ANSAC Gila River Navigability Supplemental Evidence 2014 on the GILA RIVER Submitted by the Sparks Law Firm, P.C. On Behalf of the San Carlos Apache Tribe

Item	Document
120	Appendices to 1st Edition of The Pattie Narrative. Appended by Timothy Flint. 3 documents make up the Appendices: - Anonymous Note - Inland Trade with New Mexico - Downfall of the Fredonian Republic
121	Editors Preface and Introduction by Timothy Flint from the 1st Edition of the Pattie Narrative (1831)
122	Thwaites, Reuben Gold, Preface to Pattie's Personal Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and in Mexico. Cincinnati, 1905. Reprint of original Narrative, 1831.
123	Quaife, Milton Milo, Introduction, The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky Chicago, 1930. Reprint of original Narrative, 1831.
124	Goetzmann, William M. Introduction, The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky. New York, 1962. Reprint of original Narrative, 1831
125	Batman, James Introduction, The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky Missoula, 1988. Reprint of original Narrative, 1831
126	Engelhardt, Zephyrin. Appendix E. "James Ohio Pattie's Vaccination Story" from Series: Francisco or Mission Dolores. Francis Herald Press, Chicago, 1924. Print.
127	Table of Contents, Chapter III, Echeadnia and Herrera – Finance – The Solis Revolt 1826-1830; and Chapter VI Overland – Smith and Pattie – Foreigners 1826-1830 from Volume 3 of Hubert Howe Bancroft's 7 Volume series, History of California (1886).
128	Guinn, J.M., A.M, History of the State of California a Biographical Record of The Sierras. An Historical Report of the States Marvelous Growth from Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time. Chapman Publishing Co. Chicago (1906).

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The Far Western Frontier

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The Far Western Frontier

Advisory Editor

RAY A. BILLINGTON

Senior Research Associate
at the Henry E. Huntington Library
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Pattie's Personal Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and in Mexico June 20, 1824–August 30, 1830

Reprint of the original edition: Cincinnati, 1831

THE

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

JAMES O. PATTIE,

OF

KENTUCKY,

DURING AN EXPEDITION FROM ST. LOUIS, THROUGH THE VAST REGIONS BETWEEN THAT PLACE AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND THENCE BACK THROUGH THE CITY OF MEXICO TO VERA CRUZ, DURING JOURNEYINGS OF SIX YEARS; IN WHICH HE AND HIS FATHER, WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM, SUFFERED UNHEARD OF HARDSHIPS AND DANGERS, HAD VARIOUS CONFLICTS WITH THE INDIANS, AND WERE MADE CAPTIVES, IN WHICH CAPTIVITY HIS FATHER DIED; TOGETHER WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE VARIOUS NATIONS THROUGH WHICH THEY PASSED.

EDITED BY TIMOTHY FLINT.

CINCINNATI:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN H. WOOD.
1831.

DISTRICT OF OHIO, TO WIT:

L. S.

BE it Remembered, that on the 18th day of Oct., Anno Domini 1831; John H. Wood, of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a Book, the title of which is in the words following, to wit:

"The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky, during an expedition from St. Louis, through the vast regions between that place and the Pacific ocean, and thence back through the city of Mexico to Vera Cruz, during journeyings of six years; in which he and his father who accompanied him, suffered unheard of hardships and dangers; had various conflicts with the Indians, and were made captives, in which captivity his father died, together with a description of the country, and the various nations through which they passed."

The right whereof he claims as proprietor, in conformity with an act of Congress, entitled "An act to amend the several acts respecting copyrights."

Attest, WILLIAM MINER,
Clerk of the District.

THE

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

JAMES O. PATTIE,

OF

KENTUCKY

EDITED BY TIMOTHY FLINT

ARNO PRESS
A NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY
New York • 1973

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Reprint Edition 1973 by Arno Press Inc.

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Historical Society of Wisconsin Library

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See last pages of this volume for titles.

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Publisher's Note: This volume was reprinted
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It has been my fortune to be known as a writer of works of the imagination. I am solicitous that this Journal should lose none of its intrinsic interest, from its being supposed that in preparing it for the press, I have drawn from the imagination, either in regard to the incidents or their coloring. For, in the literal truth of the facts, incredible as some of them may appear, my grounds of conviction are my acquaintance with the Author the impossibility of inventing a narrative like the following, the respectability of his relations, the standing which his father sustained, the confidence reposed in him by the Hon. J. S. Johnston, the very respectable senator in congress from Louisiana, who introduced him to me, the concurrent testimony of persons now in this city, who saw him at different points in New Mexico, and the reports, which reached the United States, during the expedition of many of the incidents here recorded.

When my family first arrived at St. Charles' in 1816, the fame of the exploits of his father, as an officer of the rangers, was fresh in the narratives of his associates and fellow soldiers. I have been on the ground, at Cap au Gris, where he was besieged by the Indians. I am not unacquainted with the scenery through which he passed on the Missouri, and I, too, for many years was a sojourner in the prairies.

These circumstances, along with a conviction of the truth of the narrative, tended to give me an interest in it, and to qualify me in some degree to judge of the internal evidences contained in the journal itself, of its entire authenticity. It will be perceived at once, that Mr. Pattie, with Mr. McDuffie, thinks more of action than literature, and is more competent to perform exploits, than blazon them in eloquent periods. My influence upon the narrative regards orthography, and punctuation

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and the occasional interposition of a topographical illustration, which my acquaintance with the accounts of travellers in New Mexico, and published views of the country have enabled me to furnish. The reader will award me the confidence of acting in good faith, in regard to drawing nothing from my own thoughts. I have found more call to suppress, than to add, to soften, than to show in stronger relief many of the incidents. Circumstances of suffering, which in many similar narratives have been given in downright plainness of detail, I have been impelled to leave to the reader's imagination, as too revolting to be recorded.

The very texture of the narrative precludes ornament and amplification. The simple record of events as they transpired, painted by the hungry, toil-worn hunter, in the midst of the desert, surrounded by sterility, espying the foot print of the savage, or discerning him couched behind the tree or hillock, or hearing the distant howl of wild beasts, will naturally bear characteristics of stern disregard of embellishment. To alter it, to attempt to embellish it, to divest it of the peculiar impress of the narrator and his circumstances, would be to take from it its keeping, the charm of its simplicity, and its internal marks of truth. In these respects I have been anxious to leave the narrative as I found it.

The journalist seems in these pages a legitimate descendant of those western pioneers, the hunters of Kentucky, a race passing unrecorded from history. The pencil of biography could seize upon no subjects of higher interest. With hearts keenly alive to the impulses of honor and patriotism, and the charities of kindred and friends; they possessed spirits impassible to fear, that no form of suffering or death could daunt; and frames for strength and endurance, as if ribbed with brass and sinewed with steel. For them to traverse wide deserts, climb mountains, swim rivers, grapple with the grizzly bear, and encounter the savage, in a sojourn in the wilderness of years, far from the abodes of civilized men, was but a spirit-stirring and holiday mode of life.

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To me, there is a kind of moral sublimity in the contemplation of the adventures and daring of such men. They read a lesson to shrinking and effeminate spirits, the men of soft hands and fashionable life, whose frames the winds of heaven are not allowed to visit too roughly. They tend to re-inspire something of that simplicity of manners, manly hardihood, and Spartan energy and force of character, which formed so conspicuous a part of the nature of the settlers of the western wilderness.

Every one knows with what intense interest the community perused the adventures of Captain Riley, and other intrepid mariners shipwrecked and enslaved upon distant and barbarous shores. It is far from my thoughts to detract from the intrepidity of American mariners, which is known, wherever the winds blow, or the waves roll; or to depreciate the interest of the recorded narratives of their sufferings. A picture more calculated to arouse American sympathies cannot be presented, than that of a ship's crew, driven by the fierce winds and the mountain waves upon a rock bound shore, and escaping death in the sea, only to encounter captivity from the barbarians on the land. Yet much of the courage, required to encounter these emergencies is passive, counselling only the necessity of submission to events, from which there is no escape, and to which all resistance would be unavailing.

The courage requisite to be put forth in an expidition such as that in which Mr. Pattie and his associates were cast, must be both active and passive, energetic and ever vigilant, and never permitted to shrink, or intermit a moment for years. At one time it is assailed by hordes of yelling savages, and at another, menaced with the horrible death of hunger and thirst in interminable forests, or arid sands. Either position offers perils and sufferings sufficiently appalling. But fewer spirits, I apprehend, are formed to brave those of the field,

> 'Where wilds immeasurably spread,
> Seem lengthening as they go.'

than of the ocean, where the mariner either soon finds rest beneath its tumultuous bosom, or joyfully spreads his sails again to the breeze.

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INTRODUCTION.

The grandfather of the author of this Journal, was born in Caroline county, Virginia, in 1750. Soon after he was turned of twenty-one, he moved to Kentucky, and became an associate with those fearless spirits who first settled in the western forests. To qualify him to meet the dangers and encounter the toils of his new position, he had served in the revolutionary war, and had been brought in hostile contact with the British in their attempt to ascend the river Potomac.

He arrived in Kentucky, in company with twenty emigrant families, in 1781, and settled on the south side of the Kentucky river. The new settlers were beginning to build houses with internal finishing. His pursuit, which was that of a house carpenter, procured him constant employment, but he sometimes diversified it by teaching school. Soon after his arrival, the commencing settlement experienced the severest and most destructive assaults from the Indians. In August, 1782, he was one of the party who marched to the assistance of Bryant's station, and shared in the glory of relieving that place by the memorable defeat of the savages.

Not long afterwards he was called upon by Col. Logan to join a party led by him against the Indians, who had gained a bloody victory over the Kentuckians at the Blue Licks. He was present on the spot, where the bodies of the slain lay unburied, and assisted in their interment. During his absence on this expedition, Sylvester Pattie, father of the author, was born, August 25, 1782.

In November of the same year, his grand-father was summoned to join a party commanded by Col. Logan, in an expedition against the Indians at the Shawnee towns, in the limits of the present state of Ohio. They crossed the Ohio just below

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the mouth of the Licking, opposite the site of what is now Cincinnati, which was at that time an unbroken forest, without the appearance of a human habitation. They were here joined by Gen. Clark with his troops from the falls of the Ohio, or what is now Louisville. The united force marched to the Indian towns, which they burnt and destroyed.

Returning from this expedition, he resumed his former occupations, witnessing the rapid advance of the country from immigration. When the district, in which he resided, was constituted Bracken county, he was appointed one of the judges of the court of quarter sessions, which office he filled sixteen years, until his place was vacated by an act of the legislature reducing the court to a single judge.

Sylvester Pattie, the father of the author, as was common at that period in Kentucky, married early, having only reached nineteen. He settled near his fathers house, and there remained until there began to be a prevalent disposition among the people to move to Missouri. March 14, 1812, he removed to that country, the author, being then eight years old. Born and reared amidst the horrors of Indian assaults and incursions, and having lived to see Kentucky entirely free from these dangers, it may seem strange, that he should have chosen to remove a young family to that remote country, then enduring the same horrors of Indian warfare, as Kentucky had experienced twenty-five years before. It was in the midst of the late war with England, which, it is well known, operated to bring the fiercest assaults of savage incursion upon the remote frontiers of Illinois and Missouri.

To repel these incursions, these then territories, called out some companies of rangers, who marched against the Sac and Fox Indians, between the Mississippi and the lakes, who were at that time active in murdering women and children, and burning their habitations during the absence of the male heads of families. When Pattie was appointed lieutenant in one of these companies, he left his family at St. Charles' where he was then residing. It may be imagined, that the condition of his wife was sufficiently lonely, as this village contained but one Ameri-

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can family besides her own, and she was unable to converse with its French inhabitants. His company had several skirmishes with the Indians, in each of which it came off successful.

The rangers left him in command of a detachment, in possession of the fort at Cap au Gris. Soon after the main body of the rangers had marched away, the fort was besieged by a body of English and Indians. The besiegers made several attempts to storm the fort, but were repelled by the garrison.—The foe continued the siege for a week, continually firing upon the garrison, who sometimes, though not often, for want of ammunition, returned the fire. Lieutenant Pattie, perceiving no disposition in the enemy to withdraw, and discovering that his ammunition was almost entirely exhausted, deemed it necessary to send a despatch to Bellefontaine, near the point of the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi, where was stationed a considerable American force. He proposed to his command, that a couple of men should make their way through the enemy, cross the Mississippi, and apprize the commander of Bellefontaine of their condition. No one was found willing to risk the attempt, as the besiegers were encamped entirely around them. Leaving Thomas McNair in command in his place, and putting on the uniform of one of the English soldiers, whom they had killed during one of the attempts to storm the fort; he passed by night safely through the camp of the enemy, and arrived at the point of his destination, a distance of over forty miles: 500 soldiers were immediately dispatched from Bellefontaine to the relief of the besieged at Cap au Gris. As soon as this force reached the fort, the British and Indians decamped, not, however, without leaving many of their lifeless companions behind them.

Lieutenant Pattie remained in command of Cap au Gris, being essentially instrumental in repressing the incursions of the Sacs and Foxes, and disposing them to a treaty of peace, until the close of the war. In 1813 he received his discharge, and returned to his family, with whom he enjoyed domestic happiness in privacy and repose for some years. St. Louis and St. Charles

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were beginning rapidly to improve; American families were constantly immigrating to these towns. The timber in their vicinity is not of the best kind for building. Pine could no where be obtained in abundance, nearer than on the Gasconade, a stream that enters on the south side of the Missouri, about one hundred and fifty miles up that river. Mr. Pattie, possessing a wandering and adventurous spirit, meditated the idea of removing to this frontier and unpeopled river, to erect Mills upon it, and send down pine lumber in rafts to St. Louis, and the adjoining country. He carried his plan into operation, and erected a Saw and Grist Mill upon the Gasconade. It proved a very fortunate speculation, as there was an immediate demand at St. Louis and St. Charles for all the plank the mill could supply.

In this remote wilderness, Mr. Pattie lived in happiness and prosperity, until the mother of the author was attacked by consumption. Although her husband was, as has been said, strongly endowed with the wandering propensity, he was no less profoundly attached to his family; and in this wild region, the loss of a beloved wife was irreparable. She soon sunk under the disorder, leaving nine young children. Not long after, the youngest died, and was deposited by her side in this far land.

The house, which had been the scene of domestic quiet, cheerfulness and joy, and the hospitable home of the stranger, sojourning in these forests, became dreary and desolate. Mr. Pattie, who had been noted for the buoyancy of his gay spirit, was now silent, dejected, and even inattentive to his business; which, requiring great activity and constant attention, soon ran into disorder.

About this time, remote trapping and trading expeditions up the Missouri, and in the interior of New Mexico began to be much talked of. Mr. Pattie seemed to be interested in these expeditions, which offered much to stir the spirit and excite enterprize. To arouse him from his indolent melancholy, his friends advised him to sell his property, convert it into merchandize and equipments for trapping and hunting, and to join in such an undertaking. To a man born and reared under the circumstances

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of his early life—one to whom forests, and long rivers, adventures, and distant mountains, presented pictures of familiar and birth day scenes—one, who confided in his rifle, as a sure friend, and who withal, connected dejection and bereavement with his present desolate residence; little was necessary to tempt him to such an enterprise.

In a word, he adopted the project with that undoubting and unshrinking purpose, with which to will is to accomplish. Arrangements were soon made. The Children were provided for among his relations. The Author was at school; but inheriting the love of a rifle through so many generations, and nursed amid such scenes, he begged so earnestly of his father that he might be allowed to accompany the expedition, that he prevailed. The sad task remained for him to record the incidents of the expedition, and the sufferings and death of his father.

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NOTE.

The following articles are given, as containing fresh and important information with regard to the countries, through which the Author passed. Dr. Willard's 'Tour' was extensively quoted, by the periodicals of the day, at the time of its publication. Views taken, upon the spot, by an impartial observer, of this comparitively unknown country, so interesting in itself, and from its vicinity to our own country, and the increasing relations, which connect us with it cannot fail to interest the reader. By comparing the statements of individuals differing entirely in training, position, and circumstances, and the purpose for which a country is observed, such statements, in short as are comprised in this volume, the real advantages and disadvantages of a country, its healthfulness, fertility, climate, beauty and the character of its inhabitants, and institutions may be known.

These travellers note down what passed under their eyes, "nothing extenuating, nor setting down aught in malice." It probably did not occur to them, that the imagination might almost work at will, without fear of being caught in the fact, in the desert and unvisited regions of which they speak.

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INLAND TRADE WITH NEW MEXICO.

Into what nook of our globe can we penetrate, and not find our citizens with their 'trade and traffic?' We not long since read in a paper, that a Yankee captain was running a steam boat in the Yellow sea. In farthest India—in the islands of the gentiles—along the new countries recently discovered in the Antarctic sea, the undisputed throne of winter, and the habitation of sea monsters—wherever winds can waft, human foot-step be imprinted, or the Argus ken of industry and enterprise discover the most distant prospect of a harvest, there we shall find Americans. We delight to consort, as a listener, among the crowds of American tars. Their peculiar dress and step, walking the firm earth as if 'she' reeled; their frank, reckless and manly port; their voice, formed to its tones and expression amidst the roar of the winds and the dash of the waves; their dialect, their outlandish phrase, all furnish food for imagination. We hear them speak of China, of Japan, of Borneo, the Cape of Good Hope, and Cape Horn, as familiarly as the transit from New York to Greenwich. Their language seems to imply that distance and space are ideas unknown to them. Imagination follows them in their long and dangerous course

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through the trackless brine, and realizes how many storms they have encountered, how many hardships endured, and deaths dared, during these passages; of which they speak as familiarly as of their diurnal visits on shore.

Though the adventures and voyages of the mariner furnish most food for the imagination; though the immense distances and the mysterious depths, that he traverses, and the indifferent hardihood, with which he encounters his perils and toils, naturally inspire an undefined admiration; yet the real exposure, toils and dangers of the interior journeys of our adventurous landsmen are, probably, quite as numerous, though they elicit much less of that feeling of romance and homage to daring, which is so readily called forth in the case of the other. The sailor carries his home with him. The fathomless and swelling cerulean is to him as the scenery of his birth place. No verdure, no enclosures of his paternal home are more pleasant, desired or natural, than good sea room. The winds and waves are chartered alike to convey him from danger, and to furnish him with the spectacles, varieties and pleasures of new ports. Not so with the landsman, far from home in the land of the stranger. Every new object, every variety of soil, climate, vegetation, strange plants and trees, strange men, dresses, religions, modes of building, strange customs, and, more than all, strange speech, awaken every moment those feelings, which made the Romans denominate the strange host by a word, that implies an enemy. At every step nature puts on new forms of hostility, and warns him against uncalled espionage of her privacy, and familiarity with her secrets. His weary steps, his worn down horse or mule, furnish no facilities of escape from those combinations of danger that imagination so readily creates, where they do not really exist. A whole community, with all their innate and national likes and dislikes, are always ready to yield to the natural human repugnance to whatever is a departure from its own ways, and to make a war of extermination upon the defenceless and desolate strangers. The ancient bard admired the temerity of

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those, who first dared, with only a thin plank to interpose, between them and death, to commit themselves to the winds and waves. If we viewed the daring in all its aspects and bearings it would furnish equal ground for admiration, to contemplate one or a few solitary travellers setting forth on a journey of a thousand leagues, through strange countries, among people at war with each other, and in language, manners and religion furnished with a radical and unchangeable ground of jealousy, dislike and hostility. How happens it, under such circumstances, that men ever break the tender ties, the natural and strong charities of home, and go far away, to enter askance, embarrassed and afraid the habitation of the stranger, knowing nothing of his language and character, and only knowing that the stranger has a religion and customs, not only different, but hostile? The love of gain, curiosity, the disposition to meet adventures, and the wandering protuberance can only furnish adequate motives.—We believe, that Americans, and particularly the New Englanders have more ample endowments of these combinations, than any other people. If we have ever for a moment given place to the traveller's vanity, in thinking, that in visiting some new and distant region, we had achieved an exploit,—on reaching the desired point, that vanity has been instantly corrected by finding compatriots there before us, who seemed quite at home, and wholly unconscious, that the attainment of their new domicil had given them any claims to celebrity.

We were recently indulged with the reading of a manuscript journal of an overland tour from Jackson, in Tennesee, by way of Memphis, the Arkansas, and one of its long and undescribed branches, over the wide prairies to the mountains that separate between our territory and that of New Mexico; to Santa Fe and the towns in that vicinity; and thence back, over the arid plains between Santa Fe and the Council Bluffs, on the Missouri. The caravan noted in their journal, as a common matter, that their trip had extended between five and six thousand miles. It was not a little amusing, or furnishing moderate excitement of interest and play of the imagination, to become

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acquainted with the thoughts of these hardy denizens of the forests of Tennessee, as they first emerged from the dark woods upon the ocean prairies of the Arkansas. Their reasonings upon the strange country over which they past, in one place covered with countless buffaloes, in another with moving sands, and still in another offering the temperature of winter in summer, in parallels south of their nativity; upon the different soils, temperatures and configurations of the country, have an intrinsic interest. They are not the reasonings of cosmogonists, or geologists, or chemists, or botanists, or philosophers; but of men, who reason from first impressions,—who make short work of knotty and debateable points, and where they cannot untie the Gordian knot, make no ceremony in cutting it with the hunter's knife. Nothing could be more interesting, than to witness this little caravan surrounded by hordes of the ruthless red Tartars of the desert, brandishing their lances on horseback, and scenting the plunder with panther keennes of instinct. Forewarned by the fate of caravans that had preceded them, how little they had to hope, except from the fears of these Ishmaelites, they poise themselves on their native intrepidity, arrange their little phalanx, and remind the classical reader of the deportment of the ten thousand amidst the strange and innumerable hordes of barbarians, through which, partly by battle, and partly by policy, they made their way. The interest does not diminish, when we see them intermix with the Spanish strangers, equally ignorant and bigoted; the one calling in act cupidity and cunning, to countervail the cupidity and cunning of the other. What a spectacle must be furnished by the encounter of such a band with countless thousands of buffaloes! What scenes are witnessed in their encampments for a month, with no other itinerary, than the windings of an unknown river, the course of the planets, or the distant blue of mountains, whose peaks yet want a name! How different their incidents, thoughts, views, food and rest—their nightly encamping and morning departure along the grass plains, that vision cannot measure, from the pursuits and themes of us, who dwell in towns! Yet painful

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and laborious and hazardous as are these distant excursions, those who engage in them, soon acquire an invincible attachment to them, that renders all other pursuits in comparison stale and tedious!

After wandering six or eight weeks over these prairies, living on buffalo meat without bread or salt, and begrimmed with grease, smoke and the fine dust of the prairies to a brotherly resemblance with the red men, and not at all particular about making thir toilet of a dress, which in the first instance smacked nothing of dandyism, nothing can be more amusing, than their ablutions, and beautifyings, and conversations, as, in a mountain-bounded vale, with a rivulet for mirror, they talk of the Spanish beauties, and lustrate and prepare for entering upon the scene of their profits and conquests.

