

SUTTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEWS BULLETIN

VOL. 3

No. 2

YUBA CITY, CALIFORNIA

APRIL 17, 1962



THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH
SAN FRANCISCO 1862

SUTTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SPRING MEETING
April 17, 1962
Tuesday Evening - 8 P.M.

PLACE: Chambers of the Board of
Supervisors
County Office Building
2nd and B Streets, Yuba City

PRESIDENT: Mrs. Florence Arritt
PROGRAM CHAIRMAN: Randolph Schnabel

PROGRAM

SPEAKER: Mr. Waddell F. Smith
San Rafael, California
Director, Pony Express History
and Art Gallery

TOPIC: Pony Express and its Centennial

Mr. Smith will have an exhibit of medals,
Bibles, Pony carried letters, guns used
and centennial guns and medals.

His presentation will be very interesting
to both young and old. Mark your calendar
for APRIL 17th. We know you will experience
a very interesting and enjoyable evening

MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING
April 5, 1962

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order at
8:00 P.M. in the office of the County Superintendent of Schools.
President, Mrs. Florence Arritt presided.

Those present to answer roll call: Mrs. Honora Laney, Mrs. Ida
Littlejohn, Mr. Randolph Schnabel, Mr. Earl Ramey, Treasurer; Mrs.
Bernice Gibson, Secretary; Mrs. Florence Arritt, President; Mrs. Nanne
Brown, Chairman of Ways and Means.

Mrs. Brown reported on several ways the Historical Society might
use to raise money.

The following methods were discussed: 1. Brochure with map and
historical places of interest marked with descriptions of each place
on the sides.

2. Place mats to be used in local eating places with historical
places and roads marked. It was suggested we might secure ads from

various merchants for the sides of the mats which would take care of the expense of printing.

3. Note paper with a picture of significance to Sutter County was suggested. Paper to be sold in boxes for a nominal profit to the Historical Society.

Mrs. Brown was directed to investigate the printing of the brochures and place mats, also the note paper and give a report at the general meeting, April 17th.

It was moved by Mrs. Brown and seconded by Mrs. Laney that all the schools be notified of the meeting April 17th since the speakers topic on the Pony Express is so important to the development of the West. Motion carried.

Mrs. Gibson was asked to give a report on the progress of plans for the Symposium of Northern California and Southern Oregon Historical Societies to be held in Marysville October 12th-13th and 14th. A tentative program follows.

A motion was made by Randolph Schnabel and seconded by Mrs. Laney that the tentative program be accepted. Motion carried.

The following committees were appointed:

Hospitality

Mrs. Florence Arritt, Chairman
Mrs. Ida Littlejohn
Mrs. Earl Ramey
Mr. and Mrs. Marshall Shields
Louie A. Smith
Mrs. Anne Wilson
Mr. and Mrs. Starr Poole
Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Glenn

Decorations

Viola Height, Chairman
Mrs. Marie Wolfe
Mrs. Roy Welch
Mrs. Emily Wessel
Mrs. Shirley Schnabel

Registration & Reservations

Mr. Earl Ramey and)
Mr. Randolph Schnabel)Co Chairmen
Mrs. W. A. Greene
Mrs. Estelle Crowhurst

Publicity

Miss Jessica Bird
W. A. Greene
Mrs. Irmina Rudge
Dave G. Teja
Maxine Dodge
Neva Romelsbacher
Mrs. Hazel Redwine

Tour Committee

Mrs. Honora Laney, Chairman
Mrs. Eleanor B. Holmes
Mrs. Ruth Grant
Mrs. Frances McDougal

The Treasurers report was given by Mrs. Earl Ramey. The report was unanimously accepted and filed.

Respectfully submitted,
Bernice B. F. Gibson, Secretary

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR DIRECTORS
April 4, 1962

Balance January 16, 1962 \$675.93

Dues Collected \$ 70.00
Film Fund 160.00

Total Collected 230.00

230.00

Total Credit . . 905.93

Bills Paid

W. A. Greene (2 dinners for speaker) \$4.50
Ted Baggelmann (Speaker at banquet) 10.00

Total Paid Out . . . \$14.50

Balance April 4, 1962 . 891.43

Film Fund \$607.00
General Fund \$284.43
\$891.43

Membership

Paid for 1961 and/or 1962 93
Paid for 1962 46
Not yet Paid for 1962 47

TENTATIVE PROGRAM
ELEVENTH ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM OF
HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
AND SOUTHERN OREGON
Yuba City and Marysville, California
October 12th, 13th - 14th, 1962

Reservations and Registration Chairmen: Earl Ramey & Randolph

Schnabel FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 12th - Marysville Hotel

2 P.M. - 5 P.M. Registration
4:30 - 6 P.M. Open House and Tea - Mary Aaron Museum
7th & D Sts. Marysville
Hostess Group: Mary Aaron Museum Association

SATURDAY OCTOBER 13th - Marysville Hotel

Registration
10 A.M. General Meeting - City Hall, 6th & C Sts. Marysville
Greetings: Judge Warren Steele, Marysville
Jerry McMullen, President •
Conference Calif. Historical Societies

10:30 A.M. Address: Writing and Recording Local History
Henry Mauldin, County Historian, Lake Co.

11:30 A.M. Address: The Beginnings of Yuba City
Earl Brownlee, Retired Newspaper Editor
Yuba City

12:30 P.M. Luncheon: Masonic Temple, Marysville
Fashion Show of Yesteryear
Models - Rainbow Girls
Music - Phillip Manwell

2:30 P.M. Address: The Beginnings of Marysville
Earl Ramey, Writer & Historian of
Marysville

General Meeting
Dr. R. Coke Wood- Presiding
Executive Secretary of Conference
of California Historical Societies

7:00 P.M. Banquet: Reports of Participating Societies
Marysville Hotel
President of Sutter Co. Historical Society
-Presiding
Special Organ Music - Mrs. A. J. McCabe

Address: John Sutter Settlement of this Area-Hock
Farm - Mrs. Honora Laney, Past President
Sutter County Historical Society

SUNDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 14th Tour of local historical spots and old home
ending with refreshments served at last
home visited. Refreshments served by
Native Daughters of Golden West.
Tour begins at Marysville Hotel-9:30 A.M.

Resource People: Thomas A. Gianella - Newspaper indexing
Ruth Herman - Recording and writing local history

THE ELECTION OF 1860
in
SUTTER AND YUBA COUNTIES
by Earl Ramey

(Continued from Vol. 3, No. 1, January 16, 1962 Issue)

The clubs of the three parties were being organized during the time the conventions were being held. In fact, there existed a Democratic club in Marysville as a carry-over from the campaign of 1859, and it was somewhat active in the first part of 1860 until it became clear that the Democrats could not remain intact.

