 in 1891. The number of savings banks was not increased until 1888, when the Pacific Home Savings bank was incorporated and a year later the Mutual Savings bank was added to the list, and the Columbus Savings Bank and Loan Society was started in 1893.

These exhibitions of confidence and apparent evidences of prosperity, and the undoubted stability of the most of the financial institutions of San Francisco did not serve to avert the widespread disaster which overtook the nation in 1893. Some eighteen banks in the City were compelled to close their doors in that year, many of them having assets largely in excess of liabilities. But two institutions had their weakness disclosed. The Pacific and the People's Home Savings, the latter an adjunct of the Pacific, its brief career having commenced only five years earlier. The financial condition despite the temporary suspensions was not sensational. The community did not take alarm, and showed no panicky signs. The comment of the press at the time indicated a belief, of a portion of the writers at least, that the interruption to banking business was in no respect due to local causes, but was owing simply to sympathetic relations with Eastern money centers.

Some critics of the situation in San Francisco took the view generally entertained at the East that the trouble was solely due to an inelastic currency, and closed their eyes to the undoubted evil effects of constantly falling prices, a phenomenon which had been asserting itself for several years throughout the entire country, and had made itself manifest in California in the enormous reduction and value of its chief crop. The same critics a few years later, when prices were on the up grade, looked back on the so called currency troubles of 1893 as a blessing in disguise. We find one remarking "whatever the financial losses in that panic there was some compensation in the fact that it settled the agitation that had been in progress for fifteen years for free coinage of silver on the basis of sixteen to one. If that measure had succeeded, the country would not have enjoyed the same measure of prosperity it has since maintained." The same commentator was called upon to record a collapse in 1907 which in almost every particular resembled that of 1893, despite the fact that the agitation over silver had long ceased, which suggests the propriety of the investigator inquiring further into the causes which produced so very nearly similar results, notwithstanding the assumed monetary stability which was supposed to have been produced by the settlement of the question of the standards.

Panic of
1893 Not
Influenced by
Local Causes

Question
of the
Standards in
California

**Monetary
stringency
of 1893**

While it is not particularly clear why San Francisco and California should have been involved in the currency troubles of the East, it is nevertheless true that the monetary stringency in the City was very severe. Isolated cases of difficulties occasioned by the inability to borrow illustrate the condition of affairs far more graphically than columns of figures and statements concerning the closing of banks. It is authentically related that during the period of tightness Mrs. Jane Lathrop Stanford, the wife of the senator, who died in 1893, was in great straits for money and that the sum of \$12,000 which she realized on a policy of insurance issued to her husband actually helped to keep open the doors of the university during the most trying days of the depression. There is a letter extant in which Mrs. Stanford, writing about this episode, said: "We had been for years accustomed to the use of all the money we required, but so great was the stringency in the money market at the time especially, we all feared that we could no longer obtain any. Just imagine my joy and the relief it was to me to receive the money (that derived from the insurance company), the most precious legacy that has ever come to me."

**First Life
Insurance
Company**

The insurance company referred to was the Pacific Mutual, the first life company to be formed in the state. Its incorporators were citizens of Sacramento and embraced the names of men whose lines afterward greatly diverged. The company was formed in 1868 by Leland Stanford, James Anthony, Paul Morrill, Mark Hopkins, Henry H. Hartley, B. F. Hastings, Louis Elkus and James McClatchy. Leland Stanford and Mark Hopkins subsequently became leading spirits in the first trans-continental railroad enterprise and Anthony and Morrill were conductors of the Sacramento Union, which later became so bitterly hostile to the methods of the railroad managers that they spared no efforts to crush and drive its proprietors out of business, and finally succeeded in their purpose.

**Insurance
Business in
California**

The insurance business in California in the early days, like banking, went unregulated, but in 1868 an insurance department was created which succeeded in eliminating a number of undesirable companies. This system of regulation produced the result of inspiring confidence, and life insurance became popular. All the large companies have been represented in the City since that date, and while it is impossible to segregate from the returns the amount of business contributed by San Francisco, it is safe to assume that up to 1893 the major part of the business credited to the state may be regarded as San Franciscan. The figures of the report show that premiums to the amount of \$23,458,037 were collected between 1882 and 1891, and that the claims paid during the same period aggregated \$13,223,314.

**Largest
Gold Ship-
ment on
Record**

One of the incidents of the stringency period which attracted much attention at the time was the movement of \$20,000,000 from the subtreasury in San Francisco to New York. The object of the transference was never explained. It was not for the purpose of putting the gold into circulation at the East, as that section, although doing business on a gold basis, used its paper representatives exclusively; and at no time during the stringency and the period in which Europe made a heavy draft on this country for gold did the stock of the yellow metal in the vaults of the government in Washington, New York and Philadelphia become so low as to require bolstering from this side of the continent. The transfer appears to have been more prompted by caprice than by any real cause, and the account of it is



INTERIOR COURT OF PALACE HOTEL. DESTROYED IN THE GREAT CONFLAGRATION

only interesting as a physical accomplishment, and as illustrative of the facilities of the period for moving vast sums of money. The shipment was made in August, 1892. The coin was put up in 500 boxes, each containing \$40,000 and was sent under the auspices of the postoffice department by registered mail in a special train of five cars, guarded by 50 men. The cost of the transfer was \$5,000. The charge of the express company would have been at least \$20,000. It is believed in treasury circles that this was the largest amount of specie ever shipped at one time.

For more than half a century the mint in San Francisco has performed a useful function; those in other sections of the country so far as the coinage of full legal tender is concerned have merely been wasting the substance of the people, as the coins turned out by them have reposed unused in the vaults of the government, not passing into circulation except by means of paper representatives. The coins struck by them are only distributed when adverse trade balances have enabled foreigners to draw on this country. In such cases the gold coins of the United States minted in the East would find their way into foreign metal pots. Just what proportion of the gold coined in the San Francisco mint remained in circulation no statistician has been able to do more than guess. It has, however, only been a small part of the total coinage of the establishment which amounted in round figures to nearly \$635,000,000 in the years intervening between 1854 and 1883. During this period the annual coinage of gold varied between \$4,084,207 in 1854 and \$36,209,500 in 1879. Between 1884 and 1892, both years inclusive, the mint coined nearly \$200,000,000 in gold, an average of over \$22,000,000 a year. It is probable, however, that \$30,000,000 satisfied the needs of the state for gold currency throughout this period.

The unscientific and unbusinesslike methods of the mint, however, receive a more signal illustration in the figures of the coinage of silver. As already stated, California, while the rest of the country was using fractional paper currency, employed subsidiary silver exclusively. The injury inflicted upon the state, particularly San Francisco, by the failure during several years to provide a flexible system by which minor coins could flow back into the treasury when business was slack has already been described, but the extent of the mismanagement of the affairs of this branch of governmental activities is not realized until the figures of silver coinage and the condition of the treasury are considered. The San Francisco mint first coined silver in 1855, the amount struck being \$164,075. Between that year and 1883 the total coinage of silver by the San Francisco branch was only \$105,000,000. This embraces the subsidiary coins and the trade dollars. The product of the San Francisco mint between 1883 and 1892 was only a little in excess of \$26,218,000. When it is borne in mind that a large proportion of the standard silver dollars now piled up in the vaults at Washington were produced from the bullion mined in the neighboring state of Nevada, and that the people of California have been the only Americans who have kindly taken to the dollars of 412½ grains, there is ground for the charge that has frequently been made against the mint authorities that they have not been governed by motives of economy in their operations nor by consideration for the needs of the people.

The use of the standard dollar since the passage of the modified Bland Act has not been general in the United States. Only in California has it been used to

Operations
of the
San Francisco
Mint

Uneconomic
Methods of
United States
Mints

The
Subtreasury

the exclusion of the minor government bills, and at one time, although the presses of the mint in Philadelphia were pouring out streams of silver coins, it appeared as though an effort was made to drive them out of circulation in this state. This condition endured for some time, and was only relieved by legislation which was enacted when the pressure of complaint became strong enough to move congress. Since then silver and minor coin, not mutilated, when it can be clearly and readily identified as to denomination and genuineness is redeemed at its face value at the subtreasury. The result has been to retain in circulation a larger quantity of the silver coined by the government than is found elsewhere in the country, the people of San Francisco and the state generally preferring it to paper money for hygienic and other reasons. When the amount of standard dollars becomes too large for easy absorption they find their way into the treasury and when the requirements of business demand a renewed supply they can easily be obtained.

Objections
to Paper
Currency

During the first quarter of a century after the passage of the National Banking Act there was no attempt made to organize a bank of that character in San Francisco, and after that for a considerable period there was only one. Later several were formed, all of which availed themselves of the privilege of taking out circulation, but the invincible objection of the people to paper money prevented its use in the City, and the notes emitted in the names of San Francisco banks under authority of the National Banking Act are far oftener met with in cities of the East than in the place in which they originated. To some extent this paper money, and that of the other national banks formed in the southern part of the state, has circulated in the interior, and in Los Angeles and the southern counties, but greenbacks or national bank notes, while always freely accepted by San Franciscans, have promptly found their way into banks from whence they were shipped to places where paper money was more favorably regarded, a practice which prevailed down to the time of the writing of these annals.

CHAPTER LVIII

NUMEROUS AND SERIOUS LABOR TROUBLES IN THE CITY

LABOR CONDITIONS IN 1883—CHANGED RELATIONS OF EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYED—DIMINISHING NUMBER OF CHINESE—AN ANARCHISTIC ASSOCIATION—THE INTERNATIONALS—CAREER OF BURNETT G. HASKELL, SOCIALIST AND AGITATOR—PROPAGANDA OF THE FEDERATED TRADES—STRIKE OF FOUNDRY WORKERS IN 1885—STRIKE OF THE BREWERS—SAILORS MAINTAIN A LONG STRIKE—TRADES UNIONS RECEIVE A SETBACK—FORMATION OF AN EMPLOYERS ASSOCIATION—TRADES UNIONS AGAIN ACTIVE—UNSKILLED LABOR ORGANIZED—UNIONS ENGAGE IN POLITICS—ENTER ABE RUEF—NUMEROUS STRIKES IN 1901—THE TEAMSTERS' STRIKE—THE ALLIANCE AND THE TEAMSTERS—POSITION OF THE EMPLOYERS—SCENES OF VIOLENCE—GOVERNOR GAGE INTERVENES—RUEF AND THE WORKINGMEN—FORMATION OF WORKINGMEN'S PARTY—PLATFORM OF WORKINGMEN—ELECTION OF SCHMITZ—CLAIM THAT HE MADE CITY PROSPEROUS—SCHMITZ REELECTED TWICE—RUEF'S METHODS—THE BOSS SUPERSEDED BY RUEF—CHRIS BUCKLEY.



IN THE preceding chapter it was stated that during the period between 1883 and 1893, there was little in the labor situation to which the blame for retardment of industrial progress could be attached, and that on the whole the employer had the best of such encounters with trades unions as occurred. This does not mean, however, that the City was free from agitation; the statement applies

Labor
Conditions
1883-1893

only in a comparative sense, for during the ten years referred to there were many disturbances, the most of which were in some way related with the labor question, even though the workingmen through their trades unions repudiated connection with or sympathy for those who participated in them. Between 1883 and 1893 the element so conspicuous twenty years later in all parts of the United States, and throughout the world was particularly active, but the doctrine of syndicalism which they preached was not eagerly accepted by the unions, or the workingmen generally, who professed to abhor violent methods as much as those against whom they were directed.

But there was a great change in public sentiment made manifest in many ways. Governor Booth, when the legislature of 1873-74 passed a bill entitling street car conductors and drivers to collect a dollar an hour extra for every hour more than twelve worked by them, vetoed it on the ground that all men are competent to make their own contracts, and his objections were sustained in the assembly by a vote of 39 to 32. At that time, although there had been a persistent and effective de-

Freedom of
Contract
Advocated

mand for an eight hour day the idea that a man's activities should be restricted to that, or any other number of hours was repugnant to public sentiment, even the workers, so far as can be discovered from their discussions, sharing the belief that freedom of contract was desirable. At any rate Booth was the representative of the progressive element of the day, and his attitude on this point cost him none of his popularity.

Chinese
Manufacture
on Their
Own Account

Undoubtedly the influx of Chinese during the Seventies gave the laboring element more concern than hours of labor. The burning question with the worker was whether if this movement should continue he would be able to obtain any work at all. That his fears were not entirely unfounded is evidenced by the expansion of certain manufacturing industries in which at first the Oriental was employed as a mere helper, but very soon he became ambitious to be his own boss with the result that in certain lines Chinese concerns began rapidly to multiply. This was notably true of boot and shoe making and the fabrication of the commoner kinds of clothing and underwear. In these occupations the Chinese speedily became adept, displaying as much skill in the use of the sewing machine as its inventors, and those who engaged in them were as oblivious of an eight hour system as if there was no clock to mark time.

Diminishing
Number of
Chinese

The census of 1880 showed that the number of Chinese in the state had increased from 45,429 in 1870 to 71,328 in the later year. The effective agitation of the Seventies, which resulted in the exclusion legislation, practically disposed of the Chinese question after 1883, but there were sporadic troubles and some scandals growing out of the nonenforcement of the laws, and an occasional attempt to make political capital out of the alleged disinclination of the party in power to put up the bars against all Chinese because of some successful evasions of the Exclusion Act. When the census of 1890 was taken and it was seen that the number of Chinese in California had declined to 69,382 there was no more talk on the subject by those formerly most concerned, and even the small minority who fancied that the exclusion of Oriental labor would result in the retardment, if not the complete arrestment, of the state's horticultural industries, when they perceived that California was filling up with white settlers, and that the output of fruits of all sorts was increasing rapidly, ceased to lament and write calamity articles for the Eastern magazines.

Failure of
Attempts to
Boycott
Chinese

The very latest anti Chinese demonstration in San Francisco was in the year 1882. It was engineered by a man named Frank Rooney and took the form of a boycott of Chinese made goods. It was confined mainly to talk, the audiences listening to the declamations against the Orientals and resolving to buy nothing made or sold by them. A convention was called which met in 1882 and organized what was called a League of Deliverance. It was this body which formulated a boycott plan of campaign that was to have been made general, but which failed absolutely because the workingmen continued to patronize the cheaper Chinese products, and could not be induced to refrain from buying in the stores of whites who dealt in goods manufactured or produced by Chinese. One of the anomalies of the anti Chinese crusade of this and of the earlier period, was the fact that workingmen were the best patrons of the Chinese. It was the worker's family that resorted to the Chinese laundry and consumed the vegetables grown in Chinese gardens, and bought the fruits hawked by Chinese peddlers, and the cheap gar-



COLUMBIA THEATER, BUILT AFTER THE FIRE OF 1906



CALIFORNIA HOTEL AND THEATER, DESTROYED IN 1906

ments and shoes turned out of Chinese workshops were consumed by that class of the population.

With the passage of the exclusion law in 1882 the anti Chinese agitation practically ceased. But with the disappearance of that source of trouble another arose which had far uglier features than any ever produced by the antagonism to the introduction of cheap Oriental labor. Between 1879 and 1882 several assemblies of Knights of Labor were formed in San Francisco, and in September of the latter year a district assembly was formed which increased during the ensuing three years until it numbered twenty-five assemblies in the City. This organization did not appear at first to have been desirous of stirring up local strife, but contributed from its funds to the support of Eastern assemblies engaged in labor disputes. Later, however, a radical organization known as the California Internationalists came on the scene, and attempted unsuccessfully to induce the Knights of Labor to join in their movement which has been variously designated as socialistic and anarchistic, the latter, judging from some of the actions inspired by it, being the more correct appellation.

An
Anarchistic
Association

The origin of the International movement in California is not clothed in much doubt. It had its inspiration from the outside, but its first membership was made up of the extremists from the ranks of the Knights of Labor who were expelled from that body, and of the disaffected elements existing in every large city, and particularly those cities with populations as cosmopolitan as that of San Francisco which was at that time, as it is at present, made up of a large percentage of foreigners. Between 1880 and 1890 the foreign population of California increased from 292,874 to 366,209, and ten years later when the total number of foreigners in California was 367,240, San Francisco's 342,782 inhabitants included 75.2 per cent who were born in foreign lands. To this great preponderance of foreigners may be attributed the comparatively rapid development of socialistic ideas in San Francisco during the Eighties, but sight should not be lost of the fact that the most active leader of the Internationalists was a young Californian named Burnett G. Haskell, born in Sierra county in 1837.

The Inter-
nationalists

An attempt has been made to attribute to Haskell characteristics which he did not possess. His earlier career in San Francisco stamped him as weak and irresolute. On his arrival in the City he sought to become a reporter on the "Chronicle" and was given a trial, but proved too undependable to be of value. Had he, in the parlance of the newspaper office, "made good" it is probable that he would have remained a mild mannered man, but his slow progress caused him to engage in publishing on his own account, and finding the socialistic field unoccupied he entered it and devoted his talents to exploiting the ism. He had primarily been educated for the bar, and it was because of his nonsuccess in that field that he turned his attention to journalism. The story that while he was publishing his weekly paper he suddenly saw the light, and offered to make it the organ of labor is apocryphal. He had some such purpose in view from the beginning, and reckoned on support from that source to gain subscriptions. He may have been in earnest, but there was much of the speculative element in all of his propagandism, and in some instances it approached perilously near that kind of activity which the postoffice frowns upon, and seeks to discourage people from practicing by prosecuting them for misuse of the mails. This was particularly true of the Kaweah colony scheme

Career of
Burnett
Haskell

which he started, and which added one to the numerous examples of the facility with which enthusiasts who have saved a little money can be parted from it by smooth talkers.

Aims of
the Inter-
nationals

In the early part of 1885 the Internationals called a convention for the purpose of forming a central labor union. The first meeting was well attended, fully two hundred and fifty delegates being present, but the sentiments expressed by some of the speakers were so radical that on the ensuing night the attendance dwindled to less than half, and it speedily developed that those who remained were avowed socialists, and not a few of them expressed views which would not seem entirely unfamiliar to the Industrial Workers of the World. The extremists who formed the Central union held a few meetings, but they were not of the sort who felt inclined to maintain an organization which called for the payment of dues during periods of inaction. Later in the year, however, by resorting to the worn out slogan of Denis Kearney, the Internationalists obtained control of a convention called by the Knights of Labor. Frank Rooney was selected as chairman. Haskell, however, was by all odds the most influential and active figure in the body, having the backing of the Seamen's union. At this meeting a resolution was put through demanding the expulsion of all Chinese in California within sixty days. It proved the signal for the secession of the more conservative members, and the radicals were left free to carry out their plan of forming a central body which was given the title of Council of Trades and Labor Federation of the Pacific Coast, an organization which survived, and later had its name abbreviated to "Federated Trades of Pacific Coast."

Propaganda
of the
Federated
Trades

In the early stages of its existence the Federated Trades acted as a secret organization, but in May, 1889, meetings of the central body were held in public. Before 1889 the chief work of the organization, so far as was apparent was propagandaism. Tons of literature were disseminated by it urging the laboring classes to stand together, but more activity was demanded and the initial membership fell off greatly because of the failure of the organization to interest itself directly in disputes that were constantly arising between employer and employed. There was ground for the suspicion, which was freely expressed, that the section of extremists within the Federated Trades which was headed by Haskell was responsible for some of the outrages committed during the strike of the Sutter Street Car Company's employes in 1887, when dynamite was used on several occasions. In April of that year a man named Stites was convicted by a jury of having in his possession a dynamite bomb with the intent of destroying the property of the corporation, and Haskell's name was freely used as that of the person responsible for the outrages which created a great deal of apprehension at the time, although no very serious destruction of life or property resulted.

Unsuccess-
ful Strike
of Foundry
Workers

In 1885 the foundrymen of the City organized what was called the Iron Trades Council. Its avowed object was to keep up the rate of wages and to bring about a reduction of the hours of labor. Its formation was probably due to the activities of the men identified with the Federated Trades, but the apprehension that employers designed meeting changing conditions made it easy to bring the men together. An organization of employers known as the Engineers and Foundrymen's Association was formed at the same time, and soon made known its intention to disregard the minimum wage, apprentice regulations and the prohibition of piece work



FERRY BUILDING, AT FOOT OF MARKET STREET

required by the California union. Statements were made showing the disparities existing between the East and the Pacific coast, and the impossibility of maintaining competition under the conditions which the Iron Trades Council sought to impose. The employers had abundant confidence in the strength of their position, and when the Iron Trades Council refused to yield they discharged a number of men who declined to accept their terms, whereupon all the moulders in the association struck. They were replaced by men from the East who were obtained without much difficulty, but many of them after their arrival were enticed away or intimidated into breaking their agreements with the men who had brought them across the continent to take jobs which paid them far better than those which they abandoned on the other side of the Rockies. About 1,200 moulders were involved in this strike which continued during nine or ten months, but finally resulted in a victory for the employers, because the wages they offered made it easy for them to obtain any number of skilled foundrymen from the East.

In 1888 the brewers of the City inaugurated a strike which finally proved successful. This difficulty was precipitated by the attempt of the employers to establish the open shop system, and although the struggle endured nearly a year, the community at large took but a perfunctory interest in it, although there was much bitterness in certain quarters. The final success of the employees was due to the boycott which was invoked. As the patrons of the saloons were chiefly workmen the weapon proved very effective. The unions also enjoyed an advantage over the breweries because of the fact that they were beginning to be operated by outside capital and were on that account open to the charge that they were indifferent to the condition of their workers, and only bent on taking money out of the community. The contest lasted eleven months and at the end of that period the employers succumbed.

Successful
Strike of
Brewers

In the same year that the brewers struck the sailors had a contest, in which the shipowners won a victory, reducing wages from \$35 to \$20 a month. But the employers were not able to maintain their position for any length of time, and were obliged not long after to restore and even increase the former maximum rate to \$40 a month. The improvement of the industry, and other causes affected the solidarity of the Employers' Association, and the union sailors obtained what they demanded without exercising any extraordinary pressure; but when the business of the port again slackened, as it did between 1891-93, the shipowners found it necessary to reorganize their association and to adopt new methods of employment. The association opened its own shipping office and maintained lists of eligible men who were provided with grade books and given employment as opportunity presented. As the languishing trade caused the supply of sailors to exceed the demand the employers were able to consult their interest by reducing wages. Men who had previously been paid \$40 a month and overtime were given \$25 without overtime. The shipowners defended their action on the ground that it was merely a question of paying the reduced wages or going out of business entirely, and the general decline of prices and contraction of trade established the truth of their contention. The sailors, however, refused to accept the situation and waged a persistent war during which acts of violence were frequently committed, such as the "beating up" of nonunion seamen and the destruction of the property of shipowners. The union was greatly weakened by the contest owing to the inability

Sailors on a
Long Strike

of its members to pay dues. The latter fell off \$10,000 in 1893 and \$8,000 in 1894.

Trade
Unionism
receives a
check

The success of the employers during the period of depression was attributed by some to the efficiency of their organization, but later developments demonstrated conclusively that it was the force of circumstances which brought about the relapse of trades unionism which occurred about this time, and continued for several years. A commentator unduly influenced by a signal instance of the failure of the seamen to maintain high wages in a period of declining prices remarked: "The general success of the association can best be understood by the light of the fact that among the industries of San Francisco there remains but a single union which imposes its rules upon the trade. That is the typographical. The reason why it does is because employing printers never have combined to resist its demands." This statement conveyed the erroneous impression that employing printers had never made a stand against the typographical union. In the years spoken of there was no organized opposition to its demands, but in 1879 the "Chronicle" failing to induce the union to even consider a reduction of the composition scale resorted to the employment of nonunion printers. Its owners offered to demonstrate to their union employees that the excessively high cost of newspaper and the rate of composition which was much greater than in any other part of the Union was making their business unprofitable, but they were met with absolute refusal to even consider the matter. The uncompromising employees were successfully dispensed with, and three or four years later, when business generally had improved, the proprietor voluntarily restored the old rate, and made no objection when under the changed conditions the employees were absorbed by the union.

An
Employers'
Association
formed

In August, 1891, a body designed to protect the interest of employees was formed under the name of the Board of Manufacturers and Employers of California. This association at first was by no means aggressive. It openly recognized the right of labor to organize, but insisted that employers should not be deprived of the privilege of selecting their own employees. At the same time the announcement was made that there would be no discrimination against members of unions. There was one point, however, on which the association took a firm stand, and that was against the employment of the boycott which was characterized as injurious to the industries and reputation of the City. The boycotters were denounced as enemies of society and the association refused to accept as truthful the declarations of the unions that they were not responsible for the excesses of the boycotters who not infrequently in attempting to intimidate committed illegal acts. It is doubtful whether these declarations made any serious impression on the trades unionists, but the employers were convinced that they were not without effect and the course of events confirmed them in their belief.

Shrinking
of Trades
Union
Membership

The sequel shows, however, that the pinch of adversity, which was touching all classes of the community, must be credited with producing the acquiescent spirit of the workers. During several years after 1891 jobs grew scarcer and scarcer in San Francisco. The situation was not one in which any body of strikers could hope for substantial support from his fellows, and as was usual under such circumstances the unions suffered heavily from loss of membership. The condition of affairs was so serious that the unions declined in number, and representation in the Labor Council was greatly curtailed. In 1897 only fifteen unions with a membership of 4,500 were represented, and the reports show that at some of the weekly meetings not more than a dozen delegates gathered.

This depressed condition of the unions reflected that of business generally, and continued for some time after signs of trade improvement manifested themselves. The recovery began shortly after the election of McKinley in 1896, but it was not very rapid. It exhibited itself at first in building, and concurrently with the better outlook there was effected an organization of the building trades, five of them uniting and forming a council. This body of workers grew rapidly in strength, for with the outbreak of the Spanish-American war there was great briskness in construction lines, calling for a constantly increasing number of workers. At the same time the other unions began to exhibit signs of activity. During 1899 the number of unions increased to 25 and 10 more were added in the ensuing year. This activity was not confined to San Francisco. The report of the state labor bureau shows considerable development in all the centers, the membership in the state in 1900 being given at 37,500 in 217 different unions. Of the latter there were 90 in San Francisco, 23 in Oakland, 26 in Los Angeles, and 20 in Sacramento. In the ensuing two years the membership doubled. There were 495 unions in the state, 162 of which were in San Francisco, 36 in Oakland, 68 in Los Angeles and 45 in Sacramento, with a total membership of 67,500. Of this latter number 66 per cent were in San Francisco.

Recovery of
Trades
Unionism

This great increase of membership was due to the organization of the unskilled workers. Between 1901 and 1907 the butchers, cooks and waiters, stablemen, street railway employes, retail clerks, laundry workers, teamsters, hod carriers and laborers were formed into unions. This movement was not regarded with favor by the older organizations whose guiding spirits sought to stem the tide, but in vain. All of their efforts to avoid precipitating disputes without deliberation were disregarded. A proposition that no new union should go on strike before it had been organized and become a member of the council was rejected. During this period it may be said that the trades union spirit which had flagged for a while had not merely revived, it had actually greatly strengthened, and signs were visible of an awakening interest on the part of politicians in the movement. With the recrudescence of union activity the Employers' Association, formed several years earlier, and which had met the situation created by the sailors, but had practically ceased its efforts after its victories, was reorganized on a new basis. The gravity of the situation was more generally recognized than when the association was first created, an effect produced by the organization of the unskilled workers who came in contact with a class of employers who had formerly no direct concern with labor troubles, but who were now confronted with the necessity of dealing with employes who had organized and were backed up in their efforts by a strong central body which proclaimed its purpose of pushing the demands of all workers until everything asked for was conceded.

Unskilled
Laborers
Organized

The new employers' association was formed in April, 1901, and was known as the Alliance. Its purposes were clearly understood by all classes of the community, but there were many extravagant stories current respecting its strength and membership. Its formation was bitterly resented by the trades unionists, who denounced its members and attributed intentions to them which were probably never conceived, and certainly were never carried out. It was declared that it was the purpose of the Alliance to destroy organized labor utterly, and that its members were under heavy bonds to each other to carry out that object. The association

A New
Employers'
Association

answered these criticisms by asserting that its sole purpose was to place its members on the same plane as the unions in dealing with labor disputes. But it was made perfectly clear that it was the intention of the association in all cases in which the unions acted on behalf of an employe to lift the burden from the individual employer and make it a matter for the entire body of employers.

Unions
Engage in
Politics

It has been asserted by some writers that the action of the employers' association precipitated the formation of the workingman's party and the advent of labor into politics, but the assumption is contradicted by well known facts. It is true that there was a considerable element in the ranks of the trade unionists opposed to engaging in politics, but it was completely submerged when the unskilled laborers were organized. The opposition to the latter movement came from the same source as that which regarded with disfavor the innovation of putting all classes of workers on the same plane; but this undemocratic element in trades unionism was speedily relegated to the rear, and with the first success achieved by the workmen at the polls the exclusive sentiment was almost wholly obliterated, and the theory of the value of solidarity was accepted in its stead. As already shown by experience there existed a capacity for political organization within the ranks of the workers which had asserted itself at various times, and won success at the polls. But, on the other hand, experience had demonstrated that successes achieved at elections had merely resulted in bringing to the fore a number of eager place hunters who, when they obtained position, disgraced those who had conferred it upon them.

Ruef Taken
a Hand

The time was now at hand, however, for cunning and political organizing ability of the old-fashioned boss sort to take advantage of the situation and profit by the solidarity of the workingmen's organization. Before 1901 the politicians had not treated the unions as a negligible factor, but had trusted to the ordinary methods of procuring adherence to their candidates. Jobs were promised to influential leaders, and devotion to party principle was supposed to do the rest after the precaution had been taken by the old line bosses to frame tickets which they deemed suited to the needs of the community, and to advance their own interests. Abraham Ruef, a lawyer, who had for many years taken an active part in municipal politics, and who had worked as a republican, was first to perceive the opportunity which the changing conditions offered, and he resolved to make an attempt, which proved unsuccessful, to use the trades unions to capture the organization of the party to which he then belonged and by that means gain control. This is a part of the political history of San Francisco which has been almost wholly obscured by the course which events took after Ruef's failure to carry out his original plan. The causes which made success for him impossible along these lines need not be described in detail; a simple recital of the occurrences which followed will show the connection to anyone accustomed to linking up cause and effect.

Numerous
Strikes in
1901

In April, 1901, the metal polishers struck for an eight-hour day, demanding the same pay they were receiving for ten hours. The employers met this demonstration by compelling the small shops, which were disposed to yield, to stand firm under penalty of having their supplies cut off if they acceded to the demand of the union. The strike was of comparatively short duration. It was called off in July. It attracted little attention outside of the circle directly interested. In May of the same year a strike was inaugurated which was forced on the observa-

tion of the community. The cooks and waiters, who had formed a union, demanded that it should be recognized by their employers and sought to enforce the demand by the application of the boycott. The keepers of the larger restaurants formed an association to resist the demands made upon them and were assisted by the Alliance, which adopted the same methods as those resorted to in the case of the metal polishers. Restaurants disposed to yield to the demands of the union were refused supplies of meat by the wholesalers, and credit was refused to them by grocers and others with whom they dealt. This action provoked a strike of the butchers, which, however, was of short duration. The striking cooks and waiters paraded in front of the boycotted establishments and made it unpleasant for those who sought to patronize them, but the number of the latter was few, as the fear of violence was never absent. The carriagemakers went out about the same time, but the employers professed to be willing to accept the abridged hours of labor and to pay the wages demanded. The union, however, imposed a condition of recognition which was not acceded to by the employers, who refused to deal directly with representatives of the organization. There was also a strike of iron workers for a nine-hour day and over 4,000 of the men in this industry were unemployed for some time.

The most serious of all the strikes of this period was that of the teamsters. It began in July, 1901, and continued during several weeks, and was attended with considerable violence and may be said to have paved the way for the political success of the workingmen's party, which followed not long after. The trouble was precipitated on the occasion of the visit of the Epworth League to the City. It grew out of an alleged violation of an agreement by the draymen who, the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Draymen asserted, had promised to employ only union men. The extraordinary occasion made it impossible for one of the employers to expeditiously handle all the business which the arriving Epworth Leaguers threw upon him and he called on his brother for assistance. The latter was a member of the Draymen's Association which employed nonunion men. The union teamsters promptly objected to handling any of the baggage which the nonunion firm had contracted to deliver, claiming that to do so would be a violation of their agreement with the brotherhood. This refusal was followed by a lockout of the teamsters and in a few days all but about 300 were idle. These were later ordered out by the executive committee of the union.

The employers' association then took a hand in the matter. The union had reckoned that their refusal would utterly paralyze business, but the activity of the employers was such that the places of the strikers were soon filled with competent men. So large a proportion of California's interior traffic was carried on with wagons that little difficulty was experienced in obtaining men from the country who were able to drive, and quite a number of teamsters who had been with the army in the Philippines were also available. There was some interference with the regular course of business, owing to the unfamiliarity of the newly engaged teamsters with the streets of the City, but this shortcoming did not last long. As soon as the leaders of the union perceived that the employers were in the way of becoming independent of their displaced employes they began an agitation for a sympathetic strike which they managed to bring about by reminding the unions of the result of the contests of 1893-4.

The Team-
sters Strike
in 1901

The Alliance
and the
Teamsters

Sympathetic
Strike
Ordered

On July 30, 1901, the sailors, longshoremen, marine firemen, porters, packers, warehousemen, pile drivers, hoisting engineers, ship and steamboat joiners, steam and hot-water fitters, marine cooks and stewards and coal-cart teamsters, in all about 13,000 men left their work. Their action was at once followed by several other city unions, among them the boxmakers and sawyers, and the sand and gravel teamsters, and by the dock laborers of Oakland, Redwood City and Benicia and the warehousemen at Crockett. The marketing of fruit was seriously interfered with, and the supplies of the canneries being cut off those industries were brought to a standstill. The strike had in fact become state-wide and was creating consternation and causing loss in all quarters. Civic bodies and various organizations; groups of citizens; clergymen and others interested themselves in bringing about an understanding, but could accomplish little. The unions gave heed to these advocates of peace, but the members of the employers' association planted themselves on the proposition that nearly all the outside interference was actuated by sentimental considerations, and that there was a disposition being shown to sacrifice their interests because the workingmen threatened to interfere with their comfort.

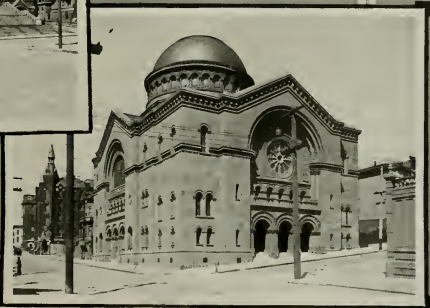
Position
of the
Employers

While the workingmen professed a willingness to terminate the trouble, their profession was accompanied with the intimation that nothing but a complete surrender to their demands would prove satisfactory. While the strike was in progress the unions made efforts to discover the names of firms in the employers' association for the purpose of instituting a boycott, and circulars mentioning several concerns were distributed in California and the neighboring states. The mayor and supervisors communicated with representatives of the employers' association and obtained from them a statement of its position. The association announced that it was willing to recommend to the members of the Draymen's Association that they fill all present and future vacancies with such persons as may apply for work irrespective of whether the applicant belongs to a union or not, upon the following terms:

- I. That the employes shall obey all lawful orders of the employers.
- II. That the employe will not directly or indirectly attempt to compel a fellow employe against his will to join a union, or to compel his employer to employ none but union men.
- III. That the employes will not engage in or support any sympathetic strikes or boycott.

Employers
Decline to
Yield

There was no point of contact in this offer. The unions still insisted on obeying what orders they pleased; and reiterated their right to bring men into their organizations by any methods to which they chose to resort, and claimed that their only effective weapon against employers was the boycott and the sympathetic strike. The supervisors, professing to have at heart the interest of that portion of the community not directly interested in the contest, but suffering from the interruption of the orderly conduct of business, informed the association of employers that public opinion was crystallizing against them, and urged that an understanding be reached, but the association stood firmly by its determination to not deal with the unions. They were ready, its agent said, to take up the matter with individuals, but to meet the representatives of the unions would simply result in a surrender of the principle for which they were contending: the right of the employer to control his business.



ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL
HINDU TEMPLE, WHERE ONLY WHITES ARE
PERMITTED TO WORSHIP

BAPTIST TEMPLE
JEWISH SYNAGOGUE

The assertion of the committee of supervisors that public opinion was crystallizing against the association was one of those meaningless assertions put forward whenever labor troubles occur. The men who made the statement had no information concerning the attitude of the community which would permit a judgment to be formed that would stand challenge. The workingmen had the sympathy of their class, but it is doubtful whether outside of the unions the people were ready to accept the theory that an employer should be deprived of all voice in the management of his business. As a matter of fact, outside of the immediate contestants the only concern seemed to be to get rid of the impending trouble. The public sentiment was largely dictated by selfishness, and if the quarrel had not operated to interfere with the general comfort it would have found but feeble expression.

Attitude of
the Com-
munity

The employers were not disposed to accept the intimation that the public was against them but proceeded with their efforts to maintain their position. As already stated they had little difficulty in finding men to take the places of the striking teamsters despite the fact that all sorts of violence was resorted to in order to intimidate those who took the places of the strikers. Police protection was demanded and extended, but sometimes in a very perfunctory manner. The presence of men in uniform on the teams excited the strikers and their sympathizers, and attacks were frequently made on the new drivers on the most prominent streets of the City. James D. Phelan was mayor of the City at the time and was undoubtedly firm in the determination to preserve the peace, but the attitude of the police, whatever their orders may have been, was often very questionable. Cases occurred of men being beaten on the wagons they were driving while guarded by police without any arrests following. Perhaps the forbearance of the officers was wise, for when assaults of this nature occurred there was usually a mob present, and a riot might easily have been precipitated.

Scenes of
Violence

The trouble dragged along until the beginning of October, when Governor Gage intervened. On the second of that month Gage appeared in the City and the announcement was made that he had been requested to attempt to settle the difficulty. It was never clearly explained at whose instance Gage moved at this particular time. The excuse, or opportunity for his doing so, had been presented much earlier, when the movement of grain and other products had been interfered with, and suggestions that he should act were freely made, but Gage had political ambitions and was not disposed to antagonize any influential element. That the employers did not move at this particular time is evident from the fact that they had practically won a victory, and that they did not desire intervention is further confirmed by the result. Gage sent for the officers of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and those of the Draymen's Association, and after a brief conference the strike was declared off. No publicity was given to the method by which an agreement was reached, but the community was enabled to form its own conclusions as the striking teamsters returned to work, and made no objection to the strikebreakers retaining their places.

Governor
Gage
Intervenes

It was while these events were occurring that Abraham Ruef conceived his idea of making use of the workingmen's organizations to further his political ambitions. Up to this time Ruef, while not exactly a negligible quantity in local politics was hardly regarded as a leader. He had a following and professed to be desirous of effecting reforms within the party with which he affiliated. About his

Trying to
Block Ruef's
Game

sincerity there is a doubt, but concerning his professions at the time there was none. The teamsters' strike terminated in October, 1901, and the municipal election at which a new set of city officers was to be chosen was imminent. Before the composition by Gage with the workingmen Ruef had been intriguing with the union leaders, and it was suspected by some that the governor's intervention was inspired by Dan Burns, the republican boss, and that its purpose was to prevent the too active local boss from gaining too strong a hold on the affections of the trades unionists.

Ruef Pro-
poses to
Reform the
Republican
Party

Up to that time the political bosses were not in the habit of regarding the unions as a factor in their games; they assiduously cultivated the individuals composing the unions, and even had relations with their leaders, but there was apparently no one bold enough to attempt to handle the organizations as a body until it occurred to Ruef that such a thing might be possible. While the teamsters' strike was on Ruef called on the managing editor of the "Chronicle" and expressed a desire to acquaint him with the local political situation. In the course of the interview he dwelt upon the chaotic industrial condition and expressed the view that in order to secure permanent peace and an approach to contentment that it would be necessary to recognize the place of the workman in the social and industrial scheme, and that he believed that it was the duty of the republican party, as the party of progress, to take up the cause of labor. In the interview Ruef did most of the talking and at times became rhetorical. He referred to the oppressions endured by the toiler, and the necessity of giving him a better show if it was desired to avert a future catastrophe, and ended his discourse by urging that it would be the part of wisdom to elect a union man as mayor, and suggested the name of Eugene Schmitz as a candidate, and asked the editor whether he could not bring him to the office and introduce him.

Ruef and
Schmitz
Make a Call

He was informed that the editor had no objection to meeting Schmitz, but the political course of the paper was determined by its proprietor, who was then absent from the City but was expected to return in a short time. Subsequently Ruef took Schmitz to the "Chronicle" office and presented him to the editor, but singularly enough no reference was made to the future mayor's political ambitions. Although Ruef did not repeat his former request he was evidently desirous of displaying the qualifications of his candidate by drawing him out. The conversation took a wide range, but Ruef skilfully directed it into channels which permitted Schmitz to air his views on many subjects. Subsequently the editor met Ruef on the street and the latter asked the journalist what he thought of his man, but gave no intimation of his design of running him as a candidate of the workingmen's party. Whether he tried to persuade Herrin and Burns that Schmitz would prove a strong man for the republicans to take up is not known but he probably did. That he made no secret of his affiliations with the trades unionists, and was trading on his influence with them was known at the time, but his project of causing their absorption by the republican party was not made public.

Ruef Deals
With the
Unions

The situation created by the strike probably changed Ruef's earlier point of view and caused him to abandon his idea of republicanizing the laboring element. The workingmen were easily persuaded that the success of 1878 could be repeated. There was always in the ranks of the unionists a considerable number adhering to the view that the only possible mode by which the worker could achieve his desires

would be through politics, and in times of excitement the proportion was greatly increased. The matter of control now presented itself to the unions in a concrete form. The action of the municipal authorities in affording police protection was bitterly resented. It was charged by the strikers and their adherents that the police had exceeded their duties in various ways under instructions from the mayor; and it was also asserted that the force ordinarily assigned to Market street would have sufficed for the maintenance of order, and that the real purpose of placing officers on wagons with the teamsters was to assist the latter by giving them directions and otherwise helping them in their work.

The latter accusations were wholly without foundation. The fact that the ordinary police protection was inadequate was apparent to everyone. It was difficult to preserve order even with an augmented force of specials. Teamsters were dragged from the wagons they were driving at such crowded centers as Market and Third streets and cruelly beaten, while mobs applauded and the police were unable to disperse them, and sometimes exhibited a disinclination to do their duty. Occasionally a violent demonstrant would meet a check from an officer, but there was no interference with peaceable men. The bitterness was deliberately worked up and there is every reason for believing that the emissaries of Ruef were active in that direction. There was a prodigious quantity of talk about the assistance rendered to capital by the authorities, and it was pointed out that the charter adopted not long previously gave a great deal of power to the mayor who under its provisions appointed a number of commissions. Appeals of this nature found the workingmen in a receptive mood, and all opposition to the unions engaging in politics was laid aside. A workingmen's party was formed and Eugene Schmitz, Ruef's candidate, was chosen to head it, and his connection with the new party was soon made apparent.

The earlier political manifestations of the workingmen did not partake of the narrowness exhibited in this campaign. In 1871, and again in 1878 the leaders of the laboring element made their appeals to all classes. An examination of the platforms of those years discloses no tendency to set up class distinctions. The crusade against the Chinese, the denunciation of official malversation, the objection to the monopolization of land, the demand for the direct election of president and vice president and United States senators, the insistence upon the regulation of railway and other corporations, the affirmation of the principle that minerals and other public resources, including the public lands, should be conserved and retained for the benefit of the whole people, and the declaration in favor of equitable taxation were the main features of the earlier workingmen's pronouncements, and appealed alike to the man in the country as well as the toiler in the city, to the employer as much as to the wage earner. In short, unless labeled as such these first efforts at platform making would not have been recognized as class productions. They were in fact merely a formulation of the complaints and criticisms which were constantly finding expression in the newspapers, and, as already stated, although framed forty years ago, they anticipated nearly every demand made by the advanced progressives of 1912.

The municipal campaign of 1901 was not fought on these lines. The workingmen's party did not discard any of its former objections to the existing order of things, it even embellished them. But they were not seriously considered or thought of by the workers who were struggling to accomplish one purpose: that of securing

Formation
of the
Workingmen's
Party

Early and
Recent Plat-
forms of
Workingmen

Schmitz
Elected
Mayor

possession of the local offices to the end that such power as the charter reposed in the mayor should be exercised in their behalf in the event of future difficulties. The issue was clearly made and was perfectly understood by the people, but whatever may have been the real sentiment of the majority of the community it could not find effective expression owing to the failure of the adherents of the old political parties to come to an agreement. The republicans, whose destinies were controlled at the time by Burns, put up as their candidate Asa R. Wells, and the democrats named Joseph S. Tobin. Although Wells had the support of the Southern Pacific, which commanded the services of Sam Rainey and Chris Buckley, the democratic bosses, as well as Kelly, Crimmins, Burke and Lynch, who were republicans for what they could make out of that brand of politics, he failed to retain the support of the latter party; and Tobin was not strong enough to hold the democrats who had practically disbanded municipally and gone over to the workingmen. The result of the triangular fight was the election of Schmitz, who received 21,774 of the 53,746 votes cast at the November election.

Minor
Offices
Traded for
Head of
Ticket

As in the election when Kallach was chosen, all the other offices with the exception of three supervisors were nominated by the other parties, the republicans winning the most of them. At no time during the contest did the workingmen make a serious effort to secure the other offices; their desires were centered on the mayoralty, and it was freely charged that some of the successful men of the opposing parties had traded away the heads of their tickets to secure the votes of workingmen. Although the workingmen had elected their candidate for mayor, the fact that the rest of the city government was composed of members of the older parties practically isolated Schmitz. He was looked upon as harmless by his antagonists, and Ruef contributed to this feeling by using the argument that the election of his candidate was allaying class bitterness. As a matter of fact, dullness of business was accomplishing the result to which Ruef directed attention. The general recovery of trade at the East did not reach the coast until later, and workers thought more of getting jobs than of politics, but the latter were by no means wholly overlooked as the event showed.

Claim that
Schmitz
Brought
Prosperity

While Schmitz's election in 1901 failed to secure for the workingmen the power which their leaders hoped for, and while circumstances were such that there was no cause for its exercise during his first term, there is no doubt that the community suffered greatly in the esteem of the outside world through his success. And it is noteworthy in this connection that the criticism directed against San Francisco during this period differed radically from that to which it was subjected later. It was wholly based upon the assumption that the City was given over to extremism, and that it had weakly surrendered to trades unionism. The press of the East echoing the charges made by San Franciscans, declared that capital was being frightened away from the City, and held the triumph of the workingmen responsible for a condition not at all peculiar to the metropolis of the Pacific coast. These criticisms were keenly resented by San Franciscans because they had come to believe they were true. Later, when the pendulum of business swung to the other side and business briskness succeeded dullness, with an inconsistency, remarkable because of its utter absurdity, the workingmen claimed that their rule had brought prosperity, and queerly enough there were plenty of people who really believed that the policy for which the workingman's party was beginning to stand sponsor, that of throwing the City wide open to vice, was the cause of the good



JUNCTION OF MARKET, KEANY AND GEARY STREETS IN 1895

times which had commenced about the year 1896 and extended throughout the entire United States.

In 1903 the workingmen renominated Schmitz, and while the desire for a united front against the trades unions by those opposed to class rule was very pronounced, the same obstacles to fusion encountered by them in 1901 were again interposed. The democrats and republicans insisted on putting forward separate candidates, thus dividing the opposition. Repeated experiences with nonpartisan movements had inclined many republicans to look upon them as devices of the democrats to win success with republican votes, and the bosses of the latter party, big and little took advantage of this distrust. The outcome was a second triangular fight, and the reelection of Schmitz, whose vote was larger by several thousand than he had received two years earlier. The vote cast in the municipal election of 1903 was 59,767, of which Schmitz had 26,030 and his two opponents 33,717. The workingmen also elected a supervisor and some other candidates who received the endorsement of one or the other of the opposing parties.

Schmitz
Elected a
Second Time

By the second election of Schmitz, although the workingmen were not in possession of the money appropriating body of the municipal government, they gained a decided political advantage through the control of several important commissions, obtained through the exercise of the appointing power conferred upon the mayor by the charter. In Abe Ruef the laborites found a man with a marked capacity for organization, and they promptly recognized the fact and practically gave him full charge of their political destinies. The control of the commissions in addition to enabling Ruef to create a machine, which soon surpassed in effectiveness that of the other bosses, who were his inferiors in every particular, also put him in the way of making sums of money out of people who had business with those bodies controlled by the mayor. From the beginning of his power Ruef began a system of extortion, the profits of which were shared by the mayor, the lion's share being retained by Ruef until Schmitz's education in rascality was sufficiently advanced to enable him to cope successfully with his wicked partner when there was a division of spoils.

Increasing
Power of the
W. P. C.

It would have been extraordinary if the flagrant actions of Schmitz and Ruef had escaped attention and criticism. They did not. Exposures were numerous, and in many instances the proof was of such a nature that it would be impossible to discredit it if steps of any kind had been taken to bring the charges to the attention of the courts, but nothing of the sort was attempted. So far as their supporters in the workingmen's party were concerned, no accusation, no matter how detailed made any impression. If the workingmen believed that the pair were rascals they concealed their opinion and charged that the accusations were merely the result of spite work. There was an investigation by a grand jury but it was conducted in a perfunctory fashion and its failure to act enabled Ruef to laugh at his accusers. To tell the truth the people had become so habituated to scandals that they took no note of them. They had by no means begun with the advent of Schmitz to power. There were repeated cases of malversation on the part of earlier boards of supervisors. The fixing of water rates had been a joke for several years, and such appellations as "the solid nine" bestowed upon the majority of that body, and implying that it was corrupt, were in common use. The cynical ordinarily spoke of the supervisors as not being in office for their health alone, and the easy going community laughed at the joke.

Ruef's
Methods Not
An Inno-
vation

Holding
Up the City
to Scorn

In short it was a case of people living in glass houses; and if there is any foundation for the assumption that long continued tolerance of abuses excuses their commission, the workingmen would have had no trouble about invoking it. And they did. The *tu quoque* argument was used by them as often and oftener than any other; and unfortunately the men who managed the affairs of the two other parties were unable to answer the charge brought against them that the men of their selection were no better than those in office. This retort was frequently made by the defenders of Ruef and Schmitz in the campaign of 1905 and it made its impression. But before describing its results, it may be well to investigate and see what foundation there was for the workingmen's charges. Such a review may disclose the causes which brought San Francisco the unhappy distinction of being the most misgoverned city in the United States, a reputation it did not deserve, because the disease afflicting the municipality was one which had hold of every large community throughout the length and breadth of the land, an assertion supported by the evidence and the admissions of that part of the press severest in its condemnation of the shortcomings of the City.

Incivicism
Responsible
for Official
Turpitude

That other American cities have displayed municipal incapacity constitutes no excuse for San Francisco, and to dwell on the fact only serves to obscure the true cause of the inefficiency and worse displayed in the past. Agitations to bring about better results under a popular system of government are perhaps indispensable but they have the defect of concentrating attention on the offenses upon which the light of exposure is made to fiercely beat, while those in the shadow are ignored and those of a period immediately preceding are entirely overlooked. The present offender, who is the natural product of past laxity, is offered up as a vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the whole community. He deserves his punishment, perhaps, but the people whose negligence incited him to turpitude do not deserve to get off so easily. Schmitz and Ruef were rapacious scoundrels who shrunk from no infamy, but they and the rotten board of supervisors which made their greatest infamies possible were preceded by equally corrupt municipal bodies, whose members were permitted to profit at the expense of the taxpayers, and whose violations of law were condoned by amendments to the constitution of the state, as in the case of the authorization to pay the claims of merchants who had supplied goods to the City in direct disregard of the so-called one-twelfth act, which was enacted to restrain supervisory extravagance and to prevent the cupidity of contractors.

Extraordi-
nary Power
of Chris-
t Buckley

In a preceding chapter the advent of Christopher Buckley, afterward known throughout the length and breadth of the land as the "Blind Boss," was described. There had been bosses in San Francisco before Buckley, but it is doubtful whether any of his predecessors had ever succeeded in bringing municipal rascality to the same perfection of working that it attained during the time of his leadership of the democratic party. No one man after the death of Broderick had so absolutely dominated the democracy as Buckley, and no leader of that party in San Francisco ever retained undisputed supremacy for so long a period as the "Blind White Devil," a name bestowed upon him by the Chinese, who had felt his power. Buckley did not work in secret. His scoundrelism was perfectly known to the community in which he lived, and operated, to the people of the state, and to many outside its borders. Yet distinguished politicians did not disdain to confer with him, and there was no one too proud to accept a nomination at his hands. During the height of his power, and until his accumulated crimes made it possible for an

outraged community to drive him forth in disgrace, honest men, men of standing and substance, were not unwilling to head his tickets, when it was notorious that his political cunning led him to put forward an irreproachable leader so that a gang of spoilsmen could more easily march along the road to victory.

This condition of affairs endured throughout the Eighties. It was in the beginning of the decade that the Blind Boss attained his hold on the party and succeeded in creating what might fairly be called a political clearing house for rogues. At first a republican, Buckley changed his coat when he came to San Francisco and masqueraded as a democrat. But he was a democrat for revenue only. He maintained relations with the smaller bosses, who soon came to recognize him as their master and succeeded in perfecting an understanding with them by which they hunted their prey together. It goes without saying that a man able to develop such qualities stood high in the graces of the railway corporation, which always found it profitable to train with the strongest side, choosing its instruments without reference to partisan brands and with no other object in view than to secure the most effective services.

The career of Buckley forcibly illustrates the defect of the popular method of electing officials and deserves the close study of the advocates of the short ballot system. The Blind Boss was never seriously disturbed by emotional waves, for it must not be supposed that there was no demand for reform in the days when Buckley dominated. The press did its duty. It persistently pointed out the rascalities of the Boss and his satellites; it traced his connection with the railroad corporation, and it may be added that Buckley welcomed rather than complained of criticism. It was his theory that the exposures were the chief source of his strength as they assured his "lambs," the name by which his obedient followers were known, that his pretensions were real. His enemies or opponents charged him with receiving bribes from corporations, and that fact assured the lambs that he would be able to reward them. He was accused of interfering with the operation of the law and that, instead of weakening him, rallied to his aid all the venal and criminal element who sought him out as their logical protector.

If the framers of the system of popular government had deliberately sought to bring about the condition of affairs existing in San Francisco during the Buckley regime, and later when his successor Ruef assumed control, they could not have devised a plan which would have effected the desired result with more facility. Much has been said about the force of public sentiment, and there is no doubt that in the long run it must effectively assert itself, but the fact remains that during certain stages of its development cunning men can make it serve their purposes and graft the scion of roguery on the sturdiest reform stock. Buckley exhibited his ability to do this, and incidentally exposed the short-sightedness of the people. The nomination of ex-Railroad Commissioner Stoneman for the governorship was in response to a popular demand that the aggressions of the railroad should be curbed. The convention which selected him as the standard bearer of the democratic party met at San Jose, and the bulk of the delegation from San Francisco was controlled by Buckley, who voted against Stoneman first, last and all the time. Stoneman was nominated and elected despite the strenuous efforts of the corporation to defeat him, but the reform wave which resulted in the triumph of the ex-railroad commissioner strengthened the hold of Buckley on San Francisco. He returned to the City from San Jose and when the municipal convention met a little

Methods of
the Blind
Boss

A Boss Who
Profited
Through
Exposure

Boss Buckley
and Emo-
tional Politics

later his lambs nominated a ticket which was swept into office. The zeal for better things at Sacramento gave the Boss possession of the board of supervisors, the board of education and all the other municipal offices, and they were administered with as great a contempt for public opinion and supercilious disregard of exposure by the press as they were during the last term of Eugene Schmitz.

Buckley's
Traffic in
Municipal
Offices

Scandals followed each other thick and fast. There were charges that the moneys appropriated for school repairs were stolen and that teachers were carried on the roll who were little better than hoodlums, and that they got their jobs through Buckley, who transacted business with them at the Bush street saloon. The assessor's office was crowded with lambs who were dummies, and did no work to earn the salaries paid them; the county clerk maintained an enormous force, a large proportion of which were idlers drawing pay. All of these appointees of the Boss were compelled to pay handsomely for their positions, and contributed from their salary regularly every month a fixed sum which was to be devoted to forwarding the interests of the party, but which went into the Blind Boss' pockets. If a lamb showed signs of recalcitrancy he was promptly discharged and another put in his place.

Corporations
Blackmailed
by Buckley

The pernicious activities of Buckley were by no means confined to placing his lambs in position and taking a "rake-off" from them; he controlled the board of supervisors absolutely and arranged all the "dickers" with the gas and water companies regarding the fixing of rates. In dealing with these corporations Buckley adopted the methods of the blackmailer. He set the most supple supervisors at work investigating and permitted them to assume a menacing attitude, and when his victims were thoroughly scared he stepped in and directed the board's action, which was always in harmony with the agreement made by the Boss. Some one has said that Ruef's practice of acting as attorney for the corporations and interests he intended to pluck was an innovation, but that is a mistake. The Blind Boss, although never admitted to practice as a lawyer, was in receipt of regular retainers from the water and gas companies who looked to him to protect them against the depredations of his disreputable crew. There was no abuse charged against the Schmitz regime that was not practiced during Buckley's period of control. The Chinese were plundered, and they were allowed to gamble unmolested. In the matter of gaming Buckley had the City in hand more thoroughly than his successors in villainy. He went further than the mere toleration of violation of the law; he actually caused the supervisors to pass an ordinance giving a concern which operated in Platt's hall, and in which he shared, a monopoly of the business. He was in collusion with corrupt judges who decided cases according to his dictation, and jury "fixing" was brought to the stage of a fine art by him. So versed was he in this particular sort of villainy that thieves and other criminals resorted to him and paid handsome sums to get them out of the toils.

Buckley the
Moses of the
Democratic
Party

It is sometimes assumed that the successes of bosses are due to a recognition on their part of the desirability of practicing the sort of honor that is supposed to obtain among thieves, but Buckley was not governed by any such rules. He accepted money from one side and if the other outbid he cold-bloodedly deserted his original client. He made promises to aspirants for office, accepted their cash contributions and then took up a fresh applicant. This propensity caused him to be



DESTRUCTION OF THE BALDWIN HOTEL BY FIRE

neglected by the railroad for a long time, that corporation expecting loyalty from its bosses and other servants. Until this distrust was removed Buckley at times posed as an anti monopolist, and it was not until the extra session called by Governor Stoneman for the purpose of regulating rates of fare and freight that the corporation, rendered desperate by the prospect of a strongly antagonistic legislature reducing it to submission that it took him into its service. In the San Jose convention the Blind Boss could only control a local following; in that which met at Los Angeles in 1888 he was the democratic cock of the walk, and in the municipal convention of that year the decrees of the Boss were registered without cavil.

During the period in which Buckley flourished the community was under the domination of the idea that restrictions on the expenditure of money and taxation limits were the only effective agencies through which good municipal government could be secured. The cautious citizen was apt to assent to the proposition that things were going on all right provided the tax rate was not raised, and Buckley was cunning enough to take advantage of this peculiar attitude. His platforms always declared in favor of "the dollar limit" on taxation, and his lambs when in office usually adhered to this campaign promise. The Blind Boss was avaricious, but his avarice was tempered with caution. He had felt the economic pulse of the community and found that it still beat strongly for the conservatism that followed the outbreak of 1856. He had profited by observation of the past, and was perfectly aware that the spirit which had intrenched the people's party formed by the Vigilantes was still a potent factor in the community despite the fact that there had been a disposition to break away from it during the early part of the Comstock excitement. He might probably have developed into a bold plunderer, capable of making the best of big sums of money raised by bond issues, but running into debt was out of the question during the Eighties so he contented himself with such pickings as the growing assessment roll and a dollar limit provided.

That there was enough for a cautious boss will be inferred from the fact that the amount derived from the city tax, which was \$4,452,940 in 1876, had increased to nearly \$7,000,000 in 1890. In 1882 the school department expended for all purposes \$735,475, in 1890 the sum demanded and used was \$983,014. The cost per capita of attendance during the interval had increased from \$24.98 to \$31.35. Compared with the expenditures of earlier years those during the Buckley regime cannot be regarded as excessive, nor were they so considered at the time. The discussion in the press about election times did not deal so much with the question of amount as with results. Outside of the element which concerned itself about political matters, chiefly for what there was to be made out of office, or through connection with office holders, the City was divided into two camps when municipal affairs were discussed. One side planted itself squarely on the proposition that any departure from the settled rule of the dollar limit in taxation, or a change of policy with reference to the incurrence of debt would prove injurious to the interests of the City; the other was distinctly in favor of inaugurating an era of public improvement. The idea of the city beautiful was taking shape, and there was a great deal of talk about making San Francisco "the Paris of America." The line of cleavage between the two views, however, was not sharply defined, and was nearly completely obscured about election time, when even the warmest advocates of better streets, boulevards and other civic improvements yielded to the slogan of the dollar

Avarice of
Boss Buckley

Buckley
Champions
the Dollar
Limit

limit. This caution disappeared about the time that Buckley deemed it advisable to abandon San Francisco, and the events synchronize so nearly that the followers of the deposed Blind Boss some time later claimed for him the dubious virtue of having been the bulwark of the dollar limit during the time of his domination of municipal politics.

CHAPTER LIX

SAN FRANCISCO MAKES MANY EXPERIMENTS IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

REPEATED EFFORTS TO SECURE A NEW ORGANIC LAW—THE CONSOLIDATION ACT FINALLY DISCARDED—A CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE FOR REFORM—AUSTRALIAN BALLOT ADOPTED—OLD TIME PRIMARY FARCES—A GREATLY IMPROVED PRIMARY LAW—THE BOSSES AND THE STRATTON PRIMARY LAW—IT MERELY RESULTS IN GIVING THE CITY A NEW SET—BOSSES PROFIT BY DIVISION OF THE RESPECTABLE ELEMENT—THE RAILROAD POLITICIANS AND BOSSES WERE NOT INNOVATORS—SCANDALS ATTENDING ELECTION OF LELAND STANFORD—DOMINATION OF STATE AND MUNICIPAL POLITICS BY THE RAILROAD—INCREASED MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES BUT FEW IMPROVEMENTS—CHANGES PRODUCED BY ADOPTION OF CHARTER OF 1898—NO ECONOMIES EFFECTED—A MORE EXPENSIVE FORM OF GOVERNMENT—CITY SECURES LOCAL AUTONOMY—THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT—MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION AND ITS ACTIVITIES—IT FURNISHES MANY VALUABLE OBJECT LESSONS—DOLLAR LIMIT DEPARTED FROM—IMPROVEMENT CLUBS—CIVIL SERVICE LAW—COST OF CITY GOVERNMENT—VOTING MACHINES—WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEFEATED IN 1896—THE INITIATIVE IN SAN FRANCISCO—OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES—GEARY STREET ROAD—TAXATION CHARGES.



IT CANNOT be repeated too often, or be too firmly impressed on the mind of the student of political conditions, that the desire for reform may exhibit itself in a very pronounced manner in a community, and yet be defeated or obstructed by subordinating the major to the minor consideration. Bosses have successfully traded on their knowledge of this fact. It is only when the people can be induced to sink

Desire for
a New
Charter

out of sight their personal predilections for the relatively inconsequential that they succeed in securing their main desire. There is no doubt that from the time of the adoption of the constitution in 1879 there was a pronounced desire in San Francisco to abandon the out-of-date Consolidation Act and substitute for it a charter which would permit the expansion of the City on modern lines. There was no disposition to deny that the scheme of municipal government devised by Hawes, and adopted in 1856, had served its purpose, but it had been amended beyond recognition, and there was a current joke that no one in San Francisco but the clerk of the board of supervisors knew what ordinances were in force and which were repealed.

But the efforts to secure a new organic law for the municipality were rendered nugatory by the activity of opponents who were not arrayed against the instruments submitted to them because they were opposed to their underlying principles, but because some particular feature did not meet their views. The first charter voted

Fruitless
Efforts to
Secure a
Charter

upon and rejected met its adverse fate because a recent experience had caused the people to distrust the expediency of conferring too much power on the mayor. That was the cause assigned, but its defeat was, perhaps, more attributable to civic indifference than fear of a bad mayor. The election was held on September 8, 1880, and only 23,398 votes were cast, while at the preceding general election there were 41,292. The charter submitted in 1883 called out a still smaller vote, only 18,764 going to the polls. It was defeated by the narrow majority of 32, the affirmative vote being 9,336 and the negative 9,368. An extraordinary quantity of space was devoted by the newspapers to the discussion of the provisions of this document, and much of it was given over to consideration of an alleged ambiguity, the effect of which the "Bulletin" claimed would be to give to the mayor the power to appoint the tax collector, auditor, treasurer, etc. This argument was based on the alleged fatal omission of the charter to state how the successors of those officers were to be chosen. The election of the first set was plainly provided for, and the "Chronicle" pointed out that as the charter failed to say that the successor of the first mayor elected was to be elected, that the omission would apply to that office also. A third attempt was made on the 12th of April, 1887, at a special election to secure the adoption of a charter, but the instrument submitted met the fate of its predecessors. There were only 25,959 votes cast as against 45,716 at the preceding general election. In this contest the question of intra mural burial was raised, and it was assumed that a large part of the adverse vote, which was 14,905 to only 10,896 for, was due to the active opposition of those interested in maintaining the cemeteries within the city limits. A fourth fruitless attempt was made in the November election of 1896. On this occasion 64,820 votes were cast for the candidates for municipal offices, but only 33,857 expressed an opinion on the charter, the vote being 15,879 for, to 17,978 against.

A Charter
Finally
Adopted

It was not until May 26, 1898, that the people of San Francisco consented to accept a charter framed for their benefit, and it might be inferred from the smallness of the vote on its adoption that the acceptance was merely a fluke and not a real expression of popular judgment. The vote was 14,389 for and 12,025 against, a total of 26,969, whereas at the general election in 1896, 64,820 had voted. It has been assumed that the apparent lack of interest was due to the fact that voters were disinclined to sacrifice the time involved in going to the polls on a day specially set apart, but this assumption is dissipated by the fact that nearly half of the voters in the general election of 1896 refused to avail themselves of the privilege of voting for or against the charter submitted, probably because they were honest enough to admit their incompetency to form a proper judgment concerning the desirability of the changes, and their inability to understand the multitudinous details of a voluminous document, concerning the meaning of many of whose provisions there was a serious disagreement.

Nineteen
Years to Get
a Charter

Thus it took nineteen years to secure an organic law for San Francisco, the imperative need for which was supposed to have existed even before the adoption of the Constitution of 1879. When a charter was finally adopted the result seemed to stamp as puerile the earlier objections to the conference of power upon the mayor. The new instrument in this particular gave that official as large a degree of control as any of the previously rejected documents, and the fact that it did was a subject of felicitation until the exercise of authority by Phelan, when the labor troubles occurred in 1901, caused it to become an object of fierce denuncia-

tion by the workingmen; and later when their party came to power, and Schmitz and Ruef were running things with a high hand, it became the target for adverse criticism by the conservative element. In view of the fact that the people of San Francisco had suffered repeatedly from the derelictions of elected officials it is astonishing that any considerable number of persons should have retained implicit faith in the wisdom of the electorate. They had gone to the polls election after election, and had chosen supervisors who deliberately allied themselves with the corporations, and sold or carelessly conferred valuable privileges which should have brought a return to the community, or would have done so had the people recognized their value. They had given their suffrages to a tax collector who had robbed the treasury, and they had elected other officials who filled their offices with tax eaters who performed no services for the salaries paid to them. But on the other hand it is equally surprising that after witnessing the possibilities of a Kalloch administration, and what actually occurred after Schmitz obtained full control of the city government, that any considerable body of men should exhibit confidence in the workings of any system which the ingenuity of statesmen may provide.

The powers conferred upon the mayor by the charter of 1898 were not extraordinary. They gave him the appointment of several members of commissions, but a system of holdovers was provided for which would make it impossible for him to absolutely control any board if the people chose to exercise their power of limiting the number of terms of his office. Confidence in the ability of the people to recognize when they were being wronged dictated the provision of the charter relating to the appointment of boards and commissions. The freeholders did not foresee the possibility of a majority of the electors of San Francisco deliberately continuing to support a mayor who almost openly defied public opinion, and who converted his position into a source of personal gain. And yet the second mayor elected under the new organic law proved to be a man of that sort, and whether or not San Franciscans like to consider the fact, it remains one all the same, that the third time he was elected Schmitz received a handsome majority of the suffrages of his fellow citizens.

A hundred years hence the historian in attempting to understand the conditions existing in San Francisco in the opening years of the nineteenth century will probably be bewildered by the apparently conflicting endeavors of the people to bring about satisfactory results in municipal government. Perhaps, if he is a philosopher, he will have reached the conclusion that it does not much matter about systems. If he is at all acute he will deride the belief that now obtains that people with widely diverging interests can so reconcile them that they will all act together to bring about an ideal state of municipal affairs. He will in the light of San Francisco's experiences be inclined to regard with astonishment the assumption that a community whose voting element was composed in large part of voters who had no property to be taxed regarded the problem of municipal government from the same standpoint as the owner of real estate or personal property. He will probably see nothing extraordinary in the persistent disregard by a portion of the electorate of the appeal to run the City in a businesslike manner. He certainly will not wonder that workingmen subordinated every other consideration to that of protecting their direct interests, and, as history is full of instances of the vast influence exercised by the class which thrives upon the blunders of a

The Mayor
and the
Electorate

The Coming
Philosopher's
Views

community, the existence of the parasite known as the "tax eater" will not seem strange to him.

Continuous
Struggle
for Reform

Perhaps the only thing that will greatly excite his wonderment if he makes a special study of American municipal institutions in the twentieth century, such as Mrs. Green made of "Town Life in the Fifteenth Century," will be the facility with which experiences were forgotten, and the disposition of the people of older cities of the United States to misunderstand and misrepresent the municipality in which more earnest efforts to effect reforms were made than in any other in the Union. That they failed was due to the same cause that has produced the same result in other cities where the inclination to expose deficiencies is not so insistent as it is in San Francisco. The Constitution of 1879 was in response to a strenuous demand for reform which was voiced most loudly in the metropolis of the state, and the long-continued effort to secure a charter was prompted by the belief that supervision and regulation would abate the evils which afflicted most American communities.

Methods of
Preserving
Secrecy of
Ballot

The activities of the San Francisco reformer of forty years ago asserted themselves in fields which are only now beginning to be explored in Eastern cities. Before the term Australian ballot had been made familiar to the East, and while that section of the Union was discussing the desirability of a secret ballot which could not be manipulated by the bosses the City was working under an election law which assured the elector that his rights would be respected, and which gave him as complete an opportunity to express his preference as through any means since devised. The uniform ballot adopted in the seventies, and the precautions taken against importuning voters within 100 feet of the polls, the closing of saloons on election days and other devices adopted presented an opportunity for an untrammelled choice which was exercised in such a fashion that the selection of a straight ticket composed of members of one party was almost unheard of, and in 1892, responsive to an agitation in San Francisco, a law was passed which provided as near an approach to the Australian ballot as could be devised while the demand persisted that the bulk of the administrative officials should be subject to popular choice.

Adoption of
Australian
Ballot

During the Eighties, and the greater part of the Nineties, the filling of municipal offices was accomplished very simply. The people retained the right to choose from tickets presented to them by committees, or those resulting from a farcical pretense of popular initiative at primaries. These latter were conducted without attempt at regulation and were wholly managed by the bosses. As already related after the Vigilante troubles of 1856 for many years there was absolutely no attempt on the part of those representing the general taxpayer's interest to consult the people respecting the choice of candidates. A few men met together, named a ticket and it was accepted and voted for and was usually successful. That the method was criticized it is hardly necessary to state, but frankness demands the admission that the severest censors of this undemocratic mode of putting forward candidates were the bosses. The element which took no active part in politics, and had only one object in view, namely, to get men who would administer the affairs of the City as cheaply as possible, was glad to have the job of selecting candidates taken away from it. Many who would cheerfully have performed the duty of voting at the primaries refrained from doing so because they were perfectly aware that they would have their labor for their pains.





SCENES IN GOLDEN GATE PARK

The real or imaginary success attending the method inherited from the Vigilantes could not, however, utterly destroy the democratic ideal. As in the case of the police commission, which for many years held office without change, the standing committee or junta of the so called people's party was under suspicion, and there was an uneasy consciousness in the minds of those who upheld it that the system was not entirely in accordance with the genius of American institutions. The suggestion that everything was cut and dried was constantly being made, and finally the objection to nominating cabals became so pronounced that an insistent demand arose for properly regulated primaries which was responded to by the enactment of a law which threw about these initiatory proceedings all the safeguards provided for the conduct of general elections at which candidates for office were voted for by the electorate.

An Improved
Primary Law

It was thought that with the passage of the primary law of 1897 the matter of properly selecting candidates had been satisfactorily solved, but a constitutional defect was found which was seized upon by the bosses who imagined the new law might have the effect of abridging their power. The trouble was cured at the ensuing session of the legislature by its author, Senator F. S. Stratton. The amended law was entitled "an act providing for the election of delegates to conventions of political parties," and provided that all political parties which at the preceding election had polled at least 3% of the vote of the state, should be entitled to a place on the ballot. The Australian system of balloting had to be modified in order to allow the use of pasters, but in other respects the methods of a general election were adhered to, and the qualifications of electors remained the same. The new law was fiercely assailed as a device to perpetuate existing political parties, and it was predicted that its effect would be to fasten a partisan system of municipal government on the City. This objection was chiefly urged by the advocates of the back room system of nomination who realized that whatever its defects the new primary law would certainly put an end to selection by cabal, and that therefore nonpartisanism in municipal elections in order to win at the polls would have to be real.

The Primary
Law and
the Cabals

The result of the first election under the amended primary law was to greatly discomfit the old time bosses, and to disclose the fact that if the people could be induced to turn out and vote, it would be no difficult matter to defeat the machinations of those who had hitherto had their own way at primary elections, wholly because they were allowed to run affairs without interference from the decent elements of society. The election was held on the 8th of August, 1899, and 32,519 votes were cast. This was an immensely greater number than had ever before turned out at a primary election in San Francisco, and exceeded by several thousand the number who had voted at the charter election of the preceding year when the new organic law of the City was adopted. There was an undisguised effort on the part of the bosses big and little to make an exhibition of their power, a fact which served to put the people on their mettle, although it cannot be said that the electorate was fully aroused for the total number of votes cast was only half as many as the 64,820 in the general election of 1896.

The Bosses
and the New
Primary Law

There was absolutely no ground for adverse criticism of the operation of this first primary under the Stratton law. It was conducted in an orderly fashion, and no suspicion of fraud or irregularity of any kind attached to it, but when the smoke of battle cleared away, and the results were surveyed, there was an uneasy

Only a
Change of
Bosses

feeling that although the bosses formerly in the ascendancy had been shown up as pretenders, the splitting into factions of their opponents had exposed their weakness. A new set of bosses, it was feared, would profit by the experience. Indeed there was evidence in the figures of the election which pointed conclusively to the advent of a new boss, Gavin McNab, who, however, was credited with a desire to see the affairs of the municipality conducted in a businesslike fashion, and who later made his boast that the boards of supervisors put forward by him were efficient and honest.

Groups
Voting in
Primaries

One possibility was made apparent by the workings of the new primary law. It presented an easy opportunity to the people to take the direction of affairs out of the hands of the professional bosses provided they were willing to do the arduous preelection work which these men performed. An analysis of the vote shows that on this occasion at least sufficient interest was aroused to promote the organization of numerous groups within the parties, and it also disclosed that the old bosses, who put forth their most strenuous efforts were unable to rally anything like a sufficient number of voters to make themselves formidable. The divisions were represented by names that were misleading, and in some instances assumed by trickery, but they deceived nobody. Every voter knew under whose auspices the delegates he voted for were chosen. There were eleven different tickets, but some of them received a vote so small as to render them obnoxious to the charge that they were put forward by "piece" clubs. Their designations are interesting and with a few sidelights will indicate the nature of the contest. There was the Central Republican League (anti boss) which polled 5,644 votes as against the Regular republican (Kelly and Crimmins boss ticket) with 4,400 votes. Then there were Citizens' republicans, Reuf republicans and independent republicans with 195, 302 and 279 votes respectively. The Regular democrats led the democratic vote with 10,544, the Rainey democrats polled 4,004 votes, the Buckley lambs 5,116 and the Independent democrats 40. The Socialist Labor party polled 605 votes in this primary, but had no contests within its ranks. There was also an organization with the pretentious title of the people's party which had only 58 votes, and there were 278 scattering.

Bosses
Discomfited
by Result of
Primaries

While the bosses were completely discomfited by the result of the primary the outcome was not regarded with unalloyed satisfaction by the reformers who plainly perceived that the name of the election was a misnomer, for all the candidates were chosen in advance by coteries, and the people were no nearer their ideal of direct nomination than before. In the case of the triumphant anti boss element which overthrew Buckley and Rainey, the ticket subsequently put up was named by Gavin McNab, who had engineered the campaign for James D. Phelan. In the democratic convention McNab controlled 307 out of the 354 delegates, Rainey securing 31 and Buckley 16. Ten years earlier Jeremiah Lynch, a former state senator, had published a pamphlet which had mercilessly exposed the rascalities of the Blind Boss, but it did not accomplish its purpose because while in possession of the machine Buckley was able to snap his fingers at public opinion. Lynch clearly indicated the secret of Buckley's success. He pointed out that the Boss was in the habit of putting up a good man for mayor and then under the cloak of his respectability foisting into the patronage offices creatures who gave the Boss the appointments with the accompanying "rake off." The new law seemed to be working out in the same way.

It was noted at the time of this primary that the bosses' candidates received only 13,560 votes out of the total of 32,519 cast, and with some show of reason it was assumed that it would be an easy matter for the better elements, if they would unite, to elect good men whenever they chose to do so. But the difficulty of inducing them to stand together, and the possibility of men primarily acting in the public interest turning bosses was not foreseen. At the very next election Ruef, who had posed as an antagonist of the bosses, had become one himself. He found it impossible to obtain control of the republican party, but the circumstances already described made it easy for him to put the workingmen into the traces and drive them to success. With the rise of the workingmen's party the object for which the primary law was enacted was defeated. It could only prove valuable and effective with two leading regular parties in the field. Under the original conditions the decent elements in the democratic and republican ranks could easily with its aid keep the bosses in check; but when a third party numerically strong came into the political game it resulted in providing the machinery by which the two national parties were able to keep up their local organizations only to be beaten in detail.

Bosses Profit
by Division
of Decent
Voters

One of the most serious evils connected with the boss system, and perhaps more directly responsible for its existence in San Francisco than any other cause, was the use made of the bosses by unscrupulous men with ambitions. We have seen that in the early days Broderick used the power he obtained as a local boss to secure the United States senatorship. His rivals were no more scrupulous in their methods than he was, and manipulation at the bottom was the recognized mode of accomplishing political results. There was absolutely no spontaneity in the selection of candidates for the highest offices in the gift of the state, and there was no pretense that the people were exercising a choice when the legislature chose a United States senator. Men are prone to forget, and are quite ready to assume that the republic was administered more simply and purely in the days when the great corporations were undreamed of than it is at present. A careful study of Californian political methods in the period when the personal was the predominating element, however, discloses that there were as many scandals connected with the selection of United States senators as to-day, and that bribery of the direct kind, and promises of reward for services rendered were as common as they became later, when it was generally assumed that no man could obtain high office in California except by the consent of the railroad, unless indeed a popular revolt occurred, in which case a man like Stoneman, or Stephen J. White, who refused to accept orders from the corporation, crept between the bars.

Evil Political
Methods
Before Cor-
poration
Ruled

Abuses of this sort were so numerous and flagrant that in 1871 a convention of workingmen in San Francisco denounced the system of electing senators in the method prescribed by the constitution and resolved in favor of choice by direct vote of the people. It does not appear that the demand which was renewed by the so-called sand lot convention made any serious impression. No attempt to bring about a change followed, nor was the agitation of the subject renewed until 1892, when a proposition was submitted, which, however, had no other object than to test the sense of the people on the question of direct election of United States senators. It showed an almost unanimous desire for the change, the vote being 187,958 for and only 13,842 against the direct method. The overwhelming affirmative

Direct
Election of
United States
Senators
Advocated

vote was undoubtedly due to the agitation begun in San Francisco when Leland Stanford was elected United States senator.

Railroad
Betrays
A. A. Sargent

The circumstances attending the election of Stanford, who was president of the Southern Pacific, made a deep impression on the public. He was chosen to succeed James T. Farley, whose term expired March 4, 1885. Although the legislature which had elected Farley in 1877 was decidedly anti monopoly in sentiment, and during its entire session had proved a thorn in the side of the corporation, the political machinery of the railroad was so adroitly handled that the corporation had no serious difficulty in sending a serviceable representative to Washington. Farley was from the interior, and was absolutely controlled by Huntington, but there was no desire on his part to continue him in office. It was an open political secret that his place was destined for ex-Senator Sargent, who had suffered a temporary eclipse owing to the anti monopoly upheaval which resulted in the overthrow of the so-called Federal Ring. The railroad satellites throughout the state thought they were working for Sargent, and it is not improbable that he would have been elected, despite the fact that he was regarded with hostility by a section of his party for his subserviency to the corporation. But when the republican caucus met his name was not even mentioned. Stanford was its choice, and when the two houses assembled to ballot he received 79 votes and was elected.

Scandals
Attend
Election of
Stanford

The sudden change caused a great scandal. Charges were openly made that \$250,000 had been expended to bring about the result, and the price of members was freely quoted. On former occasions when charges of this sort were made an investigation usually followed, but there was no disposition in this case to make an inquiry, and the people were permitted to speculate and criticize as much as they pleased. Criticism took the form of cynical comment rather than that of denunciation, and the opinion was expressed that the railroad had made up its mind to be directly represented in the senate instead of by servants willing to carry out its behests. But beneath the cynicism there was deep resentment which, however, owing to the control of the political machinery, and the refusal of the people to interest themselves in primary politics, bore no fruit at the time. The corporation still went on as formerly, and continued to so arrange matters that it made little difference to it which political party won at the polls. No matter what the outcome of the elections, by skilful manipulation a majority of the Railroad Commission and of the State Board of Equalization was assured to it, and it invariably contrived that legislatures should elect, if not servants of the corporation, at least men who would not antagonize its interests.

Absolute
Domination
of Politics
by Railroad

The events narrated, although participated in by the entire state, were usually directed from the office of the railroad in the City to which the footsteps of the politicians had beaten out a well defined path which the ambitious had to follow or renounce chances of success. And it was the local bosses who cleared away the underbrush and made the trail clear. Political storms occasionally arose, and there were some wrecks, but as a rule the wind blew pretty steadily from Fourth and Townsend streets, where Stanford sat in state and received the willing and anxious or turned them over to his chief political manipulators. The latter, whose business it was to keep track of all that was doing, kept the local bosses well in hand, and considered the municipal situation strictly from the standpoint of its relation to the more important matter of controlling the legislature and the two bodies which touched it so closely. It was believed in some quarters that a restraining influence





A STREET IN CHINATOWN, BEFORE THE FIRE



A GROUP OF CHILDREN IN CHINATOWN

was exercised over the bosses in shaping their taxation policy, but the evidence points with tolerable conclusiveness to the fact that the dollar limit was adhered to by the manipulators because it was regarded the bit of sweetening calculated to catch the cautious property owner, who during the Eighties still tenaciously adhered to the belief that public expenditures for any other purpose than mere administration opened the door to abuse and made municipal government a menace rather than a benefit.

There were occasional distractions other than those mentioned whose import was scarcely recognized at the time, and some almost too puerile for mention, but on the whole the municipal history of San Francisco was not an exciting one during the period. The budgets of the Eighties and most of the Nineties are simply a record of increasing expenditures made possible by the expanding assessment roll. The city hall, the only public improvement of consequence, whose construction began in the first year of the Seventies, was uncompleted in the middle of the Nineties, and was at times the subject of scandal, and a never-failing source of fault finding for those who were impatient with its slow progress, and of still another class who recognized its defects. Sums were regularly appropriated for the care of Golden Gate park and the minor squares, and they were assuming a creditable shape, but the streets of the City presented an unkempt appearance, and there was little hope that they would be improved, because of the settled conviction of men in a position to shape public opinion that the basalt block laid on a sand foundation was an ideal pavement.

It was not difficult during the Eighties, and the better part of the Nineties to acquire the reputation of being a predatory person. To advocate improvements of any sort was sufficient to bring on an accusation of that sort, and to suggest that it might be desirable to abandon the hand-to-mouth method of doing things, and instead to resort to the mode followed by business men was branded as treason to the municipality. The obstructionists of progress were derided as "silurians," but their position could not be shaken. There were intervals during which there were dreams of making San Francisco "the Paris of America," but they always faded away when the taxpayer was confronted with the alternative of abandoning the cherished plan of paying as you go for the dangerous experiment of launching forth on the dreaded sea of bonded indebtedness.

This condition of affairs endured until after the adoption of the new charter. It did not absolutely require the change in the organic law to put the spirit of progress in motion, but it made it easier to do so. In shaking off the restraints which the Consolidation Act and its amendments imposed the City began to take a broader view of its possibilities and lost some of its fearsomeness. The instrument adopted in 1898 was by no means a "wide open" affair; it contained limitations and restrictions innumerable which might have been invoked to prevent expansiveness, but they were not resorted to because under the spur of outside criticism, and the rivalry of Los Angeles, San Franciscans were awakening to the necessity of doing something to redeem the City from the imputation of dry rot. The new charter may have been no improvement on the existing body of municipal law, and it probably did not improve the mechanism of the municipal government very greatly, but the people thought it did, and the belief served as a stimulus to exertion. In one particular, however, it made a wide departure. Its framers were caught in the rising tide of the municipal ownership idea and they made it possible

Increasing
Municipal
Expenditures

Abnormal
Fear of
Debt

Changes
Worked by
Charter of
1898

for the City to engage in schemes which thus far have not realized the hopes of their projectors.

Economies
Not Effected
by Charter
Changes

Although the changes effected by the new charter were fought so long it is doubtful whether the community was able to detect any particular difference in the conduct of affairs after its adoption. Many reforms were promised, and there was a vague idea prevalent that departure from the old modes of doing business would result in economies. In the Constitutional Convention of 1879 the author of the section providing for the framing of charters by a board of freeholders had answered the objection that the result would be a multiplication of officials by asserting that the tendency would be to reduce the number. He said: "Instead of having a set of City and a set of county officers they are consolidated. The tendency of a consolidated government is to reduce the officers from two to one in every sense, and reduce the expense in every particular." The same argument had been employed when the Consolidation Act was imposed upon the City. Under the act of 1850 the City of San Francisco was provided with the following officers: mayor, recorder, board of aldermen, board of assistant aldermen, treasurer, controller, street commissioners, collector of city taxes, city marshal, city attorney and two assessors for each city ward. At the same time the County of San Francisco had a district attorney, county clerk, county attorney, county surveyor, county sheriff, recorder, assessor, coroner, treasurer, public administrator and county board of supervisors. The Consolidation Act of 1856 rid the taxpayer of many of these duplications, and the decided reduction in the cost of the administration of city affairs was in part due to the elimination of unnecessary officials, but by far the greater part of the decreased expenditure was directly traceable to the salutary lessons taught the tax eaters by the Vigilantes whose protest was against the corrupt conduct of municipal affairs as well as against the laxity of the judiciary. A comparison of offices provided for by the charter of 1898, and those since created shows a decided increase.

Futility of
Charter
Restrictions

In the light of later events the critic is forced to agree with George Bancroft, the historian of the United States, who dissented from the proposition that it was the Consolidation Act which gave the City of San Francisco the economical government which endured for a few years after 1856. But his observation that it was due to the people's party, or in other words to the selection of good men to hold office, needs the qualification that the organization was only able to make a record by pursuing a course which absolutely disregarded the necessities of a growing community. It was because of the strict application of the "hardscrabble" method that expenses were kept down. As soon as the people tired of bad streets and lack of improvements of all sorts, and went in for conveniences the restrictions of the Consolidation Act proved unavailing. Long before the adoption of the Constitution of 1879 there was incessant complaint that large sums were annually collected from the taxpayer and that there was nothing to show for them. If the city hall was pointed to it was merely for the purpose of illustrating the facility with which the money of the people could be expended without producing satisfactory results, and as has already been shown there was abundant ground for the charge made that there was waste and theft. With all its restrictions and limitations it was possible for a tax collector to make away with a considerable sum of the people's money, just as a similar official did in 1902. In short, so far as safeguarding

the treasury was concerned, there was very little improvement between 1850-56 and 1856-98, and for that matter between 1898-1912.

It took nineteen years for the people of San Francisco to make up their minds to abandon the Consolidation Act and when they finally did they were under no illusion of the sort that Hager labored under when he advocated giving cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants the privilege of framing a freeholder's charter. They had rejected several instruments, none of which, however, provided that simple and inexpensive form of government which the author of the charter section in the constitution thought was demanded. When the organic act submitted in 1898 was finally presented the array of officials elective and appointive for which it provided was as formidable as the most thoroughgoing expansionist could desire. There were to be elected a board of supervisors, a county clerk, a sheriff, recorder, assessor, auditor, treasurer, district attorney, tax collector, city attorney, public administrator and superior judges and justices of the peace. The list shows no abridgment which was not fully offset by the appointive boards and commissions created, none of which were particularly new, but all of which represented amplification and in some instances the substitution of special officials in the place of bodies which had acted in an ex officio capacity. These consisted of the following: board of public works, fire commissioners, board of health, election commissioners, police commissioners, park commissioners, board of education and civil service commissioner.

The charter which was ratified by a vote of the people May 26, 1898, had to be approved by the legislature and was not in operation until January 8, 1900. Since that time it has been amended in many particulars and has been construed by the courts. Although it was clearly intended by the framers of the constitution to grant the city adopting a freeholder's charter the completest control of their local affairs the fact that San Francisco was still under the operation of the general laws of the state, and that some of its officials performed the dual duties of county and city officials, caused confusion at times until by amendment and interpretation their relations were defined. In a decision rendered in the case of Kahn v. Sutro, the court had illustrated the distinction between city and county officers. The mayor, the city and county attorney, superintendents of public streets, highways and squares, the school directors, treasurer, auditor, tax collector, surveyor and supervisors were distinguished as municipal rather than county officers, while the district attorney, sheriff, county clerk, county recorder, coroner, public administrator, assessor and superintendent of public schools were held to be county officers.

As the terms of the municipal officers and county officers were not of equal length complications ensued. Under the freeholder's charter, the mayor, the city attorney, the school directors, treasurer, auditor, tax collector, board of public works were solely municipal, while the remainder of the list were county officials and as such were elected for a longer term than the former. This difficulty was finally overcome by the City taking over the duties and obligations of a county of the state. This left the City the power to decide the manner and method of electing or appointing the necessary officers to fulfill these duties and their compensation. The settlement of this matter, which was a vexed one for a time, gave the City the local autonomy it so earnestly desired, but the claim that economies were

A More
Expensive
Form of
Government

Dual System
Not Done
Away With

City Secures
Local
Autonomy

effected by the assumption of control is not borne out by the salary lists of the City.

"The City
Beautiful"
Idea in
1900

As a matter of fact economy had ceased to be the prime consideration in San Francisco before the adoption of the charter of 1898. Before the new organic law went into operation on the 8th of January, 1900, the City had given a decided exhibition of its intention to go in for a comprehensive system of improvements. "The City Beautiful" idea had found lodgment in the public mind and expressed itself at an election held in 1899 at which several civic improvements were voted for which involved in the aggregate an expenditure of \$18,000,000. One of these projects was known as the Park Panhandle and provided for the extension by a parked boulevard of the approach to the people's pleasure ground which would terminate at Van Ness avenue at a point practically in the heart of the City. A new hospital and school houses were also included in the list of schemes submitted to the electors. There was a vigorous discussion of the merits of the projects, especially that relating to the extension of the pan handle, and the cautious expressed the fear that there was a job involved. But in spite of the apparent lively interest, and notwithstanding the fact that an affirmative vote for the propositions would amount to a reversal of a policy steadily adhered to for over forty years only 29,972 votes were cast at the election. A year later at the general election when the selection of officials was the main question over 66,000 voters went to the polls, and expressed their personal preferences.

Blundering
Attempt to
Fix Interest
Rate

Owing to a blunder made by the freeholders in framing the charter whose provisions would govern the emission of the bonds a rate of interest was arbitrarily fixed, and the securities were to be sold at not less than par. The result of these restrictions was to make the marketing of the bonds impossible. During some years previous to the adoption of the charter interest rates had been steadily declining throughout the world, and the framers of the instrument had become imbued with the idea that the condition was to be permanent. This belief, coupled with the extreme cautiousness engendered by years of fancied observation of the necessity of imposing restrictions on the City's administrators, caused the freeholders to reject the experience of other cities and to disregard the suggestions of common sense and to assume that the lenders of money could be dictated to by a municipality. The fact was overlooked that the competition of capital, if the bonds were sold to the highest bidder, would properly adjust the interest rate. The impossible was demanded and the bonds could not be sold. Subsequent experience developed that the mistake was not without its compensating advantages, for while the people were perfectly willing to expend \$18,000,000 for the purposes outlined in the bond proposals for which they voted affirmatively, when Ruef's party came to power there was less confidence in the wisdom of the movement for improvements. It should be added, however, that so far as the most important of the proposed expenditures was concerned, that relating to the Park Panhandle extension, a decision of the courts, which found informalities in the measure as voted upon, prevented the carrying out of that scheme.

Change in
Plans of
New City
Hall

It is not to be supposed that the changed attitude toward bonded indebtedness came about in the twinkling of an eye. There had been much talk about the uneconomic method adopted in the construction of the city hall, the expenditure upon which had very greatly exceeded the original estimates. It had been frequently pointed out that the "pay as you go" plan was responsible not only for the



Thomas Starr King Memorial

Statue of Father Junipero Serra

Goethe and Schiller Monument

Francis Scott Key Monument

Statue of General Henry W. Halleck

MONUMENTS IN GOLDEN GATE PARK

interminable delay in the building of the municipal edifice, but that it prevented the economies which are possible when a work is properly mapped out and continuously prosecuted. These criticisms were revived with vigor in 1894, when contracts were let for the building of a dome. It was pointed out that such a structure would be out of harmony with the remainder of the building, but criticisms of this character had little effect. The hall had been in process of building for twenty-three years, and its cost had exceeded several millions and there was now a burning desire to get it finished in some fashion. The original plans of the architect had long been lost sight of, or were modified because it would have been too expensive to carry them out. A mansard roof was to have surmounted the main structure, but it was cut out on the ground that it would prove too great a fire menace, and there were other changes which deprived the building of all claims to harmony, and the critics cheerfully abandoned the tall tower and accepted the circular innovation in its stead, and the people acquiesced, only urging that the work be rushed to completion.

About the time this restiveness was displaying itself there was formed an organization which contributed greatly to the growth of a new opinion respecting the functions of a municipal government and laid the foundation of the sentiment which finally overthrew the *laissez faire* policy that had endured for nearly forty years. On the 13th of April, 1894, forty-seven merchants met in the Palace hotel to discuss the needs of the City and the possibility of bringing some effective aid from the outside toward the bettering of municipal government. At this meeting the Merchants' Association came into existence, its avowed object being politely stated to be "the practical improvement of the City of San Francisco," and its work was "to be the doing of those things which were not being done because there was no one in particular to look after them." That it had a more far reaching object is disclosed by the first step taken by the organization. It resolved to give an object lesson in the cleaning of streets. Obviously there was some one particularly chosen by the people to keep the streets clean, and money was appropriated for that purpose; there was a superintendent of streets, and several hundred thousand dollars were annually expended to keep them in order. Consequently the Merchants' Association was not undertaking a new line of work; it simply invaded the field of the tax waster to show what could be done if affairs were properly managed.

Formation of
Merchants'
Association

The object lesson served one purpose. It created a desire for better and cleaner streets. The Merchants' Association went about the job intelligently, and succeeded in showing what could be done. At the same time its course sufficed to emphasize the ineffectiveness of municipal methods and to clearly indicate the source of trouble. Subscriptions were made by merchants along the principal streets, and with the sum thus obtained men were hired to clean the thoroughfares by the block system which had not been employed theretofore in San Francisco. The success achieved was not due so much to the change of methods, as to the fact that the merchants took care to hire men who were willing to work, whereas previously those engaged were usually selected with reference to the part they had taken in advancing the personal political fortunes of the superintendent of streets or of other city officials. But the success achieved was due in a large degree by the fact that the wages paid were not high enough to tempt political loafers.

An Object
Lesson in
Street
Cleaning

Ineffective-
ness Does
Not Deter
Advocates of
Municipal
Ownership

The experiment was a success, however, and during several years the municipal authorities, after the initial object lesson which lasted twelve months, permitted the merchants to usurp their function and accepted and followed the specifications prepared by the association. It is extraordinary in view of the fact that the activities of the Merchants' Association were all of a nature to emphasize the inefficiency of the municipal authorities, and to suggest that the initiative would have to come from some other source if progress was to be made, that concurrently with its almost constant effort to introduce improvements, and while it was making innovations which public officials under our system would never think of proposing, and which if proposed by them would have no chance of being carried out, there grew up a sentiment in favor of public ownership, and a further enlargement of the sphere of the ineffectives. A recital of the claims made for the Merchants' Association constitutes an indictment against the American municipal method which should have warned those who so zealously entered upon the scheme of public ownership and operation of utilities, that the step would be beset with enormous difficulties which would have to be overcome by completely altering the attitude of the people on the subject of the expenditure of moneys raised by taxation before the optimistic promises of the departure from individualism could be realized.

Activities of
Merchants'
Association

For forty years or more the men regularly elected to office, whether good, bad or indifferent, had contented themselves and satisfied the community by simply doing what was required of them. The highest encomium bestowed upon a retiring official during the period was embodied in the admission that he had not abused his position, or that he had prevented others from doing so. As soon as the merchants got to work they began doing novel things which might just as well have been done by the salaried servants of the people. For instance it occurred to the directing spirit of the association that the park being in need of a fertilizing element it would be a good plan to spread the street sweepings upon the bare places. The idea was put into execution; the street car lines were persuaded to haul the stuff to the required spots and the reclamation of a good many acres resulted, thus adding to the beauty and attractiveness of the pleasure ground. Years after the superiority of electricity had been recognized elsewhere the supervisors continued to make contracts with the Gas Company for the supply of the inferior illuminant until a subscription of \$15,000 was raised and a number of electric lamps were introduced to prove that they served the purpose better. The rest of the country had made successful experiments with asphaltum pavements, but San Francisco's legislative body refused to encourage the use of any other material than the basalt block until the association directed its efforts to creating a sentiment in favor of smooth and presentable appearing streets. The public service corporations were permitted to make the streets unsafe and unsightly with poles and overhead wires until under pressure the supervisors passed an ordinance compelling wires to be laid underground in the business districts. The practice of stretching advertising banners across the streets, and the defacing of the sidewalks with signs went on unchecked until the association acted, and it was at the instance of that organization, and not until after it had at the expense of its membership given a practical exhibition of the value of isles of safety on Market street, that the latter were introduced.

Revolt
Against
Dollar Limit

These activities and others which could be recited are dwelt upon to emphasize the assertion that there was plenty of latent public spirit which was easily aroused,

and that it began to assert itself when the people shook off the idea which had taken possession of narrow minded men that the only object in life is to dodge the tax gatherer. With the advent of the Merchants' Association, whose membership extended rapidly, and had reached nearly fifteen hundred at the time of the fire of 1906, the hostility to smooth pavements disappeared, and under its influence citizens were becoming sensitive to ridicule, and were no longer willing to submit to the indignity of having corporation moonlight impose upon them. The petty economy of shutting off the street lights on nights when the almanac said the moon should be shining was abandoned, and the wretched bungling which had characterized the making of the budget ceased to the extent at least of guarding against the evil of plunging the City in darkness towards the end of the fiscal year because of want of funds. The people were becoming educated to the fact that many things which the "silurian" spirit had opposed were really desirable, and that the City would be compelled to provide them even if the dollar limit had to be exceeded.

The necessity of such an organization as the Merchants' Association was made apparent by the fruitlessness of repeated earlier efforts to promote an interest in the subject of public improvements. Sporadic attempts had been made to that end under other auspices, but it required constant prodding to lift the people out of the slough of satisfaction into which they had fallen through contemplation of the undoubted advantages of the port, which many fancied would force prosperous conditions in spite of bad management. There were numerous mass meetings, some of them under the auspices of influential bodies to urge public improvements. A large meeting called at the instance of the Mechanics' institute was held at the Grand opera house in June, 1887, which was addressed by numerous speakers all of whom pointed out the necessity of abandoning the too conservative attitude of the past and going in for a policy which would make the City attractive. The meeting was a representative one in every particular, and many of those on the platform were large property holders. The movement was assisted also by the district improvement clubs which had been called into existence by the desire for neighborhood improvement. The first of these appears to have been the Point Lobos Improvement Club, which was organized in 1885. In 1885 the Holly Park Improvement Club was formed and the North Central Association came into existence the same year as that which witnessed the advent of the Merchants' Association. A year later the Sunset Improvement Club was organized. All of these bodies interested themselves more or less in the movement to secure a new charter. Their primary object, of course, was to promote the development of the particular section in which they were formed, but even at this early date their memberships evinced a keen appreciation of the value of solidarity in promoting the public welfare, and could always be depended upon to work together when a plan for the general benefit was advanced. The Merchants' Association while not directly affiliated with these improvement clubs worked in harmony with them and through the sentiment produced by united action the long desired charter was finally secured.

When the new charter was put into effect there was a pronounced belief that the creation of the civil service system for which it made provision would eradicate all the troubles that had attended the administration of the municipal government during previous years. It was thought that the selection of subordinates under a

Neighborhood
Improvement
Clubs

Civil Service
Law in
Operation

merit system of appointment would work a revolution in the office personnel, and completely destroy the power of the bosses, thus insuring greater efficiency, at the same time promoting economy. It does not appear that these results were achieved during the period between the adoption of the charter and the great fire of 1906. The merit system was first applied in 1900 when forty examinations were held and 2,064 applicants examined, and there were regular examinations thereafter. Charges of evasion of the spirit of the law were frequently made after the election of Eugene Schmitz in 1901, and in many instances they were well founded. Whether civil service selections succeeded in giving the City a better class of employes is still to be determined, but there can be little doubt concerning the soundness of the view that its successful operation would impair the power of the bosses. Under the operation of this provision of the charter including the members of the police and fire departments who came in with the instrument on December 31, 1911, there were 3,019 civil service employes, 2,546 of whom received their appointments after examination. In addition several hundred temporary clerks, mechanics and laborers were awarded positions by the commission.

If the object of the reformers who advocated the merit system of selection was to take away from the bosses the power to reward followers by giving them positions at the public expense it was measurably accomplished. The system is now well established, and the exercise of influence at the polls has ceased to be a considerable factor in the appointment of men to subordinate positions. But Ruef and Schmitz, and subsequently McCarthy, found many ways of evading the spirit of the charter while apparently complying with its letter. The demonstration that the system has proved economical is yet to be made. Perhaps it never will be. The growth of the City; the increasing demand for conveniences and improvements formerly unthought of, and other causes have enormously swollen expenditures since 1900, and it is practically impossible to make comparisons. Perhaps the latter may be undesirable in view of the undoubted fact that selection on the merit plan is popular, even those who stand ready to interpose practical obstacles to its working being compelled to accept it as sound in theory, and the only mode which can be successfully pursued under a democratic form of government in which the autocratic exercise of power in a municipality will not be tolerated, even though foreign experience has shown its efficiency.

The difficulty of making comparisons of the cost of city government at various periods is accentuated by the failure to adhere to any consistent method of public accounting. From the beginning of the municipality down to the present, there has never been a time when the most accurate statistician could determine whether the rate of taxation was higher or lower at one time than another. The nominal tax rate is easy of ascertainment, and it is possible to find the assessed valuation, but only the individual taxpayer can tell whether the burden was more oppressive at one time than another. In 1860 the assessed valuation of the City was \$35,967,499, and the tax rate \$2.25; ten years later the value was \$116,375,988 and the municipal rate \$1.98; in 1880 the assessed value was \$253,520,326, and the tax rate \$1.57, and in 1890 the assessed value was \$291,583,668 and the tax rate \$1. The year after the charter went into effect assessable property to the value of \$410,155,304 was found in the City, and the tax rate was for city purposes \$1.27 and 49.8 cents for state purposes. As the population of the City between 1890 and 1900 had only increased from 233,959 to 342,782 it is obvious that the addi-

Value of
Merit System
Undeter-
mined

Impossibility
of Com-
paring Cost
of Govern-
ment



Monument to California Volunteers in Spanish-American War, Van Ness Avenue and Market Street

Monument to First Spanish Governor of California, in Burial Ground of Mission Dolores

Donohue Fountain, Market Street

Robert Louis Stevenson Monument, Portsmouth Square

tion to property values was out of proportion to the growth of the inhabitants of the City. It may have represented a true increase to the extent indicated, but it is more than probable that the assessor under the pressure of the growing needs of the community had enlarged his roll sufficiently to meet the expanding demands of the various departments of the municipality for funds to carry on their operations.

Whether these latter were carried on economically or conducted extravagantly no accountant or expert could possibly tell from the data at hand. All the citizen could learn from the information furnished by officials was that expenditures were constantly increasing. In this particular the charter made absolutely no attempt to provide reformation. The inherited system of auditing was grafted on the new instrument, and as that simply imposed on an official known by the name of auditor, the duty of deciding whether a demand on the treasury was created in conformity with law, there was absolutely no real check. If the expenditure was duly authorized the auditor had no other recourse than to allow it; he could not, or at least did not, go behind the returns, and indeed there was no machinery provided which would have enabled him to do so. As a result of this loose method, which for years had been extolled as a safeguard of the treasury, there was constant suspicion and many accusations of loose and corrupt expenditure; but nothing came of the charges, as it would have been impossible to prove any of them simply because the evidence could not be obtained. The only definite knowledge concerning the administration of public affairs was that conveyed to the people when the figures of the constantly swelling budget were announced. They knew that the assessment of 1900-01 of \$410,155,304 had produced or called for a tax amounting to \$6,665,023, and that in the fiscal year 1905-06 the assessment had been increased to \$524,000,000 and the taxes to \$8,666,960, and that the amounts raised by taxation direct, and from other sources such as licenses and fees, which nearly reached two million dollars in the last named year, had been expended assumedly for their benefit. And they further knew that the rate of municipal taxation had been increased during the five years to \$1.164, but the wherefore of the increase could only be guessed.

No Proper
Check on
Expenditure

A provision of the charter devolved upon the mayor the duty of reporting upon the various departments of the municipality, but it happened that no machinery was devised by which he could obtain independent sources of information. As a result the messages of the mayors under the new charter retained the same perfunctory character as those under the Consolidation Act. Being based solely on the data furnished by the various city officials they merely consisted of a setting forth in a condensed shape of the figures or statements thus obtained, and rarely took on the form of criticism. Occasionally when the public inclination to censure became pronounced the chief executive would constitute himself a defender of the department under suspicion of extravagance, or worse, and attempt to dispel the uneasy feeling of the taxpayer that his money was not being properly expended. At different periods prior to the fire of 1906, pressure had been brought to induce the municipality to thoroughly reform its system of accounting. A movement was started in the Commonwealth Club in 1903 to effect that object, and it was taken up by public accountants, but it made no progress during the administration of Schmitz; and although tentative efforts in the direction have since been made, in 1912 the community had not been thoroughly impressed with the necessity for a change.

Attempt to
Secure Systematic
Public
Accounting

Objection
to Double
Board of
Supervisors

Although it took the people of San Francisco nineteen years to make up their mind that a charter was needed to take the place of the Consolidation Act, they were not inactive during the entire period in the matter, but resorted freely to the amending power which the Constitution of 1879 made easy of exercise by the people. Many of the amendments to the constitution adopted during the Eighties and Nineties were inspired by San Francisco demands, and some were needed to clear away the objections to making a change in the municipal laws of the City. By means of an amendment the provision requiring double boards of supervisors in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants was eliminated in 1894. This proviso was at one time regarded as the best feature of Hager's section which entrusted to freeholders the duty of charter making. It was hailed by the reformers as a safeguard, but previous experience in the early history of the City had made clear that a double board was a broken reed to lean upon. The common council, consisting of a board of aldermen and an assistant board established by the act of 1850, unless the advocates of the consolidation scheme carried through six years later grossly exaggerated the facts, proved a stimulus to extravagance rather than a check on expenditure. Whether deservedly or undeservedly the bicameral plan was in bad odor and the amendment of 1896 which permitted San Francisco to frame a charter with a single board of supervisors paved the way to getting a new charter. The amendment adopted in the same year exempting cities desirous of acting under freeholders' charters from the operation of general laws concerning municipal affairs also promoted the feeling in favor of the acceptance of a new organic law.

Evasion of
"One-twelfth"
Act

There were other amendments adopted chiefly at the instance of San Francisco, during the Nineties, which indicate the uncertainty in the public mind concerning the desirability of the Draconian enforcement of laws designed to regulate expenditure and to curb extravagance. The legislature of 1877-78 had passed an act which required the departments of the municipal government to apportion the appropriation of amounts to be disbursed by them so that they would last throughout the year. It was generally known as the one-twelfth act, and applied solely to San Francisco. For the first few years after its enactment it was lived up to after a fashion, although methods of evading it were frequently resorted to, such as the payment of one class of claims out of the fund provided for some other purpose. This dishonesty succeeded in breaking down respect for the law, and finally departments boldly disregarded it until under pressure of public opinion an auditor refused to allow the illegal claims. Suit was brought against the City unavailingly, but an amendment was submitted by the legislature and voted upon in 1900 by which the claimants, who were put forward in the light of innocent sufferers, obtained relief, and the anomaly of the people of the sovereign State of California condoning the infraction of its own laws was presented.

Voting
Machines
Tried and
Abandoned

Although the California election laws as early as 1875 had been framed with especial regard for the preservation of the secrecy of the ballot, and with the view of making fraud as difficult as possible, and later had adopted all the safeguards which the Australian ballot system is supposed to possess, San Franciscans were eager to try the virtues of the voting machine. There were provisions in the constitution requiring amendment before the desire could be gratified and the legislature submitted one which would have accomplished the purpose had it not been rejected by a decisive vote. That was in 1896, and it required six more years of

argument to convince the people of the interior that if the cities really wished to discard the old-fashioned methods of casting the ballot that they should be permitted to do so. In 1902 an amendment was adopted by a vote of 83,966 for to 43,127 against. In the election of 1896 the number voting against the law facilitating the use of the machine was 158,093 and only 63,620 in favor of the innovation. The large vote against in 1896 was due to the suspicion that the adoption of the amendment was favored by jobbers who sought to impose their devices on the public, and it was in a measure justified by an exposure made at a later period which pointed directly to a corrupt bargain with members of the legislature engineered by one of the bosses. Subsequent to the enabling amendment machines were introduced and made use of in the City, but they were destroyed in the fire of 1906 and were not replaced. There was an opinion prevalent after the third election of Schmitz in 1905, that the machines had been tampered with, but no evidence was ever adduced to support it. The accusation was probably caused by the surprise occasioned by the result of the contest in question which seemed to have been shared by Ruf as fully as the general public. That no further attempt to a machine voting has been made since is due rather to the difficulty occasioned by the multiplication of persons and propositions to be voted upon than to distrust of the new device.

Among the numerous amendments the citizens of San Francisco were called upon to deal with in common with the voters of the rest of the state was one granting the suffrage to women. The vote was taken in 1896, and resulted in the defeat of the amendment, 137,099 casting their ballots against and only 110,358 in favor of the change. The test was not preceded by an active campaign. In the City a few meetings were addressed by speakers whose names were familiar as advocates of the change. At that time the women's clubs organized for social purposes had not attained proportions of consequence, and the movement lacked organization. In the campaign which resulted in the adoption of the amendment in 1910 there was a marked change. The energetic elements in the clubs arrayed themselves on the side of suffrage, numerous meetings were held which were addressed by speakers of both sexes, but the amendment failed to receive a majority in San Francisco. The boon sought by the women would not have been secured if it had not been for the strong support which it received in Los Angeles and the interior which overcame the adverse vote of a majority of 14,000 against in the metropolis.