In an article before us, we propose to take a brief survey of the journal of Dr. Willard, an amiable and very correct young man, now residing in our city, and calculating to become a permanent inhabitant, of a journey to the interior of New Mexico, and a residence for some years in the interior, and, more than all, a descent of the Rio del Norte from its head springs to Matamoras, at its mouth,—an immense extent of interesting country, as far as our reading extends, wholly unexplored. Our regret is equal to his own, that while passing down this long, interesting and undescribed river, he had not been more particular in noting the physical aspect of the country, the character of the soil and productions, animal and vegetable, on his route. But, not contemplating any thing beyond refreshing his own recollections, by noting down obvious and diurnal facts and incidents, the journal wants that fulness and variety, which he would probably give to it, were he privileged to travel over the same ground again. How much it is to be desired, that travellers should remember, while traversing new and unexplored regions, that what may seem trivial and common, while under the eye, will assume a different interest and importance, when surveyed anew by memory. No journal of travels in a new country can be uninteresting, so that the traveller is full and faithful in noting

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down, in the freshness of vision and actual occurrence, what is passing and spread under his eye.

Dr. Willard was a citizen of St. Charles, on the Missouri; and joined a Missouri caravan to New Mexico, as it appears, with mixed inducements. He had something of the common American propensity to seek his fortune; and seems to have been disposed to make his *debut* and perform his first quarantine among the Spaniards, choosing to make his first experiment in spoiling the tents of the Philistine, rather than the children of his own people.

Dr. Willard left St. Charles, May 6, 1825. The caravan consisted of thirty-three persons. He had not journeyed beyond the settlements of the Missouri until the 16th, when he records in his tablets, that he slept under a tent for the first time in his life. The greater part of the long distance between St. Charles and the mountains at the sources of the Arkansas, is a country of rolling prairies, until we reach the great plains of the Arkansas, generally covered with grass, and of but moderate fertility. A narrow belt of the last portion of the distance is not unlike the deserts of Arabia,—a sterile plain of sand heaps, with but here and there a few of the hardier weeds and plants, which seem to have settled here, as outcasts from more fertile and genial regions. The route, laying across the head sources of the larger rivers of the Missouri and Arkansas, traverses but few rivers or creeks, that are not fordable. Although it has the reputation of being an exceedingly arid region, one of the most frequent occurrences noted in his journal, is being drenched with rains. On the 22d, he remarks, that the earth, over which they travelled, was completely saturated with rain; it having rained every day, save two, since their departure. Another occurrence, which we have noted in all similar journals, and one of the most unpleasant character, is the escape, or what is called the breaking away of the horses. One mode of securing them on these boundless grass plains is technically called 'hoppling'—we imagine a corruption of the word 'hobbling.' The fore and hind legs of the horse are fastened by a kind of fetter, generally

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of leather. Horses accustomed to this kind of impediment can travel with ease far enough to feed; but not with sufficient facility to evade the owner. But the more general securiety is the feeling of companionship with each other, and with their owners, which these generous animals soon acquire; and which has so much influence, that affright, or the calls of wild horses, or some extraneous circumstance, is necessary to overcome it. But these circumstances frequently occur; and though the caravans have, or should have a guard of one eighth of the company, of sleepless vigilance, to guard against such disasters, it often happens, that the horses break away; and we can imagine few employments, except dunning and borrowing, more irksome and hopeless, than that of turning out upon the great buffalo pasture a thousand leagues by five hundred in extent, in pursuit of horses, which after all make it a matter of choice, even if discovered, whether they will be taken or not. But it so happens, that these animals, with the municipal habits of settled life, and certain remembrances of country and home, start back on the track of their outward march, and with their heads towards the natal spot; and from this circumstance it seldom happens, that, when overtaken by their owners, they are not persuaded to be retaken.

On the 22d they see droves of elk, antelopes and deer; and of the latter kill two. Here is the view of prairies boundless to vision, of only moderate fertility, but covered with grass, and adorned with a great variety of flowering plants. A number of ravines, filled with water, are crossed with difficulty. It is mentioned as a difficulty of frequent occurrence, that they could not find sufficient wood for cooking. 24th, see two droves of elk—20 in each. Some deer among them; of which one is killed. At night they encamp on the banks of a creek, supposed to be a branch of the Verdigris of the Arkansas. Friday, 27th, depending on their guns, and game having failed, they start without breakfast. Between 10 and 11, a fine buck is killed; and they feast high again. This night encamped on the waters of the main Verdigris. Here they find a skirt

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of timber. Among the plants are noted wild onion, hog potatoe, wild tansy, prickly pears, and a great variety offlowering plants and shrubs. It is recorded on the 28th, that they went three miles out of their way, to arrive at wood and water. On the 29th they encamped by a little cotton wood tree, the only one in sight on the plain. They cut it down for fuel. Every one knows the difficulty of burning green cottonwood. The rains are still frequent. On the 30th they see the first signs of buffaloes. Delighted with the fragrance of the flowering prairies over which they pass. On the 31st they passed mounds ,composed of rocks resembling lumps of iron ore. They encamped on a small creek, skirted with a few lonely trees.

June 1st, they discover buffaloes. He thinks that they could not have been less than 100,000 before noon. Killed eight or ten. Dine upon buffalo soup and steaks; which, although eaten without bread or salt, he considers delicious. Continual exercise on horseback, and associations with the sterility and desolation of the desert, would probably render any food such. This day they pased a very large town, or community of the animals called prairie dogs (*arctomys ludoviciana.*) Dr. Willard describes them, as larger than they have been commonly represented, and of the size of a domestic cat. They considerably resemble a dog in appearance, except about the head, which bears a close analogy to that of the squirril. Their community contains some hundred burrows; the surface of their town being kept perfectly clean and smooth. On the eminences made by the dirt carried out of their burrows, they sit, and fiercely bark defiance at the approaching traveller. Their form seems rather clumsy; and their hair is short, and of a light red color.

In crossing the creek before them they found two buffaloes mired in the mud. They humanely endeavored to assist one of the unfortunate animals out, and restore him to his free plains; but he was spent; and drowned notwithstanding their efforts to disengage him. On the opposite shore of the creek, the buffaloes covered the plains, as far as their eyes could reach. Wolves and antelopes were bounding among them in all direc-

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tions. In the distance were red sand hills, which reflected the sun's rays, and seemed like a burning wall, bounding this magnificent park of nature. On the 7th they passed several dog towns; fed upon buffaloe flesh; and found no other material for fuel, but the dried manure of the animal. On the 8th they reached the main Arkansas; which they found nearly half a mile wide, although it must have been, by its meanders, 1,200 miles from its mouth. The velocity of the river at this point was from three to three and a half miles an hour. The western reader will not need to be informed, that this is the full width, and more than the velocity of the river at its mouth. He found the waters potable; which it is well known, they are not in its lower courses.

An unpleasant accident occurred here. In firing upon droves of buffaloes, they turned them out of their direction upon the course of the caravan. Six pack horses broke from their ranks, probably in affright. After pursuing them ten miles, three were recovered. The other three, loaded with goods to the amount of three hundred dollars, and with clothing and provisions, were never recovered. A Mr. Andrews, of their company, who had gone out to hunt, was captured by the Indians; and after being detained unharmed eight days, escaped from them, and overtook his company.

On the 15th they crossed the Arkansas, to hunt, and lay in a stock of provisions, on the opposite shore. On the 18th they left the Arkansas; having thus far accomplished something more than twenty miles a day, on an average. Hence they travelled, part of the way over sand hills, forty-five miles; in which distance they found some water, though it is commonly destitute. This brought them to the small river called the Semirone. The 23d brought them to a fine spring, surrounded with huge rocky knobs, on which were interesting, ancient, Indian fortifications. Small timber, wild plumbs, grapes and currants skirt the borders; affording a charming variety to the eye, after the long and dreary expanse of prairie, which they had traversed. They inhaled the fragrance of various aromatic flowers, and

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listened to the singing of birds. They here left the small creek, called the Semirone, upon which they had been travelling since they left the Arkansas, and took their direction for the mountains. On the 24th the summits of the Rocky mountains visible in the distance. On the 29th, mountains in view, white with snow, and supposed to be distant 100 miles. Passed a creek, which they judged to be a water of Red river.

The last day of June, they began to ascend the mountains. The latitude of their point of ascent is not laid down. But we should suppose their general course to have been west from the point, whence they started. This was an interesting point of their journey. From a vast expanse of naked plains they now began to ascend high mountains. Alpine scenery surrounds them. They inhale a highly oxygenated atmosphere. The sighing of the wind in mountain pines and evergreens is heard, and they rapidly pass from the dominions of scorching summer to the cool and brisk spring breeze. The atmosphere is that of March, and the strawberries, and vegetation of a similar character, are in blossom.

They here perform a lustration, preparatory to entering into the Spanish settlements. They wash away the dirt and greece coated on them, during their long march over the hot and dusty plains, and put themselves in trim to show themselves in presence of people of a certain degree of civilization. Here they met a party of ten or twelve Spaniards, who had come out from Taos to prevent them from smuggling their goods.

Their reception by the people would not furnish much interest in the description. We presume the chief effort between the parties was, to determine which should be most dextrous in circumventing the other. Dr. Willard boarded with a Spaniard of the name of Pablo Sucero, at twelve dollars a month. The country hilly, mainly destitute of timber, and by no means fertile. The church is a large mud building; and the people do not seem to him to be very attentive to the ceremonial and duties of their religion.

We think, the article would not be destitute of interest, if we

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were able to enter into ample details of Dr. Willard's residence among this people, where he remained two months, in the practice of physic. On the fourth of July, the American traders in that region, who then made a considerable of a showy concourse, turned out to celebrate the great festival of the natal day of their liberties. Dr. Willard prepared a flag with the American eagle. They went through their evolutions and firings much to the credit of their own patriotism; and no doubt, to the edification and delight of the good people, men, women and children, of Taos. The people received them in the different quarters of the town with shouts of '*Viva la Republica!*' Much of the journal is occupied with accounts of difficulties with the officers of the customs, in relation to the duties demanded by the Spaniards upon their goods.

Dr. Willard manifested a prudent regard to the observances of the Catholic ceremonial; and was soon in full practice of physic among the people. Among some hundreds of cases, which he records, there were all sorts of complaints, that flesh is heir to; and not a few bore evidence, that depravity had found its way, with its attendant penalties, to these remote recesses of the interior mountains, and among this simple and pastoral people, where such results ought not to have been expected. Among other patients, he prescribes for the acknowledged concubine of a priest; and in another case, a reverend personage, sworn of course to celibacy, hesitated not to admit the claims of his offspring. Some of his patients, as would be the case among us, disputed his charges. Others in gratitude repaid him far beyond his claims. He seems to us to have been a very discreet and sober faced young gentleman, prudently disposed to consult *Our Lady of good counsel;* in other words, to keep professional secrets; for the ladies trusted him. The old ladies, in particular, gave him the masonic and confidential grip, advised him to shrive and take a conversion, marry a young lady of the country and become one of them. These amiable *old Christians* thought, no doubt, that a man can take a conversion when he chooses; and that nothing more is necessary, as many

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of our enlightened friends here believe, than to feel, that it was a point of interest to become a good Catholic, really to become so. He very frequently attends *fandangoes*, which appear to be of a character similar to our country balls. His practice seems to have been constant and extensive. Among his patients, he numbers priests, the govenor, the military; young and old, male and female; and not a few Indians, and among them some chiefs. He notes in his tablets very frequent attendance upon religious festivals; and they seemed to him poor and cheap shows, only capable of furnishing interest and curiosity for a people a little above the Indians in point of refinement. Though decent and respectful in his deportment, while among the people, and in view of the solemnities, he speaks of them with sufficient indifference, when away, and in communion with his own thoughts. He probably was not sufficiently aware of the influence of such a religion of forms and observances, in keeping in order a rude and ignorant people, who were incapable of a more spiritual service. However immoral they may have been with this superstition and these observances, we have no doubt, they would have been still more so without them.

While Dr. Willard shows an evident disposition to think kindly and respectfully of the people, among whom he sojourned, it is obvious from various incidental circumstances, noted in the journal, that the fandangoes and evening amusements were conducted in a style of the coarsest simplicity,—removed, it is true far above the intercourse of their red neighbors, but probably quite as far from that of our people in the same condition. Very few of the ladies were even tolerably pretty; and most of them were coarse, sufficiently forward, and not at all remarkable for attractions either of persons or manners. Some few were delicate, and some even beautiful.

From his recorded intercourse with the priests, it would seem, that he was almost uniformly treated with kindness and liberality. In fact, they evinced, so far as can be inferred from their deportment, a good degree of liberality. There can be little doubt, that the superstition of the people reacts upon them,

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and compels them to a seeming devotion to the formal and ceremonial part of their worship, from which they would gladly escape. With the progress of free inquiry, we confidently anticipate a consequent gradual triumph over the influence of bigotry.

One trait among them is worthy of all praise—a simple, unostentatious and noble hospitality. It is recorded in Dr. Willard's tablets, that one day he dined with the governor; and on another was invited to spend the evening with some *donna*, or family of respectability; that his patients and friends often called upon him, to invite him to ride with them to this point and to that; and that a horse or carriage was always provided on such occasions. Such hospitalities, it is true, are unexpensive in a country, where farmers have six or eight thousand horses or mules, forty thousand cattle, and twice as many sheep. But curlish and boorish people will always be inhospitable, cost the efforts to be otherwise little or much. This single trait in their character went far with us to conciliate kind feeling and good will towards them.

Writers on this country have generally represented its climate as variable and unequal. Dr. Willard found Taos, Sante Fe and Chihuahua to possess a very agreeable climate. It was never so warm there, as in some days of our summer. The temperature seemed to him equable, and seldom falling much below, or rising far above our temperate summer heat. The country suffers much from aridity, and the want of the shelter of our trees and noble forests. A few miserable, stinted shrub beries of a diminutive growth, like that which covers our shrub-oak plains, called musqueto wood, is only found at intervals. These countries are so elevated, that beyond 28° north latitude, the ground is sometimes whitened with snow and frost. Muriates of soda and lime, and nitrate of potash, and other saline substances, abound on the surface, and often so encrust the soil, as to bid defiance to cultivation. The mountains at the sources of the Arkansas are sublime elevations. There are sometimes cultivable table summits on their peaks. That the soil is underlaid with strata of calcareous rock, is manifest from a very astonish

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ing recorded phenomenon. In 1752 the Rio del Norte became dry for an extent of 150 leagues. The water had sunk, and passed through subterranean channels, and so continued to flow for some weeks; when, no doubt, the chasm became choked, and the river resumed its former bed. Among the most important Indian tribes are the Commanche, Appache and Navijo. They live on horseback, and keep the inhabitants constantly on the alert and alarm. They are the Ishmaelites and Tartars of these deserts. It seldom rains; and when rains happen, the spring of that country may be said to have commenced. The naked, red and rolling surface of the wide prairies, only limited by rude and rugged mountains, become at once covered with a tender and deep verdure. This spring happens in September. The whole country becomes as an ocean of verdure. Few frosts occur. When the dry season returns, this grass may be said to be cured standing. The cattle feed and fatten upon it, when in its state of verdant tenderness. It afterwards sustains them as substantial hay. Hence, and from the mildness and alubrity of the climate, and its destitution of storms, its advantages for a grazing and a shepherd's country. Hence its infinite numbers of fine mules, horses, cattle and sheep; and hence, also, its innumerable droves of antelopes, deer and buffaloes.

All cultivation is caried on only by artificial irrigation; and it seems wonderful, how Providence has adapted a country, which could produce but few of the edible cerealia without it, for irrigation. Abundant rains fall on the mountains; and the flush waters are collected in the Rio del Norte, which rolls down these arid plains in such a channel, and by such a gentle slope, that each of the inhabitants along this water course can command just as much water as his necessities of cultivation require. Where the soil is fertile, it will naturally be imagined, how delightful and luxuriant those fields and gardens will be, when the owners can command just as frequent waterings as they choose. Art works a miniature sample; but it has a neatness and finish, which we look for in vain in the great scale of nature's rough operations. In Chihuahua, their trees, planted for ornament and shade, require to be irrigated; and a per-

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son is appointed by a municipality, whose business it is to take care of the trees, and see that they want not for water. Of course, native trees can only be expected on the misty and cool tops of the hills, and near the constant moisture of streams and ponds. It will not be difficult to imagine, that in a very windy climate—and this is such,—where, too, it rains moderately only a few days in the year, they will have ample opportunities to know what dust means. But it so happens, that there is little travel,—little cause to break the sward, or disturb the tranquil monotony of nature; and the people have become accustomed to look on the brown-yellow and sear surface, during a great portion of the year, with the same patient composure of endurance, with which we regard the mud, desolation and frost of winter.

These people live, as the honest Irishman said of his farm on Lake Erie, "a thousand miles from home, and five hundred from any place!" They are nearly a thousand miles from Matamoras, still farther from Mexico; and as far from the settled parts of our country. The mail goes and returns, so as that an answer can be had from Mexico in about two months. Our municipal arts are almost unknown to them. They make whiskey it is true; but all the saw they know, and all the water or steam power, for making building plank, is the human steam power of a broadaxe, or an awkward hatchet, applied to the cloven sections of a log. It seems incredible, that such can be the state of the mechanic arts among a policed people, living under a government; but such is the fact. Not a word need be said about the external improvement, the buildings, and finishings of dwellings, exterior and interior, when the plank are made with a broadaxe. Yet Dr. Willard mentions a splendid stone church at Chihuahua, which cost 300,000 dollars, was supported by Corinthian pillars, and glittered with gilding. The houses in the towns are generally built of unburnt bricks; in many instances in the form of a parallelogram, or hollow square, making the fronts at once mural defences, and the fronts of dwellings. The floors are, for the most part, brick or composition,—that is

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to say, clay, lime, &c. pulverized, and cemented with blood, or other glutinous and sizy liquids.

Dr. Willard's narrative incidentally brings to light, with a great degree of *naivete*, many of the interior lights and shades of their social intercourse and manners. Nothing can well be imagined, more unlike ours; and yet there are many points of resemblance, in which all civilized people must possess a similarity of manners. It is wonderful, how, with their extreme bigotry, they could so readily have admitted an unknown stranger to their intimacy and confidence. They evidently are a dancing generation; for fandangoes are matters of very frequent occurrence. Our young physician generally noted the presence of the minister at these places, which a reverend gentleman here has denominated 'squeezes,'—a word which, however, seems more vulgar and less respectable than fandango.

Upon surveying the state of society, and the progress of improvement, cultivation and refinement in these countries, we can hardly forbear something like a feeling of exultation, on comparing our condition with theirs. What an immense distance between the state of society in this place and Chihuahua, a place of nearly half the size, and thrice the age, and the same distance from the sea! What would a Cincinnatian think of building a house, if the planks were to be hewed from our oaks by a broadaxe? What a spectacle would be the state of things here to a citizen of that place! What surprise and astonishment would the *don creole* of that country experience, if transported to Lowell in Massachusetts, with its million wheels flying in dizzying, and at first view, inexplicible confusion! Yet they have mines innumerable, and ingots of silver; and one farmer owns ten thousand horses and mules,—and still sleeps under the puncture of fleas, on a wretched bed, supported upon an earth floor—without chairs, without hearths, and chimneys and fire places; in short, the lower classes dwell in habitations like the comfortless dens of Indians.

They want freedom. They want the collision of rival minds. They want liberty, that cannot be supplied either by constitu-

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tions, or laws, or enactments. So long as bigotry reigns, so long as the terrors of perdition are held up as determents from all freedom of thinking, and all mental elasticity, their condition cannot ameliorate. Let a miserable, ignorant priest lay down the law, and prescribe just how men may think and act—when they shall go to church, and when stay at home—when they must stand, kneel, or sit, and we should soon be here the same mischievous grown up infants, that they seem to be, with all the appetites and passions and stubbornness of men, and all the mental laziness and imbecility of children. Our free institutions are, no doubt, attended with their disadvantages; and their may be some peculiar pleasures belonging to such a state of society as exists at Chihuahua. But with all the licentiousness of our press, with all the bitterness of the hundred tongues of calumny, with all our rivalry and competition, and disposition to pull each other down, that we may fill the vacancy, give us our free institutions, with all their scourges and all their curses; where men may be truly men; where the mind need not feel itself shut up between two adamantine walls; where no one need fear to think because a stupid doctor in divinity assures him he will be damned, if he dares to think. Give us freedom, with all its appendant drawbacks. Deliver us from the abominations of a dominant church establishment. Deliver us from a submission, and a cringing conformity, which is not enjoined by the voluntary movement of a free mind, but which is extorted by a creed maker, armed with a little brief and bad authority. It seems to us, as if even the sincere prayers of the people, who are compelled by law to pray, could not ascend acceptably to Him, whose only temple is the free heart. It is evident, that the hierarchy of New Spain has received an incurable shock from the revolution there. But it has been grafted on the ignorance and bigotry of centuries. It operates as cause and effect, acting and reacting for its own benefit; and it will be ages to come, before its bad predominance will pass away. We would not be understood to object to the Catholic church, as such. We believe it at present

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among the most tolerant and liberal churches; and they are wretchedly mistaken, who think, that bigotry belongs exclusively to that profession. It is a cheering consideration in our country, that the bigotry of one denomination neutralizes that of another; so that "all nature's discord makes all nature's peace." Heaven defend us from a dominant religion, or a worship enforced by law!

Various Spanish writers, Malte Brun, Humboldt, Gen. Pike, and others, have described this country superficially; Gen. Pike, perhaps, more satisfactorily, and more to the common apprehension, than any who preceded him. Baron Humboldt, only travelled it, and rapidly, in one direction. Pike was a kind of a state prisoner, while in it, and was necessarily, much restricted in his means for making observations. Perhaps no person has had more ample chances of this kind, than Dr. Willard. Unfortunately, he was there with the feeling and temperament, which are usually appended to the people from his section of the country, and whose principal object is to secure, what the New Englander calls the main chance. He now bitterly regrets, that he did not more highly appreciate, while he was in that interesting, and in a great measure undescribed and unexplored country, his opportunities to have made a book of travels of very high interest.

As it was, he remained in the country nearly three years, made his first essays at operating on the living fibre among the New-Mexicans, traversed the whole extent of country from Taos to Matamoras, a distance by the travelled line, of more than 2000 miles. He travelled leisurely, and at intervals, through the country, practising phsyic at the more important towns, making some stay at Santa Fe, Chihuahua, Monterey Saltilleo, Maspimi, Matamoras, &c. We note in his journal, which details the events and journeyines of each day, proofs of the hospitality of the higher classes of the citizens, and of the readiness of the people to trust themselves to an American stranger, who appears among them in the character of a phy-

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sician, although they consider him a heretic. This is evidence conclusive of their deep respect for the supposed learning, acuteness and talents of the people from our division of the continent. He made money rapidly, as a physician among them. But it seems, he looked from the 'leeks and fleshpots' of this distant and strange country, with a filial remembrance, towards the common mother of us all, the land of his birth; and preferred to return, and encounter the scramble and competition of an over crowded profession, certainly with inferior prospects of present pecuniary advantage. We admire that feeling, in our countrymen, which prompts them, in remote and foreign lands, still to turn their thoughts towards home, as the place of the charities, views and motives, that render life desirable. A true hearted American, living or dying, as long as pulsation lasts, *dulces reminiscitur Argos.* It will gratify the reader to learn, that our enterprising, modest and amiable traveller spoiled the Philistines, in an honorable and honest way, of a sum of dollars, which to a young, sober and calculating New-Englander, may be considered the embryo germ of a future fortune.