In the issue of July 12 Avery urged Republicans of Marysville to organize a club and to send for literature which was then being distributed by the state central committee. And in the Appeal of July 18 appeared the notice that a club was already being formed. The organizers took it upon themselves to rent the water works hall at Fourth and D Streets as club quarters. And it was proposed that the quarters be open every evening for informal discussion and reading by members, and that weekly meetings be held to plan the campaign. It was suggested that the club entertain and escort visiting speakers, and that the members serve as political police at meetings to keep order, to serve as watchers at the polls and to serve in any other capacity for the general good of the party. It was even proposed to adopt a uniform for those serving in special capacities, but this suggestion was never carried out.

The first meeting was held July 20 with 150 men present and the organization was completed with 60 members signing the constitution. A banner with the names of Lincoln and Hamlin was stretched across D Street from the Water Works building to the building opposite. The club sent out a general invitation to members of the other parties to attend the weekly meetings and even to take part in debates and discussions. Avery commended this action by writing "if our foes can ever be induced to quit calling us names and reason with us our inevitable victory will come the sooner."¹⁵

In the Appeal of July 19 there appeared a "Notice to Republicans of Sutter County" calling a meeting for July 28 at the court house in Yuba City to organize a club. Not only Republicans were invited but all others who desired "to assist in the overthrow of the sham Democracy." The notice was given by order of the Sutter County Central Committee signed by W. H. McGrew and G. M. Hanson. The report of this organization meeting came some days later listing Thomas McKee as president and I. M. Hanson secretary. Following the example of Yuba City, Nicolaus and Vernon organized Republican clubs a few days later.

The first part of August thirty Douglas Democrats signed a petition asking the Marysville precinct committee to call a meeting to form a club. A meeting was called for August 14 at which time a club was formed, and at a second meeting on August 21, 189 members attended and elected officers and heard speeches by some of leaders of the party.

The Breckinridgers were the last to organize but they did it in a bigger way. Their petition for a club meeting had 396 names. In the

issue of August 24 Avery analyzed the list of names and formed three names to be the same man, twenty were non-residents, two were dead, 69 were office holders or office seekers, and a considerable number were "timid tradesmen known to be Douglasites or Republicans". Ridge also called the list of names "not entirely genuine," and he warned against the possibility of the Breckenridgers trying to vote some of the fraudulent names. But the club was organized and probably had the largest membership but certainly not the most active. Nearly all of the precincts of Yuba county organized Republican clubs and some had clubs of the three parties as did Marysville.

In Sutter county the Breckinridge club was really the first to organize because it continued from the year before. General Winn was the president of the club and was scheduled to be the main speaker at the convention to be held in Nicolaus on September 11. But on August 25 he announced that he was going over to the Douglasites. He published a letter in the Sacramento Union explaining his action. He said that while preparing the speech he expected to give before the Breckinridge convention he found that he could not support the party program. He could not approve intervention by Congress or the courts in the matter of slavery in the territories. He doubted that Breckinridge would favor a Pacific railway, the homestead bill or the telegraph. He could not embrace the program of the Republicans; so he decided to declare for Douglas even though he knew that he would be unpopular among a majority of his neighbors.¹⁶ But the Sutter county Breckinridge Club continued to function.

The Douglas Democrats organized clubs in Yuba City and Nicolaus but their activities were not given much notice in the Marysville papers.

A good amount of the activity in any political campaign has as its purpose to hold the party members to the party line. But the main objective is to gather converts from the opposition. And in 1860 it is pretty certain that the most effective converting device was oratory. But an orator had to have a setting and an audience. So the rally or mass meeting held in the street became the best setting because there were no halls large enough to seat all who would like to attend, and also because the opposition members felt free to join the gathering in the street, whereas they might have been reluctant to be seen seated in a hall as guests of their opponents. This reluctance existed particularly on the part of office holders and those who aspired to become office holders.

The Breckinridgers started the long series of public meetings with a rally held in front of the U.S. Hotel in Marysville the evening of July 18. They burned a tar barrel, fired rockets and beat drums and gathered a crowd of 300 representing "all shades of opinion." Montgomery of Sutter gave the main address which was strictly anti-Douglas, accusing Douglas of being false to the Union, a traitor to the party and a foe of southern rights. A Republican reporter said that he excited enthusiasm only by patriotic allusions to common property of territories and "claptrap about the battle fields of Mexico." After two other speakers appeared the crowd gave "three feeble cheers for Breckinridge and Lane" but from the same crowd came "three counter cheers for Douglas.

The Douglasites were next with a rally held two days later in front of the St. Nicolas Hotel. They had erected a platform to which the new fangled gas lights were extended. Gas was just then being introduced and piped throughout the town. Furthermore, the balconies on the second floor of the Hotel were reserved for ladies attending because ladies did not feel free or safe to mingle with the audience of men standing in the street. Three speakers, Judge Reardon, E.D. Wheeler, and J. O. Goodwin gave similar addresses emphasizing the contention that Douglas was the "regular" Democratic candidate. Then the crowd called for Charlie DeLong who made the longest speech "full of wit and desultory." The reporter admitted that it was a good meeting but declared that it lacked the enthusiasm of former Democratic meetings.¹⁸

The Republicans called a mass meeting for the evening of July 21 to be held in front of the Western Hotel at second and D Streets, the building which burned in 1957. The proprietor of the hotel was a good Republican and wanted to do something for the party; so he had constructed at his own expense in front of the hotel a permanent platform equipped with gas lights. While he dedicated the platform to the Republican cause, he invited the other parties to use it when it was not wanted by the Republicans. It was the practice for some of the members of the audiences at these rallies to leave between speeches, and during the duller ones, to retire to the nearby saloons for refreshments. Consequently the proprietors of the three or four saloons near the hotel were grateful for the stand and offered to contribute towards the cost of the structure which contributions the hotel man accepted. But later some of the saloon owners, and probably some of their patrons who were Democrats, became dissatisfied with the priority given the Republicans and contended that their contributions ought to have made the stand at least neutral and available to the first applicant for a given night. But the hotel proprietor would not change the original plan.

These saloon men probably were not as much disturbed by their party loyalty as they were alarmed by a partial boycott of the stand. Some Democratic leaders refused to speak from the platform because it had been dubbed "the abolition stand." And all politicians feared the stigma carried by the term abolition.

The theme of the Republican meeting of July 21 was "Old Yuba Awake!" A partisan reporter claimed that 800 persons attended. W. H. Weeks, one of the electors on the Lincoln ticket, was the main speaker and gave a "Scarifying History of Administration Democracy." And the reporter added we can convey no adequate idea of the force of his exposition, sarcasm, and denunciation." The rally closed with three cheers and a tiger for Lincoln.