One of the provisions of the Constitution of 1879 most bitterly antagonized was that providing for the taxation of mortgages. It was contended by those opposing the new organic law that its effect would be to impose double taxation on the owners of property, and that the system would operate to exclude outside capital from investment in the state. The major part of the opposition came from San Francisco, but the interior was strongly in favor of that particular section. After the constitution had become effective it was seen that the charge of double taxation was groundless, but with the development of the southern part of the state, particularly Los Angeles, the idea that it tended to exclude capital grew in strength. San Francisco which from pioneer days had been almost wholly dependent upon local financial resources, after the first flurry of opposition was over, adapted itself to the new system, and apparently took little interest in the renewed efforts to strike out the mortgage tax provision. In 1896 an at-

Woman
Suffrage
Defeated
in 1896

The Mortgage
Tax Law

tempt was made to repeal the mortgage tax law which proved unsuccessful. Ten years later an effort was made to meet the views of those who were convinced that the mortgage tax law was injurious to the development of the state by an amendment which permitted borrowers to contract to pay the tax, but it did not effect its purpose. The amendment received less than a hundred thousand votes of 312,030 cast at the election. In November, 1908, the attempt to repeal was repeated and was defeated by a narrow margin, the vote being 90,061 for repeal and 90,896 against in a total vote of 386,597. In 1910 the long agitation resulted in success. The amendment for repeal was resubmitted and carried, the vote being 118,927 for and 79,435 against.

The
Initiative in
San Francisco

In 1902 the state constitution was amended to permit the inhabitants of cities to submit amendments to their charters by petition. Prior to that date the charter had been amended so as to permit the voters of the City to initiate ordinances upon petition of 15 per cent of the number of electors casting ballots at the last preceding election. When the required number of petitioners signed, it became the duty of the supervisors to order an election. It was freely predicted that the result of the privilege would be incessant change, but this fear was not justified, although there have been some innovations of doubtful value in consequence of the facility with which propositions may be introduced. That the initiative has elements of danger in it owing to the difficulty of getting out a full vote when elections are numerous will be inferred from the fact that a proposition placed before the people in 1900 by petition, which provided for the legitimatization of pool selling was nearly carried, the vote being 22,419 for and 25,347 against. The near success of the gambling element in this election was due to the fact that the movement in favor of permitting pool selling was well organized, while the opposition was confined chiefly to the columns of the newspapers and the Ministerial Union. Later invocations of the power of the initiative have produced varying results which will be referred to in describing the events occurring after the fire. It is significant, however, that this first effort was made prior to the election of Schmitz, and the idea suggests itself that the looseness of thought respecting what is called an "open town," had already reached an advanced stage of development before the workingman's mayor sought to make San Francisco the Paris of America.

Acquisition
of Public
Utilities

Undoubtedly the most important of the innovations of the charter adopted in 1898 was that providing for the acquisition and operation of public utilities. James D. Phelan during his first administration as mayor had urged this policy, and the freeholders embodied it in the new organic law. As the reader of these pages is aware there had been many earnest efforts to acquire a municipal water supply, all of which, however, failed, not because there was no effective mode of bringing about that result, but rather on account of the hostility of the people to the Spring Valley Company in whose interest it was assumed every proposition that the City should purchase and operate its own plant was supposed to have been made. About the time of the adoption of the charter this fear had in a measure been allayed by the belief that a supply wholly independent of Spring valley could be obtained by resorting to the Sierra, and it was assumed that by providing the necessary legal sanction for acquiring and operating a municipal water plant, there would be no difficulty whatever attending the creation of a system which would meet the requirements of the metropolis for an indefinite period. The fact that the Spring Valley Water Company had practically monopolized the available reser-



GENERAL VIEW OF MIDWINTER EXPOSITION, IN GOLDEN GATE PARK, 1894

voir sites on the peninsula was not wholly lost sight of, but its importance was minimized.

There was no ambiguity in the provision respecting the acquirement and operation of public utilities, and the discussion of the policy or impolicy of municipalities owning and operating public service corporations had been carried on for some time in the newspapers, but in 1898 the subject had not yet become one of burning importance. It did not reach that stage until after the sale of the Market street system of street railways to the Baltimore syndicate in the fall of 1901. Prior to that year there were a few active advocates of the construction and operation of the Geary street railroad whose franchise would expire in 1907, but their position and number did not have sufficient weight to move any of the parties striving for control of the municipal government to declare in favor of the City owning and operating a railway until the alien holding organization which bought out the local capitalists came in conflict with its employees. The friction produced by these labor disputes gained a large support for the policy of municipal ownership of other utilities than the supply of water and culminated finally, after several failures, in securing the necessary two-thirds vote to authorize the issuance of bonds, to enable the City to enter upon the construction of the Geary street railway. The vicissitudes attending the carrying out of the enterprise will be described later.

Another movement closely touching the administration of the municipality was inaugurated in San Francisco in 1904. There had been discussion of a desultory character concerning the desirability of changing the taxation methods of the state, and efforts had been made to substitute for the then mode of taxing the railways a tax on the gross receipts of such corporations. An amendment to that effect had been submitted by the legislature many years earlier, and was rejected by the people, who were justifiably suspicious, as the rate proposed was extremely low, and the difficulties of raising it in the event of the amount produced by the tax proving inadequate being almost insurmountable. In 1904, at the instance of Professor C. C. Plehn of the University of California, the Commonwealth Club, which had been formed in the previous year, took up the matter, and assisted in creating an opinion favorable to the change. After repeated discussions and investigations made under the guidance of Plehn, who was acting in an official capacity, the club finally adopted a recommendation in favor of "the abandonment of the attempt to tax all forms of property for the support of each and all departments of government by a single and uniform system." It also favored the abandonment of the attempt to support both the state and local governments from taxes derived from the same sources of revenue, and urged the separation of state from municipal systems of taxation. It required several years to effect the change which was not accomplished until the people were thoroughly assured that the railroads would not escape their share of the burden of supporting the government.

In this resume of the main political factors operating in San Francisco during the period described it has been impossible to even glance at the mass of ordinances enacted by the successive boards of supervisors. They constitute a vast body of regulative matter filling pages, and which, if gathered and printed would require a much larger space than will be devoted in these volumes to an effort to note the changes which have affected the growth of the City, and the manner and life of its people. The charter with its various amendments and brief references to de-

Construction
of Municipal
Street Rail-
way Author-
ized

Agitation
for Separation
of State
and Municipal
Taxation

Countless
Regulations
and Ordinances

bated provisions is in itself a formidable book. There are numerous volumes containing the opinions of various city attorneys. Year after year the operations of the different departments of the municipality have been set forth in bulky tomes which few read when they were first issued, and from which only an interesting note can now and then be extracted, but whose financial intricacies would defy the efforts of the most accomplished expert to unravel. From them may be gathered a list of the officials who have served and those who have betrayed the interests of the City, but the acutest critic would be unable in nine cases out of ten to separate the good from the bad. And if the latter feat could be achieved no benefit would be derived from its performance. Men play their little part which in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases is cut out for them by circumstances. They are the creatures of their environment and their sins oftener than otherwise are those of the whole community. No one can study the history of San Francisco without reaching that conclusion; nor can the conviction be escaped that if a reformation of municipal political methods is to be effected it must be preceded by a reformation of the people, not merely of the cities but of the country and the nation.

Complexities
Produced
by Urban
Development

The most of the shortcomings of urban communities can be traced to the propensity of the weak and inefficient, of the unwilling worker and the ambitious and capable to make their way to the crowded centers carrying with them one dominant hope—that of getting through life more comfortably and with less toil than in those places where exacting Nature demands incessant effort. If this were not true it would be easy to determine why a people continually agitated by reform movements, some of them almost revolutionary in character, should at one period ferment and stew, and at another be as dormant as a hibernating bear. The annals of a peaceful village present, as a rule, an unbroken record of civic virtue. A dominating personality or two direct its course and trouble is reduced to a minimum. In the City conflicting interests produce complexities which baffle the understanding of the most acute observers of political conditions and call forth innumerable contradictory explanations. Like the so called financial crises they appear to be due to a state of mind oftener than otherwise produced by economic causes. The intimate connection of national politics, and the prosperous or depressed condition of the country has often been noted, but few have sought to establish a relation between the economic conditions of a great city and its fluctuations between civic virtue and corruption. Perhaps there may be exceptions to the rule, but San Francisco's experience seems to demonstrate that if the ardor for good municipal government had been as intense in times of great prosperity as in those of adversity much of its history would be written in different terms.



ELECTRICAL EFFECTS AT MIDWINTER EXPOSITION IN 1894

CHAPTER LX

FREQUENT ALTERNATIONS OF ACTIVITY AND DEPRESSION

INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITY EFFECTIVE—PROGRESS IN SPITE OF POLITICAL DRAWBACKS—ADVERSITY AND PROSPERITY WELL BALANCED—GRIEVANCES SOON FORGOTTEN—GREAT INCREASE IN SAVINGS BANKS DEPOSITS—RESOURCES OF COMMERCIAL BANKS ENLARGED—ACTIVITY FOLLOWS SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR—THE MIDWINTER FAIR OF 1894—THE RAILROAD RIOTS OF 1894—TRANSMUTING CLIMATE INTO GOLD—SAN FRANCISCO HARSHLY CRITICIZED—THE KLONDIKE GOLD DISCOVERY AND THE RUSH TO ALASKA—A MILD REVIVAL OF MINING SPECULATION—HYDRAULIC MINING STOPPED BY COURTS—GOLD DREDGING—EXPANSION OF GENERAL MINING INDUSTRY—AGRICULTURE—RAPID URBAN DEVELOPMENT—IMPEDIMENTS TO MANUFACTURING GROWTH—FIGURES THAT DECEIVED—TRADES UNION RESTRICTIONS—MANUFACTURES IN 1904—IMPORTANCE OF HARBOR RECOGNIZED—HARBOR COMMISSION A POLITICAL MACHINE—CORRUPTION AND WASTE ON WATER FRONT—CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FORMULATE PLANS OF IMPROVEMENT—IMPROVED SHIPPING FACILITIES—HAWAIIAN AND ALASKAN TRADE—FAILURE OF A BIG WHEAT DEAL—LUMBER AND COAL TRADE—THE OIL INDUSTRY—DOMESTIC SHIPPING INDUSTRY—THE UNION IRON WORKS—WAR SHIPS BUILT—OTHER SHIPBUILDING CONCERNS.



HE political histories of municipalities, like those of states when they are allowed to occupy too much attention may easily convey the impression that the people are chiefly occupied in quarreling about the method of regulating their affairs, and that the net result of their disputes is confusion and ineffectiveness. Compared with other achievements of men, those accomplished when acting

Collective and
Individual
Activities
Contrasted

in a collective capacity do not show up favorably. The management of the affairs of a municipality such as San Francisco was at opening of the fiscal year 1912, when a budget was framed which provided for the expenditure of a sum a little in excess of \$15,000,000, deserves to be considered as important, but after all the combined operations of the City seem insignificant, viewed from a business standpoint, when contrasted with the multitudinous activities of the community which in the course of the year reach a total approaching two and a half billions of dollars. Some one has intimated that if permitted to write the songs of a people he could come nearer to shaping their destinies than law makers. He might do so now and have them set to the best or most popular ragtime music without achieving any political result of consequence. The campaign song, like the torchlight procession, has gone out of fashion and will never regain its oldtime

potency. But there is one custom which does not weaken with age, and that is the habit of politicians drawing on the provident. It is from the latter that the means to carry on government must be derived. No matter what subtleties of argument may be advanced to prove that in the last resort the people generally bear the burden of taxation, the fact remains that it is the thrifty who are called upon to settle with the tax collector, and it is the energies of that class, and the skill with which they use their opportunities, that determine whether a city shall progress or retrograde. England, until recently, was undisputably preeminent in the commercial world, and her name will go down in history as a great empire builder, yet her publicists are in the habit of complaining that her statesmen are constantly blundering, and that their mistakes cost the country dearly, yet in some manner the nation manages to "muddle through" its troubles, and in the end things come out all right.

Progress
Despite
Political
Drawbacks

Turning from the ineffectiveness of city governments, and closing our eyes to contemporary complaints, and concentrating our attention on the accomplishments of the people as a whole, the most captious critic will find little in the record as made up to justify adverse criticism. Like the sea which is troubled at times, San Francisco has had its storms, but when they had passed the damage wrought was found to be infinitesimal, comparatively speaking. One hundred years hence, if the historian chooses to take a comprehensive survey, he may find it as easy to pass over the vicissitudes of the first sixty years or so of the Pacific coast metropolis, as the chroniclers of nations do when they condense into a paragraph the story of an unwarlike period, and convey to their readers an impression of continuous advancement by showing that the population had increased, and that the wealth of the people was greater at the end than at the beginning.

Mutability
of Human
Opinion

Universal history is necessarily treated in that fashion, and when the infinitude of incident in the daily life of the people of a city is considered, much of which absorbs public attention one day and is forgotten the next, the question arises whether any particular benefit or even amusement is derived from recounting blunders and sufferings. If it could be shown with such positiveness that there could be no dispute, that the departures from the normal were real mistakes, a moral might be pointed, the force of which would serve to regulate conduct in the future; but no such consensus of opinion can be hoped for in the present stage of human progress. The only real purpose served by detailed recital is the possibility that its presentation will establish the mutability of human opinion, and that it may suggest that it is the part of wisdom to refrain from innovation until the proposed change has been considered in all its aspects, and especially to avoid a seeming novelty which has already been tried without producing the expected result.

Adversity
and Prosperity
Well
Balanced

But there is no possibility of difference of opinion being engendered by recounting the ups and downs of trade and the drawbacks to which life in a great and growing city is subjected. Mankind considered in the large is philosophic. Its accumulated experiences, while not rendering it indifferent to disaster makes it rise superior to all vicissitudes. There are calamities which would be appalling if consciousness of the ability to repair them did not exist; therefore it is well for a people to know all that their predecessors have passed through in order that no difficulty may seem insurmountable. This information to be reassuring must embrace the prosaic recital of the good fortunes of the community as well



NATIVE SONS HALL,
Before the Fire
ST. LUKE'S CHURCH,
Before the Fire

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
Before the Fire
OLD HALL OF JUSTICE,
Destroyed by the Fire

as the story of its misfortunes. The recovery from a mercantile depression, or relief from oppression, as a rule, is not much dwelt upon. While times are bad the air is filled with complaints; when they are good men go about their affairs contentedly, and have little to say, and that little, if it partakes of the nature of gratulation, is easily mistaken for what is called "booming." But the record of these felicitous periods is essential to a correct understanding of what the people have gone through, and it is fortunate for the peace of mind of succeeding generations that San Francisco's banking and other institutions in their reports present abundant evidence that the days of adversity have been well balanced by those of prosperity.

In a previous chapter the effects of the currency troubles at the East in 1893 were dwelt upon. It was shown that the close relations established with the people on the other side of the Rocky Mountains had created a condition on the Pacific coast which made business in San Francisco as sensitive to the influences affecting the centers of the Atlantic seaboard as though the City were one of them. The agitation which preceded the construction of the San Joaquin valley railroad was described at some length, and the temporary closing of many banks whose solvency was beyond question was brought out. The figures showing the shrinkage of mercantile business, and the labor troubles of the period were dwelt upon. The data for these descriptions was abundant. The newspapers were filled with accounts of the differences between labor and capital and of the disorders ensuing in consequence; column after column was devoted to the complaints by merchants of the oppressive tactics of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, and with plans to escape from its clutches. Pamphlets, voluminous reports and even books were published to emphasize the difficulties of the situation. If they had survived, unaccompanied by other evidence, it would have been impossible to draw any other inference than that the City was in an acute state of pessimism. But as will be shown later, there was no serious interruption of the social or other activities, and that in some directions they were actually extended during what seemed the darkest moments.

Concerning this recrudescence to better times the literature is comparatively scant. Much is left to be inferred. A book was published to extol the uprising of the merchants and their demand for a railroad which would penetrate the great interior valley, and thus create the conditions which would compel San Francisco to make the best possible use of its splendid harbor facilities, but the sequel promised never appeared. With the disappearance of the monetary troubles, and the recovery from the depression the grievance of two or three years earlier was forgotten, and only a slight sensation was created when the project to put San Francisco in a position to compel the transcontinental railroads to respect its competitive facilities was abandoned in 1895, and it was seen that all the hullabaloo was raised for the purpose of procuring entrance to the City for a member of the Transcontinental Association. It is not probable that any considerable number of those who primarily interested themselves in the San Joaquin valley railroad project were conscious that they were being used to carry through a clever scheme of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Company, but on the other hand it is nearly certain that there were some who did, and who thought the method adopted was justifiable.

Clouds With
Silver Linings

Grievances
Soon For-
gotten

Santa Fe
Secures
Entrance
to San
Francisco

The Southern Pacific for years had used its power unscrupulously to exclude all rivals from San Francisco and it was only by a resort to some such device as that adopted that a transcontinental railroad could hope to gain its object. The Santa Fe had succeeded in reaching the southern part of the state but was practically halted at Mojave. Any open movement to accomplish its purpose would have been frustrated by the tools of the Southern Pacific in office. Its rival comprehended this perfectly, and as in the case of other places where obstacles had been placed in its way it succeeded in overcoming them by finesse rather than by making a direct attack. In this instance it took advantage of the quarrel between the shippers and the Southern Pacific, and converted what was ostensibly put forward as a purely local undertaking into a part of its transcontinental railway system, and incidentally secured terminal facilities of great value on the water front which it might have failed to obtain under other circumstances. When it finally developed that the San Joaquin valley railroad was to be turned over to the Santa Fe there was little adverse criticism. People took the liberty of doubting the assertions of those who declared that such a course was made necessary by the discovery of the alleged fact that the road could not be made to pay. No effort had been made to test the possibilities, and there were no signs that there ever was any intention to do so. Nevertheless, despite what appeared to be sharp practice, there was general satisfaction with the outcome and a disposition to believe that the entrance of a rival road into the City would furnish competition of service even though no other beneficial result ensued. The connection of the Santa Fe with the Transcontinental Association was ignored, and the arguments urged when the San Joaquin valley road scheme was first mooted were speedily forgotten. The members of the Traffic Association ceased to be keen concerning the desirability of making it impossible for the overland roads by their machinations to destroy competition, and taking it all together there was a strong disposition to make the best of conditions, and to even think that they were likely to be greatly improved.

Passing of
the Business
Depression

How much of this complacency was due to the fact that there were signs of the passing of the business depression it would be difficult to state, but the indifference synchronized with the return of prosperity. The clearings of the banks of the City, which had fallen from \$892,426,712 in 1891, to \$658,526,806 in 1894, in the latter half of that year began to increase in volume and in 1895 they amounted to \$692,079,240. From that time forward to the eve of the great calamity in 1906 there was a constant expansion. In 1902 clearings were double those of 1894, reaching \$1,373,362,025, and in 1905 they aggregated \$1,834,549,788. The bank clearings of a city can sometimes be made to represent a condition that does not exist, but in San Francisco, owing to the practice of settling daily balances in coin, and to the fact that there is much conservatism in the use of checks, the habit of making collections by calling on debtors being retained, the volume of business is under rather than overstated by clearing house footings.

Savings
Banks
Deposits
Increase

Although there were many industrial disturbances between 1895 and 1906 the condition of the laborer must have been vastly improved, for the deposits in the savings banks and the operations of those institutions clearly demonstrated that the workers were laying by money, and that many of them were investing in small properties and providing themselves with homes. The deposits in the San Francisco savings institutions which had dropped from \$55,871,000 in 1875 to

\$42,323,000 in 1881, increased from the latter figure to \$63,154,000 in 1888. After that date they continued to mount steadily until 1892, when they fell off some, but after 1895 they again began to reflect the prosperity of the City, reaching \$115,588,000 in 1900, and in 1906 they totalled the large sum of \$169,538,000. These figures hardly convey their full significance unless accompanied by comparisons which show that no other city in the Union could make near so good an exhibit, and that San Francisco at that date was the great financial reservoir of the state. Outside of the City the combined deposits of all the savings banks in 1906 was only \$91,756,000, as against the \$169,538,000 in those of the metropolis.

The condition of the commercial banks was equally indicative of the increasing expansion of business. In 1896 the resources of financial institutions of that class in the City amounted to \$68,339,005 and the deposits to \$30,178,548; in 1906 the former had increased to \$157,156,723, and the deposits to \$101,901,692. The major part of this expansion occurred after the year 1900, the resources rising from \$76,543,241 in that year to \$157,156,723 and the deposits from \$46,270,737 to \$101,901,692. The creation of banks as well as the condition of those existing at a given time, may be regarded as a sure sign of the general diffusion of prosperity. For several years prior to 1906 owners of capital manifested no strong disposition to embark in the banking business. In the late Eighties and during the Nineties a few institutions were added to those already doing business, among them the California National bank, which had a brief career of one year, failing in December, 1888. In 1893 the Union Trust Company was formed with I. W. Hellman as president. It was first classed as a savings bank. The Columbian Banking Company was organized in the same year; the Swiss American in 1896, and the Italian American by A. Sharbono and a number of friends in 1890. The Mercantile Trust Company was incorporated with a \$1,000,000 capital in that year. In 1901 the Yokohama Specie, the Western National and the Canadian Bank of Commerce were added to the list. A couple of years later several euphemeral concerns started and were closed after a brief career. In 1905 there was a rush for bank privileges. Some of the institutions created at that time perished in the stringency of 1907, and others were forced out of business by the requirements of a new banking law.

Much of this activity was attributed to the Spanish-American war in 1898, when San Francisco became the great depot for troops and supplies destined for the Philippines. A camp was established in the district bounded by the park, and stretching northward towards California street and west of Laurel hill cemetery. Recruits from all parts of the country were assembled there and prepared for the field. A city of tents covered the unoccupied tract which a few years later became one of the chief residential sections of the City. A large commissary and quartermaster's depot was established, and a transport service started with frequent sailings. During the entire period of hostilities there was much activity and bustle, and the City took on a military air. The streets were enlivened with soldiers passing to and fro, and there was incessant movement. At this period, however, no trade was carried on with the Philippines excepting that of supplying the troops dispatched to the islands to conquer and hold them; but subsequently a commerce of considerable importance, much of which passes through San Francisco, was created, but it did not attain proportions of consequence until after the fire of 1906. San Francisco exhibited its patriotism in a marked fashion during

Increasing
Resources of
Commercial
Banks

Activity
Follows
Spanish-
American War

the continuance of hostilities. It contributed more than its proportion of volunteers to the cause, and its inhabitants, perhaps because of their keen appreciation of what the future might bring forth, took a livelier interest in the fortunes of the war than those of most other sections of the Union.

Recovery
of Business
Precedes
the War

But it would be a mistake to date the recovery of San Francisco from the depression of 1893 to causes operating as late as 1898. There were other circumstances which tended to bring about the better state which was reflected in the increased clearings of the banks after 1896. It is true that the needs of the troops were largely supplied with the products of the great interior valley, but their demands after all were inconsiderable compared with those which were made upon California by the people of the East, who were coming more and more to depend upon California for their supplies of fruits of all kinds, and various other products. The rural population was increasing with tolerable rapidity in consequence of the enlarged opportunities which the breaking up of the big ranches afforded, and the City was feeling the impulse caused by the increase. In 1894 in the midst of the depression a fair was held in San Francisco which by the audacity of its conception and the time chosen for holding it procured for the state a great deal of advertising of a desirable character. The project owed its inception to M. H. de Young, proprietor of the San Francisco "Chronicle," who had been appointed a commissioner to, and was acting as vice president of the Columbian Exposition in 1893, and who while in Chicago in that year conceived the idea of holding an exhibition in San Francisco at the conclusion of that at Chicago.

Midwinter
Fair of
1894

The suggestion was favorably received by the people of San Francisco. A sum of money exceeding \$350,000 was raised by subscriptions of private citizens, but no aid of any sort was extended to the enterprise by the state or municipality. As the main purpose of the exhibit was to emphasize the climatic attractions of the City and state the name Midwinter Fair was bestowed upon it. The committee called into existence at a public meeting elected M. H. de Young director general, and he devoted his attention to making the affair a success. Although preparations for the event were only begun on August 24, 1893, when in the presence of seventy or eighty thousand people the first shovelful of earth in the work of grading was thrown, operations were pursued with such vigor that on the announced day of opening, January 1, 1894, the buildings and grounds were in readiness and most of the installations of exhibits were made. The inclosure of the fair embraced an area of nearly two hundred acres in Golden Gate park, within which were constructed over a hundred buildings, all of which were erected within a period of five months. The main buildings were only excelled in size by those of the two great exhibitions hitherto held in the United States, and the displays made were attractive and interesting although absolutely no assistance was rendered by the federal government, some departments of which actually placed obstacles in the way of success by creating difficulties for foreign exhibitors at Chicago who desired to transfer their exhibits to San Francisco.

Fair Proves
a Financial
Success

The portion of the park selected for holding the exposition was at the time a waste of sand dunes and scrub brush, and the jealous custodians of the people's pleasure ground were reluctant to change its appearance, but the pressure of public opinion compelled them to yield. The outcome was the conversion of one of the most forbidding parts of the park into what is now conceded to be its



BATTLESHIP "OREGON" ON DAY OF RETURN TO PACIFIC COAST AND SAN FRANCISCO
AFTER THE FAMOUS RUN TO SANTIAGO



THE FERRY "OAKLAND" CROSSING THE BAY

most attractive section. The main buildings were erected about the depression now surrounded by the classic music stand, the Japanese tea garden, the Midwinter Fair Memorial Museum and walks and drives which are made interesting by statuary and other attractive objects. The amount subscribed by the citizens was \$361,000, but before the gates were opened the committee had made improvements which cost over \$730,000, and concessionaires and counties, and the Pacific coast states had also expended large amounts. Up to the date of the final closing of the gates on July 9, 1894, the attendance aggregated 2,255,551. The affair was admirably financed and interest was maintained from first to last by a succession of entertainments which attracted large numbers of people despite the fact that the business depression throughout the country was very severe, and that there were other things to distract popular attention. The museum, as its name implies, is a reminder of the success of the exposition. The surplus was devoted to adding to the collection installed within its walls shortly after the closing of the fair, and to this work M. H. de Young devoted untiring attention for years.

It was designed to formally close the Midwinter Fair on the Fourth of July, and an attendance of 120,000 was confidently expected, but the admissions only reached 79,082 owing to the distracted state of the public mind induced by the railroad strike troubles in the East which had assumed alarming proportions, and finally necessitated the calling out of the National Guard of San Francisco. The strike began during May, 1894, in the shops of the Pullman Car Company and rapidly extended to the coast, a sympathetic strike being ordered by the American Railway Union which took the form of the railroad men refusing to handle Pullman coaches. The sympathetic strike commenced June 26, and on July 2 a sweeping injunction was granted by the federal courts against Debs, president of the American Railway Union, and others, restraining them from obstructing the United States mails, but before this time the conditions in Chicago had become so riotous that Cleveland ordered 2,000 federal troops to that city. The situation in Illinois was aggravated by the attitude of the socialistic Governor Altgeld, who protested against the sending of United States soldiers to Chicago, but the president firmly maintained his position and declared that he was acting strictly in accordance with the constitution of the United States.

This state of affairs created uneasiness throughout the whole country, particularly in railroad centers. The ferment in San Francisco was very marked and caused much uneasiness, but no overt acts were committed in the City other than the seizure and stoppage of the ferry steamers of the broad and narrow gauge lines of the Southern Pacific. A resisting engineer was killed, but the railroad officials made no resistance, and even advised the telegraph operators on the Oakland mole to abandon their stations to avoid friction. The closure of the ferries occurred on the Fourth of July, and the result was the practical interruption of all traffic. Much fruit was wasted, and great losses occurred in consequence. There were no mails for several days, and the excitement became intense as the conditions grew worse in the East. On the 6th of July there was desperate rioting in Chicago and on the 7th the police fired upon the mobs in that city, and on the next day the soldiers were forced to take the same stand.

In Sacramento an equally desperate condition was created. H. A. Knox, who was at the head of the American Railway Union in that city, announced that

Railroad
Riots of
1894

Riot and
Disorder in
Chicago

Trouble in
Sacramento

the strike would not be raised unless the Pullman Company returned to the rate of wages paid in 1893, and demanded that unless this was done the Southern Pacific should abrogate its contract with the sleeping car organization. On the 9th of July the situation appeared so grave that the regulars at San Francisco were ordered to cooperate with the militia. In one or two cases companies of the latter had refused to respond to the call to suppress the riots at Sacramento, and federal troops were dispatched to that city. On July 11th a train containing a number of soldiers who were en route to Sacramento was wrecked and five were killed. This occurred near the capital and was caused by loosening a rail, and weakening the timbers of a trestle over which the train had to pass. The dastardly act was undoubtedly instigated by Knox, as was shown at a trial subsequently held in Yolo county in which he was accused of the crime. He and a man named Warden, although the proof against them was strong, were not convicted, the jury disagreeing. On the day following the wrecking of the train regular troops reached Sacramento, and on the 13th they fired into a crowd which would not leave the freight yards of the Southern Pacific when ordered to do so. One man was killed and another wounded in this collision. On the 15th the Pullman strikers declared their readiness to abandon the strike, and on the same day a train was wrecked on the western division of the Central Pacific road. On the 22d of July the strike was declared off.

Low Prices
Cause of
Troubles

It is perhaps unwise to introduce vexed economic questions into a narrative of events in San Francisco, but it may serve to emphasize the fact that men are apt to err in their judgment respecting the causes which produce business depressions or create the opposite condition of prosperity by calling attention to certain phenomena. If a consensus of opinion at any particular time has value, that existing in 1894 may be quoted to show that the belief was very general at that time that the low prices which rendered production unprofitable was at the bottom of the troubles of the period. The attempt to reduce wages on the Pullman system was defended, so far as any attempt was made by the corporation to explain its position, on the ground that the depression had caused such a falling off of traffic that such a step was rendered necessary. At the same time it was accompanied by a showing that the cost of living had greatly declined, and that the proposed reduction was more than offset by the lessened price of all sorts of consumable goods. The price lists of the period between 1873 and 1894 fully substantiate this claim, but they will not be quoted here, and the fact is merely referred to in order to emphasize the assertion that human judgment is fallible, and that men are very apt to err when they disregard the experiences of the past in their effort to find an explanation of present troubles.

Transmuting
Climate
Into Gold

There are so many factors in the progress or retrogression of communities, it is impossible to decide with certainty which operate the most potently. It is not improbable that the one least regarded, or sometimes most deprecated, may be the really important one contributing to the growth of a city in wealth. For some years prior to 1893 the city of Los Angeles had been attracting attention because of its pronounced change of attitude towards all that was practical. It had in earlier years been almost a negligible factor in the history and growth of California. Its own people had fallen into the habit of deriding the very optimism which subsequently made it the wonder city of California, and of the nation. But a change came over their spirit, and years after San Diego had sought to

convert climate into cash, Los Angeles with the aid of her orange trees succeeded where her more southerly rival had failed. The lure of the citrus grove soon made itself felt. It proved as powerful an appeal to the imagination of the Middle West, as Goethe's pictures of Italy, as the land where the orange blossom grows did to sentimental Germans. But the strangers from Iowa, Wisconsin and the other states that have contributed so largely to the growth of Los Angeles carried with them to their new home something else than their imagination. They took with them the spirit of enterprise, and the *dolce far niente* feeling vanished before it as the snow does when kissed by the ardent sun. Los Angeles, from the slowest place on the footstool was suddenly converted into the briskest. There was a real boom, but it was based on something else than mere talk. The boomers traded in prospects, but the purchasers were not deceived. They bought climate and they transmuted it into gold.

San Francisco
Subjected to
Criticism

San Francisco had so long occupied the center of the stage in California that some of her people had come to imagine that any one seeking to share it with her was an intruder, and some were so shortsighted that they fancied the rivalry contained a menace, but the number of that sort was comparatively few. Many of the prominent business men of San Francisco seized the opportunity to extend their operations in the growing town, and the visiting San Franciscans saw many familiar signs on the prominent streets and realized that what appeared to be rivalry was merely expansion from which all who were smart enough to do so would be able to profit. But this recognition did not soften the criticism of the interior press which was decidedly disposed to indulge in injurious comparisons, and did not hesitate to say that San Francisco was suffering from the retention of pioneer habits of doing business, and that it would not move forward until it shook them off and adopted methods more in consonance with those of the close of the century. The thrusts of the critics were sharp, and while their effect was not noted at the time they undoubtedly contributed much to the awakening of the spirit which toward the close of the Nineties superseded that which the dollar limit and the general disposition to take things as they came had fastened on the City for many years.

Rivalry
Promotes
Growth of
City

The reawakening which followed 1895 was by no means an abandonment of the conservatism which had always marked the development of the City. If there was a boom San Franciscans refused to recognize it by that name; nor did they consent to adopt methods which were pursued in the rival city. They realized that the value of real estate was beginning to appreciate with rapidity, but they persisted in their sober fashion of recording transfers without attempting to advertise the advance. Nominal considerations were expressed in deeds and the tricks of the inflationist were avoided. These quiet methods, however, did not conceal the change that was occurring. There were plenty of transactions, the significance of which were appreciated abroad as well as at home, and the erstwhile critics were impelled to remark that the City was "getting a move on." Curiously enough these critics did not seem to realize that San Franciscans were not profiting at the expense of rivals, but profiting because there were rivals and because the rivalry was filling up not only the state but all the region along the Pacific coast upon which the development of San Francisco depends, and without which the City could never occupy the great position destiny had marked out for her.

Growth of
Northern
Coast Cities

One of the misconceptions of this sort which arose in the middle of the Nineties was that growing out of the rush to the Klondike which did so much to promote the development of Seattle and other cities of the Pacific Northwest. As in the case of Los Angeles ill natured critics remarked the obvious fact that the Sound cities were growing with great rapidity, and drew the conclusion that their growth was at the expense of San Francisco, ignoring what was patent to all observers, that the prosperity of Seattle, Portland, Tacoma and the other assumed rivals was contributing to the prosperity of the metropolis. At the time attention was wholly concentrated on the direct trade which suddenly developed. It had its spectacular features, and it is not surprising that a people once accustomed to monopolizing the fruits, as well as suffering the injuries from mining rushes, should have overlooked the contingent possibilities in considering those immediately apparent.

The Hunt
for Minerals
in Alaska

From the time of the acquisition of Alaska San Francisco had been the chief factor in the development of its resources. The capital for exploiting the fur seal and fisheries industries had been supplied by business men of the City, and the commerce created was largely enjoyed by its merchants. There was a great deal of confidence in the mineral possibilities of the new territory, and considerable prospecting had been done at intervals long before the discoveries made in the Klondike region of British Columbia. As early as 1867 a man named Culver had found gold in the neighborhood of the Taku inlet, but on attempting to lead a party to the place where he had made the discovery, his mind, owing to hardships previously endured, gave way, and he was unable to relocate his find. In 1879 placer gold was found by Joe Juneau and Dick Harris near Silver Bow not far from Taku, and there was a rush to that place and something like \$150,000 was taken out. Several years later silver prospects were found on Galivan bay and an expedition was fitted out in this City by Captain A. M. Brown, to work the mine, but the falling price of the white metal put a damper on the enterprise.

Discovery
of Gold in the
Klondike

The hardy prospectors were confident that plenty of gold existed in the interior, but the warlike Chilkoots interposed obstacles to their search for the metal, and it was not until 1880 that they managed to cross the mountain range which was named after that Indian tribe. In the Eighties there were several important discoveries, and after the year 1886 men were taking out \$100 on the American side of the line, but the output was not on a scale important enough to arouse the attention of the world until about ten years later. In 1896 a squaw man named George Carmack while prospecting a "moose pasture" in the Klondike country found a creek filled with nuggets. The report of his find spread rapidly but was received with incredulity by many of the prospectors in Alaska. There were some, however, who believed the story and made their way to the newly reported diggings. They were extremely fortunate and a year later when they reached San Francisco with a half a million in gold dust and nuggets a rush at once ensued.

The Rush
to the
New Mines

By the middle of August, 1897, the rush was under full headway. Despite the changes in the City since the days of the Fraser river excitement, many venturesome men in the community were lured by the prospects, and parties were fitted out to brave the hazards of the new region. The newspapers sent special correspondents to describe the scenes, and report conditions, but the accounts they sent back of many difficulties which had to be overcome in reaching the new golconda, although accompanied by photographs which vividly supported their narrations,



PIONEER FOUNTAIN, MASON AND MARKET
STREETS, BEFORE THE FIRE



ROW OF BUILDINGS AT ELLIS AND TAYLOR STREETS BEFORE THE FIRE
Compare with the new buildings in that district

had no deterrent effect and the excitement continued to increase. The first objective of these parties was usually the Klondike, but it was not long before attention was directed to the entire region, and adventurous men were exploring in every direction. The country bordering on the Arctic was penetrated and the conviction grew rapidly that the entire Alaskan region was well mineralized. During the continuance of the Klondike rush the scenes of the earlier days were in a measure revived in San Francisco. Men in miners' costumes could be seen on the streets, and the talk was all about the marvelous finds and the prospects of Alaska proving another California. The stories of the adventures and hardships endured by the prospectors printed in the daily press and duly illustrated formed the principal topic of conversation, and interested everybody, because San Francisco had contributed a great proportion of the large number who had made their way to the remote diggings.

The effect on business was very marked. There was an enhanced demand for many of the peculiar products of California, and while the Puget Sound ports at once came into prominence because of their proximity, and enjoyed a remarkable development in consequence, their good fortune was by no means at the expense of the metropolis, for the indirect traffic with Alaska continued to expand while the direct trade with the growing states of Washington and Oregon grew still more rapidly. The creation of this new commerce, while vastly beneficial to San Francisco and the whole Pacific coast, was by no means the only benefit derived from the discovery of the Klondike placers and the subsequent opening of the different gold fields in Alaska. Far more important was the result of the attention which was drawn to resources other than the precious metals. Very soon it began to be realized that the fisheries of the waters of the territory were inexhaustible sources of wealth, whose output could be made to rival those of the placer diggings and the quartz mines which were known to exist, and some of which were being opened and later developed into producers on a large scale. It took but a few years to bring the nation to a realization of the importance of Alaska. But while the people generally have some acquaintance with its value, and have made some use of its resources, bungling theorists have placed obstacles in the way of their development which is reserved for the future.

The Alaskan discoveries and the development of trade with that territory had been preceded by a revival of interest in gold mining in California. Speculation in mining stocks had almost ceased during the Eighties, and in 1901 the professionals practically gave up the game. In that year the Pacific Stock Exchange building and lot which had cost \$644,000 when erected during the Comstock boom was offered for sale for \$400,000, but owing to some complications caused by the improper draughting of the articles of incorporation no purchaser could be found. These hindrances were finally disposed of and the property was sold in 1893 for \$300,000, and a dividend of \$3,200 for each seat was declared. This transaction was commented upon at the time as sounding the death knell of mining speculation in California, but there was a subsequent revival in 1905 when the discoveries in the Tonopah, Nevada, region gave a renewed impetus to the buying and selling of mining stocks, and the seats of brokers in the Pacific Board of Brokers which had sold at \$500 and even as low as \$200 advanced in value until they were appraised as high as \$5,750.

Alaska's
Varied
Resources

Mild Revival
of Mining
Speculations

Hydraulic
Mining
Stopped by
Courts

Although there were no speculative features connected with the mining industry during the interval between the collapse of the Sierra Nevada boom and the Tonopah revival in 1905 the work of taking out gold proceeded, and while the output of the earlier years, when the placers were yielding their riches, was no longer approached the mines were steadily contributing to the wealth of the state. In the legislature of 1875-76 the agricultural interests of the Sacramento valley started a crusade against hydraulic mining which subsequently resulted in putting an end to that method of obtaining gold. A special commission appointed at the instance of the legislature of 1877-8 made an investigation of the complaints which were chiefly directed against the practice of filling the streams with detritus, thus causing floods with accompanying destruction of lands by covering them with "slickens." It was also claimed that there was an impairment of the navigability of the Sacramento and its tributaries due to hydraulicking operations. In 1881 Governor Perkins sent a special message to the legislature in which he described the ineffectual methods adopted to deal with the evil. Dams had been built which were designed to restrain the debris, but they were washed out and finally, after litigation inaugurated by antagonistic farmers the supreme court decided in their favor, and the practice of washing down mountain sides with the powerful monitors had to be abandoned.

Successful
Gold
Dredging
Operations

No gold was derived through hydraulic methods for many years, but the precious metal was known to exist in many places, and after a period of attempted evasions of the processes of the courts ingenious men set to work to devise other means of extracting it from the gravel beds. Many machines were tried and in 1898 the present dredger, which is doing such efficient work, began to be used. The machine is a large and expensive affair, some of those in use costing as much as a quarter of a million dollars. Their method of operation has entirely removed the objectionable feature of filling the streams with debris, but the soil they work over presents the appearance of a field of boulders after the gold has been washed out. The question has been raised whether this alleged destruction of more or less fertile soil is compensated for by the gold that is obtained, but as the dredgers are worked wholly on land acquired by purchase the courts have not sought to interfere with the process. It is claimed that the worked over lands may be re-fertilized, and that they can be used for fruit growing. Experiments to demonstrate that this can be done have been made near Oroville and they have been attended with a degree of success. The gold product of the state, which had fallen as low as \$11,212,913 in 1889, and remained almost stationary for several years, began to increase after 1893, when it was a little over twelve millions. In 1895 the output reached \$15,334,317, and an annual average of about that amount was maintained until 1901 when the product reached \$16,989,044, and in the year immediately preceding the fire it was close to twenty millions.

San Francisco
and the
Hydraulic
Mines

A great deal of the capital invested in the hydraulicking operations was supplied by San Franciscans, and their interests sometimes came in conflict with those which should have been considered paramount. The reports of engineers and hydrographic surveyors clearly established that the so called "slickens" or debris was responsible for shoaling the upper reaches of the bay, thus diminishing the tidal prism. The appreciation of this fact, and the recognition of the injury done to the overflowed area brought about a change of attitude, and the various civic bodies of the City arrayed themselves on the side of the protesting farmer.

The sentiment in favor of unrestricted mining was very strong in San Francisco, and arguments were advanced to controvert the charge that "slickens" was responsible for the mischief to the rivers and bay, and figures were cited to prove that the gold extracted added more to the wealth of the state than was destroyed by hydraulicking. When driven from hydraulicking the mining instinct asserted itself in other ways, and now the industry is carried on without exciting any serious antagonisms and the production of gold is steadily maintained and is even increasing.

In 1890 California produced minerals to the value of \$18,039,666. Up to that date the chief and nearly the sole product of the mines was the gold derived from placers or quartz. It may be added that an overwhelming proportion was obtained from the region north of the Tehachapi, and that the exploitation and working of the mineral resources was principally with San Francisco capital or capital obtained through the instrumentality of San Franciscans. About 1894 a steady improvement in miscellaneous mining began to manifest itself, and the output at the end of each succeeding year showed an increase. In 1898 the value of all minerals mined in the state had increased to \$27,289,079; two years later the yield was \$32,622,945, and in 1905, the year before the great fire, it was \$43,069,227. As the gold yield in the last named year was only \$19,197,043, the addition to the product represents a great change in the industry. This transition began in the late Eighties, when numerous metals whose production theretofore was not on a sufficiently large scale to attract attention began to be noted. In 1887 the output of copper was first reported. In that year the product was given at 1,600,000 pounds, valued at \$192,000; in 1897 the quantity produced had increased to 13,638,626 pounds and the value to \$1,540,666, and at the time of the fire the product was nearly 40,000,000 pounds. Borax, asphalt, bituminous rock, salt and cement were being turned out in constantly increasing quantities, adding greatly to the revenues of the people, and contributing largely to that confidence which began to assert itself, and which was based on a recognition of the fact that the resources of the state were numerous and almost illimitable in extent.

It may be said in a general way that as a mineral producer the region south of the Tehachapi until late in the Eighties was not regarded as of much consequence. Although the existence of oil in that section was known, and tentative efforts to develop it had been made at several places in the south, it was not until near the end of the decade that production on a commercial scale was achieved. The development was due to the energy of the newcomers who were bent on exploiting every resource, and their success attracted great attention, and later stimulated the search in the country north of the range, which resulted in the finds that eventually put California at the head of the oil producing states. In 1887 the output had already reached 678,572 barrels. The production increased steadily after that year until the value of the output at the time of the fire exceeded that of the gold produced in the state. In 1906 40,311,171 barrels of oil were produced, valued at \$16,782,943, an amount reckoned at the time to exceed that of the output of the precious metal by several thousand dollars.

It would be impossible to overestimate the stimulating effect of these various contributory causes upon the local industries, but those already described scarcely equaled in importance that produced by the growing conviction that the agricultural possibilities of the state were illimitable, and that the increasing prosperity of the nation would give Californians a market which would absorb all their products.

Great
Expansion of
General
Mining
Industry

Remarkable
Growth of
Oil Production

Expansion of
Agricultural
Industry

There had been for a long time what might be termed a passive optimism concerning the future, but this began to be exchanged after 1895 for an active and insistent belief that the state would fill up with an industrious population. It exhibited itself in such bold claims as that made in a San Francisco paper that California was destined to be inhabited by as many people as France, and these were backed up by statistics which amply supported the optimistic conclusions of a corps of writers composed of business men, professors in the universities and the staff of the journal which printed the prophecies. These all showed a rapid expansion of production in every field of industry after 1893 and the predictions made were borne out by the event. The yield of prunes, which had grown to 52,180,000 pounds in 1893, in 1900 was 171,000,000 and in 1902 it reached 195,000,000 pounds. In 1880 it was 180,000,000 pounds. Peaches, apricots, pears, plums, nectarines, figs, dried grapes, hops, walnuts and almonds all showed great increases; but the most impressive expansion was in those fruits to which the soil of the state is particularly adapted. The seasonal year 1893-4 witnessed shipments of 5,270 carloads of oranges or 1,407,740 boxes, and 145 of lemons, representing 48,430 boxes. In 1897-98 the shipments of oranges had increased more than three-fold, 16,120 carloads or 5,835,440 boxes being dispatched to the East, while the 145 carloads of lemons shipped in 1893-4 had expanded to 2,410 or nearly seventeen-fold. In 1906 the shipments of oranges had reached 27,260 carloads and 5,146 carloads of lemons were shipped in the same year.

**Raisin and
Beet Sugar
Industries**

The development of the raisin industry was no less marvelous. The product of 1870, which was represented by 1,200 boxes of 20 pounds each, valued at \$1,350, had grown to 5,150,000 boxes in 1894, whose value was estimated at \$5,180,000, the product of the previous year having been 4,250,000 boxes. The honey product, which was 2,680,000 pounds in 1893, reached 5,350,000 pounds in 1897 and 7,878,000 pounds in 1898. In 1905 it was 9,500,000 pounds, with intervening years of small production. The beet sugar industry was also exhibiting remarkable progress. In 1892 the product was 8,624,890 pounds; five years later it was 70,470,000 pounds, and in 1906 it was 178,000,000 pounds. These extraordinary developments in every field of industry were making themselves felt in the urban centers. The state was being filled with an industrious population, for whom the big ranches were cut up to provide small places, and the prediction of those who opposed Oriental immigration was in full process of realization. Instead of colonies of aliens, whose habits were not ours, and whose unassimilative qualities would have prevented the establishment of that complete commercial interdependence which can only be found in communities in which there are no extreme differences in the standard of living of the masses, California was now developing along lines conducive to the general prosperity.

**Rapid Urban
Development
of the State**

The effect was visible in the rapid urban development which followed 1895, and which was perhaps more pronounced in San Francisco, and the near-by bay cities, than in Los Angeles, where as much energy was displayed in making known the progress of the city and the surrounding country as in the work of promoting resources. San Francisco for several years had labored under the disadvantage of over-confidence, and an indisposition to make the best of its advantages. When the change came, and enterprise took the place of inertia, the fact was not loudly proclaimed, and it was even made a subject of reproach by critical editors of papers published in near-by cities, that there was too great a tendency to be modest



OLD CLIFF HOUSE

and that profit would be derived from emulating the example of the boomers. It does not appear that the advice was accepted, except by the leaders of the workmen's party, who in the election of 1905, which resulted in Schmitz being a third time chosen as mayor of the City, made the claim that the undoubted prosperity of San Francisco was due to the success of the labor element in obtaining control of the municipality, and to the liberal administration of the laws by Schmitz under the directions of Ruef.

Such claims would be a subject for amused comment if the tendency to overlook true causes, and to regard as causes what are really effects, were not as common in other political organizations as those of the workmen. The historian may refer to blunders of the sort mentioned and dispose of them by adducing facts which supply a more reasonable explanation. Prosperity is dependent upon productivity, and when from any cause, whether natural or merely psychological, production is interfered with, prosperity is bound to be arrested. Adversity is often the result of misapprehension. Men may underrate their capacity to get along, and their lack of confidence brings about the result they fear, but good deeds and excellent administration cannot promote progress unless they are backed up by exhibitions of energy which will provide more things to go around. And when that energy is exerted, and through it production is increased it takes a great deal of blundering, extravagance and mismanagement generally to consume and dissipate the wealth which comes from intelligent thrift. It is well to keep this latter fact in mind. It will serve to clear away many misunderstandings to know that so long as the capable are not interfered with in their efforts, the means will be provided for carrying on the desirable activities of life as well as those which can be dispensed with. Californians when permitted to take advantage of their opportunities have demonstrated their ability as producers, and the productivity of the state has permitted vagaries which might have impeded advancement in less favorably situated communities, but which have only interposed a temporary check to the growth of its principal city. San Francisco has undergone vicissitudes which, according to preconceived theories, should have proved fatal to its continued existence. It had to repair the effects of destructive fires in the early part of its career, and it was compelled at times to preserve order by extra legal methods. But worse than these calamities was the state of mind produced by the apprehension that any attempt to provide the City with those conveniences which a progressive community demands would result injuriously. Its result was to bring about a temporary paralysis of energy. The fear of exceeding the dollar tax limit was a greater drag on the progress of the community than the most rampant extravagance of tax eaters.

The dollar limit incubus was practically lifted when the new charter was adopted, and the timorousness which had precluded the securing of a new organic law was dissipated by the prosperity which came from expanding production. It showed no signs of abatement when the Phelan administration was superseded by that of Schmitz, and there was no halt in 1905 when the latter's third victory was shared by the sixteen workmen's candidates for the supervisorship, who proved to be as unscrupulous a band of robbers as was ever chosen to manage the affairs of a city. Their scoundrelism, however, was powerless to arrest the progress of San Francisco, which was so marked in the first months of 1906 that men, usually credited with the possession of that rare attribute known as common sense, were beginning to lose confidence in the once freely expressed opinion that the

Mixing
Politics and
Economics

Evil Results
of False
Economic
Notions

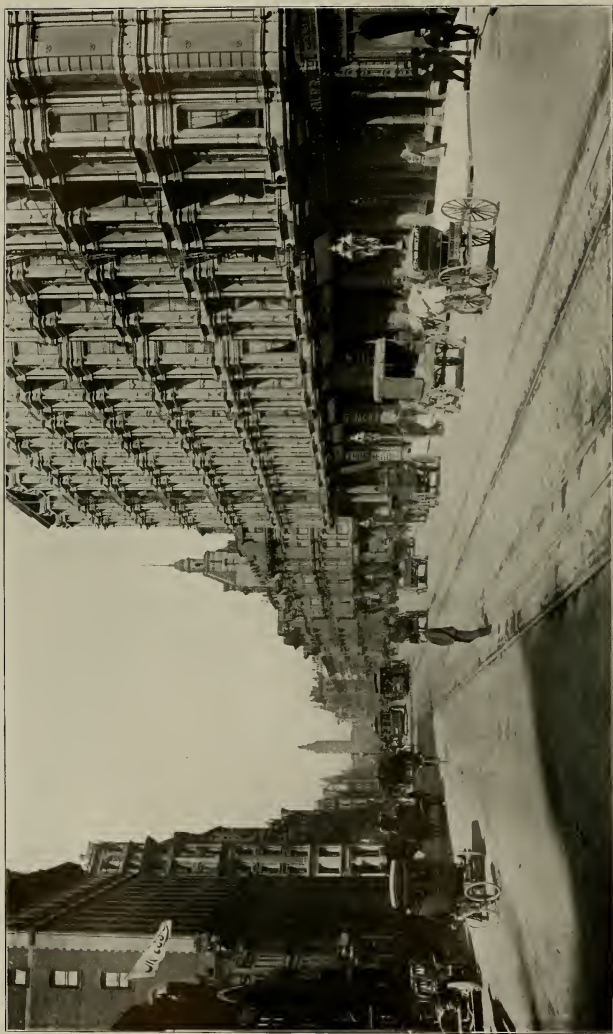
setting up of class distinctions, such as that involved in the sharp line of demarcation drawn between trades unionists and other people in the community could do it any harm. But they were not close observers. The increased productivity of the state had indeed tended to greatly promote the prosperity of San Francisco, but concurrently the injudicious course of the trades unionists, whom political success had blinded to economic conditions, was seriously impeding the growth of the City along those lines calculated to insure its future and permanent prosperity.

Manufac-
turing
Growth
Impeded

San Francisco had frequently dealt with the problem of creating a great manufacturing industry. As has already been shown, some of its ablest citizens, misled by the theory that proximity to raw materials and other natural advantages, and the added protection afforded by the cost of transportation from remote Eastern industrial centers, had unsuccessfully attempted to accomplish something more than simply supplying local needs. There were dreams of creating a manufacturing industry which would take on a broader character than that of mere neighborhood supply. It was thought that woolen goods could be manufactured at a cost which would enable competition with the outside world; our proximity to supplies of raw silk engendered the belief that we could turn out silk textiles as was being done on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, and busy brains were occupied with numberless projects, the most of which came to naught. When men fail in enterprises of this character they usually form a correct judgment concerning the cause, but very often the view of the best informed is rejected and that of the uninformed which seeks to disguise the facts is accepted instead.

Causes Pre-
venting Man-
ufacturing
Development

Two causes operated to prevent the development of manufactures on any considerable scale in San Francisco and California. The most important of these was the lack of a near-at-hand market which would warrant producing on a scale sufficiently large to bring the cost of production down to or lower than that of the already established centers, plus the cost of the manufacturers of the latter getting their goods into the markets of the state; the other was the excessively high cost of labor, and the indisposition of the worker to meet the condition which the growing propinquity with the East had brought about through the facilities afforded by the transportation companies to the people of that section to put their finished products in coast markets. Although the Atlantic seaboard was over three thousand miles distant from San Francisco, by the policy referred to it was practically brought as close and even closer to this City than many places within the border of the state. The situation created by the inflexibility of the unions was in large measure disguised by the causes already referred to, which obscured the fact that many branches of manufacturing were being slowly choked out of existence. The growing population and the figures of increased production of manufactured articles made it possible to charge that the critics who pointed out the difficulties, and sounded the warning that San Francisco would suffer serious injury unless reason were permitted to sway, were pessimists who deliberately sought to create a false impression in order to accomplish their own selfish ends. It also permitted the easy acceptance of the assumption that lack of cheap fuel was at the bottom of the trouble of those industries which struggled to keep in the running, but were finally obliged to drop out. Years before the fire the fallacy of this latter explanation had been exposed. The productivity of the oil fields and the development of hydro electricity had given San Francisco cheaper power than was enjoyed by most Eastern manufacturing centers, but this in no wise improved the situation so far as



VIEW EAST ON MARKET STREET FROM THIRD STREET, BEFORE THE FIRE,
SHOWING THE PALACE AND GRAND HOTELS

numerous once prosperous industries were concerned, and which were slowly being extinguished by Eastern and near-by rivalry.

The figures of the assessor, and those of the census did not, except on close analysis, disclose this condition of affairs. Between 1889 and 1899 there had been increases of totals which permitted the San Franciscan to draw upon them to point a story of progress, and when the census bureau in 1904 presented its figures they were dwelt upon with pride. They showed that the number of manufacturing establishments in the City had increased from 1,748 in 1899 to 2,251 in 1904; that the production during the five-year period had been enlarged from \$107,024,000 to \$137,788,000, and that the capital employed had expanded in the interval from \$69,643,000 to \$102,362,000. Statistics of this sort have a decidedly reassuring effect, and are apt to mislead even the reflecting. And when supplemented with the additional information that the number of wage earners in factories had increased from 32,555 in 1899 to 38,429 in 1904, and those of the salaried employes from 3,413 to 5,190 there appeared to be every reason in the world for the expressions of satisfaction which they called forth. When to this army of workers in manufacturing industries is added the great number of persons in service, in the rapidly multiplying stores and in professional callings it is not astonishing that the workmen on the eve of the great fire scouted the idea that San Francisco could be more prosperous than it was, or that there was any possibility of an arrestment or a set back.

Figures that
Deceived

And yet there were facts disclosed by the census report which should have been disquieting, and would have been had they been duly emphasized. Despite the gratifying appearance of the totals, the evidence was clear that the City was going backward in some industries. The once prosperous boot and shoe trade which employed 987 persons in 1899 only had 643 in 1904; fewer were engaged in the manufacture of chemicals; the number of workers on women's clothing had shrunk considerably; the manufacture of men's furnishing goods, which had been in a promising condition in 1899, had fallen off greatly; there were fewer engaged in glove making and in the production of leather goods. A comparison of the advances made in these particular industries in other cities in which they had obtained a foothold shows that the recession in San Francisco was abnormal. The comparatively slow progress in some other lines which should have expanded with the growth of population was also an indication of weakness. The manufacture of carriages and wagons was almost stationary, as was also that of copper, tin and sheet iron products. The number of wage earners in foundries and machine shops increased from 3,509 to 3,885, but the metal industries were exhibiting signs of the severe competition to which they were being subjected, and in the years immediately following the fire they were greatly diminished. In fact a resume of the operations of manufacturing industries shows that the gains made between 1899 and 1904 were largely due to the growth of the neighborhood trade and did not indicate a healthy expansion along lines calculated to realize the dream of making San Francisco a great manufacturing city.

Manufacturing
Impeded
by Trades
Unionism

The principal products of the manufacturing industries as grouped by the census bureau in 1904 exhibited the following values: Printing and publishing, \$10,847,000; slaughtering and meat packing, \$9,209,000; foundry and machine shop products, \$10,525,000; bread and other bakery products, \$4,882,000; coffee and spice roasting and grinding, \$3,980,000; canning and preserving, \$4,636,000; lum-

Value of
Manufactured
Products in
1904

ber and timber products, \$3,980,000; clothing, men's, including shirts, \$4,804,000; copper, tin and sheet iron products, \$4,529,000; leather, tanned, curried and finished, \$2,718,000; malt liquors, \$3,482,000; furniture and refrigerators, \$1,836,000; flour mill and grist mill products, \$3,423,000; food preparations, \$999,000, and tobacco manufactures, \$2,028,000. In many of these enumerated categories San Francisco held a preeminent position in 1904. It turned out 59.8 per cent of all the foundry and machine shop products; 85 per cent of the coffee and spice preparations; 91.7 per cent of the men's clothing; 76.3 per cent of the copper, tin and sheet iron products; 64.8 per cent of the furniture and refrigerators; 62.9 per cent of the food preparations, and 63.5 per cent of the tobacco manufactures of the state; but while it had thus maintained its position in its relation to other sections of California it was not holding its own in competition with Eastern manufacturers, who were relatively and absolutely stronger than at any time previous, and were constantly extending their operations at the expense of the local manufacturer.

Expanding
Markets
Brighten
Prospects

It would be an unpleasant task for the historiographer of San Francisco to record facts such as those contained in the preceding paragraphs if there was no prospect of improvement. The chief obstacle to the development of the manufacturing industry in California has undoubtedly been due to the sparseness of its population, but that is a drawback now rapidly being corrected. The state in its enormous area of 158,297 square miles in 1900 had only 1,485,033 inhabitants within its borders, and the density of population was only 9.5 per square mile. In 1910 the number of inhabitants had increased to 2,377,549, making the density 15.3 per square mile. There is no reason for doubting the assumption that with the increased facilities for bringing desirable immigrants into the state which the Panama Canal will supply that the population will be more than doubled before the close of the present decade. With a consuming population of 5,000,000 within its borders, which will grow from year to year, manufacturing will receive an impetus which cannot be restrained by the inconsistencies of any class, because they must succumb to the inexorable law of competition.

Early
Forecasts
of Harbor's
Importance

The earliest efforts to prognosticate the future of San Francisco were invariably associated with its harbor, and as was natural, so far as they concerned themselves with details, considered its development solely from the standpoint of the trader. The ideas of the prophets must have been very vague, for they were rarely embellished with explanations of how the great commerce which they predicted was to be developed. They apparently reasoned that other places situated advantageously for exchange had grown to large proportions, and therefore it was reasonable to expect that San Francisco, founded as it was on the shores of what was admittedly one of the best harbors in the world, must enjoy a like experience. Although the conviction that the port must expand greatly was general it does not appear that the first persons to make good use of its facilities, when they started in to do so, gave any thought to the future. In all their operations they were guided solely by expediency and by the desire for personal gain. They talked largely of a city of a million or more inhabitants, but they built as if they had no confidence in their optimistic forecasts. They filled in Yerba Buena cove because it was easier to do so than to level a site back of it for building purposes. It can hardly be pleaded in extenuation of the course pursued that it was adopted in ignorance of the great changes which the future was to effect in transportation methods. There was already, in the early Fifties, considerable mental activity bestowed upon the

problem of bringing ship and car together, and there certainly was enough speculation as to the great results which must follow the completion of a transcontinental railroad to have suggested that precautions must be taken to conveniently handle the Oriental trade which was to spring up in consequence.

Men, however, talk in one strain and act as convenience moulded by immediate needs dictates. San Francisco's water front, although theoretically regarded as of vital importance, was made the football for designing politicians and avaricious individuals for nearly a quarter of a century before any thought was given to its development, and when the matter did begin to exercise the brains of legislators they were apparently more concerned to create a political machine than to plan a scheme of improvement. A State Harbor Commission took charge of the affairs of the City's water front as early as 1863, but it was not until 1869 that anything like a showing was made for the amount of money expended, and it was so insignificant as to seem almost laughable when taking a retrospect. In that year, when the Central and Union Pacific were joined, the commissioners had already succeeded in disbursing half a million dollars and the result of their work was about 600 feet of bulkhead in front of the Ferry building, on a line two hundred feet too far west to be of any use. Nine years later, when the state was fairly well provided with railroads the commissioners began the creation of a sea wall which was to be in two separate sections with a combined length of 2,000 feet. In 1912 this part of the work was still under construction, just to the south of the present Ferry building, where the work should have begun.

The sinister influence of the railroad monopoly must be held responsible for the wretched condition of affairs on the water front. Its policy was to weaken the shipping industry, and that was easiest effected by pursuing a course which merely resulted in wasting the people's money without increasing the facilities of the port. Perhaps it would be more correct to state that while the railroad controlled the politics of the state it was indifferent to the needs of the harbor, and permitted its creatures to make use of its revenues to reward them for their services in helping the monopoly to keep the legislature and courts in line with its wishes. Whatever the cause, whether through active opposition or mere indifference, the fact remains that the State Harbor Commission made no attempt whatever to build a permanent wharf until 1907, and the funds for creating such a facility had to be provided by a special bond issue of \$2,000,000. The revenues of the port, which up to that date had amounted to millions, had all been squandered on administration, and in the erection of temporary wharves which necessitated constant repairs.

The present Ferry building, like the permanent wharves since obtained, had to be secured by a resort to the issuance of bonds. Its erection was begun in the early Nineties and it was completed in 1903. It cost in redeemed bonds and interest \$967,879. Up to the time of its erection there was absolutely nothing along the entire front to which one could point as something derived from the great annual revenues of the port. Teredo-eaten piles supported flimsy wharf structures covered with highly inflammable buildings which frequently became the prey of fire, and were always in a chronic state of reparation. Over these structures, however, there was conducted an increasingly large volume of business, the expansion of which was particularly conspicuous during the ten years immediately preceding the fire of 1906, the shipping of the port growing from 3,729,367 tons in 1894-95

Operations
of Harbor
Commis-
sioners

The Railroad
and the
Water Front

Ferry Build-
ing Only
Improvement
of Value

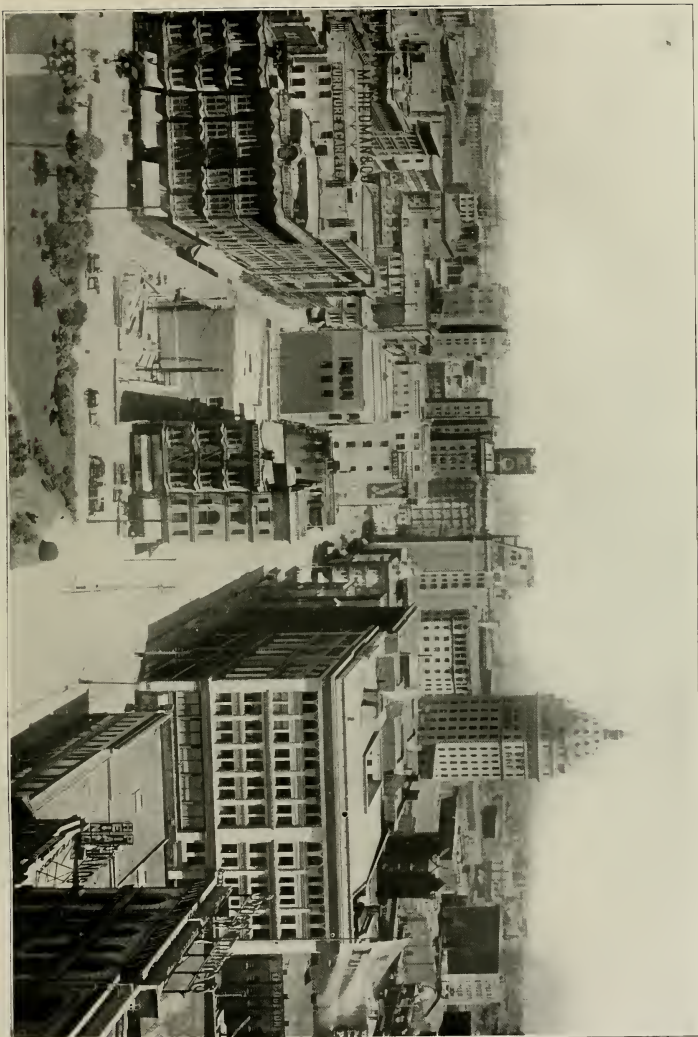
to 5,292,113 tons in 1904-5. But this development was admittedly uninfluenced by anything done to promote the business of the port. It occurred because men learn makeshift methods when there is work to be done, but no one can tell what might have been accomplished for San Francisco had its harbor affairs been administered with an eye single to the promotion of commerce and the convenience of the shipping interest. That it was permitted to exist as a political machine for half a century negatives the assumption that the people of the metropolis regard their harbor as their chief asset. As a matter of fact there has been no evidence of any lively appreciation of the value of the harbor except that sporadically furnished by the traffic associations which use the possibilities of the sea as a club to compel the transcontinental railroads to deal properly by its merchants, or on those occasions when sufficient interest has been excited to induce the people to consider the importance of making comprehensive improvements.

Corrupt and
Wasteful
Management

The Harbor Commission during its entire existence has been a nest for politicians. It has provided places for the servants of the railroad, and for men supposed to advance the fortunes of parties, and during later years the law under which it operates was used to harass San Francisco and impede its development. Its affairs have not been intelligently nor honestly conducted. During the administration of Stoneman one of his messages was largely devoted to describing the grafting propensities of state officials, and in it he made particular allusion to the shortcomings of the Harbor Commission. But although a reformer he was the victim of the hallucination that effective work could be expected from a commission which was a mere political machine. In 1887 he spoke in a felicitous vein of the removal of the tolls from wheat and flour passing over the wharves, but neglected to state that the concession was of little consequence because of the diminishing importance of wheat exports, which was already apparent. He also dwelt upon the completion to date of 6,361 feet of sea wall at a cost of \$1,191,000 or an average of \$187.25 per lineal foot as a great accomplishment, entirely unconscious of the fact that was clearly recognized by the shipping interest that the improvement he lauded was being made at the place on the front least needed by shippers, while that portion of the harbor where business was active was almost neglected.

Citizens'
Committee
Plan Water
Front Im-
provements

Until the eve of the fire no such interest as the subject of harbor facilities demanded was called forth in San Francisco. In the early part of 1906, however, there was an agitation which began to have good results. In January of that year delegates were appointed by various civic organizations to formulate a comprehensive plan of improvement. The Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' Exchange, the Advancement and Improvement Association, the Water-front Federation, the San Francisco Labor Council, the Real Estate Board, the Shipmen's Association of the Pacific Coast, the California Promotion Committee, the Board of Trade, the Commonwealth Club and the Building Trade Council were all represented at a meeting which selected an executive committee consisting of Thomas Magee, R. H. Swayne, W. J. Barrett, James D. Phelan and F. W. Dohrman. After recommending that the money required to carry out the projects to be formulated by engineers selected by the gathering should be raised by issuing seventy-five year bonds, which the people of the state would be asked to authorize at the following November election, Luther Wagoner was offered the chief engineership and Colonel W. H. Heuer of the U. S. Engineer Corps, that of consulting engineer. They were engaged in assembling the necessary data and in making investigations when the



VIEW EAST FROM ST. FRANCIS HOTEL, BEFORE THE FIRE

calamity of the 18th of April, 1906, interrupted their work, which, however, was resumed as soon as the people of the City had time to devote themselves to other objects than providing for the immediate present.

In marked contrast to the unprogressiveness of the Harbor Commission which, as the foregoing recital shows, had to be prodded and never made a move without the exertion of pressure, was the enterprise displayed by the shipping industry. Its activities prior to the Eighties have been described, and the expansion of the tonnage of the port after that date has been dwelt upon, but even more noteworthy than the latter was the considerable improvement in the effectiveness of tonnage as compared with that of earlier date. In 1883 the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company began to provide a much better class of steamers. The old wooden side wheel vessels were displaced by iron hulls and before the close of 1887 the fleet of this line numbered eighteen, all classed as propellers, and five of them were advertised as possessing superior accommodations for passengers. This company was in 1904 taken over by the San Francisco and Portland S. S. Co. In 1887 there were 54 steamers registered in the Pacific coast service, with an aggregate tonnage of 82,400. In August of that year of the 295 arrivals in the coastwise trade 132 were steamships. It is recorded that in 1900 the last of the regular line of sailing vessels between New York and San Francisco entered the harbor. At the time it was thought that it marked the abandonment of the sailing ship for these long voyages; but later they were again resorted to, but only temporarily, for the purpose of combatting the Southern Pacific's efforts to throttle ocean competition.

More and
Better
Steamships

An event of importance in shipping circles occurred in 1899, when the Kosmos line, formed in Hamburg, started a monthly service between that port and San Francisco, via sundry European ports and the Straits of Magellan. The first steamer of this new line, the "Tanis," arrived in San Francisco December 4, 1899, making the voyage from Germany in 89 days. During the first fifteen months of its operations there were 14 arrivals of Kosmos steamers, but its business after that period improved to such an extent that the arrivals averaged a little better than one every twenty days. In 1901 a new line, named after its enterprising originator, Robert Dollar, commenced operations. The first steamer of this company was the "Simon J. Murphy," the name of which was changed to the "Melville S. Dollar." It was purchased in Baltimore, and was 921 tons register. The Dollar line grew rapidly, and there were added to the fleet the "Bessie Dollar," 3,679 tons, the "Grace Dollar," 289 tons, the "Harold Dollar," 607 tons, the "M. S. Dollar," 2,713, the "Hazel Dollar," 3,150, the "Robert Dollar," 3,400, and the "Stanley Dollar," 983 tons. The operations of the Dollar line were not confined to any particular trade, either domestic or foreign, but the vessels of the company have been actively employed ever since the inception of the enterprise. The American-Hawaiian line commenced operations in the same year. Its steamers made the long run between San Francisco and New York via the Straits of Magellan, but later an arrangement was made by which freight taken on this side was transferred by rail across Mexico, where it was transhipped. This change, however, did not occur until May, 1908.

New Steam-
ship Lines
Started

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company continued to do business during the period under review, but its trade via the isthmus was deliberately neglected. The line was controlled by the Southern Pacific interest, and, as related in the account

Operations
of Pacific
Mail S. S. Co.

of the brief uprising which resulted in the starting of the Valley road, was regarded by the merchants of San Francisco as a hindrance rather than a benefit. Its operations on the coast south of San Francisco were confined to serving the Mexican and Central American states' ports, and it had a practical monopoly of the important coffee trade until the advent of the Kosmos line. The Oriental branch of the company was conducted on a different footing, and maintained the prestige established in early days when it was the pioneer in the over-sea Pacific trade. Its fleet of steamers received additions when needed, and while in some particulars they did not compare with the best of the Atlantic liners they were swift and commodious and several were of large tonnage.

Commer-
cialism With
Hawaii

The constantly increasing trade with the Hawaiian islands made regular and quick communication with them an important matter. For many years the traffic was mainly by sail, but this method of transportation gave way to steam during the period and made openings for several navigation companies. Among these was the Matson Navigation Company, which has maintained several large ships. The Matson line, while not making a specialty of passenger business, provides accommodations. Prior to 1895 all the sugar grown on the islands was sent to San Francisco for refinement or distribution. In that year direct shipments from Honolulu to the East were inaugurated, that step being induced by the failure of the planters to secure a continuance of the exceptionally low rates which the railroad had granted for many years. Although the business of directly shipping to the East was not begun until several years after the identification of Claus Spreckels with the San Joaquin valley railroad enterprise, his activity in the promotion of that project has by some been attributed to the refusal of the Southern Pacific to continue the favorable freight arrangements he had for a long time enjoyed.

Trade With
Hawaii and
Australia

The diversion effected by this direct trade was more than offset by increased activity in other directions. The Oceanic Steamship Company, which came into existence in 1885, operated its steamers between Australian ports and San Francisco, touching at Honolulu, and the ships of the Pacific Mail also made stops at that port, giving the Hawaiians frequent and regular service which tended to strengthen the connection between the islands and the mainland, and to greatly extend the trade of San Francisco. The Oceanic Steamship Company did not always have plain financial sailing, and there was considerable trouble with its stock at times, due to alleged mismanagement and manipulation. In 1902 the gross earnings of the company were reported at \$2,002,219 and the operating expenses at \$1,908,036, and the net loss for the year \$212,726. In 1902 there was a deficit of \$349,304 and at the end of the ensuing year a further loss of \$234,672 was reported. At the close of the year 1903 the fleet of steamers belonging to the company was valued at \$4,363,356. The facilities afforded by the company undoubtedly tended to stimulate trade between Australia and the United States, and that fact was recognized by the Colonials, who extended a subsidy, but the United States refused to make a similar provision. Considerable difference of opinion existed respecting the possibility of profitably operating a line between Australia and San Francisco without government aid, but repeated experiences seemed to demonstrate that its extension is necessary and desirable, and that a large trade could be built up by steadily continuing the direct intercourse with the new and growing commonwealth.



FISHERMEN'S COVE, SAN FRANCISCO BAY



MENDING THE NETS

One of the picturesque scenes on Fishermen's Wharf

During the period under review the once important grain trade of the port of San Francisco dwindled to such proportions that it ceased to be a considerable factor in the business of the city. The expansion and decline of this trade was so obscured by growth in other directions that it scarcely attracted more than passing attention. Publicists in discussing the changes in the development of the resources of the state were called upon to note the tremendous shrinkage of the output of the cereal, and occasionally the reminiscent writer would comment on the disappearance of the large fleets of sailing vessels which at recurring intervals made their appearance in the bay. There were some who lamented the absence of the "wind jammers" which had formerly entered the port in quest of cargoes and shook their heads in deprecation of the change. But they were quarreling with the inevitable. The production of wheat in California declined because it was found more profitable to raise other crops. The sailing vessel had begun to be less used for wheat shipments long before California's wheat product was reduced to proportions scarcely adequate to meet the demands of its growing population. As early as 1881 the shipment of wheat and flour by steam vessels was begun. The big crop of 1880 made it expedient to employ the more rapid mode of transit, and the practice extended not rapidly but perceptibly. In 1896 twenty-five steamers cleared, taking 1,294,398 centals of wheat and 1,090,789 centals of barley, which was beginning to take precedence in the crop reports. In 1900 seven steamers were dispatched with 770,668 centals of wheat, but the shrinking receipts of wheat and flour which had fallen from a maximum of 23,316,320 centals (flour and wheat brought to terms of centals), in 1893 only aggregated 13,989,781 centals and during the year preceding the fire they had fallen to 6,150,173 centals.

Before this great trade had shrunk to these proportions the men once prominent in mining operations in California, and who had made immense sums of money in manipulating the mining stock market of San Francisco tried their hand at a game far more risky than that they had formerly engaged in and attempted to create a corner in wheat. This speculation, which culminated in disaster in 1895, was generally supposed to have been suggested by an employe of the Nevada bank, but the details were never made public, nor were the losses known, although they were supposed to have amounted to many millions. The fact was ascertained, however, that the men engaged in the deal were compelled to carry over in May, 1895, a stock of 175,000 tons of wheat, which was rapidly unloaded after that date, accounting for a large number of steamer shipments, suggested by the necessity of promptly marketing and realizing on the accumulated grain. Many stories were current concerning this speculation. One of them was to the effect that Flood and Mackey were so seriously embarrassed that they found it necessary to apply for relief to their former partner, James G. Fair, with whom they had a disagreement which resulted in their separation. It was believed at the time that Fair's assistance saved his former associates, and that he derived a cynical pleasure from being called upon to help them out of their financial difficulties.

The cessation of the grain trade was more than compensated for by the growth of a considerable coastwise intercourse. The development of the Pacific coast region was followed by the creation of new and the enlargement of transportation facilities established at an earlier date. The fuel problem of the City and the interior towns was largely met by the operation of steam colliers plying between British Columbia and Australia, vessels of considerable size being employed in

Carriers in
the Wheat
Export Trade

Failure of a
Big Wheat
speculation

Lumber and
Coal Trade

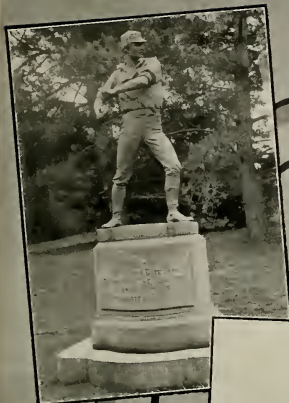
the trade. A large fleet of steam schooners also brought supplies of lumber to the City. In 1887 there were twenty or more of this class of vessels whose tonnage ranged from 100 to 200 tons. In 1911 there were over 160 steamers engaged in lumbering with a varying carrying capacity of from 100,000 to nearly 4,000,000 feet. The ownership of these vessels was on this coast, and in addition there were numerous tramp steamers which found lumber freights profitable.

Remarkable
Development
of Oil Trade

One of the most important innovations in the shipping industry about this time was made in the carriage of oil. At one period in the history of the harbor, what now seems an extraordinary amount of attention was paid to the matter of making San Francisco an inviting port of call for vessels engaged in the whaling industry. The possibilities of whaling appealed so strongly to the imagination of statesmen that the subject was dilated upon in state papers. Queerly enough an industry of a cognate character, but immeasurably rivaling that of the taking of whales, sprang up in California without exciting much comment until its proportions became so great as to excite national attention. The production of petroleum and its exportation to foreign countries began to engage the attention of the shipping men early in the Nineties, and also called into existence new transportation lines wholly devoted to the carriage of oil. The largest companies operating in the California fields in addition to extracting the oil began to maintain fleets in which to export the products of their wells. Shipments of oil were first made by sail, but in 1894 a steamer was dispatched to China and since that date there has been a steady development of the trade which extends to Central American ports on the south and Alaskan ports on the north. The oil is conducted from the distant wells by pipe lines to convenient shipping points on the bay, in the vicinity of which important refining operations are carried on, and many by-products are manufactured or utilized. Perhaps more important than the part played in increasing the exports is the change effected in sea transportation by the use of oil as fuel. Many coal-burning steamships have been converted into fuel oil consumers and there is a reasonable prospect that in the near future the majority of vessels clearing from San Francisco will be oil burners.

Domestic
Shipping on
the Pacific

The plaint which finds frequent expression in the Atlantic states, that the foreigner is driving domestic shipowners out of business, is considerably modified by the statistics of Pacific coast shipping. The increased tonnage of the port of San Francisco between 1883 and 1905 shows a lively appreciation of the value of the sea as a medium of communication. In 1883 the arrivals from foreign ports aggregated 835,600 tons, of which 306,300 was steam; in 1905 the foreign arrivals totalled 1,329,700 tons, 960,000 being steam. Between the same years the domestic tonnage increased from 1,191,400 tons, 436,800 of which was steam, to 2,250,200 tons, 1,563,500 of the latter being steam. In 1905 the aggregate tonnage of all arrivals was 3,579,900 of which 2,523,000 was steam. This growth was by no means continuous during the period. There was a falling off between 1883 and 1887 and a slight revival after the latter year until 1891. Between 1891 and 1896 shipping conditions as represented by tonnage remained almost stationary, but there was a notable increase between 1896 and 1905, the total tonnage rising from 2,501,200 in the former to 3,579,900 tons in the latter year. The gain in the first thirteen years of the period was only 474,000 tons as against 1,078,000 tons in the nine years ending 1905. These figures in a measure reflect the vicissitudes of trade, but their variations by no means synchronize exactly with the years



The Base Ball Player
Grant Monument

The Wine Press

Garfield Monument
Sir Francis Drake Cross

MONUMENTS AND STATUARY IN GOLDEN GATE PARK

of depression and revival. Taken in conjunction with the clearings of the banks, and the statistics of exports and imports, however, they convey as accurate an idea of business conditions and fluctuations as it would be possible to present.

It has already been shown that the exports from San Francisco by sea which were as high as \$53,664,352 in 1881, had after that year declined until they fell as low as \$26,410,672 in 1894. After that date they began to increase in volume, but slowly until 1899 when they received an impetus rising to \$41,419,679 in 1900 and reaching \$64,918,505 in 1905. The imports which amounted to \$37,729,402 in 1884 reached \$53,325,982 in 1891, dropped to \$36,414,862 in 1896, were \$45,677,924 in 1899 and in 1905 they totalled \$44,249,211. A surprising feature of the table of imports is its disclosure of the fact that their volume was not greatly enlarged after 1882 when they were given at \$44,348,545. There were years, for instance, between 1888 and 1891 when they exceeded that amount as in 1891 when they rose to \$53,325,982, but after that date they dropped off only rising to \$45,000,000 in 1899 when they again showed signs of a decline and no tendency to increase until after 1905. There is one other index of the state of trade worth quoting, that furnished by the Internal Revenue Department. The collections of the San Francisco district aggregated \$1,858,852 in 1890; \$2,067,946 in 1895; \$4,019,086 in 1900 and in 1906 they were \$4,542,255.

The reference in a preceding paragraph to the use made of ocean facilities for carriage would not be illuminating without calling attention to the shipbuilding industry of San Francisco which at one time appeared to be in a promising condition, but owing to labor conditions has suffered a decline since 1905. In 1887 there were 23 steam and 31 sailing craft with a total tonnage of 17,629 documented at San Francisco. In 1890 there was an addition of 12,063 tons; in 1900 the record showed 33 steam and 18 sailing craft constructed aggregating 29,221 tons and in 1905 there were 9,030 tons turned out of the shipyards of San Francisco. During this period commencing with July, 1888, the following war vessels were built at the Union Iron Works: Protected cruiser "Charleston" in 1888, 4,040 tons; the "San Francisco" in 1889, 4,080 tons; the armored monitor "Monterey" in 1891; the "Olympia," 5,870 tons in 1892; the battleship "Oregon," 10,500 tons in 1893; the battleships "Wisconsin" and "Ohio" in 1898 and 1901; the armored cruiser "California," 13,800 tons in 1904, and the "South Dakota," 13,400 tons in the same year. The "Milwaukee," a protected cruiser of 9,700 tons, built in 1904, was the last warship constructed in the port. After that date, even with the differential allowed by the government in favor of a Pacific coast yard it was found impossible to compete with the Eastern shipbuilders where the labor conditions were more favorable.

All these war vessels were constructed at the Union Iron Works which began operations in the City in 1884. The plant was one of exceptional excellence, and won for itself a universal reputation. The remarkable performance of the "Oregon" reflected great credit on the builders, and was a subject of widespread comment. It probably did more to emphasize the desirability of creating a waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific than all the arguments urged in favor of the construction of a canal since the time of Philip II. From the day that the "Oregon" started from this City on her memorable voyage of thousands of miles, to join the fleet operating on the coast of Cuba against the Spanish until the hour of her triumphant arrival in perfect trim, and ready for action, her course was noted with

Statistics of
Trade Fluctuations

Labor and
Shipbuilding
Industry

Commercial
and War
Vessels Constructed

eager anxiety, and over and over the necessity of accomplishing so long a journey was dilated upon as an object lesson which emphasized the value of a short cut which would readily permit the union of the Atlantic and Pacific fleets of the United States. In addition to the construction of the warships which represented a displacement of 103,000 tons and 200,000 horsepower, and whose cost exclusive of armor was \$32,000,000, the Union Iron Works, up to the time of its sale by the Scotts, Irving M. and W. T., and those connected with them in the enterprise, constructed about 70 merchant vessels, notable among which were the six large freight steamers of the American Hawaiian Company. In addition to this important concern there were also operated in the port the Fulton Iron Works, the United Engineering Company, the Main Street Iron Works, and other smaller establishments, while John W. Dickie and Son, Boole & Co., and other companies were building hulls in San Francisco bay. The great strike of the iron workers which lasted from May, 1901, to March, 1902, was the prelude to the troubles which later beset the metal trades of the City, and caused the serious decline in their importance which the census of 1910 disclosed, but which was understood and felt before the bureau made its publication.

CHAPTER LXI

PEOPLE RISE SUPERIOR TO POLITICAL AND OTHER TROUBLES

INDIVIDUAL EFFORT SCORES A TRIUMPH—UNBUSINESSLIKE METHODS IN CONDUCT OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS—LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN PUBLIC OFFICIALS—STREET IMPROVEMENT DUE TO INDIVIDUAL EFFORT—LACK OF IMAGINATION—SAN FRANCISCO'S FIRST STEEL FRAME STRUCTURE—IMPROVEMENT IN BUSINESS ARCHITECTURE—FIREPROOF STRUCTURES BEFORE 1906—RESIDENCE ARCHITECTURE—SITES THAT AFFORD MARINE VIEWS GROW IN FAVOR—APPRECIATIVE CRITICISM BY STRANGERS—SAN FRANCISCO'S PICTURESQUE APPEARANCE—GROWTH OF THE HOME INSTINCT—REAL ESTATE AND REAL ESTATE DEALERS—OPENING OF NEW DISTRICTS—"GRAFT" AND THE TIPPING HABIT—FRANCHISES NOT REGARDED AS VALUABLE—THE DOOR LOCKED AFTER THE STEED WAS STOLEN—SCHEMES TO SHUT OUT COMPETITION—CABLE SYSTEM ADOPTED ON MARKET STREET LINES—AGITATION AGAINST OVERHEAD TROLLEY—UNITED RAILROADS TAKE OVER CHIEF CITY STREET CAR LINES—CONTROL EASILY SURRENDERED BY LOCAL CAPITALISTS—MUNICIPAL EFFORTS AT BUILDING A STREET RAILWAY—NO REAL OBSTACLE TO CREATION OF A RIVAL STREET RAILWAY SYSTEM—BURNHAM PLANS FOR A CITY BEAUTIFUL—THE PARKS—WATER SUPPLY—TELEGRAPHIC EXTENSION—CABLE TO THE PHILIPPINES FROM SAN FRANCISCO.



IN THE preceding chapter it was shown that the development of San Francisco along industrial lines between 1883 and 1906 did not proceed with that regularity which a survey of the statistics of the beginning and end of the period might suggest. A historian writing two or three hundred years hence may summarily dispose of the subject by assuming that there was continuous advancement, and that

The Ups and
Downs of a
City

indeed is the method usually adopted when the details are not available for close analysis. Even the hypercritical German writers, unless treating a particular period, are addicted to the habit of assuming that the salient events, concerning which they have abundant information, describe its characteristics, and no assumption is more common than that a century or two or three centuries were marked by peace and prosperity, or that they were troubled throughout with wars and adversity. It is not probable that this was ever the case even in vegetating communities, and it certainly could not have been true of active minded and energetic peoples in any country on the globe; and if the chapter preceding this, and which dealt provisionally with figures indicating alternations of good and bad times has no other value than to emphasize the fact that there are ups and downs in the growth of a

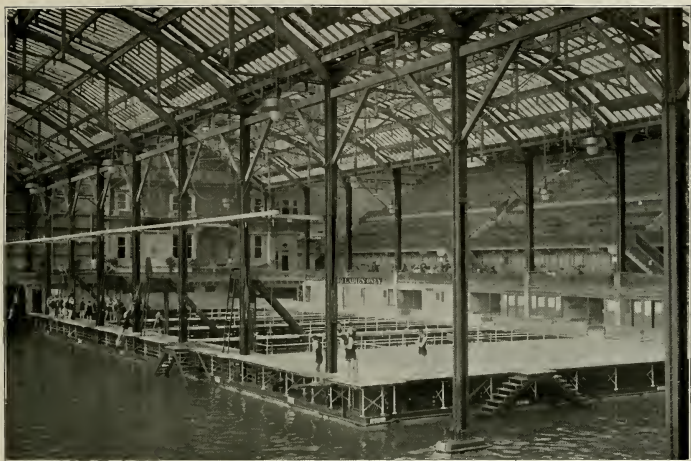
city it will have served its purpose. It may assist in clearing away a delusion which may have, or it might as well be said, has had pernicious effects, because it leads to confounding the material and the spiritual. It has recently been asserted that the looseness of administration of the city government of San Francisco at various times has caused it to be discredited and shunned by good people who would otherwise have made it their home, and on the other hand it has been claimed that the practices condemned in some quarters have been the magnets to attract population and promote commercial growth. Both sides err in their attempt to put a commercial valuation upon morality. The honesty which is engendered by the thought that it is politic to be honest is not the kind that should command admiration. If the moral standard of the people is to be raised it must be by some other method than by holding out commercial rewards. Commercial men may have their code and enforce it with good practical effects. They can do so because their relations with each other permit the punishment of violators; but the attempt to apply it to an entire community, a large proportion of which is only indirectly affected, and cannot be made to see the possibility of direct injury is as vain as it would be to seek to terrify a propertyless man by threatening to sue him for damages.

Unbusiness-
Like Muni-
cipal Methods

In any event the alternations described demonstrate that the municipal troubles of San Francisco have been powerless to arrest its growth. During periods of so called good government the City has vegetated, and it has advanced by leaps and bounds at other times when corrupt men were in control of the offices. This indisputable fact should suggest that the causes of prosperity or depression are economic. If production is encouraged and wealth is created times are sure to be what we call "good;" if the reverse is the case, if the productivity of a people is interrupted and the ability to consume is impaired either by lack of confidence, or decrease of energy they will be bad. If this idea once permeates the minds of those who are constantly seeking a panacea for physical ills in the shape of changed forms of government, they will adopt a different attitude, or insist on applying the same methods to the management of a municipal corporation as those pursued in the conduct of the affairs of a business managed for profit. They will cease to demand the impossible, and will abandon the effort to secure the operation of public utilities in a businesslike manner while defying the cardinal maxim of successful business men that all cannot be bosses. Our systems of municipal government make the tens of thousands who have the votes the bosses, and efficiency can never be procured by such a method. It can only be secured by employing experienced men and by investing them with authority and demanding results.

Bad Govern-
ment Only
a Drag

There was no time in the brief history of the municipality when such power was conferred on any official, but the jealous withholding of it, as has been shown, did not save the people from heavy draughts made on their purses for which they received no adequate return. That there should have been frequent, and occasionally serious troubles as a consequence of this ineffectiveness is not surprising. It is astonishing, however, and a highly interesting sociological phenomenon, well worth attentive study, that despite the alternations of good and bad government, and the sporadic outbursts directed against various forms of political abuses and shortcomings, that the people went about their various ways unconcernedly, and carried on the multitude of activities which they did not entrust to public servants in a manner satisfactory to themselves, and on the whole with results far more creditable to



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE SUTRO BATHS



VIEW IN THE NILES CANYON, ONE OF THE BEAUTY SPOTS WITHIN AN HOUR'S
RIDE OF THE CITY

the community than those achieved by the men employed by them to direct their public affairs. Indeed, when a retrospect is taken it is seen that in nearly every instance in which this undirected efficiency received a check, if it was not directly caused by political interference it was usually aggravated by it, and in no case did the servants of the people succeed in relieving a bad situation.

Individualism has measurably gone out of fashion, and curiously enough that result has been brought about by its successes. Had unrequested effort not resulted in stimulating productivity, and the creation of great wealth, there would be less agitation over its distribution. The manifold activities of the great and growing modern cities exerted for the benefit of the weak, the inefficient and the unwilling would not be heard of if the condition which the superfluous produces did not exist. Charity, and the disposition to help one another has always asserted itself in some form, but it finds its best expression under circumstances which abundance create. It may be true that when aid is perfunctorily or automatically rendered it lacks the proper spirit, but practically considered assistance extended to the helpless in a substantial form does more to ameliorate wretchedness than good wishes. That is why we pay a tribute of admiration to the man who assists the struggling without inquiring too narrowly how he came to be able to assist, and applaud public benefactors without questioning their motives. In like manner we accept the contributions to our sum total of satisfactions made by men who put up handsome buildings, or who erect fine residences, without challenging their objects. They may be inspired by the spirit of ostentation, and may even have at bottom a desire to create envy, but they could never accomplish the latter result in the minds of a people desirous of making the most of life and of getting the best that can be obtained from the putting forth of the energies of the capable.

It is because this is true that the details of those activities which tell the story of what a community lives for, and how near it comes to attaining its desires are infinitely more interesting than the recital of triumphs on the battlefield, or accounts of political intrigues or even the making of laws. Gibbon in one of his exquisitely balanced sentences drew the inference that a Roman emperor, whose enemies gave him a very bad name, could not have been as great a tyrant as charged because he found evidence that the people enjoyed a reasonable degree of prosperity during his reign; and in another place the author experienced distrust of an allegation of excessive taxation for a like reason. The historian was a profound philosopher, but he failed to note the fact that the mass of mankind is far more philosophical than the students of the schools, and contrives a great deal of the time to give practical effect to its philosophy. Individuals may look with apprehension upon the effort to extract satisfaction from life, but the people as a whole, when they are not diverted from their optimism, are always disposed to make the best of circumstances. If this characteristic had not prevailed in San Francisco its inhabitants must have long ago abandoned the contest. That they did not at any time in its brief career regard any situation as hopeless, or entertain a belief at all at variance with that of the founders of the City, that it must one day become a great metropolis shakes confidence in the too common assumption that men think more of the mode of attaining their desires than of the attainment of the thing desired.

If the investigator of conditions existing in San Francisco between 1849 and 1912 makes the mistake of confining his attention to the expressions of discontent

Success of
Individualism
Promotes
Antagonism

Philosophic
Attitude of
the People

People Rise
Above
Troubles

which were freely uttered during the period he must inevitably reach the conclusion that life was hardly worth the living; but if he does the sensible thing, and instead of permitting himself to be unduly impressed by what was said and notes what the people were really doing while the pessimists were telling them they were marching straight to financial and other kinds of ruin he will be forced to the conclusion, that, somehow or other, the inhabitants of a city designed by Nature to be prosperous and great will work out its destiny, and that despite blundering methods, and other drawbacks they will manage to extract a reasonable share of the comforts of life. That this was what happened during the period immediately following the gold discovery which was marked by disastrous fires and serious political troubles, and municipal mismanagement will hardly be denied by any one who has taken the trouble to note how the people employed themselves, and how well disposed they were to extol San Francisco's attractions and superiority over all rivals. This latter state of mind could not have existed had there not been a solid foundation for the claims put forward, and the fact that the story of the period is checkered with troubles only emphasizes the ability of the people to rise superior to them.

Lack of
Confidence
in Officials

A review of those activities of the people of San Francisco which can be considered apart from their political development, and which were only affected by regulation, exhibits a capacity for what may be called group organization which compares favorably with that displayed by other communities with a larger experience, and who had more time in which to accomplish results. This ability may have produced those lines of cleavage which sometimes became apparent in the failure to do what the hustling element in the community calls "team work." Independence of thought produces divergent theories respecting courses of action, and men are apt to be as tenacious of their theories concerning municipal management as they are when considering such subjects as protection and free trade. Between 1856 and 1898 the *laissez faire* idea dominated San Francisco. Its adherents scarcely viewed with patience any proposition which involved collective action by the community. It even viewed with distrust the suggestion that a fine public building, and a beautiful park would prove valuable municipal assets. The individualistic spirit was intense, and the average taxpayer was profoundly convinced that the public servant could not be depended upon to do anything in a satisfactorily economical manner, and thus believing he assented to a continuation of the plans of improvement introduced at an earlier period which were wholly governed by considerations of the immediate present.

Individual
Effort
Secures
Streets

Thus it happened that well into the Nineties it was possible for citizens to view with satisfaction the reports of a street superintendent who enumerated improvements made through private initiative aggregating hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, without giving much thought to the fact that little was being done to preserve and keep in good order the thoroughfares thus provided. Taking at random a report of this sort we find noted 2,667 feet of streets paved with basalt blocks, six miles of sewers constructed, 13,830 lineal feet of streets graded, 20,344 lineal feet of streets macadamized, 3,987 lineal feet of planking laid down, 124,277 square feet of bituminous rock pavement, 18,674 feet of plank and macadam walks, 25,260 feet of curbing, 5,760 lineal feet of brick walks, the total cost of which was nearly \$700,000. This was in 1887, a year as fairly typical as any of the preceding ten years, and indicative of the exertions put forward by



CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL



LANE HOSPITAL

individuals to make their property accessible and thereby increase its value by facilitating intercourse. The improvements of this character, which in some years cost those who made them more than a million dollars, were often in response to a speculative impulse rather than to any pressing need, and were in no sense the outcome of organized plans. The streets were laid down on the map, the reality bordering them was in the possession of private individuals, and they were energetic enough to do for themselves what the City could not, or at least never attempted to do in its capacity of conductor of affairs of the community.

By this means the City was provided with hundreds of miles of streets and sewers, which the municipality "accepted," and in doing so assumed the obligation of perpetually keeping them in good condition. Although many millions of dollars were expended in producing the result described the spirit of expediency was responsible for the creation of future difficulties. The eagerness to extend the area of accessibility caused property owners to accept without challenge regulations prescribing the character of the material to be used in street paving. The narrow spirit engendered by the dollar limit caused those who had the determination of such matters to consider only durability. Sanitary suggestions, and those made by the advocates of comfort and appearances were entirely disregarded, and the thoroughfares taken over by the City were generally composed of basalt blocks, loosely laid in the sand. They proved difficult to keep clean, and the subterranean installations, made as they frequently were in a careless fashion, resulted in an uneven and unsatisfactory roadway which was endured for some years. But despite its great initial cost towards the close of the period the basalt block was rapidly being replaced by smooth pavements in all the downtown streets. The plank and macadam walks which the easy going ordinances permitted down to the Nineties, were superseded in most parts of the City by cement, San Francisco being one of the earliest communities to discover the value of that material for the purpose. As in the case of the roadways property owners took the initiative in adopting cement, and the municipality compelled conformation only when the exceptional owner made the contrast flagrant by neglect. Then an ordinance was adopted which secured an approach to uniformity, and in a comparatively brief period the unsightly and unsanitary plank sidewalk disappeared from all parts of the city except in some of the outlying districts where infrequent use had caused them to endure longer than in the more densely populated sections.

The outlying districts were not very remote from the business center of the City in the beginning of the Eighties. In 1883 Divisadero street was beginning to take on a residential character, but there were plenty of blank spaces between that thoroughfare and Van Ness avenue which was considered well out of town at that time. A suggestion that Van Ness avenue was destined to be a great cross town business street made ten years later excited some amused comment. As a matter of fact in the year spoken of the imagination of San Francisco had not found itself. There were still many who could feel a mild surprise when venturesome men showed an inclination to break away from the narrow precincts in which business had established itself in the early days, and when the proprietor of the "Chronicle" in 1890 decided to build at Market and Kearny streets the move was regarded as something in the nature of a bold flight westward. Not that there were any doubts respecting the future of Market street; there was a well settled

Improved
Streets and
Sidewalks

An Undeveloped
Imagination

First Steel
Frame
Structure in
San Francisco

conviction that it was to be a great thoroughfare, but there was a feeling that it was a departure somewhat ahead of the time.

The building erected was also looked upon as a daring innovation. It was the first steel frame structure put up in San Francisco, and although only ten stories high it was classed as a soaring skyscraper. The knowing ones shook their heads and speculated on what would happen if there was another earthquake like that of 1868, but the owner backed by the opinion of Burnham & Root the Chicago architects who designed it, was confident that the new style of construction could be made to resist any temblor that might visit the city. It is not improbable that the importation of Eastern ideas had some effect in forming the first adverse judgment, for San Francisco architects were not then as confident of their abilities as they became later, and viewed with distrust the invasion of their field by rivals. There was some feeling produced by the necessity of obtaining the rolled steel beams from Eastern mills, but this soon disappeared, and it was not long before the steel frame structure on the corner of Market, Geary and Kearny streets was rivalled in size and later in height. There was no immediate revolution in business architecture, but the introduction of the new style exercised a modifying influence on the disposition towards flamboyancy which had manifested itself during the Eighties, whose most conspicuous feature was pinnacles, cupolas and even spires, all of which were loaded with the kind of ornamentation supplied by the industrious designers of the sawmills. This efflorescence, in such marked contrast to the severity which prevailed for many years after the confagurations of pioneer days, toward the end of the Nineties began to give way to a better style, and at the opening of the century there were numerous creditable examples of architecture. Plastered brick fronts were superseded by stone, which material was used with great effectiveness. Among the notable buildings of this period, whose facades remain to testify the advances made in architecture up to the date of the great fire are the Claus Spreckels, Mills and Flood buildings, and the Emporium. Their contents were totally destroyed in the conflagration of 1906, but the walls survived and they were restored to their former appearance.

Building
Activity and
Improved
Architecture

On the recrudescence of business activity after 1895 there was much building in the City, but the wide area appropriated to commercial purposes in a measure tended to disguise the extent of the operations of constructors. There was no concentration in any particular locality, and therefore no impressive effect was produced. Some of the best buildings in the City were erected in districts rarely penetrated by visitors, and to some extent unknown even to inhabitants who had made their home in San Francisco for years. These new constructions, surrounded as they were by the less pretentious efforts of earlier years, did not materially alter the aspect of the localities in which they were built. It was not uncommon to find a ten-story structure looming amidst modest two-story frames which were in some instances still inhabited by families. This was particularly true of the district south of Market street where costly modern fireproof structures could be seen alongside cottages with flower-covered verandas. Indeed, except in a very restricted area, there was no approach to a homogeneous style of construction or use of buildings, a fact which so disturbed the energetic boosters of the opening of the century that resort was had to the plan of pictorially regrouping existing buildings to show what had been accomplished. Thus disposed they made



A CROWD AT ONE OF THE RACETRACKS



THE OLD CHUTES, AT TENTH AVENUE AND FULTON STREET

an impressive appearance, and suggested what the City might look like when the new construction had completely usurped the place of the old.

It is interesting to note that the architectural progress prior to the fire of 1906 was along the same lines as that which has marked the reconstruction with one notable exception. Up to the time of the disaster the merits of concrete had not impressed themselves upon builders, but the tendency toward steel frames and fire-resisting materials was strong, as will be inferred from the long list of that class of buildings at the time of the fire. Among the most conspicuous of these were the Crocker building, the Fairmore and St. Francis hotels, the Claus Spreckels building, the Flood building, the Grant building, Hotel Hamilton, Hibernian Savings and Loan Society, the Hall of Justice, the Kamm building, the "Chronicle" and its 17-story Annex, Mercantile Trust Company, Merchants' Exchange, Mills building, Monadnock building, Mutual Life building, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph building, the Postoffice, the Rialto, Security building, Shreve building, Sloane building, City of Paris building, Union Trust Company, Wells Fargo Company. The Emporium, whose handsome facade was a feature of Market street, was not wholly of this style of construction, but was substantially built, as was the Palace hotel, the Phelan block, erected early in the Eighties, the Hobart building and a few others which would not come in the classification A, but which had a sufficiently modern air to help advertise the City as progressive.

The domestic architecture during this period also underwent a transition. Throughout the Eighties and well into the Nineties owners and architects were dominated by the bay window fad. Although an adaptation it was deemed particularly suitable, as it seemed to respond to the exaggerated San Franciscan desire for sunlight. Whatever the cause, houses with bay windows multiplied. The effort to secure originality of treatment was not always successful, as it was too often accompanied by a riotous use of the product of the jig saw. During the Seventies an association was formed with the worthy motive of promoting thrift and the desire for a home. It was known as the Real Estate Associates. It secured tracts of land in localities usually remote from the business and at some distance from the established residence districts. Some of these selections were made facing plazas and squares that had not yet been improved. On these were constructed rows of houses of frame, two stories in height, all of which were alike externally and internally. These were sold on easy terms to people who had only two objects in view, and who were necessarily compelled to subordinate any esthetic aspirations they may have had to considerations of thrift. Almost concurrently with the promotion work of the Real Estate Associates there was a pronounced development of the Building and Loan Association idea, which in its earlier stages adhered with tolerable closeness to the Philadelphia plan of cooperative building, but later lost that character. During the time of the popularity of the building and loan associations many thrifty persons were enabled through their instrumentality to secure homes. As in the case of the Real Estate Associates the effect was to promote uniformity in building as there were usually speculative builders who were able to demonstrate their ability to save money for their patrons by using plans already in hand. It was owing to an excess of energy by men who made a specialty of this sort of building, and to the undue stimulus given to such operations

Fire Proof
Construction
Before 1906

Domestic
Architecture
Exhibits
Uniformity

by those who took shares in building clubs merely as an investment, that the organizations owed their subsequent decline in popularity.

A Demand
for Sites
With Views

It was not until the Nineties that a disposition to depart from uniformity asserted itself. Prior to that date there were sporadic manifestations of a propensity to impress by the erection of costly structures which indulgent critics called palaces, but the desire to make the home indicate the culture of its owner did not become prevalent until the rapidly accumulating wealth of the community became more diffused. This motive had a marked effect in improving residential architecture, and the increasing attractiveness of the City, which was rapidly becoming the goal of the prosperous who made fortunes in the mining or other industries of the state, and of the neighboring states and territories, also played its part in the change. The style of building was not only showing improvement, but tempted by the increased accessibility of portions of the City once comparatively neglected, the prosperous citizen and stranger were inclined to pick out for adornment with beautiful homes the choice spots affording views. The number of these was not limited, and unlike cities on plains an ultra fashionable quarter was difficult of establishment on this account. There were admirable sites overlooking City and bay, and there were others from which the marine feature was absent that proved equally attractive, but toward the close of the century the water prospect had gained ascendancy and the streets west of Van Ness with a view of the harbor were affected by the socially pretentious. The avenue itself had already throughout much of its length taken on an almost exclusively residential character, although the apartment house was beginning to invade its precincts, and clubdom was manifesting an inclination to establish itself on the spacious thoroughfare which was also becoming the favorite locale for churches.

Criticisms
of Strangers

The comparisons which attempt to measure present achievements against earlier performances are rarely flattering to the past. It is easy to convey the impression that a city whose progress has been rapid presented a village-like appearance a few years earlier. But all things are relative, and to acquire a fair idea of what San Francisco looked like in the early Eighties it is safer to trust to the description of disinterested contemporaries than to infer from a statistical presentation. There is no lack of contemporary data and it is usually very complimentary. In most cases the defects which the resident saw so plainly and so freely condemned were overlooked by strangers. Perhaps those who visited San Francisco in days nearer to pioneer times were able to realize the difficulties that had to be overcome, and were less disposed to underrate them than those who surmounted them. Something of the sort must have influenced the Princess von Racowitza, who saw San Francisco in the early Eighties and subsequently wrote in her autobiography: "The new country became civilized with astonishing rapidity. Very soon the rough plats of ground were ornamented with fine streets and beautiful buildings. San Francisco blossomed into the most elegant and fascinating town in the States." A similar kindly judgment was passed by James Anthony Froude a little later, although he indulged in no comparisons, but confined his comment to expressions of wonderment that so much should have been accomplished in so short a time.

Critic and
Architect

In the face of generous admissions of the kind quoted it may be regarded as a case of traveling outside the record for a San Francisco annalist to declare that the eulogies were not deserved, and to repeat the criticism which applied to



VIEW ACROSS THE GOLDEN GATE FROM LAND'S END STATION
This view, tourists declare, surpasses anything of the kind in the world



THE OCEAN FRONT, LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE CLIFF HOUSE

the architecture of most American cities at the time, and more particularly to the Pacific coast metropolis whose principal building material lent itself so readily to vagaries. But truth demands the confession that the advances of the City along good architectural lines had been very slow and that as late as 1890 it was possible for a serious historian to write of Sutro's baths: "It is perhaps the completest establishment of the kind ever seen, and in many respects outshines the imperial baths of ancient Rome." Doubtless this reflected the local judgment at the time, but we now know that it was the product of an environment in which oiled paper was accepted as an excellent substitute for art glass, and in which decalcomania was held in high esteem. It may be absurd to speak of a decadence as occurring in so brief a period as that embraced in the life of the modern City of San Francisco, but there is not the slightest doubt that there was a distinct step backward after the Seventies, which may be attributed to the leveling process of "averaging up" which followed the accumulation of wealth and its more thorough dissemination. For several years San Francisco enjoyed the presence of a disproportionate number of good architects, but they were superseded by teachers who taught "art" to all who were ambitious to learn, and while the process of cultivating the entire community progressed a great admiration for "hand painted" things arose which sometimes obscured the fact that the application of colors by hand did not always insure artistic results.

It is possible to dissent from the sweeping verdict of a critic who while complimenting the work of some of the early architects asserted that in the matter of business structures "San Francisco belonged to a class wholly by itself," but that in other parts of the City almost every house erected before about 1885 could be safely and even cheerfully overlooked." Even if it had been desirable to do so it would have been impossible for the observer to follow this advice, for much of the bad building before the year named was obtrusively conspicuous; but even when obnoxious to criticism of the sort quoted the very bad by virtue of its location made a stronger impression than the eulogized downtown structures which were pronounced "the first business buildings erected in the United States which were both exotic and interesting—buildings which were the product of an alien tradition, yet which retain under American surroundings a certain propriety and positive charm." The man restrained by the canons of his art might see the incongruous features of a wooden Gothic castellated structure, and the contradictions which bay windows and classical columns of timber involve, but the people who do not dissect regarded only the general effect, and like the Princess Racowitza felt its picturesqueness and pronounced it "beautiful."

The interest of the historian in the development of architectural taste is less centered in the question whether it was proceeding along correct lines than in determining its effect upon the social well being of the people. It is conceivable that a community might live in the shadow of classic temples and not enjoy any great measure of comfort or the delights which a cultivated estheticism produces; but it is impossible that a city could be created of houses, no matter how plain in appearance, which served as comfortable homes, without testifying to its progress. The fact that "Queen Ann and Mary Ann" architecture were inextricably mixed did not in the least detract from the force of the evidence that San Francisco before 1885 was preparing herself for what happened after that date. The better buildings erected thereafter were the outcome of the strengthened home

Picturesque
Appearance
of City

Growth of
the Home
Feeling

instinct which had to make its way against adverse circumstances, and of habits developed under conditions existing in few cities outside of San Francisco. The unreflecting sometimes attribute the congested condition of New York to the fact that it is situated on a long narrow island, but experience proves that gregariousness and other motives operate more powerfully than restricted area in bringing dense masses of people together. There was no reason why San Franciscans should crowd each other in the early days of the City, but they did so, and actually adopted measures to perpetuate the condition they had imposed upon themselves by making the size of the city lot as small as if the ground available for building was restricted.

Real Estate
and Real
Estate
Dealers

That they broke through these restraints and began to spread over the area embraced within the limits of the consolidated city and county, and overflowed its arbitrary boundaries was due to the speculative activity of the real estate dealer whose desire for gain has made him the apostle of thrift in all American cities. To the energetic efforts of this class can be traced the great centrifugal movement which during recent years has so materially changed urban life and made it not merely endurable, but so attractive that there is constant depreciation of the tendency to desert the farm for the city. The real estate dealer in San Francisco has played an active part in its development since the days when it was the village of Yerba Buena, but his activities have rarely taken on boom characteristics. It has been stated that at no time in the history of the City was there a disposition shown to inflate values by the device of misstating sale prices, the conservative course of naming a nominal sum in the deed, as the consideration, being the usage from the beginning; but dealers succeeded in imparting the belief that real estate is dependable property, and that it is one of the best forms of investment. To the propagation of this idea, and the diligence in promoting urban transportation facilities exhibited in the Eighties may be attributed the fact that San Francisco despite the manifold temptations to crowd, was never seriously afflicted with the tenement evil. The propensity to live in rooms and take meals at restaurants, and to board or maintain quarters in hotels, was very strong before 1906, but there were comparatively few houses into which a large number of families were crowded.