We left him last at Chihuahua. He left this place, August 5, 1827. Unfrequent as rains are, he records being wet with a shower on the way to San Pablo. On the 11th, another shower is recorded. From these casual records, we should infer, that the aridity of the country has been overstated, as the records of rains occur in this journal almost as frequently, as they would in our country at the same period. The loss of four mules is mentioned on the night of the 12th. The loss of horses stolen is also mentioned, as a frequent occurrence. Once or twice all his clothes, save those he wore, were taken off, during his sleep, at his place of encampment. It is noted often, as a circumstance of hardship, that he encamps at night without water; and, once or twice, that the beasts travel all day, without finding either grass, or other feed. Frequent mention is made of *haciendas*, *ranchos*, and small villages. Among them are noted Vera Cruz, San Blas and San Bernardo. He arrives at Maspimi, September 7th. The night before his arrival his

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best horse was stolen, He stays on the 14th at San Lorenzo, where the grape is cultivated to a considerable extent; wine, brandy, and dried fruit being important articles of their commerce. The large establishment here occupies from 150 to 200 hands. The whole of this magnificent and expensive establishment is owned by a young widow. He thinks the wine rich, and of a fine flavor, describing it, as having the sweetness of a Greek wine. On the 19th he arrives at Saltillio. This town he supposes to contain 10,000 souls; a great proportion of them Indians. The valley, in which it is situated, he describes, as one great beauty; deeply verdant, and productive of rich fruits. It is surrounded by rugged and lofty mountains. Great part of Baring's famous purchase lies between Paras and this place, a distance of 88 miles. He considers the intermediate country by no means a fertile one. In all these places he meets Americans, whom he names; and notes the places of their birth. On the 21st he records passing many fine farms, and in one instance a line of stone wall, laid perfectly regular and straight three miles in length, and enclosing a rich wheat field.

There is little in the subsequent notes of the journal, which would so much interest the general reader, as the mass of information, thrown together in the notes upon the country, which follow. We recommend them to the attentive perusal of the reader, as we give them substantially in the author's own words. The reader will not find in them the manner of Baron Humboldt, or Malte Brun. They have no resemblance, either, to the remarks of Gen. Pike. But they have the piquancy and freshness of being the views of a shrewd, and intelligent young man, who had his eyes open, and was accustomed to make observations, although to make money was his first vocation. It is, perhaps, from views like the following, that we form more definite and adequate conceptions of a country, than from the scientific and ambitious writings of practised scholars, and travellers, who commence their career with the professed purpose to make a book.

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General aspect of the country embraced in a tour from Council Bluffs, Mo. to Santa Fe, New-Mexico, thence down the general course of the Rio del Norte to its mouth, comprising a distance of 2000 miles.

The physical appearance of that part of the country, lying between the limits of Missouri and the Rocky mountains, is generally well known to be, comparatively speaking, an illimitable expanse of prairie. That portion of country, situated between the Missouri and the head waters ef the Osage rivers, is considerably undulating; the lower situations of which abound, more or less, with timber, grass and small streams; the higher portions are usually covered with grass only.

When arriving at the termination of this immense valley, we meet abruptly the Rocky mountains, or the southern exrtemity of that chain so celebrated for eternal snows aud rocks. These mountains are mostly covered with pines, some spruce, hemlock and white birch. On the top of the mountain we found several vallies abounding with natural meadow, and having the appearance of receiving daily showers and heavy dews. Here the atmosphere was delightfully cool, while the plains on each side were so destitute of rain, as to render the air sultry, and to require irrigation for all the common products of agriculture.

The province of New Mexico is rather more mountainous, than that part formerly called New Biscay, now state of Chihuahua; but is interspersed with some rich vallies, particularly those bordering on the Rio del Norte. The city of Santa Fe is situated 25 miles from the river, at the barren foot of a mountain. It was established about the beginning of the 17th century, and seems to have been formerly a place of considerable importance, as a rendezvous for troops. It now contains perhaps not far from two thousand souls, the most of whom have the appearance of penury. The mines in the neighborhood of Santa Fe were formerly worked, but are now abandoned. The principal articles of commerce are sheep, blankets, buffalo hides, and sometimes their meat and tollow, peltry, salt, and

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the common productions of agriculture, as corn, wheat, beans, onions, &c.

At the Passo del Norte, an important village, the grape is cultivated to a very considerable extent, of which they prepare excellent wine and brandy, making use of hides for mashing vats. For these articles they find market at Santa Fe and Chihuahua. Dried grapes, apples, onions, &c. are taken down in great abundance. Chihuahua and its vicinity, with all the territory north of it, is supplied with salt from a lake in the neighborhood of the Passo. There is, also, about two day's ride west of this place, an exceedingly rich copper mine, which was worked for many years by Pablo Guerra, an European Spaniard, who realized some hundred *talegas* [a bag of 1000 dollars] from its proceeds. In consequence of the late law of expulsion, he was obliged to relinquish it. It is now worked by two Americans, Mr. Andrew Curcier, a merchant in Chihuahua, from Philadelphia, and Robt. McKnight, from St. Louis, Mo. A considerable amount of gold is found in this same mine; but, I believe, not incorporated with the copper.

That part of the republic called Sonora, bounded by the gulf of California, is celebrated for its rich mines of silver and gold. These metals, together with mules, horses, beeves, hides, and peltry, are exchanged for articles of merchandize, which are mostly supplied by the Americans from Missouri. They, however, procure some part by arrivals by sea in the port of Guimus, situated on the Gulf. It was in this part of the country that the Indians were most troublesome, during my residence there.

The tribe then hostile belonged to the *Yacqui* nation, united, I believe, to some of the Navajo tribe; both of which are exceedingly numerous and rapacious. Pitica, Arrispe, and Guimus are the principal towns or villages within that state. Upper California apparently has but little correspondence with that, or any other country; as brave Indian tribes inhabit the head of the Gulf, the Rio Colorado and adjacent country, so

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that the inhabitants are in a measure cut off from correspondence with the rest of the world.

Chieuahua is an incorporated city of about nine thousand souls, and the largest north of Durango. It is regularly laid out, but indifferently built; containing five or six churches, of which the Paroque is splendid, it being constructed of hewn stone, from base to spire. The temple of Guadaloupe, is also elegant but smaller. The numerous paintings, of course religious, which are suspended within, do honor to the nation in the art of painting; they being according to my taste, better executed, than the celebrated painting of Mr. West at Philadelphia. This town seems to have been established by the Jesuits, at an early day; and located to suit the convenience of the mining country. There is yet remaining abundant evidence of their superior skill and perseverence, in the arts of building, mining, &c. The place now contains about thirty smelting furnaces, the most of which are generally in blast, and which, in the course of the year separate a great quantity of the precious metals. The most part of the ore smelted at this place is brought from La Roche, some 150 miles, over an exeeedingly mountainous country. Their only mode of transportation is on the back of mules, which are made to carry 300 lbs. each. These loads produce from 25 to 50 and $100 each, according to their quality. Price of smelting per load is $14; freight from 6 to $7. This mineral is bought and sold at the mines, as an article of merchandise, according to its purtiy. In regard to manufactures, there are few in Chihuahua; and, I believe, not many north of the city of Mexico; though in this place there is no lack of carpenters, shoemakers, hatters, tailors, blacksmiths, jewellers and painters. But they are of the most ordinary kind. The city is under municipal regulation. A board of twelve Alcaldes, constituting a junta, execute justice, according to common sense, and their notion of right and wrong, provided interest or partiality do not happen to preside.—Law, I believe, is seldom consulted in matters of common place litigation. They, however, have higher tribunals to which ap-

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peals can be taken, and by which criminal causes cre tried; but an appeal is almost an unheard of issue. The *carcel* or jail, abounds with old and young, male and female, mostly committed under charges of theft, assassination and murder. The court recently ventured to pass sentence of death on a man between 25 and 30 years of age, after having acknowledged that he had committed ten murders; yet a great deal of commiseration was excited for his case by the priests and lower orders of society. They have now a workhouse, where all the lower classes of criminals are made to labor.

The lawyers are few, as likewise the physicians; the former are commissioned by the general government, and allowed a salary of $2000. Their province seems to be to expound the law, or rather decide, as judges of it. All bonds, notes, agreements, &c. have to be passed under the official seal; and cost, according to the value, from 6 1-4 cents to eleven dollars, and the proceeds go to support the revenue. Every village or settlement has its priest and alcalde. The former presides over their morals, and arrogates to himself the dictatorship of their consciences, while the latter wields the sceptre of civil justice, and decrees, and executes with all the dignity of a governor. If parties aggrieved enter a complaint, he despatches a foot page with his official cane, which is a process of compulsion, or *forthwith;* and in case of non-compliance the party is made liable to a discretionary fine.

Although these modes of judicature may seem to us despotic yet they constitute, no doubt, the most salutary system for that people. In regard to their national constitution, they have copied it from ours, or nearly so, excepting religious intolerance. This they are aware, is anti-republican; and yet their universal and bigoted attachment to this faith, and their peculiar situation in a civil, religious, and military point of view, at the close of the revolution, seem to have demanded it.

The constitution may be altered in the year 1830, by the concurrence of two thirds of the members of congress; and at which time, it was expected by many, with whom I conversed, an at-

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tempt will be made to tolerate all religious denominations. Their sources of revenue are the following; on all merchandize they impose an enormous duty. I think according to their last assessment, this duty is from 15 to 50 per cent. according to the species of goods. Another very considerable revenue accrues from the culture and manufacture of cigars. This business is monopolized by the government, who furnish all parts of the republic with this the greatest of their luxuries. To give an idea of the quantity consumed in Chihuahua, and the adjacent villages, I publish a note made at the time of my residence there, which states, that on the 16th October, 1826, one caravan of mules brought to the custom house, cigars valued at $95,000; and that a few days after, another arrived and brought $25,000 more; and at the same time it was remarked by good judges, that it was but about half the quantity consumed in the year. This may be well imagined, when we consider, that all smoke, both old and young, male and female. The duties arising from the precious metals smelted, which are 2 per cent., amount to something very considerable. All monies removed from one state to another are liable to 2 per cent; and if taken out of the government, another 3 1-2 per cent. Formerly each state claimed 2 or 3 per cent. on all merchandize, sold within its limits; but this tax was repealed more than a year ago; and was merged in the international duties. All produce of the farm, as beef, pork, grain, fruit, vegetables, &c. is subject to duty. And then comes the 'severest cut of all,' the *tithes*. Thus the poor farmer may at once make up his mind to devote himself a willing slave to the minions of superstition and credulity. But oppression does not stop here. It may be traced through the minute ramnifications of all social and religious intercourse. To explain these bearings, it would be necessary to pause in these remarks, and notice such characteristics, as compose, or help to compose, a body politic; and which comprise a variety of materials, which directly or indirectly influence the happiness or prove the bane of society. In illustrating this hint, it will be necessary to pass in review a subject, which, though va-

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riously understood, is nevertheless sacred to every christian believer. I shall, therefore, aim at *due deference* for *every* religious sect; and particularly that one, of which I am about to speak. Its claim I am assuredly not disposed to deny. But when I reflect on the situation of a people by nature free, and as a body, endowed with all the moral and physical advantages to make them great, wise, and happy, I can but enquire into the causes of the great and obvious distress, which pervades this fair portion of our continent.

During my residence with that people, no situation could be better calculated than mine, to facilitate the objects of this enquiry. My profession naturally led me into the sphere of intimacy and confidence, which brought into view, the most generous and noble traits of the human mind; while, at the same time, I was obliged to witness with disgust, the thousand meannesses incident to human nature, which found their way through all the avenues of avarice, prejudice, interest and power.

In the first place, we find them bound to observe all the enjoined feast days, amounting to more than one hundred, during which, they are not permitted to labor. Among these, Sundays are included. About fifty days in the year are devoted nominally to their patron saints. We will now suppose, that out of seven millions (the supposed amount of the population in Mexico,) three sevenths are laborers, at the moderate price of twenty-five cents per day, the loss would amount to seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and in the course of a year, to thirty-seven million five hundred thousand dollars! Added to this prodigality of time, no doubt some 12 1-2 cents at least would be spent by each, by way of drinking, recreation, or otherwise, which would amount to thirty thousand dollars per day, and for the year, one million five hundred thousand dollars; making an aggregate of thirty-nine millions of dollars of lost time in this way to the community. Added to this sum, would be the expense of rockets, illuminations, artificial bowers, church expenditures, civil and military uniforms, and a thousand other collateral expenses, that grow out of this established usage.

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This of itself would seem to be sufficient to improverish a nation. But we have yet to consider a few other items; such as pertain to births, deaths, marriages, &c. &c. In regard to baptisms, I have often witnessed them, but am unacquainted with the expense. The ceremonies of a common marriage are not considered decent, unless they cost one hundred dollars; burials about the same price, though regulated by the style, number of priests, musicians, part of the *campo sato*, in which the interment is made, and the number of masses subsequently said, &c. The funeral rites of infants usually cost from 20 dollars upwards. The high or low cross makes a great difference in the expense. All children who die before the age of accountability, are considered (and, I think, very properly) to have taken their departure for a better world. Hence the supposed propriety of festivity and rejoicing at such obsequies, and a grave solemnity at those of adults. The most exhilarating music is played at the house of the little innocent sojourner, and also on the way to the potter's field, together with discharge of rockets, accompanied by a rabble of boys, paupers, mendicants and priests.

It may not be uninteresting to notice some few of these civil and religious customs, inasmuch as they differ from our own; and border on what our people are apt to consider a puerile superstition.

The greatest personage of their adoration, is called *Nuestra Senora de Guadaloupe*, whom they esteem their patroness saint. She is said to have appeared near the city of Mexico, soon after the conquest of Cortez; calling herself by this name, and at the same time averring herself to be the true Mary, mother of Jesus. Her appearance was made to a poor Indian, who was civilized, and had some office in the church ceremonies.

He was by her ordered to go to the bishop of Mexico, and make known to him the wonderful apparition, and deliver him the following verbal message: 'That she had descended to the earth, the guardian protectress of that happy nation. That a temple must be built to her name in the vicinity of Mexico, where her

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benign influence would be shed to the healing of the nation. This command seems to have much surprised the poor native, who declined being the messenger of this heavenly mission, alleging his lowness of birth, and the probability of his being considered an imposter by the bishop, when stating a circumstance so contrary to the common order of things. Whereupon she bade him not fear, but do as she should command him; and that she would suitably reward him. She then told him, that in order to convince the bishop, that the message was from heaven, he must go on to a neighboring mountain, where he should find in great abundance, a variety of blossoms, which at that time of the year, it being winter, could not naturally exist, and hence the evidence of a miracle. Many more mysterious circumstances are related in the history of this renowned personage, comprising a very considerable volume. But it is sufficient to say, that the message was received, the temple erected on the spot by her pointed out; and that she is now the object of devotion, and made the principal object of their mediatorial rites.

The anniversary of her appearance in the 12th of December, when a painting of her is taken from the temple, and carried to the *paroguia*, followed by a promiscuous procession. The next day she is returned to her temple; though there is always a duplicate representative kept at the church, which is carried out to visit the sick, and ward off disease. When any one falls sick, a greater or lesser catalogue of painted and wax images surround the patient's bed, which they almost incessantly implore.

Being naturally a credulous people, they place the most implicit confidence in all superiors; but more particularly in the priests and physicians. All such as are visited with sickness, usually meet with ample hospitality and commiseration. As it is a generally received opinion that the Spanish character is fraught with stealth, jealousy, perfidy, rapine and murder, I feel it an incumbent duty to contradict, or rather palliate it in a great measure. I grant, we find this a predominant feature in the lower ranks of society, and too much countenanced by the

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higher order. But where is the country that is not more or less afflicted in the same way? Even our own country is not without crimes from these sources. Though they are not perpetrated with impunity, they are suffered to rankle in the bosom of society. So, while we there find the suspicious rabble of the community addicted to these vices, we oftener find them here confined to those who assume the importance of gentlemen, who openly or covertly practice their crimes under the protection of the public countenance. The Spanish Don is generally a high minded, honorable and dignified character, who would not descend to meanness. Like all other nations, the people here watch their interest with tenacity. But so far as my experience goes, a respectable stranger meets with a hospitable reception, and is often loaded with favour. Among the wealthy we not unfrequently find the liberal heart and hand, to as great an extent as any other part of America can boast. Another beautiful trait in their character is a universal respect for seniority. Thus you find the elder brother respected and obeyed; while the parents command the most profound reverence to the end of their life. Common salutations are exceedingly cordial and polite. An embrace with the head uncovered, is the usual ceremony. If a servant is spoken to, he uncovers, before he makes his reply. Thus you find the most illiterate heathen looking characters among them, well versed in etiquette. The stranger is struck with the great discrepancy of dress between the high and low classes; as the former abounds more or less, with gold lace or rich embroidery, and the latter, polished with smoke and grease, is little more than a blanket.

As a people they seem to me to possess less versatility of genius, than perhaps, any other people. Such traditions as their forefathers sanctioned, are in no case questioned; but remain incorporated with their religion. All their manuel labor appears to be conducted in the ancient routine of almost savage simplicity; even their women, to this day, are made the efficient instruments in reducing all their maize to meal, of which their

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bread is mostly constituted. Every other process of labour is conducted with equal embarrassment and disadvantage.

Having thus far hinted at their customs, I shall have to consider the country lying between Chihuahua and the mouth of the Rio del Norte, both in a geographical and agricultural point of view. The reader will understand, that there is a great sameness in most of the Mexican Republic; as the general aspect is that of alternate low plains, high mountains of barren heaths, interspersed with arid plains, that would be productive, but for the want of seasonable rains, so necessary to fertility.—Those mountains lying S. W. between Chihuahua and the Pacific, are said to be much higher and more productive of timber, having great supplies of rain.

But in travelling from Chihuahua to the Atlantic coast, we seldom meet with water, more than once a day; and that furnished by trifling streams, or springs; and frequently from deep wells, where live a few shepherds, to water the flocks and sell water to passengers.

On almost all the streams, we find more or less inhabitants, according to the advantages of water and soil. On the rivers St. Pedro, Conchez, Guajaquilla, Parral, Napas, Parras, Pattas, Santa Catarina, &c. which are very small streams, we find more or less agriculture, conducted by irrigation, and for the most part, sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants of the immediate vicinity. But the mining towns are mostly dependant on their supplies from abroad. Santa Cruz and St. Pablo, sixty miles from Chihuahua, on the river St. Pedro, afford many good farms. Parral, containing perhaps eight thousand, is altogether a mining town. St. Bartolomeo and Guajaquilla, 180 miles south of Chihuahua, containing two thousand souls, are mining villages, having some wealthy European Spaniards, who were the proprietors of the mines, but who were about to leave the country under the late law of expulsion.

In going from Mapimi to Parras, distance 120 miles, we cross Nassas, a small river which soon loses itself in a little lake. After crossing this river we enter extensive plains, as barren as

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the deserts of Arabia. It was in these I travelled three successive days, without being able to procure my horses and mules a single feed, as the country was literally dried up. At Parras I was delighted with the sudden change of scene. I should suppose this place and St. Lorenzo, which are contiguous, might contain six or eight thousand inhabitants, who cultivate the grape in great abundance, supplying all the adjacent country as far as Chihuahua and Durango with the articles of wine, brandy, and all kinds of dried fruit. I here noticed one vineyard, of, I should judge, 250 acres, owned by a young widow, which, together with the other farming departments, occupied 200 laborers the year round. From this place to Saltillio, distance 140 miles, we passed over a broken and mostly sterile country. This is the tract purchased by the house of Baring, London; said to contain 140, by not far from 200 miles square, for which, I was informed by his principal overseer, living at Pattas, he was to pay a little short of one million dollars, but had paid 100,000, and refused further payment from some dispute about the title. The haciendas are all worked under his direction. Saltillio is situated at the head of a large valley, affording a beautiful landscape, it being surrounded by a chain of picturesque mountains, which enclose the city, and an expanded series of cultivated farms. This place, I think something larger than Chihuahua, and better built, constitutes the Parogue, which is supposed to be the best of its size within the republic.

A great portion of the population of Saltillio, are civilized Indians. They occupy a large suburb of the city, and merit no small applause for their industry and ingenuity. I was delighted while passing their neat and even elegant cottages. Their little enclosures appeared teeming with verdure and fruit trees, which bespoke the frugal husbandman. I was pleased to observe the remarkable difference between the dress of these natives, and those of Chihuahua.

Here were similar fashions, but under an entirely different aspect; the Indian women were all clad in blue petticoats,

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a cotton *camisas*, with bosom and sleeves ruffled; then thrown gracefully over a blue and white striped *revoza* or scarf, all of their own manufacture. These revozas they likewise manufacture of the common sewing silk, which they so variegate, as to throw their work, when finished, into beautiful uniform, fancy figures. These are worth from thirty to fifty dollars each.—Blankets are also made in a similar manner and with equal elegance. Their apparatus for each consists of a little more than a few rods and strings, with one end of their piece fastened to a permanent stake, set in the ground; while the other is fastened by a strap, that goes round their waist, that they constitute at least half of the loom. Their position is that of a tailor, in which they sit, and fill in the various and beautifnl colors, according to the sample before them.

I here met with several French and American merchants, though none permanently settled. They were about leaving for Durango and Chihuahua. I was also visited by an Italian, by the name of Don Jose Rose, who had resided here for many years. It being Friday, the market was destitute of meet, but said he, if there is any fish to be had, I shall expect you to dine with me; and I will let you know accordingly. It was not long before word came, that I should be expected precisely at 12 o'clock, and to bring my comrade with me. Accordingly, I waited on him at the time appointed, and sat down to a dinner served up in excellent style; and it concluded with a desert and wines of excellent quality. This gentleman (some forty-five years of age) had never seen proper to change a state of celibacy for that of a matrimonial life; but chose to govern alone his peaceful domicil in single blessedness.

From Saltillio to Montelrey, 60 or 70 miles distance, we pass Rinconada and Santa Catarina, which are small villages. The country is quite broken, rocky and sterile. At Montelrey, I remained eight or ten days. This place is about the same importance as Saltillio; but not quite so populous. They are both mostly built of stone; at this place the mountains diminish; and extensive valleys commence. Here was a great abundance of

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oranges and lemons in their prime. In its vicinity the cane is cultivated largely, which supplies all the country to Santa Fe with the article of sugar. It was worth at this place from five to six cents per lb. according to quality. I also found several French and American merchants residing here, who spoke of it as only a tolerable place for business. I also became acquainted with Col. Guttierez, former Governor of Tamulipas, who now resides here in command over the troops. He spoke of himself, as having been the principal agent in the proscription of the Emperor Iturbide, which proceedings he gave me in detail; his appearance and manner clearly indicate military enthusiasm and promptitude of decision. His volatile and unsophisticated look and manner, reminded me of the celebrated *Ringtail Panther of Missouri.* He certainly managed with great energy at that eventful crisis, when the fate of the nation depended on the decision of a moment.