When we consider the difficulty we have today getting attendance at meetings we have to marvel at these street meetings of 1860 with crowds of from 300 to 800. There were always at least three speakers, and the main speaker usually took one and a half or two hours. The other, speakers took less time, but it was not uncommon for the audience to stand as much as four hours. But these gatherings were supplying recreation as well as expression of political emotion. For a period of about three months a resident of Marysville, if he had had the time and endurance,

with the three parties soliciting his vote, could have attended a meeting at least every third day.

An unusually spirited meeting was held by the Republican club in their quarters the evening of August 28. It had been advertised that a rail was to be presented. The fence rail had become one of the several symbols of the Republican campaign. A fence on a farm in Illinois was said to be made of rails which Lincoln had split. The farmer who owned the fence sold the rails to Republican clubs over the country. The Marysville club had ordered one, and it was expected in time for the meeting, but it failed to arrive.

But the meeting was held, and a large audience assembled. Avery came to the rescue, and as a substitute for the rail, he presented the club with a life size lithograph of Lincoln mounted in a gilt frame which was to be hung on the wall of the quarters. There was "tumultuous cheering" and the reporter declared that "old Abe himself could scarcely have excited wilder demonstration of delight." Three cheers and a tiger were given for Lincoln and then three for the Appeal and Avery. Dr. Compton, of Colusa, the main speaker alluded to the pro-slavery Democracy with humor "making the audience shriek with laughter and sending them off the best natured crowd that ever left a political meeting in Marysville."

The rail was expected any day because it was known that a shipment had arrived by water in San Francisco. So an enterprising boat hand had a bright idea for making a little extra money. At a place down the river where the Sacramento-Marysville boats stopped for fuel the boat hand had noticed a rail fence. He took one of the rails aboard, and when the boat landed at Marysville, he carried it to the express office, said it was for the Republican club and was about to collect the carrying charges when a bystander, just out from the middle west, recognized that this rail was of Sacramento river cottonwood and not of Illinois chestnut. So the charges were not paid. The genuine rail arrived in time for the next club meeting.¹⁹

The rail symbol provided another diversion in the campaign when Ridge printed a long poem which was circulating in eastern papers from which he took it. This poem, of a very elementary quality, told the story of the discovery of a pair of oxen which Lincoln and his relative, John Hanks, had used to haul the rails which they had split. According to the poem story the Republicans of New York discovered the oxen and were going to acquire them as a further symbol of the campaign. They found the animals in a butcher's stall in New York City waiting to be slaughtered regardless of their age. Lincoln and Flanks had split the rails in 1825; so some one was due to eat thirty-five year old ox meat. But, as the story went, the Republicans were cautious and wanted evidence that these were truly the oxen they were represented to be. They sent for John Hanks to come to New York to identify the animals. And the final verse of the poem describes the scene where Hanks is brought to view the oxen:

"He gazed awhile with admiration wrapt,
Then with his finger gently his proboscis tapped
And said,
'They both have horns, they both have tails.
I'll swear they hauled the presidential rails'".

The meetings and rallies continued through August, September and October, and as has been noted, provided the principal source of recreation in the two counties. The gatherings in Marysville were always attended by Sutter county residents and only a few large public meetings were attempted at Nicolaus because the Sutter population was relatively small and scattered. But the campaigning in Sutter county was very energetic and constant by means of small meetings. We have already noted that Montgomery was the popular orator; but both Winn and McGrew were also popular in both counties although the election results indicate that they were not as effective as Montgomery. We have a sample of McGrew's style taken from an address of acceptance which he delivered before the Yuba county Republican convention where he had just been nominated to run as joint senator:

"Let statesmen talk and write as much as they please about popular and squatter sovereignty, intervention...slave codes and Dred Scott decisions. It all will not hide the issue in this contest. Democracy²⁰ is only another name for slavery in the territories, while Republicanism is the synonym for free soil for free men...I shall try to convince the people of Yuba and Sutter counties that there is but one issue before them and that is freedom or slavery in the territories...The question of free homesteads, Pacific railroad, overland mails, and telegraph communications between the East and West are all questions which grow out of that other great question--free territory for free men. Settle this once and forever, and you and I will live to see the day when the Iron Horse with sinews of steel and breath of fire will make these valleys and mountains resound with the snort from his brazen lungs and will bring in his wake cars laden with merchandise of the East and news of the passing events of the day in 48 hours from St. Louis and 60 from New York..."²¹

Name calling in a campaign is always denounced by respectable candidates and then indulged in by the candidates or their party workers. But the practice can be entertaining to contemporary partisans and enlightening to future generations who try to comprehend the campaign. So it will be useful here to note some of the names which were applied to the opposition by nearly all of the campaigners of 1860. Most of the names were coined and first used in other parts of the nation, but some of them had state and local origin.

The Republicans were generally referred to as "Black Republicans" by Democratic editors and speakers, this name of course growing out of the Republicans' admitted concern and sympathy for the negro slaves. But many Democrats went further and called them abolitionists even though Avery on several occasions took pains to declare that neither he nor the party advocated abolition of slavery in the states where it existed. But the word abolitionist carried the same stigma in 1860 which the word communist carried in 1960. And in both campaigns political fighters used the words freely finding them effective weapons against which the victims were hard put to defend themselves.

Also the Republicans were often referred to as disunionists, not only because some of their spokesmen expressed a preference for disunion, rather than union with slavery, but also because it was charged that their radical views of slavery were likely to provoke the slave

states to withdraw from the Union. And Ridge, the Douglas editor, called them interventionists because they demanded that congress pass necessary laws to prevent the spread of slavery into the territories. Some of the Democratic speakers would refer to Republicans as "nigger worshippers" but the editors refrained from using such vulgarities in print unless quoting directly from some speaker or other paper.

Both Ridge and Avery at times called the Breckinridgers disunionists because certain southern Democrats were proclaiming quite openly that southern states would secede from the Union if Lincoln were elected. And for the same reason the administration Democrats were called secessionists. Ridge went so far as to call them "black secessionists" using the word black to emphasize his contention that they and the Republicans were equally dangerous to the safety of the Union. And he sometimes referred to them as bolters, traitors and slave whangers.

A more local name was applied to the Breckinridgers of Sutter and Yuba counties by both Ridge and Avery, who called them the "courthouse clique" because they were in possession of nearly all of the county offices. And Ridge called them interventionists as he did the Republicans because they also demanded laws by congress which would insure an owner in his right to take and hold his slaves in the territories. At times they were called Buchaneers, a play on their leader's name, President Buchanan. Avery referred to their club as the "cotton club" and when they celebrated by firing anvils the explosions became "cotton guns."

But the Douglasites came in for their share of names. Linthicum of the Express called them traitors because, as he contended, they had insisted upon acting without a full convention at Baltimore, and also because many of them had supported Republican candidates in the state election of 1859. And for these same offenses they were called "barnburners" a term applied twelve years earlier to a dissident branch of the Democratic party in New York. The name was taken from a legend of a Dutch farmer who burned his barn to get rid of rats.