Opening
New Resi-
dence Dis-
tricts

That this tendency made little headway was due to the fact that San Francisco real estate men were among the earliest to recognize the possibilities which improved urban transportation presented. The effect of the introduction of the cable as an agent in the work of dispersion was foreseen and discounted by them. Long before the necessary capital could be obtained for the building of cable railways the energetic real estate dealer had figured out the places to which they could and would penetrate, and had convinced clients innumerable that they would be promptly provided. The result was the creation of many nuclei which soon developed into settlements of consequence, the inhabitants of which incessantly demanded the fulfillment of their expectations. The modern reformer who dilates upon the rapacity of the men who "grabbed" the valuable privileges of early days has deliberately closed his eyes to the existence of the condition which produced the result he now deprecates. The privilege of running street cars on the thoroughfares of a populous city is a valuable one, but we are too apt to lose sight of the fact that the values were in large part created by the men who obtained the privileges, and that in many, if not in all instances, they had to be urged to run



STADIUM AND RACETRACK, GOLDEN GATE PARK

the risk of providing a service long before a proper remuneration for their outlay could be obtained.

The development of the street car system of San Francisco has been the subject of more misunderstanding, and has resulted in bringing more discredit on the City than anything else in its history. It is well, therefore to make as clear as possible certain facts which will help to fix the blame where it belongs. Their recital will show that the laches of the community had created a condition which made development as difficult without paying toll as it would have been for the merchant to pass through the forest of Arden without settling with Robin Hood. It is not necessary to inquire narrowly into the causes which contributed to the state of mind which rendered men otherwise scrupulously exact in their dealings with their fellowmen indifferent to the lax practices of those who were acting for them in a public capacity. There will be no denial of the assertion that this looseness existed. It may be surmised that at bottom the indifference was due to the feeling that the public servant was underpaid, and that the man not properly rewarded for his services may be excused for adding to his revenues by irregular methods. At any rate there was condonation of irregularity, and the vice grew in the same manner as that of tipping, which in many respects closely resembles the graft of the office-holder to whom tribute was paid, and is still paid, voluntarily to secure the expeditious performance of a duty which would, perhaps, be performed with expedition without the tip if the salary or wages of the position were commensurate with the expectations of the person holding it.

The statement that this was and is a condition is merely put forward as an explanation and not as an excuse for its existence, and because nothing can be gained by suppressing or misrepresenting the facts. The latter are easily ascertained. They are largely a matter of record, and when that character of evidence is lacking the deficit can be pieced out with notoriety. There is no question that up to 1880 a street car franchise was not regarded as a valuable privilege by the people of San Francisco. In 1879 there was an active demand for franchises and a great number of them were granted; but it is significant that some of the applications made by men, who were reputed to be shrewd in business matters, were for as short a period as twenty-five years, although the term might have been made fifty for the asking. This implies that these applicants at least did not imagine that they were securing a tremendously valuable privilege, and it may be added that the franchises secured at this time, in several instances, proved to be valueless, the roads built under them being operated at a loss to the investors.

It was not until 1887 that anything like a serious objection was urged against the granting of franchises. In that year we find Mayor Washington Bartlett in his valedictory message to the supervisors recommending that "limitations should be placed upon municipal corporations in regard to privileges, and the using of public streets by railroads and other corporations, and that franchises should not be given for more than twenty-five years." Such a prohibition he declared "would tend to prevent the giving for too long periods of franchises which in the City of San Francisco alone were worth millions." In view of the fact that Bartlett's name is found affirmatively appended to several franchises given to street railways during his two terms of office, which began in 1883 and expired in January, 1887, the recommendation suggests the pertinent remark about locking the stable door after the steed had been stolen; or it might have done so if it were not true that there were

Graft and
Tipping in
San Francisco

Franchises
Not Regarded
as Valuable

Locking the
Stable Door
After the
Steed is Stolen

still numerous opportunities to make profitable use of the streets that had not been taken advantage of up to that period. Nobody questioned the probity of Bartlett when he approved a franchise granted to Thomas Magee and others in 1886, although the name of a professional lobbyist of the Market street system was included in the number, nor did anyone challenge the motives of the members of the board of supervisors who voted affirmatively despite the opposition of E. B. Pond, who afterward was chosen mayor, largely because of the reputation acquired by him as the watchdog of the treasury. Several years earlier when a group in the board of supervisors granted every privilege asked for there was a great deal of talk about "the solid nine," but later when the legislative body was nearly unanimous in the exercise of its power of making gifts the voice of the critic was almost hushed.

Popular
Indifference
to Franchise
Grabs

A review of all the circumstances attending the conferring of street car franchises up to the close of the Nineties would disclose that the people of the City generally were mainly concerned to get facilities, and that they were in no wise particular about the mode of getting them. Such antagonisms as those which occasionally developed appear to have grown out of the rivalries of the companies already in the field, who sought to prevent encroachments on the territory occupied by them, and sometimes they were influenced by a narrow jealousy which sought to interpose obstacles to the extension of lines into sections whose development might interfere with the growth of those already penetrated and supplied with street car service. Gustav Sutro and his associates, who received a franchise in December, 1886, to construct a line from Central, now Presidio avenue, to the Cliff house, met with opposition of this sort, and in the ensuing year there was considerable friction, the most of which, however, was smoothed over by compromises which were so easily effected that there was ground for a reasonable doubt that the contests were not as serious as they appeared to be on the surface. By 1890 these slight obstacles to the acquisition of privileges seem to have disappeared, and franchises and extensions were freely conferred, many of which were apparently secured for the purpose of strengthening existing lines. There were some fresh enterprises represented by new interests, but they were formed chiefly for the occupation of what at the time were unoccupied fields.

Schemes to
Shut Out
Competition

It would be an error to assert that at the close of the century the valuable street privileges had all been secured, and that those companies already in the field could exclude newcomers, for in 1903 there was still an opportunity for the creation of rival lines just as there is today. But it is a fact that the supervisors of the past, whether they were of the good, bad or indifferent kind, had created a difficult situation by permitting cunning men to take up the streets in such a manner that opposition was effectually discouraged. Franchises were granted which were obviously designed to shut out rival lines by occupying only a few blocks of a street. The result was zigzag routes which were only used to deter others from attempting to provide an effective service. One of these nicknamed the "corkscrew" probably made a dozen turns in its length. The ability to make these with facility indicated a great advance in transportation methods, as may be inferred from the statement that when the North Beach and Mission road was projected there were grave doubts expressed whether the cars could be drawn around sharp curves, and the pessimistic even went so far as to predict that it could not be done. When the "corkscrew" line was mapped out there was no



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT FIRE OF 1906

longer any fear on that score. It had been proved by experience that horses could draw cars around sharp curves, and it was also demonstrated that passengers rather than walk a block or two to take a more direct line, were quite willing to travel by the circuitous route which the desire to hold numerous streets had imposed upon the City.

During the time horses were the power depended upon to move the cars over this line, and later when the wire rope was employed, the community seemed to accept its drawbacks and adapt themselves to its shortcomings. Many years after the successful application of cable traction the zigzag road enjoyed its share of patronage despite its circuitousness. People were not in so much of a hurry as they became later, and were content to reach their destination by indirect routes. Meanwhile the Market street system which was operated by horse power for several years after Halladie had demonstrated the practicability of cable traction had resorted to that method of propulsion. The roadbed was well constructed, but there was no waste of money in providing equipment, the horse car rolling stock being converted into cable cars by the addition of several feet to their length in order to make a place for the gripman, and to furnish added seating capacity which was accomplished by providing seats on which the passengers sat facing outward. This mode of traction and style of car was retained on the principal thoroughfare of the City until the fire of 1906, and to that fact, or rather to the rivalries which account for the retention of an obsolete method years after a more satisfactory mode of propulsion had been adopted throughout the length and breadth of the land may be traced the great scandal in which the City became involved during the period of its rehabilitation.

Although electricity was not employed on the Market street system until after 1906, it had been introduced into the City as early as 1900, when a franchise was granted to a company to operate a line from the intersection of Market and Eddy streets, along the latter thoroughfare to Divisadero, "whenever said streets are opened and graded." This quoted proviso and the necessity of securing a change in the organic law which would permit the use of electricity account for the fact that although the franchise for the road was obtained in December, 1890, it was not in operation until two or three years later. Meanwhile the trolley had demonstrated its capabilities in various parts of the state, notably in Sacramento. The Market Street Company, although extremely reluctant to scrap its cable plant, manifested a disposition to substitute the overhead trolley system, but met with opposition from various sources, some of them disinterested, but underneath them all there was the latent hostility to the Southern Pacific corporation whose prominent spirits were financially and otherwise the controlling element in the organization. At the time when the change of traction method was first mooted the underground systems of New York and Washington had achieved a qualified success, and a wave of opposition to overhead wires was sweeping through the land. The desire to emulate the example of the two Eastern cities, and the sentiment in favor of The City Beautiful, proved powerful arguments, and by the time the controlling element in the Market street system had reached the determination to discard its cables and machinery the opposition had gained such force that it was impossible to secure a hearing for the trolley.

One of the causes which contributed to the feeling of irritation against the Market Street Company was the maintenance of two outside tracks on the lower

Market Street
System
Adopts Cable
Traction

Opposition to
Overhead
Trolley

Indifference
to Abuses

part of the thoroughfare upon which it operated a horse car or two in order to prevent the possible granting of a franchise to a rival line. There was no probability of any such action being taken at the time, but the antagonism of the people made the managers suspicious, and they preferred to keep the franchise which they had obtained possession of alive by a pretense of affording service. It was characteristic of the period that despite the pronounced antipathy to the people controlling the principal street railways that no one took the trouble to invoke the courts to ascertain whether the act of running a one horse car at long intervals constituted such a service as the terms of the franchise called for, but apathy in this particular was by no means singular. Although the press repeatedly called attention to the failure of the street railway companies to comply with the provisions of their charters, requiring them to keep the space between their tracks, and a certain distance on either side of them paved to conform to the remainder of the thoroughfare, no attempt was ever made to compel them to live up to their obligations. It is surprising, when all the circumstances are considered, that the same contempt which resulted in the disregard of franchise requirements was not powerful enough to prompt an attempt to substitute the trolley for the cable, but none was made.

Alluring
Promises
Made by
Market Street
Company

There were suggestions of a conciliatory character put forward by the Market Street Company. The public was sounded to ascertain how a proposition to erect trolley poles of an ornamental design, surmounted by arc lamps, in the middle of the thoroughfare, would be received. It was intimated that these poles might be erected in numerous places of refuge, something after the style of the safety stations later introduced through instrumentality of the Merchants' Association, and it was stated that as a further concession for the privilege of substituting the overhead trolley that the franchise for the outside tracks would be surrendered, conditional upon a guarantee being given that no further concession should be granted to operate along the part of the line from which the tracks were to be withdrawn. These intimations and promises, which were made alluring by pictures of the brilliant scene which Market street would present at night, and disquisitions on the possibility of making the overhead trolley an object to be admired by day rather than detested because of its ugliness and obstructiveness in case of fire, proved powerless to alter adverse opinion, and the main thoroughfare of the City was not disfigured with wires. The old company was apparently content to abide by the decision of the community, perhaps largely because those in control were greatly averse to the scrapping process, and Market street down to the time of the fire was traversed by the comparatively slow moving cable cars. It should be added that the system was well conducted under its original management, and that while there was much complaint concerning the strictness of the rules made by the manager, Vining, the service on the whole was good.

Control of
Street Rail-
ways Easily
Surrendered

Although the people of the City had been made acquainted with the better mode of propulsion which electricity presented by the opening of the Metropolitan line, and the electrification of one or two minor roads, they showed no disposition to yield on the point of permitting the use of overhead wires on Market street. This was the position of affairs down to the time of change of ownership. Early in 1901 rumors were current that an Eastern group of capitalists were endeavoring to acquire the Market street system and other railroads operated on the streets of San Francisco. The stock of the Market street corporation was

PROCLAMATION

BY THE MAYOR

The Federal Troops, the members of the Regular Police Force, and all Special Police Officers have been authorized to KILL any and all persons found engaged in looting or in the commission of any other crime.

I have directed all the Gas and Electric Lighting Companies not to turn on Gas or Electricity until I order them to do so; you may therefor expect the city to remain in darkness for an indefinite time.

I request all citizens to remain at home from darkness until daylight of every night until order is restored.

I Warn all citizens of the danger of fire from damaged or destroyed chimneys, broken or leaking gas pipes or fixtures, or any like cause.

E. E. SCHMITZ, Mayor.
Dated, April 18, 1906.

ALTYATER PRINT. CO. MISSION N. 220 STS

not widely dispersed, and the price at which it was selling at the time the bargaining for its acquisition by the United Railroads Company, which finally obtained possession, was in progress did not indicate that the community regarded its privileges as enormously valuable. It is stated that in addition to the chief holders of the stock of the concern there were about 300 persons who held comparatively small amounts of its stock. These latter were tempted by the opportunity to realize par upon stock upon which they had paid anywhere from 50 to 70, and parted with their holdings. Nobody at the time of the transaction saw fit to reproach the projectors or stockholders for surrendering control. There was criticism of the proposed purpose of the new holding company to consolidate the properties they were about to acquire, and to capitalize at a sum largely in excess of the cost of construction, but it was not very vigorous, and seemed to be tempered by the idea that the transfer would result in bringing a large amount of foreign capital into the City. So far as the people generally were concerned, they apparently deemed their interest adequately protected by the power of the state to regulate the rate of fare which was five cents at the time, with a liberal transfer privilege.

It is evident that at the time of the transfer, and subsequent consolidation of the various street railway properties, and their control by an outside group of capitalists, that little thought was given to the possibility of friction being engendered by contemplation of the effects of absenteeism. Prior to the transfer to the United Railroads there had been no serious labor troubles affecting the operation of the street car lines, and the probability of difficulties from that cause being accentuated by outside ownership did not receive much consideration. Not long after the consummation of the deal which occurred Oct. 11, 1901, these hitherto neglected questions began to arise and cause trouble, and the heat engendered by the disputes growing out of differences between employers and employed called forth censorious judgments which embraced scathing condemnation of the watering process resorted to by the new organization. It was alleged that properties which had cost about \$16,000,000 had been so manipulated that they would be made to earn returns upon a capitalization of more than \$80,000,000. When the discussion concerning the watering process was warmest the public had little accurate knowledge of the actual state of affairs, but later developments fully justified the common assumption that the United Railroads Company had made a very good bargain, and that those interested in it were destined to profit greatly at the expense of the people of San Francisco. Nevertheless, except in a very limited circle, which had become conscious that it had let a good thing slip out of its hands, these considerations did not make a great impression because it was recognized that some group of capitalists must profit, and further because the community believed that the Eastern syndicate was in a position to make the extensions so urgently demanded, and which were not being provided as rapidly as desired by the men who had parted with control.

The United Railroads after entering into possession of the various lines formerly operated by the Market Street Cable Company, the Omnibus Cable Company, the Park and Cliff line, the Powell street line, the Park and Ocean road, the Ferries and Cliff road and the Sutter street railway attempted to pursue a conciliatory policy. They did not urgently press the proposition to substitute the overhead trolley on Market street, but they put forth numerous arguments in advocacy of such a course, and urged the unsuitability of an under-

Beginning of
Hostility to
United
Railroads

Conciliatory
Policy of
United
Railroads

ground system for San Francisco whose topographical conditions differed greatly from those of the two Eastern cities where that method of electric traction was in vogue. It was perfectly clear that there was no intention to accede to the demand for an underground electric system on Market street, and the least astute observer had no difficulty in recognizing that a policy of wearing out antagonism had been entered upon by the corporation. Meanwhile, however, it was making extensive demonstrations of the utility of the trolley and illustrating its argument that it was desirable to make the entire street railway system symmetrical, so that the rolling stock of the company could be used to the greatest advantage, and for the convenience of the public. This attitude was seized upon to keep the dissatisfaction alive, and the attacks on the refusal to provide an underground system on Market street were supplemented by assaults on the extension of the trolley on other thoroughfares. Opposition was made to the substitution of the trolley on the zigzag road which had been started as a horse car line and had been converted into a cable before the consolidation. There were harrowing prophecies that the sharp curves would prove deadly, if the overhead trolley were used, and other faults were found. It may be well to mention in this connection that none of these predictions were realized, and that no accidents whatever have occurred at the particular points denominated "death curves."

Attempts to
Secure a
Municipal
Railway

To these difficulties and not to any conviction that municipal operation of railways would prove either desirable or profitable to the community can be traced the movement to take over the Geary street line on the expiration of its franchise and operate it municipally. The first effort to that end was made at an election held on the 2d of December, 1902, when a proposition to issue bonds to the amount of \$700,000 failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote. There was, however, a majority in favor of the undertaking, the affirmative vote being 15,071 and 11,331 against. The crudest possible motions prevailed concerning construction. It was proposed to utilize the conduit in which the cable traveled for the installation of the underground trolley, and it was believed that the old road-bed constructed twenty-five years earlier could be adapted to the new system. Extravagant promises of improvement upon the service afforded by the existing roads were made, and it was promised that the equipment should be superior to any with which San Franciscans had theretofore been familiar. In the ensuing year, on October 8th, a second attempt was made to authorize an indebtedness of \$710,000 for the construction of the road. It also failed, the vote being 14,351 for and 10,790 against. At both of these elections scarcely more than one-third of the citizens of San Francisco eligible to vote cast their ballots. After the second failure in 1903 no further attempt was made to revive the project of building and operating the Geary street road until 1909. In the meantime the City permitted the continued operation of the line under its original ownership, the consideration being the payment of a fixed proportion of the gross receipts into the treasury, the arrangement being terminable at the option of the municipality. No effort was made by the company to improve its service, but despite the fact that the rolling stock was poor, and that the cable traveled slowly, the line enjoyed considerable patronage during the many years that it was operated under lease, and on two occasions while strikes were in progress on the United Railroads system it carried as many passengers as during the palmiest days of its existence.



THE FIRE BURNING IN THE BANKING AND COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

View down Pine Street from Grant Avenue

The first year after the United Railroads Company took possession of the system which bears its name there were 124,864,380 passengers carried by its lines; in 1905 this number had increased to 141,337,840. The gross earnings of the company in the latter year were \$7,066,892 and the net \$3,449,071. The outlook for greater increases in the near future was exceptionally good, and the fact brought about a recrudescence of the criticism which had been temporarily quieted. The growing prosperity of the City, and the tendency of the population to spread over wide areas, were forcing themselves on the attention of local capitalists and making them keenly alive to the fact that they had permitted great opportunities for profit to pass out of their hands into those of outsiders. Although the agitation for municipal operation of the Geary street road had in a measure abated, there were still occasional articles in the press urging the idea that the taking over of all public service corporations by the City would prove a panacea for all the woes of San Francisco. There had, however, been a change of opinion in some quarters, and in 1905 men who had formerly been strong advocates of municipal ownership reached the conclusion that the best mode of serving the public would be by competition, and to that end a scheme was projected the outcome of which, had it been carried into execution, would have given the City a rival street railway system. It was asserted at the time by some that the purpose of the projectors was not what it appeared to be on the surface, and that in reality the threatened rivalry was part of a plan to break down the invading holding company, and secure possession of the United Railways. Although allegations of this character were openly made, and the fact that the strongest capitalist of the local financial coterie had successfully carried through at least two operations of a like character, there was no doubt in the mind of the community respecting the integrity of the projectors, and when they declared their intention of applying for a franchise or franchises which would enable them to create a rival system the announcement was received with general satisfaction.

There was no good ground for distrusting the purposes of the proposed rival system other than that mentioned. At the time San Francisco was in the throes of a great real estate movement; buildings were springing up in every direction; the City was spreading over the entire area embraced within the limits assigned to it by the Consolidation Act, and its people were finding their way into neighboring counties which were being provided with better transportation facilities. Nothing seemed clearer to the discerning than the probability that in the near future there would have to be a great addition to the means of getting about, and no reason suggested itself why two systems would not be better than a monopoly by a single company, and that composed of outsiders. Although pains had been taken to make rivalry difficult by the device of "corkscrew" routes, and by occupying two streets for a line where one would have sufficed, and been more convenient for patrons, there still remained enough thoroughfares to permit the construction of a complete system which could be made to serve the public as effectively as that already occupying the field. In view of these facts it is somewhat extraordinary that instead of furnishing tangible evidence of carrying out the projected enterprise, those back of it appeared to think it necessary to cripple the existing system and to place obstacles in the way of its extension.

The rapid growth of population after 1900 made it imperatively necessary that there should be many additions made to the lines already operating. The real estate

Creation of a
Rival System
Threatened

No Obstacle
in the Way
of Rivalry

Population
Growth and
Activity

records reflect this need in a positive manner. For a number of years after the sand lot troubles in 1877, although the people had not lost confidence, property was inactive and sales of realty had greatly lessened in volume. In 1875 the transactions aggregated over thirty-five millions. In the ensuing year they fell off over ten millions and in 1877 there was another diminution. Every successive year witnessed a big drop, and in 1879 the total sales amounted to only \$10,318,744. In 1885 they had increased a trifle, the aggregate being \$18,184,354. After that year there was an expansion until 1890, when the figures of fifteen years earlier were passed, the total sales being \$36,545,887. This improvement did not endure long. After 1890 there was a steady decline in the volume of sales until 1898 when the low water mark of 1879 was almost touched, the aggregate of transactions amounting to only \$10,747,102. After 1898 a remarkable change occurred. In 1901 the sales were nearly three times as great as in 1898, reaching \$29,147,969; in the ensuing year they nearly doubled, aggregating \$47,896,512, and in 1905 they footed up \$74,926,065, more than seven-fold the volume of seven years earlier. The building operations of the period were no less significant of prosperity than the trade in real estate. In 1895 the estimated cost of structures erected was \$5,639,942; in 1898 it had fallen to \$3,490,603. The increase after 1898 was very rapid. In 1900 buildings to the value of \$6,390,205 were put up; two years later the amount was doubled, the building operations representing an expenditure of \$14,289,938 and in 1905 this total was enlarged to \$20,111,861.

**Building
and Loan
Associations**

Building operations during the period of rapid increase were not confined to any section of the City. In the business district the replacement of structures still serviceable by others more substantial and of larger proportions was in progress, but the most noteworthy development was in the residential districts already existing, and in new sections which four or five years earlier were regarded as suburban localities. During the five years following 1888 building associations became very popular and many new companies were formed. They were mostly conducted on the gross premium plan and their methods tended to greatly stimulate construction, especially in neighborhoods where lots could be bought cheaply. In 1894 the gross assets of these associations aggregated \$12,025,979 and the loans to members \$10,954,648. Installments and paid up stock in that year were reported at \$7,849,436, and the apportioned earnings were \$2,406,637. About this time, however, the system received a serious setback through the failure of a contractor named Landers, whose transactions involved some twenty different associations. This trouble occurred in 1894-5. There were then 67 building societies. The number in 1905 had fallen to 48, and the volume of their business was greatly diminished, the apportioned earnings which were \$2,406,637 in 1894 dropping to \$1,239,878 in 1905. These promoters of thrift never regained their popularity in the City after the failure of the speculative contractor whose plunging propensities were largely due to the departure from the purely cooperative plan which characterized building associations when first started in Philadelphia. The benefits of these associations were greatly modified in San Francisco by the admission to membership of persons who had no intention of building or borrowing from the club, but merely sought a profitable investment for spare funds. This practice resulted in unduly stimulating borrowing by members who were unable to carry out their agreement when financial troubles arrested the progress of the City.



FIRE BURNING ON MARKET STREET, NEAR THIRD

Concurrent with the unorganized effort to improve the appearance of the City, which manifested itself in a greater attention to architectural effect in the construction of private residences and public buildings, there was formed in 1904 "The Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco." It was organized on the 1st of January of that year with James D. Phelan as president and soon attained a membership of over 400. The main object of the association was to promote in every practicable way the beautifying of the streets, public buildings, parks, squares and public places of San Francisco; to bring to the attention of the officials and people of the City the best methods for instituting artistic municipal betterments; to stimulate the sentiment of civic pride in the improvement and care of public property; to suggest quasi public enterprises, and, in short, to make San Francisco a more agreeable city in which to live, and finally to discover and indicate the ways and means by which all these results might be attained. As a preliminary step to the accomplishment of the association's purposes, D. H. Burnham, the well known architect whose plans for the improvement of Washington, Cleveland, Chicago and Manila had made his name familiar to the nation, was invited to direct and execute a comprehensive plan for the adornment of the City. The result of the movement was an extended examination of the possibilities of improvement and development by Mr. Burnham who made a report which was published toward the close of the year 1905. It outlined a scheme of parks, streets and public grounds, and was profusely illustrated with diagrams and sketches of suggested improvements which were designed on a most liberal scale, and "for all time." In a preface Mr. Burnham admonished his readers that "while prudence holds up a warning finger, we must not forget what San Francisco has become in fifty years and what it is still further destined to become."

The recommendations of Mr. Burnham were numerous and went much further than the most optimistic believed could be carried out in any American city, but they were accepted as a basis or starting point from which to work in the attempt to make San Francisco the most beautiful city in America. The San Franciscan of today when he surveys the mooted plans of Mr. Burnham will be inclined to regard them as incapable of realization, but the men back of the movement did not consider them visionary. The foremost suggestion in relation to the formation of a civic center took powerful hold on the imagination of the people, and it is now in a fair way of being realized. It was Mr. Burnham's opinion that "in a city as large as San Francisco is destined to be no central place will be adequate for the grouping of the public buildings. The civic center will therefore develop," he said, "in the form of a number of sub centers having for location the intersection of radial arteries with the perimeter of distribution," and at each of these intersections "there should be public places." The rectangular system of streets fastened on the City in the early days constituted an insuperable obstacle to the carrying out of the comprehensive plan of Mr. Burnham. The outlay which would have been required to conform to his suggestions would have been enormous, and would have imposed a burden on the community which probably would have retarded instead of contributing to its advancement.

As the suggestions of Mr. Burnham have been, or are being acted upon in a modified form it will be interesting to reproduce the most salient of them. That they should have been seriously considered at the time they were made testifies that the spirit of optimism was very pronounced in San Francisco. One of his centers

Plans for a
City Beautiful

Architect
Burnham's
Recommendations

Civic Center
Plans in
1905

contemplated a grouping of the city hall, court of justice, the custom house, appraiser's building, state building, United States government building and post-office in one place. A second set of groupings he suggested should comprise a library building, opera house, concert hall, municipal theater, academy of art, technical and industrial school, museum of art, museum of natural history, academy of music, exhibition hall and assembly hall. These buildings, he urged, "should be composed in esthetic and economic relation, and should face on the perimeter of distribution, and on the radial arteries within, and in particular on the public places formed by their intersection, and should have on all sides extensive settings contributing to public rest and adapted to celebrations, fetes, etc." An outer boulevard following the sea wall, with public piers for recreation, a yacht and boat harbor, and vast bathing places both inclosed and open were included in the scheme. There were numerous other suggestions, among them an approach to California street hill, a connection of Divisadero street with Corbett avenue, a thoroughfare to radiate from the Pan Handle of the park at Baker street, diagonal arteries in the Sunset district, parking through the Sunset district, a parkway between Twenty-third and Alvarado streets, a Mission boulevard, a reconstruction of the principal arteries of the Mission, an Islais creek place, a tunnel through Ashbury Heights, Hillside streets instead of direct approaches where the grades are steep, Telegraph hill to be terraced and to plant the inaccessible streets; Russian hill to be terraced and planted in order that the driveway become as nearly as possible a parkway; Pacific Heights to be treated in a similar fashion; Lone Mountain to be left intact, the base only to be planted; Twin Peaks group to be approached with a continuous drive to the 800 foot level; the extension of Market street by grades around Twin Peaks, sweeping down into Lake Merced valley, to be joined at various levels by roads from the Mission, Western Addition, etc.; Portrero Heights to be encircled by a continuous roadway; the conversion of the city burying ground into a park; an amphitheater for Twin Peaks around which were to be grouped buildings for the accommodation of various branches of intellectual and artistic pursuits. A little open air theater after the ancient Greek style was included in this part of the scheme. Last but not least in this long list of projected improvements was the extension of the Pan Handle of the park to Market street at Van Ness avenue. The proposition embraced the taking of an entire block along a direct line with existing extension, the new parkway being bounded by Oak and Fell streets whose grades as a working roadway were to be left almost intact. According to this plan the Pan Handle would meet Market street at Van Ness avenue, "And the crossing of these three great thoroughfares," he said, "naturally indicated the center of the City. Accordingly this junction was to be a spacious concourse from which wide thoroughfares would radiate in all directions." The widening of Eighth street was also recommended, and it was suggested that the latter thoroughfare should be made broader, the result to be slowly attained by establishing new frontage lines.

Criticism of
the Burnham
Plans

The disaster of 1906 followed too closely upon the publication of this report to permit the expression of a judgment of the spirit in which it was received. At the time it was issued the community was on the crest of a wave of prosperity and inclined to hail with favor any suggestions which would stimulate the movement to make the City attractive. Mr. Burnham's plan in a measure disarmed criticism by the saving clause that the vast changes outlined were not to be effected in a day, but might require a half a century for their accomplishment. There were carpers, how-

SAN FRANCISCO, THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1906.

[illegible][illegible]

IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THE LOSS IN SAN FRANCISCO WILL REACH FROM \$100,000,000 TO \$200,000,000. THESE FIGURES ARE IN THE ROUGH AND NOTHING CAN BE TOLD UNTIL
 PARTIAL ACCOUNTING IS TAKEN.

ON EVERY SIDE THERE WAS DEATH AND SUFFERING YESTERDAY. HUNDREDS WERE INJURED, EIGHT BURNED, CRUSHED OR STRUCK BY FALLING PIECES FROM THE BUILDING. AND ONE OF THE MEN WHILE ON THE COOPERATING TABLE AT MERCHANTS' PRISON, IMPROVISED AS A HOSPITAL FOR THE COMFORT AND CARE OF ONE OF THE INJURED.

THE NUMBER OF DEAD IS NOT KNOWN BUT IS ESTIMATED THAT AT LEAST 50 MEN THEIR BROTHERS IN THE MOUNTAINS
AT MICH. OCEAN, UNDER A SPECIAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, THE CITY WAS PLACED UNDER MARTIAL LAW. HUNDREDS OF TROOPS PATROLLED THE STREETS
AND DROVE THE CROWDS BACK WHILE HUNDREDS MORE WERE SET TO WORK ASSISTING THE FIRE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS. THE STRICTEST ORDERS WERE ISSUED, AND IN
THEIR MILITARY SPIRIT THE SOLDIERS OBEYED. DURING THE AFTERNOON THOUSANDS OF THIEVES MET THEIR DEATH BY FIRE BULLETS WHILE AT WORK IN THE RUINS. THE CURIOUS
WERE DRIVEN BACK AT THE REPORTS OF THE HUNTERS THAT THE CAVALRYMEN RODE AND ALL THE CROWDS WERE FORCED FROM THE LEVEL DISTRICT TO THE HILLY SECTION 20
WORD TO THE NORTH

THE WATER SPRAY WAS ENTIRELY OFF, AND MAY BE IT WAS JUST AS WELL, FOR THE LINES OF FIRE DEPARTMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN ABSOLUTELY USELESS AT ANY TRACE. ASSAULTING CROWD QUICKESTLY SURVEILED THE WORK OF MEN AND EARLY IN THE MORNING IT WAS SEEN THAT THE ONLY POSSIBLE CHANCE TO SAVE THE CITY LAY IN EFFORT TO CHECK THE FLAMES BY THE USE OF DYNAMITE. DURING THE DAY A FLAT COULD BE HEARD IN ANY SECTION AT INTERVALS OF ONLY A FEW MINUTES AND BUILDINGS NOT OBSERVED BY FIRE WERE BLOWN TO ATOMS. BUT THROUGH THE GAPS MADE THE FLAMES JUMPED AND ALTHOUGH THE FAILURE OF THE HEROIC EFFORTS OF THE POLICE, FIREMEN AND SOLDIERS WERE IN TIMES TICKING, THE WORK WAS CONTINUED WITH A DETERMINATION THAT WILL LIVE AS ONE OF THE FEATURES OF THE TERRIBLE DISASTER. MEN WORKED LIKE FIELDS TO COMBAT THE LADDERING, ROARING, CRUSHING FIRE DEMON.

[illegible]

Continued on page 200

The dynamiting of buildings
in the wake of the fire, to start
the progress of the flames, was
in charge of John Birmingham
Co., superintendent of the Cal-
ifornia Powder Works. Several
experienced men from the pow-
er works, assisted by policemen
and members of the fire depart-
ment, did the dynamiting work.

...ing up the buildings. The
... named in one of them, b
... the open space where the d
... ired buildings fell were quic
... y turned into business
... . The work was most i
... tive in the business bl
... of New York.

Shorely after 6 o'clock the Steamer arrived to stay anchored near Pier number Sixteen at Knapsey and Calverly streets. The entire section being lying on the small side of Knapsey street and Calverly street.

All the buildings adjoining the site of 22nd St. were shoring and the Shaws were striving to save the structures using dynamite. It is almost a certainty that every building contained the volatile liquid known as Gas. From Market and East streets will be a street.

The Shaws had asked their contractor in the morning to dig for a Gas pipe. Then, by digging below after lunch, the Shaws succeeded in obtaining the Gas.

The magnificent church of the College of St. Ignace, on the southwest corner of Van Ness avenue and Mayno street requires to its destruction a total loss of over \$1,000,000. The actual cost of the great building was over \$800,000, but during the years which have shaped the

...of them were works of art which have never to be replaced, however trifling those interested in the church might be to consider any

At 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon 10 representatives of all the San Francisco men of the Mayor, the Chief of Police and the United States Treasury authorities in the police office in the basement of the Hall of Justice. They had been summoned earlier by Mayor Schmitz early in the forenoon, the fearful possibilities of the situation having forced themselves upon him unexpectedly after the shock of earthquake in the morning, and the news which was reached him of the completion of the disaster. He had no time in making out a list of citizens from whom to seek advice and assistance, and in summoning there, the conference. It was called at the Hall of Justice, as virtually the first news which reached the Mayor regarding the error of the disaster was that the men of the City Hall. He had no other authority.

At the time of the City riots, the riotous conduct that even went to the conference was in the going on corners would be eroding down and windows falling in fragments in the Hall of Justice, and that before cannot disappear often would be made to show the structure up at the year endeavor by the nation to check the advance of the figures in the northern section of the downtown district.

ever, who thought they knew as much about the needs of the City, and what it could accomplish, as a stranger, no matter how gifted, and they did not hesitate to point out that the scheme was absolutely impracticable, and that the cost of carrying it out would run into the hundreds of millions. One estimate assumed that its non-productive features would involve the expenditure of a much larger sum than had even been devoted to the beautification of a city in ancient or modern times, but the difference of opinion never reached the acrimonious stage, and when the disaster of 1906 overtook the City none of the outlined schemes had assumed definite shape. After the fire, in an incredibly brief period, the agitation for a beautiful city was revived, but curiously enough the suggestions in the report were overlooked, and the improvements entered upon appear to be on widely, almost wholly different lines from those suggested by Burnham, as will be seen from the description in the chapter dealing with the rehabilitation of the City.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the movement which resulted in the Burnham report in 1905 was suddenly inspired. As already related an attempt to have the Pan Handle of the park extended to Van Ness avenue had been favorably regarded by the people who authorized the borrowing of several millions for the accomplishment of the object which were not expended because of a defect in the law. Long before this authorization a more liberal spirit was beginning to be shown in the matter of providing for the care of the parks of the City. At the time of the Burnham report it was estimated by a person curious in such matters that San Francisco had 285.7 inhabitants for each park acre, while the average of the most important cities of the United States was 206.6 persons for each park, and this was urged as a reason for the acquisition of more territory for such uses. But the showing made a small impression on a people unaccustomed to the excessive heat of the Eastern summers, and who kept in mind the possibilities which the large area of the presidio, and the intra urban cemeteries presented of keeping plenty of future breathing spots. The appropriations for the upkeep of parks and squares which only amounted to \$38,006 in 1883 after that date were raised year by year. In 1890 the expenditure for reclamation and maintenance was \$125,864, in 1895 it was nearly double, \$229,051. In 1900 the amount allowed was \$237,152 and in 1905, the year before the fire, \$367,703 was expended. A large part of these expenditures was for reclamation which involved the conversion of sand dunes into lawns, and the covering of large areas absolutely destitute of vegetation with trees and shrubbery.

The human interest idea was by no means ignored, and additions were constantly being made to the list of attractions calculated to draw the people into the open when the allurements of green grass and open air fail. In 1890 a buffalo paddock was provided and several of those animals were installed. They multiplied and from this stock other herds have been developed. Elk were also introduced, together with other members of the deer family, and in the same year a large aviary was constructed. A few years earlier, in 1886, a children's play ground was established, William Sharon having provided \$50,000 for that purpose in a bequest. In 1900 Claus Spreckels caused a music stand to be erected at a cost of \$75,000. It was built of Colusa sandstone in the style of the Italian renaissance with a frontage of 55 feet and was 70 feet high. It is flanked by colonnades, and the depression around which the main buildings of the Midwinter Fair of 1894 were erected is devoted to the auditorium and provides seats for at least 20,000 people. This portion of the

Increased
Expenditures
for Park
Maintenance

Alteration
Features
Added to
Parks

park prior to its use for the Midwinter Fair was an unsightly lot of sand dunes, covered by an almost impenetrable scrub brush growth. Two hundred acres were cleared and graded, and were easily converted into what is now the most highly developed part of Golden Gate park. Another attractive feature of the park was the gift of Collis P. Huntington, who devoted \$25,000 to the creation of the falls which bear his name.

San
Francisco's
Numerous
Small Parks

Although the area devoted to park purposes does not compare with that of some of the Eastern cities, San Francisco has acquired at various periods a large number of small open places of varying size, some of which have been converted into attractive spots, and others are being rapidly made such in the midst of not altogether lovely surroundings. The list of these embraces in addition to Golden Gate park with its 1,013 acres, Buena Vista park, 36 acres, and Mountain Lakes, 19 acres, which were acquired at the same time. Subsequently there were added to the system Balboa park, 9 acres; Presidio parkway, a strip seven blocks long, 600x240 feet; Mission Dolores park, 14 acres; Lincoln park, 150 acres; Union Square, 2.60 acres; Portsmouth square, 1.29 acres; Franklin square, 2.20 acres; Duboce park, 4.36 acres; Alta Plaza, 11.90 acres; Pioneer park, 1.75 acres; Holly park, 7.56 acres; Alamo square, 12.70 acres; Washington square, 2.24 acres; Sunny Side, 3.46 acres; South park, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre; Garfield square, 2.86 acres; Columbia square, 2.52 acres; Hamilton square, 5.64 acres; La Fayette square, 9.46 acres; Lobos square, 12.69 acres; Fairmont park, 1.30 acres; and 7.57 acres between Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth avenues unnamed and several other small tracts, unimproved and undesignated.

Seal Rocks
and Ocean
Side
Boulevard

These parks and squares are well bestowed throughout the City, no part of it being neglected, and are under the care of the Park Commission, which also has under its supervision the Seal Rocks turned over to the City, in 1887, and the Great Highway which consists of all that portion of the lands within the limits of San Francisco above ordinary high water mark of the Pacific ocean as it existed July 7, 1846, which lies south of a line drawn due south of 81° and 35' east magnetic through Seal Rocks, and west of a line not less than 200 feet from ordinary high water mark. Along this strip has been constructed a finely macadamized drive which by the application of oil has been made dustless and perfectly smooth. It is known as the Ocean boulevard, and has a uniform width of 250 feet for a distance of three miles from the Cliff house to Lake Merced. It was predicted at one time that the encroachments of the ocean would rob the City of this splendid driveway, but many years' experience in the piling up of sand suggests the probability of the park domain being added to rather than diminished through the agency of the ocean. It is projected to construct piers at intervals along the beach and to ornament the same with an Italian balustrade, and thus enhance, if possible, its natural beauties.

Presidio
Reservation
and
Cemeteries

The presidio which contains nearly two thousand acres although not under the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities may be properly regarded as a part of San Francisco's park system. The federal government has done much to make it attractive, and is showing a disposition to increase its expenditures for that purpose. The presidio is traversed by excellently built and well maintained roads which are connected with those of the City, and the driveway which embraces views of the Golden Gate, the bay, the ocean and large parts of San Francisco is unrivalled in attractiveness by any boulevard in America. The writer of the "Annals of San Fran-



SCENE ON THE LAST DAY OF THE GREAT FIRE WHEN THE FLAMES TURNED
BACK FROM VAN NESS AVENUE AND BURNED RUSSIAN AND
TELEGRAPH HILLS



VIEW DOWN FOURTH STREET FROM MARKET STREET
Front of Academy of Sciences on the Right

cisco" who reproached his fellow citizens in 1856 with neglecting to provide the City with breathing places, and scornfully alluded to the fact that at the time he wrote there was no public open place other than the dusty precincts of Portsmouth square, and two or three other small places, would have no cause to complain if he could return from the shades, but he doubtless would be vastly astonished to find his successors, instead of traveling over the circuitous road to Lone Mountain which he describes, reaching it by direct streets, paved with material undreamed of in his time, and traversed by vehicles whose prototype, the omnibus, had hardly come into general use when he wrote. The places he speaks of in 1854 as though they were so remote that they never could by any possibility be included within the boundaries of the habitable portion of the municipality are now practically in the midst of the City. Writing of Lone Mountain cemetery, a projected tract of 320 acres, which he refers to as "lying between the Presidio and the Mission," he speaks as though the problem of dealing with the dead had been settled for all time by establishing a great burial ground three or four miles west of the Plaza. Perhaps the annalist, who was also the poet of the occasion of the dedication of the cemetery, which took place May 30, 1854, was carried away by the beauty of the view, and confined himself too much to the immediate prospect, but it appears that he as well as the orator of the day, Colonel E. D. Baker, whose remains repose on Senator's hill, near to those of Broderick, in Laurel hill cemetery, although exceedingly optimistic, were not endowed with sufficient prevision to foresee the westward flow of population. Much less were their successors, for they permitted the original tract of 320 acres to pass out of the hands of the City, surrendering the reservation to various organizations, an act which in subsequent years caused intramural burial to become a complex municipal problem which still remained unsolved at the close of the year 1912.

During the period intervening between 1883 and April, 1906, despite the pessimistic predictions regarding the water supply, and the ineffectual attempts to substitute for private control a system of municipal ownership and operation, the Spring Valley Company succeeded in meeting the requirements of the growing population, and although menaced at frequently recurring intervals by attempts on the part of the people to secure their property, or provide a rival supply, the corporation continued to add to its facilities and acted as though it were intrenched beyond possibility of dislodgement. The spirit of regulation which asserted itself in the Constitution of 1879, if it did not result in satisfying those who imagined that the possession of the power to fix water rates would assure a cheap supply, realized the prediction of those who took the view that it would have the effect of rendering the rate fixing body subservient to the corporation. That actually proved to be the case. Numerous boards of supervisors were accused of pliability, and the water question became a constant and troublesome factor in municipal politics. An intense antipathy was developed during the period which exhibited itself in incessant fault finding with the methods of Spring Valley and created a strong desire for municipal ownership, but no practical mode of attaining this object was adopted, although numerous plans were suggested, some of which were under the suspicion of being "jobs," and all of which in some fashion unfortunately linked up with the political aspirations of the proponents or were inspired by corrupt motives.

The City between 1883 and 1906 had not only greatly increased in population, but as related in the preceding pages, had extended its boundaries, and the habitable

Spring Valley
Still in
Control of
Water Supply

Additions to
Spring Valley
System

portion of the City was spread over a territory vastly larger than the number of inhabitants would imply. This necessitated the construction of many distributing lines, and the augmentation of the supply. While the demands of the community were not always responded to as rapidly as the most exacting thought they should be, the corporation managed to appease them, and despite the weight of hostile criticism it has maintained its position as the sole source of supply up to the present time. It could not have resisted the steady assaults made upon it during nearly half a century had it not pursued this policy, for while the problem was at all times a complicated one, it is reasonably certain that had there been a real failure to meet its obligations to provide sufficient water, or had the quality been as bad as its most virulent antagonists at times have charged, Spring Valley would have been driven from its position. What the company accomplished in the way of meeting the needs of the community prior to 1883 has already been told. After that date it continued developing its system. In 1885 it caused the construction of a 44 inch wrought iron pipe line from the upper Crystal Springs reservoir to a reservoir in the City known as University mound. This change eliminated the pumping process theretofore used as the water flowed by gravity from the reservoir in San Mateo county to the City. In 1888 the company completed its original Alameda creek works, from which two sixteen inch mains are laid under the bay into the City. Connected with this source is a pumping plant at Belmont erected about the same time. In the meantime Crystal Springs dam was raised to its present height of 145 feet above its base, which is 280 feet above tide level, and the Crystal Springs pipe was connected with the lower main dam. This work was completed in 1890. In 1897 the Pilarcitos pumps were added for the purpose of forcing the water from Lake San Andreas into the Pilarcitos pipe line, and in the following year Crystal Springs was provided with emergency pumping stations and a conduit to the San Andreas reservoir was completed. In 1902 a second double line of submarine pipes was constructed to lead the Alameda gravel bed waters under the bay. The new pipes were twenty-two inches in diameter, and conveyed the water from the Sunol filter beds in Alameda county which were finished in 1890.

In a statement of its accomplishments made by its engineer, Hermann Schussler, it was pointed out that during the forty years between 1865 and 1905 the population of the City had grown steadily, and that there was a continuous demand for extension of facilities. The construction of cable roads had caused the higher elevations of the City to be populated and water was demanded at heights ranging from sea level to 500 feet above tide water. The consumption which had been 2,360,800 gallons daily in 1865, when the population was estimated at 110,000, had been increased to 17,050,000 in 1885, and to 34,900,000 in 1905 when the population was probably 455,000. According to the records of the company the per capita consumption was steadily increasing, rising from 74 gallons in 1900 to 87 gallons per capita in 1904, when the total quantity consumed in the City was 33,800,000 gallons.

Despite these showings, and the claim made for Spring Valley that its system could be made to produce a daily supply in the near future of fully 120,000,000 gallons by developing its properties, there was no disposition shown to depend upon the corporation. When the charter adopted in 1898 went into effect in January, 1900, the supervisors caused the engineer of the new Board of Public Works to study the subject of water supply, and to consider all available sources in con-

Water
Consumption
Greatly
Increased

Municipal
Ownership
Movement
Revived



FIRST FOOD AFTER THE FIRE STARTED, FURNISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT,
BEING DISTRIBUTED TO THE HOMELESS GATHERED ON THE WATER
FRONT BY MARINES FROM THE BATTLESHIPS

nection with the future needs of the City. This resulted in an examination of the Spring valley supply, Lake Tahoe, Yuba river, Feather river, American river, Eel river, Cache creek (Clear Lake), San Joaquin river, Stanislaus river, Mokelumne river, Tuolumne river, Bay Shore Gravels and the Bay Cities Water Company's resources. The result of the examination was a recommendation by the City engineer that San Francisco acquire the Tuolumne supply. Filings were made on the necessary water from the Tuolumne, and an application made to the secretary of the interior for the needed reservoir rights. The reservoir site decided upon for storing the Tuolumne supply is the Hetch Hetchy valley, whose scenic beauties although much extolled by mountain climbers were practically unfamiliar to Californians, and wholly unknown to the outside world. It lies within the boundaries of the Yosemite Forest Reserve and up to the present time has had but few visitors. Nevertheless, by skillful manipulation of the esthetic bias almost insuperable difficulties have been placed in the way of its employment for the utilitarian purpose of providing drinking water for a growing city. These objections, however, were not urged in the first year after the adoption of the plan of securing the Tuolumne supply, but after the fire of 1906 they came to plague and obstruct the people in their efforts to get rid of the Spring valley incubus.

The transportation problem lost none of its vexatiousness during the period terminated by the fire. There were seasons of comparative contentment or at least acquiescence, but the conditions always lent themselves to a renewal of agitation for better treatment in the matter of freight rates and fares. It did not matter, however, how intense the feeling engendered by criticism of railroad exactions when the time came the railroad was able by skilful manipulation to effect a diversion which resulted in the election of commissioners ready to do its bidding in every particular. After the conclusion of the Valley railroad episode, which was terminated by the absorption of the proposed competitive line by the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, the latter corporation worked in harmony with the Southern Pacific, although unlike the latter it made no display of its interest in politics but trusted to the older organization to manipulate the politicians. Whatever hopes of active competition existed when it became generally known that the San Joaquin valley railroad was merely a Santa Fe adjunct were speedily dispelled. At first it was thought that the action of the Southern Pacific in cutting passenger rates between San Francisco and Fresno presaged a traffic war which would result in a beneficial lowering of terms, but the prompt adjustment of the differences between the two corporations dissipated this idea. The disclosures made during the trial of the Fresno rate case made it perfectly clear to every one except members of the railroad commission that the two corporations had an understanding, and presently there was nothing left the merchants and the people to congratulate themselves upon, excepting improved service, which could with propriety be attributed to the presence of a second transcontinental railroad.

The deaths of the constructors of the first Pacific railroad which occurred at wide intervals apart did not appear to make any serious change in the policy of the Southern Pacific. When the Harriman interest finally obtained control promises were made that the corporation would cease interfering in politics, but they were not fulfilled. Whatever the intention of the new president of the great system may have been in this particular it was not lived up to by his subordinates. The men who had been entrusted with the business of manipulating affairs so that

Santa Fe and
Southern
Pacific Reach
an Under-
standing

Railroad
Colonist
Rates

the interests of the corporation would not be encroached upon were retained in their positions, and very little change could be noted. But Harriman's policy of dealing with the people was much more conciliatory than that pursued by his predecessors, and he installed in important positions men who displayed more proficiency in the work of keeping patrons satisfied. During the Eighties a strong promotion sentiment had developed in San Francisco. The success of efforts made in the southern part of the state to fill up that section had stimulated the desire to achieve like results in the great valley, and the new policy lent itself to its accomplishment. Prospectors were induced to visit California by an offer of low colonist rates. The records of the Southern Pacific show that with the inauguration of this policy a steady stream of immigrants began to flow into the state. Commencing with a movement of 7,100 of this sort of passengers, in 1902 the number rose to 46,528; in 1903 it had increased to 93,547; in 1904 54,126 were carried and in 1905 76,949. The effect of this infusion of new blood was plainly apparent in improved business, and largely accounts for the great activity which manifested itself throughout the state after 1898, in every branch of industry.

Many
Conventions
and Visitors
to City

The Southern Pacific also devoted part of its energies during the Nineties to the popularizing of excursions to California, and while its course in this regard was doubtless dictated by interested considerations, it was so greatly at variance with its earlier policy it made a favorable impression and would have gone far to allay the hostility against the corporation if its political bureau could have been induced to abate its pretension of controlling the various departments of the state government, and of dictating the choice of California's representatives in the congress of the United States. In 1897 through the cooperation of the passenger department of the Southern Pacific, whose influence in the Transcontinental Association determined the matter, San Francisco secured the convention of the Christian Endeavor Society. The company's records show that 21,375 tickets from Eastern points were sold to passengers who attended this gathering. In 1901 the Epworth League held a meeting in the City which brought thousands from remote sections, the Southern Pacific's sale of tickets aggregating 13,790, and in the same year the Episcopal General Convention of the House of Bishops was held in the City and was attended by a large number of strangers from the East. A year later the Mystic Shriners and the Knights of Pythias held gatherings in the City, and in 1903 the Grand Army of the Republic reunion brought the veterans of the Civil war from all parts of the Union to San Francisco. The Master Plumbers, American Mechanics and the Bankers Association held their annual meetings in this year in the City, and in 1904 there was a large assemblage of the Methodists whose conference attracted many thousands. In the fall of the same year the Knights Templar held their Triennial Conclave. There were 19,473 tickets sold by the Southern Pacific to attendants at this gathering. The Santa Fe also brought its share out, but the company's aversion to publicity makes it impossible to state how large it was. The Odd Fellows also held a convention in 1904. In 1905 there were numerous conventions which brought great numbers of strangers to the City, but the largest contribution of visitors and sight seers in that year was due to the arrangement which permitted the visitors to the Lewis and Clarke Exposition, held at Portland to visit California. The Southern Pacific reported that it carried passengers traveling on tickets issued in conformity with this arrangement to the number of 122,466. Its competitor, doubtless, made an equally good showing. The



BURNING OF DISTRICT ABOUT MEIGGS
WHARF

Compare height of flames from oil tanks with
height of Telegraph Hill in background



VIEW OF THE GREAT FIRE BURNING THE ITALIAN QUARTER AND THE DISTRICT NEAR MEIGGS
WHARF

effects of this more liberal policy of the transportation companies was visible in the rapidly increasing population of the state which resulted in greatly enlarging the local patronage of the railroads. The Southern Pacific reported 8,438,623 passengers carried on local trains in 1902; in 1905 this number had increased to 9,276,482. The statistics of the ferry and suburban service of the company show 16,103,545 passengers carried in the latter year as against 17,230,482 in 1902, but between those years an active opposition was started and maintained by the Key Route which cut heavily into the business of the older line. The rivalry has brought about greatly improved service between the City and trans-bay region and promoted the growth of the latter.

In the beginning of the period 1883-1905 the Western Union Telegraph Company was practically the only medium of electric communication with other parts of the state, and with the East and rest of the world. In 1883 it was subjected to the rivalry of the Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company, organized by George S. Ladd. The latter occupied all the territory on the Pacific coast outside of San Francisco which was subleased to it by the Bell Telephone Company. In 1900 the Pacific State Telephone and Telegraph Company was organized and took over the properties of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company in San Francisco and certain territory in Oregon and Washington. The business of the corporation expanded with great rapidity, and the 170 telephones in San Francisco in 1880 had at the close of 1905 increased to many thousands, and the long distance facilities were extended to all the principal cities of the coast, patrons in this City being enabled to converse with persons in Portland, Seattle and other prominent places, and with Los Angeles and San Diego in the south. Of equal importance in the development of communication was the entrance into the telegraphic field of the Postal Company, which was organized in 1886 chiefly through the instrumentality of John W. Mackay, whose capital had been acquired in the exploitation of the bonanza mines on the Comstock. Mackay's enterprise was a bold one and represented an attack on a well entrenched monopoly, but the Postal extended its business rapidly and constantly broadened the field of its operations in the United States and in the Dominion of Canada.

In 1901 the company obtained a charter authorizing it to lay and operate a submarine cable from California via the Hawaiian islands to the Philippines. Congress for a time had under consideration a project of this sort but finally abandoned it when the Postal Company boldly entered upon the undertaking. The shore end of the Postal cable was laid in San Francisco on December 15, 1902, and on June 19, 1903, the "Colonia" arrived at Midway, establishing communication between Midway and Guam, thus connecting them with the systems of the world, leaving only a small section between Midway and Honolulu to be completed. This cable has four great ocean stretches of 2,276, 1,254, 2,593 and 1,490 miles respectively. The result of the construction of this cable was to effect a great reduction in rates which had been as high as \$2.35 a word to Manila. The Postal Company bound itself to charge \$1 per word from San Francisco to China; \$1 a word from San Francisco to Manila and 50 cents a word from San Francisco to Honolulu.

The construction of the Postal cable recalls the purpose once entertained by the Western Union Telegraph Company of establishing telegraphic communication with Europe by means of a line through Alaska and under Behring Strait and over Siberia, and thus into Europe. An expeditionary force explored Alaska and

Improved
Telegraphic
Facilities

Submarine
Cable to
Philippines

An Aban-
doned Cable
Project

Siberia with that object in view in 1865 and 1866. The success of the direct ocean cable between the American Atlantic coast and Europe caused the abandonment of the enterprise. The exploration, however, was not without its benefits, as the scientists who accompanied the costly expedition were much impressed with and made known many resources of Alaska which previous to that time had attracted little attention.

CHAPTER LXII

VARIED PHASES OF LIFE IN SAN FRANCISCO

THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION—JAPANESE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—DOCTOR O'DONNELL AND THE CHINESE LEPROS—CHINESE QUARTER A SORE SPOT—THE BUBONIC PLAGUE SCARE—COMMISSION INVESTIGATES AND FINDS NO CAUSE FOR ALARM—HEALTH CONDITION GOOD—NEIGHBORHOOD SETTLEMENT AND OTHER UPLIFT WORK—THE ASSOCIATED CHARITIES—RISE OF WOMEN'S CLUBS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES—SOCIAL CLUBS AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS—AMUSEMENTS—SHIFTING OF AMUSEMENT CENTER—THE LAST LAY OF THE MINSTRELS—SUCCESSFUL SEASONS OF GRAND OPERA—RESTAURANTS AND NIGHT LIFE IN SAN FRANCISCO—ORIGIN OF MOVING PICTURES—NEWSPAPER SENDS OUT WEATHER WARNINGS—SAN FRANCISCO METEOROLOGY—THE RACING GAME AND OTHER SPORTS—THE BICYCLE CRAZE—AUTOMOBILES DISPLACE CARRIAGES—EDUCATION FACILITIES—PUBLIC AND OTHER LIBRARIES—JOURNALISM—LITERATURE AND WRITERS—EASTERN CRITICISMS OF SAN FRANCISCO SHORTCOMINGS—ABNORMAL FEATURES OF SOCIAL LIFE—CONTRACT MARRIAGES—CELEBRATED CRIMINAL CASES—CHINESE CRIMINALS—TECHNICALITIES AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.



HE details of the material prosperity of a city, and the causes which produce it, may be dry reading, but their presentation is essential if we wish to comprehend the life of a people. The saying that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy" has a significance of its own which may be properly heeded; on the other hand the observer who notes that it is all play and no work for Jack is

likely to conclude that the young man is being unevenly developed, and that in after life he may not scintillate as brightly as if he had varied his sports with a few essays at usefulness. San Francisco has suffered in the estimation of the outside world at times from the undue prominence given to some of its peculiarities. It has been regarded in some quarters as an amusement-loving city, so devoted to pleasure that in the pursuit of it more important matters have been neglected. It has been charged with being absorbed in commercialism to such an extent that the graces and amenities of life have been subordinated to money getting. It has been indicted for alleged indifference to outside criticism, and it has been extolled as the most hospitable city in the country with an almost village-like desire for appreciation. Perhaps these conflicting judgments have done the City no harm. Certainly it suffered no material injury from the undeserved reputation bestowed upon it by singling out its municipal shortcomings as exceptional. If anyone has

Contradictory
Accounts and
Impressions
of the City

American
Protective
Association
and Father
Yorke

ever been deterred from visiting it, or making San Francisco his home because some absurd generalizer has branded it as the wickedest city, his absence will not be mourned by a people who have never taken kindly to intolerance.

San Francisco must not be judged by aberrations, but by the orderly course of the lives of her citizens. She has had her moments of popular disturbance, but so have other American cities. In the earlier chapters in dealing with certain phases of political life in California reference was made to the "Know Nothing" or Native American party which gained a sufficient foothold to secure several important offices. This manifestation of illiberality was of short duration, and while it lasted was absolutely unaccompanied by lawless acts. The fact needs to be emphasized because at the time in many staid Eastern cities the agitation assumed a virulent form and was attended with rioting and church burning. Nothing of the sort happened in San Francisco, although the Know Nothings were numerically strong in the City. After the wave which produced the uprising in the Fifties had subsided little or no attention was paid to the extremists, and people in San Francisco unfamiliar with American political history knew nothing of the "Know Nothings" and their early antagonisms. Toward the close of the decade 1880 there was something in the nature of a recrudescence in a mild form of the earlier illiberality, but it was shared by a limited number, and would in all probability have failed to attract public notice if importance had not been attached to it by an over-zealous priest, Father Peter Yorke, who took up the cudgels against the A. P. A.'s, and by noticing them gave their movement a vitality which it would not otherwise have gained. Yorke was an eloquent speaker, and an acute dialectician, and succeeded for a time in producing a great deal of bad feeling which, however, never manifested itself in any overt acts. He addressed large audiences at various times during the Nineties, and stirred up his hearers very greatly, but as his assaults were directed against a foe whose strength was more imaginary than real his efforts were wasted. Even under the stimulus of his blows there was not enough vitality in the "Know Nothing" movement to permit its revival, and A. P. A. ism ceased to be referred to excepting on the vaudeville stage where it is still occasionally made to do service as a joke.

Oriental
Fairly
Treated

It would have been extraordinary if the antipathy to foreigners which gave rise to the "Know Nothing" movement could have endured long in the atmosphere created in San Francisco by the presence of a population drawn from all quarters of the globe, the foreign element of which was numerically preponderant, but which, in the melting pot of the public schools, and other institutions of learning, was being fused with the native element into a homogeneous population which cordially embraced all that could be assimilated. That San Francisco like the rest of California was insistent and persistent in its opposition to Oriental immigration, may seem to contradict this assertion, but no one in the slightest degree acquainted with the facts will think of disputing the claim made by the people of the Pacific coast states and territories, that the Orientals with whom they were called upon to deal were absolutely nonassimilative. This, however, did not prevent the exercise of tolerance on the part of the dominant race, who while insisting on a policy of making impossible the creation of an *imperium in imperio* lived peacefully side by side with those already introduced and permitted them every opportunity to trade, and even provided facilities for them to acquire a Western education through the medium of the public schools. This phase of San Francisco's dealings with



RUINS OF THE SEVEN-MILLION-DOLLAR CITY HALL



THE FAIRMONT HOTEL AND THE FLOOD MANSION AFTER THE FIRE

the Oriental peoples who made their home in the City was grossly misrepresented at the East by statements put forward at the instance of Theodore Roosevelt when president, who made it appear in public documents and a message to congress that the Japanese were the victims of oppressive treatment, and that the result might be to invite an attack on the United States by the warships of Japan.

After the passage of the Chinese exclusion law there was little or no apprehension felt that the question of Oriental immigration would be revived. Although the law was at times evaded, and corrupt officials often permitted the entrance of Chinese not entitled to land, the number in the City and state was visibly diminishing. The expected impediment to the development of the fruit industry due to the assumed difficulty of obtaining laborers to work in the orchards had not materialized. Growers complained of a scarcity of help, but the output of fruit kept on enlarging year after year at a prodigious rate, and they finally ceased to prophesy disaster, and forgot that there ever was a Chinese question, and that they had predicted that the chief industry of the state would come to a standstill if they were excluded. In the legislature of 1885 an endeavor was made to supplement the national legislation, but the effort received no encouragement. In 1886 there was a recrudescence of the agitation which took the form of an attempted boycott of the products of the local Chinese, but it was a mere flash in the pan and failed as previous efforts had, to disturb the people at whom it was directed because it was almost wholly a "paper" boycott, the workingmen who were the chief consumers of the boycotted products buying them as freely as though no interdict had been placed upon them by their own organizations. Sporadic instances of aroused interest in the presence of the Chinese occurred at intervals after 1886, as in the case of the attempt of a malpractitioner named C. C. O'Donnell who attempted to forward his political ambitions by posing as the champion of the white race in an effort to save it from the awful scourge of leprosy which he declared was being introduced by the undesirable Oriental.

That there were cases of leprosy among the Chinese in San Francisco there is no doubt. There was a lazaret in their quarter in which two or three lepers were isolated, and they were described by various persons. Charles Warren Stoddard, who had visited the colony at Molokai in the Hawaiian islands saw those in the Chinese pest house in San Francisco, and wrote about them at some length. He said they were not all alike, but he found specimens as astonishing as any that had ever come under his observation, yet he had morbidly sought them from Palestine to Molokai. O'Donnell, whose political aspirations were varied, at one time seeking the coronership, and at another the chief magistracy of the City, in his personally conducted campaigns, was in the habit of driving a wagon covered with enlarged photographs of the victims of the awful disease, and at convenient points he would expatiate on its horrors to considerable audiences which were easily collected. He was a charlatan, had been expelled from the constitutional convention to which he was elected as a delegate of the workingmen, was repeatedly charged with malpractice, but despite all these drawbacks he secured enough of the ballots of his fellow citizens to secure the office of coroner, and on two occasions when running for mayor he received a formidable number of votes. Although it was assumed that his candidacy in the mayoralty contests were simply intended to be diversions on one occasion he came very near being elected, dissatisfaction with the candidates of the two regular parties causing a large num-

Chinese
Question
Ceases to
Interest

Chinese
Lepers

ber of voters to throw their strength for the notorious abortionist as an expression of disgust with the existing political condition.

Chinese
Quarter a
Sore Spot

Despite the undoubted presence of leprosy in the Chinese quarter it is noteworthy that the disease was not communicated to whites nor did it spread among the crowded Orientals. At no time did it occasion any concern, but the promulgation of its existence had a pernicious influence. It served to add another to the many features of life in Chinatown in which the stranger in the City took a morbid interest, but which the inhabitants of San Francisco disregarded, or at least looked upon as one of the necessary evils connected with the presence of an alien community whose mode of life could not be regulated. It was this feeling more than any other which produced the indifference that resulted in the disgustingly unsanitary condition existing in the Chinese quarter before the fire of 1906. Chinatown was a sore spot which the municipal authorities had come to regard as ineradicable, and which they hesitated to attempt to regulate because efforts in that direction had been repeatedly frustrated by the interference of the federal authorities who were always ready to interpose when any special effort was made to cure its evils. Repeated checks of this character had created a spirit of indifference, and the Chinese were allowed to stew in their own filth, and their densely crowded quarter, the product of a pronounced gregariousness, and the practice of an extreme economy, became a show place out of which the class ready to profit by such exhibitions made much of as one of San Francisco's attractions. There was negligence on one side, but there is every reason to believe that the parade of vice; the opium smoking, the gambling dens, the houses of prostitution, all of which were exposed without reserve to the curious stranger, were not greatly resented by the Chinese themselves who made money out of the visits of the despised visitors.

Japanese
in Public
Schools

In the earlier part of the controversy over the undesirability of the Oriental as an immigrant the Japanese were not heard of at all. There were comparatively few in the City before 1900, and their presence did not become noticeable until after the defeat of Russia in her war with Japan. Prior to that event, however, the "Chronicle" had published a series of articles which anticipated the immigration movement. A little later the legislature memorialized congress on the subject. The opposition to Japanese immigration was based on the same objection as that urged against the Chinese but there was a pronounced disposition to attribute to the subjects of the Mikado an aggressiveness which was not charged against the earlier Oriental immigrant who was more tractable. This aggressive trait produced friction of a kind unheard of during the period when the Chinese were coming into the country in large numbers. The latter though desirous of securing for their children a Western education did not generally endeavor to procure it for themselves. Adults to some extent endeavored to do so by attending Sunday schools, but in the main the Chinese were content to acquire a knowledge of English by ordinary intercourse. The Japanese who came to the country prior to 1900 and after that date, especially those who remained in the City, pursued a conspicuously different course. Many of them entered domestic service with an understanding that they were to be permitted to attend school, and considerable numbers were admitted to the primary grades in which the sexes were not separated. The result caused discontent, as grown men were thrown in contact with girls of tender age, and on May 6, 1905, the board of education passed a reso-



REFUGEES FROM THE GREAT FIRE DRAGGING THEIR BELONGINGS TO THE PRESIDIO

lution to the effect that it was desirable to effect the establishment of separate schools for Japanese and Chinese pupils, not only for the purpose, as stated in the resolution, of relieving the congestion that then existed in the public schools of the City, but also for "the higher end that our children should not be placed in any position where their youthful impressions may be affected by association with the pupils of the Mongolian race." On October 11, 1905, another resolution was passed directing that in accordance with Article X, Section 1662 of the School Law of California, principals should send all Chinese, Japanese and Corean children to the Oriental public school situated on the south side of Clay street between Powell and Mason.

These resolutions excited little attention at the time, but later President Roosevelt made them the basis of a message to congress, and the subject of a special investigation, the result of which will be told in the chapter on rehabilitation. Meantime as negating the assumption that the resolutions were inspired by undue race prejudice it may be mentioned that Japanese were admitted to the higher institutions of learning in California in considerable numbers, and that the people of that race trading in San Francisco were among its most prosperous business men. The University of California's course had been more than liberal. Its regents had made it perfectly clear that Japanese were welcome, and that their presence was desired at the Leland Stanford Jr., university was made equally plain. The whole matter was one which directly concerned the management of the public schools of the State of California, and the interference of the president was entirely unwarranted. As in another case which had occurred a little earlier, San Francisco was made to feel that the authorities in Washington were interesting themselves in the affairs of the City in a manner not entirely agreeable to its inhabitants.

Roosevelt's
Unwarranted
Interference

In the early part of 1901 there was a revival of comment on the alleged existence of bubonic plague in San Francisco. A couple of years earlier, in July, 1899, two Japanese were drowned while attempting to swim ashore from a quarantined ship. It was said that the disease referred to was located in their bodies, but the statement made no impression. Later Dr. Kinyoun, the quarantine officer, made an autopsy on a body in which he declared that unmistakable evidence of plague had been discovered. No alarm was caused in either case, the community being well satisfied from previous experience that whatever its effects in other lands the climatic, and other conditions existing in San Francisco made it immune to visitations of the disease. In January, 1901, however, there was evidence of an attempt to create the impression that San Francisco was an unhealthy port, and that the government's transport business, which had centered in the harbor from the time of the outbreak of the Spanish American war should be transferred to Puget Sound. This led to the belief in San Francisco that the persistent rumors concerning the existence of plague were due to the efforts of the people of Seattle to secure the transport service, but subsequent developments show that while it was contemplated sending a delegation from that city to the national capital the talk was kept alive by emissaries of the Marine Hospital Service whose head had conceived the idea of creating a national health body, which was to have a place in the president's cabinet. Recognizing the gravity of the matter Governor Gage arranged a conference with San Francisco citizens to discuss the steps that should be taken to arrest the course threatened by the United States health authorities

A Worked-Up
Plague Scare

whose stand had impelled the State of Texas and several foreign countries to raise quarantine barriers against California.

Commission
Sent to
Washington

At this meeting the governor disclosed the fact that he had been in communication with the United States treasury department and had indicated the willingness of the state to do anything that might be demanded of it by the authorities, but it appeared from the correspondence in the case that what was really required of him was to practically turn over the business of caring for the health of the state to the Marine Hospital Service. As the misunderstanding seemed to be on the point of reaching the acute stage the governor decided on the appointment of a commission which should visit Washington and lay before the federal authorities the facts and remove the impression that obstacles were being placed in the way of the Marine Hospital Service taking precautions to prevent the spread of the disease which its doctors alleged existed. This commission reached Washington on March 7th and on the following morning waited on the secretary of the treasury, who was informed that the state was desirous of co-operating with the health authorities in making their investigations, and in taking such measures as would serve to allay any apprehension that might have been created outside of California by alarmist reports which had been telegraphed all over the world. The head of the Marine Hospital Service was present at this interview with the secretary of the treasury, and stated that the department had received petitions from several states in the far West asking that the whole State of California be placed in quarantine, and he intimated that this drastic measure might have to be taken "unless Governor Gage and other authorities in California should come out with a frank recognition of the alleged existing situation." He also demanded a similar admission of the existence of the plague from the commission appointed by the governor.

An Attempt
to Extort an
Admission

At this juncture in the proceedings President McKinley was communicated with by Charles A. Moore, of New York, who had interested himself in the case, and had accompanied the commission to Washington. Mr. Moore explained the situation and President McKinley promptly telephoned that the assurances of the commission of the sovereign State of California that any steps indicated by the health authorities as necessary to carry on its precautionary work should be accepted by Surgeon General Wyman, and that no admissions should be exacted from its members. The presence of the commission in Washington did not pass unnoticed, but was made the pretext for the publication of alarmist reports which were invariably accompanied by the statement that the people of San Francisco were making efforts to suppress the facts. These statements were directly traced to the Marine Hospital Service, and called forth a rejoinder in which it was shown that on January 9th preceding, Surgeon General Wyman had telegraphed to Dr. J. H. White, advising him to take his measures in such a manner as not to excite alarm, and that publication would be unnecessary. As a matter of fact there was no attempted suppression, but there was a pronounced disagreement respecting the gravity of the situation, and the necessity of the interference of the Marine Hospital Service. The commission objected to the expression of the opinion that the disease discovered was the dreaded bubonic plague which destroyed lives by the million in India and other parts of Asia, and insisted that even though the cultures may have proved that the plague had been found San Francisco's climate was inhospitable to the disease, and that over half a century of close relations with



FOREST OF CHIMNEYS, AT MASON AND PINE STREETS, AFTER THE FIRE
SWEEPED OVER THE NOB HILL RESIDENCE DISTRICT



SPRECKELS MANSION, ON VAN NESS AVENUE, WHICH WAS ONE OF THE FEW
BUILDINGS BURNED ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE STREET

Oriental countries in which it flourished had conclusively demonstrated that the City was practically immune.

On the return of the commission from Washington a meeting was held in the office of Mayor Phelan at which Dr. J. H. White of the Marine Hospital Service was present. He had been apprised of the understanding reached at Washington, and was asked to outline his plan of campaign. He answered that he had given the subject some attention, but could not make a close estimate of the cost of the proposed work of cleaning Chinatown which he declared was necessary, but he assumed that at least \$100,000 would be required for the purpose. This was the amount commonly supposed to have been placed at the disposal of the commission by the governor for the purpose of complying with the arrangement with the federal authorities. The mayor had stated that there was no money of the City available, but that he would do all in his power to forward the work as it progressed, and on the ensuing day an agreement was entered into by the municipality and the state which practically relegated to the latter the business of cleansing Chinatown, the City agreeing to dispose of the rubbish and to maintain a laboratory, a morgue, detention barracks and a hall of tranquillity. On April 2, 1901, Dr. White was apprised of this agreement and of the readiness of the state to go ahead with the cleaning work under his direction, but he made no move in the premises until a week later, when operations were begun. Certain circumstances indicated that the Marine Hospital Service was under the impression that the cleansing would be wholly entrusted to its officials, but the state authorities only consented to follow directions, and insisted on doing the work and making all disbursements. The commission evidently thought that this course resulted in economy for in its report on the subject it said: "That the business was done expeditiously and economically will be inferred from the fact that it was accomplished for about one-fourth the amount estimated by Doctor White. . . . We find from the reports rendered to the State Board of Health that by disregarding the recommendations of Dr. White to purchase sulphur, bichloride of mercury, dutch ovens, etc., in large quantities a considerable saving was effected. Thus the work of disinfecting and fumigating was thoroughly performed with 300 pounds of sulphur although the Marine Hospital Service had estimated that 30 tons would be necessary. Fifty pans were bought and only twenty used, but the requisition of the federal official called for 200."

The activities of the commission were not confined to the work of cleansing Chinatown. Its purpose was to thoroughly satisfy the authorities at Washington and secure for the City a clean bill of health. To that end a promise was secured from the Marine Hospital Service that if within a certain number of days no fresh case of the disease alleged to be bubonic plague made its appearance the port should be declared uninfected. The sequel is given in the final report of the commission as follows: "Many cases were reported by the Marine Hospital Service, but although between April 8th and August 27th, 103 autopsies were made not one case was found which could be pronounced bubonic plague. The report of the State Board of Health which gives the clinical history of these cases and the circumstances attending the autopsies indicates that there was an eager desire on the part of those who contended that there was bubonic plague to establish that their claim was correct. In one instance an attempt was made to quicklime a body in order to destroy the evidence which would conclusively prove that the

Commission
Cleans
Chinatown

Investigation
of Plague
Cases

deceased had died of pulmonary tuberculosis, which fact had been ascertained at the autopsy. It is significant in this connection," added the report, "that the latest case of bubonic plague alleged to have been discovered in this City was on April 8th, the day before the state board commenced its active investigations. After that date no case was discovered, although many were asserted to be such until an autopsy disproved the assertion." This report concluded with the observation: "The fact that no plague has been found since April 8, 1901, and the further fact that the disease, although it was alleged to have made its appearance March 6, 1900, did not become epidemic, and that no two cases of what was termed plague appeared in the same house should carry conviction."

Marine
Hospital
Service Dis-
credits City

The report of Governor Gage's commission by no means disposed of the matter. The people of San Francisco, and the rest of the world appeared for a time to be satisfied that there was no reason for believing that the City was a danger spot, but the Marine Hospital Service did not take the affair so easily. It showed the quality of endurance possessed in a high degree by most bureaus of the government and persisted in proclaiming in its reports at irregular intervals that fresh cases had been discovered, but as there was no attempt to accompany these announcements with quarantine efforts nobody appeared to bother concerning the activities of the service. The people of San Francisco, however, had thoroughly learned their lesson and while still convinced that they had been made the victims of an unnecessary alarm, at all times thereafter declared their willingness to submit to any demand that might be made upon them, and gave practical effect to their promise later by subscribing a large sum of money to carry on a crusade against rats which was superintended by the Marine Hospital Service which disbursed the large sum collected in a liberal manner. This acquiescence did not serve to restrain the incredulous from commenting on the fact that the movement to establish a National Board of Health was persistently followed up, and that San Francisco was made to serve as a horrible example, and that United States senators were inspired to make misstatements which reflected on the City and tended to convey the impression that it was in an unsanitary condition and not by any means a desirable place in which to abide.

Abundant
Precautions
Taken

These reflections were naturally a source of irritation to San Franciscans, who from the time of the American occupation had extolled the healthfulness of their City. Their claims were amply supported by statistics which showed a rare freedom from epidemic diseases, and a death rate which would have been remarkably low if it were not increased by the tendency of the people in bad health to seek the City for relief, and to avail themselves of the benefits to be derived from the presence of a large number of physicians of exceptional ability, and of the great number of public and private hospitals. The municipality made ample provision in this regard and was always ready to extend its activities. In addition to its City and County Hospital it maintained four emergency hospitals in which all who were brought to them were given treatment. The cases attended to at these emergency hospitals are rarely grave, but the statistics of their operations show that the number of cases which come to them reach into the thousands annually. The City and County Hospital had been outgrown by the expanding population, and as early as 1900 the board of supervisors took steps to select a new site with the view of erecting thereon a modern building which would meet the views of the most advanced. In September, 1903, a special election was held at

which bonds to the amount of \$1,000,000 were authorized by a practically unanimous vote, the sum to be raised by their sale to be devoted to the construction of a new hospital building. This project failed of immediate execution because of the ineptness of the administration in office, and partly because further consideration of the views of experienced physicians had raised a question concerning the location of the new building and the adequacy of the amount appropriated. On the eve of the fire there were at least nine hospitals of a quasi public character, some of them being able to accommodate a large number of patients. Among them may be mentioned: St. Mary's, St. Luke's, St. Joseph's, Home, Pacific Hospital, French Hospital, German Hospital, Mount Zion, California Women's and the Children's Hospital. In addition there were several strictly private institutions. The hospitals maintained by contributing members usually composed of the foreign element in the City also made some provision for free patients. In such cases the free beds were usually endowed by well-to-do members of the community who adopted that method of recognizing their obligation to society.

It has been shown that San Franciscans in the early days while engrossed in business affairs to such an extent that they sometimes neglected their civic duties were never indifferent to the claims of the unfortunates in their midst. These were numerous for the City almost from its foundation proved a powerful magnet, drawing to it the unsuccessful, the sick and the weary. The first consideration seemed to be the care of the orphans, and these were provided for as early as 1851 by the establishment of a Protestant Orphan Asylum, and in the succeeding year the Catholics started an institution of the same character. In 1863 the Ladies' Protective and Relief Society made an additional provision for youthful unfortunates. The presence of a large foreign element in the City accounts for the creation of a number of societies whose activities were devoted to caring for their own membership, and their dependents. These mutual benefit societies were in great favor as they appealed to the class desirous of feeling that they had earned the right to be cared for in periods of misfortune. Among the earliest of these organizations were the Eureka Benevolent Association for the care of the Jewish poor, established in 1851, the German Benevolent Society in 1854, French Mutual Benevolent in 1856, German Hospital in 1857 and British Benevolent Society in 1863. There were also developed and organized nonsectarian general societies for the relief of the sick and destitute, between 1864 and 1880 as follows: Boys and Girls Aid Society, 1864; San Francisco Benevolent Society, the general nonsectarian relief association of San Francisco, in 1865; Children's Hospital, 1876; Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, 1879, and the San Francisco Fruit and Flower Mission in 1880.

The period between 1880 and 1903 was marked by the recognition of the fact that the social problem of San Francisco was as much a spiritual as a material one and witnessed the formation of numerous neighborhood centers in various parts of the City, in which an effort was made to raise the standard of life among the self-supporting rather than in supplying the needs of the dependent. The result was the establishment of several settlements. The Emannel Sisterhood in 1894, the San Francisco Settlement Association 1895, the Columbia Park Boys' Club 1896, Tehema Street Nurses' Settlement 1897, Girls' Club 1900, and Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association in 1903 are included in this group, and all are credited with the performance of effective work. The rapid growth of the City

Care of
Orphans and
of Sick and
Needy

Neighborhood
Settlement
and Other
Up-lift Work

and its peculiar situation made it expedient to effect an organization for the purpose of preventing imposture and to prevent the development of a begging class. With that end in view the Associated Charities was formed in 1888 as a nonrelief giving association whose principal function was to ascertain by investigation the worthiness of applicants to the charitable associations, and to prevent duplication. It became to all intents and purposes a clearing house for the charities and has assisted greatly in the suppression of indiscriminate begging. Its reports are usually accepted as final by those who apply to it for information, and the general feeling is that its investigations are made in a spirit of kindness toward the really unfortunate, but always with the determination of preventing the formation of a dependent class by the improper exercise of benevolence.

**Work of the
Associated
Charities**

In 1903 the Associated Charities secured the passage of a bill to establish a State Board of Charities and Corrections, an unsalaried body whose business it is to investigate all public charitable and correctional institutions, to familiarize itself with the construction work done in other states and to submit to the governor and legislature recommendations which have special value because they are made by experts able to observe the operations of state institutions in their relation to each other. In the same year, largely through the instrumentality of the Associated Charities, the legislature was induced to pass a bill creating a juvenile court. In 1905 a volunteer probation committee composed of representatives of the Associated Charities, the Boys' and Girls' Aid Society, the Youths' Directory, the California Club, the Church Home for Boys and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, actively interested itself in furthering the establishment of the court and raised the funds necessary to pay the salary of the probation officer. In the fall of 1905, Miss Londa Stebbins was appointed first probation officer by Hon. Frank Murasky, the first judge of the juvenile court, over which he was still presiding in 1912. In 1906 the board of supervisors made an appropriation of \$4,500 for a detention home where the wards of the court were cared for up to the time of the fire. After that event through the generosity of private citizens the sum apportioned by the relief committee was so materially added to that the first Juvenile Court building and detention home in the United States was established in this City, a school lot being provided by the board of education for that purpose.

**Functions of
Charity
Endorsement
Committee**

In the year previous to the inauguration of the juvenile court movement, 1902, there was established a children's agency, the object of which was to provide the machinery for placing dependent children in foster homes and to arrange for their adequate supervision. Some fifteen societies participated in this organization which was part of a well conceived plan to increase the efficiency of charity work. The spirit of cooperation induced proved beneficial, and like the formation of the charities endorsement committee of the Associated Charities gave a reasonable degree of assurance to the benevolent that their contributions to charitable purposes were not misapplied. The strict supervision exercised was instrumental in the nearly complete eradication of the professional solicitors and charity fakers who had greatly abused the public confidence. After the endorsement committee's function came to be understood this sort of imposition almost wholly ceased as persons approached for money soon acquired the habit of demanding the approval of the committee which could not be obtained unless the object was a worthy one and promoted by trustworthy persons.



RUINS IN THE BANKING DISTRICT
Sansome Street, north from Bush Street



REPLACING THE SUTTER STREET CABLE WITH AN ELECTRIC LINE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FIRE
View west from Market Street

Nearly contemporaneous with the great accession of interest in charitable matters described in the preceding paragraphs, was the remarkable development of the social organizations known as Woman's Clubs. The first of these in the City was known as the Laurel Hill Club and was founded in 1886 by Mrs. L. M. Buckmaster. Its original purpose was educational, but it soon developed on the social and literary side. In 1888 a second social and literary club known as The Century was organized, its first president being Mrs. Pheobe Hearst. In 1889 the Mills Club, composed of women graduated from the institution of that name was organized, and in 1893 the Sorosis came into existence with Mrs. Irving M. Scott as the first president. In the ensuing year the Philomath, with Mrs. I. Lowenberg as president, was added to the list, and in 1897 the California, whose first president was Mrs. Lowell White, was created for the purpose of promoting civic betterment. In 1895 a club called the Forum, whose interests were social and literary was formed, its first president being Mrs. Frank Whitney. After 1897 the accessions to the list of clubs under the auspices of women were numerous, embracing every conceivable activity, and the membership rolls of both old and new organizations expanded wonderfully. In addition to social and literary clubs the list of objects pursued or promoted by the members embraced civics, study of history and travel, the gathering of material pertaining to the early history of the state, a press association, a town and country club, art, and outdoor life. In 1898 the California Club began a movement for the creation of public playgrounds by establishing one on a lot on Bush street near Hyde placed at their disposal by the board of education. The idea grew slowly but finally took such hold on the community that in 1903, at a bond election, a considerable sum was authorized for the acquisition of suitable sites north and south of Market street. Defects in the authorization prevented the full consummation of the plans advocated by the California Club, but after the great fire the movement was taken up again and has been attended with signal success.

During the period the formation of social organizations under male auspices was actively pursued, and new clubs sprung up on every hand while the earlier creations flourished greatly. There had been a merger of the two clubs known as the Pacific and the Union, whose membership was composed almost wholly of the substantial elements in the community. The Bohemian Club had increased in membership greatly, and to some extent had lost the characteristic implied by its name. Like the Pacific-Union, it was well housed but it was not until after the fire that a long cherished design of having a home all its own was realized. In all its mutations the Bohemian Club retained its early predilection for art, and while the Philistine element was admitted, to attain any prominence the member had to forget that he was in business while within its walls. Its jinks at its home in the City, or in the redwoods of Sonoma county were always elaborate affairs, especially those held in the open. Their presentation has attracted world wide attention, being made the subject of magazine articles, and they have been attended by many strangers of distinction, a qualification which the outsider was required to possess in order to enjoy the spectacles which were designed and carried out for the exclusive gratification of the members. These two organizations figured as the most conspicuous representatives of club life in San Francisco before the fire, but there were numerous others with a smaller membership whose formation was inspired by the social spirit, among them the Cosmos, the Concordia, the Ger-

Women's
Clubs and
Their Varied
Activities

Social Clubs
and Fraternal
Organizations

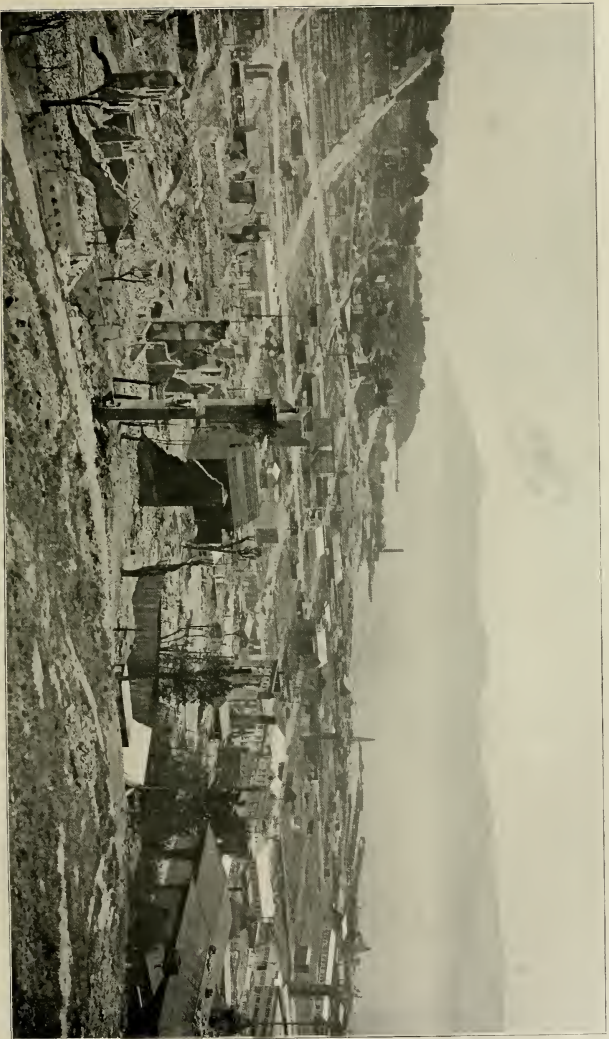
mania, the Circle Francais, the Union League, and a host of fraternal societies. The Masons and Odd Fellows were provided with assembly halls, and the former, who had established themselves in a building which for many years was a conspicuous feature of the Post and Market street junction were getting ready to construct a more commodious edifice on Van Ness avenue at the time of the disaster. The Native Sons order had multiplied greatly since its organization in 1875, and was quartered in a home of its own on Mason street near Geary. In 1886 the order of the Native Daughters of the Golden West was instituted in Jackson, Amador county. It soon became as popular in the City as the male branch, and like the latter devoted itself to keeping alive state pride.

Diminution
of Theater-
Going Habit

The multiplication of clubs and social organizations of a varied character in some particulars sensibly modified the theater and public amusement habit during the Eighties. The City had ceased to be an overgrown village in which every one spoke to his neighbor, or at least knew who he was. San Francisco, in the parlance of the amusement caterer, was still a fine show town, but the play was no longer "all the thing." On extraordinary occasions such as grand opera nights, when there were singers of merit the audiences would be representative, and the person with a tolerable acquaintance could point out many whose names were known. This was true also of a first night when an actor of distinction made his appearance, but people no longer attended the theater as a matter of course, and perhaps because they had no other place to resort to for amusement or diversion. The managers were prompt to realize this, and when they had attractions out of the usual to offer they sought by every possible device to convince patrons that the performances were to be social events, and if they succeeded in this effort those in charge of the box office had occasion to be thankful. In short San Francisco had reached the stage of drawing lines and had tacitly accepted the leadership of those who chose to assume it, and established their claim to do so by having the distinction conferred upon them by the social reporters of the newspapers.

Stock
Companies
and Parloined
Novelties

It can hardly be said that there was anything distinctive about San Francisco's amusements during this period other than that indicated. The theaters were as numerous as in previous years, and were as well attended, but theatricals had relatively lost interest. The profession and its doings no longer absorbed attention, and were only incidentally considered in conversation. The people generally had found other modes of diverting themselves and the popularity of the drama, relatively speaking, abated. Perhaps the decline of the stock company had something to do with the diminishing interest. During a large part of the Eighties the Baldwin presented regularly every week to the clients of that house a new play which was well enacted by a company whose individual members afterward proved acceptable stars when that system superseded the earlier plan of maintaining organizations whose business it was to steadily cater to the popular taste. Managers in those days were not overscrupulous regarding the methods adopted to obtain new plays, and the demand for novelty was gratified by borrowing the productions of authors of foreign lands, the absence of an international copyright law facilitating that kind of theft. Thomas Maguire, like Alice Oates, was unscrupulous in this particular, and unhesitatingly resorted to the English, French and German stage for material and thus it came to pass that plays like Gilbert's "Palace of Truth" were made familiar to San Francisco theater-goers before they were seen in Eastern cities. Sardou and other French writers were similarly complimented by



REMS WEST FROM TELEGRAPH HILL.
Fort Mason in the distance

having their wares stolen, and as there was no outcry raised the people enjoyed their extension of knowledge of the foreign drama without experiencing any twinges of conscience.

The existence of a really first-class stock company did not operate to exclude the stars of the first magnitude who continued to come to the City in increasing numbers. No artist attained fame in the East without desiring to exhibit his or her talents before a San Francisco audience, and the most celebrated foreigners sooner or later found their way to the Pacific coast metropolis. Among the most distinguished who visited San Francisco during the period were Ristori, Juanescheck, Bernhardt and Neilson. Modjeska, as already stated, first exhibited her talents before an audience of San Franciscans who recognized her genius, and perhaps by their liberal appreciation did much to promote her successful career. Sir Henry Irving, with an excellent English company visited the City some years before he was knighted, and was the recipient of a liberal patronage. During his stay he received much social attention and at no time was there any exhibition of the sort which in earlier days was called forth by British and American rivalry. The relative merits of the two schools of acting were freely commented upon, but no feeling was displayed as in the juvenile days of the republic when divergences of opinion on the subject resulted in riots in the Atlantic seaboard towns. Sir Henry took pains to give the plays in which he appeared a proper setting, especially the Shakespearian tragedies, and his efforts to uphold the dignity of his art were no more appreciated in any part of the Union or in his own country than in San Francisco.

In March, 1888, Edwin Booth and Lawrence Barrett, with whom he was associated, opened the new California theater on Bush street, which took the place of the house erected in the late Sixties while William C. Ralston was at the zenith of his leadership in financial and other affairs in San Francisco. The theater was reached through a long entrance and was in the rear of the California hotel, but detached from it by an area way. At this date the amusement center was still in the neighborhood in which it had established itself in the Fifties. The opening of the Baldwin, which had occurred some years earlier, had not impressed the public that there was likely to be a flitting. The location of the Grand opera house, which was available for many years for the purpose for which it was erected, and for spectacles requiring a large stage, tended to hold amusements down town. But when the Mission street place was converted by Morosco into a temple for the presentation of melodrama of the most lurid type the glory of the opera house departed, and the movement westward was recognized as inevitable. A theater, the Columbia, was built on Powell street opposite the Baldwin hotel in May, 1895, and thenceforth shared with the Baldwin, until the latter was destroyed by fire, the distinction of being one of the two leading theaters in San Francisco.

But theaters do not take wings and fly by night to new locations. The California, long after its prestige had departed as a leading place of amusement remained the scene of many interesting performances. It no longer, as in the days preceding the rivalry of the Baldwin, maintained its stock company, but its excellent stage, and its accessibility, caused it to be sought by visiting combinations up to the time of the fire of 1906. But long before that date it was clear to any one that the town was making for itself a new amusement center. Before the erection of the Baldwin the Alcazar was opened on O'Farrell street between Stockton and Powell,

Distinguished
Artists
Visit City

Amusement
Center Moves
Westward

Theaters in
the Eighties

opposite the present Orpheum, which as late as 1892 was not considered of sufficient consequence to be embraced in a list of places of amusement published by a hotel for the information of its guests. It included only the California, the Grand opera house, the Baldwin, the Bush street, the Tivoli opera house, the Powell street theater, the Alcazar and a panorama and skating rink. The Orpheum was already in existence at that time, and had been for several years, dating back to 1887, but vaudeville had not obtained the strong hold on the amusement seeker which it has since maintained. Among the changes in popular taste after the opening of the Eighties must be included the growing appreciation of the varied attractions which the vaudeville stage presents. It cannot be said that the development was peculiar to San Francisco. In San Francisco, however, it was the product of an evolutionary process. From the time of the introduction of *cafés chantant* in pioneer days the people of the City had manifested a strong inclination for combining feasting and acting. The Russ Garden in the Fifties, and other places in the City appealed to the pleasure seeker by offering singing, acrobatic feats and other diversions as a stimulant to digestion; and later the Bella Union, on whose stage Edward Harrigan, Eddie Foy and other well known comedians at one time displayed their peculiar talents, provided entertainments whose scope did not differ greatly from that of the up-to-date twentieth century home of vaudeville. There were other places in San Francisco such as the Palace Varieties where the acrobat, the singer, the performer on the banjo and other musical instruments and the monologist met on the same boards, but they did not have the stamp of fashionable approval, and were places which the prudent shunned for a variety of reasons, chief among which was the indiscriminate character of the audiences which laid no claims to selectness.

The Last
Lay of the
Minstrel

Minstrelsy lingered throughout the Eighties, but had to be helped out by burlesque. The jokes of the end men, and the ballads of the tenor, whose voice was usually a falsetto, and the clog and statuesque dances of the Fifties and Sixties began to pall on the public taste towards the end of the decade. The conservatism of the people, and the disposition to continue support of a favorite caused the burnt-cork artists to survive longer in San Francisco than in some of the Eastern cities. But Emerson's troupe, which occupied the Standard theater on Bush street for several years, began to find it difficult towards the Eighties to compete with the attractions of light opera presented at the place across the way, even when the clever sketches of Charlie Reed were presented, in which the works of Gilbert and Sullivan were interpreted after a manner of his own, and the high spots in Italian opera were hit off. When Billy Emerson retired from the business the minstrel show, like the circus, ceased to be a regular source of entertainment in San Francisco, and its inhabitants were content to put up with periodical visitations from troupes like those of Haverly, which were largely recruited from the ranks of old time favorites who always received a hearty welcome when they returned to the scenes of their earlier successes.

San Francisco
Audiences

But while the interest in the sort of music afforded by minstrels sensibly abated during the Eighties there was no diminution of the taste for the kind dispensed by other artists. It would probably be difficult to establish the claim that the standard of taste had measurably improved over the days when opera was produced with great regularity by numerous companies, as related in a previous chapter, but there is no doubt that San Franciscans, perhaps by insisting that they had the req-

quisite qualifications, had managed to convey the impression to artists that the City could furnish a critical audience. This was true alike of singer and actor, and whether the implied compliment was deserved or not, fresh candidates for favor were disposed to regard a first appearance in San Francisco as an ordeal, and to rejoice if they passed it successfully. At no time was there any disposition to accept outside estimates. Actors and plays were judged on their merits, and in some cases there was a pronounced inclination to reverse the verdict of the East. When this occurred the artist usually retorted by branding San Francisco as a "jay town," a sort of criticism which was sometimes repaid on better acquaintance with appreciation, but rarely resented by the people.

The claim was frequently made for the Tivoli that it was the first place of amusement in America wholly devoted to the presentation of opera. It may have been without a substantial basis, but when made in the Eighties it was not disproved. At the time the question was raised the Tivoli had been running many years, and was constantly growing in favor with the people who through the energy of its managers became acquainted with musical productions often before they became familiar to Eastern audiences. The management was rarely abashed by difficulties, and its enterprise took a wide range. There was a decided preference for English opera, or to put it more correctly, works rendered into English; but at frequent intervals "Grand Italian Opera" was essayed, occasionally by troupes from the Latin American republics to the south of San Francisco. This region was a source of supply somewhat intermittent in character, and the ability of San Francisco to draw upon it was in a measure dependent upon the degree of pecuniary appreciation shown to visiting troupes, particularly by our Mexican neighbors. When from any cause an opera company made a failure in the sister republic it found its way to San Francisco to repair its fortunes. The deficiencies of the artists were not always responsible for their want of success in Latin America. On more than one occasion singers of exceptional merit, stranded below the border, were relieved of their troubles by enterprising San Francisco managers and brought to this City and given an opportunity to mend their fortunes. In the first part of the decade 1880 an organization of this character, after many vicissitudes in Mexico and the Central American states, opened in the California theater, and its performances proved so acceptable to the people that they were repeated during several months. The principal tenor of the troupe, Gianini, had a voice of exceptional quality, and the remainder of the company, while not up to the standard of the best organizations, proved very satisfactory. In like manner a company which counted Tetrizzini as its principal attraction was brought to the City by the Tivoli management. Her voice and ability received instant recognition by the audiences of that place of amusement, who voted her a star of the first magnitude, and the world later accepted their judgment.

The known partiality of San Francisco for opera sufficed in the early Eighties to break down the managerial terror of taking costly organizations thousands of miles to perform in a single city. The impresario Mapleson made a venture of the sort and introduced to San Francisco Marie Roze. The engagement began at the Baldwin but proved so successful that it was continued in the more spacious Grand opera house. Emboldened by his success Mapleson in 1884 brought to the City Adeline Patti and Etelka Gerster, who were supported by excellent companies. The season proved to be a most brilliant one, and the box office receipts were

Italian Opera
Companies
From Latin
America

A Crank
Who Envied
Patti's
Prosperity

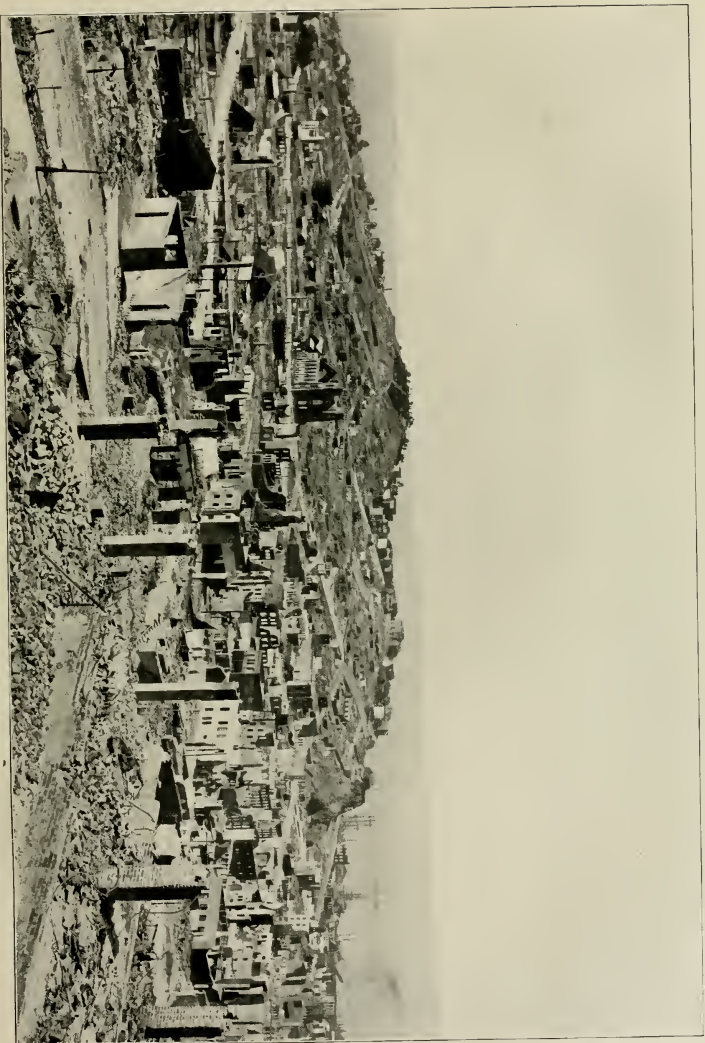
large enough to attract the wondering attention of the country. This engagement developed the fact that the love of music was so general in the City at the time that it was possible for factions to arise who warred over the merits of the singers. The supremacy of Patti had been universally recognized prior to her appearance in San Francisco, and there was no disposition to question it in the City, but there was a large section of the community who advocated the claims of Gerster to the great joy of the impresario who had the dread of off nights lifted from his mind by the favor shown to the rival artist. Patti appeared on several occasions after her first triumph in San Francisco. In 1887 while giving one of her famous concerts at the Grand opera house a crank in the gallery was detected as he was about to throw a bomb on the stage. His arrest was effected so quietly that little or no interest was excited by the slight commotion, the people in the audience assuming that some disorderly person was being removed. When questioned concerning his motive he exhibited signs of derangement; but he assigned as a reason for his act that Patti was receiving \$5,000 for singing an hour or so while he and his kind obtained only a couple of dollars for eight or ten hours of hard work. Patti's last farewell concert in San Francisco was given in January, 1904, at the Grand opera house.

**The National
Opera
Company's
Success**

Less successful in some particulars than the Patti engagements was the season of opera in 1887 given by the company for which Mrs. Jeanette Thurber of New York provided the pecuniary backing. The lady referred to was desirous of making the American public familiar with the best compositions by rendering them in English. She was also under the domination of the German idea that a perfect ensemble was preferable to the method of laying undue stress upon the part played by the star. To that end great attention was paid to scenic and other effects, and all the operas produced became spectacles. Mrs. Thurber regarded the orchestra as of prime importance, and the National Opera Company in consequence enjoyed the distinction of having its instrumental music provided by Theodore Thomas and his selected musicians numbering sixty. The ballet was also an important feature and it, together with the chorus, closely approached the two hundred advertised as being on the stage at one time. The entire organization comprised nearly three hundred persons. During the course of the season Lohengrin was introduced to the San Francisco public, and it is worth noting that the musical critics were agreed that there was something in Wagner's music and that it would live. Among the novelties and revivals presented were Rubenstein's Nero and Gluck's Orpheus and Eurydice. Gounod's Faust was produced with features rarely seen outside of Paris and the great European capitals. Mrs. Thurber's venture proved a failure, but it is claimed that had her efforts been met elsewhere as they were in San Francisco there would have been a different story to tell.

**Light Opera
Gains in
Popularity**

Although grand opera held its own during the entire period between 1883 and 1906 in San Francisco, and never degenerated into a mere society function, the lighter forms of music were unquestionably gaining a strong hold on the popular taste. It has already been related that during the Seventies French Opera Bouffe had proved extremely attractive, and that long engagements filled by artists from Paris were common. This form of entertainment lent itself more readily to the vernacular and during the Eighties the operas of Offenbach, Lecocq and others done into English, were produced by different companies, and frequently essayed by the Tivoli organization. The works of German composers in the lighter vein



RUINS BETWEEN THE FAIRMONT HOTEL AND TELEGRAPH HILL.

also became very popular and the music of Strauss was almost as familiar to San Franciscans as to the Viennese. The early vogue of Gilbert and Sullivan's productions was maintained, and in 1887 we find the Mikado simultaneously produced in two houses in the City. This growing predilection for light music by no means operated to exclude the higher forms, and if it were desirable to do so a long list of great artists who appeared before San Francisco audiences repeatedly, and who had reason to be satisfied with their reception could be printed. Before Thomas' orchestra became a fixture in Chicago their tours always embraced San Francisco, and the same may be said of other important musical organizations, and of the best pianists, violinists and concert singers. One of the events ineffaceably impressed on the minds of those who witnessed the disaster of April 18, 1906, was the fact that the Monday preceding had been signalized by the opening of a season of opera in which Caruso and other artists of distinction figured, and which promised to be exceptionally brilliant. It was fitting that the last performance in the Grand opera house should have been worthy its fame as a temple of music and that it did not pass into history as the home of lurid melodrama.

The shifting of the amusement center of a city is a phenomenon more peculiar to the United States than to European communities in many of which circumstances, and the disposition of the people cause it to remain fixed. In San Francisco it was accomplished with exceeding slowness and the movement was not a very marked one up to the time of the fire in 1906. There had been a fitting to Powell street, and there was a promise that at some future time the down town houses would be completely deserted for the neighborhood within a block or two of the Baldwin hotel, but few persons had any confidence that the erection of the Majestic theater on the south side of Market, near Ninth, would be speedily followed by like enterprises. In 1905 when the idea of a civic center in the vicinity of the city hall began to engage attention it was thought that the locality might offer inducements, but the early impression regarding the unsuitability of any place "south of the slot" for business or amusement purposes was hard to remove. It was conceded that second class theaters might succeed, but there was a fixed belief that the restaurants and the theaters would keep close together, and as the eating places which catered for the patrons of amusements were chiefly established in the vicinity of the Baldwin that seemed to settle the matter.

The night-life of San Francisco has been much commented upon. There is probably more activity on the streets of the Pacific coast metropolis after nightfall than in any other American city excepting New York. It was a feature which attracted the attention of strangers before the fire, and by most of them was regarded as an ingredient of the much talked about "atmosphere." The unusually large number of restaurants of all classes on the traveled thoroughfares helped to create the impression that San Francisco was unduly developed on its gastronomic side, a belief which was strengthened by the presence of large numbers of people who resorted to them after the theater for a late supper, and a bit more of entertainment in the shape of good music dispensed by small but select orchestras. There were several places of that character during the Nineties, and they were all flourishing. Proximity to places of amusement was essential to success, but it was soon found out that a capricious public demand something more than mere accessibility, and proprietors acting upon the discovery that the appetite grows with what it feeds upon began to supplement the shows which their patrons had seen with

Amusement
Center in
1905

Restaurants
and Night
Life in San
Francisco

still other shows and the late vaudeville multiplied. A discriminating Los Angeles critic writing of this feature of San Francisco life was impelled to institute a comparison between the peculiarities of the two cities. He declared that in his home town the people went to the theater and enjoyed the play, and then caught the first street car and hastened home to bed. In San Francisco, he said, when the theatrical performance ended the night was just beginning for the pleasure loving citizen, who insisted on seeing his friends, and enjoying their company, and some more music and life before retiring to his couch.

Places Worth
Visiting in
1892

The amusements of a great city are necessarily varied, and there are some which those who participate in its life relegate almost wholly to the enjoyment of the stranger. It is said that a vast number of Parisians have never set foot inside the Louvre, and that an equally large number is unacquainted with the beauties of Versailles. This indifference to local attractions, however, never had the effect in San Francisco of blinding those interested in its progress to the desirability of acquainting visitors to the City by means of guides and other devices with just what is to be seen within its precincts. In 1892, the California hotel, which was then one of the leading hosteleries of San Francisco, for the information of its guests issued a small leaflet which enumerated the following as places worth visiting and objects that should be seen: Golden Gate Park, Cliff House, Sutro Heights, Sutro Aquarium, the Presidio, the Union Iron Works, State Board of Horticulture, State Viticultural Commission, State Mining Bureau, Academy of Sciences, Mechanics Institute Building, United States Mint, Alcatraz Island, Harbor View, the New City Hall, Spring Valley Water Works, Chinatown, the Crocker Building, the Mills Building, the Donohue Building, the Stock Exchanges, San Francisco Produce Exchange, Merchants Exchange, Stanford Residence, Charles Crocker Residence, Hopkins Residence, J. C. Flood Residence, the Colton Residence, the Towne Residence, Henry J. Crocker Residence, the Mercantile Library, the Bohemian Club, the Pacific Union Club, the Manhattan Club, La Cercle Francais, B. P. O. Elks, the Harmonia Club, the Thalia, the German Verein, the Olympic Club, the California Club, the Concordia Club, the Masonic Temple, Odd Fellows Hall and the California State Board of Trade. Its make up suggests that the person who prepared the list was careful to include every object which by any stretch of thought could be deemed interesting to the stranger, therefore it, together with the places of amusement quoted above from the same source, constitutes a standard for comparison with the present, and will help illustrate the growth of twenty years.

Origin of
Moving
Picture Shows

During this period San Franciscans rose to an appreciation of the fact that their climate was regarded as a valuable asset by the sporting world. The discovery was not an unmixed blessing for it resulted in an attempt on the part of those interested in the turf to ignore the possibility of all play being as bad or worse for Jack than all work. For many years San Franciscans had taken a keen interest in horse racing, and the most ardent devotees of the sport were firmly convinced that it was doing much for the development of the horse. There were some who considered betting as indispensable, and thought it should be condoned if not approved, because they reasoned the benefits conferred were an offset to the vices of the turf. There was much said and written about the efforts made to improve the breed of horses and important results in that direction were accomplished on Stanford's stock farm at Palo Alto. This interest had a result apart from horse breed-

ing worth noting as it suggests that a San Francisco photographer deserves the credit of originating the idea which has since developed into the most popular amusement of modern times. In the early Eighties a man named Muybridge enlisted the interest of Stanford in his experiment of picturing the horse in motion by the use of the camera. At considerable expense photographic apparatus was arranged around the Palo Alto track, and negatives were made in as quick succession as possible, which showed the various movements of horses while rapidly trotting or running. These were subsequently assembled, and the prints were reproduced lithographically and published in a volume de luxe. The principal object seemed to be the demonstration that the horse when in motion did not act as the artist and the ordinary beholder supposed he did, but the disclosures of the camera had little effect, as the trotting or running horse is still pictured as he appears to run or trot, and not as he really performs these movements. Investigation would probably show that the publication of Muybridge's pictures, which were singularly like reproductions of the moving picture films, suggested to Edison the possibility of a motion picture.

The iteration of the climatic claims of California, whether urged by the horsemen or "boosting" editors, had far reaching results. To the considerable thought given to the subject by San Franciscans may fairly be attributed the wide extension of the benefits to be derived from the study of meteorological conditions. Under the auspices of the United States Signal Service the practice of issuing weather warnings, chiefly for the benefit of the seafarer had been in vogue for many years, but in 1887 the "Chronicle" conceived the idea of making the service help the California agriculturist, and especially the viticulturist and the fruit grower. To that end the "Chronicle" telegraphed to General Greeley, in the year named, that it would furnish an observer and meet all expenses connected with the installation of a number of stations in California, and would pay the tolls for daily telegraphic reports if the signal service would supply the necessary instruments, record books and give the experiment official sanction by supervising it. The general accepted the offer and a number of stations were established and provided with bulletin boards in which the daily warnings were exposed in properly protected frames. The demonstration was continued long enough to thoroughly satisfy General Greeley concerning its value, and in subsequent reports he urged upon congress the desirability of including the warning system in the work of the signal service, and that appropriations should be made for that purpose. It took some time to persuade congress that the system could be made to greatly serve the agricultural interest; but it finally acted and in time the successor of the signal service, the weather bureau, developed it so greatly that it is now recognized as of enormous benefit, and has to its credit the saving of large sums of money to the fruit grower who is its chief beneficiary.