From Montelrey to the coast the country lies exceedingly level, abounding more or less with musquito bushes, black ebony, and many other shrubs. In most part of the route the palm tree abounds, but they are much larger from Saltillio east.—This tree seems to be of a character, partaking of the shrub and plant in point of consistence, and general appearance, growing from six to thirty feet high. The Maguey, is a plant, that grows in many parts spontaneously, and from which they derive a liquor, called *pulk*, which is much used in large cities. They obtain this juice, by cutting off the plant, which is from six inches to eighteen in diameter; and at the same time they so excavate the stump, as that it will retain the juice, as it exudes upwards. This is afterwards laded out, and suffered to ferment for use. It is of this juice they make a kind of whiskey, called *vino meschal.*

Between Montelrey and the Rio del Norte, we passed a few small villages, of which Cadarota was the most considerable, it being a great sugar region. At Quemargo, we struck the del Norte, which I last saw at El Passo, more than a thousand miles above. A great part of the river between these two points tra-

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verses a savage country. Quemargo is something more than one hundred miles from the sea, and from which place to Matamoras it is thinly settled.

The village of Matamoras, formerly called Refugio, is forty miles from the harbour of Brassos Santiago; and stands immediately on the bank of the river, and is said to contain ten thousand inhabitants; but, I should think, not more than eight thousand. There are some two hundred Americans and French in this place, most of whom are merchants and mechanics. They have erected several very good brick buildings, and the place begins to wear the aspect of enterprise. There is a company or two of Mexican troops stationed here, which make great ado about nothing. A portion of them are kept at the Brassos, to protect the Custom-House, and prevent smuggling. But Americans have seen too much territory, to be deterred from saving 3 1-2 per cent. either by stratagem or by bribery; both of which are easily practised with the unconscionable Spaniard. In fact the American party is so strong in that place, that they do as they please. The consul (Daniel W. Smith) has great influence among them; as, whatever he says is law and gospel.

In regard to the harbour, it is both ample and safe, when once entered; but of dangerous entrance, owing to the channel being shallow, say six or eight feet water. It nevertheless commands considerable commerce during the year. There has been little exported from this port, except during the last two or three years. Since that, it has consisted mostly of passengers and their money: many of the European Spaniards embarked from this port, carrying with them large fortunes of silver and gold, on which the ship masters impose a tax of one per cent. They likewise export some hides, horns, mules, ebony, and some colouring woods. But these exports bear but a small proportion to the amount of specie taken out.

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DOWNFALL OF THE FREDONIAN REPUBLIC.

We were removed scarcely a hundred miles from the scene, where was witnessed, during the past winter, the downfall of the Fredonian republic. The crash, however appalling in our ears, at that distance, was hardly heard at Washington, and if some better historian than ourselves, do not take the matter in hand, we fear that this catastrophe will perish from history. Although we do not expect the fame, and do not gird ourselves for the task of the historian of the '*the decline and fall of the Roman Empire*,' yet it was no unimportant business of the *original fifteen*, who upreared the pillars of this short lived empire.

The fine country of Texas beyond our western frontier, from its peculiar configuration, its vast prairies, its long range of sea coast, and its numerous rivers on the south, and its range of unexplored mountains on the north, and from its peculiar position between the settled countries of the United States on the one hand, and those of the Mexican Republic, beyond the Rio del Norte, on the other, will always be a resort for outlaws, and desperate speculators from our country. Those who wish to get away from their conscience, and those who have visions of a *paradise in the wild*, in short, the 'moving generation of the country will press to that region to find range. Until the Rio del Norte be our boundary, or a Chinese wall rise between the two states, or a continued line of military posts, interdicting transit, be kept up, it will be the refuge of negro-stealers, and the Elysium of rogues. During the past winter, it witnessed the rise and fall of a republic, which numbered fifteen citizens, and endured fifty days. They must allow us in this country, to have a wonderful faculty to over-stocking all kinds

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of markets, with the articles which we furnish. Every profession has three aspirants for one that is needed. We furnish more orations, than all the other people on the globe, and we over-do, and parody every thing, that is great and noble.

We acknowledge, that the materials for this, our history, were no more than the common parlance of the people. the passing conversations of village news-mongers. We give as we have received. As we have understood it, a Mr. Edwards was the Romulus of this new republic. He had somehow obtained, or imagined that he had obtained at Mexico the conditional grant of some millions of acres, between the Sabine, and the grant of Col. Austin. We saw multitudes of emigrants repairing to this land of promise. Among others, there was a Mr. Chaplin, who, we believe, was a respectable man. He married a sister of Edwards, a beautiful woman, over the events of whose life is spread no small coloring of romance. Mr. Chaplin was appointed by Mr. Edwards, the proprietor, and was elected by the people, chiefly Americans, *Alcaide*, and commandant of Nacogdoches, the only place, that had any resemblance to a town in the country. It seems that the Mexicans wanted to have a hand in the management of this business, and they appointed another *Alcaide*, and commandant. Hence arose a feud, and a collision of authorities between the old and the new '*residenters*. The warm blood of the emigrants was roused. Fifteen men among them Col. Ligon, a man whom we had known elsewhere, in a respectable office and standing, took counsel from their free born minds, their stout hearts, and probably from the added influence of the cheering essence of the '*native*.' They repaired, on a set time, not without due pomp, and as they say, under desperate apprehensions of enormous bodily harm, to a stone house, the only one, we believe, of any consequence in the village. Here they promulgated a declaration of independence, adopted national banners and insignia, swore the customary oaths, pledged their 'lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor,' earnestly invoked the aid of their fellow citizens in the

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United States, formed their constitution, and appointed their officers; and the offices were so numerous, that, we believe, every citizen of the republic held at least one. The aid of another republic, a band of renegade Cherokees, was invoked with as much form, as Æneas used in soliciting the alliance of Evander. The chief of these Indians was introduced under the most imposing formalities. Among the names of the Cherokee plenipotentiaries we observe the name of the thrice-famous *John Dunn Hunter.*

The Fredonians had expected aid from Col. Austin's settlement, about two hundred miles south west of them, on the Brassos and Colorado. Not a few of the people of this colony were disposed to give in their adhesion to the new republic. But the shrewd Col. Austin was aware, on which side of the bread the butter lay, and he remained staunch in his loyalty to his adopted country. He issued a thundering proclamation, not unlike Gen. Hull's on the invasion of Canada, inviting his people to range themselves under the standard of the Mexican government. The Cherokee chain parted its links, like *a rope of sand.* The '*fifteen*' had inadvertently caused the death of one man, and otherwise shed some blood by dint of fist. Some of their more provident men said with the famous Dutch refugee,

'Timens lædi,
His posteriora dedi.

In other words, made the best of their way east of the Sabine. The Mexicans embodied a small creole force, regained the '*stone house,*' and over-took some of the Fredonians, wisely treating them with a lenity, which rather savoured of contempt.

Some of the first magistrates of the fallen republic, on regaining the eastern shore of the Sabine, betook themselves to school-keeping, like Dyonisius, exchanging the sceptre for a rod. The Spanish vacher cracks his thong, as sonorously, and as carelessly, as before, and the surface of the vast prairies is at rest, like that of a lake, a few minutes after a projected stone has ruffled its sleepingwaters. '*Sic transit gloria mundi.*'

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MEXICO.

SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS INHABITANTS, TOWNS, PRODUCTIONS, AND NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

[Extracted from the Universal Geography.]

Moral qualities of the INDIANS.—In his present condition, the Mexican Indian is grave, melancholy, and taciturn, as long as he is not under the influence of intoxicating liquors. This gravity is particularly remarkable in the children of Indians, who, at the early age of four or five years, display infinitely greater intelligence and development of mind than the children of whites. They delight in throwing an air of mystery over their most trifling remarks. Not a passion manifests itself in their features. At all times sombre, there is something terrific in the change, when he pases all at once from a state of absolute repose to violent and ungovernable agitation. The energy of his character, to which every shade of softness is unknown, habitually degenerates into ferocity. This is especially the case with the inhabitants of Tlascala. In the midst of their degradation, the decendants of these republicans are still distinguished by a certain haughtiness with which they are inspired by the remembrance of their former greatness. The indigenous natives of Mexico, like all other nations who have long groaned under civil and religious despotism, are attached, with an extreme degree of obstinacy, to their habits, their manners, and their opinions.

Assimilation of their Religious Belief.—The introduction of Christianity among them has scarcely produced any other effect than merely substituting new ceremonies, the symbols of a mild and humane religion,—for the ceremonies of a sanguinary worship. From the earliest periods, semibarba-

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rous nations have received new laws, and new divinities from the hands of their conquerors. The indigenous and vanquished gods give place to foreign deities. Indeed, in a mythology so complicated as that of the Mexicans, it was easy to discover an affinity between the divinities of Atzlan and those of the east. The Holy Spirit, for instance, was identified with the sacred eagle of the Aztecs. The missionaries not only tolerated, they even favored this mixture of ideas, by which the Christian worship became more speedily established. The English collector, Mr. Bullock, readily obtained leave from the clergy and authorities, in 1823, to disinter and take casts from the image of the sanguinary goddess *Teoyamiqui*. During the time it was exposed, he adds, "the court of the University was crowded with people, most of whom expressed the most decided anger and contempt. Not so, however, all the Indians. I attentively marked their countenances; not a smile escaped them, or even a word—all was silence and attention. In reply to a joke of one of the students, an old Indian remarked, 'It is true we have three very good Spanish gods, but we might still have been allowed to keep a few of those of our ancestors.' I was informed that chaplets of flowers had been placed on the figure by natives, who had stolen thither unseen, in the evening, for that purpose; a proof that notwithstanding the extreme diligence of the Spanish clergy for 300 years, there still remains some taint of heathen superstition among the descendants of the original inhabitans." Yet it was, probably, a nobler impulse than superstition that wove the chaplet for the statue of Teoyamiqui; rather that mystery of nature, by which she links the present to the past with veneration, and to the future with anxiety,—that awful reverence with which the rudest nations look back to their origin and ancestors, and which even now, among the most enlightened, still consecrates the relics of Montmorillon and Stonehenge.

Their talent for Painting and Sculpture.—The Mexicans have preserved a particular taste for painting and for the art of carving on stone and wood. It is truly astonishing to see what

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they are capable of executing with a bad knife, upon the hardest wood and stone. They exercise themselves in painting the images, and carving the statues of saints; but from a religious principle, they have continued too servilely intimate for 300 years, the models which the Europeans brought with them at the period of the original conquest. In Mexico as well as in Hindoostan, the faithful are not allowed to make the smallest change in their idols; every thing connected with the rites of the Aztecs was subjugated to immutable laws. It is on this very account that the Christian images have preserved in some degee, that stiffness and hardness of feature which characterised the hyeroglyphical pictures of the age of Montezuma. They display a great deal of aptitude for the exercise of the arts of imitation, and still greater for those of a purely mechanical nature.

Want of Imagination.—When an Indian has attained a certain degree of cultivation, he shows great facility of acquiring information, a spirit of accuracy and precision, and a particular tendency to subtilize, or to seize on the minutest differences in objects that are to be compared with each other. He reasons coldly and with method; but he does not evince that activity of imagination, that lively freshness of sentiment, that art of creating and of producing, which characterises the people of Europe, and many tribes of African negroes. The music and dancing of the indigenous natives partake of that want of cheerfulness which is so peculiar to them. Their singing is of a melancholy description. More vivacity, however, is observed in their women than in their men; but they share the evils of that state of subjection to which the sex is condemned among most of those nations where civilization is still imperfect. In the dance women take no part; they are merely present for the sake of offering to the dancers the fermented drinks which they themselves had prepared.

Their taste for Flowers.—The Mexican Indians have likewise preserved the same taste for flowers that Cortez noticed in his time. We are astonished to discover this taste, which, doubt-

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less, indicates a taste for the beautiful, among a people in whom a sanguinary worship, and the frequency of human sacrifices, appear to have extinguished every feeling connected with sensiblity of mind and the softer affections. In the great market of Mexico, the native does not even sell fish, or ananas, or vegetables, or fermented liquor, without his shop being decked out with flowers, which are renewed every succeeding day. The Indian shop-keeper appears seated behind a perfect entrenchment of verdure, and every thing around him wears an air of the most refined elegance.

Wild Indians.—The Indian hunters, such as the *Mecos*, the *Apaches*, and the *Lipans*, whom the Spaniards comprehend under the denomination of *Indios bravos*, and whose hordes, in their incursions, which are often made during night, infest the frontiers of New Biscay, Sonora, and New Mexico, evince more activity of mind, and more strength of character, than the agricultural Indians. Some tribes have even language, the mechanism of which appears to prove the existence of ancient civilization. They have great difficulty in learning our European idioms, while, at the same time, they express themselves in their own with an extreme degree of facility. These same Indian chiefs, whose gloomy taciturnity astonishes the observer, will hold a discourse of several hours, whenever any strong interest rouses them to break their habitual silence.

Prerogatives of the WHITES.—The greater or less quantity of European blood, and the skin being more or less clear, are at once decisive of the consideration which a man enjoys in society and of the opinion which he entertains of himself. A white who rides barefooted, fancies that he belongs to the nobility of the country. Colour even establishes a certain equality between those who, as every where happens where civilization is either a little advanced, or in a state of retrograde movement, take pleasure in refining on the prerogatives of race and origin.—When an individual of the lower orders enters into a dispute with one of the titled lords of the country, it is no unusual thing

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to hear him exclaim to the nobleman, "It is possible that you really thought yourself whiter than I am?" Among the Métis and Mulattoes, there are many individuals who, by their colour their physiognomy, and theire intelligence, might be confounded with the Spaniards; but the laws keep them down in a state of degradation and contempt. Possessing an energetic and ardent character, these men of colour live in a state of constant irritation against the whites; and resentment too often hurries them into vengeance. It frequently occurs, too, that families who are suspected of being of mixed blood, claim, at the high court of justice, a declaration that they appertain to the whites. In this way, very dark colored Mulattoes have had the address to get themselves *whitened*, according to the popular expression. When the judgment of the senses is too palpably in opposition to the solicitations of the applicant, he is forced to content himself with somewhat problematical terms; for, in that case, the sentence simply states, that "such and such individuals may *consider themselves as white.*"

New-Mexico.—Many French writers, and, among others, the Abbe Raynal, have spoken in pompous terms of what they term the *Empire of New Mexico;* and they boast of its extent and riches. Under this denomination they appear to comprehend all the countries between California and Louisiana. But the true signification of this term is confined to a narrow province which, it is true, is 175 leagues in length, but not more than thirty or forty in breadth.

Towns.—This stripe of country, which borders the Rio del Norte, is thinly peopled; the town of *Santa Fe* containing 4000 inhabitants; *Albuquerque*, 6000; and *Taos*, 9000, comprise almost one-half of the population. The other half consists of poor colonists, whose scattered hamlets are frequently ravaged by the powerful tribes of Indians who surround them, and overrun the province. It is true that the soil is amongst the finest and most fertile of Spanish America.

Productions.—Wheat, maize, and delicious fruits, especially

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grapes, grow most abundantly. The environs of *Passo-del-Norte*, produce the most generous wines. The mountains are covered with pine trees, maples, and oaks. Beasts of prey are met with in great numbers. There are also wild sheep, and particularly elks, or at least large deer, fully the size of a mule, with extremely long horns. According to the Dictionary of *Alcedo*, mines of tin have been discovered. There are several hot springs. Rivers with a saline taste, indicate the existence of rich beds of rock-salt.

Mountains.—The chain of mountains that border the eastern psrts of New Mexico, seem to be of a moderate degree of elevation. There is a pass through them, called the *Puerto de don Fernando*, by which the Paducas have penetrated into New Mexico. Beyond this chain extend immense natural meadows, on which buffaloes and wild horses pasture in innumerable herds. The Americans of the United States hunt these animals, and sometimes pursue them to the very gates of Santa Fe. The principal mountains coast Rio del Norte, following its western banks. Some peaks, or *cerros*, are to be distinguished. Further to the north, in the country of *Nabaho*, the map of Don Alzate has traced mountains with flat summits, denominated in Spanish *mesas*, that is, *tables*.

The Apache Indians.—The *Apache* Indians originally inhabited the greater part of New Mexico, and are still a warlike and industrious nation. These implacable enemies of the Spaniards infest the whole eastern boundary of this country, from the black mountains to the confines of Cohahuila, keeping the inhabitants of several provinces in an incessant state of alarm.—There has never been any thing but short skirmishes with them, andalthough their number has been considerably diminished by wars and frequent famine, the Spaniards are obliged constantly to keep up an establishment of 2000 dragoons, for the purpose of escorting their caravans, protecting their villages, and repelling these attacks, which are perpetually renewed. At first the

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Spaniards endeavoured to reduce to slavery those who, by the fate of war, fell into their hands; but seeing them indefatigably surmount every obstacle that opposed their return to their dear native mountains, their conquerors adopted the expedient of sending their prisoners to the island of Cuba, where, from the change of climate, they speedily perished. No sooner were the Apaches informed of this circumstance than they refused any longer either to give or receive quarter. From that moment none have ever been taken prisoners, except those who are surprised asleep, or disabled during the combat.

Manner of making war.—The arrows of the Apaches are three feet long, and are made of reed or cane, into which they sink a piece of hard-wood, with a point made of iron, bone, or stone. They shoot this weapon with such force, that at the distance of 300 paces they can pierce a man. When the arrow is attempted to be drawn out of the wound, the wood detaches itself, and the point remains in the body. Their second offensive weapon is a lance, fifteen feet long. When they charge the enemy they hold this lance with both hands above their head, and, at the same time, guide their horse by pressing him with their knees. Many of them are armed with firelocks, which, as well as the ammunition, have been taken in battle from the Spaniards, who never sell them any. The archers and fusileers combat on foot but the lancers are always on horseback, They make use of a buckler for defence. Nothing can equal the impetuosity and address of their horsemen. They are thunderbolts, whose stroke it is impossible to parry or escape.

We must cease to feel astonished at the invincible resistance which the Apaches oppose to the Spaniards, when we reflect on the fate to which they have subjected those other Indians who have allowed themselves to be converted.

The Intendency of Mexico.—The intendency of *Mexico*, the the principal province of the Empire of Montezuma, formerly extended from one sea to the other; but the district of *Panuco*,

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having been separated from it, it no longer reaches the gulf of Mexico. The eastern part, situated on the plateau, contains several valleys of a round figure; in the centre of which there are lakes at present dried up, but waters appear formerly to have filled these basins. Dry and deprived of its wood, this plateau is at once subject to an habitual aridity, and to sudden inundations, occasioned by heavy rains and the melting of the snow. Generally speaking, the temperature is not so hot as it is in Spain; in fact, it enjoys a perpetual spring. the mountains with which it is surrounded still abound in cedars and other lofty trees, in gums, drugs, salts, metallic productions, marble and precious stones. The flat country is covered the whole year through with delicate and exquisite fruits, lint, hemp, cotton, tobacco, aniseed, sugar, and cochineal, with which they support an extensive commerce.

Natural Curiosities.—Besides the numerous volcanoes of which we have already spoken, some natural curiosities are met with. One of the most remarkable is the *Ponte-Dios*, or the bridge of God, a rock, under which the water has hollowed itself a canal, situated about one hundred miles to the south-east of Mexico, near the village of Molcaxac, on the deep river Aquetoyac. Along this natural bridge, the traveller may continue his journey as if he were on a high road. Several cataracts present a romantic appearance. The great cavern of Dante, traversed by a river; the porphyritic organ-pipes of Actopan; and many other singular objects excite the astonishment of the traveller in this mountainous region, where he is obliged to cross foaming rivers upon bridges formed of the fruit of the *Crescentia pinnata*, tied together with ropes of Agava.

City of Mexico.—On the very ridge of the great Mexican plateau, a chain of porphyritic mountains encloses an oval valley, the general level of which is elevated 6700 feet above the surface of the ocean. Five lakes fill the middle of this valley. To the north of the united lakes of Xochimilco, and Chalco, on the eastern side of the lake Tezcuco, once stood the ancient

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city of *Mexico*, to which the traveller arrived by causeways constructed on the shallow bottom of the lake. The new city, although placed on the same spot, is situated on firm ground, and at a considerable distance from the lakes, the waters of which have retired, and the town is still intersected by numerous canals, and the public edifices are erected on piles. The draining of the lakes is further continued, by means of a canal which has been opened for that purpose, through the mountains of Sincoq, in order to protect the town from inundations. In many places however, the ground is still soft, and some buildings, amongst others the cathedral, have sunk six feet. The streets are wide and straight, but badly paved. The houses present a magnificent appearance, being built of porphyry and amygdaloid. Several palaces and private mansions have a majestic effect, and its churches glitter with metallic riches. The cathedral surpasses, in this respect, all the churches in the world; the ballustrade which surrounds the great altar being composed o massive silver. A lamp of the same metal, is of so vast a size that three men go into it when it has to be cleaned; and it is enriched with lions' heads, and other ornaments, of pure gold. The statues of the Virgin and the saints are either made of solid silver, or richly gilded, and ornamented with precious stones. Palaces, mansions of great families, beautiful fountains, and extensive squares, adorn the interior of this city. To the north, near the suburbs, is the principal public promenade, or *Alameda*. Round this walk flows a rivulet, forming a fine square, in the middle of which there is a basin with a fountain. Eight all eys of trees terminate here, in the figure of a star. But in consequence of an unfortunate proximity, immediately in front of alameda, the eye discovers the *Quemadero*, a place where Jews and other victims of the terrible Inquisition, were burned alive.

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The personal narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky. Edited by Timothy Flint.
Arno Press, 1973 [c1831]
300 p. (The Far Western frontier)

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1. Southwest, New - Descr. & trav.
2. Fredonian Insurrection, 1826-1827 I. T.

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THE

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

JAMES O. PATTIE,

OF

KENTUCKY,

DURING AN EXPEDITION FROM ST. LOUIS, THROUGH THE VAST REGIONS BETWEEN THAT PLACE AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND THENCE BACK THROUGH THE CITY OF MEXICO TO VERA CRUZ, DURING JOURNEYINGS OF SIX YEARS; IN WHICH HE AND HIS FATHER, WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM, SUFFERED UNHEARD OF HARDSHIPS AND DANGERS, HAD VARIOUS CONFLICTS WITH THE INDIANS, AND WERE MADE CAPTIVES, IN WHICH CAPTIVITY HIS FATHER DIED; TOGETHER WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE VARIOUS NATIONS THROUGH WHICH THEY PASSED.

EDITED BY TIMOTHY FLINT.

CINCINNATI:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN H. WOOD,
1831.

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DISTRICT OF OHIO, TO WIT:

L. S.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the 18th day of Oct., Anno Domini 1831; John H. Wood, of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a Book, the title of which is in the words following, to wit:

"The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky, during an expedition from St. Louis, through the vast regions between that place and the Pacific ocean, and thence back through the city of Mexico to Vera Cruz, during journeyings of six years; in which he and his father who accompanied him, suffered unheard of hardships and dangers; had various conflicts with the Indians, and were made captives, in which captivity his father died, together with a description of the country, and the various nations through which they passed."

The right whereof he claims as proprietor, in conformity with an act of Congress, entitled "An act to amend the several acts respecting copyrights."