Avery and other Republicans called the Dougalsites "Loco Focos" which term also had been given to a splinter party twenty years before. And he referred to them as "indifferentists" because they would not recognize as politically relevant the moral phase of slavery. Also he called them "fence straddlers" because they tried to reconcile the theory of popular sovereignty, which Douglas had championed several years before, and the Dred Scott decision which, according to one interpretation, contradicted popular sovereignty. Avery himself coined an adjective which he applied to the combined Democracy; he called it the Fissiparous Party. This is a biological term which classifies those species of plants and animals which reproduce by spontaneous subdivision. He made use of the word "accessionists" to refer facetiously to those Democrats from both wings who were coming over to the Republican party, and on many occasions he and Republican speakers referred to both wings as the "sham Democracy."

Another choice name had local origin, Montgomery of Sutter being responsible for it. In an unguarded moment while making a speech at Nicolaus he commented on the rumor that several high ranking state

officials (Downey, McDougal, McCorkle and others), who had been elected or appointed as administration Democrats, had defected to the Douglas camp. Montgomery wanted to express his indifference and belief that it was good to be rid of these unreliable members. But orators of the time felt obliged to be more subtle in making such points; so he said he was "glad to see the Augean stables cleaned out."

Audiences of 1860 were prepared to interpret such allusions; but most of us today have to consult our reference books of classical literature to get any exact meaning from a reference to the Augean stables. King Augeas kept 3000 oxen in his series of stables, and these stables had not been cleaned for thirty years. The cleaning task was imposed on Hercules, who performed one of his many feats of prowess, by diverting two rivers, causing them to blow through the stables and in one day make a clean sweep of the accumulated filth. Avery was quick to take advantage of this slip by Montgomery; and after quoting this portion of the speech he called to the attention of those of his readers who might not already have got the point, that, as Montgomery had made use of the reference the filthy Augean stables were his own wing of the Democratic party.²²

After the Republicans of Yuba City had organized their club, the secretary G. M. Hanson, sent a report of the meeting to be printed in the Appeal. When he had finished describing the nature of the organization and listing the officers he added "we have taken the first steps towards a thorough scouring and cleansing of the Augean stables in our county which are in a deplorable condition."²³ So thereafter there were many references to the Augean stables by both Republicans and Douglasites.

Fortunately for all of the participants in the campaign of 1860, the bitterness which characterized much of the activity was somewhat diluted by a good amount of humor and wit which was contributed by some individuals. The Republicans were obviously in a better mood to supply and enjoy humor because they were the youngest party with few or no internal troubles, and also were in a very favored position to make gains over their showing of 1856. On the other hand, the two wings of Democrats spent a greater part of their energy fighting each other because each wing was angry at the other; each blamed the other for the threatened victory of the Republicans. So they were in a poor mood to contribute humor though they probably enjoyed some of it — even that which was aimed directly at them.

Avery was the most energetic contributor to the wit and humor of the campaign. When he was not creating it himself he was gathering it from many sources and printing it. The fact that editors of that period felt free to mingle their comments and opinions in the same columns, and even the same paragraphs, with news coverage gave them opportunities which present day editors, in most instances, do not take.

He quoted some members of the Union party as being dissatisfied with certain actions of the Yuba county organization. They complained that proper notice of the convention had not been given, and they were not pleased with the delegates who were to be sent to Sacramento. Avery expressed sympathy with them and advised them to split, call another

convention and choose another set of delegates since splitting was in order.²⁴ And when an editor of an out of town Democratic paper let it be known that he had not yet decided which side to take on a controversial issue, Avery added the comforting message at the end of the reprint "never mind, Massa Gwin will soon arrive" implying that the editor would remain subservient to Gwin, the Democratic "boss", who was on his way returning from Washington. The word Massa also implied a degree of subservience comparable to that of a negro slave.²⁵

He very soberly quoted an Irish immigrant and Democrat who reasoned that the Democrats would easily defeat the Republicans with two candidates in 1860 because they had defeated them in 1856 with only one candidate and he gleefully told the story of how the Douglas Democrats in upper Yuba county had ordered a supply of German language newspapers to be distributed to German speaking workmen hoping to win these naturalized citizens to the Douglas cause. After the papers had been distributed it was discovered that they were Republican papers.²⁶

The brick wall of a building on Second Street opposite the Breckinridge party headquarters collapsed. A Breckinridge banner was stretched across the street at this point, and Avery held it responsible for the condition of the wall because it flapped "hints of disunion with every breeze."²⁷ And after reprinting an item in an Auburn paper telling of the escape of some of the prisoners from the jail at that place, and referring to the escapees as seceders, he added the suggestion that those who remained in the jail must have been regular Democrats.²⁸

The Folsom Telegraph, a Democratic paper, reproduced the envelop of a letter evidently written by a very illiterate person. The address was as follows: "Mister h. d. Rouley esqoir
Merchant - opt - depow
foulsome Kalforny"

And then the writer of the letter, anticipating our modern practice of placing exhortations on letters like "Pray for peace" or "Buy bonds", wrote across the end of the envelop: "hooraw for lingkom"
It was this last item which tempted the Democratic editor to give it publicity, Avery reprinted the article and added "The writer is obviously a recent convert from the Democracy."

The Republican club indulged in relevant horseplay on occasions. Colonel E. D. Baker, the famous orator of California and a Broderick follower who had turned Republican, had moved to Oregon where he became a political leader. The Oregon legislature was split three ways with Breckinridgers, Douglasites and Republicans about equal in strength. So the Douglasites and Republicans conspired to block out the Breckinridgers by agreeing to combine and vote for one Republican senator and one Douglas senator inasmuch as Oregon was electing two senators at the time. Baker was elected with a Douglas follower named Nesmith.

The news of this election was received with great satisfaction by Republicans everywhere, and at a rally in Marysville cheers were given for Baker the first Republican senator from the West. But the Marysville Douglasites failed to give cheers for Nesmith at their rally because the Republicans was denounced generally in California. So at a meeting

of the Republican club some days later a member made a satirical but solemn appeal to the gathering pointing out the pathetic case of Senator Nesmith neglected by his own party and being denied the customary recognition of his victory. Three cheers were proposed for Nesmith which cheers were given with enthusiasm and merriment.

Two wags of Marysville hit on a prank which they played at the expense of the Republicans and all saloon keepers in town. They secured two identical masks one of which could be placed over the other. They would enter a saloon, with the masks concealed, and offer to give a graphic demonstration of the difference between an abolitionist and a Republican, provided they were given a free drink; and of course the saloon keeper would comply, welcoming any kind of diversion for his patrons. Bringing out the masks they declared the one visible to be an abolitionist. Then removing that one they declared the other identical mask to be the Republican. This joke would be relished by all but Republicans.