San Francisco, unlike other cities of the state which have considered the promulgation of meteorological data as of prime importance, has never shown a great desire to profit by its climatic conditions, but has taken a lively interest in the study of the weather in its relation to production. The vast valley, for which the port is the natural distributor, has for a long time depended on the vagaries of the rainfall, and the people of the City in consequence learned to watch with an anxious eye the signs which presaged good or bad years. It became very early the one big city in the country in which the weather man was taken seriously, because the popular

Chronicle
Inaugurates
Weather-
Warning
Service

Meteorological Phenomena of San Francisco

interest in weather extended further than the ascertainment of whether rain might spoil an outing, or to learn if the day before had been one of prostrating heat or numbing cold. On that score there was no incitement to curiosity. The daily alternations throughout the year in San Francisco are so slight that it is impossible to stimulate interest except by a survey of the few aberrations occurring during the course of many years. These were recently epitomized by Professor McAdie who has been in charge of the service since the opening of the century, but whose researches have extended over a much longer period. He tells us that in the past forty years the number of days on which snow has fallen in San Francisco can be counted on the ten fingers and that the two heaviest snow storms of that long period were in December, 1882, and in February, 1887, the average depth of the latter being about three inches throughout the greater part of the City, although seven inches were recorded in portions of the Western Addition. From rainfall tables which covered a period of 62 years it was learned that the greatest precipitation in any one day was on January 28, 1881, when 4.67 inches fell, and the next greatest on September 23, when the weather gauge recorded 3.58 inches. In 1903 there was a rainless period of nearly 200 days in the City. The highest wind velocity observed by the weather bureau was on November 30, 1906, when a north-easter blowing 64 miles an hour was recorded. During December, January and February southeasters sometimes come with a velocity ranging from 50 to 60 miles, but the injury they inflict is usually trifling.

Mistaken
Impressions
Concerning
San Francisco
Climate

Climatic extremes make a great impression at the time of their occurrence, but they are soon forgotten in a place where the variations are small. The average San Franciscan is no better posted concerning particular weather conditions than the stranger, and not infrequently sets down as extraordinary that which is only exceptional. In September, 1904, on the occasion of the triennial conclave of the Knights Templar, a hot wave visited the City which enjoys the distinction of being a record breaker. Citizens assured the visiting strangers that nothing of the sort had ever occurred before in San Francisco, but they were mistaken. Every year brings one or two hot spells whose duration rarely exceeds two days. The absence of humidity makes them easily endurable, and they are never marked by prostrations. These brief spells are usually terminated by bracing fogs. On the other hand there is no extreme low temperature, although a cold snap occasionally visits the City which is severe enough to form a thin crust of ice in some situations. The mean temperature for a period of 37 years has been computed by Professor McAdie who reports it to be: January, 50°; February, 52°; March, 54°; April, 55°; May, 57°; June, 59°; July, 59°; August, 59°; September, 61°; October, 60°; November, 56°, and December, 52°. The same official furnishes data which disposes of the erroneous assumption created by the use of the term "rainy season," which is a misnomer, the period being best described by the expression "the season when it rains." The period when it does rain corresponds in a general way to the winter of the Atlantic seaboard, and is usually spoken of by San Franciscans as winter, but the uncertainty concerning precipitation causes them to avoid the term rainy season. The mean rainfall for the observed period of 37 years is recorded as follows: January, 4.53 inches; February, 3.50; March, 3.05; April, 1.85; May, 0.76; June, 0.21; July, 0.02; August, 0.01; September, 0.31; October, 0.31; November, 2.72; December, 4.44. The uncertainties are best illustrated by the statement that in many years no rain has fallen in some winter months, and that the total seasonal



TWENTY FOUR HUNDRED HOUSES ON CITY PARK PROPERTY, ON FORTTEENTH
AVENUE BETWEEN EILTON STREET AND THE PRESIDIO, FOR
HOMELESS REFUGEES

fall in some years has been less than 10 inches. The average number of clear days for the 37 years was as follows: January, 11 days; February, 10; March, 11; April, 12; May, 13; June, 14; July, 12; August, 10; September, 14; October, 16; November, 15; December, 12.

The uniformity these figures imply accounts for the claim that outdoor life is possible all the year around in San Francisco, the winter rains only interrupting it temporarily. It also explains the tendency of actors to migrate to the Pacific coast during the usual vacation season when existence is almost unendurable in other parts of the country, for the theatrical talent has learned that business and pleasure may be combined during the summer in San Francisco. San Francisco had scarcely realized the fact, which was becoming more and more apparent to observers, that the possibilities of its becoming a great summer resort were developing rapidly before the fire. Her own people, humanly inconsistent, were intent on evading the monotony of continuous pleasant weather, and did not note that there was a growing disposition on the part of those living in the vast region known as the great valley to escape the ardent summer sun whose heat brought their products to perfection, and that they were largely inclined to seek San Francisco where diversion is abundant, and where the weather is always enjoyable during the season that corresponds to the heated term in the interior. Uniform climate, however, has its drawbacks as well as its attractions. It was largely responsible for the excesses to which the horse racing fraternity resorted during the period, and which finally resulted in a popular revolt, and a legislative abridgment of the seasons. Nowhere else in the world was the sport ever degraded into a mere money making business as it was in San Francisco and its vicinity during the late Nineties, and in the early part of the present century. Rain or shine the game went on, and the men who ran the race tracks prospered, and the professional gamblers had uninterrupted opportunities to despoil their victims.

The first continuous racing in California was in the spring of 1892 when Thomas H. Williams announced that there would be a continuous meeting, "rain or shine," under the auspices of what was known as the Blood Horse Association. These races were run on what was known as the Bay District tract opened on October 29, 1892, an event signalized by the purchase of Ormonde by W. O. B. McDonough, a San Franciscan, for \$150,000, the highest price paid up to that time for a thoroughbred. In the following year the association was absorbed by the California Jockey Club, practically a private enterprise of Williams, and from that time forward horse racing ceased to have any attraction except for those possessed of the gambling instinct. The old time rather weak defense of the abuses of the track was abandoned, and the races were openly conducted to permit men to bet. In 1895 an Eastern turfman named Corrigan opened the Ingleside track in opposition to the California Jockey Club, and in 1896 Williams leased the fair grounds at Emeryville, in the transbay region. In 1901 Prince Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman who had married a California girl, and had taken up his residence in San Francisco, undertook to run an opposition to Williams, and opened a track on the peninsula known as the Tanforan. The prince had associated with him in this venture Charles Fair, and it was claimed for the new enterprise that its purpose was to impart to the racing game some elements of decency. If this was the object it was never accomplished, for Tanforan speedily fell into the hands of Williams who succeeded in buying off all opposition, and finally monop-

San Francisco
a Summer
and Winter
Resort

The Racing
Game in and
About San
Francisco

lized the entire business which he prosecuted with great success until the state legislature in 1909, alarmed at the demoralization it was causing, enacted laws which deprived the sport of all its attractiveness for gamblers who had become its principal votaries.

**Toleration
of Prize
Fighting**

During the period 1883-1906 racing shared with prize fighting, which masqueraded as boxing, the interest of the "fancy." Frequent exhibitions were given in the City, and permits to do so were unhesitatingly accorded by boards of supervisors, whose members were regarded as faithful public servants. They accepted passes to the ring side, and they, together with other members of the city government, and prominent professional and business men of the community witnessed the encounters which were enjoyable in the ratio of the brutality displayed. While the witnesses of these spectacles were largely composed of the worst elements in the City, there was a sufficient number of highly respectable citizens present at every exhibition to give tone to the meetings, and to support the pretense unblushingly put forward that they were popularly approved. This condition of affairs endured down to and after the fire, and undoubtedly contributed greatly to the demoralization of the City, and more than anything else contributed to the state of mind which brought about the third election of Schmitz in 1905. Excessive indulgence in the sport of racing, the numerous boxing exhibitions, the multiplication of openly conducted gambling devices such as the nickel in the slot machines which were operated in plain view of passersby on the public streets, the toleration of pool rooms and places of resort for the vicious had brought to San Francisco a floating population composed of people who preyed on the unwary, and they, together with the thoughtless class in business, who are deceived by appearances, constituted the balance of power which easily won success in a contest with the decent element of the community which insisted on subordinating local to state and national issues.

**Interest in
all Forms of
Sport**

In other lines of sport there was an extraordinary increase of interest which was reflected in the expanding accounts given in the newspapers of events of all kinds. It would be difficult to distinguish between cause and effect in considering the enlarged space devoted to sports and amusements in the newspapers during and after the Eighties. Until quite late in the eighty decade the daily papers of the City found a column or two devoted to sporting events sufficient for the requirements of their readers. An examination of these accounts discloses that there would have been difficulty in printing much more without a resort to deliberate padding, for the sporting propensity until late in the Nineties had not become highly developed, and was much less varied than it became later. All the sports of the present day were more or less known and indulged in, but some of them in which considerable interest is now taken by large numbers were caviar to the general. Lawn tennis and golf came in this category. There were few courts or links in California prior to 1895, but after that date tennis was counted as a popular sport, and the army of golfers though small gradually, by its enthusiasm, attracted attention to itself. The game of base ball which had suffered a relapse in the Seventies, experienced a revival in 1881, and in 1887 its promotion reached the proportions of a boom. In that year the California League was formed, and in 1889 the state was able to contribute its quota to the list of celebrities of the diamond field, who share ephemeral fame with great statesmen. In the early Nineties there was a relaxation of interest in base ball, but it lasted for a short time only. San Francisco has for many years enjoyed the distinction of having more baseball than any



TWELVE HUNDRED TWO-ROOM APARTMENTS BUILT BY THE CITY AT THE
OLD SPEEDWAY IN GOLDEN GATE PARK, TO SHELTER OLD PEOPLE
HOMELESS AFTER THE FIRE

other city in the country, having continuous games during seven months in the year, and in the spring the Eastern leagues turn to the coast as the only suitable place for training quarters.

Yachting, wrestling, mounted sword combats, bicycling and automobiling were among the diversions of San Franciscans during this period. The San Francisco Yacht Club, formed in 1868, was the first organized on the coast. Previous to that year there had been a lively interest in sailing, and there was considerable informal racing, but the first real cruise was under the auspices of the new yacht club in 1869, and the first race was over a course around Mission Rock to Hunter's Point, to the Oakland pier, to a stake boat off Fort Point and back to the starting line. In 1870 the San Francisco Yacht Club was obliged to give up its haven at Long Bridge, and there was a temporary subsidence of zeal, but in 1877 quarters were secured at Sausalito, and that move was soon followed by the creation of the Pacific Yacht Club, and in 1886 the Corinthian Yacht Club, an offshoot of the Pacific Club, was started. Since that date a half dozen or more clubs have been formed and the fleets now are composed of better boats than in the old days, and yachting easily holds a high place in the sporting history of San Francisco.

The game of football, as might naturally be supposed, because of the proximity of two great universities to the City, became fashionable almost as early in San Francisco as in the cities near eastern centers of learning. During many years California and Stanford contested for supremacy on a field within the city limits, in the presence of immense concourses of people, the attendance on occasions being close to 20,000. After the fire the annual games were kicked out alternately on the grounds of the two universities without any considerable diminution of the numbers present. These affairs in the closing years of the Nineties became society rather than sporting events, and everybody aspiring to shine socially, made it a point to attend them.

Perhaps the most interesting development of outdoor pleasures in San Francisco was the bicycle craze which began to take hold of old and young during the Nineties, and required several years to run its course. It became a fashionable fad and few in the social swim resisted its lure. For a time the amusement was so general that most observers imagined it was a diversion that had come to stay, and few believed that the interest taken in it would almost wholly subside and that the wheel would ultimately be devoted by adults to strictly utilitarian purposes few believed. While the furore was on in San Francisco women and girls were as zealous devotees of wheeling as men and boys, and their costumes added greatly to the picturesqueness of the streets leading to the park, which was the favorite resort, of most riders. Bloomers were affected by many of the women who adopted that mode of dress to overcome the difficulties presented by swishing skirts. Numerous clubs were formed and long excursions into the country were made, and the sport was pronounced unsurpassable. But its attractiveness diminished almost as speedily as it arose, and the once numerous bicycle was relegated to the messenger and the small boy.

The automobile can hardly be said to have superseded the bicycle, nor did it become popularized in San Francisco as rapidly as in some of the older sections of the Union, but its use had an astonishing development when once its merits began to be appreciated. As late as 1898 a bold experimenter who had equipped

Yachting on
San Francisco
Bay

Football
Draws Big
Crowds

The Bicycle
Craze

Advent of the
Automobile

a light running buggy with a steam motor was able to attract attention when he ran his curious machine along Golden Gate avenue towards the park, and when he met with disaster by having his vehicle overturned on Divisadero street there were many who ventured the opinion that there was not much to the new fangled idea. This incredulous attitude disappeared very rapidly after the perfection of the gasoline propelled motor, and produced a noteworthy change in the habits of a large section of San Francisco society. Notwithstanding the reputation bestowed upon San Francisco as a place in which expensive habits had been developed the number of people who maintained carriages in the City was comparatively small. Men in particular refrained from their use except for utilitarian purposes. There were some who owned good horses and fine equipages, but they scarcely thought of using them to drive to and from their places of business. In short, "keeping your own carriage" in San Francisco up to about 1902, had a significance, and implied something wholly different from the statement than "Jones has an automobile." Keeping a carriage and using it conferred something like social distinction, before the date mentioned, which the advent of the horseless wagon completely removed. In ancient Rome it is related that the wearing of the iron ring ceased to be the badge of a favored class, because the growth of wealth, which practically carried with it the privilege, became so great that the number of wearers was as large as that of the unadorned. Something of the kind occurred in San Francisco with the advent of the automobile, the use of which expanded so rapidly that in a short time there were more agencies for the sale of motors in the City than there were private carriages before the fire.

Growth of
Educational
Facilities

It is easy to convey an impression that a people has surrendered itself to gayety. San Francisco has suffered in this regard. The prominence given to sports and the devotion to amusement has caused the outside world to believe that more serious things are neglected, but the steady expansion of the City's public schools, and the attention given to the development of educational facilities displays the fallacy of the assumption. In 1885 the number of public schools in the City was sixty-five with 734 teachers; five years later there were seventy-two schools and 859 teachers; in 1895 there were seventy-five schools but the number of teachers had increased in a greater ratio than school houses, there being 904. Ten years later there were 85 schools and 1,181 teachers. The figures of enrollment of pupils, and average attendance during the period, exhibit some fluctuations which are partly accounted for by the variations in business prosperity, and the growth of private schools and of the Catholic parochial school system which in the early part of 1903 counted some 13,000 scholars distributed in schools established in the archdiocese of San Francisco. The method adopted for ascertaining the number of school children resulted in unreliable statistics and was the subject of much criticism, and between 1884 and 1887 a great scandal grew out of the fraudulent practices of the enumerators whose appointments were governed more by political expediency than consideration for the welfare of the schools.

Increase in
Public School
Attendance

In 1888 the school superintendent was compelled to discharge the census marshal for defective work, and a re-enumeration showed that there were but 59,517 children of school age found, whereas in the previous year 78,246 had been reported. The increase after 1888 was normal, averaging from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. a year until 1902. In 1903 and the two years preceding the fire there

were fresh suspicions of padding the census, but it is possible that these were suggested by the general feeling that the administration was acting improperly in every field, and that the figures returned truly represented the number of school age children. But concerning the pupils enrolled and the average attendance there was no question and these showed steady increases during the years between 1883 and 1903. In 1885 the enrolled pupils numbered 43,265; in 1890 there were 42,926; in 1895 the number was 44,322; in 1900, 48,058; and in 1905, 55,067. The daily attendance rose from 32,812 in 1885 to 40,920 in 1905. It was lower in 1890 than five years earlier, and in 1895 it was only about seven hundred greater than in 1885. If San Francisco's school facilities were confined to its public system these figures might prove valuable in determining the effects of trade vicissitudes on education but they represent incomplete data which must be supplemented by embracing the parochial and private schools.

It would be impossible to detect lessened labors or activities in the school department from a study of its finances which show a constantly increasing expenditure, rising from \$840,367 in 1885 to \$983,014 in 1890, to \$1,043,067 in 1895, to \$1,274,696 in 1900 and to \$1,403,349 in the year before the fire. These figures display the liberal disposition of the community which was sometimes abused, as was the case in 1896-1899, when debts in excess of the appropriations made for maintenance were incurred to the amount of over \$200,000. This resulted in the then Superintendent Webster refusing to audit demands of teachers aggregating \$115,000 on the ground that they were incurred in violation of the state law, and the city charter which forbade the incurrence of unauthorized indebtedness, and the exceeding of the apportionment under the one-twelfth provision relating to expenditures of moneys appropriated for school or other purposes. Subsequently the teachers in conjunction with certain merchants who had claims against the City, also incurred in violation of the one-twelfth provisions of the state law and charter, secured an amendment to the constitution authorizing the payment of the illegally incurred debts which totalled \$235,000. During the period under review the cost per capita of children educated, based on daily attendance, rose constantly. It was \$25.80 in 1885, \$31.35 in 1890, \$36.41 in 1900 and \$34.29 in 1905. The necessity of broadening the curriculum and the construction of new school houses were largely responsible for this expansion. The growing value of school property during the period kept pace with expenditures, and to some extent these values explain the increasing cost per capita of school education, reflecting as they do the constantly increasing demand for more buildings as well as teachers. In 1885 the value of school property was \$3,137,000; in 1890 it rose to \$4,757,724; in 1895 to \$5,140,258; in 1900 to \$5,514,200, and in 1905 to \$5,800,000. A part of this increased valuation was due to the enhancement of the value of real estate purchased or acquired in previous years, but the major part may be set down to additions and the construction of buildings. In 1903-04 bonds to the amount of \$3,592,000 were authorized for the purpose of providing additional school buildings, and replacing some of the older schools with structures of a modern type. Of this authorized issue of bonds, \$1,077,088 were sold in 1904-5, and the new plans were being put into effect when the disaster of 1906 occurred.

Expenditures
for School
Purposes

After 1883 San Francisco experienced the desire which exhibited itself in some of the American cities of greatly broadening the field of public school ac-

**Normal
School
Established**

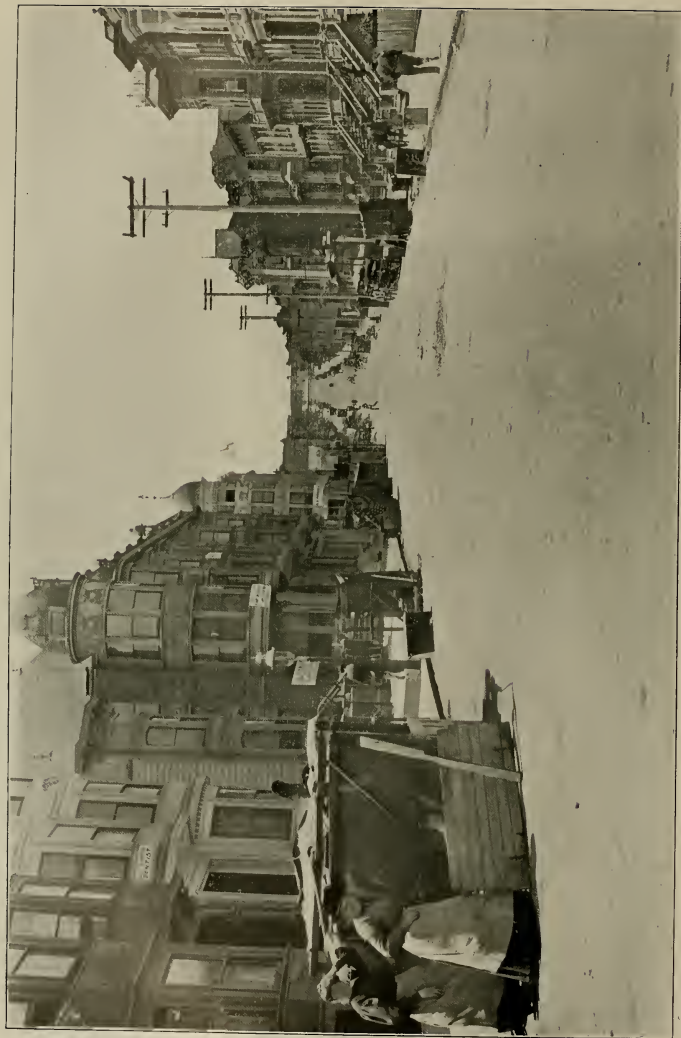
tivities. In 1886 in response to an insistent demand girls were permitted to enroll in the boys' high school in order that they might be enabled to learn Latin and Greek, and in 1887 there were twenty of them on the rolls and the name of the school was changed to Lowell high, and for a few years afterward coeducation was a feature of that school. In 1896 the high school facilities of the City were increased by the construction at Eighteenth and Dolores streets of a commodious building which received the name of Mission high. A girls' high school, and a normal class were also added in the Nineties. The establishment of the normal class met with some opposition at first, it being claimed that two universities and three state normal schools should meet the demands for normal teaching. The agitation resulted in the abolition of the class by the board of education in 1899, but the legislature was soon after induced to make the necessary appropriation and a normal school was established in the City on the block at Buchanan and Waller streets, with a faculty of 18 teachers. The school maintains a model department wherein from 600 to 800 pupils are taught by normal students who thus acquire practical experience as teachers.

**Selection and
Efficiency of
Teachers**

It is interesting to note in this connection that the long protracted struggle over the question of the number of pupils that might be properly cared for was finally settled in 1900 when Superintendent Webster's recommendation that not to exceed 45 in the primary and grammar classes, and 40 in the first and eighth grades was adopted by the board of education. Another important innovation connected with the welfare of the teacher, and designed to increase the efficiency of the system was the passage by the legislature in 1895 of a teachers' annuity and retirement bill. It was amended at two successive sessions. It requires every teacher to pay into the annuity fund \$1 per month for the purpose of creating a sum equal to \$50,000, the interest of which shall be devoted to the payment of pensions. The amount produced under the provisions of the act did not suffice to carry out the purposes of the projectors of the annuity plan and another bill was introduced in the legislature of 1911 which was passed by a large majority but was vetoed by Governor Johnson on the ground that it would make too heavy a draft on the taxpayer. It provided a minimum pension of \$360 and a maximum of \$960 per annum, the sum to be determined by length of service, the amount to be paid to be one and one-half per cent of the annual average salary received during the first ten years of service being allowed for each year of service, no teacher to be retired unless 60 years of age except in case of physical disability. The question of the selection of teachers, for many years a vexed one in San Francisco, was finally settled in 1900 by the adoption of a civil service plan. Examinations under it are held when the necessities of the department demand, and all certified persons are put on the list of eligibles and are awarded positions when vacancies occur.

**Commercial
and Training
Schools**

The belief that the public school system should fit the pupil for the battle of life asserted itself very early in San Francisco. In 1865 evening schools giving instructions in commercial branches were established. During the period after 1883 this feeling exerted itself so actively that a commercial department was started in the Lowell high school. Its popularity was at once made so manifest that in 1885 a commercial school was started under the auspices of the department on Powell near Clay street. In 1892 manual training was added and the institution was designated the Polytechnic high school. In 1900 a segregation



LONG ROWS OF STREET KITCHENS

After the fire no householder was permitted to cook or to light fires in his house until the building was inspected

of the commercial and manual training branches became necessary, and a new commercial school was built on Grove near Larkin streets, the Polytechnic being maintained. In 1887 Henry D. Cogswell gave deeds of trust for \$1,000,000 for the purpose of endowing the Polytechnic school which bears his name. The buildings of the institution were erected on Cogswell's property between Seventh, Folsom, Harrison and Sixth streets. By the terms of the trust the school was made coeducational. Later another manual training school was created by the bequest of Wilmerding.

An interesting statement printed over the signature of Rev. Father Gleason in 1903 presents an idea of the flourishing condition of the parochial schools at that time. He said: "Without cavil we boast today that the Catholic school system of the archdiocese of San Francisco is at least as good as, if not superior to the public system in vogue in every branch of instruction from the matchless kindergarten, conducted by the sisters of the Holy Family, to the classes entering the state university from the colleges of Notre Dame and Dominican nuns." In the same connection the father remarked: "The gratifying results of these sacrifices in behalf of education are seen in 13,000 pupils attending the parochial schools of San Francisco, not to speak of other thousands in academies and colleges for young men and women." This condition of the Catholic educational system of the diocese continued down to the time of the fire. It is worth noting while dwelling on the subject that at no time have the Catholics of San Francisco urged that any part of the public school moneys be devoted to the promotion of their system. Occasionally mild criticism has been directed against the secular schools, and the desirability of imparting religious education has been urged, but there never was, as in New York, a serious attempt to secure state recognition.

San Francisco's commercial instincts, although highly developed, have never tended to cause its people to undervalue the influence for good exerted by the presence of the great institutions of the higher learning in its immediate vicinity. The people of the City have taken the liveliest interest in the fortunes of the state university and that endowed by Leland Stanford, and have always energetically assisted in every movement to extend their importance. They have usually been foremost in such efforts, and while these two institutions are in no sense local, it has always been felt that they are peculiarly dependent upon the support of the people about the bay for the promotion of their facilities. In addition to their contribution to the revenues provided by the state for the maintenance of the state university there has always been a marked disposition on the part of the people of the City to assist in broadening the field of its activities. In 1896 Mrs. Phoebe Hearst undertook the important task of securing a general scheme for the buildings of the state university by inviting the architects of the world to compete. Two competitions were held, a preliminary one at Antwerp and a final at San Francisco which closed July 1, 1898, the first prize being awarded to Emile Bernard of Paris. The first building constructed in accordance with the accepted plans was the Greek theater, which has since acquired a world wide fame through the desire of every artist of note to display his or her talents on its classic stage. The theater was the gift of Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, wife of the proprietor of the "Examiner." Since the erection of the Greek theater numerous noble edifices have been constructed on the university grounds, and they are gradually assuming the appearance contemplated by the original promoters of the scheme to

**Parochial
Schools**

**The Nearby
Universities**

properly develop the magnificent site. The Leland Stanford Jr. university at Palo Alto is maintained by the splendid endowment of its founder and contests with the state institution for first place. Its faculty is large, and has included many professors who have distinguished themselves in the walks of learning. The University of California until 1887 depended for its revenue upon income from invested funds, and upon bi-annual appropriations by the legislature. In that year its future was made secure by providing for an annual levy of one cent on each \$100 of the taxable property of the state. In 1897 the revenue was further enlarged by an additional cent on the \$100, which together with the amount derived from the invested funds made liberal provision for extension in every direction.

**Growth of
Free Public
Library**

There are other modes of showing devotion to learning than supporting schools and universities. San Francisco during the period 1888-1905 displayed her appreciation of this fact in various ways. The public library system of the state which owed its inception to San Franciscans was immensely popularized by the success which marked the opening of the first free library in California. It took ten years, however, to house the collection in a building belonging to the municipality. In 1888 the Public Library which had occupied quarters in a down-town building was moved to the Larkin street wing of the new city hall which was still in course of construction, and the appropriation for its maintenance was increased from \$18,000 to \$35,000. In 1893 it was transferred to the McAllister street wing where the collection was installed at the time of the great fire in 1906. In 1888 branches were opened in the Mission, at the Portrero and North Beach. Richmond received a branch in 1892. The Harrison was established in 1896 and the Fillmore in 1899. In addition to this extension of the sphere of usefulness numerous innovations were made greatly tending to increase the popularity of the library. Separate rooms were provided for students making researches; 12,000 volumes were segregated from the general collection and rendered accessible to the visitor without the intervention of the librarian, and a proportionate number was set aside in the branches which the people could take from the shelves; a juvenile department was created and abundant space devoted to periodical readers, in special rooms. In 1898 the new charter fixed the minimum rate of library tax which compels supervisors to appropriate annually a sum of \$75,000,000 on an assessed valuation of \$500,000,000. In June, 1904, there were 155,820 volumes of which 124,169 were in the main library, the remainder being in the branches. In that year \$10,150.87 was expended for new books and numerous gifts were continually being received.

**Mercantile
Library
Absorbed by
Mechanics
Institute**

The Mercantile library, the vicissitudes of which claimed attention in an earlier chapter endured almost to the close of the period. It might, like the Mechanics institute, have survived the competition of the Public library had it been properly managed but it was unfortunate in that regard. In 1891 it contained some 65,000 volumes and was particularly rich in old newspaper files, but in the main its patronage was confined to seekers after the latest fiction, a record of books taken out at this time showing that 75 per cent of the demand was for that sort of literature. After disposing of the building in which the library was originally housed the Mercantile for a time was quartered in what was known as the Supreme Court building on the corner of McAllister and Larkin streets, but about 1893 the collection of books was removed to a building specially constructed for the pur-

pose on the corner of Golden Gate and Van Ness avenues. Subsequently misfortune continuing to pursue it the Mercantile collection passed into the possession of the Mechanics institute. The latter organization continued to grow in strength and at the time of the fire was in a very flourishing condition, and its claim to usefulness was freely admitted by the student, who was apt to assert that it was the best worker's library in the City.

Adolph Sutro during the Eighties began a collection of books and documents which he designed turning over to the public. In 1891 a writer predicted a great future for the library which he said numbered some 200,000 volumes. He added: "No one as yet knows fully what there is in the collection, but it is certain that it contains many treasures." His expectation that a grand building would be built to house the Sutro collection was never realized. At the time of the great fire a large part of the books were in a building on Battery street, and it is estimated that 150,000 were destroyed. Dr. Andrew White of Cornell who examined the library in a large way extolled its value highly, but it was never put into such shape that its treasures could be made use of by the student.

The Odd Fellows library, an outgrowth of a bequest of S. H. Parker, like the Mercantile, succumbed to the superior advantages of the Public library. The collection was sold piecemeal and passed into various hands, the purchasers being largely made up of private individuals. The remaining collections spoken of in an earlier chapter with few exceptions continued to grow slowly, those specializing, such as the Law library, making the most progress. In 1887, Bancroft, the writer of the series of Pacific coast histories, offered to sell his collection, composed almost wholly of books and documents bearing on the history of the coast for \$250,000. The offer was subsequently withdrawn, and some years later the library was acquired by the University of California and constitutes one of the most valuable sections of the fine collection belonging to that institution.

The period under review was less prolific in writers able to make their impress upon the world outside of the state than that which produced Harte, Twain, Joaquin Miller and their contemporaries, but the list of those who made names for themselves is not inconsiderable. Among the number may be included Charles Edward Markham, John Vance Cheney, Alexander Del Mar, Charles Howard Shinn, Archibald Clavering Gunter, Richard Henry Savage, Clay Meredith Greene, Mrs. Romualdo Paeleo, Mrs. Gertrude Franklin Atherton, The Irwin brothers, Wallace and William, Kate Douglass Wiggin, Jeremiah Lynch, Frank Norris, Jack London, John Muir, Chester Baily Fernald, Harry J. Dam and a number of others whose work was found acceptable to the public and freely accepted by the publishers. The list can hardly be said to embrace stars of the first magnitude, but it must be borne in mind that their productions were put forth at a time when literary rivalry was almost as keen as that witnessed in commercial circles. When Harte and Twain made their reputations there were fewer aspirants for fame throughout the wide world than during the period in which the authors first quoted struggled for recognition; and that so many of them should have made their names familiar and attained to the high distinction of producing "best sellers" justifies the claim that California had not regressed.

That San Francisco presented some of the features of a training school for literary aspirants and also for histrionic fame has been observed by commentators. It has been noted that the state has long been a recruiting ground for the lyric

The Sutro
Library

Odd Fellows
and Bancroft
Libraries

Producers of
Literature

A Dramatic
School

and dramatic stage and that some of the best known favorites proclaim their Californian origin or early training. The roll of actors, actresses and other amusement artists who began their career in San Francisco is a large one. It embraces such names as Mary Anderson, Sibyl Sanderson, Lotta Crabtree, John McCullough, Edward Harrigan, David Belasco, Isadore Duncan, Maud Allen, Alice Neilson, David Warfield, Maud Adams, Nance O'Neill, Blanche Bates, Modjeska and some others, all of whom in their subsequent careers became as popular in other communities as in that in which their career began. That San Francisco atmosphere should have proved stimulating to the artistically inclined is not surprising. Its isolation tended to throw it on its own resources during many years, and the natural result was to develop talent. Theodore Thomas on the occasion of one of his numerous visits to San Francisco with his well trained orchestra declared that it was easier to create a competent chorus capable of dealing with the best music than in any other city in the Union. Not that there were more educated singers here than elsewhere, but there was relatively a greater number ready to sing. The same comment applies to musicians, the local talent always being adequate to piece out the deficits of visiting organizations, or to form a symphony orchestra.

**Musical Taste
and Musicians**

That the City has not a greater fame as a producer of musical compositions is due to the swarming tendency. Budding musical genius in San Francisco is inclined, as in the case of literary aspirants, to flock to the great centers of wealth and population. They reverse Bishop Berkeley's view and seek empire in the East. But enough remains behind to satisfy the desire for originality and entitle the City to a modest share of distinction, and definitely prove that it is not under the baleful influence of Philistinism. The Bohemian Club and the Family, two organizations, unique in many particulars, have for years successfully labored to establish that man, even if he is practical most of the time, need not necessarily be a machine. Their plays in the woods, while they have not made the same noise in the world as those of Bayreuth or Oberammergau, are known far and wide and would attain still greater celebrity if more were permitted to see and hear them. The Bohemian Club's essays on their outdoor stage, the enjoyment of which is confined rigorously to their own members or to distinguished visitors, have been in every field of dramatic and musical art: the romantic realistic, the romantic idealistic and the historical. These plays and the music are produced solely by the members and result in spectacles which the circumstances and surroundings divest of all appearance of amateurism, and have been pronounced profoundly impressive by impartial visiting participants.

**William R.
Hearst's
Journalistic
Success**

The journalism of the period 1883-1905 was marked by numerous changes and developments. In 1887 the "Examiner" became the property of William Randolph Hearst, the present proprietor. During its entire previous career it had occupied an inconsequential place in the newspaper field, enterprise of any kind being foreign to its conductors who concerned themselves almost wholly to make it a useful democratic organ, and to promote the political aspirations of Mr. Hearst's father, George Hearst. That was one of the recognized methods of gaining partisan favor in the early Eighties. When William R. Hearst took possession of the "Examiner" it had the appearance of a moribund sheet; but in a remarkably brief interval he put new life into the paper. With abundant means at his command he surrounded himself with bright newspaper men whose efforts were as much de-



A BOHEMIAN CLUB SPECTACLE IN THE REDWOODS



BOHEMIAN CLUB MEMBERS AT DINNER AMONG THE REDWOODS OF THEIR GROVE

voted to the presentation of novelties as to the gathering of news. Their work attracted attention, and the paper grew in circulation. Its methods were largely modeled on those of the New York "World," which had proved so successful in New York, but the exaggerations of the model were soon surpassed by the "Examiner." Sensational journalism and the journalism that does things were not unfamiliar to San Franciscans. As briefly related in these pages the "Chronicle" had invaded both fields before the "Examiner" became a factor in journalism, and it will be recalled that the personal element was a distinguished feature of the Fifties. Mr. Hearst's innovation consisted largely in emphasizing his departures from the normal by the use of big type and a resort to unsparing laudation of the accomplishments of his paper and its enterprise. The new style was yeelp "yellow journalism," and the reputation for having introduced it was bestowed upon him later when he entered the Eastern field, which he did by purchasing the New York "Journal," which he has since conducted in that city. Later Mr. Hearst established or secured papers in other Eastern cities, and in Los Angeles, and through their influence, despite the adverse and often virulent criticism directed against him, he has secured a foremost place in American journalism and is recognized as influential in national politics. One of the elements contributing to Mr. Hearst's success in the East was his practice of transplanting talent that had been developed in San Francisco to his New York or other Eastern papers, a fact recognized and much commented upon by impartial critics.

During the Eighties the "Call," the senior of the three leading evening journals, was purchased by John D. Spreckels. As he took little interest in its conduct other than its politics, it was generally assumed that the control of the paper had been secured for the purpose of advancing or "protecting" the projects in which the Spreckels people were interested. Claus Spreckels, the father of John D., was a man of great energy and initiative, and was connected with and directed numerous enterprises of a quasi public character. He had built up a large sugar refining interest in the City, and when the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii was entered into he became the most important factor in the development of the sugar industry in the islands, at the same time largely extending his refining operations in San Francisco. He and his sons were also interested in the promotion of navigation between the Hawaiian islands and the mainland, and later Claus promoted a gas company which was absorbed by the concern with which it engaged in rivalry. The senior Spreckels dealt liberally with his children, bestowing large sums upon them, and John D. was the especial object of his favor at the time of the purchase of the "Call," hence the assumption that the paper was not bought merely as a journalistic enterprise. Mr. Spreckels did not give his personal attention to the management of the paper, and entrusted it with varying results to others. The several changes in its conduct indicate that the outcome was not always favorable, but the paper being liberally provided with funds it maintained its reputation as a news gatherer. The "Alta," which after many vicissitudes had passed into the hands of James G. Fair, in 1891, gave up the ghost. It had been maintained for many years by its owner apparently with no other object than to keep alive its Associated Press franchise with the view of profitably disposing of the same together with the plant and good will when the opportunity should arise.

The "Bulletin" passed into new hands after the death of Loring Pickering, who together with George K. Fitch had successfully conducted the "Call" during a long

San Francisco
Call During
the Eighties

Bulletin and
Other Even-
ing Papers

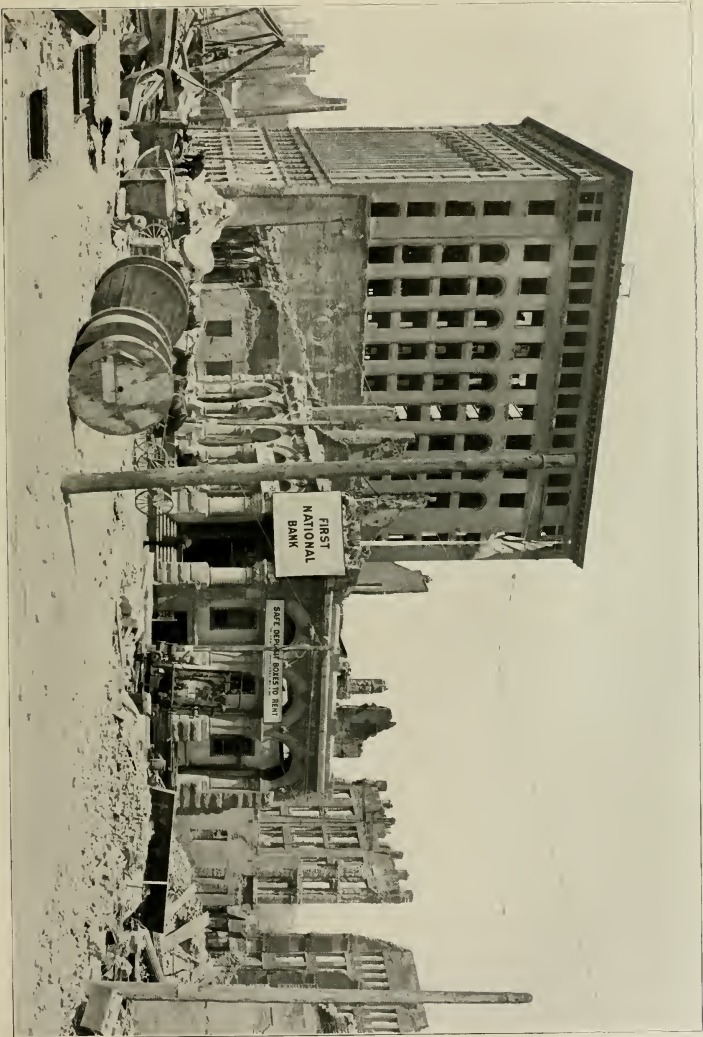
period. Fitch had run the evening section of the two properties on extremely conservative lines when he was in charge. Under the changed management the disposition towards conservatism was reversed, and the policy of its new proprietor was to popularize his journal by his manner of presenting the news, but more particularly by adopting methods of pushing street circulation that were not in vogue in San Francisco. The "Evening Post" passed through many tribulations and had many nominal owners during the period; none of them, however, found its operation profitable. Two other evening papers, both of which had enjoyed seasons of prosperity while the stock gambling furore existed were interred in the journalistic graveyard during the Eighties. One of them, the "Daily Report," had a chance of survival, but it passed out of the possession of the parties who had built it up into the hands of an Eastern man who tried the penny paper idea before the coin was acclimatized with fatal result to his property.

Weekly
Papers and
the Magazines

In the weekly field new candidates for favor appeared and disappeared, among them the "Wave" and the "Californian." The "Argonaut," the "Wasp" and the "News Letter" were able to hold their own against all newcomers, only one of the latter, "The Town Talk," gaining a place. These periodicals, with the exception of the "Argonaut," were compelled to readapt themselves to the changed conditions created by the entrance into the literary field of the Sunday magazines of the daily papers. In many respects their methods were modeled on those of the London weeklies which make gossip concerning people in the public eye a leading feature. With the growth of the City and the enlargement of social activities their field presented opportunities which they have diligently employed. Magazines in the monthly class at no time were flourishing publications in San Francisco. Even in the palmy days of the "Overland" the most eulogistic citizen hardly thought it comparable with the monthlies produced in New York and Boston. Later it and the "Californian" suffered from the rivalry of the Sunday supplement which drew away contributors, or rather developed a new class who preferred to devote part of their talent to educational work or reporting, producing literature as a by-product. Among the number whose names became familiar to the public through the agency of the Sunday magazine were those of E. W. Townsend, Thomas J. Vivian, Peter Robertson, Arthur McEwen, Joseph T. Goodman, Thomas E. Flynn, Ambrose Bierce, William S. O'Niell, Frank Bailey Millard, Harry Bigelow, Minnie Buchanan Unger, Charles Frederick Holder, George Hamlin Fitch, Hugh Hume, J. J. O'Hara Cosgrove and others. During the Nineties the "Sunset" magazine was started. Its purpose of boosting California was frankly stated, but it has managed to make a place for itself and comes nearer typographically and otherwise of realizing the desire for a real metropolitan monthly than any other sent out from a San Francisco press.

Eastern
Criticism of
San Francisco
Press

In a criticism of the daily and periodical literature of San Francisco published in an Eastern magazine in 1899 the writer dwelt on what he called the provincialism of the newspapers of the City. His observation was based on the fact that the practice inaugurated many years earlier by the "Chronicle" of presenting the advantages of the state in detailed form had been generally adopted by its contemporaries. The result, he declared, was to make the people who read these articles fancy themselves too self-sufficing and to repel the sympathy of outsiders. The writer dwelt with especial emphasis upon the creation of the Native Sons organization and asserted that its tendencies were mischievous because of the cre-



FIRST NATIONAL BANK DOING BUSINESS AMONG THE RUINS

ation of the feeling that strangers were not welcome to California. The "Chronicle" undertook to answer the critic and showed conclusively that the three morning papers of San Francisco printed more news concerning the outside world than those of any other city in the United States; that their columns were daily filled with dispatches from every part of the globe, and that editorially they displayed a keener interest in national and foreign politics than most of their contemporaries. The retort contained the charge against the Eastern press that it rarely printed an item coming out of the West unless it related to crime. A tabular comparison was made showing that the proportion of serious matter printed in San Francisco was relatively greater than in the metropolitan press. For the "Chronicle" it was claimed that it had led the way in the presentation of extended arguments on money and cognate subjects and that it had on frequent occasions devoted as many as eight or ten pages to the elucidation of questions before the people. The rejoinder of the San Francisco newspaper man was a work of supererogation so far as practical journalists were concerned, for the profession generally readily concedes that the press of the Pacific metropolis in most particulars is fully abreast of that of the East which has been largely reinforced by men from San Francisco who have introduced Western methods to the people of New York, that have not always proved acceptable, but which at least have taught Eastern publishers that fertility of invention is not confined to the Atlantic seaboard.

In the attitude of the Eastern press may be found an explanation of the general misunderstanding concerning conditions in San Francisco and on the coast generally. The same causes which operated in inducing the people of the older sections of the Union to accept as typical the bizarre creations of Bret Harte and the other early writers who were able to impart the California atmosphere to their work has endured to this day because no story out of the West is deemed interesting unless it has what are deemed to be the peculiar characteristics of the country. Thus it happened that when the sand lot agitation was in progress the impression obtained at the East that it was an extraordinary manifestation of riotousness when in fact it was merely a reflection of what was occurring on the other side of the Rocky Mountains with the exception that in San Francisco the alleged abuses were made the basis of a demand for political reform. During the entire struggle the press of the East only dwelt on the minor disorders growing out of the agitation, utterly ignoring its real significance which was only forced on their attention years after the movement had subsided. To the persistent practice of printing criminal happenings to the exclusion of all other events occurring in the City must be attributed the gross misconceptions concerning San Francisco life and the aims and efforts of its people.

The preceding details which prosaically describe the activities of the people of San Francisco in all the fields in which good men and women are striving to overcome the evil tendencies of their kind should prove sufficient to establish that the City is not tolerant of vice or indifferent to its existence, and the fact that they are frequently in commotion over the subject instead of being counted against them should suggest to the outside critic that there is a better prospect of their efforts resulting in satisfactory solutions of their problems than could be attained through adherence to the erroneous idea that the nasty things had better be hid away from sight and not be talked about. San Francisco is a great seaport, and from the time of the discovery of gold it has proved a powerful magnet to attract

Eastern Press
Misrepresents
the Coast

Abnormal
Features of
social Life

adventurous characters, and the latter are not invariably the product of religious training or shining examples of the results of wholesome family influences. The presence of a relatively large number of this class in the early days led to the evil consequences described, but after the application of the drastic remedy of the rope by the Vigilantes, and the determination shown for a time by those who took part in the uprising against loose methods and crime to attend to their civic duties, San Francisco became a city in which the conditions were as satisfactory as those of any other large community in the land. There were occasional manifestations, suggestive of the earlier days of loose relations, which received undue attention because of the prominence of the actors, as was the case when Sarah Althea Hill attempted to compel ex-Senator William Sharon by means of divorce proceedings to recognize an alleged contract marriage. That the affair was most discreditable to all the parties concerned is undeniable, but the disgusting notoriety given to all the circumstances by dragging Sharon into court, and the subsequent tragedies effectually ended the vicious recognition of relations contracted without the intervention of minister of religion or officer of the law.

**The Sharon-
Hill Case**

The action against Sharon by Miss Hill to compel recognition of an alleged contract marriage was instituted in the latter part of 1883 and occupied the attention of the courts for many months. Miss Hill had been an inmate of the Grand hotel; she was well connected and moved in the best social set of her time. Sharon was a widower, the owner of the hotel and a man of great wealth. When the action was brought against him he declared that it was for blackmail and denied having made any contract and asserted point blank that his relations with the plaintiff were solely governed by financial considerations. Miss Hill secured the assistance of able counsel, her chief adviser being David S. Terry, who carried his aggressiveness of early days into the conduct of the case. The proceedings in court were marked by disgraceful scenes, which have not been even remotely approached since that date excepting during the course of the trial of Abraham Ruef after the great conflagration. Recrimination marked every stage of the inquiry, and there were frequent outbursts which neared the edge of violence. On one occasion it became necessary to disarm the plaintiff, and Terry at all times during the trial displayed his truculent disposition. Fines for contempt of court had to be imposed and there was constant intriguing outside the court room. A trap was set for one of the lawyers on the side of Sharon into which he stepped and lost a brilliant reputation. The case could not be decided by the lower courts and was appealed and after the plaintiff had lost, Terry, who during the proceedings became enamored of his client and married her, brought charges against two justices of the supreme court which were referred to the judiciary committee at a special session of the legislature in 1886. The failure of Terry to swear to his charges caused the committee to indefinitely postpone their consideration. Three years later Terry who had made threats against the life of Justice Field of the United States supreme court met that official in an eating house at Lathrop. The justice was attended by a United States marshal who acted as his body guard. Terry was accompanied by his wife. An encounter had been expected and when Terry arose and walked over to where the justice was sitting and slapped his face, the guard fired twice, killing the assailant of Field. Mrs. Terry, whose suit against Sharon was the cause of the assault made by her husband acted like a fury, and attempted to participate in the affair but was disarmed. The shooting of Terry

occurred on August 15, 1889, and not long afterward Mrs. Terry, completely distraught, was immured in the asylum at Agnews where she died a few years later.

The scandal attending the Sharon-Hill case was in some particulars matched by that which followed the death of Thomas Bell, a large land holder, who died under circumstances which revealed an extraordinary career. Bell's death occurred on the 15th of October, 1892, at his residence on the corner of Post and Octavia streets. It was asserted that he fell down the stairs in the rear of his house, and that he died from the injuries caused by the fall. It was generally supposed at the time of his demise that he was a man of great wealth, but the administrators found the estate bankrupt. For years Bell had in his home a colored woman named Mammy Pleasant, who acted as his housekeeper, and who appeared to have *carte blanche* to conduct affairs as she pleased despite the fact that he had a wife, the mother of five children, who lived in the house. After the death of Bell it was discovered that Mammy Pleasant was privileged to draw on his bank account, and that her expenditures for household affairs aggregated \$3,000 monthly. The influence of the negress over Bell was extraordinary and its cause was never fully revealed. She had been at one time the keeper of a house of ill fame, and it was supposed that her relations with him dated from that period. Mrs. Bell was apparently a negligible quantity in the household, and the assumption that her effacement was voluntary seemed to be borne out by the revelations of the long drawn-out court proceedings which the settlement of the estate necessitated. Mammy Pleasant was mixed up in the Sharon-Hill suit in its early stages and the charge was made that she financed Miss Hill's case. During the protracted period of settlement of the Bell estate the most extraordinary stories concerning the lives of the inmates of the large mansion at Post and Octavia streets were told and it became known as "the house of mystery." Mammy Pleasant was accused of practicing the arts of the voodooist, and she was also represented as having by her machinations secured possession of a large part of the property accumulated by Bell during his life time. A settlement of the estate was effected on May 15, 1902, but claims were presented as late as 1905. After many years of the domination of the colored intrigante Mrs. Bell asserted herself, and the final outcome of the sensational case, owing to an advance in property values, and the presence of oil on some of the lands acquired by Bell in early days, she was enabled to sell at figures far exceeding the estimate of the appraisers and became a rich woman.

Another highly sensational case illustrating the looseness of relations in the early days developed after the death of Thomas H. Blythe in 1882. He left an estate valued at about \$4,000,000 composed chiefly of the triangular block bounded by Grant avenue, Market and Geary streets. A host of claimants at once arose but after much litigation the courts declared that his natural daughter, Florence Blythe of Liverpool, England, was his legal heir. During his lifetime Blythe, whose manners were eccentric, appeared to have no friends anywhere in the wide world, but after his death an army of relatives appeared on the scene, all clamoring for the dead man's estate. They came singly and in troops; they fought individually and as joint stock companies, and protracted the squabble during more than a quarter of a century. The estate was not finally settled until October, 1907, when a decision of the United States supreme court affirmed the validity of the titles of several firms and individuals who had purchased from Florence

Mysteries of
the Bell
Family

The Contest
for Blythe's
Millions

Blythe. There were echoes of the dispute in 1910 when a relative hitherto unheard of turned up, and questions were raised about the ownership of a large tract of land in Mexico for which Blythe had supplied the purchase money. During the long drawn out legal struggle a large part of the valuable block which is situated in the heart of the City remained covered with the unsightly shacks, most of them only a story in height, erected by Blythe in the late Fifties. They were swept away by the fire of 1906 and the site was covered with modern buildings in 1911 and 1912.

A Claimant
for the
Fair Estate

The death of James G. Fair was also attended by a scandal made possible by the disregard of the conventionalities and the failure of the California law to safeguard the marital relation. Fair had been divorced by his wife several years before his death and did not marry again. When he died he left a will which indicated the expectation of trouble, as it made provision, after a fashion, for any one who should set up a claim to having been his wife. His anticipations were realized. A woman named Mrs. Nettie Craven, a principal of one of the public schools, in due time appeared on the scene with a document purporting to be a contract of marriage. As in the case of Sharon there was plenty of evidence of illicit relations, but the community and the courts decided that the attempt of Mrs. Craven was a barefaced effort to grab part of the estate of the deceased ex-senator, and she failed of her purpose.

Secret
Marriages
no Longer
Recognized

These scandalous affairs would not deserve a place in a sober recital of events if they did not point a moral the force of which was subsequently recognized by California legislators by the enactment of a law which absolutely does away with secret marital covenants, and requires for marriage the safeguard of forms and absolute publicity. Perhaps there is less excuse for including in a history the particulars of crimes which the police in their annals describe as celebrated cases. Unless their narration can be shown to bear directly upon the fortunes of the whole community it is not probable that the inquirer a hundred years hence will be interested in the recital of details which no matter how striking, or abnormal, they may have seemed at the time of the commission of the crimes, are likely to be regarded as commonplace occurrences when measured against others equally awful or revolting. There are some features of the criminal history of the period 1883-1906 which, however, deserve more than passing mention. The evil they indicate is nationally prevalent and has been denounced by presidents and publicists and some reference will be made to it later. The Pacific coast metropolis, however, statistically considered, does not appear to have more pronounced criminal tendencies than other large American cities. Police records owing to their unscientific character, make it appear that there is an extraordinary number of criminals, when as a matter of fact a single individual's offenses may be recorded in such a manner as to create the impression that the criminals are as numerous as the crimes or misdemeanors reported. It is idle therefore to attempt to treat the subject from that standpoint, for the number of arrests and convictions when they exceed those of another city may merely prove that the police of the community are enforcing the law with more vigor in the places where the excess is noted.

Technicalities
and the
Law's Delays

But while the records are undependable in this particular, and afford no information of value to the sociologist or publicist, there were striking circumstances connected with the attempts to bring notorious malefactors to an accounting for their crimes, which explain the earnest efforts made in San Francisco since



PREPARING TEMPORARY BUSINESS HOUSES ON VAN NESS AVENUE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FIRE



A MOUNTAIN OF TWISTED PIPES FROM THE RUINS

the fire to effect a reform in the procedure of the courts which it is believed is responsible for so many criminals escaping the whip of justice. A mere recital of the extent of the law's delays in certain cases would not convey an idea of the cause of the vice. That can only be done by making it clear that it is the element of notoriety which contributes most to the deprecated result. If criminal prosecutions were unattended by publicity; if newspapers could be prevented publishing the names of lawyers prosecuting or defending men accused of crime; in short if inquiries into crime were conducted without publicity there would be less complaint about the law's delay. But secret inquisitions are incompatible with democratic institutions, and as attorneys are eager to profit through the advertising they receive a reformation is not likely until the pressure of public opinion becomes strong enough to compel the adoption of methods of procedure which will minimize the opportunities of lawyers to keep in the public eye. The police annals of the period between 1883 and 1906 contain accounts of several failures of justice due to interminable delays, the most noted of which was that which followed the poisoning on August 9, 1898, of Mrs. John P. Dunning, by a woman named Botkin, with whom the husband of the murdered woman had maintained illicit relations during the absence of his wife in Dover, Delaware. Mrs. Botkin sent to her victim a box of candy which had been impregnated with poison and Mrs. Dunning unsuspectingly ate some of it and died. Every conceivable technicality was resorted to in order to save the wretched poisoner, and it was not until October 29, 1908, that her sentence to life imprisonment was affirmed. There was little or no doubt concerning the guilt of the accused woman, but intricate questions of jurisdiction were raised, and every device that the ingenuity of counsel could suggest was resorted to with the result that the criminal was kept out of state prison for ten years. She died at San Quentin in 1910 of softening of the brain.

Another case almost as notable was that of a physician named J. Milton Bowers, who was charged by a coroner's jury on November 12, 1885, with having caused the death of his wife by poisoning her with phosphorus. Bowers was ably defended, but after a protracted trial was found guilty of murder in the first degree. His case was appealed and just before the decision according him a new trial on the ground of insufficient evidence, on October 23, 1887, the body of Henry Benhayon, the brother of the poisoned woman, was found in a room under circumstances which indicated that he had committed suicide by using cyanide, but there were many remarkable facts connected with his death pointing to his having been murdered. A letter purporting to be written by Benhayon which blackened the character of his sister was found in the room. There was also a letter in which Benhayon made what appeared to be a confession exonerating Bowers in which a scheme to poison the doctor to get the insurance on his life was outlined. As the suspected object of the murder of Mrs. Bowers was to accomplish the same purpose, she and the doctor having secured insurance at the same time, the genuineness of the document was called into question. There were other complications which suggested a conspiracy to get rid of Benhayon in which Bowers' housekeeper, who married a man named Dimmig, figured. Dimmig in the course of the trial, it was shown, tried to rent the room in which the body of Benhayon was found; there was also proof that he had been in communication with the alleged suicide shortly before his death. Dimmig later was charged

A Remark-
able Poison-
ing Case

with having murdered Benhayon. In the course of his trial it developed that Benhayon had frequently expressed his hatred of Bowers to Dimmig, and that the latter had sustained intimate relations with the accused doctor and in his capacity of salesman for a drug establishment had provided him with samples of the poison with which Mrs. Bowers had been killed. Dimmig was tried twice and the jury disagreed in each case and the charges against him were finally dismissed in December, 1888. The disagreement of the jury was attributed to the testimony of experts who declared that the Benhayon letters were genuine. Bowers ultimately escaped punishment despite the great quantity of circumstantial evidence which satisfied the community, if not the jury, that he had been guilty of the crime charged, and that he had also rid himself of another wife in nearly the same fashion. Another woman was bold enough to take her chances of being his wife after his discharge from prison. He died in San Jose in 1905.

Publicity a
Help to
Criminals

These two protracted cases which occupied the attention of the courts for years illustrate the facility with which criminals were able to avail themselves of the safeguards which society has invented to prevent the possibility of an innocent person being punished. They by no means stand alone; they are merely cited because they absorbed a great deal of attention during and after the trials. There is a long list of miscarriages of justice attributable to the cause assigned, and a study of the circumstances accompanying them effectually refutes the too common assumption that the abuses of the law are wholly for the benefit of the rich. There are many instances on record of criminals without means having been defended for years, but the crimes of which they were accused were usually of a sensational character, the relation and reiteration of which were calculated to keep the actors in the court drama in the public eye. And on the other hand there was a formidable number of offenders who were swiftly dealt with and sent to penal institutions, but few to the gallows.

The Murders
in Emanuel
Baptist
Church

Perhaps the most striking exception to the tendency to allow capital punishment to fall into desuetude was presented in the case of Theodore Durrant, whose crimes created a profound sensation in the City and attracted the amazed attention of the rest of the country to San Francisco and helped earn for it a not entirely undeserved notoriety. On April 13, 1895, the corpse of a young woman named Minnie Williams was found in the library of Emanuel Baptist church. Her clothes were torn from her body, and she had been repeatedly stabbed, gagged and outraged. On the following day, Easter Sunday, the body of a girl named Blanche Lamont was found in the belfry of the church. The remains were entirely nude and decomposition had progressed to such an extent it was impossible to determine whether she had suffered the same fate as the Williams girl. Miss Lamont had mysteriously disappeared from sight on the 3d of April and was seen in the company of Durrant on that day by several persons. Durrant was arrested on the day of the discovery of the remains of Miss Lamont. The trial of the case began July 22, 1895, and fifty witnesses testified for the prosecution. Although the evidence was entirely circumstantial it was conclusive, and the jury found him guilty of murder in the first degree and he was hanged on January 7, 1898. Efforts were unavailingly made to induce the governor to pardon him. The testimony given at the trial and subsequent revelations established that Durrant was a pervers. A most remarkable circumstance connected with this crime was the persistence of a rumor printed in an obscure paper in another state that the

pastor of Emanuel church had confessed after the execution of Durrant that he had committed the crimes. There was absolutely no foundation for the statement. All the evidence disproved the accusation, and he remained the pastor of Emanuel for many years afterward. If Durrant made a confession it is buried in the bosom of the priest who ministered the consolations of religion to the doomed man who became a Catholic on the eve of his execution.

During the prevalence of the sand lot troubles the impression was assiduously cultivated at the East that San Francisco was a turbulent city, quickly disposed to mob violence and altogether regardless of the law. The easily accepted belief was a heritage from Vigilante days, but there was nothing to support the assumption except misrepresentation of trivial occurrences which were magnified into extraordinary demonstrations. With the exception of the difficulties growing out of the labor troubles, which were in no wise comparable to those the East underwent almost at the same time that they were experienced here, San Francisco has not had any manifestation of lawlessness deserving the term riot since the days of the Vigilance Committee in 1856. On the occasion of the murders in Emanuel church excitement ran high, but there was no evidence of the lynching disposition. Perhaps the nearest approach to summary vengeance was witnessed in November, 1886, when a young man named Alexander Goldenson, wantonly shot a school girl named Mamie Kelly, killing her instantly. He at once fled to a police station pursued by the crowd. The news of the atrocious crime spread rapidly and a big mob surrounded the city prison where he had taken refuge. The police were compelled to freely resort to their clubs to effect a dispersal which was accomplished at the cost of a few sore heads, but the majesty of the law was maintained. Two years later the murderer was hanged, but it was never learned what had caused him to shoot his victim. The only thing developed on the trial was that the girl had a childish infatuation and had written him a note on the previous day reproaching him with indifference.

Law and
Order Reiga

The curious interested in criminology can have their penchant gratified by turning to the pages of a book written by Captain Duke of the police force, which is chiefly valuable for us as a presentation of the fact that while San Francisco during the period under review had some startling criminal experiences it was no worse than many communities where the disposition to regard it as the wickedest city in the country existed. The captain, without intending to imitate the example of Plutarch unconsciously adopted the comparative habit, and showed his readers that crime occurs in the older seats of civilization as well as in pioneer regions, and that the savage instincts of the abnormal man assert themselves in all sorts of places, and that the peaceful countryside has its tragedies as well as the congested quarters of the town. The latter produces one type of criminals; the former another. The malpractitioner flourishes in the city; the fiend who murders whole families performs his atrocious work in sequestered places far from the busy haunts of men. The footpad plies his vocation on the streets of the marts of commerce; the train robber pursues his game in convenient "get away" places. The housebreaker is oftener heard of in the city because the style of plunder he affects is more easily obtainable where jewels and plate and other valuable objects are abundant. Bank robberies are less common in crowded centers than in small towns, but when they are attempted in cities they are likely to have a tragic outcome as was the case in March, 1894, when a thief named Fredericks

Crime in City
and Country

entered the Savings Union bank at Market and Fell streets, and on the refusal of the cashier to hand over the money in the till shot and killed him, but being disabled by a splinter of a pane of glass smashed by a bullet fired at him by a clerk he was captured and hanged.

Chinese
Crimes and
Criminals

There was one form of crime in San Francisco during the Eighties and Nineties of which, until comparatively recently, the Pacific coast metropolis had a practical monopoly. The presence of large numbers of Chinese made the City familiar with the activities of a class of criminals known as "highbinders." Curiously enough the appellation so much in vogue in San Francisco is said to have been first applied by a New York policeman to designate a Chinese hoodlum. These men are little else than professional blackmailers, and are often employed by assumedly reputable Chinese to work out their grudges or carry on their feuds. They thrive by extortion, being feared by the men who use them, and who for a half a century by their disregard of American law have created conditions in the Chinese quarter which the ordinary processes of the law are unable to reach.

Career of
"Little Pete"

The career of Fong Chong, known as Little Pete, who organized a society of men of the criminal class called the Gi Sin Seer illustrates the difficulties experienced by the police of San Francisco in dealing with crime in Chinatown during this period. His success in blackmailing his fellow countrymen through the instrumentality of the Gi Sin Seer stimulated the formation of a rival known as the Bo Sin Seer whose members devoted a good deal of their time to attempts to get rid of Little Pete, who was so beset that he deemed it advisable to hire a body guard named Lee Chuck. In July, 1886, Chuck and a rival highbinder met on the corner of Spofford alley and Washington streets and Chuck killed his man and tried to shoot the detectives who sought to arrest him. When Chuck was being tried for the murder of the Bo Sin Seer man Little Pete sought to bribe the officer who made the arrest to testify falsely, and was arrested. He procured bail, and made an effort to bribe a juror who was sitting in the Chuck case. On February 4, 1887, Chuck was found guilty and sentenced to death, but Little Pete had learned something else about American laws than the fact that they could in most cases be evaded with facility by his countrymen. He secured able counsel for his bodyguard and by that means procured three trials for him. Chuck was finally sentenced to fifty years imprisonment and in February, 1892, was removed from San Quentin to Agnews insane asylum where he remained until May 30, 1904, when Governor Pardee promised to pardon him if he was deported. The steamship companies, however, refused to carry him back to his native land so he was remanded to Agnews, the prison authorities pronouncing him insane.

"Little Pete"
Emulates
"Ah Sin's"
Exploits

Little Pete himself was tried for jury bribing in August, 1887, and convicted. He served five years in San Quentin, but that by no means terminated his career. In the early part of March, 1896, he organized a conspiracy by which the frequenters of the race track were swindled out of large sums daily. With the assistance of jockeys, stablemen and others connected with the race track the horses which were to win were decided upon, and Little Pete and his confederates "cleaned up" large sums daily. The Chinese was in the habit of betting as much as \$6,000 a day. The trick was not discovered until the gang had won about \$100,000. Little Pete during the period after his release from San Quentin felt himself in as much danger from his countrymen as before his incarceration, and procured a white man to act as his body guard.

On the 24th of January, 1897, Little Pete relaxed his vigilance to the extent of sending his guardian on an errand while he was under the hands of a barber in a shop on Washington street. As soon as he was alone two Chinese entered and killed him as he sat in the chair. Suspects were arrested, but owing to the terrorism of the tong system of reprisal no conviction could be obtained. Little Pete's funeral was an elaborate affair, all Chinatown uniting to do him honor. The cortege was preceded to the cemetery by an American band, and flowers were sent by Americans. On this occasion the big dragon was used, and thus the Chinese of San Francisco testified their appreciation of the cunning of one of their countrymen, and incidentally displayed their fear of further evil consequences if they refrained from showing proper respect to the remains of the departed. It should be added that a Chinese known as Big Jim, a leader of a rival tong, the See Yups, deemed it prudent to flee to China as he felt sure that he would be the next victim of the feud, being suspected of encompassing the death of Little Pete.

Little Pete's
Death and
Funeral

The evil results of permitting the Chinese to take the law into their own hands did not end with the harm they wrought each other. Prudence or some other motive restrained the worst of the highbinders from committing depredations on whites, but they inflicted injuries fully as serious as those involved in the commission of bodily harm. In short, for many years they systematically corrupted the police of the City, many of them being liberally bribed to shut their eyes to the infractions of the laws by the Chinese. At various times there were disclosures which made it perfectly clear that the conductors of gambling dens and houses of prostitution in "Chinatown" paid regular sums to the police to secure immunity from molestation. But the difficulty of proving what everyone knew to be the case seemed insuperable. The scandals were frequent, and were by no means confined to the period while Ruef and Schmitz were administering the affairs of the City. It was a festering sore years before the workingmen came to power and it has not been healed since the fire; it probably never will be until the safeguards intended to protect innocent men cannot be invoked to defeat the ends of justice. Madame Roland's protest against the perpetration of crimes committed under the pretense that they are done to secure human liberty seems to apply to the situation. Under the theory of protecting good men who have nothing to fear from the law the criminal and vicious practice their arts in safety and flourish.

Chinese Cor-
rupt Police
Force

The courts of San Francisco during the period showed no greater degree of laxity or efficiency at one time than another. There were bad judges and good judges; there were weak and inefficient juries, and there were juries whose actions inclined men to believe that the system of "twelve men good and true" reaching a proper verdict had not entirely lost its usefulness. It is worth noting that if the people believed that their courts were corrupt during this period they refused to avail themselves of the remedy which they had at their command. A list of the occupants of the bench at the close of 1905 shows that many of them had occupied their positions for years, and had been elected and reelected. For nearly a century the practice of choosing judges for partisan reasons had wholly ceased. While the machinery of the political parties was used to put the names of candidates before the electors, party lines were absolutely disregarded by the press and the voter. Whether the result was wholly satisfactory the student of sociology is as yet unable to decide, and the practical every day

Administra-
tion of the
Law

man who observes the facility with which men obtain and retain positions conferred by the electorate is equally undetermined. He only knows that in San Francisco the daily press has pointed out the looseness of the administration of justice in certain courts, and that when the time comes for remedying the evils complained of a majority of the voters tacitly indorse the evildoers by voting to continue them in power. This was particularly true of the police and inferior courts during the period. Exposures of shyster methods and abuse of the bail bond system have proved unavailing and give little promise that the "recall" will ever be exercised except in response to a gust of popular passion.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE GREAT DISASTER AND CONFLAGRATION OF APRIL, 1906

CONDITION OF THE CITY ON THE EVE OF THE EARTHQUAKE—SAN FRANCISCO ON TOP OF THE WAVE OF PROSPERITY—THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY AND BOSS RUEF IN POWER—COMMERCE AND MORALS MIXED—BUILDINGS BEFORE THE FIRE—OPPOSITION TO EXTENSION OF FIRE LIMITS—LAST PERFORMANCE IN THE GRAND OPERA HOUSE—NO WARNING OF IMPENDING DANGER—EFFECTS OF THE EARTHQUAKE—THE THREE DAYS' CONFLAGRATION—MUCH PROPERTY UNNECESSARILY SACRIFICED—EXPLOSIVES TIMIDLY AND UNSKILFULLY USED—ORGANIZATION OF CITIZENS COMMITTEE OF FIFTY—CIRCULATION OF WILD RUMORS—COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTY—RIGID PRECAUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE MILITARY—FOOD IN GREAT DEMAND—RELIEF POURS IN FROM ALL POINTS—THE UPLIFT WORK OF THE DAILY PRESS—FILLMORE STREET BECOMES CENTER OF ACTIVITY—REJOICING OVER RESUMPTION OF STREET CAR TRAVEL—OVERHEAD TROLLEY PERMIT FOR MARKET STREET GRANTED—CHIMNEY INSPECTION—AREA OF THE BURNED DISTRICT—NOTABLE ESCAPES FROM THE FLAMES—INVESTIGATION BY UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY—BUILDING TO GUARD AGAINST TREMORS—FAILURE OF WATER SUPPLY—THE EXODUS FROM THE CITY—RELIEF WORK OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC.



HE year 1906 opened with all the indications pointing to a continuance of the material prosperity which had begun to manifest itself after 1896. There had been satisfactory progress during several years, except in manufacturing which failed to increase with the growth of the City, but the commerce of the port was expanding and the merchants were doing a big business which was reflected in the reports

of the clearings of the city banks which showed more than a hundred per cent gain over those of 1896. The state was attracting large numbers of immigrants who were settling on the lands formerly embraced in big ranches, which were being cut up and disposed of in small tracts, and the occupants of the latter were making their presence felt by a constant enlargement of the output of California's specialized products which were shipped to the East and to Europe in ever growing quantities. The development of the oil industry which was attaining great proportions, and the activity displayed in the hydroelectric field were inspiring a renewal of the dormant belief that San Francisco was destined to be a great manufacturing center, if not at once, then in the near future when the state should be filled with a large enough consuming population to enable those engaging in individual enterprises involving the use of machinery, to produce on a scale sufficiently

Condition of
City on Eve
of the Big
Fire

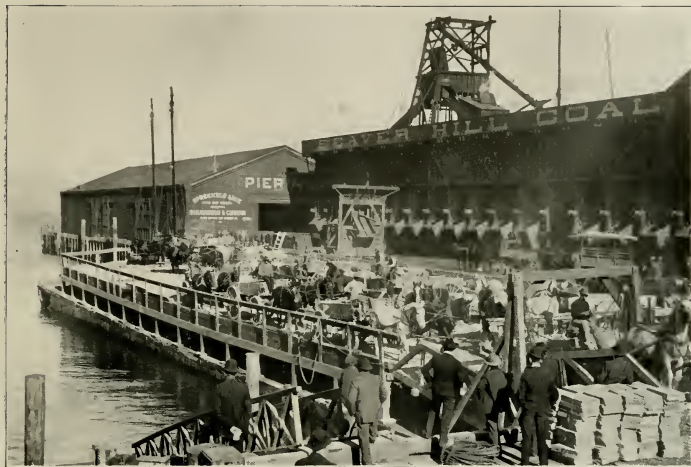
great to permit them to compete on favorable terms with the manufacturers of the Atlantic seaboard, and of the Middle West, which had in its turn become a formidable rival of the old established centers of production.

Rivalry Stim-
ulates San
Francisco's
Growth

The interior press had ceased to gibe San Franciscans for taking things easily, and resting too securely on the assumption that the situation of their port made them commercially impregnable. Comparisons of the growth of Los Angeles and San Francisco were less frequent than at an earlier date, and it was beginning to dawn on the people of the City as well as on their critics, that the prosperity of one community or section of the state is not at the expense of another, but that progress was apt to be mutually stimulating. It would have been extraordinary if the observant had failed to note this, for the evidence was overwhelming that the remarkable advances of the region below the Tehachapi, which at one time was an entirely negligible factor in the state's development, was contributing to the growth of the metropolis. A few years earlier a single daily train over the one line operated by the Southern Pacific sufficed to carry all the passengers traveling between Los Angeles and San Francisco, and an inconsiderable number of freight cars transported the products exchanged between the two cities. At the opening of 1906 there were two lines between San Francisco and Los Angeles, one traversing the great interior valley, the other running through the picturesque and interesting coast-line region. The Santa Fe had also effected an entrance into the city by the acquisition of the San Joaquin valley road and a trackage arrangement with the Southern Pacific. In addition to these facilities the one or two small steamers, which formerly plied between the port of San Francisco and San Pedro had been supplemented by large modern vessels. Hundreds of people were passing to and fro by means of these multiplied facilities where formerly the number was insignificant, and goods of all kinds were moving in great quantities, the volume constantly increasing. An official of one of the railroads remarking upon the marvelous transformation effected by the influx of immigrants into the region south of the Tehachapi declared that in the opening months of 1906 more freight was moved between the two cities in one day than had formerly been carried in six months.

A Boom that
Nothing
Could Hinder

It is doubtful, however, whether these causes were as potent in changing the attitude of the critics who insisted that San Francisco suffered because she was the victim of a disposition to hide her light under a bushel, as the observed fact that the City was actually "booming." The conservatism of her people could not disguise what was being made apparent in every way. There was no beating of tom toms; if anything there was a strong inclination toward pessimism which asserted itself in predictions that the wretched municipal government presaged by the election of a board of supervisors, of whom their boss said they were so greedy of plunder that they would "eat the paint off of a house" would bring disaster, but the recorded facts seemed to dissipate all fear that even such a gang could give the City a setback. Schmitz had been elected a third time in November, 1905, and it could no longer be asserted that his success was due to division in the ranks of his opponents for the cold figures of the election returns showed that he had a clean majority over the combined vote of his democratic and republican opponents. It was intimated that this result was achieved by manipulation of the voting machines which were used for the first time in a municipal election in San Francisco, but the undisguised astonishment of Abe Ruef when



REMOVAL OF DEBRIS BY THE WATER ROUTE



ELECTRIC AND STEAM POWER EMPLOYED TO REMOVE DEBRIS BY RAIL

he found that he had elected a solid board of supervisors composed of his creatures, which found expression in the above quoted exclamation, disputes a charge which was never supported by evidence of any sort.

The truth of the matter has been made obscure by prejudice and a desire to find an excuse for a serious blunder. There is no doubt that the third election of Schmitz, and the election of a board of supervisors composed of men who were selected by Ruef, more for the purpose of completing his ticket than with the hope of electing them, was due to a combination of circumstances in which the solidarity of the workingmen was only one factor. Alone, the latter could not have carried the day, but they were reinforced by the class discontented with the way things had been conducted in the past, and by the growing army of disreputables lured to the City by its increasing prosperity, and by the laxity of the municipal government and the police who permitted them to run things with a high hand. The City was overcrowded with grog shops, and little or no effort was made to restrain the gambling propensity which asserted itself almost as strongly as in early days, but did not flaunt itself in the open. Prize fights fraudulently termed "boxing contests," were licensed, and these demoralizing exhibitions were attended by men moving in the front rank of respectability who had no hesitation about being seen seated side by side with thieves and habits of the underworld. The person who had a moderate acquaintance with politicians and men in office could easily at such a show pick out members of the board of supervisors who were present as interested spectators, being in the enjoyment of complimentary tickets entitling them to ringside places, conferred on them because of the obliging disposition shown by them in the giving of permits. The number of men who gained their living through their connection with these so called sporting exhibitions, and the bookmakers and hangers on of all kinds at the daily races constituted a considerable part of the boss' backing, which was still further augmented by the dissolute creatures who prey on fallen women.

If these people, and the practices referred to, had suddenly been called into existence there might be plausible ground for the too common assumption that the workingmen's party was responsible for the creation of the condition described. But this sort of looseness was not unknown to San Francisco before the great fire. Although the upheaval which disclosed the wretched state of affairs did not take place until after that event, there is no doubt that things were in a bad way before its occurrence. Years before 1906 the press of San Francisco had pointed out the evil consequences flowing from the license accorded the disreputable elements. The fact that office holders were abusing their positions by accepting bribes was proclaimed so frequently, and with such circumstantiality that the community was permeated with the belief that most men sought position solely for illicit purposes. Charges were made so often, and were so little heeded that in course of time the accused were able to turn on their accusers and actually succeeded in minimizing the force of exposures by retorting that they were "news-paper lies." In the campaign of 1905 which resulted in the election of Schmitz, a part of the press devoted itself to showing that the object of Ruef was to gain control with the view of redeeming his promise of making San Francisco "a wide open town." The methods of the boss were freely exposed, and predictions of what would result in the event of the success of the boss, all of which were realized, were made on the stump and in the columns of newspapers. They proved un-

Conditions
that Made
Ruef's Suc-
cess Possible

Prevalence of
Queer Eco-
nomic Ideas

availing because the workmen, unmindful of any other object than the maintenance of the solidarity of their unions, in common with a part of the mercantile community, stood by the boss. These mistaken people foolishly attributed the undoubted material advance of San Francisco to the fact that no restraint was placed on the vicious and degraded elements. They were unable to perceive that the City was profiting through the development of the resources of the interior, and that it was sharing in the prosperity which was general throughout the United States, and that the good times were in no wise due to local political causes.

Outsiders
Hold up
Ruef's Hands

The easy acquiescence in the result showed conclusively that reformation movements are not effectively pursued except during periods of adversity. When the triumph of Ruef and Schmitz was made known by the speedy assemblage of the machine recorded and counted vote there was an enormous parade of their adherents. As they marched by the "Chronicle" office they assailed the paper with continuous groans, and abusive epithets; a little later the tower surmounting the building on the corner of Market, Geary and Kearny streets was destroyed by fire. The disaster was purely accidental, but it was attributed by some to the vengeance of the supporters of Schmitz and the workmen's party ticket. That incident was, perhaps, the only one to excite general interest after the announcement of the success of Ruef until April, 1906. In the intervening five months the press had much to say about what was going on, but their accusations were met with the shrugs of the indifferent, and the retort that the charges were newspaper lies. The interior critics devoted themselves for a time to demonstrating that the press of San Francisco was without influence, inferentially conveying the impression that the antagonism of the defeated element in the City was wholly inspired by hatred of trades unionism. That much of the opposition was due to the belief that the course pursued by the unions was calculated to injure the City was unquestionably true, but it exhibited shortsightedness on the part of assumedly disinterested outsiders to minimize the importance of the protest against what came to be called grafting, and it doubtless had a tendency to encourage Ruef to extend his operations, now that he had become master of the situation, and was in a position to deal with leading citizens who were anxious to obtain fresh privileges or to have extended those previously enjoyed by them.

Hostility
Against the
United
Railroads

That Ruef and his greedy crew of supervisors, backed by the reelected mayor, were actively benefiting by the authority conferred upon them by a majority of their fellow citizens was no secret during the three and a half months intervening between the advent of the new administration and the eventful April 18, 1906. The community, however, took but a perfunctory interest in the "newspaper lies," and hardly devoted a serious thought to the struggle to obtain franchises which the growing prosperity of the City had set on foot. The charge that a group of men headed by Claus Spreckels were seeking the privilege of providing San Francisco with a rival traction system excited only a languid attention, and the assumption that they were dickering with Ruef aroused no hostile comment. What little feeling developed seemed to be chiefly due to the activities of the advocates of municipal ownership who made common cause with Spreckels, Phelan and others in an agitation against the extension of the trolley system and in favor of underground conduits for street railways. Few people asked just how the rivalry with the United Railroads would be set in motion; all they cared

for apparently was to see rivalry brought about. Friends of the United Railroads, and enemies of the group whose intention of building a rival system was proclaimed, expressed doubts concerning the designs of the proponents of the opposition system, and intimated that it was something in the nature of an attempt to obtain control of a valuable property which the capitalists of the City had allowed to pass out of their possession, and the more virulent averred that the movement had many of the characteristics which had previously attended large financial deals of the senior Spreckels.

The community, however, was too engrossed with its commercial and other affairs to pay much attention to anything but its prosperity. During the first six months of 1905 the clearings of the San Francisco banks aggregated \$855,915,002; in the last half of the year they had swollen to \$978,634,785, an increase of \$122,719,785 over the first six months. The total for the year exceeded that of ten years earlier by more than \$1,100,000,000, the aggregate rising from \$683,229,599 in 1896 to \$1,834,549,788 in 1905. Real estate speculation and dealings, and building operations exhibited extraordinary activity. The sales of realty which amounted to only \$10,747,102 in 1898 were seven times as great in 1905, aggregating \$74,926,065; and construction expenditures rose during the same period from \$3,490,603 to \$20,111,861. The opening months of 1906 promised that business would surpass in every particular that of the preceding year. New buildings were projected and enterprises of various sorts were being mooted. San Franciscans under the stimulating influence of their own success were interesting themselves in projects to advance the fortunes of the interior, and the talk of a big city was crystallizing rapidly into a Greater San Francisco movement. The proposition to hold an exposition on the completion of the Panama Canal, which had been suggested in 1905, and was at first regarded as an enterprise too large for a city situated a couple of thousand miles distant from the populous center of the country, began to seem easy of accomplishment and was being seriously discussed.

The only fly in the ointment was the uneasy feeling created by the illiberal criticism of the Eastern press whose editors insisted upon regarding San Francisco as a community given over as a prey to trades unionism in its worst form, and who freely predicted all sorts of evils as a consequence of the surrender of the people to the domination of a single class. Many San Franciscans shared the view freely expressed at the East, that the effect of the ascendancy of the labor element in politics would be to drive out capital; as for attracting it while the condition existed the suggestion that it might be done was derided. Whatever comment was passed on the stories concerning graft which were printed in the San Francisco papers was usually linked with the assumption that it was inseparable from the administration of affairs by men untrained in the management of big enterprises, and who were supposed to have no other purpose to subserve than to advance their fortunes at the expense of property owners who had to meet the tax bill. San Franciscans were commercially enough inclined to be influenced by criticisms which seemed to menace the growth of the City, and the expansion of their trade, but unfortunately the force of arguments and the fear that might have been inspired by predictions of evil material results were dissipated by observation of the undoubted fact that at no time in its history had the City ever been more flourishing and the outlook for its expansion brighter.

A Great Wave
of Prosperity

Eastern
Criticisms
and Predic-
tions

Evil Results
from Mixing
Commerce
and Morality

The effect which might have been produced by sober criticism of the danger to a community of disregarding the necessity of keeping its civilization on a high plane was lost by treating the subject as though the main consideration was the material advancement of the City. The purely commercial argument that condonation of vice, and the abuse of the taxpayers' interest by making public office a vehicle for extortion would repel decent people, and thus impede growth and commercial prosperity, was exultingly answered by the men assailed, who pointed to the rapid increase of population, and the continuous expansion of business, and accepting the critic's commercial standard of measurement, they applied it to the existing condition and boldly claimed that it was produced by the party whose representatives were derided as incompetent and denounced as venal. It was a demoralizing view and the defense was confusing and succeeded measurably in diminishing criticism and fear. There were plenty who unhesitatingly affirmed that San Francisco need not shrink from a comparison with any other city in the country, and who were quite ready to accept as necessary many things which they knew to be evils, but which they had come to believe were impossible of eradication or reform. Looking about them and seeing the many evidences which a complex civilization presents of earnest endeavor to promote the common good they were ready to scorn the fault finder, or at least to regard him with indifference. And indeed there seemed some justification for the resentment when the instrumentalities for good were paraded and set over against the shortcomings, and there was ground for the assumption that they far outweighed the derelictions of the community. A mere statistical presentation of the varied activities of the City on the eve of the fire, if it had been the only surviving record of the disaster, in the hands of a historian writing a hundred years hence would permit him to assert with positiveness that it must have been inhabited by earnest people who mixed the serious with the pleasurable. To mark a terminating point, and for purposes of future comparison, the dry details of the stage reached by San Francisco on the eve of its temporary arrestment of progress is recited. It will be found that they embrace many suggestive items which will enable the contemplative to infer and the studious to conclude that the Pacific coast metropolis was in many respects what in the slang of the period was termed an "up to date" community, while in others it was obviously deficient.

Public
Buildings and
Other Resorts

Of public buildings the municipality was provided with a city hall, a hall of justice, a county hospital, a county jail, an alms house, a hall of records, and the federal government had erected a mint, a postoffice, a custom house, an appraiser's building, a subtreasury and a marine hospital. The custom house, the subtreasury and the marine hospital were not modern buildings, and were on the eve of being replaced with structures worthy the importance of the City. The mint was a substantial edifice, built in the classic style many years earlier, and the postoffice was comparatively new. The city hall, whose construction was begun in the early Seventies, and was not finished until late in the Nineties was illy adapted to the uses to which it was put, but it has cost between six and seven million dollars, and with its lofty dome presented an imposing appearance and was satisfactory to those who were not over critical. Of places of amusement there was no lack, although curiously enough the number was not much greater than could have been found in the City twenty years earlier. The list embraced the Alcazar on O'Farrell street, the Bush street, on the street of that name, the California, also on Bush

street, the Columbia on Powell street, the Grove on the street of that name near Polk, the Majestic on Market street near Eighth, the Central in the same neighborhood, the Orpheum at 119 O'Farrell street, the Tivoli, on the corner of Eddy and Mason, and the Olympic Music hall. There was also a Chinese temple of the drama in which regular performances were given, and which enjoyed in addition to the patronage of the Orientals that of many visiting strangers. There were also numerous minor places, chiefly located in basements, some of which were euphemistically described as music halls, and others as "dives." The list of resorts was not a long one, but it indicated that this side of life was not wholly neglected, and that there was plenty of opportunity for outdoor diversion and sightseeing. There was Golden Gate park with its ample grounds planted with rare trees and abundantly provided with lawns, rosaries and flower gardens, and containing within its boundaries the Midwinter Memorial Museum, children's playground, statuary, fountains and many miles of driveway. The Cliff house, and the adjoining Sutro Heights, and the baths constructed by Sutro also presented their attractions. For the sportively inclined, Central park, Ingleside Coursing park and the race track of that name presented allurements, while the Olympic Club for the benefit of its numerous members maintained extensive grounds. In the way of museums the Academy of Sciences offered an attractive exhibit, more visited by strangers than local sightseers, as was the case at the mint, whose interesting features were almost unknown to denizens of the City, but were never overlooked by the tourist. There was also the nucleus of an art gallery housed in the Searles mansion, which had been turned over to the Art Association by its owner, but it also, on account of its comparative inaccessibility, perched as it was on the brow of Nob hill, was better known by name to San Franciscans than appreciated.

The framer of this list of resorts might have included many other objects worthy the attention of the visiting stranger, but probably failed to do so because their enumeration would merely have emphasized the fact that San Francisco was not lacking in those features which contribute to the makeup of the complex social organization described as a city. He might for instance, have dwelt on the fact that included in the more than 70,000 structures of all sorts which were built on the hills, and which filled the level places of San Francisco, there were more than 170 churches and synagogues large and small in which the Christians and Jews worshipped, and that there were temples in which idolatrous Orientals made offerings to hideous images. Numerically the Catholics maintained the lead, their houses of worship described as churches aggregating 29, in addition to which they maintained 20 chapels in various institutions. The Methodists were provided with 24, the Presbyterians with 19, the Congregationalists with 16, the Episcopalians with 15, the Baptists with 10, the Lutherans with 9, the Unitarians with 2 and Swedenborgians and other sects, less strong in numbers, made up the remainder. The Jews had 12 synagogues, two of them imposing structures, architecturally creditable, and the Catholics embraced in their list of churches St. Mary's cathedral on Van Ness avenue, their first edifice of that character in the City having been turned over to the Paulist fathers, the diocese having outgrown it.

The temples of the money changers scarcely deserve to be mentioned in the same breath as those in which worshippers assemble, but architecturally they were as apt to impose themselves on the attention of the observant. There were forty-two of them of all kinds, ranging in attractiveness from the early classical

Churches
Before the
Fire

Social
Activities at
Opening of
1906

home of the Bank of California, and the iron front of the Anglo California, to the more modern affair whose principal display was made on ample plate glass windows in the shape of gilt lettering. Of libraries there were nine worth mentioning, none, however, conspicuously housed, the Public library being assigned to a wing in the city hall, and the Mechanics' institute collection was in a building whose exterior proclaimed commercial rather than literary uses. Of public and private schools, colleges and academies, institutes, etc., there was a formidable number. Free education was provided in 85 separate buildings, the most of which, however, were constructed of wood, but additions were being made to the limited number of substantial edifices with modern conveniences when the conflagration arrested the work. Of private schools, academies, etc., there were 31, and in the latter list was included the imposing group of buildings erected by the Jesuit fathers on the corner of Van Ness and Hayes. The number of halls devoted to the requirements of the City sounds formidable, but by actual count there were 106 of all kinds, ranging from that in the Masonic temple and the various commanderies, to the provision made in less pretentious buildings in all parts of the City. This suggests the social activity produced by the existence of 121 benefit associations; 31 literary and scientific societies; 88 clubs, social and serious; 89 trades unions and an astonishing number of lodges, chambers, councils, groves, etc., of the multitudinous orders, a mere mention of whose names makes a formidable presentation. There were Masons, Odd Fellows, Foresters, Ancient Order of Hibernians, United Workmen, Elks, Daughters of the American Revolution, Native Sons and Native Daughters, Grand Army of the Republic, Red Men, Bnai Brith, Keshet Shel Barzel, American Mechanics, Knights of Honor, Knights of the Golden Eagle, Knights of the Red Branch, The National Union, Chosen Friends, Sons of Hermann, Sons of St. George, Royal Arcanum, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of Veterans, Sons of Jacob, Ancient Order of Druids, Woodmen of the World, Temperance and Bands of Hope. Some of these thirty or more orders had as many as a score of meeting places scattered throughout the City, and the membership exceeded, according to one authority, over 130,000.

Character of
Buildings
Before the
Fire

Reference has been made to the humane activities in a preceding chapter, but it would be an omission of a serious character to fail to note that there were 52 hospitals and eleven medical colleges. The major number of the hospitals were private institutions, but some of them were as liberally provided with beds as the more pretentious quasi public affairs devoted to the caring for the sick, and many of them, owing to the standing of the medical practitioners who supervised their affairs enjoyed a wide reputation which drew patients to them from all parts of the coast. The number of hotels had increased so greatly that their enumeration in the telephone book required pages. The chief of those in the long list were the Palace, the California, the St. Francis, the Occidental, the Lick and the Russ. Family hotels had multiplied greatly, and many of them soared higher than caution suggested considering that they were built of wood. The modern apartment house was beginning to attain popularity, and there were several large ones in the district between Van Ness avenue and the bay. A few within the fire limits were constructed of materials popularly regarded as nonflammable, but many of them were built of the assumedly slow-burning redwood. Of so-called fireproof buildings there were numerous specimens, a few being carried up in the air to a height of seventeen stories, but the major part averaged seven

or eight stories. Some of these modernly constructed office buildings were of a size comparable to those of the larger cities of the East, as for instance the Merchants Exchange and the Mills building which covered large areas. But by far the major part of the buildings in the business district were constructed of brick or stone with a forest of woodwork in their interiors. In some cases iron beams and girders were employed, but more with a view of adding strength than of assuring protection against fire. With few exceptions the tens of thousands of houses devoted to residential purposes were of wood, the persistent belief in the fire resisting qualities of redwood, and the cheapness of that material deciding its use.

For the protection of this vast number of inflammable buildings the taxpayers paid handsomely, and they were confident that the hundreds of thousands of dollars annually expended on their fire department provided ample security. Occasionally the underwriters would protest against this exhibition of over confidence, and the premiums exacted by them suggested that they were not entirely satisfied, although the fire department was admittedly excellent, and had on numerous occasions exhibited its ability to cope with difficult and menacing situations. There was no doubt in the mind of any San Franciscan that the 41 steam engines, the nine trucks, the numerous chemical engines, monitor batteries and towers manned by a force constantly on duty would be equal to any occasion, and the most pessimistic individual in the community would scarcely have ventured to suggest the possibility of an uncontrollable conflagration. They had seen the department deal with fires of considerable magnitude, such as that which destroyed the Baldwin hotel and they had watched without uneasiness the efforts to confine the flames which destroyed the big building on Market street which housed the printing plant of the Bancroft History publications, and the largest stock of books on the Pacific coast. They had also witnessed the suppression of menacing fires on the water front, and had learned to have perfect confidence in the ability of the department to cope with any emergency that might arise. There had been complaints at times of insufficient water pressure in certain parts of the City, but they were set down to the disposition of the firemen to find fault. On the night of April 17, 1906, had there been a meeting of the fire commissioners, and had the subject of the fire limits been mooted, there would have been the usual pooh poohing at the suggestion of danger, and property owners would have arisen in numbers to demonstrate that there was no reason for their extension, and that to do so would work an unbearable hardship on poor men by compelling them to build houses of more costly materials.

On the night of April 17, 1906, thoughts of trouble of any kind were far from the minds of the people of San Francisco. There was no premonition of danger. A season of grand opera had begun on Monday night, and on Tuesday night the Opera House, which had been temporarily restored for the purpose for which it was originally designed, was filled from pit to dome with a brilliant audience to hear the leading organization of the country. San Francisco society was in attendance resplendent in elaborate toilets and flashing jewels. The opera was "Carmen," and Caruso and Fremstad appeared in the leading roles. The older generation instituted comparisons between the audience and that of the Patti season a score of years earlier, and their juniors listened tolerantly but incredulously to statements which seemed to them at variance with the facts. Differences were noted, and the departed glories of the Opera House, which had

Opposition to
Extension of
Fire Limits

The Last
Performance
at the Grand
Opera House

long been surrendered to the production of the most lurid melodrama, were desecrated upon, and the imperative necessity of providing an academy of music nearer to the fashionable center was the subject of conversation in the lobbies. There were also allusions to the growing number of automobiles in the long string of vehicles which stretched a block and a half from the entrance to the Opera House, but the carriage drawn by horses was still greatly in evidence, and no one would have ventured to predict that the new mode of locomotion would almost entirely supersede the old in the course of three or four years. After the opera the fashionable restaurants were crowded by those who had taken the precaution to reserve places; for such as had not done so there was no room. The spectacle in these resorts was almost as brilliant as that witnessed in the Opera House, and the critic who sought for a text to enlarge upon the propensity of San Franciscans to give themselves over to pleasure could have found it in the obvious enjoyment of those present whose desire for music had to be gratified by supplemental performances in order to heighten the epicurean delights of a late supper.

The Night
Before the
Disaster

But while those in the social swim in their inclusive way assumed that "all San Francisco" was present, there were only some two or three thousand out of the more than four hundred thousand inhabitants of the City within the hearing of Caruso and Fremstad's voices that night. The remainder were occupied after the manner of sedate people of other cities. Some who were not on the inside amused themselves watching the procession of carriages driving up to the doors of the Opera House and depositing their living freight. Of spectators of that kind there were almost as many as of the sort whose means permitted them to enter the show, the street opposite the Opera House being densely packed by sightseers composed in the main of the merely curious who enjoy a spectacle of any sort, and of a few who fed the canker sore of envy by gazing on showy equipages and sumptuously garbed women, attended by decorously attired men. But this is only a part of a big picture. It is the high light on the canvas, and it strikes the eye first. It does not tell the story, only the whole composition can do that. If a historian at some future day, when the reformer has realized his hope, and the world has become perfect, takes a retrospect of the opening years of the twentieth century, and sees in this fashionable demonstration an analogy to the condition that existed in ancient Corinth he will blunder. He will have overlooked the fact that while a couple of thousand people were enjoying the strains of Bizet's charming composition, there were several hundred thousands who were engaged in the more serious activities of life. Many men with benevolent purpose were assembled; nurses were hovering about the beds of the patients in the numerous hospitals of the City, and in the homes of its citizens; plans for new charities were being discussed; civic reformers were wrestling with the problems which a reckless municipal administration was creating, and studying methods of securing honesty in local government and thousands of heads of families were in their homes resting from the toils of the day.

No Warning
of Impending
Danger

They all retired, the good and the bad, unconscious of the danger. So far as the records show no one indulged in the familiar if unwarranted meteorological assumption that it seemed like earthquake weather. There had not been any seismic manifestations for some time, and if there had been a tremor, one of the sort which the visitor to San Francisco needs to have identified for him, and the memory of which he usually treasures up as a unique experience, it would have passed un-



Temporary Central Theater, Market Street. A Tent Behind a False Front was One of the Makeshifts after the Fire.

Temporary Palace Hotel, after the Fire.

First Permanent Theater, the Colonial, now the Savoy, to be Erected after the Fire.

Mutual Life Insurance Building in Ruins, after the Fire. A Nine-story Scaffolding was Erected to Permit Access to the Vaults.

noticed for San Franciscans had come to the belief that there was no harm in earthquakes. There were few, comparatively speaking, who had passed through the experience of 1868, and those who had were firmly convinced that the injury suffered on that occasion was wholly due to poor construction. The opinion was justified by the facts, but those who maintained and expressed it were disposed to overlook the wilful disregard of the necessity of careful construction and cheerfully witnessed repetitions of early blunders. But there had been nothing recently to arouse the cautious, or to stir the indifferent. Those who sought their pillows humming refrains from Carmen, and the others who had wooed sleep at an earlier hour than the late revelers, were alike oblivious of the rude awakening that awaited them in the early morning. It was an exaggerated instance of the unexpected happening; and it brought in its train many woes that might have been omitted if consideration of the possibility of their occurring had not persistently been avoided.

The first intimation of disaster was the disaster itself. According to the records of the seismograph of the observatory of the University of California the earth began to tremble at twelve minutes and six seconds after five a. m., Pacific standard time, and the vibrations lasted for one minute and five seconds. The markings on the strip by the needle showed a variation in the violence of the tremors, but the people who experienced them, less attuned than the delicate instrument to the accurate indication of such phenomena, felt that they were increasing with each moment. They scarcely needed the confirmation of the scientists who later told them that they rated it IX in the Rossi-Farel scale of earthquake intensities. They knew without further appraisal that San Francisco had passed through a terrific ordeal, and those who were not too terrified, as soon as the shaking ceased began to investigate the extent of the calamity. It would be possible to secure a thousand descriptions of the impressions created by the shocks, and of the extraordinary effects they produced, but none would be more striking than an accurate presentation of the number of persons who before the earth had fairly resumed its ordinary quiet were attempting to measure the results of the damage, and were mentally speculating on the methods to be adopted to effect reparation. In all the accounts we have of similar disasters in other countries the dominant note is despair. The artists who have pictured the earthquakes of antiquity, and those of more recent times, have given us a spectacle of wringing hands, and people in attitudes of woe, but few such scenes were witnessed in San Francisco on the eventful morning of April 18, 1906. That there was terror, that many thought the end of the world was at hand, that others bitterly reflected on the possible consequences of the calamity in its relation to the future growth of the City there can be no doubt; but of that helplessness which is significant of absence of resourcefulness there was little or no sign in the first few minutes after the great shock. The streets in the residential districts were promptly filled with hastily attired people roused from their early slumbers, and many of them exhibited trepidation, but there was a sufficient leaven of balance to avert panic.

There has been gathered a vast quantity of data embracing the personal experiences of observers, so much indeed that those called upon to deal with it have found some difficulty in the work of assimilation. It would be a vain task to attempt it; a hundred volumes could be written filled with tragic, interesting and even amusing incident, but this vast amount of matter if presented would not convey to

Effects of
the Shock on
a Sleeping
City

Varied
Experiences
but no Panic

the mind a more forceful impression of the actualities, or of the feelings of the involuntary actors in the astounding drama suddenly staged by Nature, than a few well chosen adjectives, and the recital of bare statistics. Every person in the City had his peculiar experience, but differing as these experiences did in detail they are easily blended into a composite picture whose main features were motion and noise. For years after the event one of the chief topics of conversation when men met socially was the recital of the striking things observed, but their assemblage could serve no useful purpose. That bric-a-brac fell with resounding crash in every house; that the faces of pictures suspended by long cords were turned to the wall; that book cases toppled over, and that considerable destruction was wrought in residences where there were things to destroy, and in which no precautions were taken against unusual disturbances, could be inferred properly by the non participant. But it would be impossible for any one who had not deliberately observed conditions to pay adequate tribute to the calmness which asserted itself from the beginning. There were some who with the object of utilizing their knowledge had closely noted the temper of the people and they unite in asserting that the seismic disturbance would have been forgotten as soon as the damage could be repaired if the real disaster had not followed close on the heels of the earthquake.

Ineffectual
Efforts of the
Firemen

Within a few minutes after the first and most serious disturbance as many as sixteen fires were noted in various sections of the City. But the number and extent of these were unknown to the people who, with few exceptions, did not realize the danger from this source until many hours later. These fires were at first confined to the territory south of Market street, and were mainly occasioned by the collapse of chimneys, and the breaking of electric connections. Before 8 a. m., the number of blazes had increased, and it began to be apparent that the firemen were unable to control the spread of the flames in the down town district in which the buildings were close together, and population congested. The day had opened with perfect weather, and would have been unusually warm and welcome under other circumstances, but with fires raging, whose effect was to create temperatures of 2,000° to 2,200° Fahrenheit in localities, it was early regarded with dread by those who saw the flames eating their way in every direction. The fact that the chief of the fire department, David Scanlon, had been fatally injured by a falling wall was generally known to the large number of persons who had swarmed into Market street, in the vicinity of the newspaper offices, from the residential districts, and was a cause of dread to some who noted the ineffectual efforts of the firemen to check the flames which had attained the proportions of a conflagration in the neighborhood of Mission and Third streets and were eating their way up the latter thoroughfare. It was not at first realized that the ineffectiveness of the work of the department was due to a water deficiency, the extent of that trouble only became known later in the day, when a disposition to regard the situation as hopeless began to manifest itself, although the fighting with the flames continued until night closed in, when the firemen utterly exhausted ceased their vain battle, and only the unorganized dynamiters were still at work trying to arrest the progress of the devastating element.

Attempt to
Get Out an
"Extra"

It would be impossible to present sequentially the advance of the fire. Attempts have been made to do so by means of an official inquiry conducted under the auspices of the United States geological survey, and also by a committee of citizens.

The obstacles in the way of such a presentation are too numerous to overcome, as impressions had to be accepted in lieu of exact facts. There was an effort to secure details of that character on the first morning of the three days' fire. The managing editor of the "Chronicle" had gathered his force about him, and before seven o'clock the city editor had detailed many of his best men to cover various phases of the disaster, and to particularly inquire into origins and the extent of the fires then raging. He went about his duty as if the description of an astounding calamity was no unusual affair, and in an incredibly brief space of time his reporters were piling copy on his desk, which, however, proved unavailable, owing to the discovery that the cause which operated to prevent the firemen dealing successfully with the flames would prevent the use of the machinery of the establishment. The foreman of the press room reported an insufficiency of water to keep his boilers going, and presently there was a reminder of another obstacle. An explosion of gas in the sewer in front of the building sent the iron cover of a manhole hurling through the air and made it clear that the Mergenthaler machines were out of commission. No attempt was made by the editors of the other papers to deal with the situation. The offices of the "Call" and "Examiner" were in line of the fire, and before 8 o'clock, it was recognized that they could not be saved. A consultation was held by the managing editors of the three papers and a decision was reached to trespass on the hospitality of the Oakland newspaper plants, and a messenger was sent to that city to apprise the proprietor of the "Tribune" of the desire of his San Francisco contemporaries to avoid a break in their publications. Meanwhile the possibility of issuing an edition from the "Bulletin" office was investigated, and the attempt was not abandoned as hopeless until it was learned that the fire had leaped the barrier of Kearny street, and that the Chinese quarter was beginning to burn.

Before noon of Wednesday the fire had swept nearly a square mile of the district south of Market street. Some hours earlier a strong detachment of troops from the presidio appeared on the scene and drove back the crowd which manifested a tendency to concentrate in the street in the vicinity of the newspaper offices. All morning hundreds of persons from points of vantage were observing the efforts made to prevent the fire communicating itself to the Palace hotel. The attempt was not abandoned until the supply of artesian water stored in a large reservoir under the building was exhausted. At no time did there appear to be any assistance rendered by the firemen who were fighting the flames at points south of the hotel, but without success. The heat became so intense after a while that the firemen were obliged to fly for their lives and in several instances they were compelled to abandon their engines and other apparatus. The expedient of dynamiting was thought of and put into practice without judgment or the exercise of skill. There is some obscurity respecting the superintendence of this part of the fire fighting during Wednesday, but the futile attempt to blow up the Monadnock building on Market street between the Palace hotel, and the "Examiner" office was made by the military. The inexperience of the men handling the explosives betrayed itself in the result. The structure, whatever its fire resisting qualities may have been, was proof against misdirected assaults made on its steel frame which was only jarred by the concussion.

When the firemen were finally compelled to abandon the contest with the flames on Third street near Mission some time before noon of Wednesday, it was seen that they could not be arrested in their progress toward Market street. By this time

Ineffectual
Efforts to
Dynamite
Buildings

Property
Needlessly
Sacrificed

the military had cleared the latter thoroughfare of spectators, permitting no one within the lines excepting reporters who were hastily provided with an improvised badge. The object of the extraordinary precaution which was strictly enforced was not quite clear, but it was doubtless due to fear that further shocks might occur which would accomplish what the first had failed to effect. There were numerous jars during the morning, and one severe one about eight o'clock, which caused those on the sidewalks to hurry into the open spaces. The crowds, however, were not apprehensive of danger from the tall buildings, and remained until forced away by the soldiers. The necessity for this course did not seem as apparent later as it did at the time, and to its adoption must be attributed the loss of much valuable property that might have been saved if the occupants of the offices had been permitted to enter them to remove their papers and effects. Very few were privileged to do so, and later, in some of the residential districts vast quantities of property that might have been removed was destroyed, the unreasonable restrictions and excessive precautions contributing largely to that result. That the military sought to guard against looting has been asserted, but this explanation, in view of the fact that most of the buildings from which owners were excluded were surrendered to the flames, is not satisfactory. But as no better one has been afforded, it may be accepted in lieu of the criticism that rigid adherence to military methods created a situation which would have been avoided had it been possible in the sudden emergency to effect an organization which would have permitted cooperation with citizens who might have suggested a plan of identification and effected great savings.

**Progress of
the Conflagration**

It has been said that there were conflicting statements concerning the progress of the conflagration, some of which have been perpetuated in official reports prepared months after the event. That there should be contradictions of the sort mentioned is not surprising as many directly interested in the fate of buildings destroyed by the flames found it impossible to obtain accurate information concerning the time of the destruction of their property. Persons claiming to have witnessed and carefully noted the advance of the fire declare that on the afternoon of Wednesday "it broke across to the north side of Market street in the vicinity of the high steel frame Spreckels building on the southeast corner of Market and Third streets," and that "there the flames veered with the wind, burning northward and westward through Chinatown, and there joined its destructive energy with that of a separate column of fire that had swept up from the lower end of Market street and the water front." There are numerous errors in this statement. The fire consumed the Examiner building early in the morning, and it was some hours before noon when the flames attacked the Claus Spreckels building. Adjoining that structure on Third street there was a three story building occupied as a shoe store, and filled with a highly inflammable stock of goods. The fire, as it rapidly ate its way along Third street attacked this low structure, and it was soon a mass of roaring flames, the tongues of which leaped upward and destroyed the plate glass in the south windows of the fifth or sixth story of the Claus Spreckels building. A group standing at the Lotta fountain opposite speculated on the probability of the fire communicating itself to the tall building, and even while they spoke ribbons of smoke were seen streaming from openings far above, and in a few minutes the interior of the structure was ablaze. At that time, and for some hours afterward, there was no sign of the fire crossing Market street. Shortly before dusk the writer

walked up that thoroughfare and in front of the Phelan block encountered Mr. and Mrs. Frank J. Sullivan, the owners of valuable property in the neighborhood, and exchanged views with them. The Parrott building on the south side of the street containing the Emporium department store had succumbed to the flames, and all the buildings in that block had been destroyed, but there was enough of the element of doubt in the situation at that time to permit the hope that the north side of the street might be spared.

At two-thirty on the afternoon of Wednesday three persons, Gavin McNab, Fairfax Wheelan and the writer, stood in the center of Market street opposite Sansome. McNab had been surveying the building of the association with which he was connected, and which was situated on Sansome street. It had not yet been attacked by the flames, but they were stealing toward it from the east and north, the fire having jumped across Market street at an earlier hour. At this time the latter thoroughfare was completely deserted at the point where the group stood; the only signs of life visible were the sentries who were posted in the block between Montgomery and Kearny. There was no sound except the crackling noise of flames which was hardly loud enough to deserve the term roaring. The fire was then burning in the south of Market street district nearly to the water front, and had made its way across the main artery of the City, and was eating its way westward in the business district north of Market, but had not yet reached the block of Sansome street terminating at the latter thoroughfare. The Wells Fargo building and other large structures on Second street were aflame, and the Grand hotel had commenced to burn. The attempt to save the Palace had been abandoned some hours before when the supply of artesian water gave out, and there was no evidence of life in or near the hotel. It is impossible to state with positiveness whether the fire which destroyed the great hostelry, once the glory of San Francisco, attacked it from the east, but it seemed to the little group spoken of that it surrendered to the assault from that direction. It is not improbable that the inroads made much earlier in the morning, and which the force of the hotel had battled with for several hours, were greater than was supposed, and that the fire had eaten its way unnoticed to the lower floors; but from whatever point it came, when it disclosed itself to those on the street, the hotel presented the appearance of being afire in every part. Its myriad bay windows, looking out on four sides were all shooting flames at once. The spectacle was one calculated to inspire awe despite the fact that all around it were structures which had already succumbed to the destroyer; but few witnessed it, and they were so engrossed by the absorbing question of "what to do," that nothing could divert or interest them.

In the Mission district in which, at the time, the buildings were built almost wholly of wood, gallant stands were made against numerous fires which originated early in the day, and the intelligent use of limited supplies of stored water, and the hard work of the citizens preserved the greater part of the residences in that section from destruction; but the losses were considerable there also, and several times it was feared that the whole region would become a prey to the devouring element. Indeed, during a part of the first day there was more concern for the Mission than for other parts of the City about which little apprehension was felt as late as six o'clock of Wednesday. About that hour the firemen were struggling to confine the flames to the east side of Kearny street in the blocks north of California. The rapidly organized corps dealing with explosives sought to create a

Destruction
of the Palace
Hotel

Timid Use of
Explosives

barrier by blowing down houses in that neighborhood, but lack of experience proved an obstacle to success. It was stated by eye witnesses that an explosion, presumably of black powder, accomplished a result exactly the opposite of that contemplated, and that burning brands were hurled to the other side of the street thus communicating the fire to the Chinese quarter. It may be true as asserted that there was inexperience displayed by the improvised sapping corps, but there is little doubt that the flames would have crept around the north end of Kearny street and into the Latin quarters even though the mistake had not been made of confining explosions to the fringe of the fire line. Critics after the event pointed out that there was too much timidity in the use of dynamite, and that it could only have been effectively employed in a tremendous conflagration spreading over miles by ruthlessly setting a back fire from points not already assailed.

The Fire on
Wednesday
Night

At nine o'clock on Wednesday night the proprietor of the "Chronicle" visited his building on the corner of Market and Geary streets accompanied by the writer. At that time the fire had not reached it, nor had it attacked the Crocker building at the intersection of Post and Montgomery with Market streets. Early in the day the windows in the topmost story of the Crocker building were observed to be open, and it was feared that sparks from the conflagration raging south of Market street might blow in, and when the Palace began to burn it was regarded as doomed, but it was still unvisited by the flames at the hour mentioned and the probability of it escaping destruction was suggested. At that time, however, the flames had attacked the Occidental hotel and the buildings in its vicinity were burning. The down town streets were then completely deserted except by sentries who were still patrolling Kearny street between Market and California. At first they declined to recognize the newspaper badge, but after a little parleying they consented to the writer and the proprietor of the "Chronicle" entering the lines, insisting, however, that the automobile should not proceed further than the corner of Post and Kearny streets. On foot we made our way to Montgomery street where a very brief inspection convinced us that nothing but a miracle could save any structure in the neighborhood. Even though the flames might not be communicated directly the descending sparks which in many instances would be more properly described as fire brands, would have certainly found vulnerable spots. Later it was learned that the Chronicle buildings, the new seventeen story on Kearny street, just approaching completion, and the ten story structure on the corner of Market, Geary and Kearny were ignited in that manner. A watchman employed by a clothing firm on Kearny street asserts that the roof of the ten story Chronicle building, which was a temporary affair devised to protect the inmates while two stories were being added, caught fire at about 3 a. m., on Thursday morning, and that the flames from it were communicated to the adjoining tall structure and from thence they spread northward.