Attest, WILLIAM MINER,
Clerk of the District.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It has been my fortune to be known as a writer of works of the imagination. I am solicitous that this Journal should lose none of its intrinsic interest, from its being supposed that in preparing it for the press, I have drawn from the imagination, either in regard to the incidents or their coloring. For, in the literal truth of the facts, incredible as some of them may appear, my grounds of conviction are my acquaintance with the Author the impossibility of inventing a narrative like the following, the respectability of his relations, the standing which his father sustained, the confidence reposed in him by the Hon. J. S. Johnston, the very respectable senator in congress from Louisiana, who introduced him to me, the concurrent testimony of persons now in this city, who saw him at different points in New Mexico, and the reports, which reached the United States, during the expedition of many of the incidents here recorded.

When my family first arrived at St. Charles' in 1816, the fame of the exploits of his father, as an officer of the rangers, was fresh in the narratives of his associates and fellow soldiers. I have been on the ground, at Cap au Gris, where he was besieged by the Indians. I am not unacquainted with the scenery through which he passed on the Missouri, and I, too, for many years was a sojourner in the prairies.

These circumstances, along with a conviction of the truth of the narrative, tended to give me an interest in it, and to qualify me in some degree to judge of the internal evidences contained in the journal itself, of its entire authenticity. It will be perceived at once, that Mr. Pattie, with Mr. McDuffie, thinks more of action than literature, and is more competent to perform exploits, than blazon them in eloquent periods. My influence upon the narrative regards orthography, and punctuation

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and the occasional interposition of a topographical illustration, which my acquaintance with the accounts of travellers in New Mexico, and published views of the country have enabled me to furnish. The reader will award me the confidence of acting in good faith, in regard to drawing nothing from my own thoughts. I have found more call to suppress, than to add, to soften, than to show in stronger relief many of the incidents. Circumstances of suffering, which in many similar narratives have been given in downright plainness of detail, I have been impelled to leave to the reader's imagination, as too revolting to be recorded.

The very texture of the narrative precludes ornament and amplification. The simple record of events as they transpired, painted by the hungry, toil-worn hunter, in the midst of the desert, surrounded by sterility, espying the foot print of the savage, or discerning him couched behind the tree or hillock, or hearing the distant howl of wild beasts, will naturally bear characteristics of stern disregard of embellishment. To alter it, to attempt to embellish it, to divest it of the peculiar impress of the narrator and his circumstances, would be to take from it its keeping, the charm of its simplicity, and its internal marks of truth. In these respects I have been anxious to leave the narrative as I found it.

The journalist seems in these pages a legitimate descendant of those western pioneers, the hunters of Kentucky, a race passing unrecorded from history. The pencil of biography could seize upon no subjects of higher interest. With hearts keenly alive to the impulses of honor and patriotism, and the charities of kindred and friends; they possessed spirits impassible to fear, that no form of suffering or death could daunt; and frames for strength and endurance, as if ribbed with brass and sinewed with steel. For them to traverse wide deserts, climb mountains, swim rivers, grapple with the grizzly bear, and encounter the savage, in a sojourn in the wilderness of years, far from the abodes of civilized men, was but a spirit-stirring and holiday mode of life.

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To me, there is a kind of moral sublimity in the contemplation of the adventures and daring of such men. They read a lesson to shrinking and effeminate spirits, the men of soft hands and fashionable life, whose frames the winds of heaven are not allowed to visit too roughly. They tend to re-inspire something of that simplicity of manners, manly hardihood, and Spartan energy and force of character, which formed so conspicuous a part of the nature of the settlers of the western wilderness.

Every one knows with what intense interest the community perused the adventures of Captain Riley, and other intrepid mariners shipwrecked and enslaved upon distant and barbarous shores. It is far from my thoughts to detract from the intrepidity of American mariners, which is known, wherever the winds blow, or the waves roll; or to depreciate the interest of the recorded narratives of their sufferings. A picture more calculated to arouse American sympathies cannot be presented, than that of a ship's crew, driven by the fierce winds and the mountain waves upon a rock bound shore, and escaping death in the sea, only to encounter captivity from the barbarians on the land. Yet much of the courage, required to encounter these emergencies is passive, counselling only the necessity of submission to events, from which there is no escape, and to which all resistance would be unavailing.

The courage requisite to be put forth in an expidition such as that in which Mr. Pattie and his associates were cast, must be both active and passive, energetic and ever vigilant, and never permitted to shrink, or intermit a moment for years. At one time it is assailed by hordes of yelling savages, and at another, menaced with the horrible death of hunger and thirst in interminable forests, or arid sands. Either position offers perils and sufferings sufficiently appalling. But fewer spirits, I apprehend, are formed to brave those of the field,

> 'Where wilds immeasurably spread,
> Seem lengthening as they go.'

than of the ocean, where the mariner either soon finds rest beneath its tumultuous bosom, or joyfully spreads his sails again to the breeze.

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INTRODUCTION.

The grandfather of the author of this Journal, was born in Caroline county, Virginia, in 1750. Soon after he was turned of twenty-one, he moved to Kentucky, and became an associate with those fearless spirits who first settled in the western forests. To qualify him to meet the dangers and encounter the toils of his new position, he had served in the revolutionary war, and had been brought in hostile contact with the British in their attempt to ascend the river Potomac.

He arrived in Kentucky, in company with twenty emigrant families, in 1781, and settled on the south side of the Kentucky river. The new settlers were beginning to build houses with internal finishing. His pursuit, which was that of a house carpenter, procured him constant employment, but he sometimes diversified it by teaching school. Soon after his arrival, the commencing settlement experienced the severest and most destructive assaults from the Indians. In August, 1782, he was one of the party who marched to the assistance of Bryant's station, and shared in the glory of relieving that place by the memorable defeat of the savages.

Not long afterwards he was called upon by Col. Logan to join a party led by him against the Indians, who had gained a bloody victory over the Kentuckians at the Blue Licks. He was present on the spot, where the bodies of the slain lay unburied, and assisted in their interment. During his absence on this expedition, Sylvester Pattie, father of the author, was born, August 25, 1782.

In November of the same year, his grand-father was summoned to join a party commanded by Col. Logan, in an expedition against the Indians at the Shawnee towns, in the limits of the present state of Ohio. They crossed the Ohio just below

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the mouth of the Licking, opposite the site of what is now Cincinnati, which was at that time an unbroken forest, without the appearance of a human habitation. They were here joined by Gen. Clark with his troops from the falls of the Ohio, or what is now Louisville. The united force marched to the Indian towns, which they burnt and destroyed.

Returning from this expedition, he resumed his former occupations, witnessing the rapid advance of the country from immigration. When the district, in which he resided, was constituted Bracken county, he was appointed one of the judges of the court of quarter sessions, which office he filled sixteen years, until his place was vacated by an act of the legislature reducing the court to a single judge.

Sylvester Pattie, the father of the author, as was common at that period in Kentucky, married early, having only reached nineteen. He settled near his fathers house, and there remained until there began to be a prevalent disposition among the people to move to Missouri. March 14, 1812, he removed to that country, the author, being then eight years old. Born and reared amidst the horrors of Indian assaults and incursions, and having lived to see Kentucky entirely free from these dangers, it may seem strange, that he should have chosen to remove a young family to that remote country, then enduring the same horrors of Indian warfare, as Kentucky had experienced twenty-five years before. It was in the midst of the late war with England, which, it is well known, operated to bring the fiercest assaults of savage incursion upon the remote frontiers of Illinois and Missouri.

To repel these incursions, these then territories, called out some companies of rangers, who marched against the Sac and Fox Indians, between the Mississippi and the lakes, who were at that time active in murdering women and children, and burning their habitations during the absence of the male heads of families. When Pattie was appointed lieutenant in one of these companies, he left his family at St. Charles' where he was then residing. It may be imagined, that the condition of his wife was sufficiently lonely, as this village contained but one Ameri-

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can family besides her own, and she was unable to converse with its French inhabitants. His company had several skirmishes with the Indians, in each of which it came off successful.

The rangers left him in command of a detachment, in possession of the fort at Cap au Gris. Soon after the main body of the rangers had marched away, the fort was besieged by a body of English and Indians. The besiegers made several attempts to storm the fort, but were repelled by the garrison.—The foe continued the siege for a week, continually firing upon the garrison, who sometimes, though not often, for want of ammunition, returned the fire. Lieutenant Pattie, perceiving no disposition in the enemy to withdraw, and discovering that his ammunition was almost entirely exhausted, deemed it necessary to send a despatch to Bellefontaine, near the point of the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi, where was stationed a considerable American force. He proposed to his command, that a couple of men should make their way through the enemy, cross the Mississippi, and apprize the commander of Bellefontaine of their condition. No one was found willing to risk the attempt, as the besiegers were encamped entirely around them. Leaving Thomas McNair in command in his place, and putting on the uniform of one of the English soldiers, whom they had killed during one of the attempts to storm the fort; he passed by night safely through the camp of the enemy, and arrived at the point of his destination, a distance of over forty miles: 500 soldiers were immediately dispatched from Bellefontaine to the relief of the besieged at Cap au Gris. As soon as this force reached the fort, the British and Indians decamped, not, however, without leaving many of their lifeless companions behind them.

Lieutenant Pattie remained in command of Cap au Gris, being essentially instrumental in repressing the incursions of the Sacs and Foxes, and disposing them to a treaty of peace, until the close of the war. In 1813 he received his discharge, and returned to his family, with whom he enjoyed domestic happiness in privacy and repose for some years. St. Louis and St. Charles

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were beginning rapidly to improve; American families were constantly immigrating to these towns. The timber in their vicinity is not of the best kind for building. Pine could no where be obtained in abundance, nearer than on the Gasconade, a stream that enters on the south side of the Missouri, about one hundred and fifty miles up that river. Mr. Pattie, possessing a wandering and adventurous spirit, meditated the idea of removing to this frontier and unpeopled river, to erect Mills upon it, and send down pine lumber in rafts to St. Louis, and the adjoining country. He carried his plan into operation, and erected a Saw and Grist Mill upon the Gasconade. It proved a very fortunate speculation, as there was an immediate demand at St. Louis and St. Charles for all the plank the mill could supply.

In this remote wilderness, Mr. Pattie lived in happiness and prosperity, until the mother of the author was attacked by consumption. Although her husband was, as has been said, strongly endowed with the wandering propensity, he was no less profoundly attached to his family; and in this wild region, the loss of a beloved wife was irreparable. She soon sunk under the disorder, leaving nine young children. Not long after, the youngest died, and was deposited by her side in this far land.

The house, which had been the scene of domestic quiet, cheerfulness and joy, and the hospitable home of the stranger, sojourning in these forests, became dreary and desolate. Mr. Pattie, who had been noted for the buoyancy of his gay spirit, was now silent, dejected, and even inattentive to his business; which, requiring great activity and constant attention, soon ran into disorder.

About this time, remote trapping and trading expeditions up the Missouri, and in the interior of New Mexico began to be much talked of. Mr. Pattie seemed to be interested in these expeditions, which offered much to stir the spirit and excite enterprize. To arouse him from his indolent melancholy, his friends advised him to sell his property, convert it into merchandize and equipments for trapping and hunting, and to join in such an undertaking. To a man born and reared under the circumstances

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of his early life—one to whom forests, and long rivers, adventures, and distant mountains, presented pictures of familiar and birth day scenes—one, who confided in his rifle, as a sure friend, and who withal, connected dejection and bereavement with his present desolate residence; little was necessary to tempt him to such an enterprise.

In a word, he adopted the project with that undoubting and unshrinking purpose, with which to will is to accomplish. Arrangements were soon made. The Children were provided for among his relations. The Author was at school; but inheriting the love of a rifle through so many generations, and nursed amid such scenes, he begged so earnestly of his father that he might be allowed to accompany the expedition, that he prevailed. The sad task remained for him to record the incidents of the expedition, and the sufferings and death of his father.

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Early Western Travels
1748-1846

Volume XVIII

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Early Western Travels
1748-1846

A Series of Annotated Reprints of some of the best and rarest contemporary volumes of travel, descriptive of the Aborigines and Social and Economic Conditions in the Middle and Far West, during the Period of Early American Settlement

Edited with Notes, Introductions, Index, etc., by

Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D.

Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," "Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," "Hennepin's New Discovery," etc.

Volume XVIII

Pattie's Personal Narrative, 1824-1830; Willard's Inland Trade with New Mexico, 1825, and Downfall of the Fredonian Republic; and Malte-Brun's Account of Mexico.

Cleveland, Ohio
The Arthur H. Clark Company
1905

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PERSONAL NARRATIVE during an Expedition from St. Louis, through The Vast Regions between that place and the Pacific Ocean, and thence back through the City of Mexico to Vera Cruz, during journeyings of six years; in which he and his Father, who accompanied him, suffered unheard of Hardships and Dangers, had Various Conflicts with the Indians, and were made Captives, in which Captivity his Father died; together with a Description of the Country, and the Various Nations through which they passed. *James O. Pattie*, of Kentucky, edited by *Timothy Flint*.

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PREFACE TO VOLUME XVIII

Upon the return, in 1806, of the Lewis and Clark exploring expedition, the first successfully to penetrate from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, the Western imagination was aroused by visions of wealth to be acquired from commercial relations with the Indians of the far Northwest. Fur-trading expeditions were accordingly soon dispatched up the Missouri and its tributaries; and, throughout several years, the equally rich opportunities for Southwestern Indian commerce and exploration were neglected.

Far to the Southwest lay the Spanish settlements of New Mexico, isolated islands of a sluggish civilization. Practically all of their imports were brought in by way of the Gulf of Mexico and Vera Cruz, thence travelling a difficult road of over fifteen hundred miles from the coast, making their cost almost prohibitive to the mixed race of Spaniards and Mexicans who dwelt in the valleys of the upper Rio Grande. Yet within easy reach of their frontier lay one of the chief commercial peoples of the age, to be reached over a wilderness road passing for the most part across level plains, watered by numerous streams — the upper tributaries of the great western affluents of the Mississippi. The common interests of these people and of the Americans lay in an interchange of commodities; but the government of New Spain looked with hostile suspicion upon the aggressive, vigorous race that was even then forcing its borders. Behind the prospect of profit for the overland Southwest trader, loomed the possibility of a gruesome Spanish prison, and confiscation of the adventured goods.

After Zebulon M. Pike returned (1807) with his account of arrest and detention in Santa Fé and Chihuahua, no

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American trader appears to have sought this region for five years. A party then outfitting from St. Louis was seized at the New Mexican frontier, hurried to an inland dungeon, and kept in durance nine miserable years. News of this harsh treatment, and of the revolutionary movement which was upheaving the social structure of all New Spain, proved sufficiently deterrent to keep any organized expeditions from risking the hazard of the Southwest trade, until the third decade of the nineteenth century. More favorable reports being then received, several caravans were fitted out, and the real history of the Santa Fé trail began.

Among the early merchants of St. Louis, the name of Bernard Pratte, near relative of the Chouteaus and Labbadies, was connected with important fur-trading enterprises. In the summer of 1824 Pratte's eldest son headed a caravan destined for the Santa Fé, his party being rendezvoused at the company's post upon the Missouri, not far from the present site of Omaha. There, while waiting for its final equipment, the expedition was reinforced by four free-traders who had left their home upon the Gasconade River, the frontier of Missouri settlement, and with a small outfit had ascended the river to this point, bent on trading and hunting upon its upper waters. Barred from their enterprise by the lack of an authoritative license for dealing with the Indians, the little band were easily persuaded to join Pratte's party. Two of these recruits were the heroes of our tale — Sylvester Pattie and his son James Ohio.

For three generations the Patties had been frontiersmen. Restlessly they moved onward as the border advanced, always hovering upon the outskirts of civilization, seeking to better their condition by taking up fresh lands in untilled places, and remorselessly fighting the aborigines who disputed their invasion. They longed unceasingly for new adventures in the mysterious West, that allured them with its strange fascination. Brave, honest, God-fearing, vigorous

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in mind and body, dependent on their own resources, for food and for defense chiefly dependent on the familiar rifle, the Patties belonged to that class of Americans who conquered the wilderness, and yearly pushed the frontier westward.

The career of the grandfather and father of our author, as in simple phrase he relates it in his Introduction, is typical of those of the founders of Kentucky, and the early settlers of the rich valley of the Missouri. To have early emigrated from Virginia to Kentucky, to have aided in the defense of Bryant's Station, and to have served under Colonel Benjamin Logan, and the still more renowned Kentuckian, George Rogers Clark, was unquestionable guaranty to the proud title of pioneer. It was typical, also, that the grandfather, having acquired some local fame and position, and attained the rank of magistrate, the father, tiring of Kentucky, should, like the Boones, join the stream of emigration to Missouri. There, history repeated itself. The War of 1812-15 breaking out, the frontier blockhouses must again withstand the assaults of savages. Lieutenant Pattie's relief of Cap-au-Gris, upon the Missouri, takes rank with Logan's Revolutionary exploits at St. Asaph's. The war ended, and the country filling up, "Mr. Pattie, possessing a wandering and adventurous spirit," once more removed to the utmost borders of civilization, and built a mill upon the rapid Gasconade. Here he was in a fair way to prosperity, when domestic affliction sent him forth into the wilderness, taking with him his eldest son, who "inheriting the love of a rifle through so many generations, and nursed amid such scenes, he begged so earnestly of his father that he might be allowed to accompany the expedition, that he prevailed." Thus began that long series of adventures, so full of hazard and suffering that their unvarnished narration would seem the invention of romance, did not one often find counterparts in the experiences of other Western wanderers.

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Recruited to the number of a hundred and sixteen, Pratte's caravan advanced first toward the Pawnee villages of the Platte. Because of his long experience in border warfare, Sylvester Pattie was now chosen commander, and thereafter arranged the details of march and guard. The Pawnee were inclined to be friendly, their chiefs having recently visited the Great Father at Washington; but in rescuing an ill-treated native child, captured by them on a recent raid against a hostile tribe, the whites were nearly embroiled with these pirates of the plains. Securing the little waif, also some Indian guides, the Pawnee were left behind August 11, 1824, and the advance to the Southwest begun. Day after day the party toiled across the plains, their journey filled with stirring incident. Once, prepared to fight a band of from six to eight hundred well-mounted Comanche, the whites were rescued by a rival tribe of horsemen, who, "with a noise like distant thunder," swept in between the hostile lines, and won the battle for them. Again, amid a vagrant party of Indians, the father of the little captive suddenly appeared, and presented the captain of the expedition with tokens of his gratitude for the rescue. Upon the twentieth of August, buffalo were first encountered; and twenty days later, on the ridge between the waters of the Kansas and the Arkansas, young Pattie was introduced to that then formidable enemy, the grizzly bear. From that time forward, these fierce creatures attacked the camp almost nightly; on one occasion, a member of the party was caught and so maimed by a grizzly that he shortly after died of his wounds.

On the twentieth of October the caravan reached the mountains, and after a difficult crossing descended into the attractive valley of Taos, the New Mexican frontier. Pattie was surprised at the primitive life and customs of the inhabitants of New Mexico, of which in a few unadorned sentences he gives us a vivid picture. Passing on to Santa Fé, the

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ancient capital, our adventurers were just in time to join a punitive expedition against a hostile band of Indians, wherein the junior Pattie had the good fortune to rescue from the hands of the savages a charming young Spanish maiden, daughter of a former governor of the province. The gratitude of the fair captive and of her father was profusely expressed, and their friendship proved of lasting value to the gallant narrator.

Obtaining permission from the New Mexican government to trap upon the Gila River, the Patties organized a small party for that purpose. Leaving Santa Fé on November 22, they passed down the Rio del Norte to Socorro, and then struck across country to the Gila, visiting en route the famous copper mines of Santa Rita. The trip extended through nearly five months, and the hunters were probably the first Americans to visit the upper valley of the Gila. Many of the natives having never seen a white man, fled at their approach; but others were more bold, and viciously attacked them with their arrows. James's appearance upon his return to the New Mexican settlements was so haggard that the rescued Spanish girl shed tears upon observing his plight.

Securing fresh supplies, the party set out to bring in their buried furs from the Gila, only to find that the Indians had discovered and rifled their cache; thus had their hardships and sufferings gone for naught. Returning to the mines, they succeeded in repelling an attack thereon by hostile Apache, and in wringing from them a treaty which ensured the peaceful working of the deposits; whereupon the Spaniards rented these works to Sylvester Pattie, whose American methods enabled him to derive from them a profit unknown to their former operators. But the tranquil life at Santa Rita proved too monotonous for the younger Pattie. He was seized with "an irresistible desire to resume the employment of trapping," and despite paternal remonstrances set

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out January 26, 1826, with a few companions, for the Gila valley, where he had already suffered and lost so much.

During the following eight months, the range of the trappers' journey was wide. Passing down the Gila to its junction with the Colorado, they ascended the banks of the latter stream, seeing in its now world-famous cañons only walls of highly-colored rock that debarred them from the water's edge. Crossing the continental divide, probably at the South Pass, they emerged upon the plains, and once more hunted buffalo in their native habitat. Turning north to the Big Horn and Yellowstone, the adventurers pursued a somewhat ill-defined course, coming back upon the upper Arkansas, and crossing to Santa Fé, where Pattie was again deprived of the harvest of furs gathered with such wearisome labor — this time by the duplicity of the Spanish governor, who claimed that the young man's former license did not extend to this expedition. After once more visiting the gentle Jacova, his young Spanish friend, Pattie sought his father at Santa Rita. Delaying there but three days for rest, he set forth upon another excursion afield — this time to Sonora, Chihuahua, and other provinces of northern Mexico, returning by way of El Paso, and reaching the mines by the middle of November.

The winter and spring were spent in occasional hunting excursions, and in visits to the Spanish haciendas. In the spring, a new turn was given to the fortunes of the Patties, by the embezzlement and flight of a trusted Spanish subordinate, through whom were lost the savings of several years. Forced to abandon their mining operations, father and son sought to rehabilitate themselves by another extended trapping expedition, and set forth with a company of thirty, again in the direction of the Gila.

Engagements with hostile Indians were of frequent occurrence. Early in November, many of their party having deserted and all of their horses being stolen, the remainder

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built themselves canoes, and embarked upon the river. Communication with the natives being only possible through the sign language, our adventurers misunderstood their informants to declare that a Spanish settlement existed at the mouth of the Colorado; and in expectation of here finding succor, they continued down that great waterway to its mouth. There they met with nothing but deserted shores, and tidal waves which seriously alarmed and disturbed these fresh-water voyagers. Finding the ascent of the swift current beyond their powers, they had now no recourse but to bury their store of furs, and strike across the rugged peninsula of Lower California toward the Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast. The story of their sufferings in the salt lakes and deserts of this barren land is told with more vigor than delicacy. Arrived at a Dominican mission on the western slope of the mountains, the weary travellers were received with suspicion rather than hospitality. Being placed under surveillance, they were forwarded to San Diego, then the residence of the governor of the Spanish settlements of California.

We now come to a most interesting portion of Pattie's book — his residence in California, in the time of the Mexican régime, and his report of conditions and events in the "land of the golden fleece." According to his account, he and his companions were at first treated with severity, being imprisoned at San Diego for lack of passports, and there detained for many months. The elder Pattie died in his cell, without being permitted to see the son for whose presence he had piteously pleaded in his latest hours. Young Pattie's hatred for the Mexican governor was not unnatural; but the consequent bitterness of expression quite distorts his narrative. A Mexican tradition reports that the Patties were received by the inhabitants with wonder, and treated kindly; also that the elder Pattie embraced the Catholic faith before his death, and expressed his appreciation of the

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hospitality shown them. We may infer even from the son's statements, since his chief anathemas are reserved for the officers and the priests, that the unofficial population disapproved of the governor's measures.