The Republicans were impatient to know how they might expect to do in the election in November. So the county convention requested the precincts committees to make a census of voters and report to the central committee. The complete census was never finished but many isolated "straws" as they were called were taken, reported and printed. They also called these samplings "sidewalk votes." A straw taken in front of the Wells Fargo office on August 10 gave Lincoln 11, Douglas 11 and Breckinridge 5; and one precinct below Marysville gave all of its 60 votes for Lincoln. A ballot box was placed in a saloon for a week during which time Lincoln received 158, Douglas 88 and Breckinridge 39. Bangor reported 30 for Lincoln, 8 for Breckinridge and 3 for Douglas; and a precinct in Sutter county gave Lincoln 80 of a possible 100 votes. And from all directions came reports indicating that Lincoln was running well ahead. Just why these straws were so misleading we do not know, but the results of the November election proved them to be very inaccurate as indicators.

Avery evidently knew how to discount these straws because on October 20 he estimated that Yuba would give Lincoln 1500 votes which would be double what Yuba gave Fremont in 1856. The state had given Fremont 20000 in 1856; so he reasoned it ought to give Lincoln 40000 in 1860, and with the Democrats split this would be enough to win. As we shall see later he was very nearly correct.

Another political analyst also believed that Lincoln was going to win. The postmaster at Bangor was a Douglas Democrat, and after the split was completed, the Breckinridge county committee, which yet held the patronage, requested that the Post Office Department remove the Douglasite and recommended a worthy Breckinridge resident of Bangor to be appointed. The removal and appointment were made, but the appointee declined to accept saying that, as he judged by present indications, he believed that the Republicans were going to win the coming election. So he did not want to accept the office and "give that damn rail splitter the satisfaction of turning me out after the 4th of March next!"²⁹

The Republicans made use of songs at all of their rallies and club meetings, and this practice was becoming to the type of crusading and

evangelical campaign they were conducting. A book of Republican songs called the "Songster" was on sale at Long's Music Store. It contained the current campaign songs which had been introduced by "Uncle Abe's Choir" in San Francisco.

But T. J. Sherwood, a prominent member of the Marysville club, composed the words for a song which was sung to the tune of Uncle Ned. The first verse read: "There is an old soldier and they call him Uncle Abe, And he lives far out west, far out west. Hard work has been his joy ever since he was a babe, But now he's going to have a little rest." And the chorus went: "Then lay away the wedges and the maul
And get things ready for the fall; There's
no more hard work for old Uncle Abe, For he's sure to be elected-
that is all.

Another local composer of campaign songs was Andrew Hartman of North San Juan. He and his songs, which he varied from meeting to meeting, became very popular, and he appeared at many rallies throughout the county. At one gathering in Marysville, prompted by the response he received he gave testimony to account for his inspiration and talent. He said the Democrats had no song in their hearts. When he was a Democrat he was no poet. But he added "Since I have become a Republican rhyme and reason, poetry and principle flow from me as naturally as water from a spring."³⁰

Many poems were composed and read at club meetings, but most of them were of a passing quality and not considered serious enough for publication. One of rather good form but earthy in substance, signed by "Thistle", was printed in the Appeal of October 10:

"Cease your ravings, Democrat, In quiet let us live;
We ask no favors from your hand For you have none to give.
Bright ran your race, O Democrats! Through many a far famed sire;
But like the swine who loves the mud You have ended in the mire.
Your party's dead - hark! the death knell! For freemen there are
many
And so its body lies corrupt - For soul it has not any."

Benjamin Avery conducted another separate, but related, campaign at the same time he was carrying on the political contest. He was one of the earliest to rebel against the school of stereotyped writing and speaking which made the negro the vehicle for low grade humor. In this campaign he was many years ahead of his time. A few days after he became editor of the Appeal, in commenting on the news that a company called Dilly Birch's Minstrels had failed to make expenses in several California towns, including Marysville, he said that people were "sick and tired of the same old jokes, forced puns, stale comicalities of gesture, and coarse resort to vulgarity and slang." And then he added "Niggerism is played out."³¹

However we must judge Avery's progress in race relations by standards of 1860 and not by those of 1960. He gave a statement of his philosophy which would not make a very good showing in 1960. He was resenting the term "nigger worshipper" which the Democrats were using to ridicule Republicans and to attribute to them the plan to free the

black race and give it a position of social equality with the white race. Avery declared the accusation was "silly", that Republicans believed in civil equality. He said that the pressure of the African race in the United States was a curse to both the blacks and the whites, But he added the Africans "are here and have rights and capacities and should be protected and educated...It does not follow that because we do not wish negroes to be laves that we want to mingle with them on terms of social intimacy..."

Avery followed two noticeable practices in conducting the campaign against what he called "niggerism" and slavery. He quoted directly from Democratic speakers putting their spoken words in print where their vulgarity would stand. out as a bad example; and he inserted many items clipped from eastern and southern papers which displayed the brutal phases of slavery. Just how effective this strategy was we cannot know. We shall note a few samples : In the issue of July 12 he quoted an advertisement from a paper in South Carolina. "Catch Him! Catch Him!

But how can you catch him unless you have along the well trained pack of Negro Dogs owned by J. W. Hamlett?

This pack consists of five bloodhounds and two catch dogs which are very sagacious and which once on the trail will be apt to start the game...The subscriber is ready at any time to undertake the capture of fugitive slaves in this or any of the adjoining counties or states... Among many other names which could be given...he begs leave to refer to the following:..."

Here Avery stopped the quotation and added "The list of references we need not quote. It is sufficiently lengthy to prove that every darkey is not enamored of bondage..."

July 19 he quoted a Douglasite speaker in Sacramento who tried to explain the Dred Scott Decision by saying "a nigger in the territories is a slave anyhow." Avery's comment was "There is no peace for the nation under either wing of the Democracy for the negro is the breath of their nostrils and they will both cry out for protection of their property in him."