Refugees in
Union Square

From the "Chronicle" office whose doors were found unlocked a visit was made to the hill overlooking Jefferson square, for the purpose of observing the progress of the flames towards the residential section of the Western Addition. On the way to Eddy street, Union square was passed. It was filled with refugees, some of whom had brought a part of their belongings. A little inquiry developed that most of them were from the numerous rooming houses which existed on Kearny street, and in the blocks entering that thoroughfare, and some few from the Latin quarter. Some of them overcome with fatigue were stretched on the grass sleeping soundly.

One group surrounding a piano was assisting the performer to sing a song which the circumstances hardly suggested. A reporter on the ensuing day described the impromptu concert, which he had also encountered, as the only instance of artificial hilarity observed by him during the day and he ascribed it to overindulgence in wine. There was no apprehension on the part of those in Union square that they would have to abandon that open place, although their feeling of security was scarcely warranted by the appearance of their surroundings. The fire was creeping westward, and there was every indication that it would spare nothing in its southward march from the Latin quarter region which had begun to burn before night fall. There was as yet no signs of the mansions on Nob hill being attacked, and the fact that they were surrounded by spacious grounds may have suggested that they might escape, but it is improbable that the exhausted crowds gave the matter any thought. Those who looked for signs saw the Fairmont, almost finished, but not yet occupied, brightly illumined by the flames of the burning buildings of Chinatown and thought it might escape, but they overlooked the danger from the superheated air, and the rain of sparks and fire brands descending and constantly menacing the neighboring structures whose ample proportions and timbers invited the encroachments of the flames. The St. Francis and the other buildings surrounding Union Square were still unharmed by the fire, but the hotel was deserted by its guests who had fled to other parts of the City.

From Eddy street a view of the destruction wrought in the section south of Golden Gate avenue and east of Van Ness could be obtained. The park and the streets bounding the two blocks were lined with automobiles and other vehicles removed from garages, and the grounds were filled with people who had been driven from their homes by the flames which appeared at that hour, between nine and ten p. m., to have approached close to McAllister street in many places. There was evidence of persistence in the wearisome struggle of fire fighters in that quarter, but there was no organized effort. Individual householders exerted themselves in places, but when their property was saved, as it was in some cases, it was more through the vagaries of the flames than to their efforts. A reporter who still continued his observation of the progress of the fire, and had traversed several of the streets south of Fulton, stated that all that part of the town was deserted, and that in many instances he had seen the doors of houses standing open, and that household effects which had been removed to the sidewalks had been abandoned. He had endeavored to gauge the probabilities of the advance of the conflagration in the direction of the Western Addition in which he lived, with the commendable design of reassuring neighbors, and was convinced that there was no likelihood of it approaching the residential region north of Golden Gate avenue and west of Van Ness avenue from the south.

His assurance could not have been carried to many, for the people thoroughly exhausted who lived in places as yet unscathed, were sleeping the sleep of weariness in their homes or had fled to the open places. Hamilton square, Alta Plaza, the cemeteries, the presidio and the park were already harboring large numbers of refugees who were stretched out on improvised beds and many on the bare ground. It may seem incredible, but on this awful first night of the conflagration hundreds of persons, who had only to lift their heads to see that the City was encircled by a ring of fire, whose menacing front stretched several miles around them, slept as soundly as in their own homes. In ascending to the highest point in Alta Plaza an

Anxious
Surveys of
the Flames

Conflagration
Viewed from
Alta Plaza

anxious observer heard no sound except the stertorous breathing of adults and an occasional whimper from a child. The night was warm, the artificial heat having overcome the natural tendency to low temperature, a fortunate circumstance as not a few of the refugees had failed to provide themselves with covering of any sort. From the highest eminence of Alta Plaza the condition seemed hopeless. While the possibility of the barrier which the width of Van Ness avenue presented afforded a hope that the advance of the flames from the east might be arrested, a glance towards the south and west showed the danger of the fire approaching the residential district of the City in the northwest by creeping along the closely built streets of frame houses which extended from Market street to the heart of the Western Addition. To the spectator viewing the flames from this point it appeared as if the City was surrounded by a contracting wall of fire, extending from the Mission to North Beach and that it was utterly doomed.

Citizens
Organize for
Action

Although the military, as already related, assumed control of the streets and exercised police power, there was no abandonment of duty by the citizens of San Francisco. As was perhaps proper, certainly it was natural, the first impulse of men of large interests was to ascertain the extent of the injury suffered by their property. In many instances the result of the hasty survey was reassuring. Before the fires had assumed menacing proportions many of the buildings of the new mode of construction had been examined, and the discovery made that the steel frames had resisted the temblor and had suffered no injury. Before six o'clock an examination of the interior of the Chronicle building from top to bottom was made, and it was found that the wrenching had not affected the marble lined halls, nor disturbed the terra cotta dividing walls. There was no binding of doors or indications of any sort pointing to instability. A bit of wall exposed to mishap by the character of a roof temporarily provided to serve while an addition of two stories was being made to the building had a few bricks dislodged. In some of the rooms books and ornaments had been thrown violently to the floor. A janitor whose duty it was to care for the editorial rooms had not deserted his post, and when directed to do so went about his work of cleaning them as usual. It was no isolated case, although it may not have been typical as there was in this instance a desire to get out an extra. But devotion to personal affairs was speedily subordinated to earnest and organized effort for the general welfare. At three o'clock p. m., of the first day of the conflagration, at the call of Mayor Schmitz a number of citizens assembled in the Hall of Justice to consider what measures should be taken. Out of this gathering originated what was afterward known as the Committee of Fifty, a body which slightly exceeded that number. In the midst of the deliberations at the first meeting the committee was compelled to abandon the room in which it had assembled, the fire having approached perilously near to the hall which the firemen were trying to save. An adjournment was taken to the Plaza opposite, but that soon became too hot, and a further retreat had to be made to the Fairmont hotel. At this first meeting the gravity of the situation was fully recognized, and although it was impossible to foresee the extent of the conflagration the worst was stared in the face, and plans were outlined which were speedily put into execution on the succeeding day while the fire was still raging. The committee adjourned to meet early on the ensuing morning in the same place, but the flames had claimed the hotel during the night.

The morning of the nineteenth of April indicated another like that of the preceding day destroying the faint hope that a breeze might arise which would arrest the westward progress of the conflagration. The superheating of the air raised the temperature, which would have been about the April normal without its aid. On all the streets not yet attacked by the flames could be seen people laboriously dragging or carrying articles of various kinds. Vehicles were not abundant, and those who had them charged extortionate prices for their use. In places remote from the fire line the distrust of what was to come was as great as it was in the immediate vicinity of streets where buildings were already burning. There were many curious scenes, but none more extraordinary than that witnessed when the morning paper produced in Oakland by the joint exertions of volunteers from the staffs of the "Examiner," "Call" and "Chronicle" was gratuitously distributed from automobiles, and redistributed by energetic newsboys who reaped a harvest from customers who exhibited the ruling passion for news. It was a marvelous journalistic production consisting of four pages of seven columns each, all of which were devoted to one event. There were no advertisements and only the title indicates the auspices under which it was published. Although eagerly devoured by those into whose hands it fell on Thursday morning its contents could not have been very reassuring. Among the display headings could be seen: "No Hope Left for Safety of Any Buildings," and the opening sentence of the article following read: "San Francisco seems doomed to entire destruction." There were some exaggerations of statement, as for instance the estimate hazarded that the loss would reach a billion dollars, and that twenty or more insurance companies would be ruined. But there was also an astonishing quantity of information, the accuracy of which was shown later when official inquiries were made to determine the full extent of the disaster.

That there should have been even a remote approach to soberness of statement must be regarded as surprising, for on the first day of the fire all sorts of rumors were in circulation. Although communication with the East had been completely severed for a time stories were afloat that large cities on the Atlantic seaboard had been engulfed by a tidal wave; that Chicago was in ruins and that the cataclysm was universal. The fact that Vesuvius had erupted four or five days earlier causing great disaster, and the then recent outbreak of Pelee, and the destruction it wrought, were still fresh in the public mind and lent color to the rumors and caused them to be accepted by many whose views respecting seismic disturbances were hazy. Ignorance on this latter point caused great distress of mind to large numbers inclined to regard earth tremors as due to supernatural or at least mysterious causes. The assurances of geologists that the disturbance was due to a "fault" was not easily accepted by those who had accustomed themselves to believing that the uncertainty attending the time of tremors indicated a complete absence of scientific knowledge of their origin.

Fortunately there were enough men in the City who maintained their poise, and they started in at once to bring order out of apparent chaos. The so-called Committee of Fifty did not embrace all the cool headed members of the community, but they took upon themselves the almost superhuman task of planning for hundreds of thousands suddenly diverted from their usual mode of life, and who were deprived of their ordinary resources. They could have accomplished little without the generous aid which the whole world began to extend while the conflagration was still raging; but on the other hand the open handed liberality would

A Joint
Newspaper
Produced

Circulation
of Wild
Rumors

Stimulating
Effect of
Optimism

have been of little value had not the money and other contributions with which the City was deluged been properly husbanded and systematically distributed. To the effective organization of the Committee of Fifty must be attributed the extraordinary fact that the confusion never became a real panic. The knowledge of the existence of the committee inspired confidence in the great number who had not fled from the City, but had found refuge in parks and plazas within its limits. The self imposed duties of the committeemen had an uplifting effect upon themselves, and it manifested itself at their meeting at the North End police station to which they were obliged to adjourn owing to the destruction of the Fairmont hotel which had been selected as the place for deliberation on the previous evening. At this gathering optimism rather than pessimism prevailed. The probability of part of the residential districts of the Mission and Western Addition being saved were dwelt upon, and members reminded each other that the wealth being destroyed before their eyes was created by the people of the City, and that the energy that had produced it would be put forth again to replace what was lost.

"Committee
of Fifty"
Appointed by
the Mayor

But the committee was not permitted to continue its deliberations at the North End station. At noon the fire again drove its members westward. Franklin hall on Fillmore street near Sutter was selected as a headquarters, and it was occupied in the ensuing days during which the members of the city government had practically abdicated their functions, devolving their duties upon the extra official body which consisted of the following persons named by the mayor: Mayor Eugene Schmitz, chairman; Rufus P. Jennings, secretary; Frank B. Anderson, Hugo K. Asher, W. J. Barnett, Maurice Block, Hugh M. Burke, Albert E. Castle, Arthur H. Castle, Paul Cowles, H. T. Cresswell, Henry J. Crocker, R. A. Crothers, P. C. Currier, Jeremiah Deneen, E. J. dePue, M. H. deYoung, George L. Dillman, A. B. C. Dohrmann, J. J. Dwyer, Charles S. Fee, John W. Ferris, Tirey L. Ford, Thomas Garrett, Mark L. Gerstle, Wellington Gregg, Jr., R. B. Hale, William Greer Harrison, J. Downey Harvey, I. W. Hellman, Jr., Francis J. Heney, William F. Herrin, Dr. Marcus Herzstein, Howard Holmes, J. R. Howell, Judge John Hunt, D. V. Kelly, Homer S. King, George A. Knight, Franklin K. Lane, Herbert E. Law, W. H. Leahy, J. J. Lerman, C. H. Maddox, Frank Maestretti, Thomas Magee, W. A. Magee, John S. Mahoney, John Martin, Garrett McEnerny, John McLaren, John McNaught, S. B. McNear, William M. Matson, Archbishop Montgomery, E. F. Moran, Irving F. Moulton, Thornwall Mullally, S. G. Murphy, Bishop Nichols, Father O'Ryan, James D. Phelan, Albert Pissis, Willis Polk, Allen Pollok, E. B. Pond, H. B. Ramsdell, James Reid, J. B. Reinstein, David Rich, Dent H. Robert, J. B. Rogers, John W. Rogers, Andrea Sbarboro, Henry T. Scott, W. P. Scott, Frank Shea, S. M. Shortridge, Claus Spreckels, Rudolph Spreckels, Ignatz Steinhart, Gustave Sutro, W. W. Thurston, Clement Tobin, George Tourny, Frederick Ward, Charles S. Wheeler, Thomas P. Woodward and John P. Young.

Sub-Commit-
tee of the
Committee of
Citizens

The organization of this committee was effected by noon of the 19th, and the details of the creation of sub-committees were worked out later in the day at Franklin hall, pains being taken to ascertain the desires of the members with a view to securing greater efficiency. Every conceivable requirement was taken into consideration and provision made to meet it. The designation of the committees described their functions. They were named as follows: Relief of the Hungry, Housing the Homeless, Relief of Sick and Wounded, Drugs and Medical Supplies,



BREAD LINE, REACHING FROM FILLMORE STREET TO OCTAVIA STREET ON ELLIS STREET

Relief of Chinese, Transportation of Refugees, Citizens Police, Auxiliary Fire Department, Restoration of Water Supply, Restoration of Light and Telephone, Restoration of Fire in Dwellings, Restoration of Abattoirs, Resumption of Transportation, Resumption of Civil Government, Resumption of the Judiciary, Resumption of Retail Trade, Organization of Wholesalers, Finance, History and Statistics and Sanitation. To detail the services performed by these committees, and to describe the energy and intelligence displayed in the performances of the practically self allotted tasks of the members would fill many chapters. Franklin hall before the close of the second day was the rendezvous of every one eager to help in what was already looked upon and spoken of as the work of restoration, and on Friday it was the practical center of the City, and within its precincts were enacted scenes which exhibited in a remarkable degree the American capacity for organization, and the ease with which a people will abdicate self government in the hour of need, and place their dependence on men who have exhibited their capacity to do things.

The fire continued to rage during the whole of Thursday and the scenes of the previous day were repeated. Firemen and volunteers assisted by the military were still fighting the flames in various quarters of the City, the chief effort being directed to preventing their spread toward the residential districts. A steady stream of refugees rolled along the streets terminating at the park and large numbers escaped to Oakland. Fortunately the water front was not reached by the fire which capriciously left the docks and the Ferry building unscathed. But as the day advanced access to the bay became more difficult and the homeless turned their faces westward. The owners of houses along residence streets lying west of Van Ness avenue were in a state of uncertainty and eagerly sought information from the fugitives but could obtain none that was of value, and before nightfall a large number of residences in quarters which were spared were wholly deserted. At intervals during the day the word was passed to open windows to avoid the destruction of glass from the concussions produced by explosives, and houses were abandoned in that condition; but so far as could be learned there was little looting, although entrance could easily be effected. In many cases the doors stood invitingly open. The occupant of an apartment in a large house on Taylor street returned after conducting his family to a place of safety and found it completely deserted and noted that few doors had been closed. The rooms in many of the apartments were filled with valuable bric a brac, costly rugs and expensive clothing, none of which was disturbed. A few hours later the building was swept away and all its contents destroyed. Those who desired to move effects found it impossible to obtain conveyances at any price, except in rare instances, and many who had automobiles failed to avail themselves of the opportunity to remove their belongings. Curious vagaries of selection were noted. A man was seen tugging a sewing machine up one of the lesser grades of California street while a weeping woman struggled after him bearing a tenantless bird cage in her hand. Many laboriously dragged trunks whose apparent weight indicated that they were trying to save other articles than clothes. The owners of valuable pictures hastily cut them from their frames and bore or had them borne to points which they fancied would not be reached by the fire. Some who were cast in a prudent mold devoted themselves to bearing away such provisions as they could lay their hands upon, and serviceable clothing. Occasionally one of this kind would return for a

The Fire
During the
Second Day

second instalment of articles, and to rescue his more valuable belongings, only to find an inexorable sentry standing guard who would not permit him to approach his home. No discrimination was shown and pleadings were unavailing. The orders given were imperative; the soldiers could exercise no discretion and consequently an enormous number of books, paintings and other articles that might have been saved were burned.

Rigid Pre-
cautions of
the Military

The object of these rigid military precautions was twofold. It was sought to prevent looting and loss of life or injury to over venturesome persons. The presumption is that a plan was pursued in dynamiting buildings to stay the flames, but it was entirely too comprehensive and defeated its own purpose by a too close adherence to the military theory respecting the value of secretiveness. The sentries were quick to regard and treat as enemies those who argued with them. Typical instances of their methods are related. A possessor of a valuable collection of books inscribed with author's autographs endeavored to rescue them, but was driven away and not permitted to take a single copy. His house did not burn until several hours later; when it did his treasured volumes were all destroyed. During the whole of Thursday it was impossible for people living in neighborhoods remote from the fire, but in its apparent track, to obtain any information which might have guided citizens, and in many cases would have allayed apprehension. All endeavors to gain a knowledge of the situation were frustrated by the establishment of the military cordon, through which it was impossible to penetrate, and the most alarming rumors prevailed.

The Fire
Rages
Through
Thursday
Night

After nightfall on Thursday the residents of the Western Addition were enabled to survey the situation by ascending to eminences. It was far from assuring. At ten o'clock the flames were still eating their way through the district south and east of Van Ness avenue. The houses in the region between Jones street and the avenue were burning in many places, and east of the latter thoroughfare the structures, all frame, on Clay, Sacramento and Washington streets were licked up. Rumors were being carried to the anxious householders who had not yet fled whose contradictoriness created confusion. At one time word would be brought that a final stand would be made at Polk street, and that the block intervening between it and Larkin would be razed to prevent the possibility of the fire leaping across Van Ness, and presently another story, apparently corroborated by the appearance of the silently descending sparks in streets far west of that thoroughfare, would be brought that the avenue had been crossed, and that there was no longer any hope of saving the Western Addition. The situation in the Mission was no less terrifying. The fire in that section did not cease to burn menacingly until about two o'clock on Friday morning. It had not been controlled; it simply spent its fury. Energetic and intelligent efforts had arrested the course of the flames in this district, where supplies of water were obtained from sources independent of the Spring Valley, and one or two cisterns whose locations had not been forgotten by the inhabitants. In the down town districts there were similar constructions, but they had been neglected for many years and they contained no water. They were survivals of the precautions adopted after the great fires of the early Fifties, but a fatuous reliance on the hydrants of the local water system had caused them to be forgotten and their existence was unsuspected by most inhabitants of the City.

The forethought and energetic efforts of the citizens committee and military, and the liberality of neighbors prevented the pinch of hunger from asserting itself seriously even in the first stages of the disaster. On Wednesday, under the terrifying influence of the ravaging fire, few adults gave heed to the demands of appetite, but they asserted themselves on the ensuing day. The large numbers gathered in the parks and open places in the Western Addition, and on the hills back of the Mission were utterly destitute of provisions. In very rare instances the refugees had managed to supply themselves with a limited quantity of food, but the great majority were absolutely unprovided, and even those who had money with which to buy could find no one to sell to them. The depots where the main stocks of the City's food were stored were in the districts attacked by the flames during the early part of the first day, and the supplies of the retailers in the outlying districts were speedily purchased by the thoughtful who foresaw what was to come. The corner groceries were swept bare of everything edible. Not merely the nutritious foods were in demand. Whatever suggested the possibility of satisfying hunger was bought. Candies, dried fruits, canned goods, breakfast foods and all kinds of shelf goods. Later when it was sought to augment the supply for general distribution from this source it was found that many of the groceries had absolutely nothing that could be requisitioned.

Food in
Great
Demand

Fortunately before the need became pressing, supplies were pouring in from every direction. Train loads of provisions were rushed to the City from nearby points. The military depots opened their stores and distributed large quantities of biscuit and baker's bread, and by Friday morning arrangements were made by the citizens committee for the baking of sufficient bread to meet the needs of all asking assistance. The latter included nearly the whole community, for it was no longer possible to purchase food; and for a few days the rigid orders prohibiting the use of stoves within doors made everyone resort to the bread line. On Friday the headquarters of the citizens committee gave signs of effective organization. The places allotted to the various subcommittees were all plainly indicated, and an efficient information bureau directed the constantly increasing throngs who crowded the hall in quest of information or seeking relief to the proper place to secure what they sought. An equally large number reported for quite another purpose. They were volunteers eager to assist in the work of relief, and only asked to be put to work doing something helpful. It was an extraordinary exhibition of unalloyed unselfishness, one of those rare occasions when all distinctions are obliterated. Men who two or three days previously had commanded the services of hundreds of their fellows obeyed with alacrity when directed to do anything. Physicians no longer chose their patients, but devoted themselves to all who needed succor, and there were many such. The organization in this department of helpfulness was extremely effective. Indeed it had been in operation from the beginning and was merely perfected in Franklin hall. On Wednesday morning the Mechanics' pavilion, then situated on Larkin street, opposite the city hall, was converted into a temporary hospital to which many injured persons were removed, who were treated by doctors, many of whom had left their terrified families to respond to the highest duty of their profession. The improvised hospital had to be abandoned early in the day. At noon the approaching fire threatened the large wooden structure, and the injured were hastily removed to the Presidio. A half an hour after the huge pile was in flames, and the horrible but unfounded

Relief Pours
in from
Every
Direction

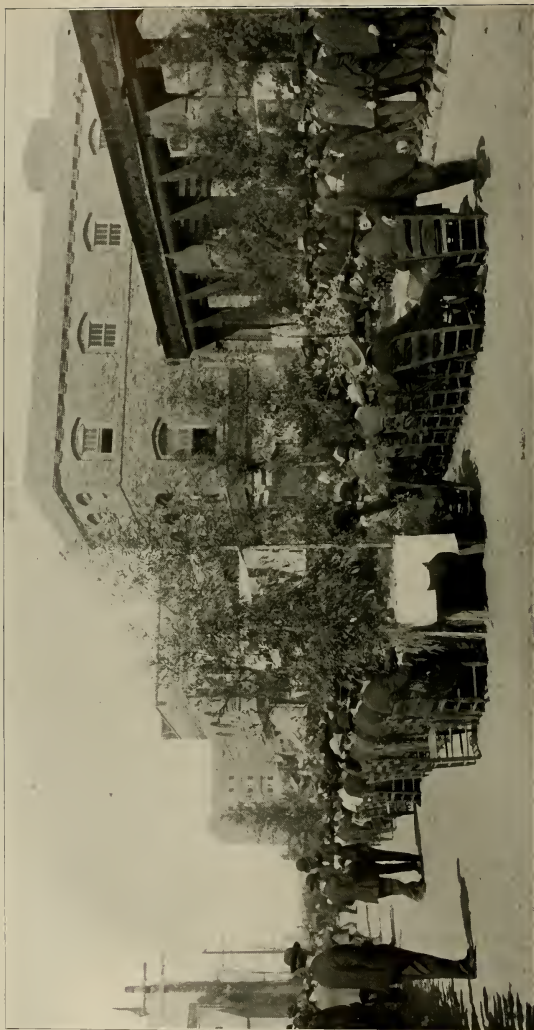
rumor that many injured were consumed in the burning building was circulated throughout the City.

Extraordi-
nary Powers
Assumed by
the Mayor

Before the close of Friday, although fires could be seen in various places, the assurance was general that there was no further danger of it spreading to the district beyond Van Ness avenue, and to a large part of the Mission. But the spirit of rumor did not subside with the flames. A grisly story which had its origin in some diseased imagination spread throughout the Western Addition, that many of the refugees, incensed because the abodes of the more prosperous classes had been spared while theirs were destroyed, were resolved to take possession of the houses still standing. There were also stories that thieves were abroad looting and committing outrages, but most of them were without foundation. There were some robberies but not many. The vigilance of the military, and of the police, and the hastily organized auxiliary citizens' force, effectually preserved order and property in the unburned districts. Their effectiveness is testified to by the fact that the necessary surveillance soon became irksome and caused complaint. People unaccustomed to strict regulation do not easily accommodate themselves to the requirements of military discipline, and become resentful at interference even when it is exercised in their behalf. In the first hours of terror no one thought it strange that the mayor should have issued a proclamation in which he stated that: "The federal troops, the members of the regular police force and all special police officers have been authorized to kill any and all persons found engaged in looting or the commission of any other crimes." Those into whose hands the extraordinary document fell may, for a while, have thought that his direction that "all the gas and electric lighting companies must not turn on gas nor electricity until I order them to do so" was not entirely superfluous, but they speedily found the enforcement of the regulations necessary to give effect to his directions very irksome. His order that "all citizens remain at home from darkness until daylight of every night until order is restored," was obeyed without cavil. Sometime afterward unwarranted criticism was called forth by the discovery that following close on the dissemination of the printed handbill there was issued to the members of the citizens committee the following commission: "The bearer is a member of the Relief and Restoration Committee of Law and Order and is invested with the same powers that I possess. You are therefore notified to give him every assistance possible in the prompt performance of his duty and cheerfully comply with any request that he may make."

Important
Part
Played by
Automobiles

That these extraordinary powers conferred on a considerable number of hastily selected citizens were not abused is a matter of record. In all their doings the spirit of cooperation was predominant. There was very little of what was promptly characterized as commandeering, because a request usually succeeded in cases where the want was not anticipated by volunteers. One of the greatest needs was means of getting about, and it was facilitated by the placing at the disposal of the citizens committee of a number of automobiles. All the transportation lines in the City had suffered from the shock and fire. The wires of the trolley lines were down in every direction, and the power houses of the cable companies were burned, or their machinery was hopelessly disabled. In all the burned region the tracks were impassable, being obstructed by the debris of falling walls. There were few people in San Francisco who lacked confidence in the efficiency of the motor-impeled vehicles after observing the valuable service performed by them in the



COMMISSION HOUSE MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES CELEBRATING THE REHABILITATION
OF THEIR PART OF THE CITY BY HOLDING A BANQUET IN THE STREET

sudden great emergency, and there were still fewer inclined to censure the steps taken which virtually placed every machine in the City at the command of the whole community. No cause contributed half so much to the strengthening of that confidence which speedily inspired the citizens' committee and the people, as the ability to get about rapidly which the automobiles afforded. It enabled the subcommittees in their operations to keep in touch with the main committee, and measurably compensated for the deprivation of the use of the telephone which the disaster had rendered unworkable.

The automobile and the press proved the most powerful auxiliaries of the citizens' committee in bringing about a general restoration of confidence in the future. On the second morning the "Chronicle" and "Examiner" issued their papers from the offices of the "Herald" and "Tribune" of Oakland respectively, having made arrangements with those journals, both evening publications, for the use of their plants. The "Call" some days later was published in the "Enquirer" office of the transbay city. The plants of all the newspapers of San Francisco were destroyed by the fire. No part of the machinery of the "Chronicle" was damaged by the shock, and operations in the building on Market street would not have been interrupted had the conflagration, as was at one time hoped, been arrested in the northeastern part of the City. As the building was the first tall structure in the City built with a steel frame it was an object of special interest to later official inquirers who, however, failed to ascertain the cause of the carrying away of all the floors in that part of the structure on the corner of Kearny and Geary street, while in the remainder of the building the flames merely destroyed the combustible contents and woodwork. The facts could have been learned from the proprietor and a misapprehension would have been avoided. In the portion of the building carried away were installed the linotype machines, twenty in number, and overhanging a part of the lofty room in which they were situated there was a gallery suspended from the steel beams by rods of that metal. In this gallery was stored a large collection of zinc etchings available for use if required and many drawings. As already related the tower of the building had been destroyed by the fire during the preceding November, and a temporary roof had been erected to serve until two stories were added which were to be connected with the nearly completed seventeen story adjoining structure. This roof became ignited and the flames were communicated to the inflammable contents of the gallery, the floor of which was destroyed, thus causing several tons of zinc to drop upon the machines beneath which were in turn carried away. The accumulated weight was too great to be supported by the tiling and the whole mass descended to the basement, in its course destroying the "Chronicle's" library which represented forty years' careful assemblage of material useful in the publication of a newspaper.

The making of a newspaper involves something else than the use of machinery, but plenty of the latter is indispensable to the production of a daily journal, and it was fortunate for San Francisco that it was obtainable, and promptly placed at the disposition of the publishers who transferred their organizations to the other side of the bay where they at once began their function of furnishing news and providing information which enables the members of the peoples of the higher complex organization known as a city to pursue their varied occupations intelligently. Never in the history of journalism was there a more signal exhibition of

The Spread
of the Flames

Uplift Work
of the Daily
Press

the important part played by the press than that witnessed in the days immediately following the conflagration. On the morning of the nineteenth when the joint production of the "Call-Examiner-Chronicle" reached San Francisco it was received with an eagerness which told of the hunger for news, and on the next and on the following days it began to be looked upon, perhaps unconsciously, as the means of unraveling the tangles which the calamity had introduced and on Saturday morning it was turned to for comforting assurances. The fires were still burning—at midnight of that day the coal bunkers near the Ferry building broke into flames—when the "Chronicle" under a flaring head declared "San Francisco will rise from the ashes a greater and more beautiful city than ever," and its contemporary, the "Examiner," took an equally optimistic view of the situation. The editors were not indulging in vain boasts; they may have felt it incumbent upon them to say something cheering, but they were only giving expression to the spirit of those who had taken up the work of restoration while the ashes were still hot, and putting on record high resolves which were realized later. Their most effective work, however, was that devoted to reassembling the dispersed people and assisting in the effort to set the wheels of industry in motion. A registration bureau had been established as early as the second day of the fire which did most effective service, but the chief accomplishment in the way of reassembling was performed by the newspapers, whose columns were utilized for many days to bring employer and employed together so that the ordinary avocations of the people might be resumed as speedily as possible.

Fillmore
Street Be-
comes Center
of Business
Activity

One of the most striking features of the deliberations of the Committee of Fifty was the sensitiveness exhibited concerning the matter of dependence. Contributions of money and provisions were flowing in upon the stricken people in such abundance it was feared that the knowledge of the excessive generosity might prove a drawback to exertion, and that the disposition to rely upon charity might be engendered. But this feeling speedily disappeared. Before the disaster was a week old the columns of the daily papers were teeming with announcements indicating that the calamity had produced no such effect as Buckle had assumed must necessarily result from seismic experiences. Instead of evidence of enervation there were exhibitions of virility, and every line breathed a sturdy determination to at once repair the injuries and restore the fortunes of the City. The subcommittees of the Committee of Fifty had not been given names which breathed the spirit of prevision merely to make a fine appearance in print; they were chosen advisedly, and were lived up to with energy, and promptitude. But while cooperation was accomplishing much, individual initiative was not lacking, and curiously enough, despite the effective organization of the citizens it mapped out the course which was successfully followed in reestablishing the industries of the City. The fire was still burning when sagacious business men began to seek places to establish themselves on Fillmore street. That thoroughfare had for some years maintained a number of small shops of the neighborhood variety. Before the close of the week several firms that had formerly done a prosperous business in the downtown district had secured quarters on this street, recognizing that for the time being it would be the center of activity. Their judgment was not misplaced. Fillmore street retained the preeminence it attained on the 19th of April, 1906, for nearly three years, and received such an impetus that it has since maintained its prestige as an important crosstown thoroughfare.

The meetings of the Committee of Fifty, which occurred daily in the main hall, were presided over by Eugene Schmitz, the mayor, and were remarkable in many particulars, but the dominant note of the deliberations was intense practicality. There was a wealth of suggestion, but it was unaccompanied by displays of the sort indulged in by visionaries. The gravity of the situation was not minimized, and there were no Utopian dreamers ready to proclaim that the impossible would be accomplished. It was recognized on every hand that the causes that had contributed to the growth of the City and its upbuilding still existed, and that by well directed efforts they could be made to do the work of rebuilding. The main committee was chiefly occupied with the latter problem; the subcommittees, and the host of volunteers, were ceaselessly busy in performing the tasks they had taken upon themselves: of feeding the hungry, attending to the injured and the sick, and housing the homeless, and wonders were performed. On the day following the shock Governor Pardee had declared Thursday, Friday and Saturday, the 19th, 20th and 21st of April, legal holidays, and on the concluding day of the three he proclaimed their continuation for 30 days beginning with the ensuing Monday. This device enabled the financial interests to deal with the difficult problem confronting them, and played an important part in the work of successfully adjusting the monetary affairs of the community. The insurance situation was in a measure cleared up by a statement of Commissioner Myron Wolf, which was published on Friday morning, April 20th, virtually to the effect that losses would be paid, the reasons assigned for his assurance were in the main those which subsequently obtained in the determination of contested and uncontested cases. On Saturday the postoffice resumed the delivery of mails, and was greatly assisted in its work by the registration bureau which had been established on Friday and became a clearing house for those who had temporarily ceased to have addresses. The postoffice, although through the energetic efforts of its employes it had been saved from destruction by fire, was in the heart of the burned district, and almost inaccessible because of the debris littered streets, and the absence of transit facilities, but the carriers managed to get out with their burdens which soon attained extraordinary proportions.

The resumption of communication with the outside world had an uplifting effect which can only be comprehended by those who had passed through the agony of deprivation. At no time was the City completely sundered from the rest of mankind, but during the days of the conflagration the ordinary facilities had all vanished, and others had to be hastily improvised. Intelligence of the disaster had been sent out, and there were terrible exaggerations for which there is no way of accounting. Even the conservative reports of the calamity which were meant to be reassuring were misleading, and statements were printed abroad which were purely imaginative. In the Parisian journals a graphic description of the engulfing of the City by a tidal wave was printed, and some of the stories in the Eastern press were only a degree less startling. The result of these exaggerations was a flood of telegrams dispatched by anxious relatives and friends to San Franciscans from all parts of the globe. The demands made upon the facilities of the telegraph companies overtaxed them, and their offices were loaded up with messages which had to be delivered by the slower process of the mail. The consequences were extremely distressing, as the failure to receive prompt replies conveyed the impression that the persons unheard from were victims of the calamity.

Activities of
the Commit-
tee of Fifty

Grossly
Exaggerated
Reports
Printed in
the East

Great Re-
joicing Over
Resumption
of Street
Car Travel

The most heartening occurrence of the week of the conflagration was the appearance on Fillmore street of the trolley cars of the United Railroads. This took place on Saturday evening and resulted in a demonstration rarely surpassed in earnestness. Along the entire line the first car was hailed with enthusiastic cheers which were an expression of the instinctive recognition that the two widely separated residential districts that had escaped the flames were now bound together. The resumption of passenger traffic was regarded as a harbinger of the swift resumption of travel on all the lines of the City, and the rejoicing was general. There was one discordant voice, however, and it professed to derive its inspiration from fear of possible evil results. Rudolph Spreckels in the Committee of Fifty endeavored to place obstacles in the way of immediate resumption of street car travel urging that there was danger in permitting the cars to run, as it was possible that the electricity employed as a motive power might start new fires. He offered no evidence to support his assumption that the poles and wires had not been properly looked after, while Thornwall Mullally, representing the United Railroads and a member of the Committee of Fifty, gave that body detailed assurances that every foot of the line had been carefully gone over, and that it was perfectly safe. The objections of Spreckels were regarded by many as not being wholly disinterested, the disagreement between the interest he represented and the United Railroads being known to most of those assembled and fresh in their minds.

Overhead
Trolley
Permitted on
Market Street

It is not improbable that the opposition to permitting the United Railroads to take prompt steps to rehabilitate its properties was due to knowledge of a step contemplated by Schmitz which he took on the succeeding Monday when he issued an announcement to the effect that the United Railroads would be permitted to operate its lines on Market street with the overhead trolley. It was doubtful whether those who heard of the intended action of the mayor gave much attention to its significance or interested themselves in the fact that it paved the way to the settlement of a controversy which had been a bitter one before the fire, but had by no means become one of the sort which induces the whole community to take sides. The papers had opposed the introduction of the trolley, some on esthetic grounds, and others because they assumed that the presence of overhead wires would increase the difficulties of dealing with fires. It was generally recognized, however, that the contention was largely due to the fact that there was a fight between two contending parties. The overhead trolley had been effectively used on other streets where it might fairly be claimed that the danger was greater than on Market street, and no evil results had followed. There were no dissensions as yet between the United Railroads and its employees, and trades union opinion was neutral. So on the whole, when Schmitz' announcement was made it was hailed with satisfaction because it promised to bring about a speedy accomplishment of a very desirable result, that of providing connection between the ferry depot and those portions of the City which had escaped the flames.

Popular
Approval of
Trolley
Permit

There was a hint of irregularity in the action of the mayor, and the subsequent scandal which the transaction occasioned was in a measure foreshadowed; but if public approbation of an improper course could be pleaded in condonation Schmitz would have to be dealt with leniently. Whether the people generally had an idea that there was a corrupt bargain involved in the transaction it would be impossible to state. To a certain extent every act of the administration was under suspicion



AL FRESCO KITCHEN, AFTER THE FIRE OF 1906

prior to April 18th, and the cynical were in the habit of observing that Ruef and Schmitz were not in office "for their health." But on this occasion those to whom their propensities were known were disposed to refrain from comment. The step taken was so evidently for the general good, and the desirability of securing the reestablishment of communication between all parts of the City was so obtrusively apparent, the possibility of "a hold up" did not suggest itself. The time was not yet ripe for protest. The people were too completely absorbed in the immediate present to review the past or contemplate the future. They had just received with equanimity an order which practically authorized the killing of a suspect on sight, and were not in a condition to properly consider questions of municipal government, or in fact to find fault with any movement which even remotely suggested an alleviation of the existing condition.

Much has been written about the summary dispensation with the regular forms of government during the Vigilante episode, but no departure made on that occasion can be compared with the expedients resorted to during a few days after April 18th to preserve the peace and protect property. The assumption of absolute authority by the mayor, and its delegation to others on the first day have been related, and the prompt participation of the military in the work of policing the City has been referred to earlier in this chapter. At no time despite the informality and overlapping of authority was there any clash. The inadequacy of the existing police force was tacitly recognized, and the aid of the regulars and citizens' auxiliary police was welcomed. There was some chafing over the strictness with which orders were enforced by the United States troops, but the people who were fortunate enough to have saved their homes quickly comprehended the reason for their enforcement, and with few exceptions complied with the rigorous requirements of no lights or fires which was maintained for several days. Man is an adaptive animal and soon learns to conform when the demand for obedience is imperative. The habit of going to bed in the dark was speedily acquired, and the transference of the operations of the kitchen to the street was accomplished without demur. This latter inconvenience was protracted longer than necessary, and had connected with it a scandal. Although the city officials had abandoned their authority without protest in the darkest hours of trouble, they speedily asserted themselves as soon as there was an approach to complete order, and one of their first acts was to establish an inspection bureau concerning whose inefficiency and worse there was much complaint. The regulation concerning fires was made necessary because of the uncertainty of the condition of the chimneys, many of which were shaken down and broken. It was charged that the inspection of chimneys was entrusted to men who immediately resumed the practices which the fire had temporarily interrupted, and that in order to secure expedition it was necessary to grease the palms of venal inspectors in addition to paying extortionate prices to masons for having repairs made.

These were minor troubles however, and are not to be compared with those endured by the great numbers who were forced to flee to the open places. These were soon provided with tents, but before all were thus sheltered a rain storm was experienced which produced a great deal of discomfort and created the fear that it might have an injurious effect on the general health. This apprehension was not realized, and owing to the strict enforcement of sanitary regulations, there was at no time during the enforced outdoor life of so large a part of the com-

Corrupt
Practices of
Chimney
Inspectors

Taking Care
of the Home-
less and
Feeding the
Hungry

munity any outbreak of disease calculated to alarm. The zeal of the medical fraternity, and their untiring exertions to impress upon the people the danger of carelessness, aided by the good sense of the people themselves, must be credited with this gratifying exemption. One of the greatest causes of fear was the failure of the water supply in many parts of the districts which escaped the flames. At no time was there a famine imminent; water for drinking and cooking purposes was available even in sections where the scarcity was greatest; but it became necessary to conserve the supply in the city reservoirs and this compelled the disuse of water closets and the bath. Domiciliary visits were made during a period after the order was given to refrain from their use, and it was found that there were few attempts at evasion. The water problem proved a more pressing one at first than that of provisioning the people suddenly cut off from their usual sources of maintenance. While the conflagration was still raging the thoughtful neighbor, and the outside world generally with a generosity and sympathy unparalleled in human history, were flooding the City with supplies of all kinds. The quantity and miscellaneous character of the contributions were so great, that the best possible judgment was required to effect their proper distribution, but the subcommittee in charge of this work was equal to its self-imposed task and executed its duties so efficiently that at no time was there any serious cause for dissatisfaction, and when any was expressed it was usually by those least entitled to complain.

Gathering
Historical
and Other
Data

Although the San Francisco morning papers promptly resumed their work of disseminating information the tangled ends of the disaster were slowly unraveled. On the second day of the fire the desirability of presenting an accurate record of a calamity which was regarded as unprecedented, was recognized by the creation of a committee to whom was relegated the duty of assembling authentic information with the view of embodying it in an historical narrative. Meantime the daily journals began the work in a desultory manner, but even an earthquake and a half billion dollar fire soon ceases to be an absorbing subject, and the work of assembling data and of making minute investigations was turned over to official and semi-official bodies. These latter gathered from many sources facts but vaguely understood and but little considered during the pressing period when the morrow was the main consideration. Few of the immediate observers of the tragic events realized the extent of the loss of life and damage to property. The wildest rumors circulated unchallenged during the first few days. These were all carefully sifted, and the facts ascertained whenever possible by examining credible witnesses. The inquiries developed that there had been gross exaggerations in almost every particular, and that the most of the alarming stories respecting criminal practices were figments of the imagination, and many of them of the sort which advertised their own falsity. From these examinations the people of San Francisco derived their knowledge of the full extent of the disaster and were enabled to revise their opinions which in many instances needed correction. The work of the United States geological survey was particularly useful as it tended to confirm the impression derived from superficial observation that no matter how severe an earthquake might visit the City, buildings could be constructed that would resist its effects, and that the real disaster was that which resulted from the inadequacy of the water system. The observations and inquiries of the

survey were supplemented by those of the citizens' committee, the latter devoting itself more especially to the statistical phases.

The area of the burned district was ascertained to be 2,593 acres representing 490 city blocks wholly, and 32 partly destroyed. In this great expanse of territory was embraced 314 acres of the congested district on which there was insurance to the amount of \$250,000,000, but the value of the property consumed was at least double that covered by insurance. The number of buildings burned according to the report of the subcommittee to the committee on reconstruction, was 28,188, of which 24,671 were wooden frame, 3,168 brick, classed as B and C, 259 of brick and wood, 42 class A fireproof, 15 stone and 33 corrugated iron. These figures were derived by the city engineer from a study of the real estate block books. He estimated the burned area to be 4.7 square miles, comprising 521 city blocks, within which, however, there were thirteen blocks saved. This differs from the statement of the underwriters, but the disparity is due to the latter counting groups of buildings as one. The figures of the subcommittee were finally recognized as correct. The destroyed buildings had been assessed prior to the fire at \$52,504,240, perhaps half their value. In addition to the structures coming under the notice of the assessor there were 39 churches and buildings classed as church property and unassessable; also municipal buildings and those used for library purposes, such as the Academy of Sciences, etc., which were also exempt from taxation. It is estimated that the stocks of goods and other contents of the buildings consumed must have been equal in value to the structures containing them.

Area of the
Burned
District

Within the burned district 13 blocks were saved. These contained 283 wooden, 13 brick class B and C, 4 brick and wood and 3 iron frame buildings. The notable escapes were masonry warehouses and wooden buildings on Telegraph Hill and at its base covering about 11 blocks bounded by Kearny, Lombard, Montgomery, Chestnut, the Seawall, Filbert, Sansome, Green and Montgomery and Filbert to Kearny. These were saved chiefly by means of water pumped by tugs from the bay, and by the pumps of the cold storage plant. Nearly two complete blocks on Russian hill were saved by using the water in a service reservoir and their comparative isolation. The United States custom house and the block immediately west were saved, and also three brick buildings on the north and one on the south side of the next block. The Montgomery block, one of the early buildings of the City, escaped, as did also the structures on the east side of Guerrero street near Ridley. The United States mint was saved by the aid of its well and pump, and the exertions of employees. The postoffice on Mission street escaped through like efforts. The mint and postoffice were stone structures and the latter was a modern building. They were, as is the practice of the government, separated from adjoining buildings by open spaces, a fact which contributed to their salvation. It was estimated by the citizens' committee that the fire front extended over a distance of 49,305 feet or 9.34 miles, and the following were ascertained to be the exterior boundaries of the burned area. "The water front of the bay from Townsend to Taylor street, thence obliquely and along intervening streets southwesterly to Van Ness avenue and Filbert; thence along Van Ness to Clay, along Clay to Franklin, along Franklin to Sutter, and thence to Van Ness, along Van Ness to Golden Gate to Fell, along Fell and Oak to Gough and Market, out Market, south side to Ridley, Ridley to Dolores, Dolores to Twen-

Notable
Escapes from
the Flames

tieth, Twentieth to Valencia, obliquely across blocks and streets to Howard and Eighteenth, along Howard to Fifteenth, obliquely across blocks and intervening streets to Bryant and Eighth, along Eighth to Townsend and thence to the bay." These far reaching boundaries as above stated represented a length on the land side described as the fire front, of 9.34 miles, and along the water front of 1.80 miles, or a total of 11.14 miles. The fact that there were 527 unburned buildings, of which 506 were wood, 18 brick, 1 stone, 1 adobe and 1 corrugated iron, immediately confronting the fire line is commented upon, and as bearing on the discussion of the value of wide streets it was pointed out that of the fire line frontage of 49,305 feet only 9,540 was on wide streets, and the remainder on the ordinary narrow streets, from which the inference was drawn that wide thoroughfares do not seriously impede the progress of a great conflagration. This committee made earnest efforts to discover the extent of loss of life resorting to every conceivable method to get accurate information. They found that the coroner's office was able to account for 315 killed, 6 shot for crime and 1 killed by mistake. The number reported missing or unaccounted for was 352. It is possible that this latter number embraces several who fled from the City and failed to acquaint their friends with the fact that they had escaped, while on the other hand it is not improbable that several persons may have perished through inability to escape from the flames, and whose disappearance because of their friendlessness or other causes was unnoted.

Investigation
Made by U. S.
Geological
Survey

The United States geological survey in a report made to congress described the origin of the earthquake "as wholly or chiefly in a new slipping on the plane of an old fault. The trend of this fault is NW. and SE., and it is known through a distance of several hundred miles. It has been traced from San Juan on the south to Point Arena on the north a distance of about 180 miles. Altogether it has a length of 300 possibly 400 miles. Nothing is known of its depth." The report recites that "a rupture of this sort may be a mere pulling apart of the rocks so as to make a crack, but examples of that sort are extremely rare. The majority of ruptures include not only the making of a crack, but the sliding of the masses on the two sides of the crack; that is to say instead of a mere fracture there is a geological fault. After a fault has been made its walls slowly become welded or cemented together; but for a long time it remains a place of weakness so that subsequent strains are apt to be relieved by renewed slipping on the same plane of rupture and many earthquakes may thus originate in the same place."

Facts
Familiar to
San
Franciscans

These geological facts are very generally understood by the people of San Francisco, and account for what seems to people who live in regions not affected by these natural phenomena an extraordinary fearlessness. But what seems a reckless disregard of danger is really the result of an intelligent appreciation of the situation and knowledge of the ease with which its more serious consequences can be guarded against. Lack of apprehension is also accounted for in part by observation of the fact that the rest of the world has drawbacks which more than offset any threatened by seismic disturbances. The number of deaths from cyclonic visitations in the Eastern states every year is much larger than the most severe earthquake of which we have knowledge in California has caused, and the value of property destroyed annually greatly exceeds that caused by the temblor of April 18, 1906, in San Francisco, the chief loss in that catastrophe being due to fire whose spread might have been arrested had the City been provided with

an adequate water system. In short, while it is impossible to ward off earthquakes in a fault region it is possible to guard against disastrous effects from their occurrence. Considerations of this sort have divested San Franciscans of fear. To them the earthquake seems a natural phenomenon to be guarded against as man guards against all possible or probable dangers, and by a process of comparison they have convinced themselves that their City, despite its spectacular experience is safer than any other on the globe. It has never experienced a destructive windstorm; it does not know the horrors of a blizzard; it absolutely escapes the decimating effects of extreme summer heat; lightning is a phenomenon so rare that years often pass without a flash being seen by its inhabitants and such a thing as a flood is unknown. As a matter of fact the inquiries of the geological survey and other scientists have absolutely determined that there is no natural visitation to which San Francisco is subject the evil consequences of which cannot be wholly averted, or at least reduced to a minimum; for their researches have shown that proper construction and adequate protection against fire will make the City practically immune to disaster.

Among the discoveries made by the investigators was the important fact that buildings can be made perfectly secure if they are constructed with a proper regard for safety. The postoffice and the Ferry building, although erected on ground peculiarly susceptible to earthquake shocks stood the ordeal because they were provided with good foundations. The only injury sustained by these structures was of the sort that can be easily overcome by a resort to methods which eschew gimcracks. The modern class A buildings, with steel frames, went through the disturbance so satisfactorily that no architect hesitates to advise a client to build as high as he cares to, or as his capital will permit; and there is no hesitation on the part of investors to follow this advice. A considerable part of the area of San Francisco is made ground, and there are other portions which may be described as alluvial soil. In these places, if proper precautions are taken in building, the effects of the wrenching which accompanies a shake due to a geological fault can be minimized to such an extent that the consequences will not be serious.

That the fire evil may be completely warded off there is little doubt. The tremendous destruction of April, 1906, was found to be due to disregard of a danger concerning which the company supplying water to the City was not wholly ignorant. The geological survey in making its investigations discovered that one of the principal sources of supply had been disabled by the shock through the faulty construction of its pipe line across the region of the fault, the existence of which was known to the officers of the company. The City was supplied "principally by gravity from three main distributing reservoirs, viz.: University Mound, College hill and Lake Honda; there were also two supplementary sources, Alameda creek on the east side of the bay and Lake Merced. University Mound reservoir had a capacity of 33,000,000 gallons and was supplied from Crystal Springs lake through seventeen miles of forty-four inch wrought iron pipe, carried for a considerable distance on trestles over the marshes. The Lake Honda reservoir with a capacity of 31,000,000 gallons was fed from Lake Pilarcitos through sixteen miles of conduit one and a half miles of which was wooden flume and the remainder cast iron and wrought iron pipe. Of the two supplementary supplies the water from Alameda creek was carried twenty-seven miles, crossing San Fran-

Building
to Guard
Against
Tremors

Water
Company
Neglects
Precautions

cisco bay through submarine pipes and thence passing through the Crystal Springs conduit to the City.

**Interruption
of the Water
Supply**

"On the San Bruno marsh the forty-four inch line to University Mound had been thrown off the trestle for a distance of 1,300 feet, and while the pipe was readily repaired the trestle had to be rebuilt because many of the timbers had rotted. Near Baden the line had been telescoped, and an eight-inch gate valve was sheared off. The reservoir was undamaged yet its three days' supply was rendered useless by the breaks in the cast iron distributing mains. . . . The principal breaks in the Pilarcitos conduit which was so badly damaged that the Spring Valley Water Company decided to abandon it were examined. This conduit had been located for convenience in one of the long narrow valleys and therefore along the line of the old fault. It was evident that it would have been futile to attempt to build this conduit strong enough to stand a slip on the fault line. The breaks in this thirty inch wrought iron pipe ranged from thirty inches to six feet in length. At other points it was twisted and telescoped beyond repair. . . . The San Andreas dam lies across the fault the crossing being about one hundred feet from the east end, and the dam showed a disturbance for more than 100 feet. . . . The concrete dam near San Mateo, at the lower end of Crystal Springs lake, parallel to the fault line, and a few hundred yards east of it was undamaged. This dam was built of large blocks of concrete thoroughly keyed together, and molded in place, each block containing 200 to 300 cubic feet. The dam is 680 feet long and 146 feet high. When completed it will be 170 feet high, 176 feet thick at base and 25 feet thick at the top. It is arched up stream to a radius of 637 feet."

**Geological
Survey Makes
Suggestions**

After reciting these facts the makers of the geological survey report concluded with these observations: "The water supply of San Francisco as compared with that of other cities is fairly good and had a rated capacity of \$6,000,000 gallons per day. The failure to control the fire by reason of the crippling of the water supply was not due to the failure of the system outside the City, but the breaks in the distributing mains within the City which rendered unavailable 80,000,000 gallons of water stored within the city limits. These breaks occurred wherever the pipes passed through soft or made ground. No breaks occurred where the cast iron pipe was laid in solid ground, or rock. It is evident that in earthquake countries water supply pipes, at least, should be so laid as to avoid the action of slips, settling and ground movements of all kinds. The pipe lines should also be arranged with gates and by passes making it possible to cut out any portion of the system which may be crippled. There should also be some means of preventing loss of water which is occasioned by breaks in the house service pipes." These suggestions have been acted upon in the construction of the high pressure system provided since the fire, and there is reasonable ground for the belief that no disturbance could occur which would seriously impair the supply of water for fire-fighting purposes. In describing the physical peculiarities of San Francisco the report dwells on the fact that many of the most important buildings in the City were built on made ground, among them the Union Ferry building, the post-office, the mint and the custom house. All of these escaped, and the inference is fairly drawn from the survey's conclusions that "weak and flimsy framing were the cause of most of the failures (of buildings) in San Francisco," and that "brick curtain walls of buildings well braced diagonally, brick walls reinforced with band

iron and well buttressed walls as in such old structures as the Palace hotel, Sailors Home, St. Mary's Hospital and the Synagogue Emanuel" successfully sustained the shock. In short the report virtually declared that honest and substantial methods of construction would give nearly perfect assurance against serious injury from future seismic troubles.

There were many valuable recommendations in the report suggested by the related experiences of sufferers. The dependence on safes was particularly referred to. The survey estimated that "over 80 per cent of the so called fireproof safes failed," and as a consequence many valuable records and much other property loss resulted. An ordinary safe proved of no value whatever. Those in office buildings with imposing iron doors were worse than any. Only brick vaults passed the test. Vaults whose walls were of hollow tiles furnished no protection against heat which reached 2,200° Fahrenheit. The financial institutions of the City were all provided with the old fashioned solidly constructed brick vaults, and those in charge of them profiting by the experience of Baltimore a year or two earlier, refrained from opening them until nearly the end of May, and then the greatest precautions were taken to ascertain whether there was any danger menacing the process. The care was not misspent. There were a few cases of the destruction of valuable documents resulting from inconsiderate haste, but none of the important institutions suffered in this regard. The general knowledge concerning the danger from premature opening of vaults, together with the prompt action of the governor in declaring legal holidays contributed greatly to the easy acquiescence of the people in the new financial conditions created. One of the most striking features of the disaster was the intelligent appreciation of the situation which exhibited itself in the perfect confidence of the people in the banks. Although they held hundreds of millions of the people's money and securities no uneasiness was betrayed at any time, and absolutely no adverse criticism of the methods adopted was heard and the capable were permitted to work out the problem of restoration unhampered. Thus it happened that an apparently desperate situation was met without serious embarrassment to the banks or their depositors.

Ordinary
Safes Prove
to be
Valueless

Despite all these exhibitions of confidence, fear and necessity resulted in a great exodus from the City. During the eight days following the earthquake the Southern Pacific transported out of San Francisco and Oakland by rail 216,000 people of whom nearly 100,000 were carried free. The superior organization of the company and the excellent discipline of its employes enabled it to get its trains in motion at an early hour. Although the city water supply was cut off, every water tank of the company for miles in every direction thrown down; and despite the fact that every switch had to be overhauled, and without the aid of telephone or telegraph, ferries were running as early as 7 o'clock on the morning of the 18th, and by noon the suburban trains were in motion. The day following the shock witnessed the greatest flight, 1,073 cars of refugees being moved out, and the exodus was nearly as great on the 20th and continued heavy until the 26th of the month. The fortunate escape of the city water front property made the Southern Pacific the most important factor in the work of relief. The entire facilities of the company were unstintingly placed at the service of the community. The refugees who fled to the transbay region were transported without charge, and thousands were furnished with passes to points within the state. Those who desired free transportation to Eastern states received it, and this liberal policy

The Exodus
from the
City

was continued until the army authorities and the mayor suggested the revocation of the order, after which the Red Cross Society assumed charge of the destitute. The company was equally generous in the matter of bringing supplies to those who elected to stay behind. It not only carried all the voluntarily contributed provisions and articles of all kinds sent to the City, but it promptly notified the people living along its lines of its readiness to help meet the urgent demand, and thus secured many donations. When the recording angel balances accounts he will doubtless make the credit much larger than the \$500,831, which represents the cost of relief transportation furnished by the Southern Pacific up to May 23, for the promptitude and intelligence displayed in extending aid was worth twenty times that amount to San Francisco in its great hour of need.

Fire Under
Control on
the Third
Day

The cessation of the fire on Friday ended the first act of what for a time seemed an irreparable tragedy, but it did not put a full period to the troubles of the City. They were numerous, but energy and the spirit of optimism surmounted and overcame them. Their recital is reserved for the chapter on the rehabilitation of the City, the accomplishment of which has proved as great a surprise to the confident who predicted the outcome, as to the pessimists who believed that the career of the Pacific coast metropolis was terminated by the disaster of April 18, 1906.

THE REHABILITATION PERIOD

1906-1912

CHAPTER LXIV

PROMPT INAUGURATION OF THE WORK OF REHABILITATION

FIRST SPECK OF THE GRAFT TROUBLES—SCHMITZ AS THE PRESIDING OFFICER OF THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE—ORDER PRESERVED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY—MARTIAL LAW NOT IN FORCE—A SUMMARY EXECUTION—GOOD SENSE DISPLAYED BY THE PEOPLE—WORK OF THE RELIEF COMMITTEE—EFFORTS TO RESUME TRADING—NEW BUSINESS CENTERS CREATED—RAPID GROWTH OF BUSINESS ON FILLMORE STREET—NEW SHOPPING DISTRICTS—VAN NESS AVENUE DEVOTED TO SHOPS—HASTILY CONSTRUCTED BUILDINGS—WAGES AND BUILDING MATERIALS HIGH—A SCENE OF HOPELESS CONFUSION—MAKING THE STREETS PASSABLE—STREETS DESTROYED BY THE FIRE—BACK TO OLD BUSINESS CENTER DOWN TOWN—PLANS OF BEAUTIFICATION DEFERRED—ACTIVE WORK BY UNITED RAILROADS—FITS OF PESSIMISM—EXHIBITIONS OF RIVALRY—FORTUNATE ESCAPE OF WATER FRONT PROPERTY—AMOUNT OF INSURANCE RECEIVED—BRISK BUSINESS—REFUGEE CAMPS—FINANCIAL EXPEDIENTS—ROBBER BAND RESUMES ITS SWAY.



ANY who read the sanguine prediction made by a morning paper while the fire was still smoldering, that in five years a greater city would rise in the place of that destroyed, doubtless regarded it as an empty boast. The thousands who fled and sought refuge in the trans-bay cities, and nearby places, and those who deserted and failed to return must have considered those who took the

Optimism
Asserts Itself

optimistic view as rank hypocrites; and perhaps some of those who stayed to assist in the work of rehabilitation, and joined in the chorus of determination which found expression in the five years' restoration prophecy may, at times, have felt that the wish dictated their utterances rather than a belief founded on a calm survey of all the obstacles to be overcome. Had they foreseen some of the latter they might have thrown up their hands in despair. Had it been possible to peer into the future and get a glimpse of what was to occur when temporarily dormant instincts revived, and the old disposition so often manifested, of pulling against each other instead of working together, would reassert itself, they might easily have reached the conclusion that the attempt to restore the City would be vain and would have abandoned it as a hopeless job.

First Speck
of the Graft
Troubles

But there were no premonitions of such troubles. The great disaster appeared to have brought the whole community together to work harmoniously for the restoration of their shattered fortunes. The only signs of divergent interests were those which exhibited themselves on the occasion when Rudolph Spreckels in the Com-

mittee of Fifty objected to the energy displayed by the United Railroads in promptly putting into operation its cross town line on Fillmore street. His opposition was based on the assumption that there was danger of starting fresh fires. The manager of the line assured the committee that it had thoroughly overhauled its wires and that there was no possibility of trouble occurring. The majority of the committee regarded Spreckels' objection as frivolous, and some attributed it to the friction between the interest he represented, and that of the outside capitalists who had obtained control of the street railway system of the City, but out of deference to the spirit of precaution begotten by the calamity, the running of the cars was suspended for a few hours.

Schmitz as
Presiding
Officer of
Committee
of Fifty

Whatever political feeling may have existed prior to the 18th of April appeared to have been completely obliterated by the fire. Although Eugene Schmitz as mayor had called the Committee of Fifty together, and presided at the subsequent meetings of the citizens' body there was something like a complete abdication of their functions by the constituted municipal authorities. The mayor was to all intents and purposes merely a member of the organization over whose deliberations he presided, and, while the question of authority was not raised, it seemed to be tacitly assumed that he was to perform a duty analogous to that of the vice-president of the United States when acting as president of the senate. He filled the requirements of the arduous position admirably. Ruef during the first few days took no obtrusive part, but appeared to be devoting himself to assembling the loose ends of the details of organization. Much of the time he was performing work of a purely executive character, in conjunction with Rufus P. Jennings, who had been chosen secretary of the Committee of Fifty, and who had brought to his position those precise habits which do so much to bring order out of confusion. As for the supervisors, they were a negligible quantity, and were not heard of to any purpose, either in their official or private capacities until the Committee of Fifty had straightened out matters, and cleared the way for the exercise of their functions.

Order
Preserved
Without
Difficulty

At no time during the period in which the military in conjunction with the Committee of Fifty took over the affairs of the City was there any formal suspension of the civil law. Despite the few incidents which occurred and which might be quoted to refute the assertion, there was a marvelous exhibition of orderliness and acquiescence in the arrangements made for the preservation of peace and the general welfare of the community. Although the question was subsequently raised whether the City was under martial law, no one at the time questioned or resented the presence of the regulars, or doubted that the orders given and strictly enforced, were for the common good. The auxiliary police force, which patrolled the various districts of the City also exercised the authority conferred upon it without challenge. There were a few cases of insubordination, and one or two in which the outcome was disastrous, but on the whole, considering the fact that before the fire the City was supposed to be harboring a large number of men who represented the extreme ideas of the syndicalists, there was a remarkable degree of that sort of orderliness which can only be secured by unquestioning acceptance of the assumption that the exercise of authority and the necessity of regulation are imperative if chaos is to be avoided.

Martial Law
Not in Force

In a decision rendered in a case growing out of the lamentable killing of Herbert Tilden, a member of the Committee of Fifty, who had taken up the work of relief with great zeal, Judge Cook clearly indicated the existing condition so far



mittee of Fifty objected to the energy displayed by the United Railroads in promptly putting into operation its cross town line on Fillmore street. His opposition was based on the assumption that there was danger of starting fresh fires. The manager of the line assured the committee that it had thoroughly overhauled its wires and that there was no possibility of trouble occurring. The majority of the committee regarded Spreckels' objection as frivolous, and some attributed it to the friction between the interest he represented, and that of the outside capitalists who had obtained control of the street railway system of the City, but out of deference to the spirit of precaution begotten by the calamity, the running of the cars was suspended for a few hours.

Schmitz as
Presiding
Officer of
Committee
of Fifty

Whatever political feeling may have existed prior to the 18th of April appeared to have been completely obliterated by the fire. Although Eugene Schmitz as mayor had called the Committee of Fifty together, and presided at the subsequent meetings of the citizens' body there was something like a complete abdication of their functions by the constituted municipal authorities. The mayor was to all intents and purposes merely a member of the organization over whose deliberations he presided, and, while the question of authority was not raised, it seemed to be tacitly assumed that he was to perform a duty analogous to that of the vice-president of the United States when acting as president of the senate. He filled the requirements of the arduous position admirably. Ruef during the first few days took no obtrusive part, but appeared to be devoting himself to assembling the loose ends of the details of organization. Much of the time he was performing work of a purely executive character, in conjunction with Rufus P. Jennings, who had been chosen secretary of the Committee of Fifty, and who had brought to his position those precise habits which do so much to bring order out of confusion. As for the supervisors, they were a negligible quantity, and were not heard of to any purpose, either in their official or private capacities until the Committee of Fifty had straightened out matters, and cleared the way for the exercise of their functions.

Order
Preserved
Without
Difficulty

At no time during the period in which the military in conjunction with the Committee of Fifty took over the affairs of the City was there any formal suspension of the civil law. Despite the few incidents which occurred and which might be quoted to refute the assertion, there was a marvelous exhibition of orderliness and acquiescence in the arrangements made for the preservation of peace and the general welfare of the community. Although the question was subsequently raised whether the City was under martial law, no one at the time questioned or resented the presence of the regulars, or doubted that the orders given and strictly enforced, were for the common good. The auxiliary police force, which patrolled the various districts of the City also exercised the authority conferred upon it without challenge. There were a few cases of insubordination, and one or two in which the outcome was disastrous, but on the whole, considering the fact that before the fire the City was supposed to be harboring a large number of men who represented the extreme ideas of the syndicalists, there was a remarkable degree of that sort of orderliness which can only be secured by unquestioning acceptance of the assumption that the exercise of authority and the necessity of regulation are imperative if chaos is to be avoided.

Martial Law
Not in Force

In a decision rendered in a case growing out of the lamentable killing of Herbert Tilden, a member of the Committee of Fifty, who had taken up the work of relief with great zeal, Judge Cook clearly indicated the existing condition so far



Copyright, 1911, by E. J. Waters & Co.

THE RECONSTRUCTED CITY IN 1911, FIVE YEARS AFTER THE FIRE



as the operation of the law was concerned. Tilden, in the first hours of the calamity had devoted himself to the general welfare. In order to diminish his concern for his family he took advantage of a brief respite to remove his wife and children to San Mateo county. He returned to the City in an automobile which carried the flag of the Red Cross Relief Society. A citizen patrol hailed him as his machine rushed by 24th and Guerrero streets, and he shouted back "Red Cross." At 22d street he was again hailed but sped on, and one of the party hailing him discharged a revolver, the shot taking effect and mortally wounding Tilden, who died almost instantly. It appears that the citizen police and the regulars had been ordered to prevent any one entering the City, and the order was obeyed in this instance with fatal effect. At the trial of the man accused of killing Tilden one of the citizen police testified that he was under the impression that martial law had been declared. On this point Judge Cook in admonishing the jury said: "I charge you as a matter of law that at the time in question martial law did not prevail. The state law was supreme and mere proclamations could not make laws. No soldier or police had any right to stop citizens without legal cause, and ignorance of the law is no excuse." But he further charged that "the penal code expressly excepts from among persons capable of committing crime, those who commit an act or omission under a mistake of fact that disproves criminal intent." The jury after a moment's deliberation acquitted the accused man.

There were two or three other cases in which the belief in the existence of martial law was pleaded in justification of acts of violence. Two of these were the outcome of quarrels about the exercise of authority, and were not particularly significant or interesting. But the charge brought against Ernest Denicke who shot and killed an unknown man whose body was thrown into the bay developed facts illustrative of the conditions prevailing on the first day of the disaster. Denicke was a graduate of the state university and a retired captain of the National Guard. Recognizing the importance of the preservation of order the young man immediately after the shock donned his uniform with the view of assembling some of his comrades. While pursuing this purpose he saw a man carrying off some chickens. Supposing that the man was stealing them he ordered him to put them down, which he did. On the trial it was testified that Denicke directed a sailor to prod up the supposed thief with his bayonet, but the man grappled with him and wrenched the rifle from his hands, whereupon Denicke fired several shots, killing the unknown. The body was subsequently recovered from the bay and Denicke was tried and acquitted by a jury. One of the singular developments of the case was the disclosure of the fact that the chickens had been given away. The owner of a consignment imagining that they would be lost had opened the coops and told the bystanders to help themselves.

These isolated cases formed the exception to the general acceptance of the conditions so suddenly created. It may seem remarkable that such should have been the case but it is nevertheless true that during the period when the City may be said to have been without law, and while it was acting under proclamations which the courts subsequently declared had no legal force, the disposition to evade was reduced to a minimum. There seemed to be an instinctive appreciation of the fact that common sense was dictating many of the requirements which at another time would have been denounced as arbitrary and unreasonable. Thus it happened that orders issued from military headquarters and by the citizens' committee which

A Summary
Execution

Good Sense
Displayed by
the People

often reached the people in the form of mere rumors were promptly obeyed. Some singular illustrations of this disposition were furnished on the second day of the fire. Nearly all the householders in certain districts who had not deserted their homes, were told that an order had been given to open windows, so that the glass would not be destroyed by the concussions of the dynamite exploded to arrest the progress of the flames. They acted with a promptitude that could not have been secured under other circumstances. In like manner the order when passed that no fires should be lighted in stoves until chimneys had been inspected was scrupulously heeded even by housekeepers who did their cooking with gas. The necessity of conserving the water supply was appreciated and hardly needed the repeated adjurations of the sub-committee in charge of the sanitary part of the work of rehabilitation. The enforced disuse of the conveniences of the toilet was acquiesced in, and an astonishing acquaintance was suddenly developed with the properties of disinfectants which were profusely used before they were publicly dispensed. Many druggists sold every ounce of material that could serve the purpose, and the opinion was expressed that the intelligent application of precautionary measures explained the immunity from disease enjoyed by the people suddenly liable to numerous dangers from exposure and the sudden deprivation of conveniences to which the inhabitants of a city with modern improvements became habituated.

Work of the
Relief
Committee

One of the features of the first few days after the fire was the compulsory outdoor life imposed on a large part of the community. Golden Gate park and numerous squares were filled with refugees who were provided as rapidly as possible with tents and other sheltering devices. In a very short time these little communities within a community were effectively organized for sanitary and other purposes. The large quantities of supplies of food, bedding and household articles which were poured into the afflicted City soon relieved all apprehension of famine or excessive discomfort, and it was not long before the fear arose that mischief might result from the creation of habits of dependence. But this apprehension was groundless, the very fact that it suggested itself giving ample assurance that precautions would be taken to prevent its occurring. While the articles contributed so generously were dispensed in the spirit that the donors meant they should be the relief committee, whose duties were by far the most arduous of those voluntarily assumed by members of the Committee of Fifty, exercised care to guard against abuse.

Outdoor
Kitchens
After the Fire

The outdoor life imposed on those rendered homeless by the fire was to some extent shared by those whose homes had been saved from the flames. The order respecting the disuse of chimneys compelled the transference of cooking operations to the street, usually the edge of the sidewalk. Here temporary fireplaces were built, and not infrequently attempts were made to provide shelter for the cooks. Fortunately the elements were propitious, only one rain storm of consequence occurring to add to the discomfort. This *al fresco* life endured for only a brief period, and was patiently borne by those on whom it was imposed, and caused less protest than the rigid enforcement of the rule respecting the use of lights within houses. In some cases, owing to the lack of discretion accorded to sentries, real hardships resulted, the plea of sickness often proving unavailing. It is surprising that there should have been any feeling of discontent engendered by these minor discomforts in view of the extraordinary peril through which the people had passed, but it was a healthy sign, and to the observant indicated that there was no

often reached the people in the form of mere rumors were promptly obeyed. Some singular illustrations of this disposition were furnished on the second day of the fire. Nearly all the householders in certain districts who had not deserted their homes, were told that an order had been given to open windows, so that the glass would not be destroyed by the concussions of the dynamite exploded to arrest the progress of the flames. They acted with a promptitude that could not have been secured under other circumstances. In like manner the order when passed that no fires should be lighted in stoves until chimneys had been inspected was scrupulously heeded even by housekeepers who did their cooking with gas. The necessity of conserving the water supply was appreciated and hardly needed the repeated adjurations of the sub-committee in charge of the sanitary part of the work of rehabilitation. The enforced disuse of the conveniences of the toilet was acquiesced in, and an astonishing acquaintance was suddenly developed with the properties of disinfectants which were profusely used before they were publicly dispensed. Many druggists sold every ounce of material that could serve the purpose, and the opinion was expressed that the intelligent application of precautionary measures explained the immunity from disease enjoyed by the people suddenly liable to numerous dangers from exposure and the sudden deprivation of conveniences to which the inhabitants of a city with modern improvements became habituated.

Work of the
Relief
Committee

One of the features of the first few days after the fire was the compulsory outdoor life imposed on a large part of the community. Golden Gate park and numerous squares were filled with refugees who were provided as rapidly as possible with tents and other sheltering devices. In a very short time these little communities within a community were effectively organized for sanitary and other purposes. The large quantities of supplies of food, bedding and household articles which were poured into the afflicted City soon relieved all apprehension of famine or excessive discomfort, and it was not long before the fear arose that mischief might result from the creation of habits of dependence. But this apprehension was groundless, the very fact that it suggested itself giving ample assurance that precautions would be taken to prevent its occurring. While the articles contributed so generously were dispensed in the spirit that the donors meant they should be the relief committee, whose duties were by far the most arduous of those voluntarily assumed by members of the Committee of Fifty, exercised care to guard against abuse.

Outdoor
Kitchens
After the Fire

The outdoor life imposed on those rendered homeless by the fire was to some extent shared by those whose homes had been saved from the flames. The order respecting the disuse of chimneys compelled the transference of cooking operations to the street, usually the edge of the sidewalk. Here temporary fireplaces were built, and not infrequently attempts were made to provide shelter for the cooks. Fortunately the elements were propitious, only one rain storm of consequence occurring to add to the discomfort. This *al fresco* life endured for only a brief period, and was patiently borne by those on whom it was imposed, and caused less protest than the rigid enforcement of the rule respecting the use of lights within houses. In some cases, owing to the lack of discretion accorded to sentries, real hardships resulted, the plea of sickness often proving unavailing. It is surprising that there should have been any feeling of discontent engendered by these minor discomforts in view of the extraordinary peril through which the people had passed, but it was a healthy sign, and to the observant indicated that there was no



paralysis of endeavor, and that the most of those who showed restlessness were under the influence of the desire to get the City back to its normal condition at once. Had this uneasy spirit not manifested itself there must have been a different story to tell, perhaps one similar to that of unfortunate Messina which two or three years after its disaster had hardly made an effort to clear away its ruins.

That San Franciscans failed to furnish an example of acquiescence in results was wholly due to the proprietary feeling. Had not self interest prompted the owners of property to devote themselves to the work of repairing their dissipated fortunes, the City must have experienced the fate which many other centers of population underwent. It is not probable that any calamity could utterly discourage the use of a harbor as favorably situated as that of San Francisco for the purposes of commerce, but there is no doubt that adversity, if accepted in the spirit of resignation, can effectually retard growth and postpone achievement for years. But this disposition did not exist in San Francisco. While the sub-committee assigned to the work of relief in conjunction with the Red Cross Society devoted itself to satisfying the pressing needs of the moment, an equally important body was surveying the situation, and taking steps to bring about the restoration of the City. The committee to whom this task was entrusted were men of affairs and went about their work in a business-like manner. They took an account of stock, roughly estimated the loss incurred and considered their resources and instinctively acted on the economic proposition that wealth is the product of energy, and that the form it must take in a commercial community is trade and they at once devoted themselves to its restoration.

As already stated the fire was practically arrested at Van Ness avenue, leaving the major part of the residential district west of that thoroughfare undisturbed. There was also a large unburned area in the Mission district. In the latter a considerable neighborhood trade had been transacted before the conflagration, and the principal street was provided with shops of a varied character. These at once began to extend their operations, and for a time it appeared as if the Mission might become the most important retail district in the rehabilitated City. The Western Addition had two streets, Fillmore and Divisadero, upon which commerce in a small way had been developed, and which at some future day promised to become important crosstown thoroughfares, but at the time of the fire they were vegetating. Both of these streets were traversed by trolley lines of the United Railroads which were speedily put in operation after the disaster. The circumstance that the Committee of Fifty in its last flight from the encroaching flames took refuge in a hall on Fillmore street, determined the course of business and brought that street a prominence which it has, in a measure, since maintained. The fire broke out on Wednesday morning and raged throughout that and the two succeeding days. On Saturday men whose establishments in the old business center had been destroyed were already seeking quarters on Fillmore street. There is a record of at least one acquisition of a lease on that day by a concern whose manager recognized that for a time the crosstown thoroughfare would be a business street of importance.

This action was followed during the ensuing week by other former downtown merchants, and in an incredibly brief space of time the work of transforming the cramped stores into larger establishments was under full headway. In some instances the change merely consisted in a readaptation, but in a few cases one story

Efforts to
Resume
Trading

New Busi-
ness Centers
Created

Plate Glass
Effects a
Transformation

structures were hastily run up, which a little later were followed by more pretentious structures. Some one has been at pains to assign names to the various periods in the evolution of civilization. We have had a stone, a bronze, and an iron age, but no one has seen fit as yet to comment on the wonderful part played by glass in modern times. Its use has developed so slowly that the uncritical person is apt to underrate its importance in modern domestic economy. The least observant San Franciscan, however, could not have failed to note the transformation effected by the resort to plate glass on Fillmore street. Its stores had formerly been provided with show windows with moderate sized panes of glass; the new occupants put in ambitious plates as large as those of the stores from which they had been driven, and behind them made effective displays of their wares which gave the street a business like aspect, it had not previously possessed.

Rapid Growth
of Business
on Fillmore
Street

The rapid development of Fillmore street appeared to some to have definitely settled the location of the new business center, but there was a well defined opinion, which soon found expression, that Nature had marked out the burned district as the proper place for the conduct of important commercial operations. It was pointed out that it was to its harbor San Francisco owed its growth, and that the same causes which had induced men to show their appreciation of propinquity to the water front in the past would again assert themselves. The bay was still in its old place, and the wharves and their facilities for handling commerce, had escaped destruction; and opposite the City, on the transbay shores, were several hundred thousand people who were as much a part of the metropolis as though they were included in the political subdivision known as the City and County of San Francisco. The centripetal tendencies of business, and the centrifugal movement of population, responding to improved transportation facilities were clearly distinguished by the discerning, and by those whose fortunes were bound up with those of the burned section, and who still owned the land even if the buildings upon them which gave them their rental value were destroyed. It is doubtful whether plans were made to bring about the result which has to be noted after six years rehabilitating work. It would probably be nearer the truth to say that the economic phases of the redistribution of business and population were worked out unconsciously, and in response to an inexorable law. It is certain that the movement which made Fillmore street for a time the center of activity was due to opportunism, and not to the belief that it was the best place for carrying on business. An extraordinary occurrence had suddenly made a hitherto neglected thoroughfare available for the purposes of commerce. The bustle and activity which followed the establishment of new stores brought the purveyors of conveniences and amusements to the front, and very soon there was created a district in which all the features of downtown day and night life were reproduced. Theaters were built on the lateral streets, and the blocks on either side of Fillmore between Post and Golden Gate avenue were filled with more or less pretentious restaurants, while for a time the leading after theater resort was on the corner of Eddy and Fillmore. The Orpheum management and the Alcazar people promptly erected houses more nearly absolutely fireproof than any hitherto constructed in San Francisco and numerous minor places of amusement were provided.

New Shopping
District
Created

The substantial character of these improvements may suggest that the community had settled down to the conviction that the new center was fixed, but this is disputed by the fact that the people of the Mission were imbued with the idea,



DOCKS SOUTH OF THE FERRY BUILDING

and were energetically endeavoring to give it effect, that their section of the City was to be the future great retail shopping district. They, too, or rather individuals taking that point of view, began branching out. An epidemic of plate glass transformations ensued and the stores assumed an air formerly absent. A substantial theater was built on Valencia street, restaurants multiplied, and the appearance and character of the district was vastly changed. Meanwhile, however, another movement was in progress which suggested the desire on the part of merchants to establish themselves as near as possible to the former retail center, but which was really as much prompted by mere expediency as the temporary acceptance of Fillmore street. Recognizing the desirability of procuring locations which would bring together some of the leading firms that had failed to establish themselves on Fillmore street a meeting was held which had for its outcome the determination to make Van Ness avenue the fashionable shopping center. This was not accomplished with the same celerity as the transformation of Fillmore street. The eastern side of the avenue had been swept by the flames but the western had escaped, only one or two houses being destroyed in the northern part on that side. The surviving structures were not well adapted to conversion into stores, and many of them were removed to make way for more suitable buildings which were hurriedly erected and were wholly constructed of wood. In some cases fronts were added to buildings which had formerly stood back of green lawns. A few spacious residences were utilized in this fashion. In a brief period, both sides of the avenue, from Washington on the north to McAllister on the south, were lined with stores, many of them with a pretentious array of display windows. These stores were occupied by firms whose names were well known to the community, and were well stocked with goods of as varied and costly a nature as were offered to their patrons before the conflagration. It hardly needs to be added that Van Ness avenue promptly took rank as the leading thoroughfare and became the fashionable promenade.

There were peculiarities, however, which impressed themselves upon the observer as indicative of the makeshift character of the new business thoroughfare. A glance up and down the avenue which did not take into account the show windows suggested the main street of a seaside resort rather than the principal retail street of a big city. Strangers familiar with Atlantic City promptly noted the fact that the modern buildings and the liberal display of bunting reminded one of the board walk of the New Jersey watering place. There was an air of unsubstantiality which made it easy for the visitor to accept the statement that like the prophet's gourd it had sprung up in a night. But although its ephemeral character advertised itself there were some who, misled by the remarkable business activity which the liberal expenditure for reconstruction brought about thought that Van Ness avenue could, by the decision of the more prominent merchants, be fixed as the important retail thoroughfare of the City, and proposals were actually made which had for their object the accomplishment of that purpose. But there were some who saw that economic laws could not be defied with impunity, and they pointed out that while those agreeing to remain permanently on Van Ness avenue might adhere to a resolution of that sort, there was nothing to prevent the occupation of the old positions of vantage by others who believed that the section which developed naturally before the conflagration was the logical business center and that it could not be departed from with safety.

Van Ness
Avenue
Devoted to
Shops

Business
Transacted in
Private
Residences

The financial and cognate interests moved with less celerity in the matter of relocating themselves. For several months after the disaster banks, insurance companies, agencies, corporation offices and similar institutions were widely scattered, many of them securing quarters in commodious residences which had escaped the fire. In many instances the parlors or drawing rooms of the homes of men connected with important concerns were converted into offices. Lawyers saw their clients in rooms in which the surroundings were more suggestive of domestic life than of business. The more important social clubs maintained their organizations and moved into private residences and occupied them until they were able to erect new buildings in which to house their membership. The necessity of providing quarters for the suddenly ousted resulted in an increase in the rents charged for desirable places, and many owners of fine private residences, tempted by the offers made to them, abandoned their homes and found their way to the transbay region or to the suburban places on the peninsula.

Hastily
Constructed
Buildings

The first evidences of activity after the fire were those presented by the eager desire of the merchants to reestablish themselves. For a time all the available labor was employed in the remodeling of old structures and the erection of new buildings, many of them little better than shacks. The most of the latter were put up outside of the fire limits, but the restriction in this regard was temporarily relaxed, although a provision of the charter absolutely prohibited any contraction of the prescribed boundaries. Many buildings were erected with the understanding that they would be torn down or removed upon the demand of the supervisors. In this particular the example of Chicago was disregarded, it being the best judgment of the committee that the work of rehabilitation would be more easily accomplished by according the utmost freedom of action, it being assumed that owners of property generally would, as speedily as their resources permitted, put up substantial buildings in the place of those hastily erected for temporary use. This expectation was in a measure disappointed by the avarice of some landlords who would have maintained the flimsily constructed shacks indefinitely without regard to the fact that they were a menace to neighboring property, had not the high rates of insurance compelled storekeepers to seek quarters in buildings less liable to destruction by fire.

Wages and
Building
Material
High

The great eagerness of merchants and other business men to reestablish themselves and to restore their properties soon brought about a labor condition almost unique. The artisans and nearly all the toilers of San Francisco were highly organized at the time of the disaster, but the extraordinary rise in the wage scale which marked the first two or three years following the conflagration was not due to any action taken by these bodies. It was solely responsive to the extraordinary demand, which, for a brief period, recognized no prohibitory price. This statement applies equally to material, the advance of both making the cost of construction very heavy. In many instances the expenditures for building purposes were swollen by a resort to night work for which a much higher compensation was demanded by the workers. During this period the high wages earned by the workers were freely expended. The necessity imposed upon a large number of reproducing themselves with household articles and clothing made the volume of trade large, and the merchants were enabled to recoup themselves for their excessive outlays by charging high prices for the goods they sold.



PUBLIC EXHIBITION OF THE TWO CITY FIREBOATS "SCANNELL" AND "SULLIVAN"



UNITED STATES NAVAL TRAINING STATION, YERBA BUENA ISLAND, SAN FRANCISCO HARBOR

It is interesting to note, as it bears directly on the high cost of living problem, which, however, was not being discussed at the time, although the prices of all necessities were much higher in San Francisco than later when the subject became a burning one, that the demand was by no means confined to useful articles. For three or four months after the fire there was something like an approach to the simple life. Men affected khaki, wore strong boots and putties, and discarded "boiled shirts" and white collars, and their wives and sisters showed a disposition to eschew the vanities of dress. In the case of the males who had to penetrate the burned district some such course was necessary, for the dirt and dust were excessive. But this condition endured for a very short time and while it lasted was not supposed by any one to represent any serious departure from the normal habits of the community, for concurrently with the rather ostentatious display of sober raiment there was an astonishing demand for articles of luxury to replace those destroyed, and to satisfy the requirements of those whose new found prosperity, due to high wages, caused them to crave many things hitherto denied them.

Luxuries in
Great
Demand

The energy of the merchants which brought about these results was almost wholly exerted on the edge of the burned district, and in those quarters which had escaped the flames. At the same time another set of rehabilitators were at work in a region where herculean efforts were required, the exertion of which made its impress slowly. No pen can describe the scene of hopeless confusion presented by the debris of the nearly five hundred blocks of destroyed buildings. Nearly every street was rendered impassable by the falling ruins, and many standing walls menaced the passersby. The archaeologist who visited San Francisco in the days immediately following the fire would promptly have noted the interesting fact that the experiences of antiquity could not be repeated on the site of the City. The use of iron and steel as building materials made it impossible to resort to the ancient expedient of leveling and building over the ruins. The tangled masses of twisted beams presented an insuperable obstacle to any hasty job. The only practicable course was to clear away and clean up the premises. It was a disheartening outlook and required a powerful imagination to picture the jumble as cleared away, and the City once more in habitable shape.

A Scene of
Hopeless
Confusion

The first efforts were directed towards making the streets passable. For a few days the travel through the burned district was all in the direction of the ferries. During the first eight days following April 18th the Southern Pacific "handled out of San Francisco and Oakland by rail 216,000 people." During this interval few were permitted to enter the City, only those whose errand was one of helpfulness being permitted entrance. But the tide soon turned and the necessity of making ingress easy asserted itself. Market street in its lower blocks was impassable for vehicles, and in order to reach Fillmore street a detour by way of Mission was necessary. The debris on this thoroughfare was cleared sufficiently in a few days to permit the careful chauffeur to traverse it safely. This result was accomplished by voluntary effort helped out by a system of impressment. For some days it was expedient for those who did not care to wield a pick or use a shovel to avoid the thoroughfare, for commandeering was relentlessly pursued. It is stated, however, that the impressed in nearly every instance accepted the tasks imposed on them good humoredly, and that not a few made a first acquaintance with manual toil as street laborers.

Making
Streets
Passable

Iron and
Steel in the
Ruins

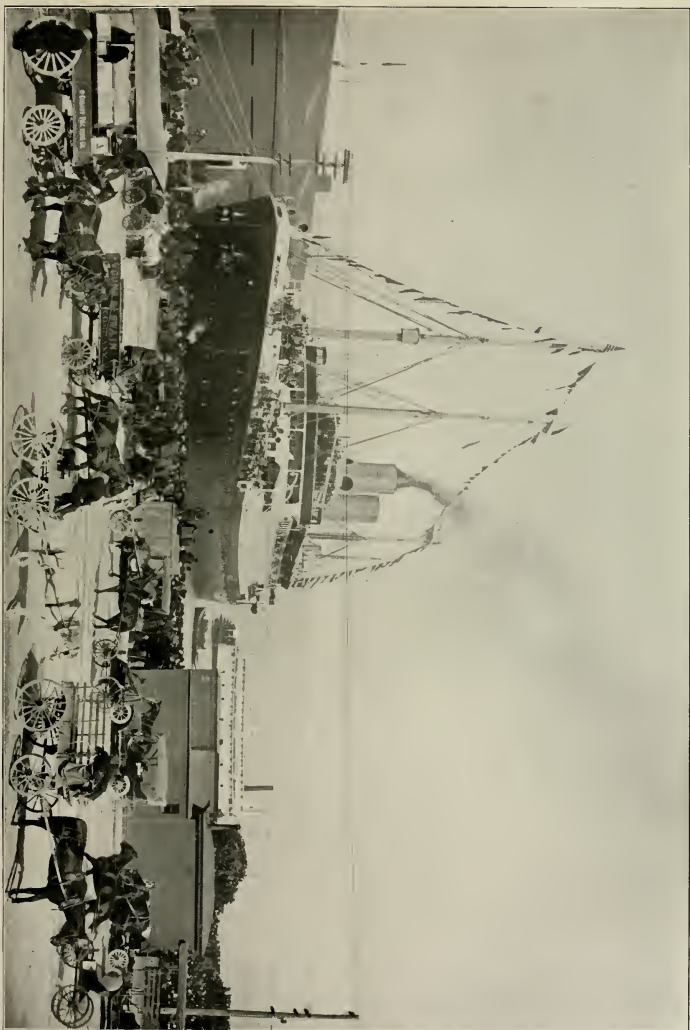
The vast quantity of iron and steel employed in the construction of buildings known as classes B and C, which apparently made the work of cleaning up difficult, eventually assisted in the solution of the problem. Iron and steel have a salvage value and very soon that left in the ruins was actively sought, as were also the bricks which were to be obtained from the fallen walls, and those still standing. It was soon seen that the individual owners would easily manage their part of the cleaning up work, but the miles of badly littered streets had to be cared for by the community. This was accomplished largely by the assistance of the Southern Pacific which constructed temporary tracks for the purpose of hauling away the debris which was collected at certain points and moved to the flats south of the residence section which had been used as dumps for several years. The enormous quantity of debris transferred to this territory materially promoted a movement that had long been in progress, and permitted that part of the City to improve more rapidly than it had during many previous years.

Pavements
Destroyed by
the Fire

The act of clearing away the debris from the streets revealed the fact that the most of those within the burned district had been destroyed. They represented a loss of many millions to the community, and have necessitated the expenditure of extraordinary sums for their reparation or reconstruction. The intense heat of the conflagration spalled the granite curbing in general use throughout the City, and the falling walls destroyed the roadways. The basalt block and the bituminous rock pavements suffered equally, and it was promptly perceived that great amounts would have to be expended in order to restore them and the ruined sidewalks to the condition they were in before the disaster. Under the charter the restoration of the roadway became a charge on the municipality, but the expense of replacing the sidewalks fell upon the individual owner.

Back to the
Old Business
Center

The property owners of San Francisco did not have to await the report of the geological survey to make up their minds that the class of buildings designated as A, and commonly regarded as fireproof had fulfilled all reasonable expectations. Nothing inflammable could have withstood the enormous heat of the conflagration which was supposed to have attained 2,700° Fahrenheit, but while the contents and trimmings of such buildings were destroyed by the flames, it was promptly ascertained that the steel frames had withstood the wrenching to which they had been subjected, and that the work of restoring them could be easily accomplished. It was probably owing to the fact that these buildings, standing like an oasis in a waste of ruins, could be rehabilitated that the idea of back to the old location crystallized and prevented the doubtful experiment of attempting to establish new business centers. But while this arrestment was easily effected at one time there was threatened a movement which had it been permitted to gain headway must have greatly retarded the process of rehabilitation. The disaster had in no wise extinguished the desire for the city beautiful which had been given a vague form by the publication of the Burnham plans, and some of his suggestions were revived at an inopportune moment. It was proposed to widen Montgomery and Geary streets and to cut through several avenues which radiating from a common center would overcome some of the inconveniences occasioned by the adoption of the rectangular street scheme by the pioneers. No one contended that the proposed changes would not prove very beneficial if made, but the impracticability of the proposition was recognized by those upon whom the restoration of the City mainly depended. It was seen that opposition would be made by individuals and that under



AROUND THE WORLD STEAMER "CLEVELAND" AT A SAN FRANCISCO WHARF

the existing laws obstacles could be interposed which might effectually chill enterprise and perhaps indefinitely retard rehabilitation.

It was contended by the hard headed element in the community that the chief object should be to make the City habitable at the earliest possible moment, and that energy should not be wasted in building for the future. That for the present, at least, considerations of beauty and luxury should be laid aside, and that all efforts should be concentrated on bringing about a condition which would enable the port to regain its commercial importance. The experience of London after its great fire was cited and it was pointed out that although Sir Christopher Wren made elaborate plans which would have done away with the most of the narrow courts and thoroughfares of the capital, it was more than two centuries before an attempt was made to carry out its main features, and then only when the city felt wealthy enough to accomplish the desired result. The Haussmanizing of Paris was also instanced, and it was urged that it is far more economical for a city to provide itself with certain features when population and wealth attain large proportions, than to attempt to make provision for them in its infancy. In other words it was cheaper for the French capital to buy houses, destroy them and create boulevards when needed than to anticipate their need many years in advance.

These latter views prevailed, and as soon as it was perceived that no visionary plans would be forced on the community men owning property in the downtown districts began to figure on improvements. In those cases in which the steel frames had survived, steps were promptly taken to restore them. Careful examination had developed that they had suffered no injury other than that inflicted by the fire, and in a very brief period work was in progress upon several of the more important of this class of buildings. Among the earliest of these structures thus restored was the building now occupied by the French bank on Sutter street between Kearny and Montgomery, and the Chronicle's seventeen story annex on Kearny street. The latter was in process of construction and nearly ready to be occupied when the disaster occurred, but the fire had destroyed all the interior woodwork and calcined the marble wainscoting of the halls. The frame of the original building housing the plant and publication office of the paper had only suffered in that part in which a battery of Mergenthaler machines had been installed on the tenth floor; the remaining portion fronting on Market street was in such a condition that the mezzanine was easily put in shape for the use of the editorial force, and in the ensuing August after the fire the writers transferred the scene of their operations to the partially restored building, presses having been installed in the basement of the annex and the composition room having been put into condition for use and equipped with a battery of Mergenthalers and the other necessities of a printing plant. The "Examiner" and the "Call," which like the "Chronicle" had been using the facilities of Oakland papers followed soon after, the former securing a site for its mechanical plant near the Ferry building, and the latter restoring the basement of the Claus Spreckels' building some time in advance of the complete rehabilitation of that monumental structure. All of the papers, morning and evening, for several months had their main publication or business offices on Fillmore street and have since maintained branches on that thoroughfare.

The United Railroads management made the most conspicuous display of energy during the first few weeks after the disaster. It has been charged that the cor-

The Practical
View
Prevails

Newspapers
Reestablish
Themselves
in Burned
District

Activity of
United
Railroads

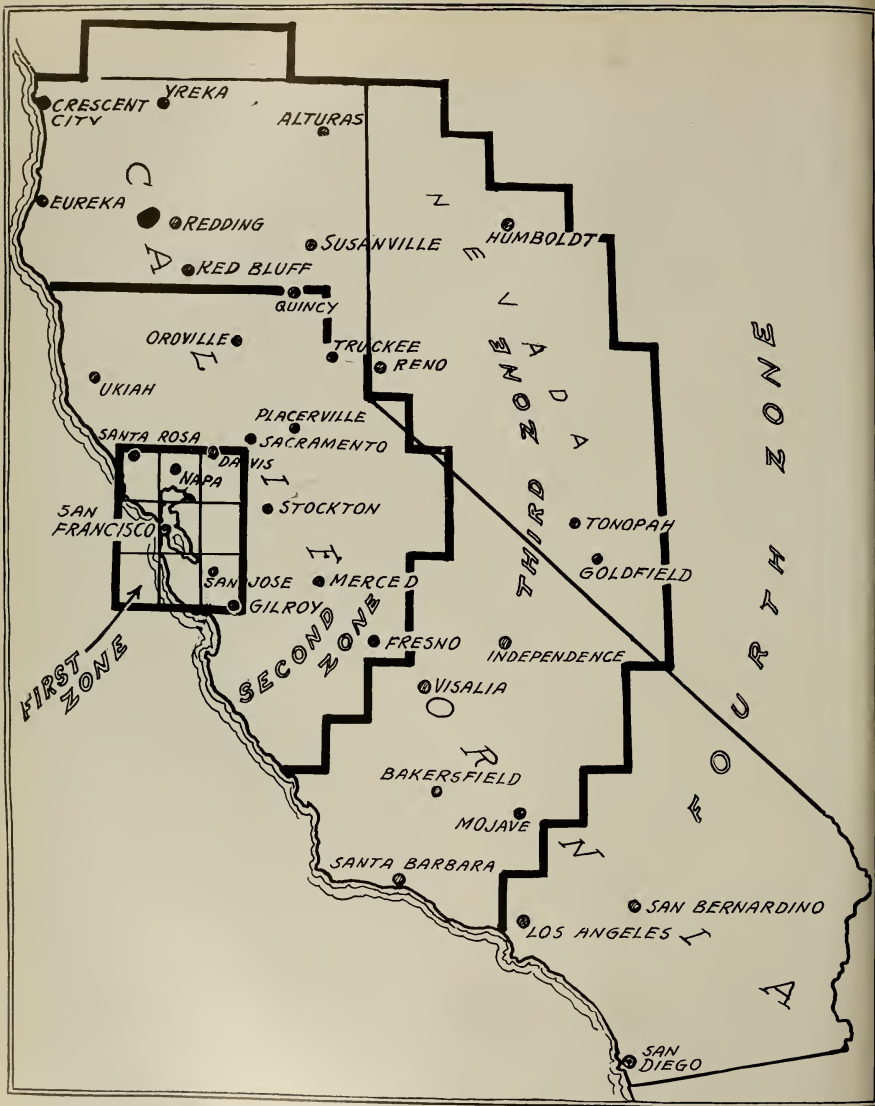
poration took advantage of the situation created by the fire to carry out long contemplated plans, and that it cheerfully accepted the necessity imposed upon it of substituting the trolley for the cable in many parts of the City. That the company embraced the opportunity afforded it is true, but many of the allegations made which would convey the impression that it could have restored the cable lines with the same facility that it provided trolley communication were inspired by malice, and are disputed by the fact that the California street system was not running until long after the United Railroads had made communication by its lines with all parts of the City feasible. That its plans were carried out under conditions that were disgraceful was undeniable, but fairness demands the statement that the community was responsible for their creation and that in all probability had the irregular methods, let them be called criminal if that describes them more properly, not been resorted to, San Francisco would have remained an ash heap much longer than it did. At the time when the irregularities were resorted to, the band of thieves put into office by the people were still in a position to collect toll, and it was obvious that the unscrupulous Ruef would have promptly exerted the power he possessed to block the plans of the corporation, which at the time were in harmony with the desires of the community, if the management of the United Railroads had not consented to being blackmailed into accepting the Boss as its attorney.

Occasional
Moments of
Pessimism

It would take volumes to describe in detail the work of rehabilitation. Five years, the period allotted for the accomplishment of the herculean task of restoring that which had consumed over a half a century in its production, seems a short space of time when looked back upon, but the sixty months had many wearisome moments for the impatient who had to endure the experience of witnessing the rebuilding of a city. There were times when bragadocio pure and simple sustained the courage of the community. San Francisco before the fire had been accused of lack of enterprise, and its people were charged with being deficient in the boosting quality. Los Angeles had been quoted as an example of what can be accomplished by a people who insist on putting their light on the top of rather than under a bushel measure. San Francisco had to undergo a fresh experience. Hitherto it was preeminently the metropolis of the Pacific coast. On the eve of the fire it was enjoying an expansion which grew with what it fed upon, and which a rotten municipal government was unable to arrest. Under such circumstances the assumption that the natural facilities of the port, and the relation of the City to a region of unsurpassed fertility and possibilities of production, was maintained with easy confidence. But cause and effect are sometimes difficult to distinguish between, and it is easy to make the error of ascribing to stately buildings, magnificent stores and commodious warehouses, the production of results when as a matter of fact they merely represent the result of position and production. When all these conveniences for the transaction of business were swept away it seemed to many as if the commercial advantages of the port had disappeared with them, and even the optimistic at times were affected by the fear that the rivalry of other cities would militate against the restoration of the prestige of the metropolis.

Manifesta-
tions of
Rivalry

This feeling was contributed to by observation of the fact that the disposition existed to profit by the disaster. Commercial rivalry is not greatly restrained by sentimental considerations. The world presented a magnificent spectacle of generosity when it learned of the extent of San Francisco's calamity, and in this exhibition no part figured more liberally than the Pacific coast cities whose growth



MAP OF ZONES OF NEW PARCEL POST SYSTEM AS RELATED TO SAN FRANCISCO

during recent years have excited the wonderment of the rest of the country. But as soon as it was perceived that San Franciscans were still standing upright, in spite of the shock they had received, there were displays of eagerness to profit which were in bad taste, but not at all unnatural. That they were a cause of irritation is undeniable, but the conviction that the growth of other cities was not at the expense of San Francisco was ingrained and annoyance never ripened into apprehension. The people of the City had cut out work for themselves, and they set about their tasks undiscouraged by rivalry, and with a determination to make good their professions of belief, and the results achieved by them testify that they were not vain boasters.

When the Americans first occupied California the harbor of San Francisco was regarded as the chief asset of the vast region acquired. When the rush for gold commenced, and a city grew up about the Cove of Yerba Buena, its inhabitants, for many years, based all their belief of future greatness upon the facilities it afforded for marketing the products of the interior and for distributing the wares of the world which might be brought to its shores. By a happy circumstance, and a liberal exertion of energy, which was rendered effective by the possibility of obtaining water the wharves and their structures, and the shipping were saved from destruction and were ready to be made use of by those who devoted themselves to the work of rehabilitation. The importance of this fortunate escape of the water front from the almost complete devastation of the business part of the City cannot be overestimated. The failure of the fire to lick up the wooden piers and sheds made it possible to expeditiously handle the immense quantity of stores poured into the City for the relief of its inhabitants, and as soon as that purpose was accomplished its commercial function was resumed and a tremendous volume of merchandise of a varied character, including building materials on a great scale passed over the docks. The records show that never in the history of the water front had such excellent use been made of the harbor as during the first two or three years after the disaster.

The harbor was still the City's greatest asset, but the thrift and prevision of its citizens had provided another of almost equal importance so far as the work of speedy restoration was concerned. The merchants and property owners of San Francisco were liberal patrons of insurance companies, and while complaints were not infrequently heard from them concerning the "tumid" profits derived by the corporations who underwrote their houses and merchandise they paid their premiums and when the conflagration came they had this great resource to fall back upon. The so-called earthquake clause written in the policies at first caused some anxiety but the liberal attitude of the most important of the underwriting companies soon caused this apprehension to disappear, and before a month had rolled around the most of the prudent holders of policies rated them at their face value. There were some instances of compromise and a few cases in which foreign companies shirked their obligations, but they were insignificant by comparison with the large sums paid over without demur by the great concerns that had taken the largest risks. As early as May 25, 1906 the "Pacific Underwriter" published a table showing that the total liabilities of the insurance companies aggregated \$170,601,078. The fear of "welching" was not wholly allayed at the time, and a conservative prediction was made that about \$120,000,000 would be paid. As a matter of fact, and one which deserves attention, the amount actually paid

Water Front
Property
Escapes

Amount of
Insurance
Recovered

was \$163,713,330. These losses were shared by California, American companies operating outside of the state, and by foreign companies in the following proportion: California companies, \$11,160,703; foreign companies, \$69,703,009 and American companies other than Californian, \$82,847,618. The welching referred to was principally by European companies, the Rhine and Moselle being the chief offender. The Alliance of London, the Phoenix of Austria, the Commercial Union, North German, Norwich Union, Palatine and Transatlantic were also offenders. With some few exceptions the American companies paid dollar for dollar.

Results
Rapidly
Achieved

The command of a capital amounting to nearly \$164,000,000 did much to promote rapid rehabilitation. It by no means repaired the losses which were conservatively estimated at from \$450,000,000 to \$500,000,000, but it went a long way toward the accomplishment of that result. This sum, together with the other resources at the command of San Franciscans, and the energy exercised in making use of them, achieved what few outsiders believed possible. While the rest of the world admired and applauded the pluck of the community, it shook its head dubiously when the claim was made that in five years the City would regain its old position. It was pointed out that the cities to the north and Los Angeles in the south were in a position to profit by the disaster, and it was even intimated that Oakland, to which many had fled, might eclipse San Francisco. These judgments were formed in disregard of the conditions that had made San Francisco a great port and were naturally contradicted by the event. No gains made by the cities to the north and south were at the expense of San Francisco, and the increase of population in the transbay region, no matter what view politicians and real estate dealers may take of the subject, economically considered must be regarded as part of the growth of the City.

Brisk Busi-
ness Done
by Merchants

A distinguished economist has pointed out that continuous effort is required to prevent the world falling into decay, and that the most of the things produced by man are immediately consumed. Most of the wealth employed in processes of production is slowly accumulated, but the ability to restore it when dissipated is always presented to the energetic. How much of the \$164,000,000 received from the insurance companies was immediately put to productive use it would be impossible to tell. Undoubtedly the major part was so employed, principally in providing the appliances and conveniences necessary in carrying on the business of the port. But the sum expended immediately after the fire in the purchase of articles of luxury was by no means insignificant, and indicated that many of those who had been partly recompensed for their losses regarded the replacement of the destroyed objects as desirable. This propensity was variously considered, approvingly by the merchants and distrustfully by the economist, who, however, was obliged to concede that the inclination to indulge in what has been called "conspicuous wastefulness," by all classes, by those possessing abundant means, and by the artisan and day laborer, produced a business condition of exceptional briskness, which for a time created the impression that improvidence provided a short cut to wealth.

Work of the
Relief
Committee

There was one form of expenditure, however, which few in San Francisco were inclined to regard with complacency, least of all those who had imposed upon themselves the onerous duty of seeing that it was accomplished with care. The unprecedented generosity of the world had placed at the command of the relief committee, acting in conjunction with the Red Cross Society, the sum of \$9,673,-



YACHT RACING ON SAN FRANCISCO BAY



STEAMSHIP "YALE," TYPE OF COASTWISE VESSEL SAILING OUT OF SAN FRANCISCO

057 in addition to 1,850 carloads of food supplies, and 150 carloads of bedding, clothing and household materials. Between April 23, 1906 and May 29, 1909, there was disbursed \$9,279,953. Less than one-fourth of the relief fund was distributed before July 31, 1906. During this preliminary period the applicant for relief was not subjected to the searching inquiry inaugurated when the relief committee had effected its permanent organization. In the first days after the disaster it was impossible to ascertain whether the person standing in the bread line had a legitimate claim for aid, but subsequently all applications were closely scrutinized, and as might have been expected some dissatisfaction was aroused. The extraordinary spectacle was witnessed of the formation of a corporation of United Refugees who urged the right of the dependents on the world's bounty to determine how it should be apportioned among them. This body's creation was largely due to agitators of a class who could convince themselves that the right of dependence was sacred and inalienable. The relief committee entertained a different view, and diligently sought to weed out those capable of doing for themselves in order that the benefaction might be confined to the helpless and really necessitous. This action called forth malignant criticism and resulted in an investigation by a committee of the Massachusetts Association for the Relief of California, which after inquiries made on the spot reported that the rumors were unfounded, so far as incapacity or dishonesty were concerned. The only defect the Massachusetts committee could discover was "too much system," but this could hardly be urged as a reproach in the face of the fact that impostors were continually endeavoring to secure aid, and the well grounded fear that a too easy administration of the fund might result in the creation of habits of dependence.

One of the steps taken by the relief committee was to provide habitations for those rendered homeless by the fire. Some 2,300 frame structures of the ready made kind were bought and distributed. These were sometimes spoken of in the reports as "permanent," but they have virtually disappeared from the City. In some instances they were condemned by the health authorities after a few years use, because of the neglect to provide sanitary precautions, but the most of them were removed to make way for better structures. The refugee camps which were formed in Golden Gate park and in several other parks and plazas of the City, and in some cases on private property, endured for nearly three years. The work of dispossessing the occupants of public grounds was not accomplished without difficulty. Ideas inspired by the agitators who had urged the charges against the relief committee were freely expressed, and the distorted view that individuals had a right to take possession of public property and retain it for their own uses was put forward. It amounted to a recrudescence in a mild form of the squatter contention of early days, but as most of the places from which the refugees manifested a reluctance to move were dedicated to public use, there was no possibility of arousing that sort of maudlin sentiment which frequently asserts itself in communities in which common sense and economic considerations are disregarded.

Reference has already been made to the financial precautions which were promptly adopted, and were maintained as long as prudence dictated. The governor exercised his power of declaring legal holidays, and a temporary jubilee period was created for the debtor who was accorded time in which to meet his obligations. The managers of the banks and other fiduciary institutions warned by the recent experience of Baltimore were in no hurry to open their vaults, and

The Refugee
Camps

Financial
Expendits

when they finally did so their prudence was rewarded by complete exemption from disaster to the contents of their strong boxes. During this protracted suspension of payments a remarkable appreciation of the situation was exhibited by those whose funds were intrusted to the custody of banking institutions. There was an utter absence of distrust or concern. Every one interested acted as though assured that everything must come out all right, and this confidence was justified by the event. A remarkable feature of the temporary locking up of the people's funds was the disclosure of the fact that there seemed to be a sufficiency of coin to meet the requirements of such business as was transacted. Apparently this indicated that the ordinary supply of the metallic circulating medium had not been greatly impaired by loss in the fire and required little augmentation from outside sources.

The Robber
Band
Resumes
Its Sway

A survey of the occurrences attending the efforts to rehabilitate such as here presented conveys no adequate impression of the difficulties and turmoil attending its accomplishment. Had the historian merely to deal with the physical aspects of the achievement he might sum up the performance by saying that on the 18th of April, 1906, so many blocks of buildings with their contents had been destroyed, and that within two or three days thereafter half of the inhabitants of the City had transferred themselves to other places, and that five years later enterprise and industry had replaced the lost property and that San Francisco was as populous as before the fire. But the rebuilding of the City was but a small part of the trouble encountered by the suffering citizens. The relief afforded during the brief interval while the Committee of Fifty maintained the direction of affairs was promptly followed by a succession of evils. Ruef's gang proved a shirt of Nessus. The smoke of the burning city had not fairly cleared away before it resumed its corrupt practices. Petty pilfering and exactions were promptly resumed, and in a short time it began to be understood that no one could pass through the Forest of Arden without paying tribute to the modern Robin Hood. Whoever had business with the unsavory band had to pay for the privilege of doing it on the basis of all the traffic would bear. It was urged some time afterward that Schmitz had comported himself remarkably well during the hour of trial. It would be a denial of the truth to say that he did not; but he speedily recurred to his old practices. It is related by an observer of the traits of animals that during a freshet he saw an outhouse floating down the stream upon which a monstrous rat and a tabby cat sat together. They had suspended hostilities for the moment. What happened later the amateur biologist did not learn, but the probabilities favor the belief that the rat resumed its depredations as soon as the immediate danger had passed.

CHAPTER LXV

GRAFT PROSECUTIONS AND OTHER TROUBLES AFTER THE FIRE

CHIMNEY INSPECTORS REAP A HARVEST—EXACTIONS OF LABOR DETER INVESTMENTS—A REIGN OF TERROR—THE "GAS PIPE" THUGS AND THEIR CRIMES—JAPANESE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS—ROOSEVELT MENACES THE CITY—ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE ON THE SUBJECT OF JAPANESE IN THE SCHOOLS—CARMEN'S STRIKE OF 1902—TROUBLE RAISED BY THE CARMEN IN 1906—ATTITUDE OF PUBLIC TOWARD PATRICK CALHOUN—CARMEN'S TROUBLES ARBITRATED—STRIKE RENEWED IN 1907 AND MUCH VIOLENCE—A DIVIDED COMMUNITY—RUEF AND HIS UNSAVORY CREW—EXPOSURE OF SUPERVISORS BY DETECTIVE BURNS—INDICTMENTS BY THE HUNDRED—POLICY AND METHODS OF THE GRAFT PROSECUTION—PLENTY OF PRECEDENT FOR GRAFT—RUEF IN THE ROLE OF ATTORNEY—THE SHARING OF THE LOOT—EXPLANATION MADE BY CALHOUN—ISSUES OF THE PROSECUTION GREATLY CONFUSED—FLUCTUATIONS OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT—MAKEUP OF THE PROSECUTION—SUSPICION THAT STRIKE OF 1907 WAS INCITED—RULING THE CITY BY THE GOOD DOG METHOD—SHOOTING OF HENEY AND SUICIDE OF HIS ASSAILANT—SUICIDE OF CHIEF OF POLICE BIGGY—BOMB EXPLODED IN GALLAGHER HOUSE—RUEF THE ONLY ONE OF THE GRAFTERS CONVICTED—CASES DISMISSED—ANOTHER TURN OF WHEEL OF POLITICS AND A WORKINGMAN ELECTED MAYOR.