Pattie was at last released, in recognition of his services as an interpreter, and in order that he might vaccinate the natives of the missions, among whom a smallpox epidemic had broken out. The adventurer now set forth up the coast, stopping in turn at each mission and presidio, and presenting us with a graphic picture of the pastoral life of the neophytes and rancheros. Arrived at San Francisco, he pushed on to the Russian fort on Bodega Bay, returning to Monterey in time to describe and participate in the Solis revolt of 1829. Here he consorted with the small American colony, and in his narrative probably magnifies his own part in this affair, which, seen through the mists of memory, bulked larger than the facts would warrant. At Monterey he encountered his old enemy, Governor Echeandia, who with apparent surprise found his former captive among those who had aided in suppressing the revolt. Proffered Mexican citizenship, Pattie represents himself as showering reproaches on the governor for the indignities he had suffered. Advised by his new friends to make a formal statement of his injuries, and the losses suffered by refusal to permit the securing of his furs, Pattie embarked for Mexico in May, 1830, together with the revolutionists who were being sent to the capital for trial. Upon his departure he conveys his impressions of Alta California in a few striking sentences: "Those who traverse it [the California coast] . . . must be constantly excited to wonder and praise. It is no less remarkable for uniting the advantages of healthfulness, a good soil, a temperate climate, and yet one of exceeding mildness, a happy mixture of level and elevated ground, and vicinity to the sea." He then proceeds to animadvert upon the inhabitants and the conduct of the mission padres in their treatment of the natives. The companions of his long and adventurous

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journey he left settled among the Mexicans; most of them made California their permanent home.

At the City of Mexico, Pattie visited the American diplomatic representative, also the president of the republic, but failed to obtain satisfaction for his losses or injuries. On the way to Vera Cruz, Pattie's travelling party met with an incident then common to travel in Mexico — being halted by the outlawed followers of the recently-deposed president, their arms seized, one of their number hanged, and the remainder relieved of their valuables. From Vera Cruz our adventurer found passage to New Orleans; thence, through the kindly help of compatriots, who loaned him money for the steamboat passage, he ascended the Mississippi to Cincinnati and his early Kentucky home. Here the narrative closes. The only clue we have in reference to his after life, is the one given by H. H. Bancroft, the historian, who thinks he was again in San Diego, California, after the American advent.[1]

When poor Pattie arrived in Cincinnati, August 30, 1830, he not only was penniless, but long incarceration in Mexican prisons had broken his health and spirits. The tale of his adventures was doubtless received with slight credence by his simple relatives. But the Reverend Timothy Flint, the young editor of the *Western Monthly Review* of Cincinnati, who was already enamored of stories of Western pioneering, prevailed upon Pattie to write an account of his curious experiences. Thus originated the *Personal Narrative*, which we now republish in full for the first time.[2]

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[1] Bancroft, *History of California*, iii, p. 171, note 44.

[2] The first edition was published at Cincinnati in 1831; this is, however, less commonly seen than one dated 1833. Both are, however, from the same plates, and differ only in date and style of title-page and form of copyright clause. We follow the earlier edition, in these respects. In 1847, one Bilson published a book in New York under the title, *The Hunters of Kentucky; or, the trials and toils of traders and trappers during an expedition to the Rocky Mountains, New Mexico and California*, in which much of Pattie's narrative was incorporated verbatim. *Harper's Magazine*, xxi, pp. 80-94, also gives a résumé of Pattie's adventures, with slight embellishments.

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Pattie appears to have written from memory, without the aid of notes taken on the journey — a fact which accounts for the occasional discrepancies in dates, and the obvious confusion of events. Upon the whole, however, the narrative impresses the reader with a sense of its verity, and has the charm of simplicity and vigor. The emendations of the editor, we are assured, were chiefly in the matters of orthography and punctuation, "with the occasional interposition of a topographical illustration, which my acquaintance with the accounts of travellers in New Mexico, and published views have enabled me to make." It is probable that we thus owe to Flint most of the descriptions of scenery, for there is abundant textual evidence that Pattie was not possessed of a poetic fancy. To expand the dimensions of the book, Flint added an article on "Inland Trade with New Mexico," composed chiefly of extracts from the journal of a Doctor Willard, who in May, 1825, set out from St. Charles, Missouri, with an overland party bound for Santa Fé. Thence, practicing medicine on the way, he visited Chihuahua and the northeastern provinces of Mexico, ending his journey at Matamoras. This article, together with another by the same author, on the "Downfall of the Fredonian Republic," also included in the volume, had appeared three years before in Flint's magazine. The volume closes with an extract on Mexican manners and customs, from Malte-Brun's *Géographie universelle.*

A thrilling tale of pure adventure, ranging all the way from encounters with grizzly bears, and savages who had never before seen a white man, to a revolution in a Latin-American state, Pattie's narrative has long been a classic. Its chief value to the student of Western history depends upon the vast extent of country over which the author passed, the ethnological data which he presents, especially in relation to the Southwestern tribes, and his graphic picture of the contact between two civilizations in the Southwest, with the

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inevitable encroachments of the more progressive race. One sees in his pages the beginnings of the drama to be fought out in the Mexican War — the rich and beautiful country, which excited the cupidity of the American pioneer; the indolence and effeminacy of the inhabitants, which inspired the virile backwoodsmen's contempt; and the vanguard of the American advance, already touching the Rockies, and ready to push on to the Pacific. The Spanish-American official, displaying his little brief authority, but irritated the restless borderer, whose advent he dreaded, and whose pressure finally proved irresistible. As a part of the vanguard of the American host that was to crowd the Mexican from the fair northern provinces of his domain, Pattie's wanderings are typical, and suggestive of more than mere adventure. His book is well worthy of reproduction in our series.

The present Editor is under obligations to Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D., and Edith Kathryn Lyle, Ph.D., for assistance in preparing this volume for the press.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., July, 1905.

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Pattie's Personal Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and in Mexico June 20, 1824 – August 30, 1830

Reprint of the original edition: Cincinnati, 1831

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THE

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

JAMES O. PATTIE,

OF

KENTUCKY,

DURING AN EXPEDITION FROM ST. LOUIS, THROUGH THE VAST REGIONS BETWEEN THAT PLACE AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND THENCE BACK THROUGH THE CITY OF MEXICO TO VERA CRUX, DURING JOURNEYINGS OF SIX YEARS; IN WHICH HE AND HIS FATHER, WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM, SUFFERED UNHEARD OF HARDSHIPS AND DANGERS, HAD VARIOUS CONFLICTS WITH THE INDIANS, AND WERE MADE CAPTIVES, IN WHICH CAPTIVITY HIS FATHER DIED; TOGETHER WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE VARIOUS NATIONS THROUGH WHICH THEY PASSED.

EDITED BY TIMOTHY FLINT.

CINCINNATI:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN H. WOOD.
1831.

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DISTRICT OF OHIO, TO WIT:

BE it Remembered, that on the 18th day of Oct., Anno Domini 1831; John H. Wood, of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a Book, the title of which is in the words following, to wit:

"The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky, during an expedition from St. Louis, through the vast regions between that place and the Pacific ocean, and thence back through the city of Mexico to Vera Cruz, during journeyings of six years; in which he and his father who accompanied him, suffered unheard of hardships and dangers; had various conflicts with the Indians, and were made captives, in which captivity his father died, together with a description of the country, and the various nations through which they passed."

The right whereof he claims as proprietor, in conformity with an act of Congress, entitled "An act to amend the several acts respecting copyrights."

Attest, WILLIAM MINER,
Clerk of the District.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE[1]

It has been my fortune to be known as a writer of works of the imagination. I am solicitous that this Journal should lose none of its intrinsic interest, from its being supposed that in preparing it for the press, I have drawn from the imagination, either in regard to the incidents or their coloring. For, in the literal truth of the facts, incredible as some of them may appear, my grounds of conviction are my acquaintance with the Author, the impossibility of inventing a narrative like the following, the respectability of his relations, the standing which his father sustained, the confidence reposed in him by the Hon. J. S. Johnston,[2] the very respectable senator in congress from Louisiana, who introduced him to me, the concurrent testimony of persons now in this city, who saw him at different points in New Mexico, and

[1] Timothy Flint (1780-1840) was a native of Reading, Massachusetts. Graduated from Harvard College (1800), he became a Congregational minister, and in 1815 went as a missionary to the Far West. Until 1822 his headquarters were at St. Charles, Missouri; in that year he descended the Mississippi in a flatboat and settled in Louisiana, conducting a seminary on Lake Pontchartrain. Ill health compelled him to return to the North (1825), and thereafter he gave his attention to literature. For three years he edited the *Western Review* at Cincinnati; but later, removing to New York (1833), conducted the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. In addition to publishing a number of romances and biographies of Western life, he was the author of two well-known books on the West: *Recollections of the Last Ten Years Passed in the Valley of the Mississippi* (1826), and *Condensed History and Geography of the Western States* (1828).— Ed.

[2] Josiah Stoddard Johnston was born in Salisbury, Connecticut (1784), but when a small boy removed with his parents to Washington, Kentucky. He was graduated from Transylvania University (1805), and soon after began the practice of law in Alexandria, a frontier village of Louisiana. Gaining reputation as a lawyer, he served as district judge from 1812-21, was elected to the 17th congress, and in 1823 became a member of the federal senate, where he supported a protective tariff and the other measures advocated by Henry Clay. In 1833, Johnston was killed in the explosion of the steamboat "Lyon," on Red River.— Ed.

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the reports, which reached the United States, during the expedition of many of the incidents here recorded.

When my family first arrived at St. Charles' in 1816, the fame of the exploits of his father, as an officer of the rangers, was fresh in the narratives of his associates and fellow soldiers. I have been on the ground, at Cap au Gris, where he was besieged by the Indians. I am not unacquainted with the scenery through which he passed on the Missouri, and I, too, for many years was a sojourner in the prairies.

These circumstances, along with a conviction of the truth of the narrative, tended to give me an interest in it, and to qualify me in some degree to judge of the internal evidences contained in the journal itself, of its entire authenticity. It will be perceived at once, that Mr. Pattie, with Mr. McDuffie, thinks more of action than literature, and is more competent to perform exploits, than blazon them in eloquent periods. My influence upon the narrative regards orthography, and punctuation [iv] and the occasional interposition of a topographical illustration, which my acquaintance with the accounts of travellers in New Mexico, and published views of the country have enabled me to furnish. The reader will award me the confidence of acting in good faith, in regard to drawing nothing from my own thoughts. I have found more call to suppress, than to add, to soften, than to show in stronger relief many of the incidents. Circumstances of suffering, which in many similar narratives have been given in downright plainness of detail, I have been impelled to leave to the reader's imagination, as too revolting to be recorded.

The very texture of the narrative precludes ornament and amplification. The simple record of events as they transpired, painted by the hungry, toil-worn hunter, in the midst of the desert, surrounded by sterility, espying the foot print of the savage, or discerning him couched behind the tree or hillock, or hearing the distant howl of wild beasts, will

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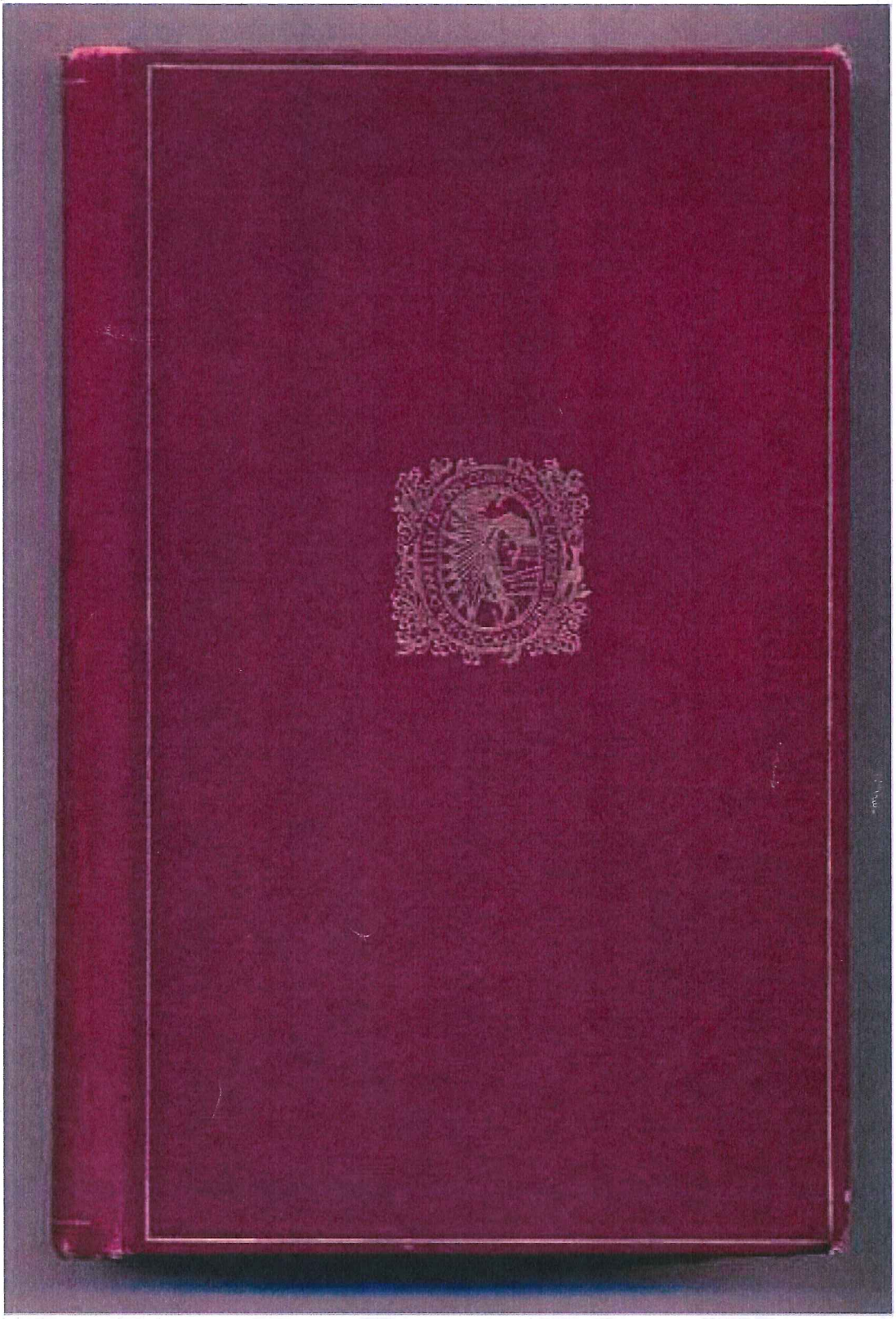

Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition (The Lakeside Classics)

ITEM #123

The Lakeside Classics

The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky

Edited by Timothy Flint

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND FOOTNOTES BY

MILO MILTON QUAIFE

SECRETARY AND EDITOR OF
THE BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION

CHICAGO
The Lakeside Press
R. R. DONNELLEY & SONS CO.
Christmas, 1930

Publishers' Preface

THE publication of *Pattie's Narrative* should naturally have followed Pike's Southwestern Expedition, but the publishers of *The Lakeside Classics* have long disclaimed consistency in the content of these volumes either as to time or subject matter. They have acquired the habit of sauntering through the whole field of American history, trying to find some little-known, personal narrative of historical interest which they believe is told in a manner that gives an insight into the spirit of the event and of the times. When they find such a narrative, they make bold to publish it, even if it appears out of sequence.

Pattie started on his adventures in 1824, while Gregg made his first journey across the plains to Santa Fé in 1831, and the Texan Expedition to Santa Fé occurred in 1841, but, in a way, the publishing of *Pattie's Narrative* after Gregg and Kendall has a certain appropriateness. Pike, Gregg and Kendall were men of education. They wrote with an historical sense of accuracy which has stood the test of subsequent

historical criticism. In a manner, these three books have laid a solid background of the history of the relations of the Americans with the Spaniards and Mexicans in the Santa Fé territory and northern Mexico from its beginning until the Mexican War. Pattie fills in a portion of this background with the bright colors of high adventure. He was uneducated, the son of a frontiersman, and a frontiersman himself. Upon his return from his six years' absence, without journal or other notes, he tells his story with the pride and ardor of a youth who has had a great adventure and wants the acclaim that comes in telling it.

It contains an unconscious picture of the psychology of the frontiersman—brave, enterprising, resourceful, but despising the Indian, treating him heartlessly and often murdering him with a clear conscience. It is the forerunner of all those blood and thunder tales of Indians and the Wild West which we, as boys, passed around among each other, but kept carefully concealed from our parents, who were bent upon our reading only the "best books."

However, it is not cheap fiction, but the relation of actual experiences, and now that our minds have either been improved or are beyond improvement, it is the hope of the

publishers that for a few hours its readers can again be boys and enjoy without self-reproach Pattie's tale.

THE PUBLISHERS.

Christmas, 1930.

Historical Introduction

FOR several years the annual volumes of the *Lakeside Classics* have been devoted to narratives of travel and adventure in the Far Southwest. *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* tells the story of another adventurous American who in the years 1824–30 was vainly seeking his fortune as a trader and trapper in New Mexico and the adjacent regions.

Thousands of readers, a few years since, perused with eager zest the personal recital of *Trader Horn*, whose story of African adventure won for the venerable author an ample measure of wealth and literary fame. Probably few of his readers were aware of the fact that on the shelves of their public libraries reposed many narratives of early American adventure no less exciting—and no less veritable in the recital—than the pages of *Trader Horn*.

As an example, we offer to our readers the *Personal Narrative* of James O. Pattie. Like Trader Horn, he went as a youth to a distant and savage land; he rescued a beautiful captive maiden, daughter of a governor of New

Mexico; he fell upon evil days, and in the midst of his penury enjoyed the good fortune to come upon a competent and discriminating editor. Unlike Horn, Pattie told his story while still in the vigor of youth and fresh from the scenes with which his recital deals. Each required the aid of collaborator to organize his narrative, and each, there is reason to suspect, was more intent on telling a tale in which the narrator should always occupy the center of the stage than in presenting a sober historical recital. That Pattie, at least, succeeded in his endeavor, and that he provided one of the most stirring tales of frontier adventure ever recorded, will be evident to all who read the pages that follow.

Of James Ohio Pattie, the author, we know little more than his own recital discloses. His grandfather was one of those Virginians who migrated to pioneer Kentucky during the stormy years of the American Revolution. Here his father, Sylvester Pattie, was born in August, 1782. This was the month of the British-Indian attack upon Bryant's Station, and of the dreadful slaughter of the pride of Kentucky's manhood in the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks. In such an atmosphere of Indian alarm and warfare, Sylvester Pattie's boyhood was passed. In mature manhood he

moved to the newer frontier of Missouri, where during the War of 1812 were re-enacted the scenes of Indian warfare which Kentucky had undergone a generation earlier. As a lieutenant of militia, Pattie bore his share in the defense of the settlements, winning a place in pioneer annals by his spirited defense of the fort at Cap-au-Gris. In 1813 he was mustered out of service, and removing to the Gasconade River he established a saw and grist mill. There was then a demand for lumber at St. Louis, and on the Gasconade was the nearest considerable supply of pine timber. Pattie's enterprise prospered, therefore, but the untimely death of his wife threw him into a state of unrest and dissatisfaction.

"About this time," the son relates, "remote trapping and trading expeditions up the Missouri, and in the interior of New Mexico began to be much talked of." Pattie caught the fever and having entrusted his young children to the custody of relatives, in the spring of 1824 organized a small party intent upon a trapping expedition to the upper Missouri. Through the refusal of the commandant at the Council Bluffs to permit the party to proceed farther, and the opportune presence in the vicinity of a large trading party bound for Santa Fé, Pattie was

induced to abandon his original project and join the Santa Fé expedition, with whose command he was shortly invested.

James Ohio Pattie, eldest son of Sylvester, was still but a schoolboy when the trading expedition was conceived. "Inheriting the love of a rifle through so many generations, and nursed amid such scenes," he induced his father to permit him to accompany the latter on his new adventure. From it, Sylvester Pattie never returned. James Ohio came back at the end of six years, to become the historian of his own and his father's travels.

The foregoing paragraphs will serve to introduce the reader to our author, the detailed story of whose adventurous years in the Southwest may best be left to his own recital. Our further remarks will be directed, therefore, to the evaluation of Pattie's narrative from the point of view of its historical validity and importance.

Although the party which the Patties joined was not the first to cross the plains from Missouri to New Mexico, it was one of the very early expeditions to traverse the Santa Fé Trail.[1] But having arrived at Santa

[1]The beginnings of the Santa Fé trade are described in Chapter 1 of the *Commerce of the Prairies by Josiah Gregg*, the *Lakeside Classics* volume for 1926.

Fé, our author remained in the Southwest for several years, traversing a considerable section of present-day Mexico and sojourning over a year in the present state of California. Evidently his observations, if intelligent and trustworthy, must possess great historical interest and value.

Of Pattie's intelligence there can be no room for reasonable doubt. The accuracy of his narrative, and the validity of his personal reflections and judgments, however, are matters which cannot be disposed of so easily. Upon his return to Cincinnati in 1830, he was commended to Timothy Flint, then the enterprising editor of *The Western Monthly Review*. In his own particular way, Flint was no less a pioneer than Pattie himself. Trained to the ministry, he had embraced the profession of literature, and a long-time residence in the Mississippi Valley had made of him one of our earliest devotees of western history and adventure. We may well rejoice over the combination of circumstances which brought Pattie and Flint together. The trader had an unusual story to tell, and probably no man living was better equipped than Flint to draw it from the adventurer and edit it for presentation.

The result of the work of coöperation upon which editor and author engaged is seen in

judgment of Pattie, we are nevertheless constrained to do so. It nowhere appears that Pattie kept a journal of his travels, and the internal evidence that he did not do so is conclusive. However vivid his memories may have been, it will be obvious to the reader that over a six-year period of time, fraught with the many distracting experiences undergone by the author, he could not possibly have recollected accurately the many dates and other precise details related by him. To a limited extent students of the history of the Southwest have been able to check Pattie's story by contemporary records, found in part in the Mexican archives, and the result of such checking amply confirms the *a priori* reasoning we have just set forth.

That a man dependent upon the unaided memory should misstate dates and like precise details constitutes no impugnment of his good faith; merely would the reader, apprised of the situation, make proper allowance for it when perusing the narrative. We turn, therefore, to a more important matter, of whose significance we can only wonder that Flint should have been oblivious.[2] The

[2] In fairness to Flint it may be noted that a like obliviousness characterized Pattie's later and more famous editor, Dr. R. G. Thwaites.

student who seeks to follow Pattie in his wanderings is perplexed by the almost total absence of names which will serve to identify his companions. Newly returned from the scene of his adventures, he could not possibly have remembered the experiences described and at the same time have forgotten the names of his companions in peril. Why, then, did he, with undeviating purpose, refrain from supplying them?