Again he quoted without comment from a speech by Colonel E. L. Lewis of Red Bluff who said he favored "any man who prefers the union of the states to the tropical perfumes of a free nigger." Then later he quoted from a speech made in Benecia by Rasey Biven, a Douglasite, who was discussing the Republican candidate for president. "Lincoln is all nigger - looks nigger, talks nigger...His color, hair, gait and language show conclusively the preponderance of African blood, and the mystery of his birth is sufficient to prove it...He is out and out darkie...He stands ready to choose Fred Douglas or any other nigger as his secretary of state..." Avery's reply to this was "apart from the cruelty of using phrases painful to the feelings of an unfortunate race of fellow men these extracts display a brutal vulgarity and mendacity which require no comment... A foe that uses such weapons is easily vanquished."³²

On November 3 the Breckinridge Democrats held a rally which the weather drove inside to the theatre. Ex-governor John B. Weller, who aspired to be United States Senator, was the main speaker. In this report of the meeting Avery wrote that Weller's speech was very dull

and consisted largely of an allegory which he summarized with certain phrases quoted. It was about a pilgrim travelling along a political trail, The road to the Douglas camp was strewn with "boulders and nigger heads." At the Republican camp he found many women and "plenty of niggers." The only difference between "the black and white folks appeared to be that the niggers and the women sat at the head of the table and the white men sat at the foot." If we can be sure that a teenager of 1960 would pronounce it "corny". But Avery dismissed it as being "the most vulgar harangue of the season."³³

We have no record of any physical violence on the part of the campaigners of the two counties, but there were several strained moments when violence could have resulted. Both Breckinridge and Douglas candidates would on occasions appear as speakers before the same audience and in the same room in the up-county Precincts. They were forced to do this because in the smaller communities separate audiences would have been too small to make a satisfactory political meeting. The programs took on features of a debate under such circumstances.

At one such gathering at McDonalds Mill while DeLong was speaking David Halm, Breckinridge candidate for the Assembly, interrupted to call DeLong a liar. DeLong called him "no gentleman", and they had further heated words in the bar after the meeting. But there was no violence.³⁴

DeLong and Linthicum had developed some bad blood during the campaign of 1859, and their friends expected them to resort to the duelling code. DeLong noted in his journal for October 3, 1859 that he "kept on the street nearly all day armed." But that duel did not develop.³⁵

On October 6 the Breckinridgers held a mass meeting in the theatre in Marysville with Senator Gwin as the main speaker. It was believed and suspected that the Yuba county Breckinridgers had tried to discourage Gwin from speaking in Yuba county. They believed his appearance would do more harm than good in view of the strong anti-Gwin campaign both the Republicans and Douglasites were conducting. But evidently Gwin did not agree. During his speech Gwin declared that James A. McDougal while a member of the House of Representatives had helped to defeat the railroad bill. McDougal was in the audience and interrupted the speaker, and, as DeLong noted in His journal, "gave Gwin the lie." But again no violence came as a result of this incident.

During the same speech Gwin was asked by a member of the audience to comment on the especially hard campaign against him being conducted by DeLong. Gwin pretended not to give it serious thought and replied that he knew how to take care of "small politicians." The audience relished the retort and easily grasped the double meaning of the term "small politician" as well as the phrase "take care of". But naturally DeLong did not relish the remark by Gwin or the applause and merriment from the audience. So a Douglas meeting was called three days later to allow , McDougal and DeLong to reply to Gwin. DeLong not only denounced Gwin for his slanderous remark about him and the aspersion on his integrity, but he declared that every man who heard and applauded the remark "is a base coward in his heart and he dares not avow himself to my face as an endorser of the aspersion."³⁶

After the election while DeLong's fire company, "The Warrens", were holding a collation to celebrate his victory, they sent a telegram to Gwin which read "That small politician, C. E. DeLong, is elected to the state Senate by a handsome plurality. Many thanks for your speech at the theatre."

The outstanding event of the campaign was "a grand torchlight procession and mass meeting" which was held October 27 in Marysville by the Republican Club. This event was announced as early as October 6 and during the twenty days allowed for preparation it grew to be much more than a torchlight parade. They made it a tri-county affair by inviting the Republicans of Sutter and Butte counties to participate. We have a good account of it because the Republicans were proud of it, and Avery gave adequate space to record a complete description. And after reading the description one has to admit that, considering the time and the size of the local population, it was a phenomenal achievement. There were four district features in the parade—the torches, transparencies, cars, and a band. These features will be described as the parade is described.

The parade formed with the head, which was the Marysville Brass Band, at Fourth and D Streets and extended up D and around Fifth past Cortez Square. It was long enough to require twenty minutes to pass a given point. They prepared 400 torches which were made of oil soaked rags on poles and which were carried by men on foot. And there were fifty transparencies of various sizes which were also carried by men on foot. These were a popular device of the time, especially effective for night time demonstrations. They were a box-shape frame covered with white cloth or thin paper. Inside the frame candles or oil lamps were placed. Drawings or wording on the paper or cloth covers were made to stand out as a sort of silhouette. Some of them portrayed scenes which would necessarily have demanded a good sized frame.

The "cars" were an innovation of the period. We of today would call them floats. They were dray or farm wagons equipped with flat racks instead of box beds. The flat beds extended over the wheels and provided a large surface. The cars were drawn by oxen because these animals were better suited for parades than horses, not only because of their slower gait, but also because of their ability to relax in the abnormal environment which would have made the gentlest work horse difficult to manage.

Just behind the band in the parade came the first car occupied by thirty-three young ladies dressed in white (probably not all from Republican families). There were thirty-three because that was the number of states in the Union in 1860. Each girl held the banner of one of these states. This float was designed to symbolize the national strength of the party and to refute the charge of the Democrats that the Republican party was sectional. On a transparency which was fixed to the car were the words "No quarrel in our family." And another proclaimed "The Ladies are all for the Union."

There were ten or a dozen cars in the parade, most of which were designed to show that free labor was for Lincoln. One contained a wheelwright's shop with workmen in the process of fashioning a wheel. Another had a marble works with a stone cutter working on a headstone for the "late Democratic party." Then there was a cooper's shop with workers

making kegs and a cider press in action. A complete blacksmith shop was on another with a smith using real fire in a forge and an anvil. On one, men were husking corn. And perhaps the most elaborate one contain, a novelty of the day, a steam engine which was being operated with live steam from a boiler, a fire box and a real fire, all assembled on the float.

A good Republican, R. S. Shackelford, who resembled Lincoln, occupied one car and was busily splitting rails when not acknowledging cheers from the sidewalk.

The Appeal had fitted out a car as a printing shop. They had mounted a Ruggles press, and a printer was engaged in rolling off copies of a popular campaign song "Farewell to Buchanan." He threw these copies to the sidewalks as they came off the press. And according to a reporter the Democrats on the sidewalk "scrambled for them as children do for loose change."

The transparency was well suited for proclaiming messages and slogans and some of them served as our modern cartoon now serves to convey a point. And according to the description given us some were as detailed as the average cartoon. One showed a scene on a railroad bridge where a secession bull was trying to derail a Lincoln train, unsuccessfully of course. Another showed Douglas standing beside a freshly dug grave and bore the caption "Dug his own grave." And in another Douglas was pictured walking a tight-rope which in this case was the Mason-Dixon Line. He was using a balance pole on one end of which was popular sovereignty and on the other the Dred Scott decision (these two items were conflicting by nature as has already been pointed out). But perhaps the most pointed one had a railsplitter standing between Senator Gwin and a dish of public pap.