NE of the summary regulations adopted when the City was plunged in deepest distress was that relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors which was absolutely prohibited. There was no protest against its enforcement, and under the influence of the fear of evil consequences it was generally respected. The saloons were all closed, and while it was not absolutely impossible to obtain small supplies

the difficulty of doing so was so great that attempts at evasion were reduced to a minimum. The effect was widely commented upon at the time. It was noted that there was a sensible diminution of minor crimes, and that order was preserved with less difficulty than when the drink habit had no restraint placed upon it by making it nearly impossible to obtain the means for its gratification. Perhaps more interesting than its bearing upon criminal impulse was the consensus of opinion reached that the necessity for stimulants was more fancied than real, and admissions were frequently made by men who imagined that they could not dispense with their use that they felt all the better for the enforced abstinence. Another curious popular deduction, which, however, is not supported statistically, was that the great misfortune had driven away the smaller evils and ailments to which man is subject. It was admitted by many physicians that the health of the com-

Sale of
Intoxicating
Liquors
Prohibited

munity was exceptionally good, and their services were less in demand than at any time in their previous experience, and the apparent fact was accounted for by the assumption that the people were too busy to concern themselves about minor woes.

Graft of the
Chimney
Inspectors

For a brief period there was little to trouble the public mind excepting the obstacles placed in the way of the speedy resumption of normal habits in those quarters in which houses had been saved from destruction. The owners of these were subjected to the necessity of having the chimneys of their premises inspected, and it soon became apparent that the business of inspecting was to be made the vehicle for petty extortion. The Schmitz board of works, and the rest of the officials comprising his administration, came to the fore promptly after the first scare of the disaster was over and at once gave signs of intention to resume their temporarily interrupted practices. It cannot be said that the knowledge of the fact did more than to cause irritation to the individual victim, who, as in the case of a patron in a restaurant voluntarily tips the waiter while chafing under the necessity of paying twice for the same service. It had become the custom to pay to have a municipal job facilitated and the practice was resumed as a matter of course. If a householder wished the examination of his chimney to be expedited he paid for the accommodation by adding something to the established fee; if he failed to indicate his willingness to do so he was compelled to wait. If he was complaisant and "came through" easily, and manifested a readiness to employ none other than a union mason or bricklayer, he enjoyed the privilege of indoor cooking sooner than his refractory or negligent neighbor.

Labor Exac-
tions Deter
Investments

Outside of this exercise of the tyranny of the unions there was little or no friction with artisans during 1906. As already stated the demand for men in the building trades was so excessive that the normal wage scales of the unions were lost sight of, and to some extent their vigilance was relaxed and men who under ordinary circumstances would have found it difficult to obtain jobs were permitted to ply their craft without objection. It does not appear, however, that this leniency affected the solidarity of the workingmen's organization in the slightest degree. During the rush period there was a disposition to wink at infractions of rules, and this continued until the stage was reached in which the owners of property contemplating the erection of buildings were obliged to consider the probability of receiving a return on their investments. This consideration did not impress itself with sufficient force upon some investors who pushed ahead regardless of the future. There were several instances of important projects which had to be abandoned before completion owing to the excessive labor cost and the exactions of the workers. When successive instances of this sort had caused the prospective investor to become more wary, friction frequently occurred, and little inclination was shown by the organized workers to return to the normal, and this unyielding attitude was maintained down to a period in which it became evident to the most obtuse that if it was persevered in there would be a complete arrestment of improvements.

Gas Pipe
Thugs Inspire
Terror

But these were later troubles, and did not disturb the rehabilitation work in 1906, and there was no particular worry in that year concerning the effect of the attitude of labor upon restoration. Indeed it might be asserted in a general way that concern about minor affairs was entirely dispelled by the fear that the City was at the mercy of a band of thugs who were committing atrocious crimes which



THE WATER FRONT, WEST FROM THE FERRY BUILDING, UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE BATTLESHIP FLEET ON ITS TOUR AROUND THE WORLD

the police seemed powerless to prevent, and were wholly unable to discover or even surmise who were the perpetrators. The first of these for a time mysterious crimes was committed on the 10th of July, 1906. On the night of the date mentioned the coroner, named Leland, was assaulted and robbed. An ex-convict named Dowdall was arrested, charged with the crime, convicted and sentenced to 50 years imprisonment. On the afternoon of August 20th, Joseph Pfitzner was found dead on the floor of his store. His head was crushed by a blow from some instrument and \$140 in gold had been stolen. On the 14th of September, a tailor, William Friede was found in the rear of his store on McAllister street, his head battered to a pulp, his pockets turned inside out and the cash drawer empty. In midday of October 3d the Japanese bank known as the Kimmon Ginko on O'Farrell street, was entered and the president and the clerk were assaulted, their heads being battered as were those of Pfitzner and Friede. The former was killed, but the clerk, although horribly mangled, survived and finally recovered, but was never able to tell what had occurred. Nearly three thousand dollars were stolen by the murderous thief who had left behind him the instrument with which he committed the deed. It was a piece of gas pipe about fourteen inches long and was wrapped in a piece of ordinary wrapping paper.

The terror excited by these mysterious murders and robberies produced a state of mind reminiscent of Vigilante days which might have culminated in the expulsion from the City of all suspicious persons had not the sturdy resistance of a man named Behrend to an attempt made to kill and rob him revealed the perpetrators of the crimes. It was thought for a time that there was a band of the thieves operating, and a reward of \$1,500 was offered by the governor for their capture. The assault on Behrend disclosed that the crimes described, and several other robberies, had all been committed by only three men. Behrend was a jeweler and was assailed in his store by three men, one of whom held him while another robbed the till and a third rained blows on his head. In attempting to kill his victim the robber who was wielding an iron bar struck the man who was holding Behrend and nearly severed one of his fingers. Behrend grabbed his assailant and made an outcry which brought a number of persons to his relief. The captured robber was taken to the police station and there gave the name of Louis Dabner, and his residence as 1786 Union street. It was promptly ascertained that he had a roommate named John Siemsen and it was suspected that the latter was one of the thieves who had escaped. The suspicions of the police were promptly confirmed. A few days before the attempted robbery of Behrend, Siemsen had married a young woman named Hulda von Hoffen. He had represented himself as the heir of a rich Honolulu sugar planter and had lavished some of his stolen wealth on his prospective bride. On his return to the house with the disabled hand he had explained it by stating that he was the victim of a holdup, and that the robber had tried to get his diamond ring by cutting off his finger. The bride telephoned the details of the alleged holdup to her father and he communicated what he had heard to Detective Dinan and Captain Duke. The officers were on the way to von Hoffen's residence with the view of looking for Siemsen and told the father-in-law that they had heard of the robbery and that they had located the robbers and wished Siemsen to identify them. When they entered the house and stated their errand Siemsen said he would call the next day, but a movement towards his hip pocket caused the officers to close in on him. They found a big

The Gas Pipe
Thugs Cap-
tured and
Hanged

pistol upon him which he apparently designed using. The police gathered considerable evidence concerning the operations of Dabner and Siemsen. It was learned that the latter had served a term in San Quentin, but Dabner had no previous criminal experience. The father of Dabner persuaded him to make a confession. Siemsen denied that he had committed any crime and pleaded "not guilty." He was speedily convicted and sentenced to death as was also Dabner, who had pleaded guilty. They were both hanged July 31, 1908, but not until the resources of the law had been exhausted in an attempt to secure their acquittal.

Japanese in
the Public
Schools

The confession which disclosed that the crimes which had created so much consternation were committed by two or three men at the outside, and that the City was not overrun by murderers and thieves lifted a pall which was beginning to impair the energies of the active by destroying confidence in the ability of the police to afford adequate protection to the people. Another trouble which arose about the same time, although it developed into an international question and occasioned a great deal of heat and drew forth an intemperate proclamation from the president of the United States, created much less concern than the depredations of the thugs. It grew out of the attempt of the school board to continue the policy inaugurated before the fire of separating the Oriental pupils from the whites in the public schools. Serious objections had been urged against the practice of permitting adult males of Japanese birth from being entered in the primary grades where they were brought in contact with young girls of tender age. The destruction of many school houses rendered it necessary to make the best possible use of the space for the accommodation of the children and steps were taken to construct an Oriental school for the accommodation of the Japanese and Chinese youth. A school of that character had been in existence before the fire and was attended by Chinese children and no exception was taken to the discrimination, but the proposal was resented by the Japanese, who, fresh from their victory over the Russians, were disposed to be bumptious and protested to Washington, finding a prompt champion in President Roosevelt, who in disregard of the rights of California exerted all his authority to compel the school board to recede from its position.

Attitude of
State on
Japanese
Public School
Question

Concurrently with the trouble resulting from the action of the school board there was some friction growing out of the competition of Japanese restaurants which was largely the aftermath of a contest between the unions and the eating house employers. Some outrages, trifling by comparison with those inflicted on white employers by striking cooks and waiters, were dragged into the controversy, and it was made to appear to the nation that the Japanese in San Francisco were the victims of a persistent persecution. One of the president's cabinet, Secretary Metcalf, was sent to San Francisco to make an investigation and reported numerous trifling assaults made during the period of a boycott maintained by the Cooks and Waiters union against Japanese restaurants doing business in the City. At the same time Secretary Metcalf carefully pointed out the attitude of the conservative press of the City on the subject of Japanese in the schools, and plainly indicated by his method of dealing with the subject that the labor phase of the question could not be properly linked with the educational matter. He reported the California argument to be substantially as follows: "The public schools of California are a state and not a federal institution. The state has the power to abolish those schools entirely, and the federal government would have no right

to lift its voice in protest. Upon the other hand the state may extend the privileges of its schools upon such terms as it, the state, may elect, and the federal government has no right to question its action in this regard. Primarily and essentially the public schools are designed for the education of the citizens of the state. The state is interested in the education of its own citizens alone. It would not for a moment maintain this expensive institution to educate foreigners and aliens who could carry to their countries the fruits of such education. Therefore, if it should be held that there was a discrimination operating in violation of the treaty with Japan in the state's treatment of Japanese children, or even if a new treaty with Japan should be framed which would contain on behalf of Japanese subjects the 'most favored nation' clause, this could and would be met by the state, which would then exclude from the use of its public schools all alien children of every nationality and limit the rights of free education to children of its own citizens for whom the system is primarily designed and maintained, and if the state should do this the federal government could not complain, since no treaty right could be violated when the children of Japanese were treated precisely as the children of all foreign nations."

As already stated, the resolution which excited so much comment had been adopted May 6, 1905. It provoked little or no comment at the time, but the action taken on October 11, 1906, in pursuance of the previous declaration, and which was expressed in these words: "Resolved, that in accordance with Article X, Section 1662, of the school law of California, principals are hereby directed to send all Chinese, Japanese or Korean children to the Oriental public school, situated on the south side of Clay street, between Powell and Mason streets, on and after Monday October 15, 1906," at once brought forth complaints. On the 3d of December, 1906, Roosevelt sent a message to congress in which he recommended "that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who came here intending to become American citizens," and he added: "One of the great embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give to the national government sufficient power to protect aliens' rights and to succor them under the solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I therefore earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to, as to enable the president acting for the United States government, to enforce the rights of aliens under the treaties. Even as the law now is, something can be done by the government toward this end, and in the matter now before me affecting the Japanese, everything that it is in my power to do will be done, and all the forces, military and civil, of the United States, which I may lawfully employ will be so employed. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation." In a subsequent message dated December 18, 1906, the president stated: "I authorized and directed Secretary Metcalf to state that if there was failure to protect persons and property, then the entire power of the federal government within the limits of the constitution would be used promptly and vigorously to enforce the observance of our treaty, the supreme law of the land, which treaty guaranteed to Japanese residents everywhere in the Union full and perfect protection in their persons and property. And to this end everything that was in my power to do would be done, and all forces of the

President
Roosevelt
Monroes Son
Francisco

United States, both civil and military, which I could lawfully employ would be so employed."

President
and Mayor
Arrange
Matters

The necessity of carrying out these threats was averted by entering into a treaty with Mayor Schmitz, who was summoned to the White House a few months later, and as a result of which his facile board of education saved the president the trouble of sending platoons of United States troops to the schools of San Francisco to see to it that grown men were not prevented from sitting side by side with little girls in the primary schools of the City. As for the implication that the Japanese were the victims of outrage and oppression at the time the threats were made there is absolutely nothing to support it, for the aliens in question were not singled out by the unions in their crusades against employers as special objects of attack. The attitude of Roosevelt can only be explained on the assumption that he shared the foolish fear expressed by many that Japan would send her fleet to the United States and punish us, or by, what is more probably the case, the desire to create a proper disposition in congress in favor of greatly enlarging the navy. At any rate the municipal and other troubles of San Francisco were multiplying too rapidly to permit her people to think of engaging in an armed rebellion against the United States, and when the school board ordered that adult and other Japanese should be permitted to resume their studies in the primary grades, side by side with white children of tender years, no further objection was made, and the subject ceased to interest, submerged as it was in a sea of real difficulties in which Schmitz and the party that put him in power were the principal actors.

The Carmen's
Strike in
1902

It has been stated that little difficulty was experienced by employers in dealing with the unions composed of members engaged in construction work during the most of the period of rehabilitation, but there was friction with other classes of toilers which caused disquiet. The Japanese school children incident, as noted, was linked up with a boycott directed against restaurant-keepers of that nationality in October, and during the August preceding the employes of the United Railroads precipitated a strike, which, however, failed to have serious consequences for the time being, as the trouble was bridged over by an agreement to arbitrate. The United Railroads took over the properties subsequently operated by them in 1902. Before the work of transference was completed the employes of the different lines affected were organized into a union, and on the 20th of April, 1902, suddenly tied up the system. Although the formal transfer had not been effected, notice was served on Schmitz, who was then serving his first term as mayor, that the City would be held responsible for any damage inflicted. The warning appeared to have been uncalled for, as little disposition was shown to injure property or to resort to violence. The strike, which lasted only seven days was converted into a picnic affair. All kinds of vehicles were impressed into the service, and the temporary inconvenience to which the people were subjected was accepted with good humor. The striking employes professed to fear that the new company meant to discharge them with the view of securing people at lower wages than were being paid. This was put forward as the cause of the organization of the union, but there was also a demand for an increase of wages from 22 cents to 25 cents an hour, and time and a half for all hours worked in excess of ten daily. The company pointed out that the wages paid in San Francisco were higher than in New York, Brooklyn, Chicago and Tacoma, where 21, 20, 17 and 18 cents respectively, per hour were

paid. The sentiment of the community was so unmistakably with the carmen that the United Railroads surrendered on the 27th of April, 1902.

There were no further difficulties between the company and its employes which commanded the attention of the general public until August 20, 1906. There had been more or less friction from the time Richard Cornelius, president of the San Francisco Carmen's union, had begun the direction of the organization, but the knowledge of them was chiefly confined to those who interested themselves directly in the affairs of the trades unions. On the date mentioned, rumors which had been in circulation for some time were confirmed by a demand on the part of the carmen for \$3 a day and eight hours work. Cornelius, on behalf of the carmen urged that the working agreement with the company, which began on April 20, 1905, had been violated by the operation of crowded cars by the corporation, and its failure to keep them in condition. "Crowding a mass of humanity on its cars," he said, "certainly operates as a violation of the terms and conditions of our present agreement. To avoid this violation the company should have put on more cars. As to the condition of the cars it is apparent to any person that the company is neglectful of the welfare and safety of its employes and the traveling public." He also urged that "in view of the increased rentals which in some cases have forced our men into refugee camps, the request for a readjustment of wages was not unreasonable;" and he added that under the new conditions the carmen were the poorest remunerated workers in the City," common labor receiving \$2.50 for an eight hour day." The company declared that the wages paid in San Francisco were out of proportion to those paid to men in similar employment in the East and that the heavy losses sustained by the corporation, and the demands made upon it to restore its system made it impossible to meet them. On the 25th of August the men went out. It was at once urged that the difference between the United Railroads and the carmen should be submitted to arbitration, and after some hesitation on the part of both corporation and employes that course was agreed upon, and on the 5th of September, 1906, the men went back to work pending the decision of the arbitrators.

At this time, so far as the general public was concerned, no particular feeling had developed against Patrick Calhoun. In its issue of September 6th the "Call" said: "Of the United Railroads it is to be published that in the final phase it has met the men frankly and cordially at the half way point. President Patrick Calhoun's final statement breathes the right spirit—the spirit that animated him and his lieutenants in the earthquake and fire days in their relations with the carmen and with the people. Calhoun has long been distinguished among the heads of the great employing corporations as one regardful of the rights and feelings of the men to whom he pays wages. He may have stood firm in this instance for what he believed to be his own rights, but it is to be noted that even in the bitterest moments of the dispute the carmen testified to their esteem for him." Although strikebreakers were imported on this occasion, there was not much violence recorded. There were many mob gatherings and some shooting, but as the demonstrations of the strikers in defending themselves from assault at the car barns failed to result disastrously it was believed that blank cartridges were used. But after the agreement to arbitrate, an attack was made on the men brought to the City to take the place of the striking carmen, as they were leaving the City. They were compelled to march in a body and were assailed with stones and other

Carmen's
Troubles
Submitted to
Arbitration

Attitude of
Public
Toward
Calhoun

missiles, and numerous shots were fired. The crowds displayed a most vindictive feeling, and loud cries of "let us get even with them" were heard. The police throughout this strike displayed sympathy with the carmen, and made very little effort to preserve order.

Acceptance
of Award of
Arbitrators

In the correspondence which resulted in the agreement to arbitrate Calhoun had said: "It will be entirely agreeable to me to agree with all of said unions upon a common board of arbitration, the questions at issue, however, with each union to be separately considered." Throughout the controversy he remained firm in his determination to not treat with the union, or the men, until they had returned to their work. On the day when the arbitration agreement was concluded a committee of merchants visited the union headquarters and while disclaiming any attempt to force an issue upon either union or the railroad, they thought that it was time something should be done, and they were willing to serve as peacemakers. The return of the men to work paved the way for the arbitration upon the conditions stated by Calhoun: "If the union desires to establish relations with the United Railroads," he said on the day the agreement was reached, "the path to pursue is simple and plain. It can instruct its members to return to their work and the United Railroads will then arbitrate wages and hours as stated in the offer submitted by me to his honor the mayor. My offer to arbitrate wages and hours with the carmen if they returned to work was intended to include all the classes of employes of the United Railroads. I have not the slightest objection to dealing with the Carmen's union, or any other union if it actually represents employes in my company." Arbitrators satisfactory to both sides were secured and at once entered on their deliberations. The hearings were exhaustive, and when the decision was finally reached on March 1, 1907, and promulgated it was generally thought that the trouble was definitely settled. The arbitrators were presided over by Chief Justice Beatty of the state supreme court. With him were associated men in whom the entire community had confidence. The award made by them provided for an advance of wages to conductors and motormen of about twenty-five per cent. Under the new arrangement they would receive \$3.10, \$3.20 and \$3.30 for ten hours work, the scale being based on the length of service with the company. It cannot be said that the award was entirely satisfactory to the union, but the fact that there was no immediate protest or much adverse criticism caused the community to believe that the carmen had secured all they hoped for, and this view seemed to be corroborated by the fact that they manifested no disposition to break away from the decision until over a month after it had been rendered.

Calhoun's
Vicarious
Sacrifice

There were many events after September 5, 1906, when the striking carmen returned to their work in conformity with the arbitration agreement which a portion of the community later insisted on connecting with the renewal of the trouble of the United Railroads with its employes. On November 5, 1906, the indictment against Abe Ruef in the French restaurant case, which was the prelude of the so-called graft prosecutions was found. From that time forward the affairs of the unions and of the public service corporations were inextricably mixed with those of a movement which in its inception seemed to be devoted to the purpose of compelling the administration in power to abandon its corrupt practices, but later developed into a crusade which appeared to have no other object than the destruction of Patrick Calhoun, and the injury of the property represented by

him. The motives of men cannot always be judged by their actions, but a large part of the community for a considerable period disregarded this axiomatic truth and animated by a hearty desire for reform, enthusiastically supported methods which were advocated and practiced by those supposed to have an ulterior object in view, and who unfortunately by their intemperance and unconciliatory policy arrayed the community in two opposing camps. Whatever may be the final verdict regarding the turpitude of the briber and the bribed; whether it be assumed that municipal officials would never abuse their positions unless tempted to do so, or that it is inevitable with such a system of government as that we are working under that there should be graft, it is impossible to convince the great majority that justice can be accomplished by offering up a single offender as a vicarious sacrifice in atonement for the sins and shortcomings of a people the perpetration of which had been tacitly condoned by many years of inaction.

The fact that a division of opinion arose on this point was tortured into an accusation that those who disapproved of the methods adopted by the men who undertook the work of cleaning the Augean stables of the municipality were in sympathy with the corruption which had been rampant and that they desired to protect offenders. Doubtless there were many such, but the major part of the community was influenced by no such motive; it revolted at the idea that one or two persons should be pursued and punished, while those rightly or wrongfully regarded as the real cause of maladministration in the City were not only permitted to go scot free, but were to be used for the purpose of inflicting punishment on men from whom they had extorted money as payment for privileges which if they could have been properly accorded should have been extended gratuitously. The situation was further complicated by knowledge of the fact that the man at the head of the crusade had been interested in an attempt to secure a franchise for a rival street car system, and that it was believed by some that the desire for the reformation of municipal government was subordinate to the wish to cripple the United Railroads, and so disgust the outside capitalists who had acquired possession of the properties that they would be willing to surrender them, or at least satisfy the local interest by some accommodation which would prove satisfactory. The history of the City was filled with nasty examples of this method of high finance. The established gas company had been compelled on numerous occasions to submit to blackmailers who under the guise of a sort of competition, made feasible by laws passed for the purpose of destroying a monopoly, forced their victims to stand and deliver. Instances of this practice will be found elsewhere in this history, and they were not unknown to the people in 1906, 1907 and 1908, who had not yet learned to distinguish between professions and the accomplishment of reforms.

Unless attention is diverted from the affair of the trolley deal by which the board of supervisors, undoubtedly for a consideration, sold a privilege which should have been freely granted, and would have been at the time it was awarded if the wishes of the people had governed in the matter, the fact that the body was hopelessly corrupt and was practicing graft is likely to be overlooked. The people of San Francisco when Boss Ruef's gang resumed authority were under no illusions respecting what they had to expect. They had not forgotten the Boss' own estimate of the character of his servants which he summed up in a statement that they were so hungry for plunder that they were ready "to eat the paint off of a house."

Community
Divided in
Opinion

Ruef and His
Unsavory
Crew

Every person having business with this rascally gang knew that nothing could be secured without "greasing their palms." It was wrong to yield to the extortion, but in that respect moderns have not improved very greatly over the people of an earlier period and will persist in passing through the forest of Arden even if they have to pay tolls to a "Robin Hood." There is no doubt that they would have cheerfully avoided meeting the extra legal exaction, but the community by a popular vote had placed "Robin Hood" and his band in power and they submitted with such grace as they could. The experience citizens had to undergo was not entirely novel as the records plainly show. Long before Ruef's "paint eaters" came on the scene there was improper traffic in privileges, and it would have been amazing if they had refrained from making use of their opportunities. Ruef was indicted for receiving a bribe from a French restaurant-keeper in November, 1906, but establishments of this sort with unsavory records had been maintained for years before the Boss in his capacity of attorney consented to use his good offices with the supervisors to prevent any sudden accession of morality on the part of the latter which might induce them to disturb his client's business.

Exposure of
Supervisors
by Detective
Burns

Just what methods had been adopted in previous years to secure the sanction of the supervisors to the conduct of prize fights under the guise of boxing matches has not been disclosed, but it is quite certain that the little group of city fathers, who concluded to do a stroke of business on their own account, and were caught in the act by Detective Burns, were not acting without precedent. This exposure which practically inaugurated the campaign against the grafters was made on the 13th of March, 1907. By the methods adopted evidence was secured which made it possible to proceed effectively against the entire body of supervisors, for it is reasonably certain that the pair trapped would make disclosures when pressed which would result in the destruction of the head and front of the offending. There was great rejoicing over the successful scheme of the detective who had three hidden witnesses of the acceptance by Supervisors Charles Baxter and Thomas F. Lornegan of a bribe of \$500 from G. R. Ray, one of the principal stockholders in a skating rink, in return for granting certain special favors to its managers. The printing of the account of the trapping created a great sensation and was denounced as premature. An evening paper entered a denial of the story and Ray, who laid the trap asserted that he had never heard anything concerning the alleged trapping or that he had taken any part in it. Burns and the Assistant District Attorney Francis J. Heney were equally vehement in their denials, and pronounced the statements in the morning paper to be a tissue of falsehoods. Later the fact was developed that these contradictions were drawn forth by the protests of a rival editor and that the only harm done by the disclosure was that suffered by an evening paper which had some sort of an understanding with the prosecution by which it was to be permitted to publish news regarding the operations of the detectives and the district attorney's office in advance of its contemporaries.

Indictments
by the
Hundred

The sequence of events shows that the publication of the trapping of Baxter and Lornegan in no wise interfered with the success of the prosecution in securing evidence. In the course of the long drawn out proceedings, the net result of which was the conviction and incarceration of Abe Ruef in San Quentin, enough testimony was procured to warrant the grand jury in bringing 383 indictments, 47 of which were against Mayor Schmitz, and 129 against Ruef. Many of these presentations were framed for the avowed purpose of employing them as a club



FLOOD BUILDING, MARKET STREET



PACIFIC UNION CLUB, FORMER FLOOD MANSION, NOB HILL

to compel the accused to give testimony against certain persons, and the public were speedily made acquainted with the intention of the prosecution to grant immunity to all the official scoundrels provided they would testify in a manner which would assure the conviction of what was called "the higher ups." This action of the prosecution was variously regarded. There were many who sided with Spreckels and Heney in their efforts to throw the entire burden of the blame for an admittedly bad state of affairs on two or three persons. There were fully as many on the other hand who vigorously resented a course of action which they believed would result in permitting a gang of thieves to escape all punishment. One set composed of people who were blindly disposed to follow the lead of Spreckels and Heney would have applauded the condonement of the offenses of the officials who were the recipients of bribes; another denounced as unreasonable and unreasoning a scheme of procedure which proposed to excuse the blackmailers and punish their victims. While a few who kept their heads realized that the methods adopted must inevitably result in an entire miscarriage of justice and the escape of all the offenders, which came near happening, Ruef being the only person punished.

About Ruef's guilt and that of the mayor and the supervisors, there can be no doubt. The most vehement objector to the extraordinary methods pursued by the prosecution did not claim that Ruef or Schmitz were innocent; or that a crime had not been committed in the matter of granting the trolley franchise to the United Railroads. The only question in the mind of those who protested against the methods adopted by the prosecution was the practical, if immoral one whether all enterprise should have been suspended in San Francisco while the greedy crew elected by the people were in power, or whether the vote which for a third time put Schmitz at the head of the city government, with the "paint eating" supervisors as associates, should be accepted as a mandate of the electorate that the practices inaugurated many years before and elaborated by Ruef should be continued. Their attitude regarding the past was that the community generally was to blame for the wretched condition of affairs, and that it would be unjust to hold one or two persons responsible for the shortcomings of those whose duty it was to elect men to office who would not emulate the example of the highway robber and make everyone stand and deliver who came their way. Their position was the result of observation which had induced the belief that the only way to effect a reform was to extirpate the robbers, and they were astonished beyond measure when the programme of the prosecution developed that the intention was to spare the thieves and punish their victims.

Of course this view disregarded the assumption of Spreckels and Heney, and those who sided with them, that Calhoun and the other representatives of the interests which had submitted to the extortion of the blackmailers or grafters had deliberately corrupted the men who had compelled them to pay for privileges, but it was more in accordance with the observed facts which showed plainly that long usage had created a condition which made the managers of corporations deem it expedient to submit to all sorts of depredations, those perpetrated by cunning men who took advantage of laws designed to protect the people from the aggressions of monopoly as well as those committed by officials. The history of the Spring Valley Water Company and of the Gas Company are full of illustrations of the conditions which well meant efforts at reform had produced. They show

**Policy and
Methods of
the Graft
Prosecution**

**Grafters
Were Follow-
ing Bad
Precedents**

conclusively that the attempts to regulate were defeated by the criminal negligence of the people who elected men to office who did not hesitate to fix rates for the service afforded by the corporations in accordance with the desire of the latter, thus making it possible for cunning men under the guise of competition to be bought off, the result being to vastly increase the rate payers burdens. The sort of officials who lent themselves to this work were not unknown before 1908. They had been flourishing in San Francisco from the time that the constitution placed the power of regulation in the hands of the people. During the thirty years between the adoption of the Constitution of 1879 and the upheaval there had been graft. It had not passed unnoticed, for the newspapers were continually denouncing the practice, but their accusations were disregarded by the community at large and by the very element which become violently antagonistic to the corrupt system when so much mischief was being done that the situation became intolerable.

Ruef's Claim
that the
Railroad
Made a
Present

Among the multitude of indictments found by the grand jury, those which attracted most attention, because it was plainly perceived that the entire prosecution revolved about them, were those against Patrick Calhoun, Tirey L. Ford, Thornwall Mullally and William M. Abbott, all officials of the United Railroads. Fourteen indictments were found against each of them on May 24, 1907, charging them each with having bribed that number of supervisors in the matter of granting a permit to the company to construct an overhead trolley on Market street. On March 26, 1908, three additional indictments were returned against Calhoun and Ford together with Ruef. As the trials in these and the other graft cases occupied the attention of the courts for months at a time it would be idle to attempt to do more than mention that they were marked by acrimony throughout, and that the cases were fought outside of the court room as virulently as within its precincts. The one fact that stood out plainly was that the supervisors had confessed that they had received four thousand dollars a piece for granting the permit, and that a large sum had been paid to Abe Ruef who divided what was left over with Schmitz. Ruef in his testimony before the grand jury on May 16, 1907, asserted under oath that he had paid Schmitz \$55,000 as his share of the sum received from the United Railroads for the franchise, and that the mayor perfectly understood the irregularity of the transaction. Perhaps the most extraordinary statement made by the Boss was his declaration that the United Railroads could have obtained its overhead trolley franchise without paying him or bribing any one connected with the Schmitz administration. "The money," he said, "came to us unsolicited. How can you prevent a corporation giving away money if it wishes to do so? The givers of bribes were in this instance, more blamable than the men who received them."

How the
Loot Was
Shared

In view of the other exploits of Ruef and his crew this must be taken as a case of Satan rebuking sin. If the contribution of the United Railroads was voluntary then all the others who paid the large sums he and his rascally associates received must also be regarded as willing victims. The testimony of Ruef as recorded throws further light on the matter. "Who proposed the matter of the franchise?" asked Prosecutor Heney. "Patrick Calhoun and I talked it over several times," answered Ruef. "Where did these talks take place?" "At different places. I remember we had several talks about it at the home of Thorndyke Mullally." "Did Calhoun discuss the franchise in detail?" "He did. He knew all about it." . . . "Who did you refer to as we?" "I mean myself and Supervisor Galla-

gher. Gallagher got \$15,000 as his share; Andy Wilson was given \$10,000 and each of the sixteen supervisors got \$4,000." "How about the rest of the money? That meant about \$110,000 left. What did you do with it?" "I divided it equally with Mayor Schmitz." Apart from the fact that it is inconceivable that the United Railroads would have unnecessarily paid out \$200,000 or any other sum of money which renders the statement of Ruef that the contribution was voluntary unbelievable, there is a modicum of truth in the assertion that the United Railroads could have had the trolley franchise for the asking. Doubtless if the matter could have been passed up to the people for a decision there would have been an approach to unanimous consent, for the community was consumed with desire to have communication with all parts of the City reestablished, fully recognizing that convenience of transit would accomplish more toward the speedy rehabilitation of San Francisco than anything else possibly could. But while this was true Calhoun knew that Ruef and his conscienceless gang held the works, and that the requisite machinery for the submission of the question to the people could not be set in motion without their consent. Furthermore there is every reason to believe that while the community was perfectly acquiescent, antagonisms could easily be set in motion, and probably would be by the same interests which had placed obstacles in the way of constructing an overhead trolley on Market street before the disaster.

On the 2d of December, 1906, Patrick Calhoun made an explanation which was printed in all the papers. He said: "Before the fire the United Railroads offered to erect poles on Market street adapted both for lighting and overhead trolley, and to light a part of that street. It renewed the offer after the fire including a part of Sutter street therein, so that in spite of its own losses it gave the City for these permits all that it had offered to give before the fire. In a discussion with some of the citizens before the fire I stated that in lieu of lighting Market street in order that the people might better understand the proposition I was willing to submit to them whether Market street should be operated as an underground conduit, or whether it should be operated with the overhead trolley I would either light Market street or pay the City \$200,000 in cash as it might determine. The proposition to light Market and Sutter street as accepted by the City will cost the United Railroads during the life of the franchise more than \$200,000 and the interest thereon, and I state now that the United Railroads would cheerfully pay the City \$200,000 in cash to be relieved from its obligation to light the portion of Market and Sutter streets covered by the permit granted it." At the time this statement was made the public had no knowledge of the \$200,000 paid to Ruef and his gang of thieves as a gift or a bribe, but there was a shrewd suspicion that the permit had not been granted without a consideration. This assumption was based wholly on the known characteristics of the administration, and while it existed generally there was no outburst of indignation for the people had become so accustomed to the idea that toll had to be paid to the "paint eaters" it would have been regarded as miraculous were it positively known that any one had escaped the impost. But while the people did not know of the \$200,000 paid to Ruef they were satisfied that the City had got a fairly good bargain with the railroad company in its lighting offer for Market and Sutter streets, for antagonism to the overhead trolley system, which was largely worked up in the beginning, had long since disappeared and it was gener-

Explanation
Made by
Calhoun

ally conceded that San Francisco could very well afford to adopt a transportation method which had been accepted by most American cities, only two operating underground electric roads.

The Issues
Greatly
Confused

Not only had the original ground of controversy been shifted, it was entirely lost sight of in the political turmoil which followed the indictment of Ruef and Schmitz and the trapping of the supervisors. Even the advocates of municipal ownership of railways abandoned their contention that the wires should be put underground, and advertised their insincerity, and also their lack of knowledge of the subject, by openly confessing that their project of utilizing the conduit in which the cables of the Geary street road traveled was impracticable. During the controversy with the United Railroads in which that corporation took the ground that it was desirable to harmonize all the lines of the City, and bring them under one method of operation, it was urged that an underground trolley system could be provided for Geary street at a sum not exceeding \$750,000. The City has since engaged in the construction of an overhead trolley for Geary street, which was not completed on the first of November, 1912, at a cost three times as great as the enthusiasts estimated would suffice for the building of the more expensive underground line on that thoroughfare. It is impossible to determine just how much the movement for municipal ownership had to do with the cleavage of the community over the question of the right or wrong method of dealing with the United Railroads, but that it was a powerful factor and influenced many to take an extreme stand against that corporation, and to condone the villainies of the supervisors and of Boss Ruef and the predatory mayor was apparent to everyone. As a matter of fact the issues were so thoroughly confused that the most of the community did not realize where they stood, an assertion borne out by the vacillating attitude of the electors who after electing a mayor and board of supervisors supposed to stand for reform methods in 1907 in 1909 permitted the election of a candidate for the mayoralty who had openly proclaimed his intention of making "a wide open town" of San Francisco.

Fluctuation
of Public Sentiment
and
Opinion

These apparent fluctuations of opinion or desire are explained in part by the conduct of the prosecutors of the graft cases and the course of events. While Patrick Calhoun was the man the self constituted prosecutor sought to destroy there was a semblance of an effort at a general house cleaning. As long as the people believed that Ruef, Schmitz and their "paint eaters" stood a show of being properly dealt with for their rascalities the public stood behind the prosecution, but when the suspicion deepened that the prosecutors were not disinterested, and when it began to be believed by many that ulterior motives were responsible for the reform movement confidence rapidly waned. There were two occurrences which contributed to this result. The first of these was the renewal of the troubles of the carmen with the United Railroads, which culminated in a strike on May 5, 1907, which many supposed was instigated, and the second was the obvious purpose of Spreckels and Heney to absolutely control the affairs of the municipality by keeping the hoodling supervisors and Mayor Schmitz in office, the reason assigned for this extraordinary action being that it was necessary for them to direct the city government in order to attain the object they sought to accomplish. This usurpation was effectually accomplished and the hoodling supervisors who had brought so much shame on the City were retained in their position for several months, or, in the expressive language of the assistant



Copyrighted, 1912, by R. J. White & Co.

SAN FRANCISCO SKY LINE IN 1912 FROM TELEGRAPH HILL.

district attorney "so long as they remained good dogs," canine obedience being secured by the knowledge of the dogs that there were indictments hanging over their heads which might be pushed at any moment and land them behind the bars.

It has been stated that there were in all nearly four hundred indictments framed by the grand jury dealing with the graft cases. In addition to those directed against Ruef and Schmitz, the supervisors and the United Railroads officials, Theodore Halsey and Louis Glass of the Pacific States Telephone Company were indicted, and O. K. Detwiler of the Home Telephone Company was charged with bribing supervisors. Frank G. Dunn, Eugene deSabra and John Martin were also accused of a like offense in connection with the affairs of the Gas Company. Fourteen indictments were returned against G. H. Umben, Joseph E. Green and Attorney W. I. Brobeck, charging them with bribing that number of supervisors to permit them to build what was known as the Parkside road, a line of street railway the construction of which would facilitate the placing upon the market of a large tract of land south of Golden Gate park. No attempt was made to press these cases. Before the grand jury which had framed most of the indictments was dismissed it recommended the quashing of those against the Parkside promoters, and subsequently as each of the three defendants was placed on the witness stand in the Ruef Parkside trial in May, 1908, Heney made motions that the indictments be dismissed, and the judge caused an order to that effect to be entered. In this case it appeared that all that had been asked by the Parkside directors was that the board of supervisors should act as the charter directed and advertise for sale a franchise at public auction. The venal crew of Ruef did not refuse to act, they simply failed to move in the premises and they were induced to do so just as the rascally chimney inspectors after the fire were persuaded for an extra consideration to do their duty, or as a waiter in a restaurant is impelled to perform his by the expectation of a tip. There was no denial on the part of the indicted Parkside directors that they had paid Ruef a sum of money to act as their attorney. They knew his power over the board, and they also knew that if he was not employed there would be no advertisement of the proposal to grant a franchise. They did not ask what he did with the fee; all they required was that the franchise accompanied by their offer of a bonus of \$100,000 should be advertised and put up at sale so that they could carry out an important undertaking which would benefit the proprietors of the enterprise and the entire City.

It is essential to a correct understanding of the varied causes which tended to excite antagonism to the prosecution to know that the latter was in a sense a private and not a public function. Francis J. Heney, whose name throughout appears as the public prosecutor was a deputy of William Langdon and entered the latter's office in pursuance of an arrangement with Rudolph Spreckels. Heney had been employed as a federal attorney as early as 1904 and had obtained some notoriety or fame in the prosecution of timber grabbers. Langdon took him on as his assistant in January, 1907. The district attorney had large ambitions and was in the field as an aspirant for the governorship in the campaign of 1906, but his candidacy was a hopeless one although he did not regard it from that standpoint. He was at the head of the Independence League, a party backed by one of the morning newspapers, which, however, had so little show of winning that those responsible for its formation were foremost in adopting the course which resulted in Langdon abandoning the effort to win. Langdon was strongly disinclined to ac-

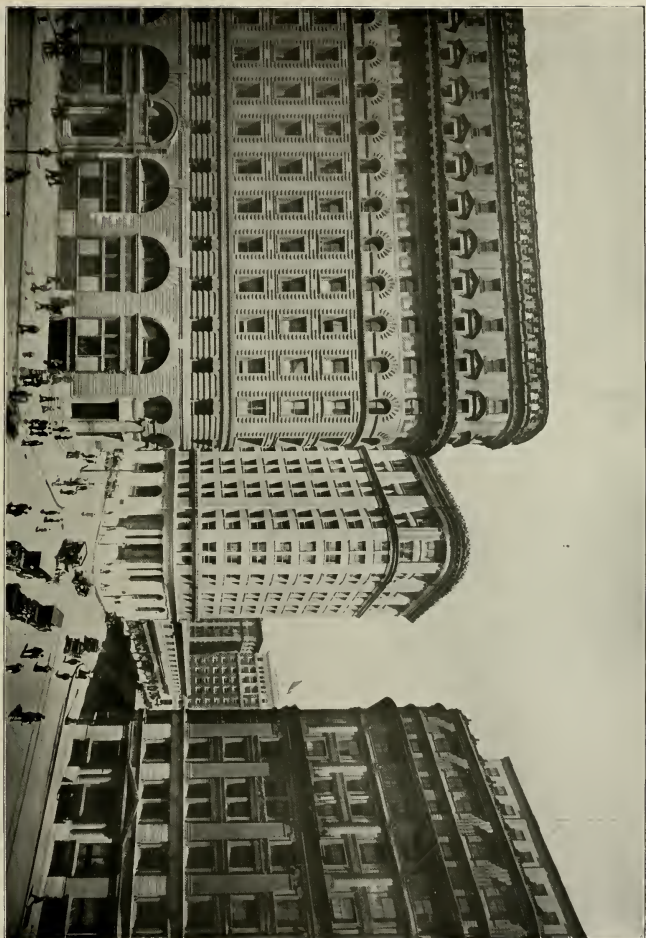
Indictments
That Were
Not Pressed

The Makeup
of the
Prosecution

cept the role imposed upon him, as it virtually amounted to a confession of incapacity, but Joseph J. Dwyer and the "Examiner" persuaded him to see the light and he accepted the position of "second fiddle" during the remainder of his term of office. No injustice was done him by the compulsory subordination, but it is an open question whether a prosecution conducted under his auspices would not have accomplished better results than one secured by the vigorous, but often unscrupulous methods of Heney who from the beginning was not regarded in any other light by a large section of the community than as an attorney hired to carry out a private plan of regeneration in an official guise. Whether Heney was well paid for his services, or as has been claimed for him he acted solely under the influence of zeal for the public good does not much matter, but the question was frequently discussed and was answered in a measure by the statement made by Spreckels that Heney had received not as a fee, but as office expenses \$23,328.22, and that his partner Cobb, who had entered into partnership with Heney at the beginning of the prosecution to take care of the civic business of the firm had been paid \$25,000. J. J. Dwyer, who was instrumental in bringing about the arrangement which resulted in the practical abdication of Langdon and had a connection of some sort with the firm received \$13,400. Heney also received \$69,000 for his services to the federal government, \$33,000 of which was paid to him after his resignation, but it was explained that the latter was on account of deferred payments.

The Carmen's
Strike of
1907

The major part of the indictments bore date of May 25, 1907, and it was during the period of their formulation that the events occurred which did so much to change the attitude of a large part of the community toward the prosecution. Theodore Bonnet in his monograph entitled "The Regenerators," which dealt exhaustively with the subject of the graft prosecutions pointed out that all the newspapers of the City were in perfect accord with Spreckels at the inception of his crusade, and that they gave him their cordial support. Whatever weakening of the latter was noticeable after May 5, 1907, may be traced directly to the suspicion that the carmen were incited to recede from their arbitration agreement in order to embarrass the United Railroads defendants, and to bring about a state of mind which would assist in securing their condemnation. On the latter date, the carmen after a stormy meeting at the Central theater resolved to strike for \$8 a day and eight hours' work. The strike thus inaugurated endured to September 15, 1907, a period of 131 days, and was accompanied by many acts of violence. For four months and a half the City was in incessant turmoil. If the police strove to do their duty the public had little evidence of the fact. It is true that they made arrests, and that the police judges promptly dismissed the cases brought before them on the ground of insufficient evidence; but on the other hand it was notorious that great promptitude was exercised in arresting the men brought to the City by the United Railroads when they defended themselves against violence. During the 131 days attempts were made to burn the car barns of the company, bombs were placed on the tracks with the design of blowing up cars, cars were assailed by men working on buildings who hurled all sorts of missiles at passengers and the latter were grossly insulted and otherwise intimidated. Three were killed and twenty-nine wounded in riots, and over 210 of the United Railroads men were wounded. In addition there were many other assaults growing out of the disturbances, but the known casualties directly traceable to the strike numbered 223. Much property was destroyed and 3,529 car windows were shattered by missiles during the period



Copyrighted, 1912, by R. J. Warren & Co.

JUNCTION OF MARKET, POST, AND MONTGOMERY STREETS, 1912

in which the strikers insisted on forcing their demands upon the company. The strike, it was estimated, cost the strikers in lost wages approximately \$600,000. The union workmen were taxed \$12.50 a piece for their support, and the United Railroads suffered a loss in the shape declining revenues and unusual expenses amounting to at least \$1,000,000. On the date when the strikers practically abandoned their efforts the company had 1,450 platform men at work, and in that number were included 245 who quit the union and were taken back by the company as independent workmen.

While the disturbances created by the street car men were at their worst the important civic bodies of the City conceiving that they were largely due to the disorganized condition of the municipal government occasioned by the graft exposures proposed that Schmitz should resign. He professed willingness to do so, the understanding being that the leading commercial organizations of the City would name his successor. This proposal was understood to have the support of men who later arrayed themselves on the side of Spreckels and Heney when they put forth their ultimatum that they must absolutely control municipal affairs. They were extremely intemperate in their denunciation of the movement and pronounced the committee of the combined organizations and the organizations themselves as corrupt hirelings of the Southern Pacific. Instead of permitting the suggested course to be pursued Schmitz was tried and convicted and the vacancy occasioned by his conviction was filled by placing Bixton, the confessed hoodler in the mayor's chair, and the boodling supervisors were retained to assist in carrying out the plans projected by the reformers. Bixton was kept in his position until the opening of the municipal campaign when Dr. Edward R. Taylor was chosen by the board as mayor. The action of Heney and Spreckels was the occasion of much scandal. The theory that San Francisco should be governed by the big stick method wielded by a back room cabal was denounced by the interior press, and the City was derided for tamely consenting to the plan, but citizens had learned the virtue of patience and were ready to consent to any thing or adopt any method which held out a promise of peace. It was this spirit which dictated the course of the community in electing Taylor to the mayoralty. That portion of the press which had resented his appointment by the cabal gave him its support in the election although one paper of influence, the "Examiner," expressed the opinion that he would probably shine more as a poet than as an executive.

Whatever expectations of peace and quiet may have been based on the election of Taylor and a board of supervisors of unquestioned probity, they were not realized. During the several years in which the graft prosecutions occupied the courts there was a constant suspicion that movements which should have been in the interest of the public were promoted for ulterior purposes. There can be no doubt that there was a considerable body of opinion favorable to municipal ownership of public utilities and their operation by the City, and it was remembered and noted by those who were opposed to the policy that when the prosecution was conducting the city government it induced the boodling supervisors to engage in the scheme of building a municipal road on Geary street. The City on two previous occasions had refused by a vote of its electorate to give the project its sanction, but in June, 1907, the machinery was again set in motion. One of the local journals which was giving its support to the prosecution at the time in commenting upon the renewal of the attempts said: "The prosecution is entitled to and should receive the strongest

In Full Control of City Government

Trials Intemperately Conducted

moral support in the prosecution of the hoodlums and its highest duty is not to weaken that support by acts outside its legitimate duties which are contrary to public interest and general desire." It was the performance of acts of this sort which rendered all the efforts of the prosecution abortive and converted San Francisco's name into a byword and reproach. Had the prosecution been conducted soberly many disgraceful occurrences would have been avoided and a few tragedies averted.

**Jury System
Brought Into
Disrepute**

It would take a volume to narrate all the exciting events directly and indirectly linked up with the graft trials. The most of them may be traced to the effort to convict by means of public sentiment which was to be manufactured by the press. As early as April 26, 1907, a transcript of the testimony before the grand jury which began operations on March 18th, of that year, was printed in full in one of the morning papers. It was furnished exclusively to one journal as was charged by some because there was a desire to favor it; by others its publication was supposed to be in response to a desire to make its rivals accept orders from the prosecution. Whatever the purpose the wide publicity given to the evidence raised almost insuperable obstacles to securing a jury, for it left few in the community who could conscientiously affirm that they had not made up their minds as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. The industry of the press in exploiting all phases of the criminal career of the city officials had made the matter of jury getting extremely difficult. This ill-considered publication which occupied forty-two columns of the "Call," and gave first hand information concerning every point, made it next to impossible to do so and imposed a great expense on the community by extending the examination of jurors to ascertain their qualifications or fitness over long periods. Not only was the selection of jurors rendered extremely difficult by the indiscreet publication; both prosecution and defense resorted to offensive inquisitorial methods to ascertain the bias or absence of bias of citizens. Prospective jurors were entrapped into expressions of opinion with the view of disqualifying them if the inquiry turned out unfavorable. Never in the history of San Francisco or of any other American city was the jury system subjected to so severe a strain as it was during these trials; nor is there any instance on record of it being brought into greater disrepute than it was by the Burns detectives and those of the Railroad Company.

**The Shooting
of Francis J.
Heney**

The shooting of Heney and the subsequent suicide of Morris Haas who made the attempt on the life of the district attorney's deputy was directly due to the wretched methods resorted to in the effort to secure juries that would convict. Haas had served a term in the penitentiary for embezzlement twenty years earlier. It appears that he had made restitution, had been restored to citizenship and was generally supposed to be an honest man. He had married and raised a family to whom his early transgression was unknown. In 1908, in making up his lists one of the judges included Haas' name, and it subsequently developed that Haas went to him and begged to be excused, without, however, giving any reason which the judge was disposed to accept. Haas was a Jew and as it had been the policy of the prosecution to refuse jurors of that faith he might have been excused without comment. Heney preferred to resort to a more dramatic method. When he was examining Haas, drawing a photograph from his pocket Heney advanced to the jury box and exhibited it to the man he was examining. It was a picture of Haas clothed in prison stripes. "Didn't you serve a term in the penitentiary?" asked Heney. "Oh! Mr. Heney!" exclaimed Haas, "if you only knew you wouldn't be so harsh. I



OTWELL STREET, WEST FROM MARKET STREET, FIVE YEARS AFTER THE FIRE

asked the court to excuse me and he wouldn't." The judge heard the statement and did not contradict it. Two months later, on November 13, 1908, Ruef still being on trial, a man suddenly rose in the court room and discharged a pistol at Heney who fell to the floor with a bullet in his neck. His assailant was seized and was at once recognized as Haas. An attempt was made to induce Haas to confess that he was hired to do the shooting, but in his hysterical statements about the only thing that could be gathered was that he had been crazed by the exposure of his early misdeed. It later developed that from the day that Heney made his dramatic exhibition of the picture of Haas the latter had abandoned his business, and spent most of his time visiting nickelodeons. On the 14th of November, Haas committed suicide in jail by shooting himself with a derringer, and it was sought to make it appear that he had taken his own life to oblige the so-called "higher ups," the assumption being that the pistol was furnished by them for that purpose. Much was made of the fact that although searched when confined in the jail Haas was able to retain a pistol. There were many conjectures concerning the suicide, but it is quite clear from statements made during the interval between the exposure and his death that Haas meditated self destruction, and had declared his intention of taking his whole family with him.

As every occurrence which could in any manner be connected with the prosecution was eagerly seized upon it would have been extraordinary if the Haas episode had proved an exception to the rule. It did not. William J. Biggy, chief of police, was removed from office, and while the circumstances attending his removal were never fully cleared up it was supposed by many that his refusal to accept the theory that the "higher ups" were responsible for Haas' suicide had caused him to be discredited. On the night of November 30, 1908, Biggy, who had not accepted dismissal, crossed the bay in a launch and visited Hugo Keil, one of the police commissioners, to whom he expressed the intention of resigning and ending the warfare made upon him. Keil counseled him against taking such a course and when the interview was over and Biggy was ready to return to the City he appeared to Keil to be in a more cheerful mood. When the police launch arrived in San Francisco Biggy had disappeared. According to the engineer he last saw the chief seated by the low free board of the launch. His body was not found until a week later. Whether he committed suicide, or was accidentally drowned or what happened to him will probably never be known. The tragic story may be rounded out with the relation of the fact that in June, 1911, William Murphy, the engineer of the police patrol launch became a maniac, and in his ravings exclaimed: "I don't know who did it, but I swear to God I didn't."

The condition of the public mind created by these occurrences, and the utterances of officials inside and outside the court room can be imagined. Immediately after the shooting of Heney a body calling itself the Citizens' League of Justice met in the Pacific building and passed resolutions pledging themselves to aid the cause of justice. Among the conspicuous speakers was Richard Cornelius, the president of the Carmen's union, who was reported by the "Call" as saying: "I think the time has come when there should be a Vigilance Committee to deal with criminals in this City. I am ready to join such a committee." An evening paper, the "News," whose columns were devoted to advertising the demands of the trades unions said: "Not since the days of the Vigilance Committee who strangled the thugs who held the City by the throat in the gold mining days have the law abiding

Tragic Death
of Chief of
Police Biggy

A Bomb
Exploded in
Supervisor
Gallagher's
House

citizens of the City been so horrified." The district attorney, Langdon, who was sometimes permitted to be heard made the statement, which was printed in the newspapers, that "the prosecution has been in possession of evidence to show that for many months a wholesale system of jury bribing has been going on in these graft cases." This assertion was made on October 30, 1908, but its publication accomplished nothing because of the failure to give it effect by an attempt to bring the bribers to justice. It did, however, serve to intensify the uneasiness created by such mysterious occurrences as that of the explosion of dynamite in the hall of the home of James Gallagher in Oakland. James Gallagher was the chief witness for the prosecution. He was one of the hoodling supervisors, the principal go-between of Boss Ruef who used him as his agent when dealing with the board. While the jury for the trial of Ruef in April, 1908, was being impanelled an explosion took place in the vestibule of a house in which Gallagher was supposed to be at the time. Its force was exerted very destructively. The front of the building was torn away, the furniture in adjoining rooms was shattered, and the gas and electric fixtures were twisted but no one was injured. Gallagher, who, according to his own statement, was in a room in which the furniture was wrecked, escaped entirely unharmed. The explosion created great excitement and the charge was made that the "higher ups" had attempted to blow up a whole family in order to rid themselves of Gallagher. While the ferment was greatest the papers published circumstantial stories of the arrest some months earlier of a man named Wilhelm on the suspicion that he was a dynamiter. Wilhelm told the police that Burns had "employed him in his professional capacity as a bomb maker to make a bomb for a demonstration against Judge Lawler, and so turn public favor toward the prosecution." When the explosion occurred Wilhelm was again taken into custody and said that a detective employed by Burns, and a young man whom he believed to be Burns' son, visited him one day in Oakland and represented that they were in the employ of the United Railroads and would pay him \$200 for some bombs. He pretended to accept their offer and actually made some fake bombs and was arrested with them in his possession. The city chemists found that the two small pieces of lead pipe masquerading as bombs contained no explosives and he was released. Probably tempted by an offered reward a Greek named Claudianes confessed that he had been hired by one of his countrymen to explode the bomb in Gallagher's house, and that he understood that his employer was to be paid by Ruef who would get the money from Calhoun for doing the job. Later he recanted his confession, but his brother Peter was arrested in Chicago, and convicted chiefly on the testimony of Burns. No attempt was made to prosecute John who had confessed although persistent efforts were made by his attorney to bring about a court inquiry. The whole matter is still involved in mystery. Many believe that Peter Claudianes committed the crime and that he was hired by Paudivaris the Greek accused in the confession of John, but the latter was never tried and it is not likely that the world will ever learn who hired Paudivaris.

fruitless
Efforts of the
Prosecution

In view of all this turmoil and the division of the community into opposing camps it would have been amazing if the outcome of the effort to punish grafters and put an end to grafting had been other than that which must be recorded. Ruef was convicted on one of the numerous charges brought against him, and sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment. Schmitz was also convicted, but the conviction was secured by such bungling methods that the higher court gave him a



MARKET STREET, EAST FROM THIRD STREET, FOUR YEARS AFTER THE FIRE

new trial and when that took place the principal witness, Jim Gallagher, was not present to testify and there was an acquittal. It would be profitless to discuss the legal questions revealed in the miscarriage of justice. It is charged that the indictments were defectively drawn, and that the cases against the railroad officials and other indicted corporation managers were bunglingly conducted, but it is doubtful whether a jury could have been impaneled which would have convicted Calhoun under any circumstances, for the reasons enlarged upon. Whether right or wrong there was a large number of persons who insisted that Calhoun was a victim of circumstances, and that while paying tribute to city officials is morally indefensible it is the duty of society to render such exactions impossible. They L. Ford was tried three times; once the jury disagreed and twice they found him not guilty. The character of the witnesses, a band of confessed thieves militated against their statements being accepted even when they corroborated each other, but they did not succeed in doing so and their evidence abounded in contradictions. No one doubted that the supervisors had lived up to the reputation Ruef had fastened on them when they were first elected, but jurors could not be found who would convict on such testimony. The most serious obstacle to securing justice was the wholesale resort to the granting of immunity for it fixed the belief that the sole purpose of the prosecution was not the purification of municipal affairs, but the gratification of a desire for revenge and the destruction of a rival. The formal drawing up of contracts promising immunity were denounced as attempts to secure evidence which would suit, and the extraordinary efforts made by Burns, who employed the third degree to extort admissions from Ruef, and the intemperate conduct of the prosecution, not to speak of the unmistakable bias of the judges all contributed to a result which was made manifest when the community, owing to its divisions again permitted the restoration to office of the same kind of men who had brought such discredit on the City during the administration of Schmitz.

The graft prosecutions had their inception practically with the finding of the indictments in May, 1907. Only four of the eighteen supervisors, F. P. Nichols, George F. Duffey, Andrew M. Wilson and Nicholas W. Coffey, were indicted. Coffey was convicted on March 2, 1909, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, but took an appeal. Duffey was indicted three times but was never tried. Wilson and Nichols appeared to have only been under the ban of the grand jury for disciplinary purposes. They escaped punishment of any kind and scarcely forfeited the esteem of their acquaintances. The other alleged grafters were haled into court at various times, but Calhoun whose attorneys were insistent that he should have a speedy hearing was never afforded an opportunity to tell his side of the story in court. The reasons assigned for the delay were of a nature difficult to comprehend, but it was generally believed that the postponements of the case were due to the inability of the prosecution to secure from Ruef testimony of a character which might have some effect on a jury. On Thanksgiving Day, 1909, Jim Gallagher the most important of the prosecution's witnesses was permitted to leave the state. He seized the opportunity afforded him and started on a long vacation trip from which he failed to return until June 11, 1912, when his testimony ceased to be of any importance. Long before his reappearance in his old haunts the indictments against Calhoun, Ford, Mullally and Abbott had been dismissed, the district court of appeals having granted their petitions for a writ of mandate di-

Dismissal of
the Graft
Cases

rected against the superior court and Judge Wm. P. Lawler, requiring him to dismiss all the felony indictments against them in connection with the unheard trolley cases. They based their demand for the mandate on the constitutional right of speedy trial as provided by the codes which give a defendant the right to be brought to trial within 60 days; they had been denied this right 558 days when the district court ordered the dismissal of the indictments. On March 5, 1912, Eugene Schmitz was acquitted by a jury of the charge of having bribed Supervisor Wilson. The jury only required six minutes to arrive at a decision. The community had reached a conclusion exactly the opposite of that arrived at by the "twelve men tried and true." On the 18th of May, 1912, in the superior court, Judge Frank H. Dunne, on the bench, all of the so-called graft cases were dismissed. These included the Ruef indictments still untried, those against former Mayor Schmitz, Halsey and all the others.

Ruef in San
Quentin
Writes His
Memoirs

Ruef in the end proved to be the only sufferer, and perhaps this was in accordance with the generally maintained view that bossism is at the bottom of all the troubles of American municipalities. Of all the bosses produced by the American system of electing men to municipal offices Ruef stands out as the boldest. Boss Tweed exceeded him in the magnitude of his peculations, but that was merely because he had a broader field in which to work. No one can tell just how much Ruef amassed by his corrupt practices. At the time the first indictments were brought against him he was popularly supposed to be a millionaire. He was the possessor of several pieces of valuable real estate, and probably like his associate Schmitz, who had an ingeniously constructed safe hidden under the floor of the house in which he lived, he had valuable securities and ready money. But whatever the amount of his accumulations, great inroads were made on them by the lawyers he summoned to his aid. They served him well, but they were handsomely paid for their services. With the incarceration of Ruef in San Quentin it might have been supposed that his career had come to an end, but he was still valuable for exploitation purposes which were made the most of by the "Evening Bulletin." That journal opened its columns to the publication of a story of Ruef's experience as a boss written while he was in prison. It was an interesting document and contained much truth, but the desire to explain his own connection with the corrupt men with whom he was associated gave it an air of insincerity, and it made little or no impression on the community. No person reading it would be able to form an accurate judgment of the writer who had many of the virile qualities that lend themselves to leadership, whereas he conveys the idea that he was more sinned against than sinning. In June, 1912, Ruef, who had made an application for parole, was denied that privilege by the prison board, which decided that he must serve half of his term of fourteen years before it could be accorded. Ruef had served a little more than a year in San Quentin when the application was made. He entered the prison gates on March 7, 1911. At the time of the request for parole Ruef was supposed to be working at a loom in the jute mill, but his literary labors and other activities, reports of which were regularly sent out, indicate that his time was not wholly devoted to weaving.

Attempt to
Secure Par-
don of Ruef

While in prison Ruef busied himself with the formulation of a plan to help convicted men after their restoration to liberty. He proposed to establish a voluntary association among the prisoners to be affiliated with the Prison Commission, or some organization on the outside whose business it would be to help the dis-



LOOKING UP GEARY STREET FROM MARKET STREET THREE YEARS AFTER
THE FIRE

charged prisoner to maintain himself until he could secure employment, and to assist him to that end, this outside work was to be preceded by a special effort by the prison authorities on the inside to prepare the restored member of society to properly resume his relations with his fellowmen. Concurrently with Ruef's efforts to secure parole, Fremont Older, editor of the "Evening Bulletin," was endeavoring to create a sentiment which would warrant the governor exercising the pardoning power in favor of the Boss. Older's explanation of his motives attracted a great deal of attention as he virtually declared that he had bounded Ruef into prison. He said: "I went to Washington and enlisted Heney in the fight. William J. Burns came and I persuaded Spreckels to help us. At last after years of a man hunting and a man hating debauch, Ruef became what I had longed and dreamed that he might become—a convict. Then I said to myself 'you have got him. He's in stripes. He is helpless, beaten, chained. You've won. How do you like your victory?'" This revelation was a surprise to many for it had been popularly supposed that Ruef was not the object of the protracted attentions of the prosecution which had promised him absolute immunity if he would testify so as to incriminate Calhoun and the other officials of the United Railroad. On the 3d of June, 1912, the state supreme court on the motion of the San Francisco Bar Association disbarred Ruef. The ground on which this action was taken was his conviction in the supreme court of a "felony involving moral turpitude, to wit—offering a bribe."

In view of the capricious conduct of electors at the polls it would be unwise to attempt to deduce from the result of elections the state of popular opinion on any subject. Personal and other considerations complicate the issues and make it impossible to determine the motives of the majority. In 1909 the workingmen's party put forward as its candidate P. H. McCarthy. There could have been no doubt in the minds of intelligent observers concerning the attitude of McCarthy on the subject of the graft prosecutions. He was president of the Building Trades Council in 1906 and after. On several occasions he made bitter speeches denunciatory of Heney and the judges who were trying the graft cases, and his sympathy with the grafters was notorious, but in the election of 1909 he was chosen by the people as their mayor, and with his accession to office the old practices were renewed on a modest scale. He had plainly arrayed himself on the side of the element in favor of "an open town," and had its support. The failure to unite upon candidates who were pledged to adopt a course in municipal affairs which would command the support of the outside world presented the opportunity which procured for him success, but it is doubtful whether his beaten opponents commanded the complete confidence of the community. Regarding their integrity there was no question, but there was a wide gulf of opinion respecting public policies which militated against securing solidarity of the sort which distinguished the actions of the workingmen's party.

Two years of McCarthy's methods and occurrences not strictly political caused the pendulum to swing to the other side. The first vote under a new primary system resulted in the choice by the people of James Rolph, Jr. The election was held on September 26, 1911, and proved decisive, Rolph receiving a majority of all the votes cast. The candidates for supervisorship and a few administrative officials not receiving a majority had to be voted for at a municipal election held in the ensuing November 7th. At this election a board of supervisors was chosen committed to the support of Rolph. The workingmen succeeded in returning only one

Working-
men's Candi-
date Elected
Mayor in
1909

Election of
Reform May-
or and Board
of Supervisors

member. The primary election of September 26th resulted in Charles M. Fickert and Ralph L. Hathorne receiving the highest vote and the contest between them for the office of district attorney had to be fought out at the polls in November. In the course of the campaign a rumor was circulated to the effect that Hathorne if elected would name Francis J. Heney as an assistant. This rumor had so serious an effect on the canvass of Hathorne that at a meeting held at Dreamland rink on the night of October 30th he denied that he had any such intention. The morning paper supporting Hathorne reported the meeting under a four column heading reading: "Hathorne Gives Lie to Rumor. Report that Heney Would be Given Office is Refuted." The assurance, however, had little weight, for Fickert was elected by a decisive majority. On December 8, 1909, William H. Crocker, while in New York, made a statement in a paper published in that city virtually charging that Heney's motives in prosecuting the graft cases were not wholly disinterested and that he had been well paid for his services. Heney brought suit for damages to the amount of \$250,000. On April 7, 1912, an order to take testimony in San Francisco was made. It was thought at the time Heney brought his suit that the old stories would be threshed over again as he had been accused of corrupting witnesses and fixing juries and that his conduct was "marked by a general policy of falsehood and chicanery." The expectation was not realized. Testimony has been taken, but the press has scarcely troubled itself to note the fact. Editors felt the popular pulse and knew that the people wished to forget the unsavory episode in the history of this City.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE SUMMING UP OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS AFTER THE FIRE

NO INTERRUPTIONS OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CITY—THE PEOPLE MAKE HISTORY—GREATER SAN FRANCISCO MOVEMENT—A FREE MARKET EXPERIMENT FAILS—SAN FRANCISCO'S ORIENTAL POPULATION—REDISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION—TITLES NOT DISTURBED—APARTMENT HOUSES MULTIPLY—CHANGES ON NOB HILL—SOCIAL CLUBS REHOUSED—HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS IN INCREASED NUMBERS—CHANGES IN CAFE LIFE—THE SAN FRANCISCO ATMOSPHERE—THE OLD AND THE NEW VAN NESS AVENUE—THE NEW SHOPPING DISTRICTS—RETURN TO THE OLD AMUSEMENT CENTER—AMUSEMENTS AFTER THE FIRE—TETRAZZINI'S OPEN AIR CONCERT—VISIT OF BATTLESHIP FLEET—THE PORTOLA FESTIVAL—NEW YEAR'S EVE IN SAN FRANCISCO—CONDITION OF STREETS—A NEW CITY HALL AND A CIVIC CENTER—ABOLITION OF CEMETERIES—THE STREET RAILWAY SITUATION—WATER SUPPLY—BONDED INDEBTEDNESS—THE CITY'S GROWING BUDGET—IMPROVED STEAM RAILWAY FACILITIES—THE PANAMA PACIFIC EXPOSITION—HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS—GROWTH OF COMMERCE—MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES—MONEY EXPENDED FOR FIRE PRECAUTION AND PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS—POPULATION GREATER THAN BEFORE THE FIRE—BRILLIANT FUTURE PREDICTED FOR PACIFIC COAST METROPOLIS.



IT IS related in the pages of Livy that the Romans when shut up within their city walls by the besieging army of Hannibal went about their ordinary avocations undisturbed, and that while the besiegers were thundering at the gates there were transfers of real estate. The story of the struggle of the Dutch to secure liberation from Spanish rule is filled with instances of beleaguered cities carrying

The Force
of Habit

on trade with the outside world, not merely in the necessities of life but in its luxuries. The more or less veracious Homer in singing of "the long haired Greeks" tells us that they set themselves down before the City of Troy for ten years, but the Trojans somehow or other managed to survive during that long period and put up a good fight to the last. With these and other historical reminders of the tenacity with which the urban dweller clings to his home, and our accumulated knowledge of his fertility in expedients, we need not be surprised that San Franciscans surmounted all their troubles after 1906 and that they actually succeeded in plucking the fig of prosperity from the nettle of adversity.

When we read the chronicles of the ancients we are too apt to concentrate our attention upon their quarrels and their wars with the result that our mental picture of the times in which they lived is one of incessant bickering and war, but between the lines of those authors whose books are filled with accounts of battles

No Interrup-
tion of the
March of
Energy

we discover fugitive allusions which show that the affairs of mankind proceeded pretty much as usual during the most troublous periods in those countries in which the commercial spirit dominated. While the Civil war in the United States was raging and hundreds of thousands were dying on the field of battle and in the hospitals the people of the North were making great material progress, not at the expense of the vanquished South, but by developing the resources of their section of the Union. The story of the eradication of the institution of slavery in the United States if confined to the relation of the exploits of the great armies put in the field on both sides, and the political and other acrimonious debates to which the conflict gave rise might easily, some hundreds of years hence, suggest a period of arrestment, but the prolific statistician has made such a misconception impossible. He has presented so much testimony of material advancement that pseudo economists, misled by the data, actually argue from it that destructiveness promoted prosperity.

Vices and
Evils of
Urban Life

In dwelling on the performances of San Francisco after the great disaster of 1906, and in pointing out that material advancement is not dependent on the moral status of a community there is no desire to convey the impression that profit is derived from the pursuit of vicious courses. The parasite never contributes to the growth of the thing on which it fastens, but on the other hand the purest of motives, the best of intentions and the most perfect of laws unaided cannot promote the growth of a city. That depends entirely on the sagacity and energy of its people. Urban expansion is a purely material phenomenon, and whether we like to recognize the fact or not the flower of spirituality seems to grow most luxuriantly in the muck heap of wealth produced in the commercial struggle. Virtue is the antithesis of vice, and the worst forms of the latter are those which human greed calls into existence. But exaggerated human desire seems as necessary for the preservation of the race as the fertilizing element is to soil productivity. And like the agriculturist who is called upon to deal with the problem of providing for the subsistence of his kind, society must make up its mind that its struggle with parasitic enemies will be incessant. There are times when the horticulturist is compelled to cut down and destroy trees to prevent the spread of some infectious disease, but he rarely extends his precautions to the extirpation of all trees, as he would have to do if he wished to completely eradicate the evil he attacks, an end which could only be accomplished by the destruction of the fertilizers which promote productivity.

Events More
Important
Than the
Actors

In studying the growth of a city we must take the good with the bad, and we shall make a grave mistake if at any time we permit ourselves to believe that the former does not predominate. The evils of urban development fill a large space in the public eye simply because they are departures from the normal. We note the instances in which veracity is departed from, but pay no attention to adherence to the truth. The most inveterate liar probably tells the truth 97 times out of a hundred, but his three per cent infraction of the standard we have set up for ourselves impresses us unfavorably, while the 97 per cent. of the straightforwardness to which we are accustomed passes unnoticed. This proportion of good to bad is nearly maintained in city government, and the most of the imperfections of which we complain are attributable rather to lack of system, the attainment of which is impossible while collective judgment and bossing are the rule. We talk much about bosses and bossism, but as a matter of fact the people are the bosses, and because there are so many of them they make a mess of the job. They call the men they elect to office their servants, but as the people are only accountable to



CORNER OF MARKET AND POST STREETS, THREE YEARS AFTER THE FIRE

themselves when they make bad selections they have to pay the penalty for their ignorance and misjudgments. It is because this is true that this history has dealt with events rather than with the actors who participated in them. The attempt to graft the eponymic feature on a modern municipal system would necessarily prove a failure because the world has become too skeptical to accept as heroes men who are only a part of a machine which even when they appear to be directing it is really run by the people, or is impelled by self-acquired momentum. In ancient Greece the archons, and in Rome the consuls imposed their names on the years during which they held office, and thus perhaps helped out a weak chronological system, but no one remembers them, and the historians who have carefully recorded their names performed no great service. In grubbing through the matter resurrected from the cuneiform tablets from which some sort of a history of Assyria has been produced, many names have been resurrected, but the real point of interest does not lie in their identification, or the fixing of the period in which they lived, but in fugitive facts collected concerning their doings. It is far more interesting to learn that big irrigation ditches and huge temples were erected in Ninevah and Babylonia than it is to know that Sargon II recorded on a stele that 350 kings had ruled in Assyria before him.

The details of the every day life of these ancient peoples give us a better idea of the country, and what its inhabitants had to endure or how they enjoyed themselves, than the eulogies of kings, often self bestowed. Unfortunately they are comparatively meager and have to be pieced out with the imagination. There will be no excuse for traveling outside the record in the future. The modern historian has convinced himself, and the public for whom he writes, that we are far more keen to learn what was done, and how it was done, than to know who did it. Not that he fails to realize that biography is intensely fascinating. He has a keen appreciation of the fact that it is, and if he overlooked it he would speedily be reminded of the favor in which it is held by the statistics of libraries. But he has it borne in upon him that in every event there are many actors, and that in a democratic country there are few leaders, and that they lead by a species of sufrage where frequent elections are held. It is for that reason that the modern historian chooses to be a chronicler of events rather than a judge of men. He is on the safe side when he determines to place the blame for shortcomings on the whole community, and he does no injustice when he permits the praise for meritorious accomplishments to be absorbed by the whole body politic which makes it possible for them to occur rather than to single out for honor the individual who for the moment directs, and whose choice as director is as often as otherwise the result of adventitious circumstances. What has been written in these pages has been largely influenced by this idea. The activities of the people rather than of individuals have been dealt with. The people pay the penalty when mistakes are made and to them belongs the glory which successful achievement calls forth.

An impartial record of the blunders and the accomplishments of the inhabitants of a city does not present an exact analogy to a well kept ledger. It is not capable of being balanced after the scientific manner of the accountant, but it enables the student in a large way to size up the character and efficiency of a people. The noticeable achievements of a modern municipality unlike those of an ancient city are those of the market place and not of the battle field. If the city performs its part well in the marts of trade it is very apt to give a good account of itself in

The People
Make History

Departures
from the
Normal
Interest

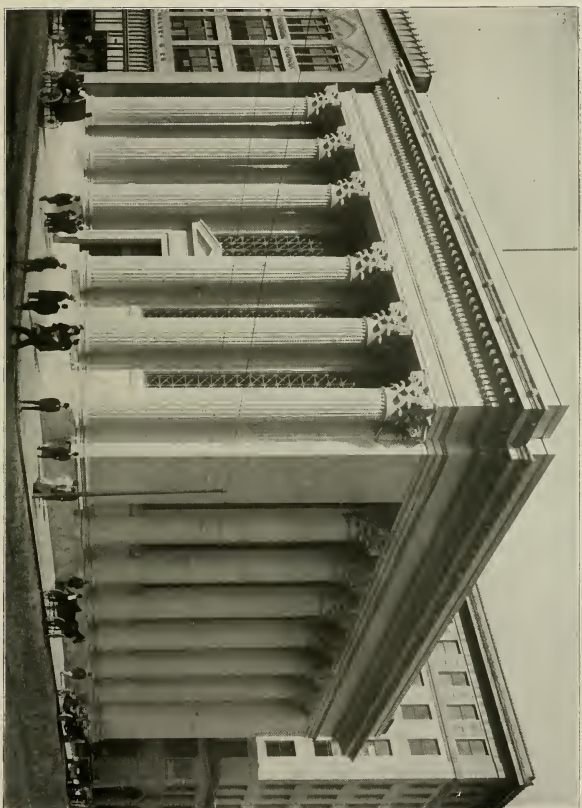
the other activities of life. Success in commerce paves the way to the accomplishment of desirable ends which could not be secured under other conditions. We can best ascertain the cause of progress and measure its advances by noting the growth of commercial institutions. In a modern society the expansion of the one bears a close relation to the other. The city has its vices, and also its virtues, and despite the popular adage which makes man the creator of the town, and thus deprives Providence of any credit for its good works, it can, statistically at least, make a better presentation of active efforts to promote civilization than the country. These chronicles have shown that San Francisco throughout its checkered career has moved steadily along the lines of progress, and that its virtues far outweighed its shortcomings. The fact that the latter have been dwelt upon more insistently than the former is solely due to the tendency of man to take more interest in the exceptional than he does in the every day decencies of life. He expects his neighbors to behave with propriety and to respect the conventions which society has established for its safety, and departures from them incite him to condemn, or at least to protest by taking notice that he objects to violations of the normal.

Not Wholly
Absorbed in
Contemplation
of Evil

San Francisco after the fire of 1906 talked enough about the imperfections of her office holders and people to create the impression in the minds of those who did not know that she was wholly given over to wickedness. As a matter of fact, while the quantity of dust raised was sufficient to confirm the belief that the City was very dirty morally as well as physically, the vigor put into the cleansing effort should carry conviction that the people did not like the condition, and that they were ready to do all in their power to improve affairs. That they differed as to the method by which this improvement should be brought about does not detract from the fact that the desire for improvement was powerfully active, a tribute which cannot be fairly paid to some other cities in which the disposition to wash dirty linen in public is less pronounced than in the metropolis of the Pacific coast. After the long travail in the courts which required so much space in the telling, and which occupied a far greater share of the attention of the world than it deserved to receive it seems incredible that so much could have happened outside of the Halls of Justice worth mentioning if only after the comparative manner of the statistician who takes a date for his point of departure and tells us how much of a tangible thing existed then, and sets over against it the quantity or number of the same thing in existence at a later period, expecting the imagination to fill in the details of accomplishment. Before this final "rounding up" of the achievements of San Franciscans after 1906 is presented a glance will be taken at some of the happenings which occurred, and which show that despite the hubbub in the courts the people were diverted by other spectacles and that the contemplation of municipal defects did not wholly engross the popular mind.

The Greater
San Francisco
Movement

Curiously enough the movement for a Greater San Francisco which has gained considerable force was revived while the City was still a heap of ashes. The project of combining in one political body all the peoples who practically regarded San Francisco as a common center had been mooted before the disaster, but it had never taken definite shape. At that time there seemed to be complete acquiescence in the assumption that consolidation would prove beneficial to the people of the transbay region, and no opposition developed until after the fire. The absence of friction resulted in lack of interest, and the subject was little discussed. In 1906 the promotion committee, an organization which had actively promoted interest in



BANK OF CALIFORNIA

the development of the resources of the state, and especially of the region tributary to San Francisco, took up the matter, and at one of the meetings of its directorate the suggestion was made, which has since been acted upon by the United States census bureau, that metropolitan areas could be determined by ascertaining the relations of the surrounding peoples to a common business center. This idea was not urged as part of a plan of rearrangement of political subdivisions, but as it was closely related it attracted interest. In 1906 the promotion committee actively engaged in the work of collecting data regarding the effects of consolidation. A great deal of convincing information was obtained which determined the committee to actively promote the project of unification. But the fire had made a material change in the attitude of a part of the people of the transbay region. A large number of San Franciscans had made their homes in Oakland, Berkeley and Alameda and those cities grew with surprising rapidity. The error made by Horace Hawes in framing the Consolidation Act adopted in 1856 had circumscribed the limits of San Francisco, and operated to prevent the growth of population southward. The early mistake of the men who planned San Francisco in cutting up tracts into narrow twenty-five feet wide lots also played its part, but the chief cause of the growth of the transbay region was the superior transportation facilities afforded by the Southern Pacific, and later by the Key Route ferries, which enabled the people to spread out over a great area in the transbay region and establish themselves in surroundings congenial to those who care to bring up families in places where there is room to move around.

A large proportion of those who make their homes in the transbay cities are engaged in business in San Francisco or are employed in the City. But communities whose populations attain the hundred thousand mark produce an atmosphere of their own and have their peculiar political aspirations, and these together with interests created by real estate operations gradually brought about an opposition to the project of combination similar to that witnessed in Brooklyn whose citizens succeeded for many years in keeping apart and hindering the formation of a Greater New York. As late as September, 1912, although the discussion of the subject of forming a Greater San Francisco had been carried on for several years no definite expression of the desire or opposition of the people of the transbay region to annexation had been secured. The failure to bring the subject to a head was due to a constitutional provision, the amendment of which was a prerequisite to obtaining a vote on the proposition. Prior to the general election in 1912, a petition enabling communities desiring to consolidate was circulated and the attitude of the people was on the point of being ascertained. It was urged in favor of consolidation that the result would be to create a metropolis whose rank would be fourth in the list of American cities. It was pointed out that the area of the consolidated City and County of San Francisco under the act of 1856 was only 42 square miles as compared with 326 square miles in New York, 190 square miles in Chicago and 225 square miles in Los Angeles. In the petition in favor of consolidation of the cities about the bay it was estimated that the combined population would exceed 750,000, and that the value of the property of the Greater San Francisco would exceed \$800,000,000. The relative proportions were stated as follows: Cities in County of Alameda, \$175,873,787; cities in County of San Mateo, \$25,621,265; cities in County of Marin, \$11,785,505; cities in County of Con-

Arguments in
Favor of
Consolidation

tra Costa, \$12,752,960; San Francisco, \$461,850,025, and state assessments of forms of property untaxed by municipalities, \$112,000,000.

Failure of a
Free Market
Experiment

Among the activities in which the people of San Francisco interested themselves during the busiest days of rehabilitation were some that the Eastern public only began to concern themselves about years later. The project of a free public market was revived in 1907 and the State Harbor Commission was induced to establish such an institution on the property under their jurisdiction. There had for a long time been a pier devoted to the landing of garden and other products which was freely used by commission merchants and dealers in market produce and it was theoretically available to the general public which, however, failed to take advantage of its opportunities. In the year named the free market idea was broadened. A place was provided, and country producers were invited to bring their wares to its stalls. The invitation was complied with after a fashion, but the public did not see fit to patronize it and it soon become disused. There was no question concerning the advantage that might be gained by the housekeeper resorting to the water front market, but the ingrained habit of having things delivered at the kitchen door proved fatal to the innovation. It cannot be said that the creation of the establishment was inspired by the high cost of living, for at the time there was little being said on the subject. It was an economic experiment pure and simple and failed to work practically because San Franciscans elevated convenience above bargains. The cost of living has not at any time been made a burning question in the City. It was seized upon by the unions in order to maintain the wages scale established in many trades after the fire, and to retain those which had been in force for many years, and employers in many cases submitted to the demands of workers based on the assumption that the cost of living is greater than in other American cities. It does not so appear, however, to outside trades unionists. At a meeting of the San Francisco Labor Council held on the 20th of September, 1912, J. F. Hart, president of the International Association of Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of North America made an address in which he stated that since his stay in the City he had found that "the labor movement here is far ahead of the movement in the East, that while he had heard complaints that the cost of living is high, it is not as high as in the East." He added "that here the cost of meat, taken all around is from five to ten cents a pound less than on the Atlantic coast, and that the wages here in all lines are much higher than in the East." He thought, however, "that workmen here have to pay more for rent of flats and more for coal, but as to coal on the whole it may not be so much higher. In my home town in winter," he told his hearers, "I have to burn two tons of coal to keep from freezing to death. Here it is not needed." His observation concerning the use of fuel showed discrimination, but his reference to rents was misleading. It is impossible to make a satisfactory comparison of rents in different localities without taking into consideration the standard of living which the workingman fixes for himself in the places compared. If it were a mere matter of space without reference to surroundings it could be shown that toilers in San Francisco enjoyed lower rents than any other people in the country at the time that this criticism was passed.

Location of
Oriental
Population

The reference to rents directs attention to a phenomenon which followed the earthquake. Prior to the dispersion occasioned by the great conflagration the Japanese inhabitants in San Francisco were less directly in evidence than they



A SAN FRANCISCO RESIDENCE STREET



JOHN D. SPRECKELS' RESIDENCE, PACIFIC AVENUE



THE IRWIN AND CROCKER RESIDENCES

were afterward. Unlike the Chinese they had not created a quarter for themselves, but many were dispersed throughout Chinatown. The Chinese following their gregarious instincts made their way to Oakland and at one time it was hoped by the people of that city that they would permanently establish themselves there, but this expectation was not realized. The leading spirits of the Chinese colony in San Francisco had always been its merchants and they had no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that the burned City would be speedily restored, and that their interests would be subserved by relocating themselves in their former quarter. This resolve was acted upon, and one of the conspicuous features of rehabilitation was the disposition evinced by these Orientals to supply themselves with business facilities superior to those they had formerly enjoyed. In the old Chinatown not infrequently costly stocks of merchandise were installed in ramshackle buildings. In the rebuilding of Chinatown all this was altered. The fire had swept away all the rookeries which housed the thousands who crowded the noisome alleys, and in the place of the destroyed buildings substantial brick structures were erected. Spacious stores with an abundance of light let in by plate glass windows took the place of the cramped places formerly used. The new quarter was deprived of much of its Oriental aspect by the change, but the conditions were vastly improved and its principal thoroughfare now boasts many handsome stores. In the case of the Japanese dispersal a different effect was produced. They invaded many streets formerly regarded as desirable residence quarters, but which their presence speedily caused to deteriorate. This latter result was not due to race prejudice. The outcome would have been precisely the same if whites had occupied the houses and brought with them the same habits. The cupidity of the owners of property induced them to accept high rentals from the Japanese without asking what use was to be made of the hired premises, and the tenants, or lessees made even by subletting and converting them into crowded lodging houses, thus virtually calling into existence many congested districts.

Fortunately for themselves and the community in which they live the workmen of San Francisco when driven from their old homes did not adopt new habits. As rapidly as possible they found their way to sections of the City where land was still low priced and established themselves in homes of their own, or in houses built to meet the exigencies of the situation created by the disaster. A large proportion of the toilers of the City before the fire had been housed in the region south of Market street, and conditions there in many places had reached the congestion stage. Doubtless many of those compelled to leave their old homes and reestablish themselves in the districts which grew with great rapidity after 1906 found the rent of their new quarters dearer, but in such cases the increase was invariably due to the fact that better and more ample accommodations were secured. The involuntary shifting of population after 1906 caused the rapid up-building of many districts whose progress was relatively slow before the fire, despite the fact that the population of the City was increasing rapidly. The tendency of the worker to get as near as possible to the place where he is employed was very manifest in the growing congestion of the down town section. The disposition still exists, but the demand for prospective business purposes has proved an obstacle to the building of small houses in places formerly covered with such structures, and the taste for suburban life has militated against the construction of large tenements or apartment houses in the region south of Market which in 1912 still had

Working-
men's Homes
in New
Districts

many bare spots formerly occupied by homes. Although the population of the City was considerably greater in 1912 than in 1906 those portions of the town formerly the most populous were sparsely occupied at the latter date, but many of the streets were filling up with large structures designed in part for trade, but making provision for housing.

Titles
and the
McEnerney
Act

The rehabilitation of the City was less hampered by anticipated drawbacks than unforeseen troubles. One of the fears which found frequent expression while the Committee of Fifty was holding its deliberations was that the destruction of records would disturb titles and possibly cause confusion or worse. San Francisco's previous experience with squatters had made her people acquainted with what might occur if proper precautions were not taken. But the expected did not happen. An act was promptly passed by the legislature, convened in special session shortly after the disaster, known by the name of its framer, McEnerney, under whose provisions property owners were made secure in their possessions. Its requirements were simple but effective and but little capable of abuse. It required the owner to come into court and establish ownership by evidence of a satisfactory character as against adverse claimants. The instances of attempts to gain possession improperly were few. While the law was largely availed of by property holders many finding themselves undisturbed neglected this means to establish their titles, and the period during which the act was to run was extended. Others have depended on the title guaranty companies to secure them against adverse claimants, the latter having saved their research records.

Apartment
Houses in
Great Favor

One of the earliest subjects to engage attention after the disaster was that of building laws and the fire limits. The portion of the City saved from destruction was almost wholly composed of wooden structures. At no time was there any thought, as was the case after the Chicago fire, of restricting the use of timber for building purposes. When the authorities set to work to revise the regulations controlling construction more attention was paid to the matter of resistance to earth shocks than to fire possibilities. No serious effort was made to greatly extend the fire limits, and those established were antagonized by property owners affected who urged that reconstruction was of paramount importance, and that precaution was a secondary consideration. The north line of the fire limits was Pine street, which at once began to be covered with large frame structures, while the streets south of that thoroughfare and west of Powell street were held back because of the costlier nature of the building materials demanded. An agitation was started, and great pressure was brought to bear on the supervisors to induce them to contract the established limits, but a charter provision prohibiting such action proved a barrier and the attempt was abandoned. There were still many gaps in the streets between Pine and Market and Powell and Van Ness in 1912, but the population within these boundaries was not much smaller than in 1906 owing to the large number of apartment houses and hotels erected. The tendency to favor apartment houses was just beginning to manifest itself a year or so before the fire, but after that event owing to the increasing difficulty of obtaining servants life in apartments became very popular. The district particularly affected for this purpose was the sloping land on the south side of Nob hill. Pine and Bush streets were rapidly built up with large structures, some of which made pretensions to elegance externally and internally, and all of which were well patronized. This class of buildings, however, was not confined to



The White House, One of the Great New Stores

Pacific Building

First National Bank Building

the section named; they were erected in all parts of the City, but in the locality mentioned they formed the bulk of the new construction. Sutter street which was in great favor before the conflagration, containing many family hotels and some apartment houses, came by its own very slowly. The high valuation placed upon real estate by its owners militated against the erection of small or cheap buildings, and while it was among the earliest of the thoroughfares to be used for communication with the down town district during the period while the latter was being restored to its old time condition, the streets north and south of it, west of Powell, made more rapid advances.

The fire of 1906 had swept away all of the costly buildings on Nob hill excepting the Fairmont hotel and the Flood mansion. The former being of steel frame construction its walls survived the flames, and it was restored internally, though at great cost. The Flood house was built of Connecticut brown stone, and while there was considerable spalling about the windows and doors the main construction was undisturbed. The property was sold by its owner, Miss Jane Flood, to the Pacific Union club, and that organization restored the building making additions to adapt it to its uses, and it now ranks as one of the finest club buildings in America. The University club, which had been housed on Sutter street before the fire secured a lot on the corner of Powell and California commanding a magnificent view of the bay, and erected a commodious and attractive home, being one of the first social organizations to completely rehabilitate itself. Later the Southern club built a home for itself on the south side of California street on the block between Powell and Stockton, and the Y. M. C. A. erected a handsome new building to accommodate its membership. The wooden mansions of Stanford, Hopkins, Charles Crocker and David S. Colton, the glory of Nob hill when it first came into notice, were all destroyed, as were also the later constructions in the neighborhood including the residence of William H. Crocker, which adjoined that of his father. These two properties covered the block bounded by California, Sacramento, Taylor and Jones streets. Mr. Crocker and his sister, Mrs. Alexander of New York, made a gift of this land after the disaster to the Episcopal diocese of San Francisco for the purpose of erecting a cathedral, the construction of which was begun in 1912. The Hopkins mansion, which had passed into the possession of the San Francisco Art school by gift of its owner Mr. Searles, who had married the widow of Judge Hopkins, was restored after a fashion, but the site had not been covered with a structure worthy its position at the close of 1912. The property on which the Stanford mansion stood was part of the endowment of the Leland Stanford, Jr. university. In 1912 the construction of an immense apartment house was begun on this property, which was to take rank as the largest in the City.

Before the fire there was some uncertainty respecting the permanency of the down town location of the social clubs, and at times it was suggested that at some future day Van Ness avenue would be given the preference by such organizations. But the subject has not been revived since the conflagration. The Bohemian club, which had occupied the premises on the corner of Post and Grant avenue, lost all of its collection of valuable paintings and souvenirs, but its members were not disheartened by the calamity, and speedily studied out a plan of permanent rehabilitation. The club was the owner of a valuable lot on the corner of Post and Taylor streets, on which it had designed erecting a home. As soon as possible the plans were prepared and construction was begun. Meanwhile the club had oc-

Changes
Wrought on
Nob Hill

Social Clubs
Rehoused in
Handsome
Buildings

cupied quarters in a frame building erected immediately after the fire by the Palace Hotel Company, and which was popularly known as the "Little Palace." The new building of the club is commodious, and its rooms are well filled with art objects, but it will take a long time to gather a collection such as it owned before the disaster which embraced many souvenirs of visits made by some of the most distinguished men in the world. Immediately adjoining the Bohemian club on Post street, is the building erected by San Francisco's athletic organization, known as the Olympic club. It is an imposing edifice, possessing all the features and conveniences of an athletic club, and ample provision is made for comfort as the club is well developed on its social side. The Jewish organizations of the City were quick to reinstate themselves, and all of them before the middle of 1912 were well housed. In addition to the clubs which had become well established before the conflagration, and whose presence was generally known to the community through more or less conspicuous buildings, new candidates for public attention arose after the fire. From the long array of associations, lodges, clubs and social organizations which numbered over 500 in the middle of 1912, an imposing list of those promptly providing themselves with new quarters could be made, but it will have to be omitted. The handsome new hall of the Native Sons on Mason street dedicated in September, 1912, and the Odd Fellows hall on Market street occupied in the previous year cannot be overlooked, and mention of the imposing structure on Van Ness avenue in course of erection by the Masonic fraternity, and the attractive home of the Germans approaching completion on Polk street, cannot be neglected.

**Hotels,
Restaurants
and
Apartment
Houses**

By actual count on the first of September, 1912, there were 291 apartment houses with over 15,000 rooms. In addition to these there were at the same time 516 hotels and 438 restaurants. At one time it was possible to speak of the hotel district in San Francisco and to define its boundaries with some precision. But great changes were wrought in this regard by the fire. The hotels of the first class, recognized as such alike by traveler and public, and whose position is unmistakably distinguished by their charges are located within a few blocks of what was the center in the Sixties, but pretentious buildings devoted to the accommodation of the transient guest may now be found blocks beyond what was regarded as the country in those days. If Lick, who devoted so much thought to the construction of the house which bore his name, or the builder of the Russ house, which like the Lick and the Occidental was located on Montgomery street, were to return from the shades, and were whisked about the City in an automobile they would find tall structures of seven, eight and nine and even more stories in locations which they would have found easier to describe by the names of the ranches which they knew in the early days than by naming the streets on which they are situated. But nevertheless they might felicitate themselves upon the fact that time and experience have not impaired the value of their judgment respecting the desirability of locating as near to what was the old cove of Yerba Buena as possible; for the greater number, by far, of hotels and restaurants were relocated after the fire in the district which they helped to improve. No one was forced in 1912 to seek a down town hostelry. He could, if he desired, find quarters that were as satisfactory in point of accommodation on Van Ness avenue or on Fillmore street, or in the Mission, once a well spaced row of adobes extending through the distance of a few blocks, but now a large built-up area whose principal street, passing over a viaduct



SOUTHERN PACIFIC HOSPITAL



NEW HALL OF JUSTICE

dedicated to the public use on the 22d of September, 1912, reaches out into a region over which the cattle of the padres roamed, and which until the eve of the fire was still largely devoted to market gardens.

But despite the fact that San Franciscans no longer hesitate on the score of mere distance to locate their homes in places miles from what was the old City's center the latter remains nearly as established in the early days. Its hotel and amusement districts have scarcely moved blocks, while its residential quarters have shifted miles, and promise to betake themselves to still more remote regions. There has, however, been a vast change in the established down town center which only the observant have noted. The Palace hotel was reerected on its old site and retains the name given it by Ralston, but the old time features which made it notable have all disappeared. The determination to tear down the original walls which might have been utilized in reconstruction was influenced by recognition of the changed tastes of the people. It cost the owners of the Market street property nearly \$90,000 to wreck and remove the debris of the once leading hotel of the United States, a sum which might have been saved if the same notions respecting lofty ceilings and spacious rooms that obtained in 1876 had endured. Although the walls were as solid as the rock of Gibraltar they could not be adapted to the needs of a modern hotel, hence a wholly new building replaced the structure which was once Market street's most prominent monument. The change in hotels extended much further than the details of construction. In the matter of interior decoration there was a vast improvement after the fire, not alone in the Palace, but in all hosteries catering for those with money, and the disposition to spend it liberally. Instead of the cold, bare walls, and the rather formal array of absolutely needed furniture, and simple "lace" curtains at the window, designers were called in to suggest modes of treatment of rooms and lounging places calculated to impress the traveler with the idea that in journeying he need not necessarily sacrifice all the comforts of a home.

Modernization
of Hotels

The restaurants constructed after the fire responded to this increased taste for luxury. Their appointments were improved in many particulars. The leading cafes in many instances resumed business in their old locations in newly erected buildings, but after all there was nothing but the old name to remind the old time visitor of their former glories. The new generation of patrons had not inherited the devotion to the *cuisine* which was a characteristic of their predecessors who prided themselves on knowing just where to obtain a meal cooked in a certain fashion, and who not infrequently knew the name of the *chef* who excelled in the production of a favorite dish. The establishments which in the days before the fire were just comfortably large enough to permit that free and easy intimacy between patrons and managers which puts the lover of good living at his ease, had been superseded by big concerns in which a blaze of light, gilded ceilings, fine tableware and snowy napery were exchanged for the departed sociability. The Italian harper and violinist no longer twanged and scraped their instruments in convenient hallways on the second floor, and passed the hat around among the liberal diners; their places were taken by orchestras whose members discourse better music, but in different surroundings not at all reminiscent of the period, when the existence of a peculiarly San Franciscan atmosphere was discovered by poets, who still prefer to sing the glories of the past rather than exult over the restoration of the City.

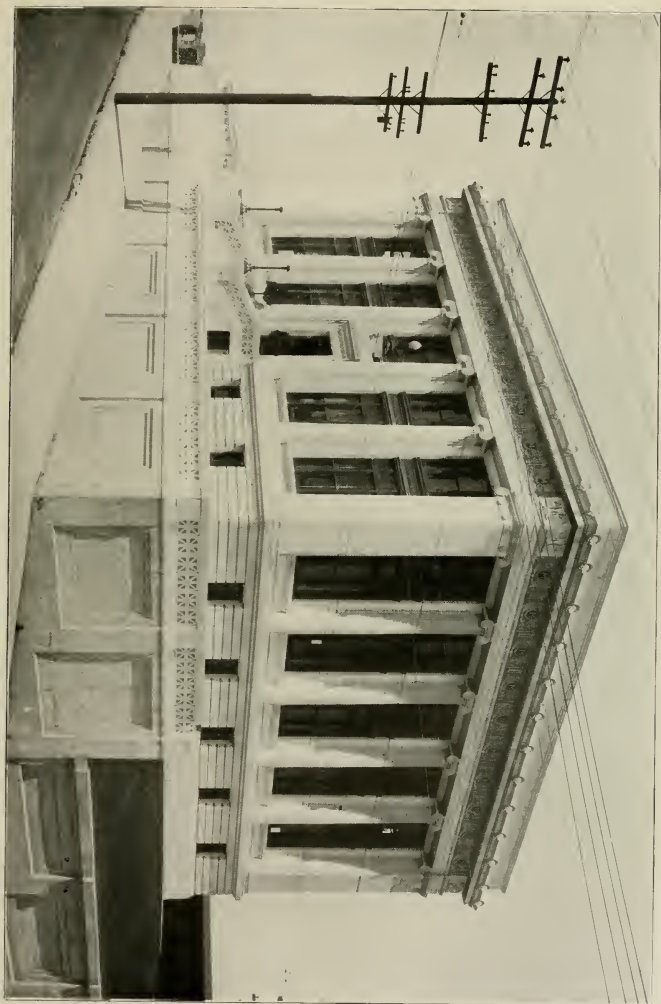
Changes in
Cafe' Life

San
Franciscans
and the
San Francisco
Atmosphere

That San Francisco before the fire possessed the subtle attraction known as "atmosphere" is conceded; whether the flames destroyed it as some have assumed is debatable. The New Yorker who visits the City is still disposed to admit that there are only two places in the United States which the census bureau recognizes as cities that deserve the appellation. He finds in the Pacific coast metropolis many of the peculiarities to which he is accustomed when at home in the borough of Manhattan. He has no difficulty in finding "lobster palaces" in which his favorite crustacean is served "a la Newburgh," although he soon learns that the flesh of the California crab exceeds it in delicacy; and he finds plenty of the night life to which he is accustomed at home. If he is observant he notes that the women on the streets are well dressed, and he concedes that they have claims to comeliness. He is not alone in rendering this verdict. A handsome woman may be accounted a good judge of beauty, and one of the handsomest that ever visited America, Adelaide Lee Neilson, when professional exigencies no longer called for compliments made the statement to a New York reporter that she had seen more really beautiful women in San Francisco than in any other city in the United States. The princess, whose admiration of the beauty of San Francisco's scenery has been quoted, was equally eulogistic in describing the charms of her sex as she found them in the remote Pacific coast metropolis and was indulgent enough to say that they had the manners of the ladies of European capitals. Of the men she spoke in terms of disappointment. Although her visit was paid in the Seventies she still expected to find the red shirted miner parading the streets but instead discovered that men dressed and comported themselves generally pretty much as their sex do in other American cities. In this regard the advancing years made little change in San Francisco. Its women and children have the fresh complexions which abundant opportunity for outdoor life confers, and the men present equal evidence of the benefits of an invigorating climate. The latter, however, manifest no inclination to submit to the conventions of the cities where a growing leisure class prescribes three or four changes of raiment daily, and have no class that can claim to be "good dressers;" but they are generally well garbed, while the women have a strong predilection for fashionable garments, the disposition not being confined to those in any walk of life, the shop girl not infrequently appearing on the streets in the latest style, and making as good an appearance as her wealthy sister who enjoys no advantage except in the matter of the costliness of the fabrics worn.

The Old and
the New
Van Ness
Avenue

The shopping district in the closing years of the period with which this chapter deals was not greatly removed from its old location. Formerly, and immediately preceding the fire the most fashionable stores were found on Kearny street, and the procession of shoppers affected that thoroughfare and the north side of Market street, although there were several important shops in situations a little aside from the main line of travel. After the conflagration Grant avenue attained an importance which it had not previously held, and Stockton street from Market to Post was made attractive by handsome display windows. The event had justified the prediction of those who were opposed to considering the possibility of Van Ness avenue being made the fashionable shopping district. As rapidly as the new buildings down town were finished the concerns doing business on the avenue abandoned their temporary quarters, and in an incredibly brief space of time that thoroughfare lost the characteristic which ample show windows with displays of merchandise



A NEW DEPARTURE IN BUSINESS ARCHITECTURE
A life insurance company's building on the slope of Nob Hill

imparts. The hurriedly constructed buildings were torn down, and some of a more substantial character, such as the Van Ness theater, which was built under the impression that the avenue was destined to become a center, met the same fate. There was no disposition shown by the owners of property on which handsome residences formerly existed to replace them except in a few instances. The residence of Claus Spreckels, by far the most costly on the avenue, and which was one of the few buildings on the west side to be destroyed, was restored at great expense, but the indications are that the old time prestige attaching to Van Ness avenue as a fashionable residence street has wholly departed. Instead it promises to attain importance as a great automobile center, and, as in the case of Upper Broadway in New York, a favored location for high class apartment houses. The extension of the civic center to the avenue, and the fact that the new city hall, while its principal facade will be on the park, will also have an attractive elevation on Van Ness may impart to the locality characteristics not foreseen or at least not much dwelt upon by those who planned the improvement.

The shopping center of San Francisco after reconstruction was made particularly attractive by lavish expenditure upon fittings and by the great attention paid to the matter of window display. Within the boundaries of Kearny, Powell, Market and Sutter there was before the end of 1911 a continuous line of windows in which the art of the cabinet maker vied with the magnificent displays of costly goods. The buildings all being new the harmony of the showing made by the shopkeepers is not disturbed as in other cities, where equally and even more elegant exhibits may be seen, by establishments lacking the up to date characteristics of San Francisco which was compelled by force of circumstances to be strictly modern. While the area lying within the boundaries mentioned is spoken of as the fashionable shopping district it by no means embraces the largest establishments. The south side of Market street enjoys the distinction of having the two largest department stores in San Francisco, the Emporium and Hale Brothers. The former of these establishments was reinstated in the building it had occupied previous to April, 1906, within three years of that date. The handsome facade of the structure was the only part that escaped destruction and was utilized in the restoration. As indicating the confidence of the concern in the future, and also the increased tendency towards luxury, it may be mentioned that the fittings of the new Emporium are all of mahogany and cost more than a quarter of a million dollars to install. The other store, that of Hale Brothers, was approaching completion in the fall of 1912, and adds another to the handsome structures lining Market street, which was almost entirely rebuilt from Ferry to Eighth street before the close of the year. The department stores mentioned are rivaled in many particulars by those situated within the fashionable district and surpassed in some. The White House, one of the earliest to reestablish itself down town on Sutter street, the City of Paris, O'Connor and Moffit and a number of other establishments broadened their field of operations to conform to the modern idea of making it convenient for the purchaser to find what he wants in one place, and have created what may be called specialized department stores. This tendency to overlap was exhibited in every retail mercantile line, even the jewelry concerns invading fields which were formerly held by the crockery merchant, who in turn has encroached upon the formerly recognized specialties of the jeweler. An examination of the contents of these later establishments and the principal retail stores of the

Shopping
Districts and
Department
Stores

City would satisfy the most skeptical that San Francisco after the fire, if it really parted with its old time atmosphere, did not by any means modify its desire for beautiful things and objects of luxury of all sorts.

The Return
to the Old
Amusement
Center

In the closing months of 1912 the person taking a survey of amusement conditions, and comparing them with those existing prior to 1906, would note that the theater center had reestablished itself in its old location, although, as was the case before the fire, something like a disposition to spread was still manifest. Immediately after the conflagration, as was noted in a previous chapter, three substantial structures were erected for amusement purposes in the vicinity of Fillmore street—the Orpheum, the Alcazar, and the Princess. Before they were completed the barn-like building of the Chutes, then located on Fulton street opposite the park, was utilized by an opera company which gave several performances in a sufficiently satisfactory manner to attract audiences to that out of the way place. About the same time the Central theater, a hybrid structure, whose canvas roof suggested pioneer days, was opened and its improvised stage was occupied by various visiting companies, including an operatic organization. Meanwhile plans were made by the people connected with the San Francisco Hotel Company to establish a theater in the down town district, and promoted the construction of the Columbia on Geary street near Mason. The new building regulations which required the practical isolation of theaters and halls in which large numbers of people gather were complied with in this modern structure which was wholly devoted to the purpose for which it was built. Its facade was decorated in a novel fashion, admired by some and condemned by others, but admitted by all to be suggestively Californian. The interior was given a rich and thoroughly modern aspect. The Orpheum soon followed the example and erected a new temple of vaudeville on its old O'Farrell street site. Its interior decoration surpassed that of the old house which made no pretensions architecturally. An Eastern rival of the established theatrical monopoly built the third down town house on Ellis street and named it after himself, the Cort. It was in every way externally and internally more attractive than any of the theaters destroyed in 1906. The Alcazar management in 1911 deserted the theater erected by it on the corner of Sutter and Steiner and took possession of a handsome new building on O'Farrell between Powell and Mason streets.

Amusements
After the
Fire

This down town movement by no means put a period to the amusement pretensions of the Fillmore street district. The abandoned houses were taken over by other caterers, and in the fall of 1912 the different temples of the drama were doing a flourishing business under new names. Their feature was cheap vaudeville combined with moving picture attractions. The development of the latter class of entertainment after the fire was very rapid, and numerous so called moving picture theaters sprung up all over town. Some of the more aspiring of these were located on Market street in Class A buildings, specially constructed for them, as were also a number of vaudeville concerns which combined moving pictures with acrobatic and other performances. The admission charges of these rivals of the Orpheum were much lower than those of the pioneer vaudeville house, and their patronage came from an entirely different class than that enjoyed by the O'Farrell street concern. The destruction of the Mechanics pavilion, which was in the burned district for a short time left the City without a place for large assemblages excepting the Chutes amusement hall, but three or four big buildings of frame, de-

MARKET STREET, EAST FROM GRANT AVENUE, FOUR YEARS AFTER THE FIRE.



void of architectural pretension inside or out, were speedily put up, and used for conventions, prize fights, concerts and fairs. One of these near the Pan Handle of the park was destroyed by fire, Dreamland, the Auditorium and the Coliseum, at the close of 1912 were still in existence, and their inconveniences and other drawbacks will probably be tolerated until the Auditorium, which is to adorn the civic center is built. The most remarkable development in amusement matters in San Francisco after the fire was that of the multiplication of moving picture shows, which, however, cannot be set down as peculiar to the City. The old time popularity of music has experienced no change, and while no great organization has visited the City since 1906, there have been frequent seasons of Italian opera of more or less merit. In 1911 a French company visited the City. The impresario and his backers made the blunder of rating their artists too highly, and of promising too much. There was a brilliant audience on the first night, but a wretched ballet which became a joke and the remoteness of the Valencia street theater from those parts of the City which contribute the most patronage resulted in disaster. Subsequently successful seasons were enjoyed by other companies, notably by the Lambardi organization which produced "Conchita" the first time in America. Numerous concerts given by prominent singers, foremost among them Tetrazzini, filled the spacious Dreamland rink on various occasions. The artist mentioned won her first success in America in a San Francisco place of amusement, the Tivoli, a house which before the fire was wholly devoted to the presentation of various forms of opera, including Grand Italian. The troupe to which she belonged had met with failure in Mexico, and was induced by the manager of the Tivoli to visit San Francisco. The great talent of Tetrazzini was instantly recognized by the patrons of the house, and her fame soon reached the ears of Eastern impresarios, but not until her warm reception had attached her to the City. Subsequently she appeared in Covent Garden, London, and was acclaimed as the successor of Patti, and later she gained signal triumphs in New York and other Eastern cities.

The attachment she had formed for San Francisco endured, and after her reputation was internationally established she returned to San Francisco and redeemed a promise she had made to sing on the public streets. This event occurred on Christmas Eve, 1909, in front of the "Chronicle" office on Market street, and resulted in assembling the densest crowd ever seen in the City. The night was balmy and the photographs of the immense assemblage, with the men uncovered as a tribute to the singer, were widely disseminated and reproduced in illustrated papers in America and Europe. Later by ordinance of the supervisors a tablet was placed on the Lotta fountain which stated that the gifted artist had publicly sung on that spot. This bit of historical inaccuracy was an intentional error, and deserves passing attention as its relation will help to understand the methods, and to some extent measure the influence of the press. The idea that the prima donna might be induced to sing publicly had its origin in the "Chronicle" office. Tetrazzini in one of her numerous legal difficulties in a moment of exasperation, when told that she would not be permitted to sing in San Francisco, declared she would do so if she had to sing on the public street. It is doubtful whether she meant to keep her threat, but when the proposition was made to her by a "Chronicle" reporter to do so she promptly acceded and in accordance with that promise she gave her great open air concert in front of the main entrance

Tetrazzini's
Open Air
Concert on
Christmas
Eve 1909

of the "Chronicle" office building. The great success of the affair excited some newspaper jealousy, and pressure was brought to bear on the supervisors, who caused the misleading tablet to be prepared and attached to the fountain. The popularity of the Christmas Eve open air concert suggested to the "Examiner" a repetition of the performance, and a programme was arranged for the Christmas Eve of 1911, which attracted a vast crowd to the locality of the morning newspaper offices and once again the charms of San Francisco's winter climate were spread abroad.

A Grand
Opera House
in the Civic
Center

The destruction of the Grand opera house on Mission street in April, 1906, left the City without a spacious place for the presentation of opera with all the accessories that contribute to the complete success of important organizations, and managers who had formerly regarded San Francisco as a most profitable field hesitated to bring their expensive companies to the coast. This drawback was recognized by the music loving part of the community, and an agitation was started as early as 1909 to secure a suitable structure. The unsettled condition of affairs, and the uncertainty attending the location of the civic center delayed the accomplishment of the plans of those interested. In 1912 when the large issue of bonds for the purpose of acquiring the land on which to establish a central beauty spot was authorized the project took form. The San Francisco Musical Society, a large organization with many hundred members, whose activities have resulted in giving the music lovers of the City seasons of symphony concerts, and other high class entertainments, interested itself in procuring subscriptions and received promises to the amount of three-quarters of a million for the construction of an opera house on the new civic center, the site for which was donated by the City. The new enterprise will be a quasi municipal undertaking, with representatives of the City acting in conjunction with the organization representing the subscribers, but the arrangements made seem to preclude the possibility of the Academy of Music or Opera House being diverted from its purpose of fostering high class music. The committee of the subscribers are to prepare the plans, the only requirement of the City being that they should conform in a general way to those of the other buildings to be placed on the civic center. The Auditorium, which will also have a place in the civic center will likewise be subjected to this rule of architectural conformity.