Herein, we submit, is a problem of considerable moment to our immediate theme. One who is relating a truthful story does not fear to have it checked. On the contrary, the more remarkable the experiences narrated, the more desirous will he naturally be to supply the names of witnesses who can verify the story he has told. Even Flint recognized that portions of Pattie's story seemed incredible. Why, then, instead of relying upon the general repute of the narrator, did he not ask (as he might readily have done) for the names of Pattie's companions, who might be cited in support of these "incredible" experiences? Or, if he did so ask, what excuse did Pattie offer for withholding them?

The answer, we think, at least in part, is suggested by the results of certain attempts made by scholars to verify Pattie's story and in this connection to identify the expeditions

to which he was attached. One of these scholars was Hubert Howe Bancroft, famous historian of the Pacific Slope.[3] He clearly shows that the California portion of the narrative is inaccurate with respect to many statements of detail, and that its author was manifestly unfair in his strictures upon the authorities of Spanish California, and given to exaggeration in stating his own exploits. Bancroft's general conclusions may be summed up in his estimate of Pattie as "a self-conceited and quick-tempered boy with a freedom of speech often amounting to insolence and unlimited ability to make himself disagreeable."

More recently, Joseph J. Hill of the Bancroft Library, University of California, has endeavored to identify the trapping expeditions with which Pattie was associated.[4] Like Bancroft for the California period of the narrative, he shows that in this earlier portion Pattie's dates are sadly awry. He identifies (although not with certainty) Pattie's Gila and Colorado River expeditions with the known expeditions of 1826–27 of

[3]For his discussion of Pattie see his *History of the Pacific States of North America*, XV, 162–72.

[4]"New light on Pattie and the Southwestern Fur Trade," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXVI, 243 ff. (April, 1923).

Miguel Robidoux and Ewing Young. "With this identification established," he concludes, "we are able, now for the first time, to apply the Pattie narrative to the Robidoux and Young expeditions. Heretofore, because Pattie's name was the only one mentioned in the narrative, it has been thought of as Pattie's Expedition. We can now think of it from the point of view of the organizers and leaders rather than that of an egotistical boy who happened to be picked up along the way."

In the light of Hill's contribution the solution of our problem becomes apparent. Pattie actually engaged in the travels and underwent the experiences set forth in his narrative. In relating them to Flint, however, a mistaken desire to monopolize the spotlight led him to represent himself as the leader of enterprises wherein he had in fact enacted a far humbler rôle. For this reason he could not supply the names of his companions, or even identify the expeditions he had accompanied, since to do so would render him liable to prompt exposure by those who had shared his adventures. So effectually did he conceal his motives and movements that only after the lapse of a century have they been thus partially brought to light.

Some extenuation of the shortcomings of Pattie's narrative which have here been

hinted at, as well as of others which will be obvious to the thoughtful reader, may be found in the youth and relative inexperience of the author. Even at the end of his six-year tour he was little more than a boy in years although the concluding pages of his narrative breathe an air of despondency and world-weariness more befitting a man of thrice his age. Youth aside, his outlook upon life was that of the American frontiersman of a century ago, a class of men not noted for lack of either national or individual self-confidence. Until his advent in the Southwest, Pattie had, of course, no knowledge of Spanish-American character and civilization, and his narrative affords but slight indication that he ever acquired much understanding of the people he had come among. His antipathy for the Mexican authorities is reflected in the writings of most Americans of this period who adventured into Mexico. With no desire to turn against our countrymen it is but fair to admit that citizens of the United States enjoy no monopoly of the virtues of fairness, generosity, and Christian humility. The internal evidence of Pattie's own narrative discloses, we think, something by way of exculpation of the conduct of those he deemed his oppressors, and this was decidedly the opinion of Bancroft.

Of Pattie's after career we have found but one brief record. In the spring of 1880 William Waldo, who half a century earlier had been engaged in the Southwest fur trade, related to the Missouri Historical Society some of his interesting recollections.[5] Of Pattie, he stated that on returning from the West he entered Augusta College, Kentucky, and while he was a student here, Timothy Flint wrote his narrative. An effort to verify this statement, made in the summer of 1930, has brought to light much interesting information about Augusta College, but comparatively little concerning Pattie.[6] The College was founded in December, 1821. It is said to have been the first college ever established by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and for about three decades it played an interesting and important rôle in the educational and religious life of Kentucky. The main college building, of brick, was erected in 1823, and eventually it was flanked on either side by dormitories, which still remain. In 1852 the principal college

[5]See Missouri Historical Society, *Publications*, Nos. II and III, 1–18, especially p. 18.

[6]For the statements that follow, I am indebted to John Wilson Townsend of Lexington, well-known Kentucky litterateur, who on my behalf kindly paid a visit to Augusta in search of information about the college.

recital the Editor included in the volume an addendum on the "Inland Trade with New Mexico"; the contents of this addendum consisted of two articles which had recently appeared in Flint's magazine, together with a selection from Malte-Bruns' *Géographie Universelle*. In 1833 a second edition of the narrative, printed from the original plates, appeared. The only complete reprint of the volume which has since appeared is the one brought out by Reuben G. Thwaites as Volume XVIII of his *Early Western Travels* series (Cleveland, 1905). Our present printing, which omits the supplementary material supplied by the Editor to the original edition, is from a copy owned by the Henry E. Huntington Library of San Marino, California. Save for a comparatively small number of obvious misprints, which the Editor has seen no utility in reproducing, the present printing reproduces literally that of the original edition. M. M. QUAIFE.

Detroit Public Library,
September, 1930.

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Pattie's narrative reveals a basic distrust of the Indians. Again and again he recounts acts of savagery inflicted by the Indians on the whites, and, conversely, by the whites on the Indians. "These red children of the desert," he wrote, appear "to inherit an equal hatred for all whites." Pattie encountered some Mexicans for whom he felt friendship, but in general he conceived an intense dislike and contempt for them. If the Southwest "were inhabited by an enlightened, enterprising and industrious people," it would be a rich land. But "nothing can exceed the indolence of the actual inhabitants." His experiences convinced him as never before of the worth of his own country and of "the priceless blessings of its liberty."

Pattie did not keep a journal but told his story afterward to the Reverend Timothy Flint, who edited it for publication. Perhaps through fault of memory Pattie's account has been shown to contain a number of inaccuracies. Despite that, it is one of the classics of frontier literature. The editor provided illustrations of Pattie's adventures to accompany the text and appended several articles concerning Mexico. Stanton A. Coblentz discusses the Pattie narrative in *The Swallowing Wilderness* (New York, [1961]), pp. 7-13, as does Milo M. Quaife in his introduction to *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (Chicago, 1930), pp. xiii-xxvi.

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THE

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

JAMES O. PATTIE,

OF KENTUCKY,

DURING AN EXPEDITION FROM ST. LOUIS, THROUGH THE VAST REGIONS BETWEEN THAT PLACE AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND THENCE BACK THROUGH THE CITY OF MEXICO TO VERA CRUZ, DURING JOURNEYINGS OF SIX YEARS; IN WHICH HE AND HIS FATHER, WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM, SUFFERED UNHEARD OF HARDSHIPS AND DANGERS, HAD VARIOUS CONFLICTS WITH THE INDIANS, AND WERE MADE CAPTIVES, IN WHICH CAPTIVITY HIS FATHER DIED;

TOGETHER WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE VARIOUS NATIONS THROUGH WHICH THEY PASSED.

EDITED BY

TIMOTHY FLINT.

CINCINNATI:

PUBLISHED BY E. H. FLINT.

1833.

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PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF
JAMES O. PATTIE

EDITED BY RICHARD BATMAN

ITEM #125

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF JAMES O. PATTIE

James Ohio Pattie

Edited and with a Foreword and Notes
by Richard Batman

CLASSICS OF THE FUR TRADE SERIES
Winfred Blevins, General Editor

A Copper Mountain Books, Inc., Book
Published by
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Missoula, 1988

∞

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Maps © 1984 A. Karl/J. Kemp
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FOREWORD

On August 28, 1930, the *Cincinnati Advertiser and Ohio Gazette*, carried a story about an anonymous traveler who passed through the city the previous day. It is unlikely, however, that many of the *Advertiser's* readers on that Saturday in late summer lingered over the article for more than a brief moment. The man was identified only as "a passenger who arrived yesterday, from Vera Cruz," and the story contained nothing more interesting than a few of his vague, general comments about political conditions in Mexico. Yet had he been given the opportunity, he could have filled the entire newspaper with stories, for his name was James Pattie, and he had just returned from five years of wandering in the all but unknown country between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean.

At a bookstore on Main Street, "nearly opposite the Presbyterian Church," however, the owner, Timothy Flint, was very much interested in any stories Pattie could tell. Flint, at one time a minister and missionary, in more recent years had given up religion in favor of writing, editing, and bookselling. By 1830 he was a well-known author with several words of fiction and nonfiction to his credit, several of which showed his widespread interest in the western country. That interest was familiar to Flint's friends, including Josiah Johnston, the United States Senator from Louisiana, who had also arrived in Cincinnati the previous day.

It was through Johnston that James Pattie first met Timothy Flint. A month before Pattie, on his way home from California by way of Mexico, had arrived in New Orleans so broke that he could not even afford to continue his trip upriver to Kentucky. A friend, however, told Johnston of Pattie's plight and the senator, who was traveling north on the steamboat *Cora*, offered to pay his passage on the same ship. Then, when the *Cora* arrived in Cincinnati, he took the young man to Flint's bookstore and introduced him.

It was out of this meeting that the *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie* grew. At the time, in late August, 1830, the two could only have talked briefly, for the next day Pattie continued on to his grandfather's home in Augusta, Kentucky, fifty miles up the Ohio River. Sometime later, however, Pattie returned to Cincinnati, and together the two produced the *Personal Narrative* which was published in 1831.

The collaboration has often given rise to the question of exactly who did what. Several writers have suggested that Timothy Flint may have done more than just edit Pattie's words. Some have even gone so far as to claim that Pattie himself was illiterate and therefore Flint must have written the entire book. There are, however, surviving documents to prove that Pattie could write. Other records show that his grandfather was both a teacher and a judge, and that both James Pattie and his father had more than the usual amount of education for the time. Clearly, Pattie was entirely capable of writing his own story and although Timothy Flint certainly did some manipulating, the basic responsibility for the *Personal Narrative* belongs to James Pattie.

Still, Timothy Flint admitted making certain changes, although he insists they were minor. "My influence on the narrative," he said, "regards orthography, and punctuation and the occasional interposition of a topographical illustration, which my acquaintance with the accounts of travellers in New Mexico, and published views of the country have enabled me to furnish." Unfortunately, he never specifically defines a "topographical illustration," nor does he indicate whether they consist of a few words or something much more. Probably, they are quite long, for there are sections in the narrative which, because of impossible chronology and rough transitions do not fit. Probably, they were added by Flint as a topographical illustration.

I have indicated these places in the notes, and have suggested a way to deal with them. Beyond that, I have tried to avoid correcting each of Pattie's claims and comments. In another book, *American Ecclesiastes*,[1] written for the express purpose of examining James Pattie and his book, I constantly—and purposely—interrupted his adventures to point out errors, correct them when I could, suggest alternate possibilities when I couldn't, and cite sources to support my claims. This, however, is James Pattie's book, and I have tried to keep that in mind as I edited it. Hopefully there are enough notes to orient the reader and to point out the most glaring inaccuracies and inconsistencies. But this time I have let Pattie tell his own story with as little interruption as possible. For those interested in further reading to place James Pattie and his *Personal Narrative* in a broader perspective, I have included a short bibliography. It should serve as a place to begin pursuing the subject of James Pattie and the early American West.

The narrative was originally published in 1831 and reprinted two years later. Text of this edition is from a re-setting of type of the 1833 printing. Since this is James Pattie's story the appendices, "Inland Trade with New Mexico," "Downfall of the Fredonian Republic," and the extract on Mexico from the *Universal Geography* have been eliminated. They have nothing to do with Pattie or his story and were apparently added for no other purpose than to pad the book.

Pattie's *Personal Narrative*, first published more than a century and a half ago, is a unique look at life in the early Southwest and California. It is also the story, told in a vivid first-person narrative, of a young man's attempt to adjust to a way of life far different from that in which he was raised. The world through which James Pattie moved was new and exciting; the story of a young man coming of age is a universal theme. That more than anything may explain why it is still read 150 years after it was first published.

Richard Batman
San Rafael, California

[1]Harcourt Brace Javanovich, 1984. Reprinted in paper as *James Pattie's West, the Dream and the Reality*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.

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126

The Missions and Missionaries of California

New Series. Local History

SAN FRANCISCO

OR

MISSION DOLORES

BY

Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O. F. M.

Author of "Missions and Missionaries," "Franciscans in California," "Franciscans in Arizona," "Holy Man of Santa Clara," "Mission Santa Barbara," etc.

"Colligite quae superaverunt fragmenta, ne pereant." Joan, vi, 12

FRANCISCAN HERALD PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
1924

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"October 26." The start was made at seven a. m. The tide was very low, Fr. Abella remarks. Finally a rancheria of Ompinos Indians came in sight, some of whose villagers had already been baptized. The Rio San Francisco was followed downward.

"October 27." Being Sunday, holy Mass was celebrated before leaving the camp on the *Loma de los Tompinos*. At eleven a. m. the launches began to move and all went into camp one league before reaching the plain of the Suisunes.

"October 28, the feast of Saints Simon and Jude, Apostles." Holy Mass was celebrated and then the evpedition proceeded one league to the head of Suisun Creek, and to the edge of a large plain covered with oaks. The Cerro de los Bolbones was about twelve leagues to the southwest. Here fifty Indians from two rancherias paid us a visit and made us some presents, says Fr. Abella. The rancherias were Malaka and Suisun. Another village farther down was called Ululatto. Not far away was the site of the battle in which Ensign Gabriel Moraga defeated the Indians. The vicinity was pronounced excellent for a Mission, but it was hard to reach except by water through Karquines Strait.

"October 29. We set out at two o'clock in the morning and reached the Strait of Karquines by sunrise," Fr. Abella informs us. In the afternoon the expedition arrived at Angel Island.

"October 30." The day was spent trying to cross to the presidio in the face of unfavorable winds and tide. The 58 persons[2] composing the expedition in the launch of the presidio and in that of the Mission at length safely reached their homes late in the afternoon.

E.

JAMES OHIO PATTIE'S VACCINATION STORY

J. O. Pattie, a Kentucky adventurer and trapper, arrived at San Diego with his father and other trappers on March 26, 1828. Not having any passports, all were imprisoned by Governor Echeandia, but later on released. Young Pattie was paroled for one year so that he might vaccinate the Indians and whites all along the coast to San Francisco; at least such is his claim. On returning to Cincinnati, August 30, 1830, he was induced to write out the tale of his adventures. Soured on account of the treatment he and his father had received at the hands of Echeandia, and under the spell of the anti-Catholic craze of the period, he wrote *from memory* his experiences or alleged experiences, and a Rev. Timothy Flint, editor of *The Western Monthly Review* of Cincinnati, edited and prepared Pattie's *Personal Narrative* for publi-

[2] Bancroft has 68 persons.

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cation. The book appeared in 1831. Flint's connection with the work may account for many of the savage flings at the poor missionaries; but Pattie himself in this tale proves such a wholesale prevaricator that we wonder that a Professor R. G. Thwaites could consent to republish the worthless production, if honest information was the object. However, if the professor's own knowledge of the California Missions had been deeper, his notes would have been more historical and adequate.

Pattie claimed to have begun his trip at San Diego on January 18, 1829. We must take his word for it because there is not the slightest record of his journey from one Mission to another to be found anywhere. "At San Luis Rey," he writes from memory, "I found an old priest, who seemed glad to see me. I gave him the General's (Echeandia's) letter. After he had read it, he said, with regard to that part which spoke of payment, that I had better take certificates from the priests of each mission, as I advanced up the coast, stating that I had vaccinated their inhabitants, and that when I arrived at the upper mission, where one of the high dignitaries of the Church resided, I should receive my recompense for the whole. Seeing nothing at all singular in this advice, I concluded to adopt it."

The "advice" is nevertheless so singular that it was impossible for good Fr. Peyri, then at San Luis Rey, to give it. Every Mission paid its own expenses. The Superior of the Missions, Fr. Vicente de Sarría, resided at Mission San Carlos, to whom Mr. Peyri would have given Pattie a personal letter of explanation. The itinerant vaccinator says nothing of this, and therefore this part of the story may be put down as a fabrication. Furthermore, Pattie claimed to have found 3,904 Indians at the Mission of San Luis Rey, and that he had vaccinated 2,850. The truth is 2,744 neophytes then lived under the Mission's jurisdiction, but about one-third dwelt at Pala whither Pattie did not go. Then he relates the following nonsense: "The greater part of these Indians were brought from their native mountains against their own inclination and by compulsion, and then baptized, which act was as little voluntary on their part as the former had been." With this specimen of Pattie's veracity we may skip the statements about the other Missions, and at once go with him to the end of the route; for the trapper's memory makes a veritable jumble of the geography of the Missions

"I reached the above-mentioned (San Francisco) mission on the 29th of June, 1829," Pattie relates. "Finding the person of whom I was in search, I presented him all the certificates of the priests of the missions in which I had vaccinated, and the letter of the General. I had inoculated in all 22,000 persons." How the trapper-doctor contrived to do this surpasses our understanding; for the fifteen Missions at which he vaccinated, as he claims, contained only 11,551 Indians, and the whites did not exceed 2,000 souls. Five other Missions he did not see

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at all, and at Dolores he failed to vaccinate for the reason Pattie now proceeds to unfold.

"After he (the priest at Dolores) had finished the perusal of these papers, he asked me what I thought my services were worth? I replied that I should leave that point entirely in his judgment and decision. He remarked that he must have some time to reflect upon the subject and that I must stay a week or two with him. I consented willingly to this proposal, as I was desirous of crossing the bay of San Francisco to the Russian settlement called Bodego." Fr. Esténaga, for it was he who managed Mission Dolores at that time, must have been amazed on receiving the certificates, and he must have wondered how they concerned him; but when he heard the stranger claiming to have vaccinated 22,000 persons, he must have concluded that an escaped lunatic had entered his room whom it was best to humor in order to elude bodily harm.

The climax of mendacity and absurdity was reached at the next interview. "I soon saw myself again in the presence of the Spanish priest," Pattie resumes his story, "from whom I was to receive my recompense for the services performed on my long tour. . . . He then demanded of me how I liked the coast of California? I answered that I very much admired the appearance of the country. His next question was how I would like the idea of living in it? It would be agreeable to me, I returned, were it subject to any other form of government. . . . He then handed me a written piece of paper, the translation of which is as follows: "I certify that James O. Pattie has vaccinaated all the Indians and whites on this coast, and to recompense him for the same I give the said James O. Pattie my obligation for one thousand head of cattle and the land to pasture them; that is, 500 cows and 500 mules. This he is to receive after he becomes a Catholic, and subject to this government. Given in the Mission of San Francisco on the 8th of July, in the year 1829.—John Cabortes."

If the disgruntled Pattie had reproduced the exact text of the Spanish note he claimed to have received, we could judge for ourselves. Fr. Esténaga wrote Spanish, and in that language cows and mules are not thrown together and classified as cattle. The Mission then had only eighteen mules, and in all the Missions from Monterey to Sonoma there were not 500 mules. Fr. Esténaga possessed not a foot of land, and therefore could not have given away any land. "On condition that he become a Catholic" is too stupid a fabrication for serious consideration. Pattie, as many other foreigners had done, might have traveled back to San Diego, when he would have been provided with a fresh horse at each Mission, besides board and lodging, and it would have cost him nothing. No distinction was made between Catholic or non-Catholic guests. Such is the testimony of all the travelers who visited the Missions. Moreover, there never was a John Cabortes at any Mission

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in the whole history of California. Fr. Thomas Esténaga was the missionary in charge of Dolores Mission since the year 1821.

"When I had read this," the veracious vaccinator continues, "without making use of any figure of speech, I was struck dumb. My anger choked me. As I was well aware of the fact that this man had it in his power to hang me if I insulted him, I said nothing." This statement is really too ridiculous; but it was doubtless swallowed as the truth by the gullible and rabidly anti-Catholic populace in the Eastern States. No priest or missionary had any jurisdiction in criminal cases. These were reserved to the governor and his subordinates. Pattie recovered his breath, and then, so he declares, he gave the priest a piece of his mind, for which the missionary ordered him to leave the house. The imaginative trapper then procured a horse from a settler and hastened on to Monterey. "I found an American vessel in port just ready to sail," Pattie relates. On this he took passage.

F

RANCHERIAS MENTIONED IN THE REGISTERS

Alaguali, east of San Francisco Bay
Alectac, (Aleitac) in the valley of the Arroyo San Mateo
Almejas, or San Pedro y San Pablo
Altagmu (Altamu), or San Mateo
Aluenchi
Amictu
Amuctac, toward the southwest
Amutaja, adjoining the Cañada de la Visitacion
Anamas, northern shore of the Golden Gate
Atarpe
Chachanegtac, or Las Pulgas
Chagunte, toward San Bruno
Chapugtac, east of San Francisco Bay
Chimus
Chioischin, or San Bruno
Chirau
Chocoayco
Choleguebit, far east of San Francisco Bay
Chupanes
Chutchue (Suchui), or Neustra Señora de la Asumpcion
Chynan Jumiamuc
Conap
Cosapo
Geluasibe
Genau, east of San Francisco Bay
Guet, east of San Francisco Bay
Gulcismijtac, in San Agustin Cañada, this side of Las Pulgas
Halchis, east of San Francisco Bay
Horocroc, east of San Francisco Bay
Libangelva, north of Golden Gate
Liuanegtur
Macsinum
Malsaitac, near San Mateo
Mitline, toward Lake Merced
Naio, north of the Golden Gate
Oquisara, east of San Francisco Bay
Olestura

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Opurome, towards the beach of Lake Merced
Ousint, at the pastures of the mares
Patnatac, east of San Francisco Bay
Payesone
Petlena
Petlenuc, near the Reál Viejo
Pruristac, in the valley of the Almejas
Puichon
Pusuay
Salson
Satumnum, three leagues south of the Almejas
Seputca
Sicca, in the vicinity of Guriguri
Sichitca, east of San Francisco Bay
Siplichiquin, San Bruno
Sipi
Siscastac, near Asumpcion
Siti, toward the Arroyo Grande
Sitintac
Sitiutajca, Sitliutaj
Subchiam
Supichum, at San Mateo
Tajumi, east of San Francisco Bay
Tasgigara, east of San Francisco Bay
Telamu
Thenau, southeast of San Francisco Bay
Timigtac, or Calera
Toquisara
Tubisinte, La Visitacion
Tunmuda, in the valley and near the Arroyo San Mateo
Tuzsint
Urebure
Ussete, near Las Pulgas
Uturibe
Uturpe

INDIAN TRIBES IN THE DISTRICT

Aaguali
Caguapalto (language of the Napa Tribe)
Canicaynos
Chocoayco
Choquinicos
Lamchines, around Las Pulgas
Oljones
Olompali
Omiomi
Petaluma
Pucha
Pusguy
Salsones
Saniles
Suisun
Suyusuyus
Ululatos

G

LA LAGUNA DE LOS DOLORES

"I have resided here a long time," writes Mr. J. W. Dwinelle in *Our Centennial Memoir*,[1] "and have had ample opportunity to consult the recollection of old people resident here, who received the 'traditions of the elders' respecting the early history of San Francisco. The

[1] San Francisco, 1877.