A transparency which showed a man swinging from a gibbet and bearing the caption "The Elevating Tendency of Yancey Democracy" carried a sharp reference to the intolerance of the southern state for any discussion of termination or limitation of slavery. And a very detailed one presented a battle scene showing forces of disunion being mowed down by election figures of recent Republican victories in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana - which figures were being fired from Fort Lincoln.

The smaller transparencies carried only worded slogans or messages or exhortations, but these were probably more effective because they needed little interpretation. One read "If there be Lords in the southland, there be chiefs in the North" a barbed contrast between the slave owner of the South and the reform leaders of the North. Two of them referred back a year to Broderick's leadership. One read "Protect my Honor-Broderick" words attributed to him as lie lay on his death bed. The other said "Expunge the Vote of Censure." A matter which has already been explained. The message "Pennsylvania has drawn a curtain over her Democracy" refers to the Republican victory already mentioned.

"Chattles not peculiar property" disputed the slave owner's contention, that his slaves were a peculiar type of property which ought to be protected for him in the territories. And "Kentucky and Oregon repudiate their sons" was a wishful prediction that these states would fail to give Breckinridge and Lane their electoral votes.

"True Democracy sired by Jefferson" expressed a claim of the young Republican party to be carrying on Jefferson's Republican party principles. And of course yet to this day both the Democrats and Republicans claim to be the followers of Jefferson.

"Lincoln split rails and mauls Democrats" was a play on two of the symbols of the campaign, rails and maul. Then a message read simply "Garibaldi and Lincoln". This one associated Lincoln with the famous Italian patriot who was in process of overthrowing the several Italian monarchies and bringing about the unification of modern Italy, Garibaldi was the current revolutionary of the time, and it is interesting to note that the Republicans were not only willing but eager to associate their leader with the Italian revolutionary.

State issues were emphasized by the slogans "No more Gwins; no more swindle§," and "Limepoint v.s. Economy." and the dispute over sectionalism was referred to by the words "Freedom National; Slavery Sectional." An exhortation read "Vote for no man who may vote for Gwin." This expressed the Republican contention that any Breckinridge state legislator might vote for Gwin and that some Douglasites were likely to do so.

One which read "Remember Jackson and the Disunionists" was a reminder that Lincoln would put down attempts towards disunion as Jackson had done thirty years before. Another quoted Seward's famous toast "The Union, unmoved, enduring, immoveable—Seward." There was a play on Lincoln's name which read "We'll Link—On Kansas next," and referred to the long unsettled question of admission of Kansas as a free state. Then came the party motto "We love our country more than party and freedom more than slavery."

The parade moved down D Street and formed a mass before the speakers platform at the Western House. The number of persons participating in the parade was estimated by counting the 400 torches prepared in advance, and the number of transparencies and banners. By Republican calculations the total was 600. But when the spectators including Democrats, joined the mass at the speakers stand the crowd was put at 1500. The only disturbance came when "an occasional irate Democrat threw a rock at one of the transparencies which was distasteful to his fancy."

According to the Republican report of the parade and rally the Democrats were dumbfounded and the demonstration struck "dismay and terror to the hearts of the bogus Democracy." But Ridge deprecated the whole affair by estimating the numbers at half of those given above and arguing that given the fact that half of the participants came from Sutter and Butte counties the demonstration did not promise well for Republican strength in Yuba county. And Ridge further discounted the effort by contending that it took all of the Republicans to man the parade, that all of the spectators were Democrats and that half of the participants were from out of Yuba county. So he estimated that the demonstration indicated only about 300 Republicans in Yuba county. Avery replied that this estimate was absurd.³⁷

As the election, which was to be held on November 6, approached, party workers began a campaign comparable to our modern registration

and getting out the vote activities. Recently arrived settlers from the eastern states were informed of a state ruling which allowed them to claim the required six months residence provided they had left their homes in the East as much as six months before election day. They were to be given credit as residence for the time spent in traveling to California. Also foreign settlers were urged to hasten their naturalization proceedings, which proceedings amounted to little more than appearing in court. On October 16 twenty-five were granted citizenship in the District Court in Marysville, and on October 28 seventy-three more were naturalized

Both Avery and Ridge were giving last minute advice and warning to voters up to the day before election. Ridge reasoned that in as much as the Breckinridgers realized that their defeat was likely, they would in desperation resort to any practice to retain or recover votes; and Avery was suspicious of both wings of the Democratic party.

Voters were urged to cast their ballots early in the day, and then to watch all day for fraudulent voting especially in the mountain precincts. It was predicted that voters would be run from precinct to precinct, and workmen would try to vote in precincts where they were not resident. Bogus ballots must be watched for, and after the polls closed the officials must be watched to guard against false or altered returns. Avery urged every Republican to be "a sentinel at the polls."

Furthermore, both Republicans and Douglasites were warned against "Roorbacks." These were rumors which might be circulated near election time leaving no time for official denial. The rumor they feared most was the one which reported the movement to fuse and concentrate on a certain candidate. The Republicans feared that the Douglasites might start the rumor that the two parties were going to join to elect DeLong in order to eliminate the Breckinridge candidate, Whitesides, with the result, which would not be emphasized in the rumor, of eliminating the Republican candidate, Beach, also. And the Douglasites feared that the Breckinridgers might try to create a fictitious movement of all Democrats to vote for Breckinridge in order to eliminate Lincoln. Voters were warned particularly not to give credence to messages of fusion which might arrive from the East a day or two before the election. This fusing threat was especially frightening in a three way contest and was a danger up until the time the polls were closed.

Election day, November 6, was described by Avery as "bright as the hopes of Republicans but windy as a Democratic harangue." And from this weather report we can be sure there was a cold north wind. Electioneering vehicles dashed about the city decorated with banners and tickets and "loaded with shouting voters filled with political enthusiasm and fighting whiskey." Some free fights were going on most of the day, but they were bloodless. At the poll in the second ward one J. McGee tried to take a pistol from a friend and was shot while getting possession of the weapon. "Betting ran high but otherwise the election passed off quietly." And then Avery added "The sun went down; the polls were closed and hard working Republicans breathed easier, rubbed the dust out of their eyes, and began to watch for the clearing away of the smoke of battle.

DeLong gave a little different description of election day in his journal:

"Tue.6 - arose early in the morning after passing an almost sleepless night...got a hundred dollars of Billy O'Neal and went to the 4th ward and the fun commenced the most unusual excitement prevailed throughout the entire day; my friends worked with the energy of desperation; at nightfall my office was crowded with anxious men, messengers going and coming each minute with telegraphic dispatches from the county and news from the wards set up until 3 o'clock for the canvas to close Marysville went Republican Breckinridge next but my majorities were 172 over Whitesides and 30 over Beach in the city..."³⁹

Late in the night of election day when it became known that Lincoln had carried Marysville, a crowd of Republicans went to the Appeal office and gave three times three cheers for Avery and the paper. Then they went to the home of Mayor Fowler, who was a Douglasite, roused him from his sleep, and asked his permission to build a bonfire. Evidently the mayor was not in a good mood because he made no reply to the superfluous request. But the crowd, being in very good humor, interpreted his silence as being equal to permission, made a big fire and celebrated.