Visit of the
Battleship
Fleet in 1908

A people whose fondness for music and amusements of all kind has been so marked as to earn for their city the reputation of a pleasure-loving community which the possession of nearly sixty theaters and other places of entertainment at the close of 1912 perhaps fully justified, naturally take kindly to processions and pageants. From the day of the celebration of the admission of the State into the Union in Portsmouth square, when the sailors marched over the dusty roads in their blue jackets and straw hats, and the marines in their tall caps led by officers who fairly glittered with gilt, at their head a flag with many less stars than now adorn it, down to the day of the fire there were frequent spectacles of this kind. The story of the changes in the manner of celebrating might be made long and interesting, as the difference in the makeup of the marchers and the attitude of the spectators towards them reflect the changed conditions of the City and nation, and to some extent the sentiments of the people. It is not probable that the love of pageantry will ever be wholly extinguished. The fact that the Fourth of July parade has fallen into desuetude, and that the political torch-



FAIRMONT HOTEL



ST. FRANCIS HOTEL

light procession has become a thing of the past, merely indicate that the popular taste for annual repetitions without variation has disappeared; but the delight in novelty still persists as was evinced on the occasion of the visit of the battleship fleet in May, 1908. The spectacle was one of the most remarkable ever witnessed in San Francisco bay, and perhaps was never surpassed by any ever seen in an American port. The fleet which entered the harbor on May 6, 1908, was composed of 16 battleships, 14 cruisers, 11 destroyers and 6 auxiliary ships. These 49 war vessels, and countless other craft which filled the harbor, all gaily bedecked with the national colors and signals made a brilliant sight witnessed by half a million people. Every point of vantage surrounding the bay was crowded with spectators and patriotism was at fever heat. From the 6th to the 18th when the fleet departed for Puget Sound on its voyage around the world the City gave itself over to festivities. There were parades, banquets, balls and receptions to the secretary of the navy, the officers, the 8,000 bluejackets and the 500 marines, the hospitality of the City being as lavishly bestowed on the man before the mast as upon those who commanded him. Jack was the recipient of attentions of all sorts. He was invited to balls at which the elite of the City were present, and danced with him; he was taken on excursions to points of interest about the bay; a prize fight was gotten up for his delectation, and he was escorted in companies to the theaters and to see baseball contests. Nothing that could be thought of as contributing to his pleasure was omitted, and he responded by giving receptions on board the ships of the fleet which were visited by tens of thousands, and by brilliantly illuminating them, the electrical displays night after night being marvelously beautiful. Admiral Evans was in command of the fleet, it being the last great event of his active life. The expense of this profuse hospitality was borne by private subscription, the sum of \$71,284 being raised for the purpose.

The movement down town and the rapid subjection of the ash heap was the excuse for the holding of a festival in 1909 which established the ability of the resurrected city to present a pageant rivaling in interest any ever given in America. It was conducted under the auspices of the merchants who devoted much time and pains to make it epitomize allegorically and otherwise a period in the early history of California linked up with the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco. It was called the Portola Festival in honor of Gaspar de Portola whose search for the Bay of Monterey resulted in the finding of a harbor far more important than the one he was in quest of, and which he came near overlooking in his wanderings from San Diego northward in 1769. The celebration was a successful exhibition of the restored energy of the City, and its growing ability to turn its attention from the engrossing work of clearing away debris and other tasks of restoration to the lighter affairs of life. The description of the floats and decorations in the daily papers read like the accounts of "the joyous entry" and other pageants described in the history of the Netherlands. A descendant of the early Spaniards, Nick Covarrubias, personated the explorer in the procession, and Vergilia Bogue was selected out of some two thousand competitors as worthiest to be the queen of the occasion. The festival lasted five days and embraced daylight parades and night processions of illuminated floats. The latter were all designed by clever artists and admirably illustrated the history of the state, especially that of the earlier period. It was estimated that over a half a million people were drawn to the City to see the pageant, the presentation of which cost

Portola
Pageant and
Festival

the citizens instrumental in its promotion over \$150,000. Among the items of expenditure were \$40,447 for lighting and decorating; \$25,166 for parades and floats; \$8,851 for music; \$8,008 for athletic sports and \$6,938 for entertainments. The celebration was devised for the specific purpose of attracting attention to the City, and with the view of promoting the interests of those who contributed to the fund required for carrying it out, but it proved fully as successful as if the motives inspiring were as elevated as those which prompt receptions to heroes, or those prepared for the gratification of kings.

Celebrating
Arrival of the
New Year

Several years before the great disaster the practice of celebrating New Year's Eve by parading on Market street was inaugurated in the City. There was a considerable interval between the cessation of the ancient practice of New Year's calls, and its attendant hospitality, and the development of the spontaneously introduced public demonstration, which, without organization, has grown to such proportions that practically the whole City participates in the annual custom of welcoming the incoming year. After the fire Market street was not in a condition to at once resume the festivities, but when at length the restoration was complete enough to permit the annual demonstration on that thoroughfare it was accompanied by such manifestations of joy, and felicitations over the return to the "old street" that color was lent to the assumption that the community is permeated with sentimentality. On every New Year's Eve since dense throngs have overflowed the sidewalks and invaded the streets making the movement of cars for any other purpose than that of affording an opportunity to witness the spectacle of the noisy celebrants something of a mockery. The quantities of confetti consumed on these occasions are enormous. The best of humor usually prevails, but rowdyish tendencies sometimes assert themselves, and the entire police force is required to restrain the exuberance of the moving masses, some of which resort to other methods of getting rid of their surplus energies than by blowing horns, ringing bells, creaking rattles and throwing colored paper. The leading restaurants have such a run of patronage that they require the reservation of seats, based on a strictly cash consideration which involves the necessity of expending a minimum amount for entertainment. Occasionally the scenes in these restaurants transcend the bounds of decorum, and some color is given to the claim that San Francisco resembles Paris, by impromptu dances on tables and other departures from the strict rules usually governing those establishments. No statistics are available, but there is a popular impression that enough champagne is consumed to float a ship if there was a desire to put it to that use rather than the more convivial one to which it is applied when San Francisco welcomes the New Year.

Exhibitions of
Hospitality

There is one feature of San Francisco life which has earned for the City the reputation of being provincial. It has always shown an excessive desire to convince the outside world that it is hospitable, and sometimes puts forward its claim to be so regarded in a fashion that suggests the artless self appreciation of the "three little maids" in the "Mikado." This desire has even touched the people whose business it is to dispense hospitality for a consideration. It is worthy of record that no attempt has ever been made "to despoil the stranger within its gates." On the numerous occasions of the invasion of the City by visitors in large numbers, restaurants and hotels have maintained their usual charges. The conveniences of the establishment may be lessened by the extraordinary draft made on its resources on such occasions, but the prices remain the same. Investigations



CLAUS SPRECKELS BUILDING

Home of the San Francisco Call

HEARST BUILDING

Home of the San Francisco Examiner

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE BUILDING

have been made by the local press at different times to determine whether this claim is well founded, and they have invariably resulted in the disclosure that there is a genuine effort to live up to the City's reputation for hospitality. Another charge of provincialism sometimes brought against the City is its tendency to make much of distinguished visitors. The great ovation tendered to Grant on his arrival in San Francisco after completing his "around the world" tour has been referred to, and might be supplemented with accounts of the reception accorded presidents of the United States when they have visited us as they have occasionally during recent years. The number of these visits can be tabbed off on one hand. The first was that of Benjamin Harrison. Later William McKinley conceived the desire to realize the extent of the nation over which he presided, and during his first term Theodore Roosevelt journeyed across the continent to see and be seen of the people. The latter availed themselves of the opportunity to the fullest extent, and no Roman emperor who deigned to visit his subjects in cities remote from his capital was ever received with greater demonstrations of interest and pleasure than were the presidents who traveled thousands of miles to get in touch with their fellow citizens on the remote Pacific coast.

Statistically considered San Francisco may be said to have realized the boastful proclamation on her great seal, which shows the fabled Phoenix rising from its ashes, before the close of 1912, but there were at that time still many unsolved problems, and much to be done. The units composing the community had done their part, but the people acting in their collective capacity had not performed as well as the individuals. The latter have to their credit all the achievements, while the story of the efforts of the municipality to restore itself to its former estate is filled with instances of failure and incapacity. As late as September 4, 1912, the representatives of the down town merchants appeared before a committee of the board of supervisors to complain of the wretched condition of many of the streets in their district. The spokesman of the board, Supervisor Giannini, made no attempt to excuse. He admitted that money had been wasted. Nine and a half millions, he said, had been expended since the fire in an attempt to put the streets in order. The cause of the failure of this large amount of money to accomplish satisfactory results he attributed to "muddle headed incompetents." When the administration to which he belonged came into power, he declared, the City was served by "subordinates who were the worst kind of grafters. They grafted time, they pinched the good will of the people, they peculated the municipal trust and burglarized the City's mandate." He promised that within a year every street in the City would be in a presentable condition. Whether the promise will be redeemed the future will disclose. There were sceptics who listened to him who did not hesitate to express the belief that the restraints placed upon the energetic by hampering charter conditions would indefinitely postpone the desired result. The municipality was called upon to restore many miles of streets absolutely destroyed by the fire. Along many thoroughfares the curbing of granite was spalled in such a fashion as to necessitate its replacement by the property owner, and the basaltic blocks in many cases, owing to neglect, were so uneven as almost to make travel over them impossible. Much of the nine and a half millions was wasted in patching these stone block pavements which speedily became as uneven as before the alleged repairs were made. The bituminous rock covered streets were in a still worse condition. Market street for a time was constantly being patched, the corrupt

Condition of
Thorough-
fares After
1906

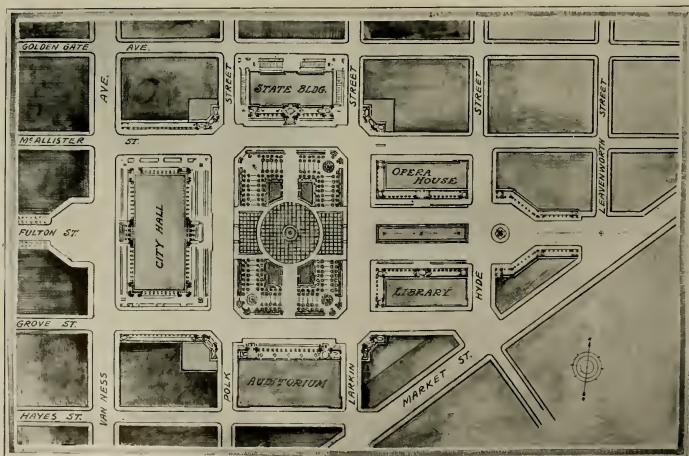
officials superintending street improvements permitting contractors to work over the bitumen. Under the Taylor regime this trouble was remedied by the City securing a street surfacing plant and insisting upon the use of fresh material. The result was apparent in the greatly improved condition of Market street and other thoroughfares, which, however, were subjected to constant disturbance by public service corporations and by the board of works.

Streets Torn
Up and Their
Appearance
Marred by
Overhead
Wires

The difficulties arising out of the operation of the constitutional provision permitting water companies and corporations supplying illuminants to open the streets at will resulted in the adoption of an amendment to the charter which gives the municipality the power to compel the observance of its regulations in the matter of restoration if it chooses to exercise it, but the failure to employ the means at its command to rectify other abuses suggest the possibility that no more rigor will be displayed than formerly. There are ordinances requiring the maintenance of sidewalks of prescribed materials which have been utterly disregarded since 1906. In the down town district stretches of sidewalk may be seen rudely covered with boards. No attempt is made to compel compliance with the ordinances, and in many cases the City is itself an offender. There was a reasonable excuse for not pressing property owners during the first years after the conflagration, but the failure to enforce the ordinances after five years of grace is inflicting a distinct hardship on those citizens who have put their sidewalks in passable condition. Much had yet to be done in 1912 to improve this state of affairs. Although eyesores of the sort indicated were numerous, a movement for the beautification of the City was in progress which took no note of this defect, nor of another equally serious which militated against any successful attempt to keep the thoroughfares in the residential districts in a presentable condition. The frequency of elections has resulted in imposing a nearly permanent infliction in the shape of shacks which serve as election booths. These unsightly structures are left standing month after month and mar the appearance of streets which otherwise would have some claims to be considered attractive. The tolerance of the overhead wire was another obstacle to the accomplishment of this object. A movement to compel the telegraph and telephone, and the companies supplying electric current to put their wires underground was inaugurated by the Merchants' Association in the first years of its existence, but comparatively little success was achieved. The obnoxious poles were removed from a few streets, and conduits were provided, but the municipality proved a laggard, and in some of the busiest quarters of the City maintained unsightly sticks scarcely deserving the name of poles to carry its fire alarm wires. In the closing days of Ruef's bossism he sought to secure a franchise for laying a conduit which would accommodate the wires of all corners, but public outcry against what was regarded as a palpable job caused him to retreat from his purpose. To make his proposal attractive he offered to give the City the free use of the improvement. The latest phase of the overhead wire nuisance discussion was the enlistment of the owners of property against its abatement. An effort to clear Geary street of such obstruction was antagonized in September, 1912, by property holders on the ground that it would compel them to incur unnecessary expense to connect their houses with the conduits if they were laid. The apparent disposition of the supervisors to listen to the protesting householders, and the attitude of the latter indicated that much educational work was still to be done before the entire com-



ACCEPTED DESIGN OF NEW CITY HALL (WEST ELEVATION)
To be erected on Civic Center at a cost of \$4,500,000



CIVIC CENTER

munity could be depended upon to work harmoniously for a comprehensive plan to promote the beautification of the City.

That there was a pronounced desire to make the City attractive, and that the community stood ready to incur a serious expenditure to accomplish that object was shown by its action in authorizing an issue of bonds to the amount of \$8,800,000 by the decisive vote of 45,129 to 4,035 for the purpose of acquiring the land for a civic center and to erect a city hall. The election for the purpose was held on March 28, 1912, and as soon as the result was known Mayor Rolph, who had announced his determination to expedite the building of the new municipal edifice, and the improvement of the selected site, immediately took steps to get both undertakings under way. Architects were invited to submit plans, the author of the accepted design to receive the first prize of \$25,000, and to be engaged by the board of public works as the city hall architect to superintend its construction, and to be paid for his services in accordance with the minimum schedule of the American Institute of Architects. The sum of \$20,000 was allowed for secondary prizes, and the twenty whose designs were adjudged next in merit to that of the prize winner were to receive \$1,000 each. There were numerous competitors, many of their designs having exceptional merit. The award of the first prize was made to Bakewell & Brown, a local firm. The sketches of the elevations of the projected building present a dignified appearance, and the dispositions of the space promise a structure which will meet the requirements of municipal officials. The sum of \$3,500,000 was to be devoted to construction, but there were early indications that it would be necessary to exceed this amount to secure all that is desired. It was at first designed that the new city hall should occupy that part of the Civic Center formerly covered by the municipal building destroyed in 1906, but it was subsequently decided that more effective results could be secured by erecting it nearer to Van Ness avenue, which will form the western boundary of the City's show place.

New City Hall
Projected

The plans for the Civic Center embraced a broad opening from Market street, between Marshall square and McAllister street on the axis of Fulton street extended. It was also designed to extend Leavenworth and Hyde streets through to Market, this latter purpose to be accomplished by the creation of an assessment district. The land in the blocks which were to be acquired embraced 108 parcels in the possession of 172 persons, some of them were disposed to drive a hard bargain with the City but the majority of the owners showed a disposition to come to an agreement on reasonable terms. The Mechanics' institute, the owner of one of the blocks embraced in the new center, consented to accept \$700,000 for its holding, although its estimated value was \$1,000,000. Condemnation proceedings were instituted against properties whose owners valued them too highly. The plans of the architectural commission provide for the erection on the new center, which embraces six full city blocks, in addition to the site of the former city hall, a triangular piece of ground the equivalent of three blocks, of an opera house, an auditorium, a public library, an art museum, a state building and a city hall. The latter was assured by the authorization to issue bonds; the exposition committee was under agreement to erect an auditorium to cost \$1,000,000 and the music lovers of the City by subscription were to raise \$750,000 or a greater sum, to construct a modern opera house or academy of music. The public library which had renewed its collection of books was the possessor of a fine site which it occupied

Plans for the
Civic Center

on Van Ness avenue, but it was proposed to sell this and locate on the Center. Andrew Carnegie had offered to provide \$750,000 to be used in the construction of a library building some years before the fire, but the acceptance of the gift was strongly antagonized by the trades union element of the City; the trustees however, were nearly a unit in favor of the acceptance of the offer. The question of funds for this building was to have been settled at an election to be held in November, when several charter amendments, and other propositions were to be submitted to the people.

Boundaries
of the Civic
Center

The establishment of a Civic Center gave to the City a new open space in what before the fire was the population center of San Francisco, the census bureau by its system of determining such matters having arbitrarily decided that it was at the corner of McAllister and Larkin streets. As the space between the public buildings projected will be parked, and otherwise adorned, there will be a down town breathing space. The climatic conditions of San Francisco make the need of such places less imperative than at the East where stifling heat compels the inhabitants of cities to seek open spots during the summer months, but there was a consensus of opinion that the center would prove a decided acquisition as a spot for great civic functions. The boundaries of the new site are irregular. There are four blocks between Golden Gate avenue on the north and Hayes on the south, and two fronting on Van Ness avenue between McAllister and Grove streets. In addition the triangular piece bounded by McAllister, Larkin streets and City Hall avenue forms part of the site, together with several corners cut off from blocks on streets which enter the Civic Center in order to form vistas.

Utilization
of Cemetery
Lands

This new breathing place promised to be supplemented by another in the Western Addition through the conversion of the cemeteries in that section into residential tracts. These burial places had ceased to receive bodies for interment after the adoption of the existing charter, and an ordinance was passed in 1900 declaring it to be the intention of the people of the City and county represented by the board of supervisors to abolish them and cause the removal of the remains. No attempt was made at that time to put the resolution into effect, but after the conflagration of 1906, which resulted in the rapid settlement of the district beyond Presidio avenue the agitation for removal was renewed. It was urged that the practical effect of the preservation of the cemeteries was to prevent convenient communication between two rapidly growing sections of the City. Nearly all of the improvement clubs endorsed the proposition to remove the bodies, and a new resolution by the supervisors, drawn in conformity with recent legislation, was passed in July, 1912, ordering the immediate removal. There was some antagonism to its adoption based on sentiment, and the Outdoor Art League offered some opposition on the ground that it was desirable to acquire the four cemeteries for park purposes. This latter proposition received but little support, owing to the proximity of Golden Gate park, whose area of over a thousand acres was considered sufficiently great to satisfy the outdoor needs of the Richmond district, and of the country immediately south of the people's pleasure ground. The objection of the league was withdrawn when it was learned that those active in the movement to remove the bodies were disposed to retain the monuments to public men in the cemeteries, and to use them as adornments for the circles and other open spaces which they proposed creating in a new residential district for which use the lands of the cemeteries were specially well adapted by reason of their location which



HUMBOLDT BUILDING, MARKET STREET

had become more or less central owing to the tendency exhibited by the peoples of all large cities to make their homes at a distance from their business centers.

This centrifugal tendency became very pronounced in the years immediately following the fire and was to some extent promoted by the activities of real estate speculators who were taking advantage of the increasing disposition of the people to seek homes with a bit more room than a twenty-five foot lot afforded. Several tracts sold under restrictions to which builders were required to conform, had been successfully put upon the market, and in 1912 numerous spacious additions were being made to the number in parts of the City which a few years earlier would have been deemed too remote to be considered in that connection. In the more pretentious of these new residential districts pains were being taken to rectify the early blunder of rectangular streets, and the topography was carefully studied in laying out the roadways. Villa lots of generous size were provided and whenever practicable the trees which had been planted at an earlier date were preserved to enhance the attractiveness of the landscape. The most extensive undertakings of the character described were in the region south of the park. The Sutro forest was purchased for that purpose, and the thick timber with which it was covered up to the middle of 1912 was being thinned out, only such trees as would lend themselves to the landscape gardener's plans being retained. The beauties of the marine view in the northwestern part of the City were also utilized by laying out residence parks and were made attractive to the homeseeker, who insisted on something more than a mere city lot when buying land on which to build a house for himself.

The spread of the population over a greatly increased area after the fire called into existence new neighborhood business quarters. There were numerous such before the disaster, but localities almost destitute of population a few years earlier were suddenly provided with streets well lined with stores whose owners catered for the nearby trade. As already stated some of the streets which had already attained to importance before 1906, after that date took on a more metropolitan appearance, indulging in plate glass windows and offering other attractions to customers. Foremost among these outlying retail districts were Fillmore street and Mission street and North Beach's principal thoroughfare. In addition to these there were Divisadero street, Clement avenue in the Richmond district, Polk street, Hayes street which served Hayes Valley, Haight street and others. The growing importance of these new centers was recognized in many ways. The larger savings banks, and some of the commercial financial institutions established branches for the convenience of clients; the daily papers maintained agencies and in some instances mercantile establishments deemed it worth their while to imitate the example of the others by getting as near to their patrons as possible by means of agencies or with auxiliary stocks of goods. One of the effects of what may be termed the neighborhood business development was to call into existence numerous bodies of enterprising men who devoted themselves to promoting the growth of their particular localities, and their energy resulted in stimulating interest in and forwarding desirable improvements. Among the most important of these were various tunnel projects. The first of these suggested was that designed to make communication with the main business center of the City by tunneling Nob hill so as to make North Beach easy of access. The interest aroused by the effort to accomplish this object incited the Fillmore street merchants and

Restricted
Residence
Districts

Neighborhood
Improvement
Clubs
Promote
Tunnel and
Other
Projects

property owners to reach the northern district of the City by a subway through the hills which for years had made a long detour necessary for ordinary vehicles, and had compelled the street car line to resort to the use of a cable to overcome the heavy grades. Plans to tunnel under Twin Peaks were also formulated, in order to bring the Parkside, and a new residential district, which included much attractive property, into closer relations with the business parts of the City. These various projects were being vigorously pushed during 1912. Many legal questions had to be determined, and fresh state and local legislation had to be secured in order to reconcile the conflicting interests of property holders some of whom would be benefited and others injured by the changes.

New Streets
Constructed
and
Additional
Car Facilities
Demanded

Concurrently with this movement to facilitate intercourse between the sections of the City separated by natural barriers, great energy in opening and making new streets was being displayed. While in some parts of the City visited by the fire the basalt block pavements of earlier days were in a wretched state, and presented a bad appearance, in the newly opened districts bitumen was chiefly employed and the streets were smooth and presentable. Legislation which facilitated the prosecution of improvements of this character by spreading the time of payment to contractors over a considerable period contributed greatly to the extension of the streets, hundreds of miles of which were added between 1906 and 1912. While the population of the City was distributing itself in the manner described there was a constant demand for improved car service, but the attitude of the authorities in dealing with the United Railroads was of such a character that extensions were made practically impossible. The war made on that corporation had produced a state of mind in a part of the community which prevented it recognizing the material fact that the vested rights of the United Railroads could not be disturbed, its franchise and the extent of its roadway, which was linked together by an elaborate transfer system, gave it a practical monopoly of city transportation which could only be combatted effectively by the expenditure of many millions of dollars. The failure to approach the subject from the standpoint of practicality was a source of great irritation to the people who had made homes in outlying places, and who believed that the denial of facilities to the corporation could not accomplish its disciplinary purpose. This friction endured from the date of the inauguration of the proceedings against Ruef and the other municipal grafters down to the closing months of 1912 when a better perception of the needs of the City by its authorities seemed on the point of asserting itself, and there was promise of securing by compromise that which it had been found impossible to effect by punitive methods.

Contest Over
Tracks on
Lower
Market Street

The construction of the Geary street railroad under municipal auspices, which was approaching completion toward the close of 1912 helped to bring about this state of mind. For several years the supervisors had denied to the United Railroads the use of the outside set of tracks over which the Sutter Street Company had run its horse cars for many years. The Sutter street line was one of those acquired by the United Railroads, and had been operated by cable to the junction of Sutter, Sansome and Market streets until after the fire when it was reconstructed as a trolley line, the cars between Sansome street and the ferries traveling over a set of tracks on the outside of those used by the Market street line. No permit had been obtained from the supervisors for the change of motive power, the corporation imagining that no technical or other objections would be interposed to pre-

vent so obvious a benefit to the traveling public as that conferred by saving it the necessity of transferring from an electric to a horse car. But the authorities thought differently and when the contest inaugurated in the courts grew more bitter, and the public sentiment against the railroad company, owing to its difficulties with the Carmen's union, and the efforts of the graft prosecution to destroy its managers increased, the reform board of supervisors took steps to prevent the operation of cars by electricity over the outside tracks. This action was taken and maintained against the expressed wish of a large section of the community subjected to the inconvenience of being compelled to transfer to and from the horse cars on lower Market street. At the close of September, 1912, there were signs of an approaching better understanding between the people and the corporation, due in part to changing opinion, but chiefly to the desire to secure the privilege for the City of running the cars of its new municipal line which as originally projected was to terminate at Geary and Kearny streets, to the ferries. The United Railroads claimed that their franchise precluded the City from carrying out this purpose, and threatened to invoke the courts if the attempt was made, but at the same time proposed a compromise which, if agreed upon, would permit it to operate its Sutter street cars by electricity on lower Market street. In exchange for this privilege, and with the understanding that it surrendered none of its rights, it would consent to the running of the municipal line over its tracks from Sansome street to the ferries. The supervisors were ready to come to some sort of an agreement but insisted that the corporation must admit that the rails over which the controversy was waged were controlled by the City and that it must dismiss any appeal from the judgment obtained by the City which forfeited the Sutter street franchise.

The changed attitude of the authorities in the matter of street and transportation was not confined to the making of an agreement dictated by the force of circumstances. It was visible also in the complete abandonment of the opposition to the overhead trolley against which the first assaults on the United Railroads were directed. This change was by no means due to observation of the fact that the use of the overhead trolley had not proved as disastrous as predicted but to a growing perception of the inefficiency of the city authorities, and the anxiety of the advocates of municipal ownership to make a showing of some kind. It speedily developed when the project of building the Geary street road took practical shape that the advocates of municipal ownership were entirely in error in assuming that the conduits of the old cable system could be used in converting the line into an underground trolley system. Absurdly low estimates of the cost of conversion were made. It was assumed that such a system could be installed for \$750,000, and that amount was actually raised by direct taxation after the failure at two elections to secure the necessary two-thirds vote authorizing the issuance of bonds for the purpose of constructing the road. This money was subsequently diverted to the street fund under the pretense that there was an emergency demanding such action. A movement was started to prevent the illegal diversion, but was abandoned, the desire for the improvement of the condition of the accepted streets being sufficiently strong to induce taxpayers to condone irregularities.

Although the city authorities in 1912 were exceedingly tenacious in their insistence upon an admission from the United Railroads that the rails on lower Market street were controlled by the City it does not appear that they were inclined to deal rigorously with the corporation in other particulars. While the negotiations which

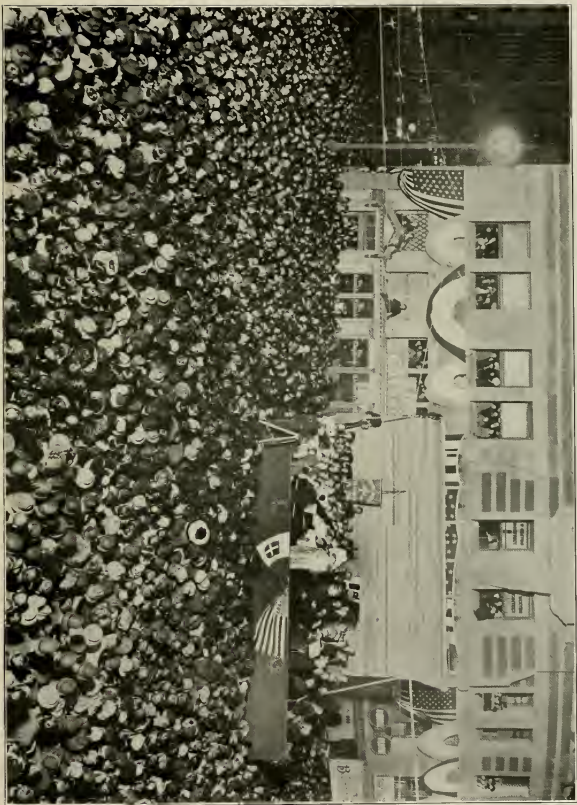
**Demand for
Underground
Trolleys
Abandoned**

**Street
Railways and
Pavements**

had for their object the gaining of access to the ferries by the municipal railway were in progress the city attorney rendered an opinion which called attention to an abuse of the streets, by the United Railroads, and other companies, which had been tolerated for years without a protest. It was on the point of the obligation of the United Railroads to keep Ninth street in good repair from curb to curb. The city attorney held that this provision could not be construed to mean that the corporation could be required to put down a new pavement for the full width of the street, but should the City decide to replace the old basalt blocks with some other sort of pavement the company could be compelled to keep the surface in repair. This opinion related to Ninth street in which the exceptional provision of keeping the entire space between curbs was inserted, in nearly every other instance the franchises granted to the predecessors of the United Railroads and other street railway companies, only required that they should pave between their tracks, and for a certain distance on the outside, and that the pavement laid should conform to that of the rest of the street, and that the portion of the pavement for which they were responsible should be kept in good repair. These provisions were persistently violated. The street railway companies were permitted to do pretty much as they pleased. If they chose to lay stone blocks between their tracks on streets which were provided with smooth pavements they did so, and if they found it convenient to use bitumen on stone paved thoroughfares they were not interfered with. The provision respecting the keeping of their part of the roadway in good condition was equally neglected, and the press at frequent intervals took occasion to call attention to the apparently contemptuous disregard of the law.

Complaints
of Inadequate
Street Car
Service

This condition was no worse after than before the fire, but the evasions attracted more attention because of the seeming inconsistency produced by a persistent policy of refusal to accede to the demands of localities which sought better transportation facilities that could only be obtained through the United Railroads. Instead of attempting to surmount the difficulties in a practical fashion investigations were instituted with the object of demonstrating that the United Railroads did not afford adequate accommodations to its patrons, and that much of the congestion on the Market street system at certain hours of the day was artificially produced by the failure of the corporation to provide a sufficient number of cars. That there was ground for this criticism even the friends of the United Railroads were compelled to admit, but good observers were convinced that in this, as in other cities, during the rush period it was inevitable that many passengers should be compelled to stand, but it was contended by complainants that the evil of "strap hanging" was forced on the community at times when no necessity for such a course existed, and that a resort to it was dictated by motives of economy, and the desire to squeeze the ultimate nickel out of the pockets of the patrons of their roads. That much of the adverse criticism was not purely disinterested was shown by the failure to find fault with the California street line, which did not form part of the combine, and which was as serious an offender in the matter of neglect to provide seats as the larger corporation. In order to compose these and other troubles connected with the management of the transportation companies of the City, and largely out of deference to the idea that the recommendations of an outsider would be accepted as an impartial judgment, the supervisors in 1912 resolved to employ an expert to examine the subject in all its bearings, and to make a report and recommendation.



THE PRIMA DONNA TETEAZZINI SINGING IN THE OPEN AIR ON CHRISTMAS
EVE, 1910, IN FRONT OF THE CHRONICLE OFFICE

On September 19, 1912, Bion J. Arnold, who was selected to make the inquiry presented a voluminous report of the existing condition in which he clearly pointed out that the franchises in force covered the principal thoroughfares, leaving only "feeder" streets to be devoted to municipal ownership. This created a condition which the City could not remedy by a resort to municipal ownership and practically made the community dependent upon the conclusion of satisfactory arrangements with the United Railroads, which could provide the facilities demanded by outlying districts. The limitation clause of the city charter proved an obstacle to the perfection of any method which left the corporation controlling nineteen-twentieths of the mileage of the City out of consideration, for it was made apparent that private capital would no more be inclined to build "feeders" than the City, and that even if they were provided that they would prove useless because they would not be a part of the transfer system instituted and maintained by the United Railroads, and by means of which passengers were enabled to reach any part of the City for a single fare. It was assumed that the only way out of the difficulties created by the antagonism directed against the United Railroads would be to amend the charter so as to establish the plan of granting indeterminate franchises, so framed as to insure investors a return on their investments, with reasonable profits earned in the operation of their plants, and with the understanding that the privileges could be taken over by the City at some future day when the lapse of existing franchises would enable the municipality to control and operate the entire street car system as a monopoly.

The report of Expert Arnold went into the matter of the commutation rates of the steam roads and of the ferry systems which the people living on the peninsula claimed were so adjusted that they were at a disadvantage when compared with the transbay region. An elaborate time and zone chart of street car transportation in San Francisco, and the other bay cities was prepared which made the Chronicle building the center of a thirty minute radius. It was figured out on this zone map that with standardized facilities it would be feasible to bring San Mateo within the thirty minute circle, thus making it possible for the peninsular commuter to reach San Mateo in a much shorter time than the Alameda commuter would consume in reaching his home. As indicative of the possibilities under a properly developed zone system, and the drawbacks that would be overcome if the benefits of all rail travel to the peninsular suburbs should be taken advantage of, it was shown that there were large areas which could be reached in less than half an hour, that now were practically unattainable in more than double that time. The chief value of the demonstration consisted in establishing the facts that it costs the peninsular commuter 13 1/3 cents to travel the same distance covered by the North Berkeleyite for five cents, and that "by improved transportation San Franciscans may reside within seven and a half miles of the business center of the City with an expenditure of but little over thirty minutes' time each way, while from ten to fifteen minutes more will always be required to reach the transbay residence sections at the same distance via water routes." The agitation of the subject of peninsular commuters' rates was actively pushed by the people and property owners of the section concerned, and the Southern Pacific, in the fall of 1912 was showing an inclination to extend the facilities afforded by its steam lines and intimations were thrown out that it would substitute electricity as a motive power in the operation of its suburban trains. At the close of the year there was a reasonable prospect

Report of
Expert on
Street Car
Facilities

Attempt to
Better
Peninsular
Transporta-
tion
Facilities

that the transportation question would be definitely settled, and that such facilities would be afforded commuters that the peninsular rather than the transbay region would be sought by San Franciscans with a taste for suburban life.

United
Railroads
and the
Municipal
Road
Experiment

The operations of the United Railroads during 1911 showed gross receipts amounting to \$7,886,136. The gain in gross revenue was \$232,647 over 1910 and \$430,171 over that of the year 1909. Compared with the year 1908 the gain of 1911 was \$1,019,834. The number of passengers carried in 1911 was 157,722,720, a gain of 4,642,940 over the year before and 20,395,680 more than were carried in 1908. In 1903 the company carried 32,859,340 less passengers than in 1911. These figures pertinently illustrate the fact that the City had practically attained and surpassed its former population standing before the close of 1911. The revenues of the United Railroads, and the number of passengers carried by that corporation tell the story of the major part of the street car activities of the City since the fire, but the operations of the lines which the company has thus far failed to absorb—the California street and the Ferries and Presidio line—are by no means inconsiderable. Both of the companies have exhibited growth since 1906, and the rapid building up of the sections traversed by them is constantly increasing their revenues. The completion of the Geary Street Municipal line, which was expected in October, will serve a region already penetrated by the United Railroads but not as efficiently as desired. On the first of October, 1912, the tracks of the new municipal line had all been laid, but the car house and the cars were not completed. The construction of the latter was entrusted to a local concern whose facilities for rapid work were limited, and delay in delivering resulted. At that date the terminus of the line was at Kearny street, but it was hoped that the arrangement with the United Railroads would be consummated and permit its extension to the ferries. The operation of the new municipal line was not expected to be productive of economy except by enthusiastic advocates of public ownership of utilities. Any belief that might have been entertained that it would result in a saving to the City was dismissed after observation of the blundering incapacity manifested in its construction. Commencing with 1902 when a proposition to authorize the construction of an underground trolley system on Geary street at a cost of \$700,000 was rejected by the people a number of mistakes were made. Finally on Dec. 30, 1909, the people voted the issuance of bonds to the amount of \$1,900,000 for the line, and an additional \$120,000 to build from Geary street to the ferries. During McCarthy's administration work on the road was begun, and in accordance with the programme of the workmen's party it was proposed to complete the job by day labor. The result was disastrous. Little or no progress was made, and the appropriation was melting away. With the advent of the Rolph administration a contract was let which was expeditiously executed, the contractor performing his obligations within the stipulated period and earning a bonus. At the close of the year it was still to be determined whether the more than \$2,000,000 provided for construction would suffice; the story of the cost of operation is to be told by some future historian.

Development
of Metropoli-
tan Area
of San
Francisco

The account of the transportation facilities of the City in 1912 may be rounded out with some interesting details of the operation and extent of the roadway of the United Railroads furnished by Thorndyke Mullally. The operating expenses in 1911 aggregated \$5,000,000. The number of fares collected was 157,279,054, and 66,532,000 availed themselves of the transfer privileges of the company. The



TETRAZZINI MEMORIAL BEING PLACED ON THE LOTTA FOUNTAIN BY
SUPERVISORS

company at the beginning of 1912 operated 264 miles of single track, including the line to San Mateo. The average number of persons transported daily was 600,000, and 140,000 of these were carried between 4 and 6 p. m. At the time of the report the company was using 600 cars which traveled over 60,000 miles daily, requiring 1,800 platform men to run them. To run these cars it required the equivalent of 35,000 horse power, or reduced to electric terms 100,000,000 of kilowatt hours. The transbay traffic likewise furnished abundant evidence of the expansion of the metropolitan area. In 1911 the Southern Pacific on its Oakland and Alameda ferries carried 18,133,396 passengers; the Key Route 13,383,656; Western Pacific to Oakland, 83,165; the Santa Fe to Richmond, 244,369, and the Northwestern Pacific to Sausalito, 5,316,815. These figures of transbay traffic convey some idea of the rapid development of the region about the bay, but the story is far more emphatically told in the budget account of the City of Oakland which aggregated \$2,732,752 when the city council fixed the tax rate at \$1.98 on the 28th of August, 1911, the assessed valuation of the City at that time being \$116,000,000. The Oaklander sometimes resents having his city considered an adjunct of San Francisco, and when he contemplates the great growth made by the community in which he lives in the short span of a life he is often inclined to assume that it may outstrip San Francisco in importance. The growth of population, however, is not the determining factor in these matters. The modern tendency of business is to converge towards the center while the people distribute themselves over constantly widening areas. San Francisco is not peculiar in that regard. The fact that the business center of a city is separated by water from a large part of the territory inhabited by those who are identified directly or indirectly with its interests cannot militate against its advancement, nor can arbitrary political subdivisions impede its growth. The fortunes of all those living about the bay are bound together, and the prosperity of one part is not at the expense of the remainder. In the census of 1910 the enumerators included within the area of the metropolitan district of San Francisco 686,873 people, 416,912 of whom live in the City, 150,174 in Oakland, 40,434 in Berkeley, 23,833 in Alameda, 6,802 in Richmond and 5,934 in San Rafael. These constitute a homogeneous people, the most of whom when they go abroad style themselves San Franciscans, and are proud to hail from the Pacific coast metropolis.

The solidarity of these growing communities is shown by the hearty accord in which they enter upon a project for the common good. Political and personal interests may interfere for a time in carrying out the sentimental idea of making them politically as well as actually a Greater San Francisco, but it does not operate adversely when such enterprises as the Panama Pacific Exposition are being promoted. The suggestion that such an exhibition should be held in this City was made by R. B. Hale in January, 1904, in a communication to the Merchants Association. In January, 1906, Representative Julius Kahn introduced a bill in the house asking the appointment of a Government Commission, and an appropriation of \$5,000,000 on condition that a like sum be raised in San Francisco. An Eastern paper at that time commenting upon the measure which had for its historical excuse the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Pacific ocean by Balboa incidentally expressed the hope that the opening of the Panama Canal would also be commemorated, and the idea was promptly embraced by those who were giving the matter attention. The fire of April, 1906, diverted the minds of

Panama-
Pacific
Exposition
Idea
Brought
in 1904

San Franciscans from the contemplated exposition for a time, but in January, 1907, a bill was introduced in the legislature and passed by that body formally recognizing the Pacific Ocean Exposition Company, articles of incorporation for which had been filed on December 10, 1906. Regular meetings were held during 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909, and in November of the latter year a resolution was reached to form a ways and means committee of two hundred citizens which practically resolved itself into a mass meeting which took place in the Merchants' Exchange on the 7th of December, 1909. On the 29th of the month the Committee of Ways and Means met and appointed a committee of thirty to take charge and on March 22, 1910, the Panama Pacific International Exposition Company was incorporated with these thirty as directors. On the 29th of April following, a mass meeting was called for the purpose of publicly receiving and announcing subscriptions. Forty public spirited citizens headed the list with subscriptions of \$25,000 each, and at the end of two hours \$1,000,000 was subscribed.

Contest for
Privilege of
Celebrating
Opening of
Panama
Canal

Although the idea of holding an exposition to signalize the opening of the canal and to celebrate the discovery of the Pacific was first mooted in San Francisco its claims were antagonized by New Orleans whose representatives demanded that the Crescent City be designated as the Exposition City. This rivalry resulted in a spirited contest in which the press of the entire country participated. The principal argument advanced in favor of New Orleans was that it was "the logical point" for holding such a celebration. Its geographical location, it was held, would make it easily accessible to many more millions than could be induced to visit San Francisco, but the unfortunate experience of the Jamestown and other exhibitions held in the South weakened the force of the assumption that propinquity to great populations was the determining factor in promoting the success of international expositions. San Francisco relied upon the priority of her claim, and on the fact that she would be able to devote a sum of money, which New Orleans could not hope to match, to making the undertaking a success that would reflect credit on the nation. Armed with the authorization by the legislature to raise \$5,000,000 by a general state tax, and another permitting San Francisco to raise \$5,000,000 by issuing bonds to that amount, and \$5,000,000 subscriptions by citizens of the City, a body of men representing the Exposition Company and the people of California went to Washington and after an arduous campaign which engrossed the attention of the whole country congress on the 31st of January, 1911, passed a resolution authorizing the president, when certain conditions had been complied with, to invite the world to the exposition at San Francisco in 1915.

Scope of
Panama-
Pacific
Exposition

The question of location being settled, the determination of the site occupied the attention of the directory. There was considerable division of opinion, but the community generally inclined to the belief that Golden Gate park was in every way more suitable for the purpose than any of the other places suggested, being largely influenced by the desire to secure some benefits of an enduring nature for the vast sums to be expended. The directory after a prolonged controversy settled the point adversely by selecting the North Beach site which was largely composed of submerged lands in private ownership, the filling in of which required the expenditure of a large sum of money, and was still in progress in the closing days of the year 1912. It was asserted by the engineer of the exposition and representatives of the directory that the process of making a site in no wise interfered with the preparations for building, and that the exposition would open promptly in



San Franciscans from the contemplated exposition for a time, but in January, 1907, a bill was introduced in the legislature and passed by that body formally recognizing the Pacific Ocean Exposition Company, articles of incorporation for which had been filed on December 10, 1906. Regular meetings were held during 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909, and in November of the latter year a resolution was reached to form a ways and means committee of two hundred citizens which practically resolved itself into a mass meeting which took place in the Merchants' Exchange on the 7th of December, 1909. On the 29th of the month the Committee of Ways and Means met and appointed a committee of thirty to take charge and on March 22, 1910, the Panama Pacific International Exposition Company was incorporated with these thirty as directors. On the 29th of April following, a mass meeting was called for the purpose of publicly receiving and announcing subscriptions. Forty public spirited citizens headed the list with subscriptions of \$25,000 each, and at the end of two hours \$4,000,000 was subscribed.

Contest for
Privilege of
Celebrating
Opening of
Panama
Canal

Although the idea of holding an exposition to signalize the opening of the canal and to celebrate the discovery of the Pacific was first mooted in San Francisco its claims were antagonized by New Orleans whose representatives demanded that the Crescent City be designated as the Exposition City. This rivalry resulted in a spirited contest in which the press of the entire country participated. The principal argument advanced in favor of New Orleans was that it was "the logical point" for holding such a celebration. Its geographical location, it was held, would make it easily accessible to many more millions than could be induced to visit San Francisco, but the unfortunate experience of the Jamestown and other exhibitions held in the South weakened the force of the assumption that propinquity to great populations was the determining factor in promoting the success of international expositions. San Francisco relied upon the priority of her claim, and on the fact that she would be able to devote a sum of money, which New Orleans could not hope to match, to making the undertaking a success that would reflect credit on the nation. Armed with the authorization by the legislature to raise \$5,000,000 by a general state tax, and another permitting San Francisco to raise \$5,000,000 by issuing bonds to that amount, and \$5,000,000 subscriptions by citizens of the City, a body of men representing the Exposition Company and the people of California went to Washington and after an arduous campaign which engrossed the attention of the whole country congress on the 31st of January, 1911, passed a resolution authorizing the president, when certain conditions had been complied with, to invite the world to the exposition at San Francisco in 1915.

Scope of
Panama-
Pacific
Exposition

The question of location being settled, the determination of the site occupied the attention of the directory. There was considerable division of opinion, but the community generally inclined to the belief that Golden Gate park was in every way more suitable for the purpose than any of the other places suggested, being largely influenced by the desire to secure some benefits of an enduring nature for the vast sums to be expended. The directory after a prolonged controversy settled the point adversely by selecting the North Beach site which was largely composed of submerged lands in private ownership, the filling in of which required the expenditure of a large sum of money, and was still in progress in the closing days of the year 1912. It was asserted by the engineer of the exposition and representatives of the directory that the process of making a site in no wise interfered with the preparations for building, and that the exposition would open promptly in



THE
END

1915 on the day named. The architectural scheme was worked out by a corps of architects headed by Willis Polk, and in the early part of September, 1912, sketches of some of the more important buildings were published in the daily press. The dominating feature of the exposition from the view point of the architects will be the tower of the Administration building, 425 feet high, flanked by the gilded domes, towers and minarets of the remaining buildings of the group. The largest buildings in the exposition were to be the Palace of Agriculture, covering in two sections a floor area of 680,000 square feet. The other buildings are to correspond in magnitude. Before the close of 1912 many foreign nations had accepted the invitation of the government to exhibit and had chosen sites for their buildings. Japan was among the foremost and announced her intention of expending a million dollars in making her exhibit. Most of the states of the Union had also selected sites and in many cases their legislatures have made large appropriations for representation. It was estimated that the expenditures for the exposition would exceed those of any previous undertaking of a similar nature, and the hope was generally entertained that in many respects it would prove the most noteworthy exposition of modern times.

While the object of promoting the Panama-Pacific International Exposition was admittedly the same as that which influenced the holding of similar exhibitions of the world's progress it was thought by San Francisco that the event to be celebrated, and its ensuing results would make it unique. Other expositions held in the United States were merely designed to commemorate events of the past; the Panama-Pacific Exposition will celebrate the accomplishment of the greatest engineering feat of all times, which is expected to effect revolutionary changes in the world's commerce. This may be called the universal view, but San Franciscans and Californians generally considered the subject in relation to their own destiny and believe that the result of the opening of the canal will be to fill the vast area of the state with a population great enough to develop its varied resources. Hitherto the remoteness of California from the countries from whence the states on the Eastern seaboard have derived their immigrants has resulted in hindering rapid development. It was believed by those who enthusiastically supported the enterprise that with cheap steamship rates from Europe, which will permit emigrants to California to embark at their home ports and debark at San Francisco without change, would provide the necessary supply of labor to develop the soil, and that of a sort which would be assimilable and produce ideal communities of thrifty small farmers and horticulturists. It is this point of view which prevented Californians and San Franciscans particularly in 1912 from regarding with apprehension the assumed after effects of an exposition. They believed that a revolution in conditions would be accomplished by the state securing a population whose numbers will bring it closer in point of density to the Eastern commonwealths, and that the future growth which such an accession will promote must enormously increase the importance of San Francisco as a distributing center.

Confidence in that result has inspired comprehensive plans for the improvement of the harbor. The Harbor Commission promptly resumed its activities after the fire and with the aid of a local commission outlined a scheme of development, based on the assumption that in 1927 facilities would have to be provided for handling not less than 13,000,000 tons of shipping annually. This it was estimated would require sixty wharves aggregating 600 feet in length, and about 21,000 linear feet of sea

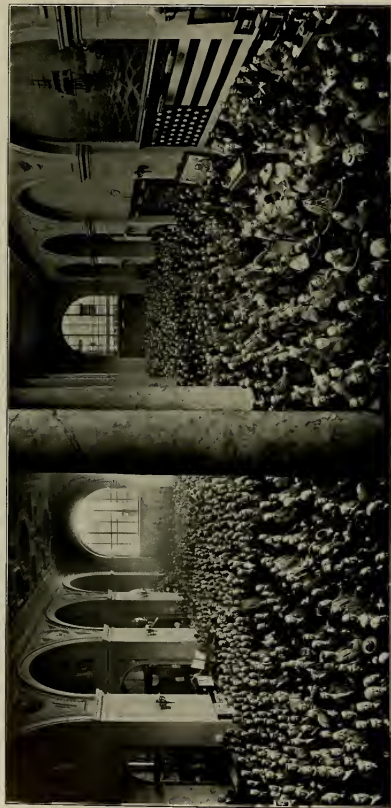
Conjectured
Effects of
Opening of
Panama
Canal

Projected
Water Front
Improvements

wall. At the time this estimate was made in 1907 there were 31 wharves, but the construction of these was of such a character that at least 19 would have to be rebuilt to meet modern requirements changed by the rapid increase of the size of ships. At that time the state had constructed 9,803 feet of sea wall and over an additional 1,000 feet had been contracted for and was being built. This left 11,000 feet of sea wall to be still provided for at an approximate cost of \$2,160,000; the 48 wharves would involve an expenditure of \$7,200,000 and the purchase of land necessary to carry out the Islais creek improvements, extension of the belt road and dredging would bring the total demand for a water front betterment to nearly eleven millions. A statement made by the president of the Harbor Commission in December, 1911, gave the number of wharves at 26, many of which had been built with difficulty in soft mud. Of these 17 had concrete piles, and nine were of wood; but he added that only five of the concrete docks were good, and characterized the other 12 as "from fair to bad." How much of this adverse criticism was due to a discovery of actual conditions, or a deliberate purpose to expose the bad methods of the past the future will disclose. He declared that the harbor board over which he presided had necessarily been forced to adopt the policy of maintaining old wharves as long as possible in order not to disturb commerce, but that arrangements were in progress to construct eight new piers, two to be 800 feet long and 200 feet wide, and that important extensions of the ferry slips were being provided for, together with additions to the Ferry building on the north and south. The belt railroad was to be carried across Market street so that cars could be switched from one end of the water front to the other and tracks were to be laid on all the piers. To this outline of plans he added that the governor had approved the intention of the commission to expend all the proceeds of the \$9,000,000 bond issue authorized at the election in 1910 during his term of office, so that the present generation should get the benefit of the improvements.

**City Moves
to Obtain
Control of Its
Water Front**

This programme was in a fair way of being interrupted owing to the unforeseen rise in interest rates which rendered the marketing of four per cent bonds of the State of California a difficult matter. The signs indicated that the requirement that bonds shall not be sold at less than par will have to be modified by the people unless there is a reversal of the tendency of interest rates to rise, which was very pronounced in 1912. The first issue of bonds under the \$9,000,000 loan sold at a premium, but the second offering made in the fall of 1912 was marketed with much difficulty and the financing of the projected improvements without additional legislation did not seem bright. This condition of affairs, and the fact that the legislature of 1911 had given the cities of Los Angeles and San Diego control of their respective water fronts prompted a movement in San Francisco which had for its object the taking over by the municipality of the facilities of the port with the view of administering the same, but it was at once opposed by the harbor commissioners who took the ground that they were going to administer the affairs of the harbor in such a fashion that there would be no ground for complaint. That there was abundant cause for fault finding in the past every one conceded. A statement of the cost of administration between 1863 and 1906 showed that \$21,350,796 had been expended, all of which was derived from shipping making use of the facilities of the port. Despite the source of the income, when the people of San Francisco, recognizing the capacity of the political machine to absorb all the revenues of the port in its mere upkeep, without pro-



MEETING OF CITIZENS IN MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR HOLDING OF PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION IN 1916

viding betterments, and desiring to secure a much needed ferry building, proposed resorting to bonding for that object, the proposition was antagonized, 91,296 voting to permit and 90,430 citizens, the latter principally living in sections of the state remote from San Francisco, recording themselves as against granting the privilege of making the needed improvements. This was in 1892. After that date there was a somewhat better understanding of the relations of the state to the port. Voters learned that the revenues of the harbor met all the interest charges, and that the commonwealth was not directly affected by the administration of its affairs, and that the only motive for retention of state control was the desire of some to perpetuate a political machine. In November, 1900, when the proposition was submitted authorizing the issuance of the \$9,000,000 of bonds less than 172,000 persons voted on the measure out of a total of 385,607 who cast their ballots for state officers. Although the measure carried, 41,831 voted against it, and on the proposition to purchase the India Basin lands at a cost of a million dollars the vote was 103,051 for and 65,897 against.

Observation of this continued antagonism and the other causes described resulted, as stated, in the movement for the acquirement of control by the City of its own water front. It did not appear probable at the close of 1912 that the movement for control would be crowned with immediate success. The pronounced attitude of hostility assumed by the Harbor Commission was regarded as foreshadowing the position that would be taken by the state administration which despite its reform pretensions had filled the positions on the harbor front with its adherents, turning out former employes to make places for them. Nevertheless there was an abiding faith that the justice of the demand would sooner or later make itself felt, and that the privilege of controlling its shipping facilities would be accorded to San Francisco as it had been to Los Angeles and to San Diego. According to the showing made by the Harbor Commission appointed by Governor Johnson it would have been impossible for the City to have administered the affairs of the port as extravagantly and as inefficiently as their predecessors, and there was no reason for hoping that their successors would improve upon the past. About the ability of the City to carry on the business of the port advantageously there can be no doubt. Hitherto those most interested in securing reasonable port charges have had little influence with state administrations which have carried on the affairs of the harbor with an eye single to advancing the political interests of parties. The citizens committee which undertook the investigation of the question of the improvements needed to bring the port up to the highest standard of efficiency mapped out a programme which will require the expenditure of vast sums in the future, and it is essential to its successful prosecution that the City should not be hampered. To make the harbor thoroughly effective they estimated that improvements would have to be made which would incur an outlay of at least \$43,000,000, which when completed and added to those already in existence would represent a sound value in water front property including wharves, seawall, ferry building, belt railroad and real estate of fully \$53,000,000. With all the improvements provided for in these estimates the commission figured that 30,000,000 of shipping tonnage could be properly accommodated. The amount of the investment required to produce this result while apparently very great they showed would be slight by comparison with those being made by other communities, seventeen foreign ports

Plans for
Improvement
of Water
Front

Revenues
and Adminis-
tration of
the Port

cited by them having required \$774,000,000 to bring them to their present state, which was continually being improved by large annual outlays for that purpose.

The quantity of freight handled over the wharves of San Francisco during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, was 6,325,000 tons and during the ensuing fiscal year there was an increase of about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the total for the year ending June 30, 1910, being 6,866,000 tons. The increase between the later date and 1894-95 was 84 per cent., the quantity in the earlier year being 3,729,000 tons. Between 1863 and 1910 the average ratios of administration expenses to revenue was 21.38 per cent. Between 1908 and 1910 it was 20.47 and 18.25 per cent. In some years between 1863 and 1910 the ratio of administration expenses rose to 38 per cent. of the total revenues collected. These wide fluctuations and the notorious fact that under state supervision the selection of employees had been made with especial reference to their value for political purposes rather than fitness for the positions they filled inclined most observers to the belief that large savings could be made if a better system and rigid civil service rules were adopted. The revenues of the port in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, aggregated \$1,637,949.19, part of which, however, was derived from advance rentals, leaving a net income of \$1,042,109.79 for the twelve months. This latter amount was made up as follows: Dockage, \$209,788.20; tolls, \$343,307.39; wharfage, \$7,184.73; rentals, \$321,943.18; belt road, \$132,228.00; minor privileges, \$27,558.29. The expenditures were grouped under the following headings: Administration salaries, \$29,618.65; collection of revenue, \$63,290.30; expenses, stationery, printing, etc., \$43,822.83; cleaning wharves, bulkheads, etc., \$34,989.56; state tugs, \$52,219.59; belt railroad maintenance and operation, \$88,335.51; electric lighting, \$32,548.34; upkeep of ferry (Union depot), \$42,209.14; legal expenses, \$968.49; total, \$388,002.41. This left available for dredging, construction, repairs, sinking fund and interest the sum of \$654,107.38. The revenues of the port may be greatly increased in the future without making the burdens of shipping onerous, and the expenditures, if efficiency is secured, will result in relatively diminishing the cost of administration. A great saving will also be effected by departing from the custom which prevailed almost from the beginning of the Harbor Commission's operations of erecting flimsy structures, destitute of the elements of permanency. The greater part of the money expended on repairs and reconstruction during many years was wasted, owing to adherence to this course, which was departed from in a measure during the four years preceding the accession of the board in charge in 1912 by the erection of a substantial type of pier and sheds.

Increased
Shipping
Accommoda-
tions to
Meet Demand
of Canal
Commerce

That energetic efforts will be required to provide accommodations for the shipping which will make San Francisco its objective when the Panama Canal is completed was generally assumed, and the authorized bond issue of \$9,000,000 was for that purpose. During the early part of 1912 representatives of numerous foreign steamship companies visited the City to inquire into the situation, and to arrange for facilities. Opinion respecting the nature of the changes that would be effected by the opening of the new water way varied greatly, but in well informed circles it was believed that the effort would be to make San Francisco a great assembling port for cargoes destined for the Orient. This was also the view entertained by representatives of one of the leading Japanese trans-Pacific steamship lines who expressed the belief that San Francisco would become the leading distributing port on the Pacific, and attain an importance which would rival that of New York on

the Atlantic side of the continent. The passage of an act by congress exempting coastwise shipping from the payment of canal tolls was regarded as contributory to that result, as well as promoting the interests of California producers seeking cheap transportation for their products to the Atlantic sea board. In October numerous rumors were in circulation that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company as a result of the canal legislation would dispose of their ships plying in the Oriental trade to a foreign steamship company, a German line being mentioned in that connection. During the progress of the discussion of the canal regulation act threats to that effect were made by the manager of the company. In the event of their being consummated there would be regret over the transference of the great line under the American flag to foreign ownership, but the transfer would probably have no adverse effect upon the destinies of the port which would not be more than offset by the great advantage to be derived from a genuine competition with the overland railroads which would be made feasible by the free use of the canal by American coastwise ships.

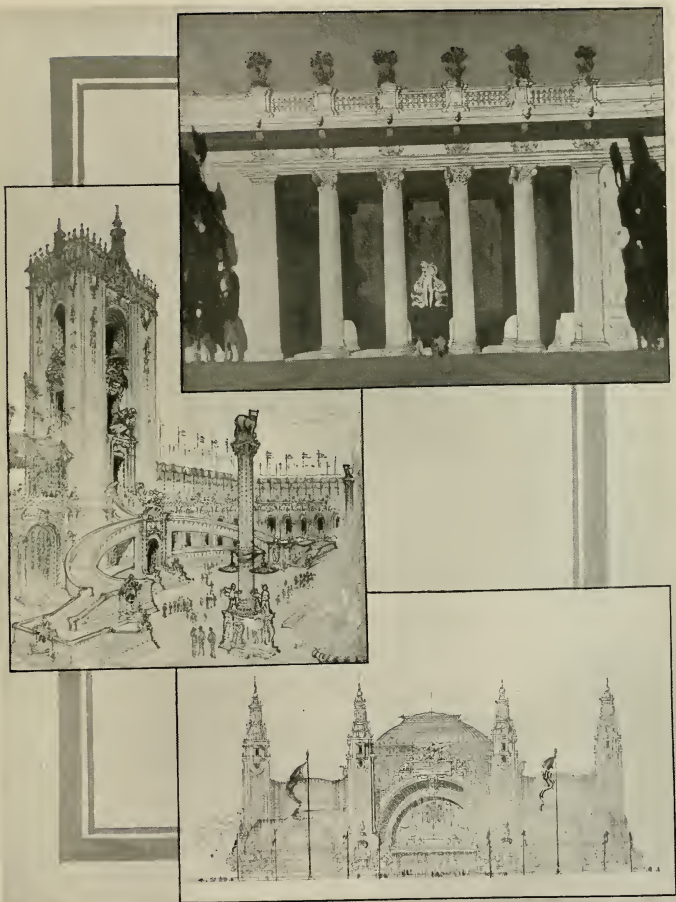
The growth of the business of the port after the Nineties while not spectacular indicates that the Harbor Commission, and the citizen's committee in planning for its future have not overrated its needs, and that facilities on a greatly enlarged scale will be required to accommodate the shipping which will be attracted to San Francisco when it becomes the distributing point for Pacific coast products, and the place of assemblage of Oriental cargoes. The same rate of expansion observed since 1900 would, if maintained, make it necessary to considerably anticipate the programme of providing facilities for 13,000,000 tonnage by 1927. In 1900 the total tonnage entered in San Francisco was 2,855,386; in 1906 it had increased to 3,664,649 and in 1911 it was 6,135,275 tons. The chief part of this expansion was in the domestic trade, the foreign only increasing from 1,369,136 in 1900, to 1,615,017 tons in 1911. The unevenness of growth exhibited by these figures is partly due to the fact that the tonnage statistics treat trade which was formerly foreign as trade with non-contiguous territory. This commerce has shown a steady advancement since 1900 and promised a still greater expansion due to the development of the resources of the Hawaiian and Philippine groups. The growth of the trade with Alaska was greatly impeded during the period by the ill advised action of congress which failed to enact laws calculated to promote the development of the vast resources of the territory and made no effort to restrain the tendency of the federal bureaus to put obstacles in the way of those who are disposed to engage in enterprises which would result in attracting a population which would exploit the possibilities of its soil and mines. What these are may be inferred from the statements made on the floor of the house of representatives that from the time of its acquisition in 1867 up to 1911 the value of Alaskan products aggregated \$446,640,984. The two greatest items in this amount were gold \$195,916,520 and fishery products \$147,953,077. Nearly \$75,000,000 worth of furs have been derived from the territory during the interval. In addition to gold the territory abounds in other minerals, but their extraction has been hindered by restrictive and unpractical legislation. A resort to methods which would lead to the development of these resources will greatly add to the trade of San Francisco with Alaskan ports, and tend to the promotion of further enterprises by its capitalists who are already largely interested in Alaskan fisheries, gold mining and in other important undertakings. The prospects of trade with the other non-contiguous territory of the United States in the

Growth of
Commerce of
the Port

Pacific were still more important. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1911, the exports to Hawaii reached \$16,081,938. The trade of the Philippines with the mainland aggregated over \$30,000,000 during the first eight months of the fiscal year 1911-12 as against less than \$14,000,000 in the corresponding months of 1909, and much of this growing commerce moved through the port of San Francisco.

Relation of
Port to
National
Revenue and
Other
Policies

In a statement issued by the Federal Bureau of Commerce in July, 1912, San Francisco was rated among the ports of the United States as fifth in imports and eleventh in exports, the former having increased from \$39,000,000 to \$56,000,000 and the latter from \$38,000,000 to \$44,000,000 during the period 1900-1911. These figures are divested of a great deal of their comparative value by the conversion of what was formerly foreign into domestic territory. If combined with the shipments to non-contiguous American territory they would show an increase which would more nearly harmonize with the statistics quoted exhibiting the development of the shipping industry of the port which, despite the obstacles in the way of the extension of the over sea trade by Americans, makes a better relative showing than the other ports of the United States. Regarding the policy or impolicy of the American shipping and tariff laws of the United States there was considerable diversity of opinion in San Francisco toward the close of 1912. California for many years had been pronouncedly in favor of a protective tariff, and had through its instrumentality developed an enormous horticultural industry. The theory of those who advocated protection was that by building up large and prosperous manufacturing communities in the East a profitable market would be afforded for the products of California orchards and vineyards. The tariff in the view of these operated as a differential in favor of the domestic producer in California who could not hope to compete with the foreigner who had cheap sea freights to the American Atlantic seaboard in addition to cheap labor at home. The subordination of the protective idea by Roosevelt and later by Taft to other governmental policies tended to weaken the devotion of Californians to protection, and was rapidly creating a sentiment in favor of maritime expansion which found expression in the advocacy of free ships, the theory being that the development of foreign ocean commerce would benefit the City more than it could hope to be benefited by the retention of the protective tariff. The probability of the success of the democratic party at the polls in November, and expected free trade legislation in that event contributed largely to this feeling. There were pessimists, however, who predicted a recrudescence of previous experiences, growing out of tariff, for revenue experiments made by the United States, and who looked forward to a depression similar to that which followed the election of Grover Cleveland in 1892. It was argued in opposition to this view that conditions had greatly changed since that date, and that the manufacturing industries of the United States which were comparatively weak at that time had become strong, and were able to cope with any competition that they might be called upon to encounter. But this view was supplemented by the admission that in order to successfully compete under a non-protective system the less powerful manufacturing industries would have to reduce wages to a parity with those of foreign countries, and that the larger concerns would imitate their course. There was great confusion of thought on this subject nationally and locally, and the destruction of "big business" was advocated by people who believed that the rising prices of products were due to the growth of great producing and distributing organizations, a belief diligently promoted by demagogues who a few years earlier



East Court—L. C. Mulgardt

Study of Court of Four Seasons—Henry Bacon

Horticultural Building—Bakewell & Brown

ACCEPTED DESIGNS OF PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION BUILDINGS

had attributed to low prices the calamitous depression of the years between 1892 and 1897.

While these uncertainties concerning the result of political events were disturbing the public mind, and were held accountable for the failure of the City to advance by leaps and bounds there was no statistical evidence to support any other assumption than that it was growing healthily. A report made by the Chamber of Commerce on the 1st of September, 1912, was filled with information calculated to contradict any assertion that there was business dullness. It gave the aggregate receipts of custom duties received at the San Francisco custom house during the year 1911 at \$6,673,355. The exports of merchandise out of San Francisco by sea to foreign countries, the Atlantic states, and non-contiguous territory were valued at \$78,693,282, having increased from \$64,918,505 in 1905 to that amount. The gain after the disaster synchronized with the work of rehabilitation, increasing from year to year. In 1907 the valuation of exports was \$46,571,790; in 1909 it had increased to \$57,221,596; in 1910 it rose to \$65,008,518, and in 1911 the figures were \$78,693,282. The imports also showed a large gain rising from \$44,249,211 in 1905 to \$56,075,324 in 1911. A trade summary, combining the value of all exports of merchandise and treasure by sea, and all imports of merchandise and treasure at San Francisco, shows an increase from \$105,995,450 in 1908 to \$155,250,038 in 1911. These figures do not include the exports of merchandise, commodities and supplies by United States army transports which aggregate nearly a million dollars a year. The latter are not embraced in any of the trade statistics of the port although they are constantly growing in importance, the government having made San Francisco its chief supply depot, providing itself with docks for the accommodation of the transport service on the water front of its great reservation which during the period after the Spanish-American war was made one of the chief military posts in the United States. The tonnage movement in the year 1911 according to the statistics of the Chamber of Commerce as represented by departures was 8,344,549 of which 2,121,541 tons was foreign and 6,223,008 coastwise. The gradual passage of the sailing vessel is reflected in the fact that only 680,101 tons of this aggregate was sail, the remaining 7,664,448 being steam.

In 1905 the bank clearings of San Francisco aggregated \$1,834,549,788 in 1911 they were \$2,427,075,543. In 1907 owing to the large amount of insurance received, and the activity in building there was an abnormal exhibit of clearings figures, the amount being \$2,133,882,625, but in the ensuing year owing to depression produced by the monetary troubles of 1907 they dropped to \$1,757,151,850; after that date they rose steadily until they reached the above stated amount in 1911. In 1907 California for the first time in its history suspended specie payments. Queerly enough, considering the past attitude of the people towards paper money, when the resolution was reached by the clearing house to emit certificates to tide over what appeared to be a menacing monetary situation, there was absolutely no objection made to the movement, which was extra legal. The old time prejudice against paper money still survived, but it gave way to the clearly perceived necessity of acting in harmony with the larger Eastern financial centers. Nobody objected to receiving the novel paper money; the emergency which called for its issuance soon passed away and the certificates were called in and redeemed.

The operations of the saving banks of San Francisco during the first two or three years following the fire disclosed some of the evil results of the disaster. On

Volume of
Business
Transacted
in San
Francisco

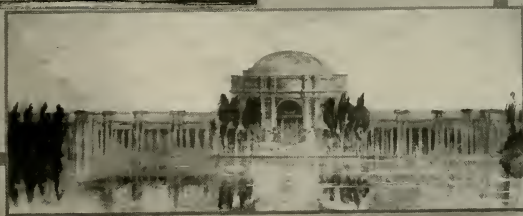
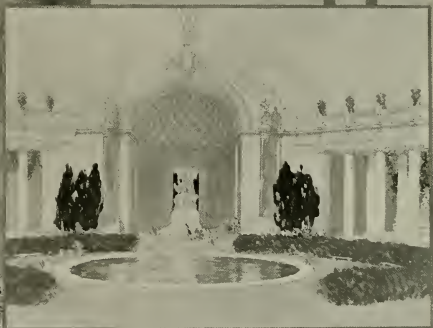
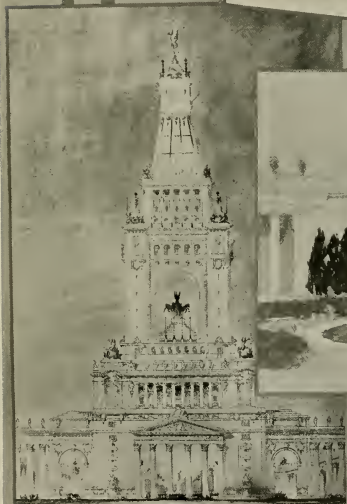
Bank
Clearings and
Monetary
Troubles

Great
Increase of
Bank
Resources

December 30, 1905, the deposits in those institutions aggregated \$169,538,244.13; in 1908 they had decreased to \$134,454,584, but after that year they increased steadily, reaching \$168,744,339 on November 10, 1911, the number of depositors being reported at 244,691. The bank examiner's report showed a still greater expansion of the business of the commercial banks, and some important changes after 1905. Prior to that date the leading banks of the City were state institutions, but after April, 1906, there was a disposition to come under the operation of the National Banking laws, and the resources of national banks which amounted to \$61,008,181 in 1905, mounted to \$229,003,000 on June 14, 1912. Their deposits during this period increased from \$22,463,816 to \$149,082,000. In 1905 resources of the state banks were \$131,409,473, and on January 7, 1911, they were only \$57,380,449, while the deposits which reached \$80,874,847 in the first named year had declined to \$35,175,904 on the later date. The net gain in the banking resources of the City was nearly \$94,000,000 during the six years following the fire and the increase in deposits reached \$81,000,000. This marvelous showing induced the financial editor of one of the local papers to institute a comparison between the banking power of the City of San Francisco and that of other parts of the Union. In it he called attention to the fact that the combined resources of three San Francisco banks: The Bank of California, Wells Fargo Nevada National bank and the Anglo and London Paris National bank aggregated \$144,697,107, an amount greater than the total resources of the banks of thirty states enumerated by him. He also showed that in banking power San Francisco stood fifth in the list of cities of the United States, ranking ahead of St. Louis, which was credited with \$220,976,278 resources in 1912 as against \$229,003,469 of the Pacific coast metropolis.

Banking
Center and
New Sub-
Treasury
Building

The banking business of San Francisco after the fire showed a disposition to abandon its old center on California and Sansome streets. This was particularly true of the savings institutions which sought to get nearer to their patrons, and of the trust companies. Some years before the disaster the Hibernia Savings and Loan Society pioneered this movement by locating itself in a handsome granite structure at the junction of Jones, McAllister and Market streets. This action was followed later by several other concerns which favored Market street, adding many substantial and beautiful structures to that thoroughfare. The commercial banks while they have spread out somewhat in their effort to follow the southward trend of business, still adhere to California and to Sansome streets, and this determination may be considered permanent as the government has decided to locate its sub-treasury on the corner of Sansome and Pine streets where an ample site has been secured. Plans for a handsome building, for which an appropriation had been made by congress, were nearly completed in the fall of 1912, and construction was about to begin. The sub-treasury had some time earlier taken the important step of clearing through the San Francisco clearing house, thus greatly facilitating its financial operations, and at the same time conveniencing the business interests of the City. The tendency of banking concerns to house themselves in substantial and commodious buildings was very manifest in San Francisco after the fire, and the City could boast in consequence numerous edifices architecturally and in other respects on a par with those of any other city in the Union. The more important institutions of this character devote the whole of the structures occupied by them to their own business, which is indicated by the nature of the construction; some, however, had elected to erect tall, modern structures the upper parts of which were devoted to offices.



Central Motif, Main Tower—Carrere & Hastings
Fine Arts Building—B. R. Maybeck

Festival Hall—Robert D. Farquhar
Niche in Court of Four Seasons—Henry Bacon

ACCEPTED DESIGNS OF PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION BUILDINGS

Of office buildings there were in September, 1912, by actual enumeration 266, varying in height from seventeen to six and seven stories. A computation approximately correct gave the number of rooms for office use provided by these buildings at about 20,000. At one period it was feared that the erection of office buildings was proceeding too rapidly, and in 1911 a warning note was sounded, but since that date many new ones were added to those already built, and numerous others were projected. The most of these buildings were well constructed and provided with all the modern conveniences. Especial attention in most instances was paid by the architects to providing effective entrances which were made spacious and lavishly decorated with marbles and bronzes. The architectural importance of these structures may be inferred from the fact that at least two scores of them are imposing enough to impress themselves on the minds of the people, their names advertising their location to all residents. The stranger who found his way to San Francisco during the period of rehabilitation did not fail to note these remarkable evidences of confidence in the future, and their number and complete modernity contributed more than anything else to the opinion usually expressed that the fire had enabled San Francisco to take rank as the most thoroughly up-to-date city in America.

The expenditure of great sums was required to bring the City to the condition described. It has been related that building operations before the fire were on a large and growing scale. In 1900 they only amounted to \$6,390,705, but in the year before the disaster they had increased to \$20,111,861. In 1906 this amount was swollen to \$39,254,467. In 1907 it rose to \$50,499,499; in 1908 it was \$35,128,549; in 1909, \$30,411,196; in 1910, \$22,873,942, and in 1911, \$24,495,168. The assessed valuation of all property in the City in 1905 was \$524,230,946; in 1911, it was \$545,057,401. In the first named year the tax rate was \$1.164 for city and county purposes, and .698 for state purposes. Between 1905 and 1911 an amendment to the constitution was adopted, which made an important change in the taxation method of the state by separating the sources of revenue of the state, and of its political subdivisions, reserving to the former the taxation of the gross revenues of transportation and other corporations, while the cities and counties retained the right of taxing real estate and personal property, and of imposing licenses. This change resulted in the necessity of increasing the rate in the City and County of San Francisco to \$2.00 on the \$100 of valuation, which was on a 60 per cent. basis. This increase was rendered necessary by the growing budget of the City which expanded rapidly after 1906 owing to a variety of causes, not least among them being the desire to secure conveniences and public improvements of various sorts, the cost of which was reflected in a growing bonded indebtedness which amounted on January 2, 1912, to \$19,835,100, having increased to that amount from \$3,865,600 in 1908. Since that date the issuance of \$8,500,000 bonds for the purpose of creating a civic center, and erecting a new city hall was authorized by the people at the polls, and there was a prospective further increase of many millions for the purpose of acquiring a municipal water system.

In the closing months of 1912 the water question was still undetermined. A proposition had been submitted to the people during the last days of the McCarthy administration to purchase the Spring Valley system for the sum of \$35,000,000. The measure failed to receive the requisite two-thirds vote owing to the opposition of McCarthy who declared that the sum demanded was too high, and that

Numerous
Modern
Office
Buildings

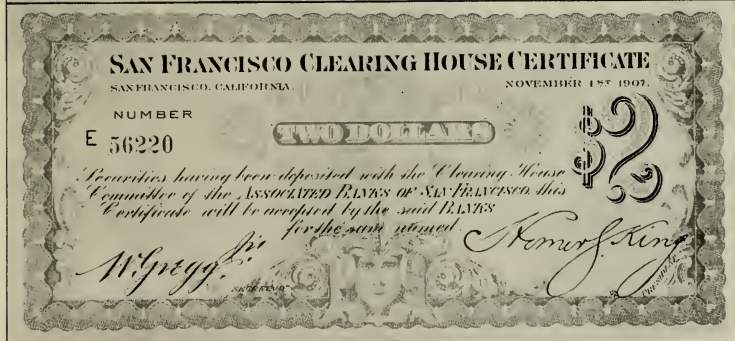
Property
Valuation,
Changes in
Taxation
Methods and
Bonded
Indebtedness

Efforts to
Secure a
Municipal
Water
System

he intended to compel the corporation to accept an amount nearer to the true value of its system. His motives were suspected, but he wielded sufficient influence to defeat the proposition. Later the United States circuit court in dealing with one of the numerous suits brought by the Spring Valley corporation, on the ground that the rates fixed by the supervisors for the supply of water were confiscatory, after an extended investigation appraised the value of the system at a lower figure than the company had offered to sell but made a distinction between a valuation of the property for rate making and that for selling purposes. Meanwhile the McCarthy administration went out of office and was succeeded by that headed by James Rolph, who had associated with him a board of supervisors all of whom, with one exception, were pledged to carrying out his announced policies. One of these was the acquisition of a water supply for the City. With that end in view the supervisors elected in 1911 on assuming office in January, 1912, began to study the water question in its new aspects. Although the tender of the Spring Valley Company had been rejected at the polls, steps had been taken in pursuance of a prior authorization to bring a supply of water from the Tuolumne river. This project embraced two separate plans, one of which was the impounding of the waters that discharged into Lake Eleanor, and the other contemplated the damming of the Hetch Hetchy valley, the latter lying within the Yosemite Forest reserve. The proposition to dam Hetch Hetchy valley, which possesses great scenic beauty, was promptly antagonized by all the outdoor life enthusiasts who succeeded in placing obstacles in the way of utilizing it for the purpose of creating a water supply for domestic purposes, and the government authorities in Washington showed an inclination to recede from permits it had granted, and exhibited an utter disregard of any claims that the City might have to the use of the water.

Spring Valley
Water
Company
Makes an
Offer

The City at an election in 1910 had authorized the issuance of \$45,000,000 of bonds for the development of the Lake Eleanor, Tuolumne system, and land for right of way and reservoir sites had been purchased but the desire to acquire the Spring Valley property had not been abandoned. An Eastern expert named Freeman was engaged to look into the situation and in the beginning of September he made a report which virtually suggested the necessity of going on with both projects at once. It had been recognized before Freeman made his recommendations that Spring Valley occupied a dominating position by reason of its possession of all the available water sites on the peninsula. The possibility of developing one not included in the Spring Valley holdings was indicated by Freeman, but the fact that the engineers of the corporation had considered and rejected it for several reasons, included among them being the menace it would constitute to a populous part of the City below the proposed dam, caused the suggestion to be lightly regarded. Freeman had previously expressed doubts respecting the ability of the Spring Valley Company to develop any such quantity of water as was claimed could be developed from one of their principal sources of supply, but nevertheless recommended the acquisition of the property, and coupled his recommendation with arguments showing the necessity of simultaneously proceeding with operations in connection with the Tuolumne scheme. This report was followed by the opening of negotiations between the City and the Spring Valley Company, and in the early part of September, 1912, the community was surprised to learn that it demanded \$38,500,000 for its property exclusive of the Lake Merced tract, embracing 2,800 acres within the city limits. As the value of the latter was variously estimated



FACSIMILE OF SCRIP USED BY SAN FRANCISCO BANKS DURING THE MONEY
 PANIC OF 1907

from eight to ten millions there was no immediate acceptance of the offer, but there was an impression prevalent that the proposition would be submitted to the people on the ensuing 28th of November, when they will be called upon to decide whether they will end the long protracted struggle by submitting to the exactions of the water company or adopt some other course of securing a needed water supply.

The total authorization of bonds in 1908, 1909, and 1910, aggregated \$66,420,000. They provided among other things for a fire protection high pressure system at a cost of \$5,200,000. This improvement includes two storage reservoirs on Twin Peaks with a capacity of 10,000,000 gallons; two distributing reservoirs, capacity 1,500,000 gallons; ninety-three miles of cast iron pipe, special hydrants, two fire boats, a fresh water pumping and two salt water pumping stations. The system was calculated to provide for the protection of 5,300 acres of territory. It was not wholly completed in October, 1912, and it was found that the sum provided by the bond issue would have to be supplemented in order to carry out the details as originally planned. The rigid inspections instituted gave the contractors a great deal of trouble, disclosing some imperfect work which had to be made good before acceptance. In addition to the high pressure system one hundred cisterns with a capacity of 75,000 gallons each were provided for and constructed in various parts of the City. Additions to the existing sewer system are provided for by an issuance of bonds amounting to \$4,000,000. The amount of \$1,000,000 was voted for a garbage disposal plant. It contemplated three modern refuse destructors, and ultimately a fourth to be built with a capacity of 800 tons daily. Faulty estimates of the McCarthy Board of Works will prevent the carrying out of this project in its original form unless supplemented by additional appropriations. Schools and other municipal buildings were provided for as follows: Thirty-one primary and grammar schools and three high schools at a total cost of \$5,000,000. The majority of these were completed before the close of 1912, and the growing number of pupils was more or less comfortably accommodated. A city and county hospital and a hospital for the infirm poor was in course of construction at the close of the year, but there was some complaint about the slow progress made in its erection. The sum of \$2,000,000 was provided by the bond issue for these buildings but it will have to be augmented. One million dollars was voted for a new Hall of Justice and a city and county jail. The former was occupied in the early part of 1912. It was erected on the site of the destroyed Hall of Justice, and is an architectural adornment to the Portsmouth square neighborhood. The sum of \$600,000 was also allotted to a Polytechnic high school which was not completed at the close of 1912. The provision for the Geary street municipal railroad was \$2,020,000. In addition to the above enumerated authorizations \$45,000,000 was voted for the Lake Eleanor, Tuolumne Water system, and the sum of \$600,000 for preliminary purposes. Just what sum will be required to secure an adequate water supply for the City was undetermined at the beginning of October, 1912, as it was not perfectly clear to citizens what course would be pursued in the event of the acquisition of the Spring Valley system for the sum named by the company, namely \$38,500,000, with the Merced lands excluded, but it was not deemed probable that the development of the Sierra supply would be prosecuted simultaneously with that of the property of the local company which was believed to be capable of extension sufficient to meet the demands of a much larger population than San Francisco had in 1912. Toward the close of that year the spreading out of the

Bond
Authorization
and Purposes
for Which
They Were
Made

people over a constantly widening area, together with the increased demands of the growing population of the City resulted in the Spring Valley finding itself unable to give a satisfactory service, but the corporation refused to make any expenditures to improve the situation on the ground that the rate making power had interfered with its revenues to such an extent that it could not afford to make the necessary extensions or further develop its property.

Rapid
Increase of
the City's
Budget

In addition to the \$66,420,000 authorized in 1908, 1909 and 1910 there was voted the sum of \$8,500,000 in March, 1912, for the purpose of creating a civic center, and to erect a new city hall. The amounts thus far authorized approach closely to the sum permitted by the charter provision limiting indebtedness, but the rapid increase in values of the property in the City and county, and the fact that much of the expenditure provided for will be spread out over some years, will make it possible to carry out all reasonable plans if the affairs of the City are properly administered. The rapid growth of expenditures indicates some such necessity. The budget of the supervisors for the fiscal year 1912-1913 aggregated demands to the amount of \$12,887,626 and called for a city tax levy of \$2.05 on the hundred. The sums apportioned to the more important departments were as follows: Fire department, \$1,582,901; police, \$1,505,020; schools, \$1,812,500; Board of Works, \$666,996. There were numerous items of consequence in the budget which had not appeared in previous years, among them \$272,800 for maintenance of minors, a juvenile detention home and probation officers. The amount of \$435,000 was appropriated for lighting the streets and public buildings; a special fund of \$250,000 for streets, highways and parks, and \$330,000 for street sweeping and sprinkling. The demand of the health department was met by an appropriation of \$618,088. Owing to the number of elections necessitated by the new legislation which makes possible the frequent calling out of the voters the department of elections was accorded \$315,000. The Playground Commission, a new creation, was given \$80,000. The Fireman's Relief and Pension Fund absorbed \$70,000, and the regular appropriation for parks was \$350,000. The public library received \$80,000 for its maintenance, and the interest charge and bond redemption fund, which was nominal before the fire, appeared in this budget as \$1,962,565. An idea of the rapidity with which city expenditures are growing may be derived from the statement that the budget in 1908-09 was \$8,636,000, and that four years later it was \$12,887,626. The tax rate in 1912-13, as already stated was \$2.05 including 5 cents for the special exposition levy as against \$1.50 in 1908-09, but to the rate of the earlier year there was added an amount for state purposes which the City is no longer called upon to pay, the adoption of the constitutional amendment providing for the separation of state from city and county taxation.

Growth of
Population,
Per Capita
Indebtedness
and Tax
Rate

That the rising figures of debt and municipal expenditure was not regarded with apprehension is manifest from the opinion expressed by leading real estate authorities. In a table printed in Magee's Real Estate Circular it was shown that the percentage of debt to real estate values was lower in San Francisco than in the other leading cities of the United States, and that the bonded debt per capita was \$39.15 in San Francisco as against \$174.65 in New York; \$142.82 in Boston; \$66.02 in Baltimore; \$53.73 in Buffalo, and \$54.80 in Philadelphia. San Francisco's figures of indebtedness on which this computation was made will soon be higher, but as population is increasing rapidly the per capita relation will be maintained. The same authority also pointed out that San Francisco enjoys the lowest

tax rate of any city about the bay, and that its taxation per capita is less than that of Oakland, Alameda or Berkeley. The population of the City was estimated by the secretary of the chamber of commerce on June 30, 1912, at 456,780. The estimated population of the City in 1905 was 450,000, so the recovery in that regard may be set down as complete. General Greely, in command of the troops in San Francisco in the days immediately following the conflagration estimated that only 175,000 people were left in the City after the exodus. If his figures are correct the gain since May, 1906, has been over 280,000. That the estimate of 456,780 is not exaggerated may be inferred from the public school enrollment which showed 53,160 during the first months of 1912. The enlarged and constantly increasing postal receipts also support the claim. In the year before the fire they amounted to \$1,772,865, having increased to that figure from \$1,051,567. In 1911 they aggregated \$2,570,215.84. The increase during the five years before the fire was \$721,300; it amounted to \$797,351 after that event.

The growth of the manufacturing industry of San Francisco has not kept pace with that of the expansion of population, although the latest census figures show increased production and enlarged capital. The value of products increased from \$107,023,567 in 1899 to \$137,788,233 in 1904, and it was \$133,041,069 in 1909. The average number of wage earners was 32,555 in 1899 and only 28,244 in 1909. In several industries decreases are noted which are attributable to the stand taken by the trades unions. This was notably true of the metal workers who by their inconsiderate action have driven consumers to rival cities for their machinery, structural material, etc. In 1904 the value of products of foundries and machine shops in San Francisco was \$10,525,000, representing 59.8 per cent. of the production of the state; in 1909 the amount had fallen to \$9,622,000, and San Francisco's proportion of the total output of metal products in California was 36.0. There were increases in slaughtering and meat packing, in coffee and spice roasting and grinding, in canning and preserving, in tanned, cured and finished leather and in food preparations of various kinds. But while the political subdivision known as San Francisco had not made much progress in manufacturing the metropolitan area showed large increases. Oakland increased its output from \$9,014,705 in 1904 to \$22,342,926 in 1909, and during the three years after the latter date this ratio of increase was surpassed. Although, as stated in earlier chapters, the development of manufacturing has proceeded more slowly on the Pacific coast than in the East, this condition of affairs is sure to be changed by the influx of people which will follow the opening of the canal and will create the domestic market essential to production on a large scale. In the meantime the increase due to the multiplication of land transportation facilities is helping the situation, and there is every reason to believe that the 63 per cent. addition to the population of the state in the 1900-1910 decade will be largely exceeded between 1910 and 1920.

There were many reasons suggesting this probability. Since 1910 another transcontinental railroad, the Western Pacific, has been added to those serving the City which has now four direct overland lines: The Southern Pacific, the Central and Union Pacific, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and the Western Pacific. The latter has opened a region tributary to San Francisco, hitherto utterly destitute of railroad service, and which promises to develop rapidly, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe is constantly enlarging its facilities. The entrance of the Northern Electric which applied to the railroad commissioners on the 1st of Oc-

Manufacturing Impeded
by Labor
Restrictions

Increased
Railroad
Facilities

tober, 1912, for permission to issue bonds to the amount of \$5,500,000 to extend its road to San Francisco indicated that the expectation entertained for some time that the intra-urban system of electric roads developing the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys would become an important factor in the traffic situation was on the point of realization. With the completion of the canal and the extension of the electric lines already projected it was generally assumed by competent observers that the difficulties respecting the adjustment of local and interstate rates would largely disappear, and that San Francisco would enter upon her destined career as the great distributing port of the Pacific coast.

**Expansion of
the Shipping
Industry**

It is not uncommon to overlook the performances of the shipping engaged in the coastwise and river trade of the port of San Francisco, but the passenger and freight traffic of the lines plying along the coast and in the rivers emptying into the Bay of San Francisco is by no means inconsiderable. In 1911 the thirteen lines of coastwise steamers carried 359,630 passengers, and eight lines of river boats transported 1,013,479. An excellent idea of the use made of the waters of the bay may be gained from the statement that the grand total of passengers carried by ferries, coastwise steamers and river boats aggregated 38,594,180 in 1911. In addition to the traffic of these lines must be added that of the four companies in the trans-Pacific trade. The Pacific Mail heads the list in volume of business, carrying 38,467 passengers, the Matson Navigation Company 6,476, the Oceanic Steamship Company 6,182, and the Toyo Kisen Kaisha 8,595. The sailings of the Oceanic Steamship Company to Australia which were discontinued for some years were resumed during the summer of 1912 and are not likely to be interrupted in the near future as there is a growing appreciation of the importance of the trade of Australia and a disposition to encourage its development.

**Increased
Agricultural
Production**

The commerce of San Francisco has kept pace steadily with the growth of production in the bay counties and the Great Valley which is settling up with unprecedented rapidity. For many years a large part of this region was given over to cereal cultivation, but the tendency to cut up large estates into small farms which is promoted by the introduction of irrigation facilities has effected a revolution and the orchard and truck garden have taken the chief place in the agricultural scheme. The data furnished by the various transportation companies are not of a character to easily permit segregation so that the production of the region which regards San Francisco as its natural distributing center may be determined, but they show an enormous expansion in which the City shares. The shipments eastward of fresh fruit by rail which aggregated 8,071 carloads in 1905 increased to 14,642 in 1911. Those of citrus fruits increased from 27,610 to 46,394 carloads during the same period. The major part of the citrus fruit was produced and shipped from the region south of the Tehachapi, but the industry is growing rapidly along the western slopes of the Sierra and north of the Tehachapi, and promises to become very important and a source of great wealth to northern California in the very near future. The canning of fruits and vegetables is practiced on a constantly increasing scale, the total pack increasing from 4,289,721 cases in 1909 to 6,699,305 cases in 1911. The small fruit industry shows a like rapid expansion, increasing from 163,700 in 1906 to 197,750 tons in 1911. The raisin output showed the same degree of enlargement, the production in 1906 being 90,000,000 and in 1911, 130,000,000 pounds. The cereals, chiefly produced in the northern and central parts of the state, are by no means neglected, although they no longer retain their former im-



Photograph by W. W. Seader, Official Photographer

FIRST LOAD OF LUMBER FOR EXPOSITION OF 1915

portance. Barley in a measure has taken the place of wheat as an export article, and its production is steadily increasing in the country adjacent to the port of San Francisco, rising from 12,771,340 centals in 1905 to 17,841,600 centals in 1911. In 1910 the output reached 19,438,000 centals. Beans are an important California product. The production was 1,420,515 centals in 1910-11, of which quantity nearly 1,200,000 centals were shipped East by rail. The constantly dwindling production of wheat, and the diminished exports of that cereal, as in the case of the declining production and exportation of wool are wholly attributable to the disposition of the present occupants of the soil to turn their attention to more profitable products.

In the first years after the acquisition of California by the Americans the chief source of wealth was the gold taken from its soil. For many years mining was preeminently the leading industry of the state, but it suffered a decline with the exhaustion of the placers, and the interruption of hydraulic mining, due to antagonism of the agriculturists whose lands lying along the streams in which the detritus was discharged were destroyed by deposits of debris carried in the constantly recurring floods. The reductions in output occasioned by regulation and other causes have to some extent been overcome by new methods and the output of gold for some years past has shown a tendency to increase. It was \$19,738,908 in 1911, and has kept at about that figure since 1904 when it was \$19,109,600. But while the production of gold has shown no marked gain there has been a phenomenal development of the mining industry generally, the product of minerals of all kinds rising from \$43,069,227 in 1905 to \$87,497,879 in 1911. The chief factor in this enormous increase was the growth of the petroleum industry, the product of the oil wells of the state rising from 35,671,000 barrels in 1905 to 83,744,044 barrels in 1911, causing the state to take first rank as an oil producer. The abundance of oil fuel and the extraordinary development of hydro-electric power in the region which regards San Francisco as its distributing center, together with the expected influx of population are the basis of the belief that the City and the cities about the Bay of San Francisco will ultimately develop an enormous manufacturing industry. In the promotion of hydro-electric projects San Francisco capital has been very active, and during recent years, especially since the fire, the far-seeing moneyed men of the City have interested themselves in schemes for the utilization of the soil in the bay counties, and the Great Valley on a more intensive scale than formerly, and are actively promoting projects for the reclamation of the perennially flooded lands of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers which, when carried into effect, will tend to enormously promote production in the region tributary to the City.

The student of affairs at the close of 1912 had no difficulty in forming a judgment respecting the material future of San Francisco. The statistics of progress quoted which could be indefinitely multiplied if the necessity for so doing existed, furnish conclusive evidence that the City will become a great and prosperous metropolis. There never was any doubt on that score in the minds of its own citizens, nor for that matter in that of competent observers not directly interested in its fortunes. They unhesitatingly predict that San Francisco is to be one of the world's great cities, and there are some who assert that destiny has worked it out for the greatest, and that one day its population and commerce will surpass that of all rivals. It is not the duty of the historian to predict; he is only called upon to record, but he may suggest that the showing made of the remarkable development of the past is an augury of great performances in the future. And lest it may be as-

Mineral
Production
Greatly
Enlarged

Future of
the City

sumed that the material part of the life of the people he has written about has engrossed too much of his attention he purposes rounding out his narrative with the assertion that San Franciscans, despite appearances to the contrary, have struggled more earnestly to secure reforms than the people of any other community in the country. The story of the growth of the City and the actions of its people will have been written in vain if it does not emphasize and make clear the fact that California has been in the van of the movement which is called progressive, and that years before it gained force in other parts of the Union, San Francisco made attempts to better conditions which failed largely because the rest of the country was not abreast of its desires. In all these forward movements San Francisco took the foremost place and often earned derision by her attitude. Many of the aspirations of the community may have earned the ridicule cast upon them, and the shortcomings of the community may have deserved the condemnation they evoked. But the dispassionate judge, who will take all the evidence into consideration, will conclude that the worst that can be urged against San Francisco, even when considering those phases in her career which have been most under the limelight, is that she did not conceal her weaknesses but unrelentingly exposed and sought to reform them.

San
Francisco's
Chief Glory

The outside world has had much to say about the astonishing physical achievement of restoring a destroyed city in five or six years. It is not surprising that it should have done so, for such exploits can be measured by the eye and be gauged statistically. But the real glory of the City consists in the fact that within the period in which the great work of rehabilitation was accomplished her people restored and added to these agencies and activities which are the hall mark of modern civilization. She has not merely restored, but has broadened her field of charity; new churches have sprung up in the places of those destroyed, not always in their old locations but in new centers where they are more accessible to their congregations. Her educational views have been enlarged, and she is ready to expend money more liberally than at any time in her previous history to fit her youth for the duties of citizenship. Her social side has been immensely improved by the organization of her people into groups which have for their object the betterment of the community. And while the multiplication of the latter may result in vagaries, and doubtful political experiments, they indicate that sort of ferment which promises ultimate clarification. San Franciscans are constantly gaining poise. It would be impossible to sweep the people from their feet by a mania for speculation as in former years. Speculative enterprises have not ceased to maintain popularity, but they cannot be converted into crazes. Stocks are largely dealt in, but the dealings are rational. Even the phenomenal development of the oil industry, and the flotation of shares that followed was unaccompanied by serious excitement, and failed to involve any considerable number of the thoughtless. The journalism of the City has become conservative, the greatest exponent of the opposite tendency having seen the light. In enterprise it equals that of any other city of the Union, and greatly exceeds that of all other cities in its population class. The owner of the "Examiner" has made the world his field, and has established a network of papers which reaches to Europe. The more serious mood of the people has even affected the devotion to sporting and the gambling attending racing events has been reduced to a minimum by legislative action. But the interest in what are called sporting events has by no means abated as is testified by the fact that the "Chronicle" on the occasion of a prize fight at Reno, in 1911, saw fit to regale its readers with a 57,000 word

report of the fight specially telegraphed and accompanied it by pictures taken at the ringside which were printed in the edition of the ensuing morning, a feat which its rival the "Examiner" matched. But these exhibitions do not detract from the fact that the major part of the space of the papers, both morning and evening, is given over to serious matters, and that the City boasts the publication of a thoroughly metropolitan appearing magazine, and that its libraries are flourishing, and its literary workers are constantly increasing in number and making their impress. But above all things the most conspicuous feature of San Francisco life as these closing words are being written is the retention of the old time hospitality which is responsible for the manifest determination of its citizens to make their City, not only the most prosperous, but the most beautiful and attractive in the country, so that the footsteps of the stranger will always tend to the metropolis of the Pacific coast through whose Golden Gate the commerce of the Orient is to pass in constantly increasing volume in the future.

.

INDEX

Accessory Transit Company, steamship line by Nicaragua Route, I, 290.

Actors, see Amusements.

Agitators, sand lot orators, echo press, II, 512.

Agriculture, not attractive to early settlers, I, 33; early prospects of, I, 112; development of, I, 247; capacity of soil undervalued, I, 279; development accelerated, I, 322; value of farm products in the fifties, I, 323; diversification of, I, 323; diversification continues, I, 398; condition of in early sixties, I, 401; crop failure 1876-7, II, 511; resources of San Joaquin Valley, II, 659; falling prices injure farmers, II, 668; changed character of production, II, 672; great progress in horticulture, II, 672; enormous development, II, 735; raisin growing, II, 736; Chronicle inaugurates weather warnings, II, 795; increasing production, II, 940.

Alaska, Russian occupation of, I, 127; codfisheries of controlled by San Franciscans, I, 392; acquired by United States, I, 392; Seward's good bargain, I, 393; San Franciscans obtain fur seal contract, I, 401; growing importance of its trade, II, 671; effects of Klondike gold discovery upon, II, 732; growth of trade, II, 931.

Alcaldes, sale of lands by, I, 149; powers of limited by General Kearny, I, 180; first American, I, 180.

Aleman, Joseph Sadoc, Bishop of San Francisco, I, 238.

Alliance, association of employers of labor, II, 687; deal with striking teamsters, II, 689.

"Alta California," first Pacific Coast daily paper, I, 296; during the sixties, I, 463.

Amusements, at Russ Gardens, I, 262; the willows, I, 262; the circus, I, 262; drama in pioneer days, I, 263; music hall erected by Harry Meiggs, I, 264; balls and church fairs, I, 264; Woodwards Gardens, I, 433; grand opera in pioneer days, I, 433; the pronounced taste for, I, 433; heavy operas in favor, I, 434; opera in the sixties, I, 434; favorite opera singers, I, 434; popularity of concerts, I, 435; reign of the minstrel, I, 435; minstrelsy during the sixties, I, 436; actors of pioneer days, I, 436; drama during the sixties, I, 437; actors close to the people, I, 437; popularity of Lotta, I, 437; benefit performances, I, 438; Edwin Forrest held in high regard, I, 438; John McCullough's career, I, 439; Edward Harrigan's start in San Francisco, I, 439; popularity of Irish

melodrama, I, 439; actors made much of, I, 440; early vaudeville, I, 440; location of theaters in pioneer days, I, 440; first dramatic performance, I, 441; amateur theatricals, I, 444; erection of Baldwin Theater, II, 573; Salmi Morse's Passion Play, II, 606; Authors' carnivals, II, 607; wave of minstrelsy, II, 610; popularity of opera bouffe, II, 610; revival of taste for grand opera, II, 611; first production of Pinafore in America, II, 611; Pinafore craze in San Francisco, II, 611; change in taste for drama, II, 612; Tivoli first all year around opera performances in America, II, 612; visits of stars during the seventies, II, 612; Baldwin Stock Company, II, 613; long runs at Tivoli, II, 613; benefits for Chicago fire sufferers, II, 614; decline of theater going habit, II, 788; foreign novelties produced by local stock company, II, 788; greatest stars visit city, II, 789; theater center moves westward, II, 789; theater and balls in seventies, II, 789; minstrelsy ceases to attract, II, 790; critical character of San Francisco audiences, II, 790; Patti at Grand Opera House, II, 791; stranded opera companies from Latin America, II, 792; growing popularity of light opera, II, 792; theater center in 1905, II, 793; after theater supper parties, II, 793; moving picture shows suggested by horse in motion pictures, II, 795; San Francisco a school for the drama, II, 805; last performance in Grand Opera House, II, 827; return of theaters to down town center, II, 910; shows immediately after great fire of 1906, II, 910; numerous vaudeville and moving picture places, II, 910; excellent construction of new theaters, II, 910; Prima Donna Tetrizzini sings in open air on Christmas Eve in front of Chronicle office, II, 911.

Americans, successfully trade with native Californians, I, 94; attempt to prejudice Californians against, I, 75; criticise native Californians, I, 66; first emigrants to California, I, 69; Missourians form advance guard of, I, 69; objects of emigrants from United States, I, 69; observant of lukewarmness of natives toward Mexico, I, 74; United States war vessels enter San Francisco Bay, I, 122.

American Protective Association, attempt to revive intolerance, II, 778.

Anarchism, societies in San Francisco to promote, II, 683.

Anian, the search for, I, 6; revival of interest in search

- for northwest passage, I, 7; hope of discovery still existant, I, 11;
- Aoza, starts in search of supposed estuary, I, 16; ordered to occupy port of San Francisco, I, 15; expedition under starts in 1774, I, 15.
- Apartment houses, great numbers constructed, II, 904; number of in 1912, II, 906.
- Architecture, of the missions, I, 32; domestic of native Californians, I, 54; mission buildings, I, 117; a flimsily constructed city, I, 139; good specimens of pioneer days, I, 142; early architects, I, 142; mission style not favored by pioneers, I, 144; an iron front innovation, I, 414; bank buildings in the seventies, II, 526; of United States mint, II, 527; contracted fire limits, II, 569; Palace Hotel, II, 572; Baldwin Hotel, II, 573; business buildings, II, 573; mansions of railroad magnates, II, 579; first steel frame structure in San Francisco, II, 754; improved character of buildings after big fire, II, 754; fireproof buildings before conflagration of 1906, II, 755; uniformity of domestic types of before fire, II, 755; criticisms of appearance of city, II, 756; home building, II, 766; buildings of city in 1905, II, 826; building to guard against tremors, II, 851; many apartment houses erected, II, 904; superior class of amusement buildings, II, 910; numerous tall, modern office buildings, II, 935; millions expended for new school houses, II, 937.
- Argonaut, founded by Pixley in 1877, I, 464.
- Art, in the sixties, I, 464; interior decoration in the sixties, I, 465; growth of taste, I, 465; influence of photographs of horse in motion on artists, II, 615; legislature seeks to encourage, II, 634; artists in city during the seventies, II, 635; taste for during seventies, II, 635; Lotta's gift to the city, II, 639.
- Artisans, brought from Mexico, I, 87; many capable workers in pioneer days, I, 143.
- Associated charities, the work of, II, 786.
- Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe R. R., secures terminal facilities in S. F., II, 657.
- Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, projected rival line, I, 364.
- "Atmosphere," San Francisco temperament, I, 224; early attempts to discover its existence, I, 244; determination of the poetic to find, II, 908.
- Auctioneers, subjected to special license tax, I, 195.
- Auditorium, to be erected in civic center, II, 917.
- Authors' carnivals, success of, II, 607.
- Automobiles, advent of, II, 799; part played by during the earthquake, II, 842; garages on Van Ness avenue, II, 908.
- Australia, California miners rush to, I, 272; commercial relations with, II, 591; trade with, II, 744.
- Australian Ballot, adopted in California, II, 704.
- Baker, Colonel E. D., pronounces oration over Broderick's remains, I, 317; career of, II, 626.
- Balboa, crosses Isthmus of Darien, I, 3.
- Baldwin Theater, maintains excellent stock company, II, 788.
- Bancroft, Hubert H., his Pacific Coast histories, II, 642.
- Bandits, Vasquez's band the last of, II, 620.
- "Bank Crowd," group of Bank of California speculators, II, 499.
- Banking, cause of early troubles, I, 282; first banks established in city, I, 282; illiberal laws, I, 347; results of bad laws, I, 348; first savings and loan society, I, 349; creation of clearing house antagonized, I, 390; clearing house established 1876, I, 390; center in the sixties, I, 414; failure of Bank of California, II, 504; failure of Bank of California due to absence of supervision, II, 507; Nevada bank started, II, 508; banks accept Pinney's worthless securities, II, 522; banks ruined by Pinney's speculations, II, 524; gross mismanagement of savings institutions, II, 524; eight banks closed by commissioners, II, 525; bank commission created in 1878, II, 525; operations of savings banks in the seventies, II, 525; clearings during seventies, II, 526; buildings of banks in seventies, II, 526; a stranger's experiment that failed, II, 528; a twice despoiled bank, II, 621; "Steamer day" collections and bank checks, II, 667; clearings during early eighties and nineties, II, 667; improved methods under surveillance, II, 676; clearings in 1905, II, 726; increase of savings deposits, II, 726; enlarged resources of commercial banks, II, 727; great increase of clearings, II, 823; financial expedients after fire of 1906, II, 871; clearings in the nineties, II, 933; clearing house certificates, II, 933; great increase of resources, II, 933; center in 1912, II, 934.
- Bank of California, failure of, II, 504; cause of failure, II, 505; contest with Flood and O'Brien, II, 507; rehabilitation of by Sharon, II, 507.
- Bar of San Francisco, neglects a duty, II, 625; character of, II, 625.
- Barbary Coast, frequenters of, II, 624.
- Barnes, W. H. L., decorated for defending sailors, II, 622.
- Battle ship fleet visits San Francisco, May, 1908, II, 912.
- Bay of San Francisco, discovered by Portolo's party, I, 14; Spaniards fail to utilize, I, 29; Verger recognizes its value, I, 35; prediction of a padre, I, 36; neglected by early settlers, I, 37; first schooners navigate, I, 37; extolled by visiting ship captains, I, 38; Arguello fails to recognize its importance, I, 39; visited by American ships, I, 40; rumor of its seizure by Americans in 1826, I, 67; ignorance concerning its value, I, 121; surrounded by a wilderness, I, 122; shipping in 1847, I, 122; Golden Gate named by Fremont, I, 122; entrance to, I, 124; early

- accounts of, I, 124; area of, I, 125; appearance on eve of gold discovery, I, 125; Cove of Yerba Buena, I, 126; first steam vessels on its waters, I, 126; wharf facilities created, I, 128; crowded with shipping in 1850, I, 128; dumping sand hills into, I, 160; filling in the cove, I, 160; waters of encroach upon, I, 164; legislature tries to change water front line, I, 196; state seeks to derive revenues from harbor, I, 196; long wharf built by Meiggs, I, 197; legislature and harbor control, I, 320; railroad tries to monopolize, I, 367; railroad gets big slice Oakland water front, I, 367; business of port of San Francisco rapidly expanding, I, 391; ferry service in 1871, I, 417; creation of Harbor Commission, I, 417; sea wall construction authorized, I, 418; bulkhead line defined, I, 418; Hunter's Point dry dock, I, 419; removal of Blossom Rock, I, 419; pilot laws, I, 419; growth of the port of San Francisco, II, 590; first tramp steamer enters, II, 591; desertion of ships, II, 623; treatment of sailors, II, 622; Sunrise case, II, 622; China Basin given to Santa Fe Railroad, II, 657; development of harbor of San Francisco, II, 741; citizens' committee make plans for developing harbor, II, 742; harbors and cities on, II, 746; yachting on, II, 799; trans-bay transportation facilities greatly increased, II, 924; projected improvements for San Francisco water front, II, 927; commerce of port of San Francisco, II, 930; status of port of San Francisco, II, 932.
- Bear Flag movement on eve of occupation, I, 105.
- Bell, Thomas, his mysterious death, II, 811.
- Benefits for Chicago fire sufferers, II, 614.
- Benhayon, Henry, his mysterious death, II, 813.
- Benton, Thomas, his transcontinental railroad project, I, 356.
- Bicycle, great vogue of, II, 794.
- Big Bonanza, discovery of ore body on Comstock, II, 491.
- Biggy, William J., chief of police, tragic death of, II, 891.
- Blythe, Thomas, contests for his estate, II, 814.
- Boarding houses, numerous in pioneer days, I, 226.
- Board of Equalization, Supreme Court curtails its powers, II, 544.
- Bohemian Club, its performances in the Redwoods, II, 806.
- Booth, Newton, vetoes bill condoning crimes of Henry Meiggs, I, 198; denounces railroad monopoly, II, 478.
- Bowers, J. Milton, wife poisoner, II, 813.
- Bossism, Broderick's methods, I, 214; during the seventies, II, 519; a recognized institution, II, 561; day of the small boss, II, 561; railroad the real boss, II, 562; W. W. Stow, the railroads manager, II, 562; rise of Chris Buckley, II, 563; Ruef's methods not novel, II, 695; extraordinary power wielded by Buckley, II, 697; Buckley the champion of dollar limit of taxation, II, 699; bosses and the shallow primary law, II, 705; bosses profit by dividing vote of respectable element, II, 707; conditions that contributed to Ruef's success, II, 821.
- Boycott, employment of by trades unions, II, 682.
- Brannan, Samuel, his connection with Vigilance committee, I, 201.
- Broderick, David C., as a boss, I, 214; relations with Vigilance committee, I, 214; his political career, I, 214; his fight for the senatorship, I, 216; champion of free labor, I, 313; arraigns President Buchanan, I, 314; disregards legislative instructions, I, 314; republicans make overtures to, I, 314; resents being called an abolitionist, I, 315; is challenged by David S. Terry, I, 316; killed by Terry in a duel, I, 316; legislature authorizes erection of monument to, I, 338; monument to in San Francisco, I, 449.
- Brokers, prosperous during Comstock deal, I, 384; extensive operations of, II, 499; professional integrity of, II, 500; large rewards of, II, 500.
- Bryce, James, criticizes constitution of 1879, II, 480; his one-sided account of sand lot trouble, II, 536; revises his earlier judgment, II, 538.
- Bubonic plague, alleged to exist in city, II, 782; allegation investigated by a state commission, II, 783.
- Buckley, Chris, becomes a municipal boss, II, 563; compared with Broderick, II, 564; power of, II, 696; profits by exposure, II, 697; and emotional politics, II, 697; the Moses of the democratic party, II, 698; blackmails corporations, II, 698; traffics in municipal offices, II, 698; avarice of, II, 699.
- Building (see also Architecture), improved methods of construction, I, 141; first stone structure in San Francisco, I, 142; activity in, I, 142; materials costly, I, 143; early instances of Jerry building, I, 144; activity during the sixties, I, 410; homes created, I, 411; appearance of city close of the sixties, I, 414; opposition to extension of fire limits, II, 827; to guard against tremors, II, 851; Geological Survey report on character of construction, II, 851; hasty construction after fire of 1906, II, 864; ruins of present scene of confusion, II, 865; better character of in new Chinese quarter, II, 903.
- Building and Loan Associations flourish and decline, II, 766.
- Bull fights, of native Californians, I, 58.
- Bulletin, career of during sixties, I, 462; influence of, II, 631; during the eighties, II, 807.
- Burnett, Peter H., first governor of California, II, 627.
- Burns, Wm. J., detective, traps supervisors, II, 882.
- Burnham, David H., plans for a city beautiful, II, 767.
- Butler, Anthony, reports in favor of acquisition of California, I, 38.
- Cabrille, discovers San Diego harbor, I, 6.
- Calhoun, Patrick, attitude of community toward in 1905, II, 879; offered up as a vicarious sacrifice, II, 880; explains trolley permit transaction, II, 885; cases against him dismissed, II, 893.

- Calaveras cow pastures, derided as a source of water, II, 584.
- California, settlement of ordered, I, 6; supposed to be an island, I, 10; false impressions concerning, I, 11; reduction of ordered, I, 11; not highly regarded by officials, I, 65; resemblance to Spain, I, 66; cost of Spanish government of, I, 73; myths concerning, I, 103; origin of name of, I, 123; slaveholders seek support of, I, 215.
- California Pacific Railroad, absorbed by Central Pacific, I, 422.
- Call, its characteristic features, I, 462; during the seventies, II, 632; during the eighties, II, 807.
- Campbell, Alexander, legal career, II, 628.
- Canals, Nicaragua ship canal project, I, 290; visions of an interoceanic canal, II, 592. (See also Panama Canal.)
- Capital, high interest rates, I, 347; illiberal banking laws, I, 348; small amount invested in first transcontinental railroad, I, 357; real estate a favorite form of investment, I, 411; urged to invest in street railways, II, 577; interest rates greatly lowered, II, 666; San Franciscans let go street railways, II, 762.
- Carriages, maintenance of a mark of social distinction, II, 800.
- Casey, James P., shoots James King of Willow, editor of *Bulletin*, I, 205; exposure of his record, I, 205.
- Catholic Church, position of, I, 237; Irish colonists ask for a bishop, I, 237; division of the pious fund, I, 238; growth of under Bishop Alemany, I, 238; first cathedral erected, I, 239; Latin American Catholics, I, 239; Sisters of Mercy and their charity work, I, 253.
- Cemeteries, intra mural burial prohibited, II, 770; proposal to disinter bodies, II, 918.
- Central Trades Assembly, formation and collapse of, I, 372.
- Cereals, dependence on wheat exports, I, 323; growth of wheat export trade, I, 397; increased production of wheat, II, 489; volume of exports of wheat in 1882, II, 489; good prices for wheat, II, 511; decline of wheat export trade, II, 745.
- Cerm  o, searches for a safe harbor, I, 40.
- Charles V., interested in project to cut through Isthmus of Darien, I, 3.
- Charters, San Francisco's first municipal in 1850, I, 189; a second in 1851, I, 191; rejection of a third in 1853, I, 194; several rejected instruments, II, 554; attempt to reenact consolidation act, II, 556; causes of rejection of several instruments, II, 556; strong desire for a new organic law, II, 701; organic law finally adopted in 1898, II, 702; nineteen years of effort, II, 702; increased powers of mayor a stumbling block, II, 703; changes worked by charter 1898, II, 709; that of 1898 fails to effect economies, II, 710; futility of reductions, II, 710; blundering attempts at regulation of interest rates, II, 712.
- Children, outdoor life of in San Francisco, II, 617.
- China Basin, Santa Fe Railroad secures for terminal purposes, II, 659.
- Chronicle, beginnings of, I, 461; pioneer's newspaper illustration, I, 462; exposes Federal ring, II, 522; prosecuted by Federal officials for making exposures, II, 524; during the seventies, II, 632; proprietor constructs first tall steel frame building in San Francisco, II, 754.
- Churches (see also Religion), number of on eve of great fire, II, 825.
- Charities, pioneer efforts to ameliorate suffering, I, 251; activities of the charitable, I, 454; authors' carnivals, II, 607; care of orphans and sick, II, 785; neighborhood settlements and uplift work, II, 758; work of the associated, II, 786; adoption of an indorsement system, II, 787; taking care of earthquake sufferers, II, 847.
- Chinese, Rezanoff suggests introduction into California, I, 78; Catholic attempts at conversion, I, 239; influx of, I, 246; quarter in pioneer days, I, 261; trades unions and, in 1867, I, 375; presence causes anxiety at early date, I, 376; Mexican hatred of, I, 376; legislative report on immigration of in 1852, I, 377; San Franciscans tolerant, I, 377; miners' license tax imposed on, I, 377; railroad encourages immigration of, I, 378; regarded as a necessary evil, I, 378; forbidden employment on public works, I, 379; their labor not required, I, 380; land owners desire, I, 427; workmen and, II, 482; characteristics understood by San Franciscans, II, 483; early demands for exclusion, II, 483; non-partisan character of demand for exclusion, II, 484; advocated because regarded as servile, II, 484; attempt of mob to burn mail dock in anti-Chinese riot, II, 532; not badly treated in San Francisco, II, 597; investigation of, II, 597; first exclusion bill, II, 597; engage in manufacturing, II, 682; number in country diminishing, II, 682; attempts to boycott fail, II, 682; question of no longer a live one, II, 779; lepers in the city, II, 779; their quarter in city a sore spot, II, 780; special commission cleans up Chinatown, II, 783; Little Pete, a noted criminal, II, 816; crimes of, II, 816; new quarter after fire more presentable, II, 903; reestablish themselves in old section, II, 903.
- Circus, popularity of in pioneer days, I, 263.
- "City Beautiful," plans of David H. Burnham for, II, 767; practical views prevail after big fire, II, 867.
- City Hall, commission created, I, 406; built on installment plan, I, 406; wasteful mode of construction, II, 516; changes in plans of architects, II, 516; blunders of commission, II, 517; construction proceeds slowly, II, 571; plans again changed, II, 712; designs for new hall on civic center, II, 917.
- City limits, contraction of, in early days, I, 274.

- Civic bodies, flouted by graft prosecution, II, 889.
- Civic center, proposed establishment of, in 1905, II, 767;
to contain a grand opera house, II, 912; plans for
civic center adopted 1912, II, 917.
- Civicism, see Incivicism.
- Civil Service, in operation, II, 715; value of the merit
system, II, 716.
- Civil War, ante bellum business troubles, I, 293; causes
trade depression, I, 327; doubts concerning attitude
of San Francisco, I, 330; news of firing on Fort
Sumter, I, 332; loyalty to the Union, I, 333; clergy
on side of Union, I, 333; call for volunteers, I, 334;
operations of Confederates in New Mexico and Ari-
zona, I, 334; news from the front, I, 335; Merrimac
and Monitor battle causes uneasiness, I, 335; Cali-
fornia's contribution to the sanitary commission, I, 336;
a tribute to San Francisco generosity, I, 336; open
advocacy of secession, I, 337; Southern sympathizers,
I, 337; attempt to make port a base for privateering,
I, 337; land piracies of secession sympathizers, I, 337;
a great change of sentiment, I, 338; war promotes
trade in San Francisco, I, 340.
- Clearing House Certificates, freely accepted in 1907,
II, 933.
- Cliff House in the seventies, II, 617.
- Climate (see also Meteorology), transmuted into coin,
II, 730; peculiarities of San Francisco weather, II,
796; great prima donna sings in open air on Christ-
mas eve, 1909, II, 911; open air celebrations on New
Year's eve, II, 914.
- Clipper Ships, performances of, I, 290.
- Clubs, many social, formed, II, 787; housed in fine
buildings, II, 905.
- Coal, trade in, II, 745.
- Coinage, private, in early days, I, 283.
- College of the Pacific founded, I, 237.
- Colton trial, widow of David brings suit against man-
agers of Central Pacific Railroad, I, 366; disclosure
of railroad iniquities, II, 589.
- Colonization, Galvez's project, I, 12; Mexican laws
dealing with, I, 68.
- Combination, an early instance of, I, 289.
- Commerce (see also Trade), uncommercial character
of native Californians, I, 35; of Yerba Buena in
1847, I, 115; of San Francisco in 1848, I, 128; food
stuffs imported, I, 247; shipping tonnage in 1859,
I, 292; of port in seventies, II, 487; imports prior
to 1870, II, 489; trade relations with Australia,
II, 591; decline of wheat export trade, II, 745;
exports of oil, II, 746; of port in 1912, II, 930; trade
with "non-contiguous" territory, II, 931; status of
port of San Francisco, II, 932.
- Commercial and training schools established, II, 802.
- Commissions, corruption of first railroad, II, 649; ruling
of Railroad Commission in Fresno rate case, II, 651;
in Bakersfield oil case, II, 652.
- Committee of Fifty, organized to deal with earthquake
trouble in 1906, II, 836; its membership, II, 838.
- Comstock lode, discovery of, I, 325.
- Communication, California in touch with whole world,
I, 401.
- Conflagrations (see also Fires), first big fire in 1849,
I, 140; second and third big fires, I, 141; the fifth
big fire of pioneer days, I, 147.
- Congress, debauched by Southern Pacific lobby, I, 366;
Colton letters disclose corruption of members, II, 589.
- Conservation, of timber urged in 1839, I, 88; of gold
suggested by Mason, I, 133.
- Conservatism, San Francisco not prone to innovation,
I, 389; adherence to cautious programme, II, 588.
- Consolidation Act, passed in 1856, I, 311; its rigid
requirements, I, 311; effects economics, I, 311; effect
of its restraints, I, 448; attempt to reenact as a
charter, II, 556; promoted lobbying, II, 561.
- Constitution of 1849, election of delegates, I, 184; vote
on adoption, I, 186.
- Constitution of 1879, not a sand lot instrument, II, 512;
biased views of, II, 513; agitation for a new instru-
ment, II, 529; convention ordered by popular vote,
II, 530; delegates to convention elected in 1878,
II, 542; the men who framed the instrument, II, 542;
workmen not an influential factor, II, 542; pro-
visions of new instrument, II, 543; arguments urged
against, II, 544; corporations hostile to, II, 545; pro-
visions thoroughly discussed by people, II, 547; vote
on adoption of, II, 547; provisions are not enforced,
II, 550; nullified by courts, II, 554; lawyers in the
convention, II, 631.
- Contract and Finance Company of Central Pacific
Railroad, I, 365.
- Conventions (see also Labor and Politics), many held
in San Francisco, II, 774.
- Cook, Captain, discovers Sandwich Islands, I, 9.
- Cora, shoots and kills Richardson in 1855, I, 204.
- Corporations, hostility of, to Constitution of 1879, II,
545; submit to blackmailing, II, 698; tear up and
injure streets, II, 916.
- Corruption (see Municipal and Graft).
- Cosmopolitanism, of Yerba Buena, I, 112; nationality
of gold seekers, I, 135; population of San Francisco,
I, 226.
- Cost of living, in early fifties, I, 247; failure of a free
market experiment, II, 902.
- Currency (see also Money), use of greenbacks dis-
countenanced, I, 346.
- Crabtree, Lott, popularity of, I, 437; presents a fountain
to city, II, 639.
- Craven, Mrs. Nettie, claims to be widow of James G.
Fair, II, 812.
- Crime, wicked classes in evidence in 1849, I, 136;
prevalence of, in pioneer days, I, 182; I, 199; the
Hounds, I, 200; Hounds become regulators, I, 200;
Vigilance Committee of 1851, I, 202; firearms carried

- generally, I, 203; swift punishment fails to deter criminals, I, 204; conditions in 1855-56, I, 204; "Bulletin's" crusade against, I, 205; Vigilance Committee of 1856, I, 206; Cora and Casey lynched, I, 206; criminal element not difficult to control, I, 219; I, 222; an orderly city, I, 327; neglect of preventive measures, I, 447; San Francisco most orderly place in state, I, 450; Vasquez and his robber band, I, 450; abuse of pardoning power, I, 450; Lawyer Crittenden killed by Laura D. Fair, I, 451; killing of Crittenden causes a moral awakening, I, 451; murder of Charles de Young, II, 551; police records, II, 619; Wheeler the Strangler, II, 620; murder of Nicholas Skerritt, II, 621; the law's delays, II, 621; on the high seas, II, 622; on Barbary Coast, II, 624; remarkable poisoning case, II, 813; in city and country, II, 815; two girls murdered by Theodore Durrant in a church, II, 814; murder of a school girl, II, 815; Chinese criminals, II, 816; few crimes during earthquake troubles, II, 859; gas pipe thugs create a reign of terror, II, 874; thugs captured and hanged, II, 875; mysterious death of Chief of Police Biggy, II, 891.
- Criticism, San Francisco subjected to, unfair, II, 777.
- Crocker, Charles, his spite fence invites a mob, II, 538.
- Dairies, plenty of cattle but no milk, I, 86.
- Dancing, the waltz prohibited by the padres, I, 46.
- Darien, projected piercing of the isthmus, I, 3.
- Debt of city, in 1848, I, 185; in 1851, I, 192; no provision for payment of municipal obligations, I, 192; an unsatisfactory funding experiment, I, 193; hostility to bonding projects, I, 406; abnormal fear of, II, 709; bond authorizations and their purposes, II, 937.
- Defenses, condition of, at outbreak of Civil war, I, 332.
- de Lesseps visits San Francisco, II, 593.
- Demi-monde numerous in pioneer days, I, 228.
- Department stores after fire of 1906, II, 909.
- Desert Land Act, "Chronicle" exposes abuses of, II, 523.
- de Young, Charles, murdered by son of Isaac S. Kalloch, II, 551.
- de Young, M. H., suggests midwinter fair, II, 728.
- Diamond mine swindle, II, 508.
- Directory, first city, published in 1850, I, 303.
- Disasters (see also earthquakes), on ocean, I, 471; a nitroglycerine explosion, I, 471.
- Distribution, too much thought devoted to, II, 488.
- Diversions (see also Sports) of native Californians, I, 50.
- Divorces, numerous during pioneer days, I, 241.
- Dogs, immense numbers maintained on ranches, I, 95.
- Dollar line of steamers started, II, 743.
- "Dolly Vardens," success of, in 1873, II, 478; defeat and disappearance of party, II, 478.
- Donner party, its sufferings, I, 113.
- Doyle, John T., legal career, II, 627.
- Drake, Sir Francis, his dubious pursuits, I, 5; doubtful statements concerning his discoveries, I, 25.
- Drake's Bay, entered by Cermeño, I, 4.
- Drama (see Amusements).
- Dress, of native Californians, I, 51; of pioneers, I, 250.
- Drinking habit, glittering bar rooms, I, 227; prevalence of, I, 258; establishment of temperance restaurants in pioneer days, I, 273; signs of abatement of, I, 449; wine at meals in restaurants, II, 600; bar rooms and free lunch counters, II, 601; the treating practice, II, 604; sale of intoxicating liquors prohibited after fire of 1906, II, 873.
- Duane, Charles P., secures judgment against Vigilance committee, I, 217.
- Duelling, prevalence of, I, 259; editor killed in a duel, I, 297; Broderick-Terry encounter, I, 315; politics cause many duels, I, 317; last political duel in California, I, 403.
- Dupont street, widening of, II, 568; name changed to Grant avenue, II, 569.
- Durrant, Theodore, murders two young women in a church, II, 814; hanged July 7, 1898, II, 814.
- "Dutch Flat Swindle," charge brought by an engineer against Central Pacific Railroad projectors, I, 361.
- Earthquakes, gold hunters not afraid of, I, 169; a verified prediction, I, 170; lack of precautions in building, I, 468; Bret Harte's jocular prophecy, I, 468; the tremor of 1868, I, 468; shock of 1868 more severe in Oakland, I, 469; damage of that of 1868 not great, I, 470; why San Franciscans do not worry about, II, 850.
- Earthquake of April 18, 1906, the night before, II, 828; first intimation of disaster, II, 829; as rated by the scientists, II, 829; organization of Committee of Fifty, II, 836; military precautions, II, 840; work of Relief committee, II, 841; help from every quarter, II, 841; exaggerated reports concerning, II, 845; taking care of the homeless, II, 847; historical data gathered, II, 848; area of burned district, II, 849; notable exemption from flames, II, 849; precautions neglected by Water Company, II, 851; construction of buildings to guard against disaster, II, 852; ordinary safes prove valueless in conflagration, II, 853; exodus from the city, II, 853; the great conflagration rages three days, II, 854; Schmitz as presiding officer of Committee of Fifty, II, 858; order preserved without difficulty, II, 858; cooking on the streets, II, 860; refugee camps, II, 860; clearing away the ruins, II, 865; rival cities seek to profit by San Francisco's misfortune, II, 869; losses and amount of insurance received, II, 869.
- Economics, failure of certain theories, II, 676.
- Education (see also Public Schools and Universities), neglected by padres, I, 45; numerous college-bred men among the argonauts, I, 230; College of Pacific founded, I, 237; early facilities, I, 305; the higher in pioneer days, I, 306; St. Ignatius College founded, I, 307; parochial and private schools, I, 307; I, 456;

- public schools and their activities, I, 454; work of educators, I, 454; public school property, I, 455; method of selecting public school teachers, I, 455; public school course of studies in sixties, I, 455; modern languages taught in public schools, I, 455; truancy, I, 456; University of California and its resources, I, 457; coeducation in State University, I, 458; effect of higher education on literature, I, 458; Horace Hawe's unsuccessful attempt to establish a university, II, 643; public schools during the seventies, II, 644; private and parochial schools during the seventies II, 645; text book scandal, II, 645; growth of public school system, II, 800; normal school established in San Francisco, II, 801; effect of proximity of universities, II, 803.
- Eight Hour League formed, I, 373.
- Elections, under military auspices, I, 184; corruption at the polls, I, 208; ballot box not guarded against stuffing, I, 310; primary methods disregarded, I, 310; workmen win in primaries of 1867, I, 374; the "tape worm" ticket, I, 405; hallot reform effected, I, 405; appointment of assessors urged, I, 428; women suffrage in 1870, I, 428; votes at \$3 a piece, II, 523; legislation against "piece" clubs, II, 532; adoption of constitution of 1879, II, 547; success of railroad in manipulating, II, 589; railroad hoodwinks the voters, II, 649; trading to secure head of ticket, II, 694; secrecy of ballot at, II, 704; Australian ballot adopted, II, 704; an improved primary law, II, 705; new primary law exposes weakness of bosses, II, 706; direct election of senators advocated, II, 707; Stanford's election as United States senator, II, 708; voting machines used in San Francisco, II, 718; women suffrage defeated in 1896, II, 719; new mode of choosing municipal officers, II, 895; preponderance of better element in the electorate, I, 208.
- Electricity, first used as an illuminant in San Francisco, II, 583; slow application of, to street railway traction, II, 762.
- Emanuel Baptist Church, murders committed in, by Theodore Durrant, II, 814.
- Employers' Association, formed to meet aggressions of labor unions, II, 686; II, 687.
- Epicurianism, development of, in early days, I, 249.
- Etiquette, unconventional habits of native Californians, I, 63.
- Exaggeration, San Francisco a victim of, I, 242.
- "Examiner," founded, I, 461; under management of William R. Hearst, II, 806.
- Expenditures (see Municipal).
- Extravagance, of city officials, I, 190; an era of foolish, II, 496; rich not given to display in early days, II, 601; people generally very free handed, II, 603.
- Explosives, use of, in great conflagration of 1906, II, 833.
- Expositions, the Midwinter Fair of 1894, II, 728; Panama Pacific projected for 1915, II, 925.
- Extortion, by municipal officers, II, 872.
- Fairs (see also Expositions), first industrial in California, I, 321; Mechanics Institute Exhibition very popular, I, 455.
- Fair, James G., mining magnate, II, 497; Mrs. Nettie Craven claims that she is his widow, II, 812.
- Fair, Laura D., murders Lawyer Crittenden, I, 451; acquitted by a jury, I, 451.
- Family relations among native Californians, I, 46.
- Fashion, dressing and high living, II, 601; New Year's calls, II, 604.
- Federal, officials mix in local politics, II, 519; government interferes with sanitary regulation of Chinese, II, 597; relations of general government to port, II, 932.
- Federated Trades, formation of, II, 684.
- Felton, John B., legal career, II, 626.
- Ferries in 1871, I, 417; travel on, during seventies, II, 618; erection of ferry building at foot of Market street, II, 741; enormous growth of crossbay traffic, II, 924.
- Fickert, Charles M., election of, regarded as rebuke to graft prosecution, II, 896.
- Field, Stephen J., career in California, II, 628.
- Fire Arms, generally carried in early days, I, 140.
- Fires (see also Conflagrations), inadequate precautions against, I, 140; excessive number of, I, 467; fallacy concerning indestructibility of redwood lumber, I, 468; contracted precautionary limitations on buildings, II, 569; the great conflagration of 1906, II, 830; use of dynamite, II, 833; area of district burned in 1906, II, 849; conflagration of 1906 under control on third day, II, 854; losses paid by insurance companies, II, 869; precautions adopted for places of amusement, II, 910; high pressure system installed after fire of 1906, II, 937; numerous cisterns throughout the city as a fire precaution, II, 937.
- Fire Department, numerous companies formed, I, 141; Broderick's relations with volunteer firemen, I, 215; firemen as social leaders, I, 255; equipment of volunteer organizations, I, 256; engine houses centers of social activities, I, 256; parades of firemen, I, 256; firemen in politics, I, 257; composition of volunteer organizations, I, 442; creation of paid department, I, 442; part of volunteer organization in pageants, I, 442.
- Filibusteriorg, San Francisco as a base for, I, 267; actively supports various projects, I, 269; Crabb's abortive attempt on Sonora, I, 270; encouraged by the press, I, 298.
- Fillmore Street, benefited by great conflagration, II, 682.
- Fitch, George K., editor of Bulletin, II, 631; his vigorous advocacy of economy, II, 808.
- Fisheries, of Pacific Coast, I, 392.
- Flood, James C., mining magnate, II, 497.
- Flood & O'Brien, start Nevada bank, II, 508.

- Forbes, James A., intrigues against Americans, I, 75.
- Foreigners, few in California in 1826, I, 67; Mexico prohibits their entrance, I, 67; shipwrecked sailors welcomed by native Californians, I, 67; native Californian jealousy of, I, 68; friction with in 1833, I, 68; large proportion of among gold hunters, I, 137; in San Francisco in 1853, I, 137; attacked by "Hounds," I, 200; unjustly blamed for excesses, I, 225; much esteemed members of Vigilance committee, I, 226; social life and amusements of, I, 200.
- Foodstuffs, necessity of importing in early fifties, I, 247.
- Football, games of university students, social events, II, 799.
- Forrest, Edwin, great popularity of the actor, I, 438.
- Foundry Workers, strike of, II, 684.
- France, French intrigues against Mexico, I, 75; French consul involved in plot against Mexico, I, 268; intrigues of Frenchmen blocked by southern sympathizers, I, 269.
- Franchises, street railway privileges freely granted, II, 557; community eager to have them granted, II, 557; wholesale grants of, II, 578; value of underestimated, II, 579; more street railway privileges conferred, II, 759; dispute over Sutter street railway privilege, I, 920.
- Franciscans, carry out ideas of Kino in California, I, 11.
- Fraser river, rush of miners to placers, I, 272.
- Fraternal, many organizations in the city, I, 232; flourishing condition of organizations, I, 446; great numbers in city in 1912, II, 787.
- Freedom of Speech, passage of a gag law, II, 540.
- Free Market, failure of an experiment, II, 902.
- Freights and Fares, see Railroads and Transportation.
- Fremont, John C., upsets plans of Consul Larkin, I, 76; leads a scientific expedition in 1842, I, 103; his policy of provocation in California, I, 104; connection with the Bear Flag movement, I, 105; names the Golden Gate, I, 122.
- Fresno Rate Case, Southern Pacific wins by a trick, II, 651.
- Fruit, little raised in California in early days, I, 53; a pioneer fruit grower, I, 86.
- Fur Trade, linked up with California's destiny, I, 92; Hudson Bay Company in California, I, 116.
- Gage, Henry T., intervenes in teamsters' strike, II, 691.
- Gag Law, passed by a frightened legislature and promptly repealed, II, 540.
- Gallagher, Jim, hoodling supervisor appointed acting mayor by graft prosecutors, II, 889; bomb exploded in hall of his house, II, 891.
- Gambling, in Yerba Buena, I, 114; attempts to suppress in 1848, I, 182; games played, I, 227; proprietors of dens grow rich, I, 228; legislative endorsement of lotteries, II, 605; racing receives legislative support, II, 615; wide open town advocated during Schmitz-Ruef administration, II, 737.
- Gas Pipe Thugs, murderous thieves inspire terror, II, 874; captured and hanged, II, 875.
- Geary, John W., upbraids local governing body, I, 185.
- Geary Street Railway, municipal road authorized, II, 721; taken over by city, II, 764.
- Geological Survey, investigates disaster of 1906, II, 850; makes suggestions regarding construction, II, 582.
- George, Henry, fears land monopoly, I, 428; his career in San Francisco, II, 559; his unrealized predictions, II, 559; his epoch making book, II, 640.
- Gilbert, Edward, editor killed in a duel, I, 297.
- Gilroy, first Briton to become a Californian, I, 67.
- Goat Island, attempt of railroad to secure, I, 423; scheme blocked by report of United States engineers, I, 424.
- Gold, search for islands of, I, 8; Spaniards fail to discover in California, I, 99; found in Los Angeles county in 1841, I, 100; discovery at Sutter's mill disrupts Mormon colony, I, 113; the discovery at Sutter's mill, I, 131; early immigrants not in quest of, I, 131; Larkin reports discovery to president, I, 132; news of discovery received in the East, I, 133; Larkin and Lieutenant Sherman make reports concerning, I, 133; conservation suggested by military governor, I, 133; General Persifer Smith urges that only Americans be allowed to mine, I, 134; attempts to monopolize placers, I, 134; effects of gold mining on San Francisco temperament, I, 135; the rush to the mines, I, 135; seekers of all nationalities, I, 135; plethora affects values, I, 160; medal scandal, I, 190; searchers of varied character, I, 225; hunters victims of home sickness, I, 230; abundance of causes high wages, I, 245; low price of, I, 248; effects of its plentifulness, I, 248; plenty of, but no money, I, 282; buying and selling dust, I, 283; diminishing output, I, 324; production, I, 348; largest shipment on record, II, 678; discovery of in Klondike, II, 732.
- Golden Era, school of writers, I, 304.
- Golden Gate, Lieut. Juan Manuel de Ayala passes through, I, 16; named by Fremont, I, 122; survey of, I, 124.
- Golden Gate Park (see also parks), the efforts to improve, II, 769.
- Government (see also municipal and political), province of California cheaply administered, I, 73; Mexican shows little concern for California, I, 74; centralized authority, I, 164; usurpations of military authorities, I, 184; fails to make proper provision, I, 283; James Bryce's opinion of constitution of 1879, II, 480; constitution of 1879 not a sand lot instrument, II, 512; evils of special legislation, II, 514; absence of proper safeguards, II, 517; neglect of streets by municipality, II, 517; sand lot orators denounce municipal, II, 518; federal officials interfere with

- state affairs, II, 519; the federal ring, II, 519; agitation for a new organic law, II, 529; last legislature under constitution of 1849, II, 530; failure of legislature to authorize adequate police force, II, 541; new form of police commission, II, 541; legislature prohibits dealings in futures, II, 550; taxation scandal, II, 555; city orderly in the eighties, II, 596.
- Graft prosecution (see also corruption and municipal), an aggravated form of tipping, II, 759; Market street trolley permit granted, II, 846; corrupt practices of chimney inspectors, II, 847; first speck of trouble after big fire, II, 856; Ruef's gang resumes its vicious practices, II, 872; division of opinion in community regarding, II, 881; supervisors trapped by Detective Burns, II, 882; indictments by the hundred, II, 882; policy and methods of, II, 883; circumstances surrounding grant of Market street trolley permit, II, 884; fluctuations of public opinion, II, 886; indictments that were not pressed, II, 887; make up of the prosecution, II, 887; district attorney subordinated by Heney, II, 887; connection of street car strike with, II, 888; runs the city government, II, 889; flouts assistance of civic bodies, II, 889; intemperate conduct during trials, II, 889; hoodling supervisor made acting mayor, II, 889; mysterious death of Chief of Police Biggy, II, 891; explosion of bomb in hall of hoodler Gallagher's house, II, 891; fruitless efforts to convict, II, 892; cases dismissed, II, 893; attempt to secure pardon of Ruef, the only grafter sent to prison, II, 895; methods of condemned by popular vote, II, 896.
- Graham, Isaac, trapper and illicit distiller, I, 69; arrested and sent to Mexico, II, 827.
- Grand Opera House, last performance in old place on Mission street, II, 827; new house to be erected in civic center, II, 912.
- Grangers, opposition to railroad monopoly, II, 478; an unsuccessful banking experiment, II, 528.
- Grant, Ulysses, his reception in San Francisco, II, 607.
- Great Britain, inquires into feelings of native Californians, I, 75; British subjects secure a profitable trade monopoly from Mexicans, I, 94.
- Greater San Francisco, movement to create, II, 900; relations of street car service to, II, 923.
- Gregariousness, the tendency as exhibited in San Francisco, I, 274.
- Green family, attempt to disturb Pueblo titles, I, 217.
- Gresham law, failed to operate in California, II, 663.
- Haas, Morris, shoots Heney in court room, II, 890; commits suicide in jail, II, 891.
- Hagar, John S., legal and political career, II, 630.
- Halladie, A. S., inventor of cable traction devices for street cars, II, 575.
- Hamburg American Line, starts steamer service between San Francisco and Europe, II, 743.
- Harbor Commission (see also Bay of San Francisco and Water Front), creation of, I, 417; state toll charges abolished, II, 660; operations of, II, 741; constructs needed ferry building, II, 741; wasteful management, II, 742; establishes a free market, II, 902; city seeks to take control of water front from, II, 929; operations of in 1911, II, 930; revenues and expenditures of port administered by, II, 930.
- Haro, Francisco, makes survey of Yerba Buena, I, 439.
- Harrigan, Edward, his early successes in San Francisco, II, 613.
- Haskell, Burnett, career of the agitator, II, 653.
- Hastings, S. C., first chief justice of California, II, 629.
- Hawaii, suggestion that Spain should acquire, I, 60; trade with, I, 394; reciprocity treaty and its effects, I, 394; plans for annexation of, I, 395; increased trade results from treaty, II, 670; communication with improved, II, 774; trade attains large proportions, II, 931.
- Hawes, Horace, a well hated reformer, I, 186; demands impeachment of governor, I, 188; framer of consolidation act, I, 311; seeks to establish a university, II, 643.
- Health, evil results of filling in Yerba Buena cove, I, 194; presence of Chinese lepers in city, II, 779; interference of federal authorities with municipal regulations, II, 780; a worked up plague scare, II, 781; commission sent to Washington to combat plague scare, II, 782; commission investigates and makes a report on bubonic plague cases, II, 784.
- Hearst, William R., assumes charge of Examiner, II, 806.
- Heney, Francis J., appointed assistant district attorney, II, 883; shot in court room by Morris Haas, II, 890; beaten in effort to secure district attorneyship, II, 896.
- "Herald," driven from business by Vigilance committee, I, 298.
- Hetch, Hetchy, effort to secure for reservoir purposes, II, 936; bonds authorized to bring water from, II, 937.
- Highton, Henry E., legal career, II, 628.
- Hill, Sarah Althea, brings suit against Senator Sharon for divorce, II, 810.
- History, methods of writing, II, 898.
- Hoge, Joseph P., legal career, II, 626.
- Home Life, absence of, I, 227; its restraining influence unfelt in early fifties, I, 229; growth of feeling for, II, 757.
- Home Sickness, prevalence of the affliction, I, 230.
- Horse Racing (see also Sports), of early Californians, I, 58.
- Horticulture (see also Agriculture), infancy of California fruit industry, I, 383.
- Hospitals (see also Charities), first in San Francisco, I, 252.

- Hospitality (see also Atmosphere), lavishly displayed by native Californians, I, 49.
- Hotels, numerous in days of argonauts, I, 273; center in early days, I, 274; in the sixties, I, 466; Palace erected, II, 505; opening of Palace, II, 572; erection of Baldwin, II, 573; fare of criticized, II, 599; great numbers in 1912, II, 906; modernization of, II, 907.
- "Hounds," an early criminal organization, I, 200; pose as reformers under name of "regulators," I, 200; their political affiliations, I, 201; citizens rise against and suppress, I, 201.
- Hudson Bay Company, accorded hunting privileges, I, 116.
- Hunters Point Dry Dock, built on water front, I, 419.
- Huntington, C. P., as a lobbyist, I, 361; his correspondence with Colton, I, 366; head of powerful Washington lobby, II, 587; Colton correspondence discloses corrupt practices, II, 589.
- Hydraulic Mining, stopped by courts, II, 734.
- Ide, William B, originator of Bear flag movement, I, 105.
- Idols, creation of popular, I, 250.
- Illumination, charges for gas in early days, I, 326; gas introduced by Peter Donahue, II, 582; rivalry in sale of gas, II, 582; first electric light in San Francisco, II, 583.
- Immigrants, become traders, I, 59; sufferings of the Donner party, I, 113; first settlers not in search of gold, I, 131; during the fifties, I, 137; gold hunters did not come to stay, I, 137; failure of California to receive its share of, I, 277; war promotes, I, 345; not encouraged during the seventies, II, 486; vote upon exclusion of Chinese, II, 598; an assimilable population demanded, II, 598; railroad policy not designed to promote, II, 661; settlers coming into state, II, 673; railroads encourage immigration, II, 773; Panama canal expected to promote immigration, II, 927.
- Improvement Clubs, activities of, II, 919.
- Incivicism, little interest in municipal affairs, I, 155; indifference of qualified voters, I, 181; failure to vote for charters, I, 194; responsible for prevalence of crime, I, 199; Vigilance committee made necessary by neglect of voters, I, 208; Vigilance committee rebukes, I, 212; Vigilance committee product of indifference of respectable element, I, 220; pioneer chargeable with, I, 310; lukewarmness in politics, I, 405; increased attention to civic duty, I, 448; responsible for excesses of Workingmen's party and Ruef gang, II, 696.
- Indians, uprising of at San Diego, I, 16; misgivings concerning possibilities of improvement, I, 18; treatment of by missionaries, I, 25; low in scale of intelligence, I, 26; at mission of St. Francis, I, 26; restrictions imposed upon, I, 27; melt away before whites, I, 27; Governor Sola declares them worthless, I, 30; undependable as laborers, I, 32; why they were not civilized, I, 82; their condition investigated, I, 81; efforts of Mexican government to improve I, 81; uprising in 1829, I, 80; enslavement of, I, 79; enter into combinations, I, 78; probable fate of under American rule, I, 77.
- Individualism, exhibited in extreme form, I, 157; results of individual efforts of argonauts, I, 158; effects upon development of city, II, 723; promotes antagonisms, II, 751; many improvements through private effort, II, 752.
- Indolence, besetting sin of native Californians, I, 33.
- Initiative, in legislation, adopted by city, II, 720.
- Insurance, amount of losses paid after April fire of 1906, II, 869.
- Interest rates, in early days, I, 347; charter seeks to regulate by indirection, II, 712.
- Internationals, the organization in San Francisco, II, 683.
- Irrigation, early legislation concerning, II, 485.
- Isolation, effects of in early days, I, 286; period of ended by completion of transcontinental railroad, I, 401.
- Japanese, few arrive in early days, I, 379; in public schools, II, 780; agitation over presence in schools revived, II, 876; attitude of state regarding their admission to schools, II, 876; forced into public schools by President Roosevelt, II, 878; scatter throughout city after fire, II, 902.
- Jesuits, expelled by Portola, I, 12; oppose planting of missions in Alta California, I, 19.
- Journalism, "Bulletin's" crusade against crime, I, 205; intemperate methods, I, 206; partisan newspapers, I, 295; news before the occupation traveled slowly, I, 296; a merger, I, 296; violent editorial expressions, I, 296; founding of "Alta California," I, 296; idle gossip printed in pioneer days, I, 297; engaged in as a necessity, I, 297; not profitable in pioneer days, I, 297; attempts to promote reforms, I, 298; press encourages filibustering, I, 298; editorials a leading feature of press of pioneer period, I, 299; rivalry in the fifties, I, 299; editorial writers during the fifties, I, 299; use of the telegraph, I, 300; news by steamer, I, 300; news by mail and pony express, I, 300; allied with literature, I, 301; in the sixties, I, 460; women as reporters, I, 460; news gathering methods in the sixties, I, 461; "Examiner" and "Chronicle" founded, I, 461; illustration in San Francisco dailies, I, 462; career of "Bulletin" during sixties, I, 462; the "Morning Call," I, 462; weekly papers as censors, I, 463; career of "Alta California," I, 463; papers devoted to mining stock selling operations, I, 463; "Wasp" first American paper to print cartoons in colors, I, 463; newspaper mortality during the sixties, I, 464; writers for and contributors to daily press, I, 464; an extra under discouraging circumstances, I, 470; sand lot orators echo daily press, II,

- 512; exposure of federal ring by "Chronicle," II, 522; newspapers as a source of historical information, II, 535; "Bulletin" antagonizes municipal ownership of water supply, II, 584; freedom of the press, II, 624; influences and policy of, II, 631; at close of the seventies, II, 632; Sunday magazines of the daily papers, II, 633; writers during the early eighties, II, 634; William R. Hearst assumes charge of the "Examiner," II, 806; "Call" during the eighties, II, 807; eastern criticism of San Francisco press, II, 808; attempt to get out an extra on April 18, 1906, II, 830; joint paper printed by morning dailies on day after the earthquake, II, 837; the press during the earthquake troubles, II, 848; papers re-established themselves in their old locations, II, 867.
- Judiciary, judge made laws, II, 554.
- Juries, and the squatters, I, 352; jury system brought into disrepute during graft trials, II, 890.
- Kalloch, Isaac S., preacher and politician, II, 551; elected mayor, II, 551; impeached by board of supervisors, II, 552; meeting of workingmen intimidates judges, II, 553; his administration a boggy to frighten charter makers, II, 554.
- Kearney, Denis, denounces municipal inefficiency, II, 518; his relations with the press, II, 518; member of "pickhandle" brigade, II, 532; as a leader, II, 534; his literary attainments, II, 534; on the stump, II, 534; an assiduous reader of newspapers, II, 535; fails to carry out a threat, II, 539; driven from a platform by Jack Hayes, II, 541; his English socialistic associates, II, 596.
- Kearny, General Philip, orders sale of water front lots, I, 119; exercise of military authority by, I, 147.
- Kearny street, widening of, I, 408.
- Kelly, Mamie, her killing comes near provoking a lynching, II, 815.
- King, Clarence, exposes diamond mine swindlers, II, 509.
- King of William, James, engages in journalism, I, 297.
- King, Thomas Starr, monument erected to his memory, I, 339; his church, I, 453.
- Kino, Father, founds mission, I, 10; reaches the Colorado in 1700, I, 11; death of in 1711, I, 11.
- Kloodike, gold discovery causes rush to, II, 732.
- Know Nothings, an intolerant anti-foreign party, I, 200; exhibitions of narrowness in pioneer period, I, 253.
- Labor, before American occupation, I, 77; Rezanoff suggests introduction of Chinese, I, 78; high cost of in pioneer period, I, 143; conditions in 1849, I, 158; troubles in pioneer days, I, 244; condition of workers, I, 244; changing conditions, I, 245; supply becomes abundant, but wages remain high, I, 245; organizations formed, I, 246; ennobled condition of the worker, I, 246; influx of Chinese, I, 246; workers too busy to bother about Chinese, I, 261; condition of in sixties, I, 371; Central Trades Assembly formed, I, 372; strike of foundry employes in 1864, I, 372; politics and, I, 372; attempt to pass an eight-hour law, I, 373; eight-hour league formed, I, 373; trades unions in San Francisco in 1867, I, 373; a workingman's convention, I, 373; local leaders reject propositions of eastern unions, I, 374; political action favored by trade unionists, I, 374; workingmen win in the primaries, I, 374; trades unionism receives a back set, I, 375; trades unions and women workers, I, 375; trades unions and Chinese, I, 375; Chinese labor not cheap, I, 378; an excessive supply, I, 425; activity in trades union circles, I, 426; Knights of Crispin convention in 1870, II, 481; and Chinese, II, 482; trades unions inactive, II, 482; many unemployed in the city, II, 488; high wages impede manufacturing in the seventies, II, 511; unemployed flock to city in 1876-7, II, 512; formation of Workingmen's Party, II, 536; sand lot mob menaces Crocker's spite fence, II, 538; "work or bread" parades, II, 540; Workingmen's Party elects Kalloch mayor, II, 551; Chinese servants, II, 598; high wages deter investments in manufactures, II, 674; conditions between 1883 and 1893, II, 681; changed attitude of workingmen, II, 681; employment of the boycott, II, 682; Burnett Haskell's connection with trades unions, II, 684; propaganda of federated trades, II, 684; strike of foundry workers, II, 684; strike of brewers, II, 685; strike of sailors, II, 685; trade unionism meets a check, II, 686; formation of an employers' association, II, 686; organization of unskilled workers, II, 687; formation of "Employers Alliance," II, 687; Abe Ruef assumes direction of Workingmen's Party, II, 688; numerous strikes in 1901, II, 688; teamsters' strike in 1901, II, 689; attitude of alliance in teamsters' strike, II, 689; sympathetic strike declared, II, 690; citizens attempt to compose teamsters' strike, II, 690; violence accompanies teamsters' strike, II, 691; political effect of strike of teamsters, II, 691; railroad riots in 1894, II, 729; falling prices create labor difficulties, II, 730; Workingmen's Party held responsible for encouragement of vice, II, 737; trades union regulations hinder manufacturing development, II, 739; exactions of unions injure shipbuilding industry, II, 747; eastern criticism of San Francisco trades unionism, II, 823; high wages paid in the building trades industry, II, 864; exacting demands of workers, II, 874; carmen's strike of 1902, II, 878; carmen's strike arbitrated, II, 879; carmen's strike of 1907, II, 888; workingmen elect P. H. McCarthy mayor, II, 895; workingmen and cost of living in San Francisco, II, 902; workingmen find homes in outlying districts, II, 903; high cost impedes manufacturing progress, II, 939.
- La Grange, Oscar H., superintendent of branch mint, II, 520.

- Lake Merced, violently disturbed in 1852, I, 166.
- Lamont, Blanche, murdered by Theodore Durrant, II, 814.
- Land, Spanish and Mexican grants, I, 83; the land grant system of Spain and Mexico, I, 83; confirmation of grants, I, 84; evil results of large holdings, I, 85; grabbing public, I, 145; water front titles, I, 148; grants and sales by alcaldes, I, 149; status of public, I, 149; examples of Mexican liberality imitated, I, 150; nothing saved for municipal use, I, 150; irregularity and fraud in sale of public, I, 151; respect for vested rights, I, 151; squatters' troubles, I, 151; titles in doubt many years, I, 151; juries un dependable in land trials, I, 152; fraudulent Limantour claim, I, 153; establishment of commission, I, 154; immense interior holdings, I, 154; the great interior valley of California, I, 176; no accounting of sales made in 1850, I, 187; Horace Hawes exposes grabbers, I, 187; town lot scandal and Peter Smith judgments, I, 192; Vigilance committee bargains to quiet titles, I, 217; eastern attitude toward disposal of public lands, I, 356; public land regarded as valueless until opened to settlement, I, 357; railroads secure large quantities, I, 361; owners of large tracts desire cheap Chinese labor, I, 380; Southern Pacific adds to its vast holdings, I, 423; monopoly of causes discontent, I, 427; unequal taxation of, I, 428; Henry George attacks monopoly of, I, 428; the bogus Santillan claim, II, 480; movement against monopoly of, II, 485; large tracts secured by abuse of desert land act, II, 523; George's mistake concerning monopolization tendencies, II, 559; cutting up the big ranches, II, 693; more fairly assessed, II, 673.
- Landmarks, rapid disappearance of, I, 414.
- Language, Spanish officially abandoned, I, 261.
- Larkin, Thomas O., efforts to win over native Californians, I, 76; reports on discovery of gold, I, 132.
- Latin Americans, not relatively numerous in pioneer days, I, 260.
- Latham, Milton S., forced to abandon railroading in California, I, 422.
- Laver, Augustus, architect of new City Hall of 1871, II, 516.
- Law, jury system in land cases created by squatters, I, 152; alcalde justice, I, 180; failure to enforce, I, 201; respectable element indifferent to its enforcement, I, 204; trial of Cora, I, 205; authorities unable to preserve order, I, 206; purging the jury lists, I, 212; negro testimony objected to, I, 339; illiberal banking laws, I, 348; Chinese testimony not accepted, I, 376; respect for, I, 453; the delays of, II, 622; neglect of duty by Bar of San Francisco, II, 625; courts nullify regulative features of constitution of 1879, II, 651; civil service, II, 715; movement to overcome delays of, II, 812; community disposed to respect, II, 815; administration of during the eighties, II, 817; martial law not in force after fire of 1906, II, 858; authority of superseded by reign of common sense, II, 859.
- Law and Order Party, during Vigilance committee uprising, I, 207; objects of, I, 209.
- Lawyers, the Bar of San Francisco, II, 625; early members of the Bar, II, 627, 628, 629, 630.
- Leese, Jacob Primer, starts first mercantile establishment in Yerba Buena, I, 96.
- Leeds, Joseph S., manager of Traffic Association in 1892, II, 654.
- Legal Holidays, declared after fire of 1906, II, 871.
- Legislature, water front jobbery, I, 165; interior members arrayed against city, I, 196; railroad influence over, II, 537.
- Libraries, pioneer collections, I, 303; Roger's free public library act, II, 532; private collections during early eighties, II, 636; origin of public library system, II, 636; growth of public library, II, 637; the Mercantile, II, 637; Mechanics Institute library, II, 638; numerous semi-public collections, II, 638; rapid growth of public, II, 804; mercantile collection absorbed by Mechanics Institute, II, 804; the Sutro collection, II, 805; Odd Fellows and Bancroft collections, II, 805.
- Lick, James, career of, II, 570; his gifts to the people, II, 571; trustees carry out his bequests, II, 571.
- Life insurance, first company formed in California, II, 678.
- Limantour, Jose J., his fraudulent land claim, I, 153.
- Little Pete, career of a noted Chinese criminal, II, 816; fleeces white gamblers, II, 816; murdered by a rival, II, 817.
- Literature, few books in the missions, I, 45; allied with journalism in the fifties, I, 301; varying standards of the fifties, I, 301; political doggerel, I, 302; pioneer libraries, I, 303; weekly periodicals devoted to, I, 303; contributors to weeklies, I, 304; Golden Era school of writers, I, 304; the higher education and, I, 458; the California note in, I, 459; highly seasoned writing, I, 459; cynical and satirical styles admired, I, 459; business men write for magazines, I, 460; as a calling in the sixties, I, 460; contributors to daily and weekly press, I, 464; owners of collections of books, II, 636; work of J. Ross Browne, II, 639; writers of serious books, II, 639; Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," II, 640; Robert Louis Stevenson in San Francisco, II, 641; early political novels, II, 641; Bancroft's histories, II, 642; magazines during the eighties, II, 643; writers during the eighties, II, 805; weekly papers and magazines during the eighties, II, 808; Ruef writes his memoirs, II, 894; events most important in historical narrative, II, 898.
- Live stock, wholesale slaughter of in missions, I, 95.
- Lobbying, Huntington as a lobbyist, I, 361; promoted by consolidation act, II, 561; railroad lobby in Washington, II, 587.

- Local Self Government (see also special legislation), denied to city, I, 406.
- Lockwood, Rufus A., career of, II, 629.
- Los Angeles, in the *dolce far niente* stage, I, 420; growth of the southern city, II, 670.
- Lotteries, no objection to in early days, II, 605.
- Lumber, conservation of timber urged, I, 88; first saw mill in California, I, 88; trade in, II, 745.
- Lynching, of Cora and Casey, I, 204.
- Mackay, John W., mining magnate, II, 945.
- Magellan, sails into the Pacific, I, 4.
- Magazines, during the eighties, II, 643.
- McCarthy, P. H., workingmen's candidate for mayoralty elected, II, 895.
- McCoppin, Frank, author of street car fare reduction measure, II, 577.
- McCullough, John, San Francisco career of the actor, I, 439.
- McEnerney Act, for reestablishing titles after fire of 1906, II, 904.
- Manifest destiny, belief in, I, 36; prediction of a Yankee skipper, I, 38; American conquest of China suggested, II, 482.
- Manila, foundation of by Spaniards, I, 4; Spanish trade with islands, I, 10.
- Manufacturing, during mission period, I, 34; only a few simple articles produced at missions, I, 87; dependence of native Californians on outside world, I, 87; slow progress of in pioneer days, I, 321; in 1860, I, 322; receives a setback, I, 351; woolen textile mills operated, I, 398; condition of industries in 1865, I, 399; metal industries prosperous, I, 400; encouragement of home industry, I, 400; growth of canning industry, II, 486; impeded by speculative fever, II, 509; products of in 1876, II, 510; high wages an obstacle to, II, 511; capital reluctant to engage in, II, 674; high cost of labor impedes, II, 674; railroad tariffs discourage, II, 675; larger markets essential to success of, II, 675; Chinese engage in, II, 682; causes of failure to expand, II, 738; value of products in 1904, II, 739; deceptive figures of production, II, 739; oil refineries on the Bay, II, 746; labor exactions injure shipbuilding industry, II, 747; operation of Union Iron Works, II, 747; hurt by labor restraints, II, 939; products of as shown by census of 1910, II, 939.
- Marine Hospital service, foments a plague scare, II, 782.
- Markets, for California products, I, 280; restricted character of for manufactures, II, 511.
- Market Street, in 1870, I, 412; "South of the Slot," II, 574; value of property on, II, 580; invaded by cheap amusement places, II, 910.
- Marriage, loose relation of sexes, I, 451; contract scandals, II, 810; Fair will case, II, 812.
- Marshall, James W., discoverer of gold at Sutter's mill, I, 132; miners quarrel with his methods, I, 134.
- Martial law, not in force at time of big fire in 1906, II, 858.
- Mason, Richard B., military governor suggests conservation of gold, I, 133.
- Mayoralty, jealousy of powers of executive, II, 554; people refuse to invest with much power, II, 703.
- Mechanics, in Yerba Buena, I, 114.
- Mechanics Institute, first industrial fair of, I, 321; its library, II, 638.
- Meiggs, Harry, his schemes, I, 197; forges street warrant, I, 197; his flight to and success in Peru, I, 198; legislature votes to condone his crimes, I, 198.
- Melville, Emily, starts opera company in city, II, 611.
- Mendell, George H., reports on sources of water for San Francisco, II, 585.
- Mercantile Library, its varying fortunes, II, 637; absorbed by Mechanics Institute, II, 804.
- Merchants Association, formation of, II, 713; varied activities of, II, 714.
- Meteorological, Chronicle inaugurates weather warning service for horticulturists, II, 795; peculiarities of San Francisco climate, II, 796; California climate, I, 171; no change of climatic conditions, I, 171; inexact weather records, I, 172; variations of climate in California, I, 172; the Japanese current, I, 173; influence of Pacific ocean on climate of California, I, 173; weather records and statistics of, I, 173; peculiarities of climate misunderstood, I, 173; snow rarely falls in city, I, 174; climate not conducive to indolence, I, 174.
- Metropolitan Area, its development exhibited by traffic figures, II, 924.
- Mexico, feebleness of its government, I, 70; revolts against Spain, I, 72; much friction after declaration of independence, I, 72; missionaries antagonize republican government, I, 73; loyalty of native Californians to not pronounced, I, 74; land grant policy of, I, 84; United States declares war against, I, 102; French intrigues against, I, 267; an attempt to capture Sonora, I, 268; filibustering expeditions inspired by slaveholders, I, 269.
- Midwinter Fair, in 1894, II, 728; M. H. de Young made Director General, II, 728; proves a financial success, II, 728; legacy of a memorial museum, II, 728.
- Militia, politics and the citizen soldiery, I, 257; organizations in the sixties, I, 443; foreign companies, I, 443; showy uniforms of, I, 443.
- Military, arbitrary acts of military authorities, I, 180; usurpations of denounced by pioneers, I, 184; an undependable militia, I, 257; the militant spirit of ante bellum days, I, 265; part played by regular army during the disaster of April, 1906, II, 859.

- Mining, restless characteristics of miners, I, 271; miners hostile to Chinese, I, 377; chief dependence of pioneers, I, 138; placers draw people from city, I, 158; mineral resources, I, 324; exhaustion of placers, I, 324; speculations concerning its future, I, 325; pursued on new lines, I, 325; discovery of Comstock lode, I, 325; decline of gold production, I, 353; railroad seeks to grab mineral lands, I, 363; importance of Comstock discovery, I, 381; San Francisco's dependence upon, I, 381; silver ore not recognized by early miners, I, 381; foundation of city's financial strength, I, 382; Nevada miners resort to San Francisco, I, 382; struggle for control of mines, I, 385; San Francisco's interest in the industry, I, 387; legitimate and speculative, I, 388; decline of yield of placers, II, 487; discovery of the "big bonanza," II, 491; infancy of the petroleum industry, II, 490; tricks of manipulators of mines, II, 491; output of the big mines, II, 495; tremendous stock fluctuations, II, 494; the Comstock lode, II, 497; Flood, Mackay, Fair and O'Brien obtain control of "Consolidated Virginia," II, 497; struggle for control of the Comstocks, II, 499; salted diamond mines, II, 508; Sierra Nevada deal, II, 549; legislature prohibits dealing in futures, II, 550; effect of declining value of silver upon, II, 666; yield of precious metals declining, II, 672; the Klondike gold discovery, II, 732; Pacific Stock Exchange ceases operations, II, 733; courts stop hydraulic, II, 734; successful gold dredging operations, II, 734; expansion of the general industry, II, 735; remarkable development of oil industry, II, 735; increased mineral production, II, 941.
- Minstrelsy, see Amusements.
- Mission district, scene of early bull fights and horse races, I, 259; traces of early Spanish people disappear, I, 412; society deserts, II, 574.
- Missions, Kino's project of extending to California, I, 10; Serra made president of California, I, 12; Dolores, origin of its name, I, 16; new San Francisco approved by Riviera, I, 17; chain of in California, I, 17; inventory of Dolores, I, 31; secularization of diminishes religious devotion, I, 63; music at, I, 63; deplorable state of Dolores, I, 117; Dolores sold at auction, I, 117; architecture of, I, 32; I, 117; arrangement of buildings of, I, 117; modest character of Dolores establishment, I, 118; celebration of centenary of Dolores, II, 604.
- Missionaries, the Franciscans, I, 11; their efforts to elevate the Indian a failure, I, 24; aims and policy of, I, 24; result of their labors, I, 28; fail to encourage trade, I, 29; agricultural and pastoral industries practiced by, I, 30; neglect education, I, 45; arbitrary exercise of power by, I, 46; encourage smuggling, I, 62; try to teach Indians the arts, I, 87.
- Mint, new building constructed on Fifth street by Government, I, 527; operations of San Francisco branch, II, 679.
- Modern conveniences, introduction of gas, I, 326.
- Mob violence, not confined to San Francisco in pioneer days, I, 203; justified by press, I, 218.
- Money, scarcity of coins in pioneer days, I, 282; private coinage, I, 283; merchants profit by adhering to gold, I, 341; use of gold coins, I, 345; objections to greenbacks, I, 346; Governor Stanford urges use of government paper currency, I, 346; greenbacks not distrusted, I, 347; speculation in greenbacks, I, 347; results of refusal to use greenbacks, I, 349; few debts paid with legal tender paper, I, 350; dealings in specie, I, 352; California's experience and the Gresham law, I, 352; II, 663; the United States branch mint in San Francisco, II, 527; United States subtreasury, II, 527; the money panic of 1893, II, 661; maintenance of specie payments, II, 664; subsidiary silver coin sold and bought, II, 664; brokers profit by plethora of subsidiary coins, II, 664; hostility to small coins, II, 664; trade dollar experiment, II, 665; ignorance of effect of demonetization of silver, II, 665; interest rates, II, 666; crisis of 1893, II, 667; question of the standards in California, II, 677; operations of San Francisco branch mint, II, 679; operations of United States subtreasury, II, 679; continued objections to paper currency, II, 680; Clearing House certificates accepted without demur, II, 933.
- Monopoly, growth of sentiment against, I, 361; combination tries to beat Central Pacific, I, 362; Central Pacific profits through antagonism, I, 362; railroad attempts to control all approaches to city, I, 367; antagonism to Chinese immigration due to fear of, I, 380; efforts of railroad to shut out rivals causes bitter feeling against, I, 425; of land causes discontent, I, 427; Henry George and land, I, 428; beginning of a crusade against, II, 478; desert land act abuses excite fears of, II, 523; George's apprehension of, II, 559; efforts of the railroad to monopolize, II, 587; fear of land monopolization disappears, II, 673; a law that did not effect its purpose, II, 916.
- Montgomery Block, erected in 1853, survives fire and quake, I, 143.
- Mont Eagle University, Horace Hawes's unsuccessful educational attempt, II, 643.
- Monterey, attempts to relocate, I, 4; the harbor of, I, 6; expedition to rediscover, I, 12; doubts concerning its existence removed, I, 15; importance of, in provincial days, I, 42.
- Morals, lotteries not condemned, II, 605.
- Mormons, colony arrives in San Francisco in 1846, I, 113; colony disrupted by gold discovery, I, 113.
- Mortality, excessive in pioneer days because of exposure, I, 252.
- Morse, Salmi, author of *Passion Play*, II, 606.

- Mortgage tax law, attempts to repeal finally succeed, II, 720.
- Mountain Lake Water Company receives franchise, I, 166.
- Moving pictures suggested by experiments of a San Franciscan, II, 615; II, 794.
- Mud hens victims of mining stock speculation, II, 496.
- Municipal, no lands saved for use of city, I, 150; turpitude of officials, I, 150; first council of city, I, 181; authorities desert their post to hunt for gold, I, 181; inadequate police protection, I, 182; city limits established for judicial purposes, I, 182; efforts to suppress gambling, I, 182; government work, I, 183; city in debt and no money in treasury, I, 185; appointive officials, I, 185; partisan politics intrude, I, 186; Hawes denounces council as venal, I, 187; charter of 1850, I, 189; no reforms effected by new instrument, I, 189; extravagant expenditures, I, 190; high salaries paid, I, 190; small revenues of city, I, 190; councilmen vote themselves gold medals, I, 190; first city government, I, 191; venality charged against officials, I, 191; charter of 1851, I, 191; debt of city in 1851, I, 192; Jenny Lind theater purchased for use as a city hall, I, 193; third charter in 1853, I, 194; city council and water front, I, 196; loose methods encourage rascality, I, 197; Vigilance committee interests itself in affairs, I, 212; local matters subordinated by national affairs, I, 216; neglect of civic duty by respectable element, I, 220; neglect of streets, I, 226; seal of San Francisco, I, 309; consolidation act of 1856, I, 312; Chinese forbidden employment on public works, I, 379; success of People's party at polls, I, 404; fear of high taxation, I, 406; water supply desired, I, 407; widening of Kearny street, I, 408; increase of police force, I, 447; evils of special legislation, II, 514; legislature of 1877-78 passes laws affecting San Francisco, II, 531; further increase of police force, II, 541; Kallloch elected mayor, II, 551; Kallloch impeached by supervisors, II, 552; origin of term tax eaters, II, 557; franchises freely granted, II, 557; cynical criticism of officials, II, 557; increase of expenditures, II, 558; rise of Boss Buckley, II, 563; poor streets and worse sidewalks, II, 567; grants of franchises to street railways, II, 578; criticism of supervisors, II, 579; report on water supply in 1871, II, 584; Federal interference with regulation of Chinese quarter, II, 597; lack of interest in affairs, II, 696; venal boards of supervisors, II, 698; new organic law asked for, II, 701; new charter adopted, May, 1898, II, 702; continuous struggle to secure reforms, II, 704; increasing expenditures, II, 709; city secures right to manage its own affairs, II, 711; no reforms effected by charter of 1898, II, 710; "City Beautiful" idea promoted, II, 712; blundering efforts to fix interest rates on bonds, II, 712; Merchants Association furnishes object lessons to authorities, II, 713; the dollar limit in taxation, II, 714; adoption of merit system in selecting employees of city, II, 715; improper public accounting, II, 716; no proper checks on expenditure, II, 717; objections to double board of supervisors, II, 718; use of voting machines discontinued, II, 718; adoption of the initiative and referendum, II, 720; acquisition of public utilities, II, 720; separation of state and municipal taxation, II, 721; progress despite official inefficiency, II, 724; advocates of a "wide open" town, II, 737; misgovernment a drag, but no obstacle to material growth, II, 750; lack of confidence in officials, II, 752; attempts to secure a municipally-owned street railway, II, 764; franchises for street railways freely bestowed, II, 759; increased expenditure upon parks, II, 769; revival of efforts to secure a municipally-owned water supply, II, 772; authorities abdicate their functions during fire troubles of 1906, II, 842; supervisors grant trolley permit to United Railroads for Market street line, II, 846; renewal of corrupt practices by supervisors, II, 847; efforts to put streets into passable condition, II, 866; Ruef's gang resume their predatory habits, II, 872; sale of intoxicating liquors prohibited in days following fire of 1906, II, 873; Ruef's unsavory board of supervisors, II, 881; venality of Ruef's supervisors exposed, II, 882; extorted money distributed among supervisors, II, 885; graft prosecution takes over city government, II, 889; supervisors required to be "good dogs," II, 889; workmen's candidate elected mayor in 1909, II, 895; change in mode of electing city officials, II, 895; movement to promote a Greater San Francisco, II, 901; Grand Opera House in civic center to be under auspices of municipality, II, 912; condition of streets after the fire of 1906, II, 915; contest with United Railroads over use of tracks on lower Market street, II, 920; city seeks to obtain control of water front, II, 928; method of taxation changed, II, 935; swelling budgets of the city, II, 935; renewal of agitation to secure municipal water supply, II, 935; bond issues and their purposes, II, 937; budget for 1912-13, II, 938.
- Museums, in the sixties, I, 464; memorial museum of Midwinter Fair, II, 728.
- Music, at the missions, I, 63; pioneers lovers of, I, 264; citizens subscribe three-quarters of a million for a Grand Opera House, II, 912.
- Muybridge photographs horse in motion, II, 615.
- Napoleon III, his efforts to break into Mexico, I, 267; Native Californians, personal habits, I, 54; their diet, I, 54; drunkenness and gambling among, I, 57; fond of horse racing, I, 58; their bull fights, I, 58; lack the trading instinct, I, 59; unconventional manners, I, 63; sexual relations, I, 63; criticised by Americans, I, 66; no taste for seafaring occupations, I, 88; their attitude towards American occupation, I, 107; devoid of maritime interest, I, 121.

- Native Sons of the Golden West, organization of, II, 645.
- Naval abuses in navy pay office, San Francisco, II, 522.
- Navigation, Governor Sola's objection to utilizing Bay, I, 37.
- Negroes, the color question in California, I, 339.
- Nevada, relations with San Francisco, I, 382; stocks of her mines dealt in, I, 384; output of mines of, II, 495.
- Nevada Bank engages in big wheat deal, II, 745.
- New Mexico, trade of California province with, I, 116.
- New Spain sighted in 1595, I, 4.
- New Year's calls cease to be fashionable, II, 605; celebration of advent of New Year, II, 914.
- Nicaragua, ship canal project, I, 290; immigrants travel across to reach California, I, 290.
- Night life in San Francisco, II, 793.
- Nob Hill, mob holds meeting on, II, 539; crowned by houses of railroad magnates, II, 579; changed conditions after fire of 1906, II, 905.
- Nomenclature, little system observed in designation of places, I, 123; names fancifully bestowed, II, 123.
- Non contiguous territory, trade with, II, 931.
- Normal School established in S. F. II, 801.
- Oakland, railroad secures big part of its water front, I, 367; growth during the seventies, II, 618; first parlor of Native Sons of Golden West formed in, II, 646.
- Oates, Alice, first to produce Pinafore in America, II, 611.
- O'Brien, William S., mining magnate, II, 497.
- Occupation of California, early attempts to acquire, I, 39; plans of pro-slavery element, I, 102; Admiral Jones' haste and blunder, I, 103; Fremont frustrates peaceful efforts to acquire, I, 104; capture of Sonoma, I, 105; Fremont and Washington authorities at cross purposes, I, 107; Commodore Sloat's proclamation on taking possession of California 1846, I, 179.
- Ocean side boulevard, San Francisco's great driveway, II, 770.
- O'Donnell, C. C., his crusade against Chinese, II, 779.
- Opera (see Amusements).
- Optimism, people rise superior to troubles, II, 751; stimulating effect of, during fire troubles, II, 837; asserts itself strongly during period of rehabilitation after April, 1906, II, 856.
- Oregon, battleship, constructed at Union Iron Works, II, 747.
- Oriental, attitude of San Franciscans toward, II, 778.
- Orient, trade with China and Japan, I, 396.
- Orphans, first asylum in San Francisco, I, 252.
- Outdoor life after fire of 1906, II, 860.
- Overland stage line, mails carried by, I, 300.
- Overhead trolley, objections to its use, II, 761.
- Overhead wires, fruitless attempts to get rid of, II, 916.
- Pacific Mail Steamship Company, gets contract to carry mails, I, 291; early voyages of its steamers, I, 292; meets with rivalry, I, 292; attempt of secessionists to steal one of its ships, I, 337; railroad secures control, II, 597; operations of, II, 743.
- Pacific Stock Exchange, new board for handling mining stocks, II, 499; sells its building in 1891, II, 733.
- Pageants, parades of firemen, I, 257; many celebrations in pioneer days, I, 260; route of parades in early fifties, I, 262; militia and firemen turn out, I, 443; celebrations of school children, I, 444; political torch light processions, I, 445; old time parade routes, I, 446; whole-souled enjoyment of, I, 446; authors' carnivals, II, 605; reception to General Grant, II, 607; decorations for celebrations, II, 608; old time and recent compared, II, 609; inspiration of Native Sons organization, II, 645; visit of battleship fleet in May, 1908, II, 912; Portola festival in 1909, II, 913; open air celebrations on New Year's eve, II, 914.
- Palace Hotel, international fame of, II, 572; destroyed in fire of 1906, II, 833.
- Panama settled in 1517, I, 3.
- Panama Canal, visit of de Lesseps to San Francisco, II, 593; celebration of opening projected for 1915, II, 925; conjectured effects of opening of, II, 927; accommodations of port increased to meet demands of trade it will create, II, 930.
- Panama Pacific Exposition, idea first broached in 1904, II, 925; congress authorizes canal opening to be celebrated by an International Exposition in San Francisco, II, 925; subscriptions public and private to promote exposition, II, 926; scope of exposition, II, 926; contest over site, II, 927.
- Panama Railroad, construction of, I, 291.
- Panama, route of immigrants to California, I, 290.
- Panics and depressions, of 1855, I, 282; eve of Civil war, II, 327; of 1857, I, 343; signs of an approaching depression, I, 473; of 1873, II, 504; monetary trouble of 1893, II, 661; depression due to demonetization of silver, II, 666; crisis of 1893, II, 667; local causes not responsible for depression of 1893, II, 677; passage of the depression, II, 726.
- Paper currency disliked by Californians, II, 680.
- Parks, land for Golden Gate Park acquired, I, 409; Golden Gate Park originally a sand waste, I, 409; boundaries of Golden Gate Park, I, 410; Woodward's Gardens serve as a people's pleasure ground, I, 410; appearance of Golden Gate Park before its reclamation, I, 432; work of reclaiming Golden Gate Park, II, 580; expenditure for upkeep of, II, 581; increased appropriations for, II, 769; attractive features added to Golden Gate Park, II, 769; many small parks throughout the city, II, 770; ocean side boulevard, II, 770; Presidio reservation, II, 770; used for refugee camps after fire of 1906, II, 860.

- Parrott Building, first stone structure in San Francisco, I, 143.
- Passion Play, Salmi Morse's, II, 606.
- Pastoral pursuits during mission period, I, 30.
- Patti, Adeline, attempt of a crank to throw bomb on Grand Opera stage while she sang, II, 791.
- Pauper Alley, resort of ruined mining stock operators, II, 496.
- Pedestrianism, six day walking contests, II, 617.
- Phelan, James D., and teamsters' strike, II, 691.
- Philip II. and the suggested Darien canal, I, 3; death of, in 1598, I, 6.
- Philippines, discovery of, I, 4.
- Pelton, J. C., first public school teacher in city, I, 305.
- Peoples Party, creation of Vigilance committee, I, 213; candidates elected, I, 213; platform of, I, 212; Democrats and Know Nothings antagonize, I, 213; defeat of, in 1867, I, 404.
- Pessimism, occasional manifestations of, II, 868.
- Petroleum, infancy of oil industry, II, 490; San Francisco capitalists slow to invest, II, 490; remarkable development of wells, II, 735; expanding trade in oil, II, 746; great expansion of industry, II, 941.
- Pilots on bay control their own affairs, I, 420.
- Pinney, George M., navy pay office clerk and politician, II, 520; dabbles in stocks and becomes a millionaire, II, 520; goes broke and absconds, II, 520; wanderings of, II, 521; surrenders as a deserter from navy, II, 521; issues valueless certificates, II, 522; "Chronicle" prosecuted for printing his exposure of federal ring, II, 523.
- Pioneers, mixed character of, I, 136; absorbed in struggle for wealth, I, 155; easy going characteristics, I, 224; many college-bred men among early arrivals, I, 230; dress and habits, I, 250; democratic feeling among, I, 265; first arrivals by steamer, I, 292; appreciative of literature, I, 301; neglect civic duties, I, 310; undismayed by calamities, I, 467; lessening influence of, II, 603.
- Pickering, Loring, editor of "Morning Call," II, 633.
- Pick Handle Brigade, formed to cope with anti-Chinese rioters, II, 532; performs its work and disbands, II, 533.
- "Piece" clubs, legislation against, II, 532.
- "Pinafore," opera first produced in America in San Francisco, II, 611; a craze in the city, II, 611.
- Pindray, Marquis de, intrigues against Mexico, I, 268.
- Pious Fund, division of, and restoration by Mexico, I, 238.
- Pixley, Frank M., editor "Argonaut," II, 633.
- Point San Pedro reached by Portola's party, I, 13.
- Police, protection afforded inadequate, I, 182; small force, I, 201; increase of force in 1856, I, 447; increase of force and a new commission created, II, 541; records of crime, II, 619; good detective work, II, 621; Chinese corrupt members of force, II, 817; mysterious death of Chief Biggy, II, 891.
- Politics, of provincial California, I, 72; national and local, mixed, I, 183; divisions, caused by national questions, I, 183; the Hounds and the politicians, I, 200; effects upon of Vigilance uprising, I, 211; collecting money for organizations from office holders, I, 215; firemen and militia mixed up in, I, 257; Democrats in the ascendant, I, 312; extreme partisanship, I, 312; Republicans make overtures to Broderick, I, 314; revolution of parties, I, 317; San Francisco votes for Lincoln, I, 330; senatorial election scandals, I, 340; corrupt practices, I, 403; ballot reform demanded, I, 405; popularity of torch light processions, I, 445; the Dolly Varden Independent Republican anti-monopoly party, II, 478; defeat of Dolly Vardens, II, 479; Governor Irwin denounces corrupt office holders, II, 479; labor convention of 1870, II, 481; bogus non-partisanship, II, 519; votes at \$3 a head, II, 523; Workingmen's party formed, II, 533; platform of Workingmen's party of 1877, II, 537; Democrats and Republicans seek to form a coalition against workingmen, II, 542; workingmen antagonize supporters of constitution of 1879, II, 550; conservatism of the intense sort, II, 554; bossism in San Francisco, II, 561; Democratic party shattered, II, 564; Chris Buckley becomes a Democratic leader, II, 564; career of lawyer blighted by railroad, II, 631; trades unions engage in, II, 688; effects of teamsters' strike, II, 691; Ruef proposes to reform Republican party, II, 692; formation of Workingmen's party, II, 693; early and later workingmen's platforms, II, 693; increasing power of Workingmen's party, II, 695; Boss Buckley the Moses of the Democratic party, II, 698; railroad domination of political affairs, II, 708; mixed with economics, II, 737; Harbor Commission a political machine, II, 742; conditions that contributed to success of Ruef, II, 821.
- Poll Tax, inequitably levied, I, 195.
- Pony Express, mails carried by, I, 300.
- Population, Spanish and Mexican land grant policy fail to increase that of provinces, I, 84; of California in 1808, I, 111; of Yerba Buena in 1847, I, 112; abnormal growth after gold discovery, I, 135; of San Francisco in 1850; of San Francisco not intractable, I, 222; preponderance of males, I, 227; increase during the sixties, I, 388; congestion south of Market street before fire of 1906, I, 413; unhealthy urban expansion, II, 488; spreading westward in the city, II, 574; needed to promote manufacturing, II, 738; opening new residence districts for, II, 758; growth of, after the fire, II, 765; low railroad colonist rates of fare, II, 773; rivalry stimulates growth of San Francisco, II, 820; extent of exodus in 1906, II, 833; of Great San Francisco, II, 900; location of Oriental in the city, II, 902; spreads over outlying districts, II, 903; large num-

- bers in apartment houses, II, 904; great increase expected through opening of Panama canal, II, 927.
- Portola, his party discovers San Francisco Bay, I, 14; expels Jesuits from California, I, 12; festival to commemorate discovery, II, 913.
- Portsmouth Square, appearance of, in early days, I, 227.
- Postal, early facilities, I, 291; mails by pony express, I, 300.
- Postal Cable Co. constructs cable to Philippines, II, 775.
- Presidio of San Francisco established, I, 16; garrison of, I, 118; made attractive by federal authorities, II, 770.
- Press (see Journalism).
- Prices, in early fifties, I, 247; their speedy decline, I, 247; affected by abundance of gold, I, 248; high cost of gas, II, 582; fall of, produces trouble, II, 730; excessive cost of building materials after the fire, II, 864; free market does not prove a regulator of, II, 902.
- Privateers, attempt to fit out Confederates in port of San Francisco, I, 337.
- Production, brings down prices, I, 247; effects of dependence on outside world, I, 280; California products unappreciated at first, II, 486; great changes in character of, II, 490; wheat and wool in the seventies, II, 511; affected by falling prices, II, 668; more changes, II, 672; trade encouraged at expense of, II, 674; cheap raw material offset by high cost of labor, II, 675.
- Progress, adversity and prosperity balanced, II, 724.
- Progressives, demands of, resemble those of Workingmen's party of 1877, II, 538; reforms of, anticipated by constitution of 1879, II, 545.
- Public Accounting, defective municipal system, II, 716.
- Public Improvements, first in Yerba Buena, I, 98; few made in pioneer days, I, 140; failure to make, denounced, I, 157; streets put in better shape, I, 159; water front improved, I, 165; Jenny Lind Theater converted into a City Hall, I, 193; new City Hall started, II, 516; dilapidated streets, II, 517; no money expended upon betterments, II, 558; planked roadways and sidewalks, II, 567; impeded by dread of taxation, II, 568; Dupont street widened, II, 568; city sewers constructed, II, 569; dilatory construction of City Hall, II, 572; at a standstill in 1876, II, 572; crossings demanded for Market street, II, 573; City Beautiful idea broached before the fire, II, 712; change in plans of City Hall, II, 712; neighborhood improvement clubs, II, 715; through private effort, II, 753; more City Beautiful plans, II, 767; civic center proposed, II, 767; criticism of plans of Burnham for civic centers, II, 768; municipal buildings on eve of fire of 1906, II, 824; neighborhood clubs help to promote, II, 919; new streets and extensions of old streets, II, 920.
- Public Library, origin of California's system, II, 636; growth of San Francisco public library, II, 804; new home of, to be on civic center, II, 917.
- Public Schools, system started in city, I, 305; attendance in the fifties, I, 306; property belonging to department, I, 308; children's May day celebrations, I, 444; growth of system, II, 644; Japanese pupils in, II, 780; increased attendance, II, 800; expenditures for maintenance, II, 801; selection and efficiency of teachers, II, 802; commercial and training schools established, II, 803; Japanese pupil troubles, II, 876; President Roosevelt forces schools to receive adult male Japanese in primary classes, II, 877; settlement of Japanese school question, II, 878; millions expended for new school houses after the fire, II, 937.
- Public Opinion, mutability of, II, 724.
- Public Utilities, acquisition of, II, 721.
- Pueblo Lands Grabbed, I, 145; sale of town lots, I, 147; confusion concerning status of Pueblos, I, 150; San Francisco a Mexican, 153; title questions, I, 319; titles confirmed, I, 320.
- Pugilism (see Sports).
- Race Prejudice, manifestations of, I, 376.
- Race Track, racing encouraged by legislature, II, 615; why it was supported, II, 615; race horse photographed in motion, II, 615; racing in and about San Francisco, II, 797.
- Railroads, early ideas concerning, I, 286; question of transcontinental routes, I, 286; Southern route favored, I, 287; benefits expected from, I, 288; high freight and fare rates, I, 288; ignorance concerning operation of, I, 288; construction of road across Isthmus of Darien, I, 291; early freight rates, I, 355; public expectations concerning, I, 355; Benton's proposed transcontinental line, I, 356; liberal treatment of, urged, I, 356; organization of Central Pacific, I, 357; route of first transcontinental, II, 358; Congress passes Pacific railroad bill, I, 358; liberal grants of land to first overland line, I, 358; ground broken on Central Pacific line, I, 359; state, county and city aid rendered to, I, 359; friendly attitude of people towards first overland road, I, 360; friendship speedily converted into hostility, I, 360; roundabout route between Sacramento and San Francisco, I, 360; San Jose and San Francisco connected, I, 361; additional lands and other favors secured by, I, 361; charge that Central Pacific was a swindle, I, 361; rival carriers disturbed by Central Pacific, I, 362; Central Pacific shirks taxation, I, 363; Shylockian policy of managers of Central Pacific, I, 363; seek to grab mineral lands, I, 363; Atlantic and Pacific project, I, 364; San Franciscans help to shut out rivalry, I, 364; Southern Pacific a bogus rival of the Central Pacific, I, 364; contract and finance company, I, 365; progress of construction of Central Pacific, I, 365; bold and far seeing plans of Central Pacific managers, I, 365; Huntington Colton letters

- expose devious methods of Central Pacific managers, I, 366; possibilities of future underestimated by Central Pacific managers, I, 366; seek to monopolize all terminal facilities, I, 367; Mission bay lands granted, I, 368; greed of managers of Central Pacific, I, 368; managers of Central Pacific indifferent to criticism, I, 368; completion of first overland line, I, 369; route to Sacramento shortened, I, 421; rival to Central Pacific proposed, I, 422; attempt of Central Pacific to secure Goat Island, I, 423; in California in 1870-1, I, 424; growth of hostility towards, I, 424; A. A. Sargent on injurious effects of opening of overland road, II, 477; efforts of managers to control legislation, II, 537; workingmen's platform omits criticism of railroad monopoly, II, 538; commission created by constitution of 1879, II, 544; propose a gross income tax, II, 555; the real boss in San Francisco politics, II, 562; managers of Central Pacific build mansions on Nob Hill, II, 579; extension of facilities, II, 587; track in 1883, II, 587; Central Pacific attempts to shut out all rivalry, II, 587; Thirty-fifth parallel scheme, beaded off, II, 588; formation of Southern Pacific of Kentucky, II, 588; Southern Pacific nullifies state constitution, II, 589; commission corrupted by Southern Pacific, II, 589; Southern Pacific managers sued by widow of David Colton, II, 589; Southern Pacific gets back of a rival Oriental steamship line, II, 591; the railroad corporation and the lawyers, II, 631; Southern Pacific controls successive commissions, II, 649; state attempts at regulation a failure, II, 650; taxation evaded by Southern Pacific, II, 650; Fresno rate case, II, 651; Transcontinental Association and sea competition, II, 652; the Transcontinental Association, II, 652; Bakersfield oil case, II, 652; Traffic Association formed by merchants, II, 653; Santa Fe interested in Valley Railroad project, II, 655; contributions to a competing valley road, II, 655; inception of San Joaquin Valley Road, II, 655; Santa Fe secures possession of Valley Railroad, II, 658; growth of Southern Pacific system, II, 660; Southern Pacific dominates political affairs, II, 708; Santa Fe secures entrance to city, II, 726; riots in 1894; II, 729; and the water front, II, 741; transcontinental roads reach an understanding, II, 773; immigration promoted by low colonist rates, II, 733; statistics of passenger and freight movements, II, 774; increased facilities, II, 939; transcontinental lines entering the city, II, 939; development of intra urban electric systems, II, 940.
- "Rainy Season" a misnomer, II, 795.
- Raisins, production of a great industry, II, 736.
- Ralston, William C., career, II, 504; erects Palace Hotel, II, 505; death of, II, 506; victim of bad banking methods, II, 507.
- Randolph, Edmund, a noted southern lawyer, II, 630.
- Raoussett-Boulbon, Count Gaston Raoul de, intrigues against Mexico, I, 268; fate of the filibusterer, I, 270.
- Real Estate, first transactions, I, 119; demand for town lots, I, 147; vara as a unit of measure, I, 148; high rents, I, 160; speculative values in 1853, I, 160; values affected by gold plethora, I, 160; town lots at low prices, I, 161; fluctuations in volume of transactions, I, 411; values in 1870-71, I, 412; earthquake of 1868 fails to disturb values, I, 470; Sutro's investments, II, 570; dealers promote street railway extensions, II, 580; speculation in, II, 580; business depression causes dullness, II, 580; building sites reclaimed from the sands, II, 582; dealers in, II, 758; titles perfected by McEnerny Act after fire of 1906, II, 904; multiplication of apartment houses, II, 904; proposal to utilize cemeteries for residence tracts, II, 918; sold under restrictions as to building, II, 919; tunnel projects promoted by dealers, II, 919; values in American cities compared, II, 938.
- Recall Methods of the Vigilance Committee, I, 212; judges overawed by public demonstrations, II, 553.
- Reciprocity, treaty with Hawaii, I, 394; attitude of San Franciscans towards Hawaiian treaty, I, 395; fails to give San Franciscan's cheap sugar, II, 670.
- Recreation, vacation habit not developed, I, 431.
- Reform, failure of the movement of 1878-79, II, 560.
- Refugee camps after the fire of 1906, II, 860.
- Regulators, Hounds adopt name of, I, 200.
- Regulation, constitution of 1879 anticipates progressive programme, II, 545; failure of attempt to regulate corporations, II, 650.
- Rehabilitation, clearing away debris after the great fire, II, 865; celebrated by Portola festival, II, 913.
- Relief Committee, its operations investigated, II, 671; work of, II, 860; the refugee camps, II, 871.
- Religion of native Californians, I, 45; effect of secularization of missions, I, 63; first Protestant church in city, I, 234; first Presbyterian church, I, 235; Protestant ministers in 1849, I, 235; union of Protestant congregations, I, 236; first Protestant sermon, I, 236; the Catholic church, I, 237; division of pious fund of Catholic church by Mexico, I, 238; unsuccessful efforts to convert Chinese, I, 239; passage of Sunday law, I, 241; Know Nothings antagonize Sisters of Mercy, I, 253; church fairs, I, 264; clergy on side of the union, I, 333; Thomas Starr King's church, I, 453; Temple El Emanuel erected, I, 453; erection of Grace Cathedral, I, 453; many churches built, I, 454; Sunday observance in San Francisco, II, 603; Passion Play denounced as sacrilegious, II, 606; churches of San Francisco in 1905, II, 855.
- Republicans, affiliate with People's party, I, 213.
- Residences, opening new districts for, II, 758.
- Restlessness of early Californians, I, 130.
- Resorts, Russ gardens in pioneers days, I, 262; outings of San Franciscans I, 432; the Cliff House, I, 432; disappearance of many old time places, II, 582; Cliff

- House and Ocean beach in the seventies, II, 617; places worth visiting in 1892, II, 794; San Francisco a summer and winter resort, II, 797.
- Resources, those of California boundless, I, 379.
- Restaurants, in great number, I, 273; in the sixties, I, 466; "three for twos," II, 599; epicurean resorts, II, 599; improved service, II, 600; wine served at meals, II, 600; after theater suppers, II, 793; keepers of French restaurants victims of Boss Ruef's extortions, II, 880; great numbers of, in 1912, II, 906; changes in cafe life, II, 907.
- Restricted tracts for residence purposes, II, 919.
- Rezanoff, visits San Francisco in 1806, I, 36; his designs on California, I, 43; death of in Siberia, I, 44; obtains supplies for Russians in Alaska, I, 44.
- Richardson, William A., sails first schooner on the bay, I, 37; erects first house in Yerba Buena, I, 41.
- Rincon Hill, proposal to raze, I, 408.
- Rivalry, San Francisco lacked the stimulus of, I, 390; absence of during the sixties, I, 421; fear of Goat Island, I, 423; the seventies produce no rivals, II, 488; of gas companies, II, 582; awakening of Southern California, II, 586; of Southern cities arouses no concern, II, 670; of Southern cities stimulates growth, II, 731; growth of Pacific Coast cities produces wholesome effect, II, 732; street railways in San Francisco, II, 765; Santa Fe and Southern Pacific reach an understanding, II, 773; manifestations of by other cities, II, 868.
- Rivers, of California, I, 176.
- Rolph, James, Jr., elected mayor, II, 895.
- Romance, San Francisco's first, I, 43.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, attitude on question of Japanese in public schools, II, 781; menaces San Francisco, II, 877.
- Ruef, Abraham, becomes a boss, II, 688; other bosses try to block his plans to capture labor organizations, II, 691; in the role of a reformer, II, 692; his methods not an innovation, II, 695; conditions that contributed to his success, II, 822; indicted for extortion, II, 880; his unsavory board of supervisors, II, 881; claims that United Railroads made him big present, II, 884; writes his memoirs while in San Quentin, II, 894; attempts made to have him pardoned, II, 894.
- Rushes, San Franciscans easily tempted by reports of rich mines, I, 135; the black sand swindle, I, 271; Fraser river excitement, I, 272; to the Klondike country, II, 732.
- Russia, establishment of Russians in Alaska, I, 9; covets California, I, 10; trade of Russians with province of California, I, 61; her efforts to gain a foothold in California, I, 93; establishment at Yerba Buena, I, 118; appreciative of value of California resources, I, 127.
- Sacramento, citizens of provide capital for first transcontinental railroad, I, 360; route to from San Francisco shortened, I, 421; railroad riots in 1894, II, 729.
- Safe Deposit Vaults, first introduced into San Francisco, II, 528.
- Sailors, reformers battle for, II, 622; shanghaiing practiced in San Francisco, II, 623; effect of prosecution of officers of "Sunrise," II, 623; frequenters of Barbary coast, II, 624; enter on a long strike, II, 685.
- Salaries, a grab by pioneer councilmen, I, 190.
- Sand Dunes, removal of, I, 162.
- San Francisco, official adoption of name of, I, 118; in 1848, I, 140; at close of 1853, I, 144; appearance of in 1854, I, 144; extension of city limits, I, 158; compared with Eastern cities, I, 326; appearance of city in 1861, I, 326.
- San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board formed 1863, I, 383.
- Sand lot troubles originate earlier than 1877-78, I, 426; orators of echo press, II, 512; and the Chinese, II, 532; first meetings on, II, 533; mob fails to carry out a threat, II, 539; passage of gag law by legislature, II, 540; Bryce's revised judgment concerning, II, 558.
- Sandwich Islands, discovery of by Captain Cook, I, 9.
- Sanitary Commission, contributions to its fund during war of secession, I, 336.
- Sanitation, San Francisco not responsible for unsanitary condition of Chinatown, II, 597.
- San Joaquin Valley Railroad project mooted, II, 655; construction of, II, 656; turned over to Santa Fe System, II, 658; a betrayal of the people, II, 658.
- Santa Fe, railroad secures entrance to city, II, 726.
- Santillan, fraudulent land claim, II, 480.
- Sargent, A. A., on effects of railroad competition, II, 477; betrayed by railroad company, II, 708.
- Schmitz, Eugene, groomed by Abe Ruef, II, 692; elected mayor, II, 693; elected mayor second time, II, 695; claims made for his administration, II, 737; conduct during earthquake troubles, II, 842; extraordinary powers assumed by, II, 842; as presiding officer of Committee of Fifty, II, 858; backs down on Japanese school question, II, 878; shares loot with Ruef, II, 884.
- Schools (see Education).
- Scott, Dr. William A., displays secession proclivities, I, 333.
- Scurvy, attacks Portola party, I, 13.
- Sea, avoidance of coast by native Californians, I, 88.
- Searles, Niles, legal career, II, 627.
- Sea Wall, construction authorized, I, 418.
- Secession, proposal to create California republic, I, 317; plot to seize city, I, 332.
- Senators, direct vote for advocated, II, 707; scandals attending elections for, II, 708.
- Serra, Junipero, made president of California missions,

- I, 12; efforts to reach Monterey, I, 12; death of at Monterey, I, 23.
- Servants, the problem, I, 115.
- Settlers, early arrivals adopt habits of country, I, 33; Fremont's dealings with Americans, I, 105; occupations of in Yerba Buena, I, 112.
- Sewers (see also public improvements), bonds issued to perfect system, II, 937.
- Shafter, James McM., legal career, II, 629.
- Shafter, Oscar L., legal career, II, 629.
- Shanghaiing in port of San Francisco, II, 623.
- Sharon, William, rise of, II, 506; rehabilitates Bank of California, II, 507; sued by Sarah Althea Hill, II, 810.
- Sherman, William T., position in Vigilance affair, I, 219.
- Shipping, in bay in 1847, I, 122; first schooner on the bay, I, 126; wharf facilities for, I, 128; crowds bay in 1850, I, 128; tonnage of port, 1859, I, 292; sailing craft, I, 397; change from wooden to iron vessels, II, 590; fleet of Pacific Mail S. S. Co., II, 590; rival Oriental steamship line, II, 591; Pacific Mail and Oriental trade, II, 591; first tramp steamer to enter harbor, II, 591; more and better steamships, II, 743; communication with Hawaii, II, 744; decline of wheat export trade affects, II, 745; in lumber and coal trade, II, 745; domestic vessels on the Pacific, II, 746; ship building in San Francisco, II, 747; ship-building plants in San Francisco, II, 748; increased port facilities to meet demands of, II, 930; importance of in making San Francisco a distributing center, II, 941.
- Short Ballot, appointed officials favored, I, 185.
- Sierra Nevada Mine, last big stock deal in, II, 549.
- Silver, ores of Comstock not familiar at first, I, 381.
- Sitka, ship yards of supply San Francisco with needed articles, I, 127.
- Skyscraper, first tall building in city, II, 754; numerous tall buildings erected after 1906, II, 935.
- Slavery, California regarded as a field for its extension, I, 38; gold discovery saved California from becoming slave state, I, 76; Indians practically enslaved by native Californians, I, 79; "fifty-four forty" or fight slogan, I, 102; adherents of and Vigilance committee, I, 207; unsettled opinions concerning, I, 215; adherents of intrigue against Mexico, I, 269; Broderick antagonizes, I, 313; abolitionist a term of reproach, I, 315.
- Sloat, Commodore, his proclamation of July 7, 1846, I, 107; predicts great future for San Francisco, I, 179.
- Smith, Jedediah, enters California with party, I, 67.
- Smith, Peter, sharp practice of, I, 165; judgments obtained by him against city, I, 192.
- Smith, General Persifer, his Americanism, I, 134.
- Smuggling, Yankee traders engage in, I, 62.
- Socialism, of 1870 resembles progressive policy of 1912, II, 481.
- Social Evil, not seriously discountenanced, I, 229.
- Society, social distinctions of native Californians, I, 52; mixed character of in pioneer days, I, 229; changes in conditions, I, 232; its peculiarities exaggerated, I, 244; firemen as leaders of, I, 255; not exclusive, I, 264; fashionable residence district in the fifties, I, 275; frequents Mechanics Institute Fair, I, 321; in a formative stage, I, 442; abatement of drinking habit, I, 449; murder of Lawyer Crittenden effects a reformation, I, 451; new standards introduced, I, 452; as Historian Bryce found it, II, 594; home life and Chinese servants, II, 598; further changes, II, 603; abnormal features, II, 809; activities on eve of great fire, II, 825.
- Southerners, sympathize with slaveholders' aspirations, I, 330; fire eaters, I, 333; their influence in San Francisco, I, 277.
- Southern California, awakening of, II, 586.
- Southern Pacific, pretended rival of Central Pacific, I, 364; Kentucky corporation formed, II, 588; growth of its system, II, 660.
- Spain, her desire to secure a port of refuge, I, 18; Mexico revolts from, I, 72; provincial taxation light under, I, 177.
- Spalding, Rufus C., naval pay inspector involved by Pinney, II, 520.
- Special legislation, legislature and San Francisco water front, I, 164; San Francisco suffers from, I, 194; evils of, I, 406; II, 515; city finally freed from, II, 711; constitution of 1879 puts an end to, II, 546.
- Specific Contract Act, purpose of, I, 346.
- Speculation, speculative character of early trade, I, 284; in mining stock shares, I, 382; Stock Board formed, I, 382; early opposition to, I, 383; publication of stock transactions, I, 384; develop into a fever, I, 384; extent of the speculation market, I, 385; tricks of mining managers, I, 385; struggle for control of mines, I, 385; excitement in the city caused by, II, 491; discovery of the big bonanza, II, 491; corrupt practices of manipulators, II, 491; scenes during big bonanza excitement, II, 492; San Franciscans crazed by, II, 492; victims of credulity, II, 493; number of mines listed on boards, II, 495; accumulations of community absorbed by manipulators, II, 496; women speculators, II, 496; bonanza stocks manipulated, II, 498; dangerous dividend paying stocks, II, 498; Stock Board increases its membership, II, 499; struggle for control of mines, II, 499; large rewards of brokers, II, 500; diamond mine swindle, II, 508; impedes industrial development, II, 509; George M. Pinney ruined by, II, 524; last big mining stock deal, II, 549; dealing in futures prohibited, II, 550; mild revival of mining stock operations, II, 733; sale of Pacific Stock Exchange building, II, 733; failure of a big wheat deal, II, 745.
- Spring Valley Water Company (see Water Supply).
- Sports, bull fights and bear baiting, I, 258; horse rac-

- ing, I, 258; during the sixties, I, 414; baseball in the sixties, I, 445; interest in pugilism, I, 445; horse racing receives legislative encouragement, II, 615; revival of pugilism in the seventies, II, 616; baseball assumes professional form, II, 616; six-day walking matches, II, 617; of children, II, 617; horse racing carried to excess, II, 797; toleration of pugilism, II, 798; interest in all forms of, II, 798; yachting on San Francisco Bay, II, 799; football a social diversion, II, 799; bicycle craze, II, 799.
- Spreckels, Rudolph, instigates prosecution of supervisors and corporation managers, II, 887.
- Squatting, on city lands, I, 151; arguments of the squatters, I, 151.
- Stage Line, romance of the Overland, II, 592.
- Stanford, Leland aids Muybridge in attempt to picture horse in motion, II, 615.
- St. Augustin, wreck of in Drakes Bay, I, 4.
- St. Ignatius College, formation of, I, 307.
- State Aid to wagon roads, I, 287.
- State Division proposed in 1859, I, 317.
- State Capital, San Francisco's indifference concerning its location, I, 318.
- State Pride, slow development of, I, 287.
- Steamer Day, regular collection of accounts, I, 285.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis, his career in San Francisco, II, 641.
- Stock Brokers, early members of Board, I, 383 (see also Speculation and Brokers).
- Stow, W. W., political career of, II, 562.
- Stratton Primary Law, results in a fair election, II, 705.
- Streets, of Yerba Buena, I, 119; energetic efforts to improve, I, 159; opposition to rectangular arrangement, I, 160; care of, I, 162; Mission planked road, I, 162; cut through sand hills, I, 162; in unsanitary condition, I, 193; opened by Harry Meiggs, I, 197; Meiggs forges street warrants, I, 197; wretched condition of, I, 226; Market street in 1870, I, 142; thronged at night, II, 574; scenes on in the seventies, II, 609; clearing of neglected by city, II, 713; making thoroughfares passable after fire, II, 865; condition of in 1912, II, 915; torn up by public service corporations, II, 916; new construction and extensions, II, 920.
- Street Railways, urban transportation in 1870, I, 412; facilities in advance of population, I, 413; fares reduced to five cents, II, 531; franchises freely granted, II, 557; changes produced by, II, 575; introduction of cable system, II, 575; first cable road, II, 575; terminus of first cable road, II, 576; types of cars used on, II, 576; capitalists urged to build, II, 577; supervisors not condemned for granting franchises, II, 579; open new localities to settlement, II, 580; construction of Geary street municipal road authorized, II, 721; franchises not regarded as valuable, II, 759; schemes to shut out competition, II, 760; Market street system adopts cable, II, 761; opposition to overhead trolley, II, 761; attempt to secure permit for trolley on Market street, II, 761; Market street system sold to outside capitalists, II, 762; hostility to United Railroads asserts itself, II, 763; movement in favor of municipal ownership, II, 764; a rival system threatened, II, 765; sentiment against United Railroads, II, 822; resumption of travel on after big fire, II, 846; overhead trolley permitted on Market street, II, 846; United Railroads promptly restores Sutter street line, II, 867; carmen's strike of 1902, II, 878; arbitration of carmen's demands, II, 880; Calhoun's explanation of granting of Market street trolley permit, II, 886; carmen's strike of 1907, II, 888; graft cases against managers of railroads dismissed, II, 893; use of tracks on lower Market street, II, 920; no further demand for underground trolley, II, 921; Geary street municipal road an overhead trolley, II, 921; not obliged to comply with their charter terms, II, 921; complaints of inadequate service, II, 922; city hires an expert to report on, II, 923; operation of United Railroads, II, 924; development of metropolitan area through urban transit facilities, II, 924.
- Strikes (see Labor).
- Subsidies, land grants, state, city and county aid to Pacific railroads, I, 359.
- Sub Treasury, operations of U. S., II, 527; II, 679; new building on Sansome street, II, 934.
- Suburbs, growth of Oakland and transbay cities, II, 618.
- Sugar, high prices despite reciprocity, II, 670; expansion of beet sugar industry, II, 736.
- Sun, New York, prints Pinney's exposure of California Federal ring, II, 522.
- Sunrise Case, brutal treatment of sailors, II, 622.
- Sunday Laws, legislature passes, I, 241; nonobservance of in city, II, 604; a favorite day for outings, II, 618.
- Sutro, Adolph, suggests tunnel to unwater Comstock mines, I, 385; attempt to overreach, I, 386; miners stand by him, I, 386; triumphs over "Bank Crowd," I, 386; real estate investments of, II, 570; his collection of books, II, 805.
- Sutter, John A., career of, I, 131.
- Sutter's Mill, discovery of gold at in 1848, I, 131.
- Swift, John F., as a writer of fiction, II, 641.
- Taste, native Californians lacking in, I, 53.
- Taxation, light under Spanish rule, I, 177; exemption from not a blessing, I, 179; auctioneers' license tax, I, 195; inequalities of, I, 195; poll tax unequally levied, I, 195; of consigned goods, I, 344; does not provide sufficient revenue for state, I, 344; war taxes, I, 344; an equitable system demanded, I, 345; Central Pacific evades its obligations, I, 363; efforts to keep down city rate, I, 404; charges of improper assessment, I, 427; appointment of assessors urged, I, 428; land unequally assessed, I, 428; constitution of 1879 creates an equalizing body, II, 544; Wells, Fargo decision impairs powers of Board of Equalization, II, 544; railroads shirk, II, 555; gross income

- tax proposed, II, 555; dread of impedes public improvements, II, 568; rich men and personal property returns, II, 602; further attempts at shirking by the railroad, II, 650; improvement in mode of assessing lands, II, 673; Boss Buckley champions charter limit of local taxation, II, 699; revolt against dollar limit on, II, 714; mortgage tax law repealed, II, 720; separation of state and municipal revenues attempted, II, 721; assessed valuations in proposed Greater San Francisco, II, 901; per capita of American cities compared, II, 938.
- Tax Eaters, origin of a nickname for city officials, I, 557.
- Tea Trade, why it did not flourish, II, 671.
- Teamsters' Strike, in 1901, II, 689; Governor Gage intervenes to stop, II, 691.
- Telegraph, use of by papers in the fifties, I, 300; greatly improved facilities, II, 775; cable to Philippines, II, 775; project of Behring Sea cable abandoned, II, 775.
- Telephone, introduction of, II, 583.
- Terry, David S., arrested by Vigilance committee, I, 209; personal character, I, 210; challenges and kills Broderick in a duel, I, 316; becomes a Confederate general, I, 316; attorney for Sarah Althea Hill in suit against William Sharon, II, 810; killed by a deputy United States marshal in defending Justice Field, II, 810.
- Tetrazzini, sings in open air concert on Christmas Eve, 1909, II, 911.
- Tevis, Lloyd, his start in life, I, 249.
- Thanksgiving Day, first observance in California, I, 240.
- Theaters (see Amusements).
- Thirty-fifth parallel railroad projected, II, 588.
- Thompson, Waddy, advocates acquisition of California, I, 39.
- Thrift, growth of, I, 327; first savings and loan society, I, 349; many houses built by building and loan associations, II, 766.
- Tilden, Herbert, killing of, II, 859.
- Tipping, the habit in San Francisco, II, 759.
- Titles, to water front lots confirmed, I, 148; in doubt for many years, I, 152; uncertainties concerning do not impede city's growth, I, 154; pueblo lands, I, 319; Van Ness ordinance settles pueblo titles, I, 319; legislature confirms pueblo titles, I, 320; of outside lands quieted, I, 409; after fire perfected by McEnerney Act, II, 904.
- Tivoli Opera House, first place in country to give opera all year around, II, 612.
- Tobacco, smoking and chewing prohibited in legislative chambers, I, 240.
- Topography, changes effected in city by grading, II, 582.
- Trade, of Spanish with Manila, I, 10; Spain makes no effort to open intercourse, I, 40; restrictions imposed on colonists by Spain, I, 60; of Spanish in California with Alaskan Russians, I, 61; illegal traffic encouraged by native Californians, I, 91; first Yankee ship to visit coast, I, 93; hides and tallow monopolized by British firm, I, 94; Americans successful in trading with Californians, I, 94; with whalers discouraged, I, 96; with New Mexico, I, 116; with Hudson Bay and Russian American company, I, 116; San Franciscans eager for goods, I, 281; unorganized condition of after gold discovery, I, 281; early depressions, I, 281, panic of 1855, I, 282; buying and selling gold dust, I, 283; highly speculative character during pioneer period, I, 284; successful merchants, I, 284; merchandise illy displayed in stores, I, 284; big stores of early days, I, 285; credit system and collections, I, 285; visions of Oriental, I, 288; an early combination, I, 289; ante bellum troubles, I, 293; excessive imports, I, 321; San Francisco as a distributing point, I, 322; wheat in the fifties, I, 323; depression on eve of Civil war, I, 327; effects of Civil war upon, I, 340; changing conditions of, I, 343; increased exports, I, 343; consigned goods taxed specially, I, 344; merchants profit through depreciation of greenback currency, I, 346; few debts paid in greenbacks, I, 350; change in character of imports, I, 391; San Francisco's increasing importance as a distributing point, I, 391; importance of acquisition of Alaska, I, 393; with non contiguous territory, I, 394; with Hawaiian Islands, I, 394; city benefits by Hawaiian trade, I, 395; with the Orient, I, 395; subsidization of Pacific mail steamers helps Oriental, I, 396; growth of wheat exports, I, 397; Eastern competition not feared, I, 399; signs of an approaching depression, I, 472; distribution of products, II, 488; merchants show signs of revolt against railroad, II, 652; low prices produce depression, II, 665; "steamer day" collections, II, 667; of city slackens, II, 669; Hawaiian increasing, II, 670; Alaskan becoming more important, II, 671; failure to create a tea market, II, 671; elevated above production, II, 674; claim that Schmitz promoted, II, 694; business depression passes away, II, 726; benefited by mid-winter fair, II, 728; activity after Spanish American war, II, 726; brisk before breaking out of hostilities, II, 728; benefited by Klondike gold discovery, II, 732; effects of political mismanagement upon, II, 737; volume of Hawaiian, II, 744; with Australia, II, 744; in lumber and coal, II, 745; fluctuations between 1891 and 1905, II, 747; a wave of prosperity, II, 823; Fillmore street as a business thoroughfare, II, 844; new business centers after fire of 1906, II, 861; resumption of business after earthquake, II, 861; new shopping districts, II, 862; Van Ness avenue temporarily fashionable shopping district, II, 863; in makeshift offices, II, 864; luxuries in demand after fire, II, 865; goes back to old down town center, II, 866; revivifying influence of insurance money, II, 870;

- failure of a free market experiment, II, 902; hand-some appointments of stores after the fire, II, 909; shopping districts in 1912, II, 909; expected impulse from opening of Panama canal, II, 930; volume of business transacted in San Francisco, II, 933.
- Trade dollars, coined to help silver mining industry, II, 665; a redemption job, II, 666.
- Trade Unions (see also Labor) receive a check, II, 686; shrinkage of membership, II, 686; recognition of by employers, II, 687; organization of unskilled labor, II, 687; take part in politics, II, 688; Ruef deals with, II, 692; city criticized because it accepts their domination, II, 823.
- Traffic Association, demands of result in lowering local freight rates, II, 654; manager appointed, II, 653; promotes Valley Railroad project, II, 656.
- Tramp Steamers, first to enter harbor, II, 591.
- Transportation (see also Railroads and Shipping), early rates for hauling products, I, 37; sea neglected by native Californians, I, 88; facilities in pioneer days, I, 275; demand for improved facilities, I, 288; regularity of ocean, I, 289; California Steam Navigation company, I, 289; on bay and inland waters, I, 289; clipper ships, I, 290; by way of Panama, I, 290; Nicaragua route, I, 290; Accessory Transit company, I, 290; Pacific Mail Steamship company, I, 291; rivals of Pacific Mail Co., I, 292; shipping tonnage in 1859, I, 292; early freight rates, I, 355; value of intercommunication recognized, I, 357; expansion of shipping industry, I, 390; subsidization of Pacific Mail Co., I, 396; coastwise trade, I, 397; sea route in the sixties, I, 420; communication established with all parts of state, II, 566; innovations in sea, II, 590; overland stage line, romance of, II, 592; ferry travel during seventies, II, 618; Southern Pacific and ocean competition, II, 652; merchants revolt against Southern Pacific treatment, II, 652; roundabout methods of shipment, II, 652; Atlantic and Pacific Steamship company started, II, 653; Traffic Association formed to protect interests of merchants, II, 653; North American Navigation Company started, II, 654; making use of the ocean, II, 659; Pacific Coast Jobbers and Manufacturers Association activities, II, 660; state tolls abolished on water front, II, 660; traffic operations of Southern Pacific, II, 660.
- Trapping, about the bay of San Francisco, I, 69.
- Treasure ships, of Spaniards, I, 4.
- Treating habit, attempt to suppress, II, 604.
- Tunnels, Sutro's scheme to unwater Comstock mines, I, 385; numerous projects mooted in city, II, 919.
- Union Iron Works, war and commercial vessels constructed in its yards, II, 747; operations of, II, 747.
- Unknown country, meager information concerning California prior to occupation by Americans, I, 103.
- United Railroads secures control of San Francisco street railway system, II, 762; conciliatory policy of, II, 763; hostility against, II, 763; stimulation of prejudice against, II, 882; active in work of rehabilitation after the fire, II, 868; its outer tracks on lower Market street in dispute, II, 920; operations after the fire of 1906, II, 924.
- University of California (see also education), its beginnings, I, 306.
- Universities, influence of near by institutions, II, 803.
- Urban development, complexities produced by, II, 722.
- Urban, growth of coast cities, II, 736; needs of city life, II, 898.
- Vacation, habit required development, I, 431.
- Vanderbilt, Cornelius, and the Nicaragua route in early days, I, 290.
- Van Ness, ordinance settles disputed titles, I, 319; avenue becomes a shopping thoroughfare after the fire, II, 863; great changes on the avenue, II, 908.
- Vasquez, Tiburcio, a dreaded bandit, I, 450; career of, II, 619.
- Vaudeville, multiplication of places for presentation of, II, 910.
- Vice, no attempt to hide, I, 224; cause of flagrant exhibitions of, I, 225; attempts to eradicate, I, 231; improvement of manners and morals, I, 240; San Francisco no worse than other cities, I, 243; drinking habit prevalent, I, 258; claim that city made prosperous by toleration of, II, 694; advocated as a promoter of trade, II, 737; Workingmen's party held responsible for encouraging, II, 737; loose marital relations, II, 809; defended by Ruefites, II, 824; in city and country, II, 898.
- Views, demand for marine and mountain by builders of homes, II, 756.
- Vigilance Committee, of 1851, I, 202; aroused by murder of James King of William, I, 206; political features of uprising, I, 207; preponderance of respectable element at time of uprising, I, 208; a flood of literature concerning, I, 209; arrest Terry for resisting its officers, I, 209; its concern with national questions, I, 210; reforms itself, I, 211; creates the People's party, I, 212; persuades citizens to attend to civic duties, I, 213; undemocratic features of, I, 213; Broderick's relations with, I, 214; political affiliations of leaders, I, 216; suits for damages against, I, 216; disbands, I, 217; return of prosecuted men to the city, I, 217; bargains with title disturbers, I, 217; consensus of critical opinion concerning, I, 218; federal authorities decline to interfere with its operations, I, 219; William T. Sherman's attitude towards, I, 219; foreign members of, I, 226; Pick handle brigade of 1878 an echo of, II, 533.
- Virget, Captain John, surveys Yerba Buena, I, 40.
- Voting Machines, use of in San Francisco, II, 718.
- Vox Populi, how it sounded in the seventies, I, 427.

- Wagon Roads, the Dutch Flat, I, 362; between California and Oregon, I, 287.
- Walker, William, attempts to capture Sonora, I, 269; career of the filibusterer, I, 270.
- War (see also Civil war) vessels built by Union Iron Works, II, 747; Spanish-American troubles give an impulse to trade in city, II, 727.
- Wasp, first American paper to print cartoons in colors, I, 463.
- Water Front, lots sold by order of General Kearny, I, 119; further sale of lots, I, 148; fraudulent Colton grants, I, 149; policy of filling in, I, 163; line established, I, 164; Peter Smith titles, I, 165; improvement of, I, 165; beach and water front lots, I, 192; scandal over extension of line, I, 196; Meiggs builds long wharf, I, 197; legislative interference with, I, 320; ragged appearance of, I, 417; sea wall construction, I, 418; shipping driven away, I, 418; bulkhead line defined, I, 418; ferry building constructed, II, 741; improvements planned by Citizens committee, II, 742; projected improvements by Harbor commission, II, 927; movement to obtain control by the city, II, 928.
- Water Supply, Lake Merced violently disturbed in 1852, I, 166; of city in 1851, I, 166; Spring Valley Company's operations, I, 407; consumption of water, I, 407; various sources of, II, 584; the Rogers Water Act, II, 584; report of Colonel Wendell on sources of supply, II, 585; increased consumption, II, 586; Spring Valley still in control, II, 771; consumption in 1905, II, 772; movement in favor of municipal ownership, II, 772; Spring Valley neglects precautions, II, 851; further agitation for municipal ownership; II, 935; attempt to secure Hetch Hetchy for reservoir purposes, II, 936; bonds voted for Hetch Hetchy, II, 937.
- Waymire, James A., legal career, II, 629.
- Wealth, how pioneers grew rich, I, 249; pursuit of by pioneers, I, 249; growth of thrift, I, 327; mineral resources of Nevada contribute to financial strength of San Francisco, I, 382; steady growth of in San Francisco, I, 388; prosperity through wheat growing, II, 489; new rich not ostentatious, II, 601; personal property of rich men in San Francisco, II, 602; property values in Greater San Francisco, II, 901; property values, II, 935.
- Weather Service, weather warnings to horticulturists, II, 795.
- Wells, Fargo & Co., injured by early railroad competition, I, 362; attacks State Board of Equalization, II, 544.
- Western Union Telegraph Co., abandons Behring Sea cable project, II, 775.
- Whalers, Pacific whaling in the forties, I, 115.
- Wheat (see also cereals), production affected by falling prices, II, 667; unsuccessful attempt to corner world's market, II, 745.
- Will cases, Fair estate claimed by a bogus widow, II, 812; contest over pioneer Blythe's property, II, 811.
- Williams, Minnie, murdered by Theodore Durrant, II, 814.
- Wilson, Samuel M., legal career, II, 626.
- Wine, brought to California from Boston, I, 31; made by missionaries, I, 31; freely used at meals in San Francisco, II, 600.
- Women, in gambling saloons, I, 228; numerous demi-mondaines, I, 229; number of respectable increasing, I, 235; an early journal devoted to, I, 304; trades unions advocate cause of feminine workers, I, 375; suffrage movement in 1870, I, 428; growing influence of, I, 448; coeducation in state university, I, 458; reporters on newspapers, I, 460; suffrage amendment defeated in 1896, II, 719; form many clubs, II, 787.
- Workingmen's Party (see also labor and politics), not influential in constitutional convention of 1879, II, 543; first successes of, II, 537; platforms of, II, 537; formation of in 1901, II, 693.
- Woodward's Gardens, a favorite resort, I, 410; attractions of, I, 433.
- Wool, industry thrives, I, 398; high prices and prosperous growers, II, 511; falling prices affect production, II, 688.
- Yachting, on bay of San Francisco, II, 799.
- Yerba Buena, foundation of, I, 40; before 1847, I, 41; first house erected in, I, 41; in 1841, I, 42; Leese starts first store in, I, 96; first public improvement, I, 98; in 1847, I, 112; Mormon colonists arrive, I, 113; occupations of first settlers, I, 114; gambling in, I, 114; servant question, I, 115; commerce of in 1847, I, 115; inducements offered to whalers, I, 116; name of changed to San Francisco, I, 118; town lots not in demand, I, 119; the cove of, I, 126; unsanitary result of filling in cove, I, 194.
- Yorke, Rev. Peter, and the A. P. A's, II, 778. 2