The returns from the two counties and the state were nearly as slow coming as were the national results coming from the East by Pony. Not until November 9 was it certain that DeLong had won in Yuba county and that that Parks had won as joint senator. The five Breckinridge candidates for the assembly won in Yuba county and Montgomery won the one assembly seat from Sutter. No candidate in the two counties received as many as one half of the votes cast.

In the presidential race Lincoln carried Marysville and Yuba City but Breckinridge won in Yuba county while he and Douglas tied for first in Sutter. In the 'state Lincoln was first with Douglas second. Lincoln received about one third of the votes in California and thereby won the four electoral votes; and this is just about the showing he made nationally - a third of the popular votes but a majority of electoral votes. Further details and relative figures of the election returns from Yuba and Sutter counties can best be read from the tables presented in the appendix.

The news that Lincoln had carried the nation arrived in Marysville on November 14. This was the fastest communication which, up to that time, had ever come from the East. This was possible as a result of the extension of the telegraph to Fort Kearney, 400 miles west of St. Joseph, Missouri, from which point the Pony had formerly been departing; and also it was the result of the extension of the telegraph line eastward from Sacramento as far as Fort Churchill in Nevada territory. The Pony which carried the news of Lincoln's election from Kearney to Churchill made the trip in the record breaking time of six days.

So the Republicans from both counties assembled at the foot of D Street the evening of November 14 and began firing a salute of 200 guns. But the shooting disturbed the Express whose office was near; whereupon, the celebration moved over into the Plaza where it continued. And Avery reported that the wadding used in the shooting was old copies of the Appeal "getting in a final voice of sentiment on the issues of the day." ⁴⁰

But Ridge pretended to be intolerant of the celebration. He wrote, probably humorously, "The Republicans had a very spirited gathering yesterday in front of one of the saloons, and frequently they went inside... They were firing guns at a fearful rate. They would do better to give the money to some poor widow rather than waste it in such nonsense."⁴¹

But this election of 1860 did not settle anything, rather, it brought to a head the impossible problem facing the nation of how to continue "half slave and half free." How the two counties reacted to the problem will be the subject of the next chapter which covers the period from November 6, 1860 to March 4, 1861.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

15 Appeal, August 11, 1860

16 Democrat, August 25, 1860

17 Appeal, July 19, 1860

18 Appeal, July 20, 1860

19 Appeal, September 4, 1860

20 The reader ought to be reminded that the word Democracy was used in 1860 to refer to the members and principles of the Democratic party. They did not use it as we do today to refer to a philosophy of social or political relations or conduct.

21 Appeal, September 18, 1860

22 Appeal, July 21, 1860

23 Appeal, August 8, 1860

24 Appeal, August 30, 1860

25 Appeal, August 1, 1860

26 Appeal, October 11, 1860

27 Appeal, October 3, 1860

28 Appeal, October 21, 1860

29 Appeal, September 19, 1860

30 Appeal, October 13, 1860

31 Appeal, June 13, 1860

32 Appeal, October 14, 1860

33 Appeal, November 3, 1860

34 DeLong, Journal

California Hist. Quarterly, September 1931. P. 256

35 Ibid., June 1931, pp. 177, 199

36 Democrat, October 10, 1860

37 Appeal, October 30, 1860

38 Appeal, October 7, 1860

39 DeLong Journal

California Mist. Quarterly, Sept. 1931, p. 257

40 Appeal, November 15, 1860

41 Democrat, November 15, 1860

APPENDIX

These election results of 1860 are taken from the original handwritten reports of the recorders of Sutter and Yuba counties which manuscripts are now in the California State Archives in Sacramento.

JOINT SENATOR - SUTTER & YUBA

	Sutter County	Yuba City	Yuba Co.	Marysv.	Total Two Counties
W. N. Parks (Brec)	629	186	1947	755	2576
J. C. Wilson (Doug)	321	39	1348	451	1669
W. H. McGrew (Rep.)	280	61	1422	514	1702

ELECTORS - SUTTER

	County		County
Coronel (Brec)	439	Hammond (Doug.)	440
Geiger (Brec.)	440	Griffith (Doug.)	441
Montgomery (Brec.)	439	DeLaGuerra(Doug.)	439
Dudley (Brec.)	440	Price (Doug)	440
Washburn (Lincoln)	404	Crocket (Bell)	41
Weeks (Lincoln)	403	Bowie (Bell)	41
Tuttle (Lincoln)	404	Miner (Bell)	40
Pizo (Lincoln)	403	Lander (Bell)	40

ASSEMBLY - SUTTER

	County	Yuba City
Montgomery (Brec.)	566	155
Winn (Doug.)	272	44
Hamlin (Rep.)	84	

SENATOR - YUBA

	County	Marysville
Whitesides (Brec.)	1612	489
DeLong (Doug.)	1684	661
Beach (Rep.)	1495	577

ASSEMBLY - YUBA

	County		County
Magruder (Breck.)	1680	Barbour (Doug.)	1306
Lolor (Breck.)	1876	Collins (Doug.)	1504
Hanson (Breck.)	1693	Ellwell (Doug.)	1297
Haun (Breck.)	1698	Stoddard (Doug.)	1158
Kungle (Breck)	1721	Burnett (Doug.)	1343
Hartwell (Rep.)	1630		
Atkinson (Rep.)	1491		
Mellen (Rep.)	1468		
Boyd (Rep.)	1558		
Chesney (Rep.)	1521		

APPENDIX

ELECTORS - YUBA

	County	Marysville	California
Coronel (Breck.)	1875	639	33969
Geiger (Breck.)	1874	639	33970
Montgomery (Breck.)	1876	641	33970
Dudley (Breck.)	1874	639	33975
Hammond (Doug.)	1358	509	37999
Griffith (Doug.)	1360	507	38023
DeLaGuerra (Doug.)	1357	509	37957
Price (Doug.)	1356	509	37959
Washburn (Rep.)	1665	659	38733
Weeks (Rep.)	1664	659	38720
Tuttle (Rep.)	1665	659	38734
Pico (Rep.)	1665	659	38600
Crocket (Bell.)	158	64	9111
Bowie (Bell.)	159	64	9110
Miner (Bell.)	159	64	9136
Lander (Bell.)	159	64	9098

*These figures for the state results are taken from Davis, Political Conventions, Opt. Cit. P.127