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testimony pertinent to that matter is of two kinds—documentary and verbal. Of the documentary:

First.—The statement of Father Francisco Palóu, one of the two Franciscan Friars who founded the Mission of Dolores, that on the 27th of June the expedition arrived in the vicinity, and the commander ordered a halt on the margin of a lake (laguna) which Señor Anza named after our Lady of Dolores, 'Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores,' which is in sight of the creek of the Weeping Willows and on the shore of the inlet or arm of that sea which trends to the southeast:—'Que está a la vista de la Ensenada de los Llorones y playa del estero ó brazo del mar que corre al sudeste.'[2] These Llorones (weeping willows) were, of course, not nourished by *salt* water, which would have killed them, but were on the stream of *fresh* water issuing from the ravine lying to the northwest of the Mission church, which supplied the Mission itself and its rancherias with water; and, after crossing what are now Valencia, Guerrero, Howard and Falsom streets, emptied into Mission Creek at right angles, at a point about 550 feet easterly from the southeast corner of Folsom and Fourteenth streets, and which in its whole course, from Mission to Folsom streets, was fringed with 'weeping willows,' and in full view of the laguna or pond, which I have designated the Laguna de los Dolores, even as late as the year 1855. The shore of Mission Creek—the arm of that sea which trends to the southeast, the Bay of San Francisco—is also visible from the place which I have designated as the Laguna or Pond of Dolores.

Secondly.—The further statement of the same author, that on the same day and year the expedition encamped on the border of a large pond which empties into that arm of the sea of the port which trends fifteen leagues to the southeast. "Una grande laguna que vacia en el brazo de mar del Puerto que interna quince leguas al sudeste."[3]

Thirdly.—That when the site of the Mission was selected, it was in the vicinity of that pond, and on the plain lying west of it. "En este mismo sitio de la laguna, en el plan ó llano que tiene al poniente."[4]

Fourthly.—In fact that when the French Admiral La Pérouse touched at Monterey, in September, 1786, he despatched some of his officers to the Port of San Francisco, who made a chart of the Bay, which was sent to France, and published with the account of his explorations up to that point, and it thus preserved to us. On this chart, No. 33 of the series of the maps of that expedition (from which a zincographic copy of the Bay of San Francisco is reproduced here), although it is not

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[2] Arm of the sea, i.e., San Francisco Bay. Palóu *Noticias*, vol. iv, 166.

[3] *Life of Fr. Junipero Serra*, chapter xlv.

[4] *Life of Fr. Serra*, cap. xlv.

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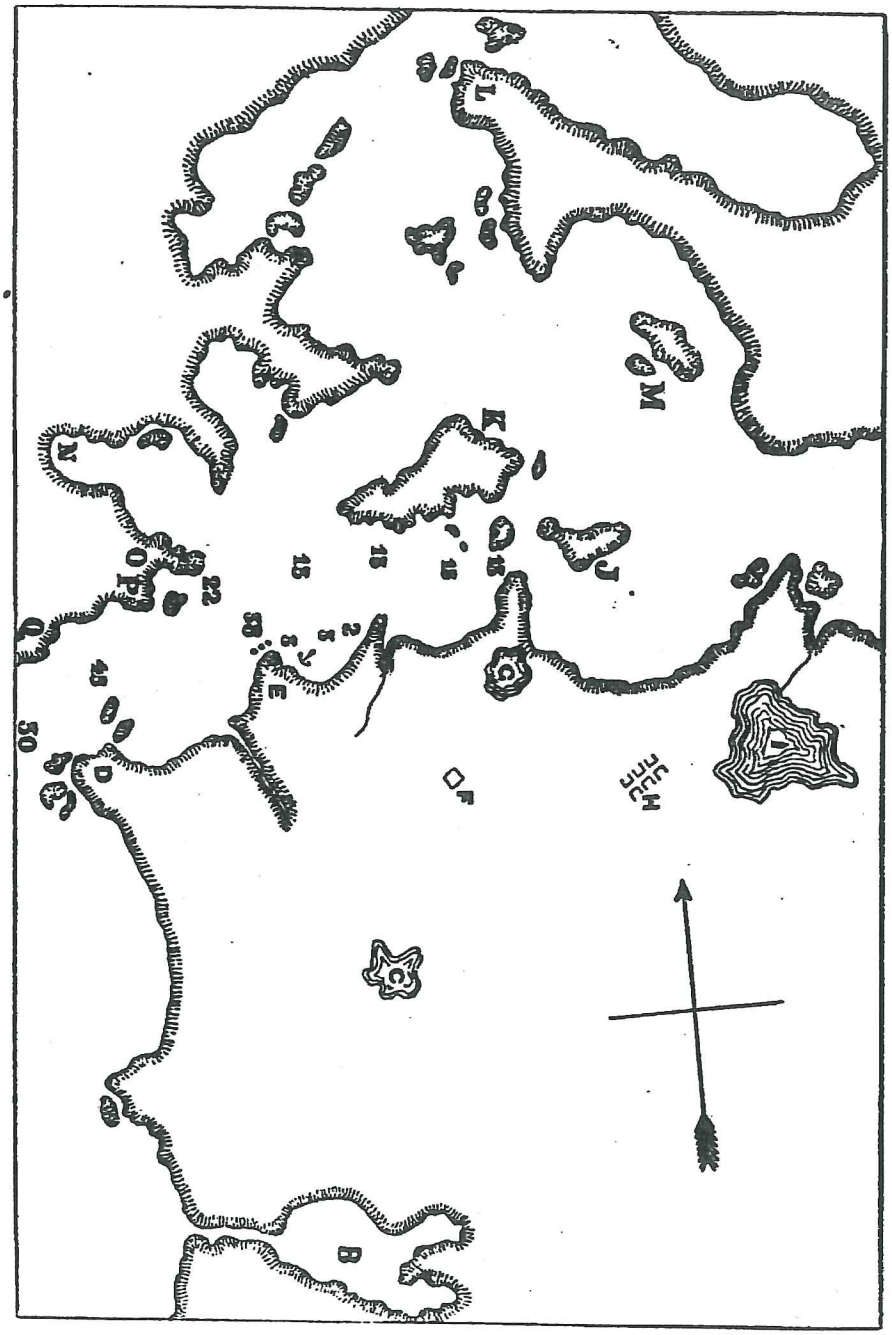

LA PEROUSE'S MAP OF THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO

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hydrographically accurate in respect of mathematical proportions and distance, as, of course, it could not be, without an actual survey, yet the general lines of the coast and Bay, and the relative positions of the prominent physical objects, are laid down with a wonderful approximation to correctness. "La Laguna de los Dolores"(I) is laid down precisely where the "Willows" were situated, with an outlet into that portion of the Bay of San Francisco "which trends towards the southeast," answering precisely to the description given by Palóu. It is ten times as large as "Washerwoman's Lagoon,"(G) which is called "Pequeña Laguna"—little pond—and is five times as large as Mountain Lake,(C) "La Laguna del Presidio"—Presidio Pond. It is curious and interesting to observe that, while Alcatraz(J) and Angel Island(K) have their respective modern designations, Yerba Buena Island(M) is called "La Isla del Carmel"—Carmel Island. Fort Point(D) "La Punta del Angel de la Guarda"—The Point of the Guardian Angel; Point Lobos is not named, although it and its Seal Rocks are laid down, and the "Laguna de la Merced"(B) is represented as having a free, open communication with the ocean.

The Presidio(F) and also the Mission(H) are designated on the plan. Thus, in the year 1786, and only ten years after the Mission of Dolores was founded, a *corps* of French naval officers, coming to San Francisco with instructions to make a map of the localities here, do make one, which, on its face, bears testimony to its general correctness, and on which a laguna or pond, called the Laguna of Dolores, is laid down, and also the Mission of Dolores, precisely where Palóu says it was, "to the west of the said laguna, and on the same plain." Thus far with the documentary testimony.

Now, as to the verbal testimony. Some twelve years ago,[5] I had an interview with a well-known lady, then resident at the Mission of Dolores, Doña Carmen de Síbrian de Bernál. She was born of Spanish lineage at Monterey, California, in the year 1804; was married at San José in 1821 to José Cornelio Bernál, a resident of the Mission of Dolores, and they came here to reside in the same year. She was a woman of great vivacity, and stated to me that the tradition given to her by the old residents of the Mission was that, when the Missionary Fathers came here to establish the Mission, they encamped at a pond which existed where the place of resort, called the "Willows," was at the time of this interview, to which a great tide creek formerly made up fro mthe Bay: "En donde son ahora los saucelitos, en donde habia en eso tiempo un estero grande de la Bahia." I also, at that time, visited the site of the "Willows," and found that, although the soil had been greatly filled in during my own recollection by the deposits of silt

[5] Dwinelle wrote this in 1877.

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and of vegetable accretions, the fresh water was still flowing out towards the Bay, and I could not find any tree there which appeared to be more than forty years old. The "estéro," or tide creek, still made up nearly to the "Willows," but I then thought that it must soon be obliterated by the progress of public improvements.

Since the date of that interview the tract embracing the "Willows," and included within Seventeenth, Nineteenth, Valencia and Howard streets, has been graded and filled, but from the sewers which drain it there still flows a constant stream of clear fresh water, showing that the laguna was fed by living springs. . . . My opinion is that the "Willows" and the Pond or Laguna of Dolores were one and the same.[6]

H

RETURN OF THE FRANCISCANS

The last Franciscan in 1845 surrendered Mission Dolores to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Francisco Garcia Diego and withdrew to Santa Clara. On March 21, 1851, the same Fr. José Suárez Reál formally ceded this Mission to the Jesuit Fathers, and returned to Mexico. One by one the other Missions, through the death of the incumbents, became the charges of the Bishops, who in time substituted secular priests when they could be secured. Finally, only one of the ancient missionary establishments remained in the care of the Friars Minor, who endeavored to retain the sacred place by enlisting recruits from other than Spanish countries. By the year 1884, however, it had become evident that the little community would ere long cease to exist, unless it were adopted by one of eastern Franciscan provinces. An appeal was therefore made to the Superior-General, at whose petition Pope Leo XIII ordered Santa Barbara Mission with its remnant of friars to be attached to the Province of the Sacred Heart, St. Louis, Mo. This change was effected in 1885.

Two years later, Most Rev. Patrick William Riordan, D. D., Archbishop of San Francisco, invited the Superiors of the Province to accept the charge of the German parish in San Francisco and of the scattered Indians in Lake and Mendocino counties. Accordingly, on February 16, 1887, three Franciscan Fathers—Gerard Becher, Victor Aertker, Paulinus Tolksdorf—and three Franciscan lay brothers—Beatus Struewer, Kilian Rothbert, Onesimus Ehrhardt—took possession of the convent building vacated by the Dominican Sisters, near St. Boniface Church on Golden Gate Avenue. Thus it was that, after the lapse of

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[6] John W. Dwinelle in *Our Centennial Memoir*, p. 191. *Compare* Gerstaecker's description in chapter xxvii, this volume.

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forty-two years, the sons of St. Francis came back to the locality named for their Seraphic Father, and hallowed by the activities of Fr. Junípero Serra, Fr. Francisco Palóu, and successors. On August 20, 1887, the Fathers Stanislaus Rieman and Victor Aertker with the Brothers Erasmus Beier and Nicolaus Uhrmacher took up their quarters in a small dwelling adjoining a little Indian church on the southern shore of Clear Lake, whence they were to attend the scattered flock assigned to them.

The beginnings of the German immigration date back to the year 1848, when the discovery of gold attracted numberless colonists and adventurers to California. Many thousands who spoke the German language established themselves in and around San Francisco. A large proportion professed the Catholic Faith. Toward the end of the year 1852 these had grown so numerous that Bishop Alemany gave them a pastor in the person of the Rev. Florian Schweninger, a Benedictine from New York. Whatever the reason, Father Schweninger did not remain long, for in the Catholic Directory for the year 1853, Bishop Alemany reported him as stationed at Shasta, Cal., and subsequently at Weaverville. No priest of their nationality seems to have attended the Germans till 1858. In that year the Rev. Sebastian Wolf, since 1856 at Placerville, was transferred as assistant to St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco. Accordingly, the Catholic Directory reported for that year: "There is a German sermon at the Cathedral at the Mass of 9 o'clock, on Sundays." Again for the year 1859 the Catholic Directory reported in connection with the Cathedral: "The Rev. Sebastian Wolf, Pastor of the Germans, to whom he preaches at the Cathedral, at the Mass at 9 o'clock."

Father Wolf, by authority of Archbishop Alemany, now organized the German Catholics into a regular parish, and with their aid built a small church on Sutter Street under the patronage of St. Boniface, the Apostle of the German people. No Directories were issued in 1862 and 1863, but for the year 1863 the Catholic Directory has this note: "German Free School for Boys, attached to St. Boniface Church, Sutter Street. Pupils, 60." The girls doubtless attended the select schools conducted by the various Sisterhoods.

As early as 1867 Archbishop Alemany urged a change in the location of St. Boniface Church and School. On December 18, 1869, therefore, according to the Journal of His Grace, a "Fifty Vara Lot for the German Catholic Church and School was purchased at Tyler Street. (now Golden Gate Avenue) between Jones and Leavenworth subject to the same conditions as the Sutter St. Lot." The church was annually reported as situated on Sutter Street till the year 1875, when for the first time the Catholic Directory reports St. Boniface German Church on Tyler Street, near Jones. The Rev. Sebastian Wolf,

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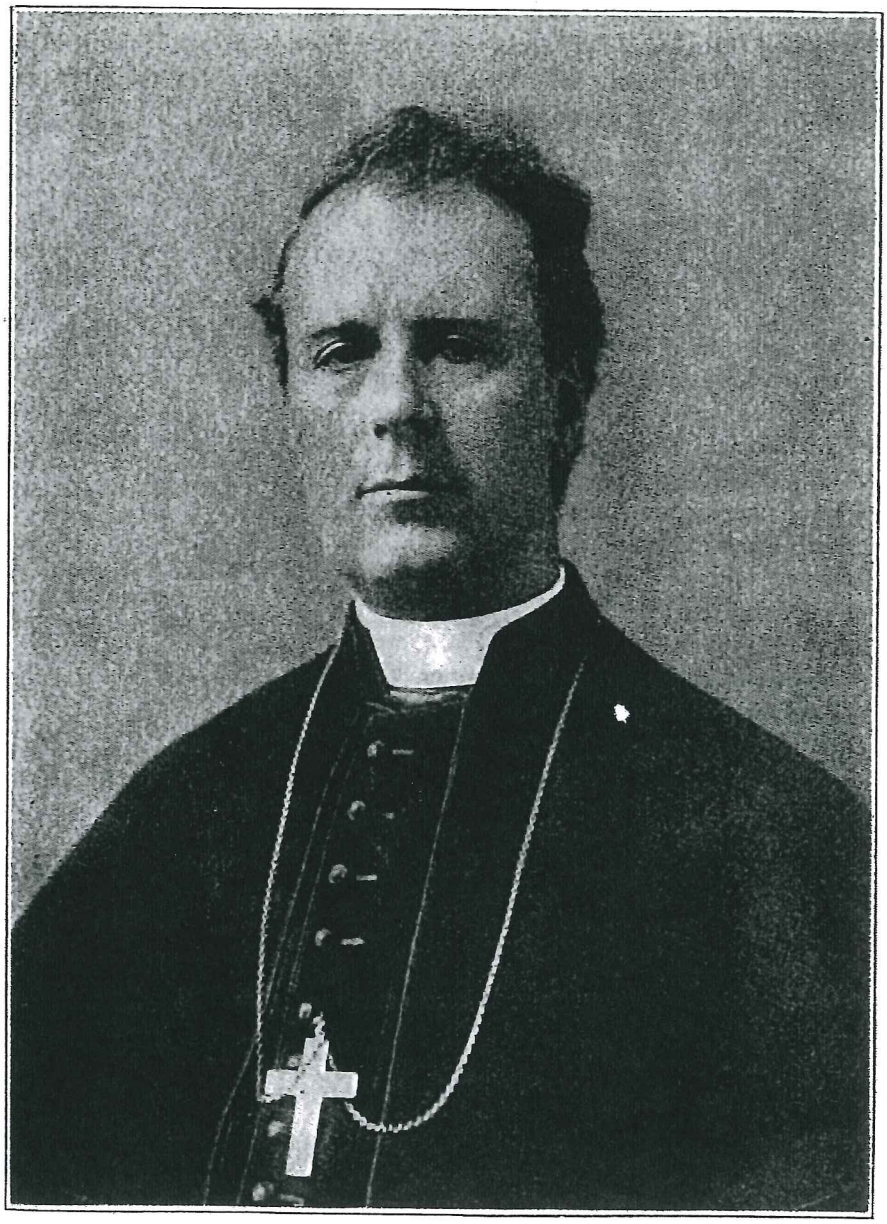

MOST REV. PATRICK W. RIORDAN, D. D.

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THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME XX.

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IT is not my purpose to present financial statistics in this chapter. Only fragments survive to be presented anywhere, and these will receive such slight attention as they require, in connection with local presidio annals, commercial topics, and general remarks on the subject of ways and means for the whole decade. Here I have to speak of the management, or mismanagement, of the territorial revenues, of the insufficiency of those revenues, as administered, to pay the soldiers or other employees of the government, and of the resulting destitution, discontent, and finally revolt.

There is little or nothing that is new to the reader to be said of the prevalent destitution in these years, a destitution which oppressed only the troops.[1] The

[1]Complaints are not very numerous in the archives, since the uselessness of writing on the subject had been learned by long experience. The following minor items on this topic are perhaps worth preservation: 1826, Echeandía's complaints about the suspension of officers' pay. Only those officers who

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rancheros and pobladores were at least as well off as in earlier Spanish times, the improved market for their produce afforded by the trading fleet counterbalancing the heavy duties that were now exacted. Few if any of these classes seem to have made an effort to do more than support themselves and families; and this, save to the incorrigibly lazy, was an easy task. The lands produced food both for the owners and for the Indian laborers who did most of the work; while the natural increase of their herds furnished hides and tallow more than enough to be bartered with the agents of Hartnell or Gale for groceries, implements, and clothing. So far as the records show, they did not even deem it worth their while to complain of excessive duties and consequent high prices.

For the support of the military establishment and to defray other expenses, the only resources were the duties collected on imports and exports—or the taxes on production, which practically took the place of the latter—the chief source of revenue, but one liable to considerable variation; contributions exacted from the missions as gifts, loans, sales on credit, or special taxes, given by the padres more and more grudgingly as the years passed by; and finally the supplies furnished di-

came with him to Cal. are paid, and there is much discontent among the others. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xix. 32–4. Complaints heard by Beechey of non-payment of dues, and of excessive duties which greatly increased prices. *Beechey's Voy.*, ii. 10. March 30, 1826, petition of soldiers, alleging that they were getting *la racion, nada mas*, as in years past, notwithstanding the promises of the govt. Repeated June 7th. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 13. April 30th, no funds to furnish $400 for the celebration of a great national event. *Id.*, lvii. 14. Hartnell lent the comisaria 264 cattle, which in 1830 had not been repaid. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., iv. 59. 1827, Feb. 1st, comisario has no funds to supply blankets; great want of money and food; impossible to get a loan. *Id.*, i. 79. Feb. 5th, gov. lends $600 in view of the urgent needs of the soldiers. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 21. July 5th, complaint that S. Blas company do not get their share of supplies. *Id.*, v. 58. Nov. 21st, decree of national govt on a loan, part of which is to go to the relief of California. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., xx. 8. 1828, March 3d, troops naked and in great want. Could get no part of their dues. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 68. Same date, gov. tells com. gen. that no supplies have been sent from Mexico for a considerable time! *Dept. Rec.*, vi. 7. March 10th, eight soldiers at Monterey granted leave of absence to go and earn their living for 3 months, for want of funds at Monterey. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxvi. 24–5.

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rectly or indirectly by Mexico—that is, the $22,000 sent in 1825, possibly one or two small amounts sent later, and a few drafts on the national treasury which in one way or another foreign or resident traders were induced to accept as security for loans or in payment for goods supplied.[2] Theoretically, the national treasury should have paid the territorial expenses and received the net product of the territorial revenue; but practically, the territory was left to pay its own expenses, nominally about $130,000 a year, always excepting the small amounts furnished as before specified, and a considerable supply of very bad tobacco. To estimate the actual revenue with any approach to accuracy would probably have been wellnigh impossible at the time,[3] and is entirely so now. Fully collected and honestly administered, the total revenue could hardly have amounted to one half the nominal expenditure; and indications are not wanting that a considerable portion was lost to the troops through smuggling operations and the rascality of officials. Moreover, there were charges of partiality and injustice in the final distribution of the net product, cer-

[2] On the $22,000, see chap. i., this vol. At the same time $12,000 was ordered paid in favor of California through the comisario general at Arizpe; but I find no evidence that any part of the sum was ever paid. July 1826, record that $3,000 was sent to Cal. by the *Sirena* from the sup. govt. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., iii. 6. In Jan. 1829, Enrique Virmond seems to have accepted drafts from the presidial comandantes to the amount of about $5,000 for goods supplied from the *María Ester;* and again in Dec. he supplied the same amount in goods and silver coin. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 1, 153, 168, 176. Virmond had exceptional facilities for getting his claims allowed by Mexican officials, and he probably lost nothing. Nov. 11, 1828, M. G. Vallejo authorized to borrow $500 payable on sight, or 15 days after sight of draft! *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., i. 160. According to *Mexico, Mem. Hacienda*, 1830, annex. 33, the govt of Cal. had borrowed $7,262, of which sum $1,564 had been repaid down to June 29th. Hartnell also lent the govt $7,100 in 1827; the draft signed by Herrera was not accepted in Mexico, on account of some alleged irregularity; and on Nov. 20, 1830, Hartnell petitions the gov. on the subject. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 154.

[3] Feb. 19, 1830, gov. informs the comisario general that commerce, carried on by a peculiar system, 'authorized by force of circumstances' in Cal., yielded barely two fifths of the expenses; while mission contributions, by dint of constant requisitions and annoyances, yielded not more than one fifth of the deficit. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 72. The revenue obtained from vessels is insufficient for garrison expenses; therefore, the missions advance grain and cattle, and the nation assumes the debt. Bandini's letter of 1828 in *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 8.

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tain presidios, and certain classes of troops, being favored or slighted.

During the Spanish rule, and the interregnum that followed, the provincial finances had been managed—for the most part honestly, if not always with great skill, so far as accounts were concerned—by the habilitados of the respective companies, one of whom in the later days had been named administrator, with very little authority over the others. On the establishment of the republic, Herrera had been sent, as we have seen, in 1825, as comisario to take charge of the territorial finances as a subordinate of the comisario general of the western states Sonora and Sinaloa. The instructions to Herrera are not extant; but it is evident from subsequent communications of himself and his superiors that he had exclusive control of the treasury department, and was independent of the gefe politíco, except that like any other citizen he was within the civil and criminal jurisdiction of that officer. The habilitados, the only persons in the territory qualified for the task, served as Herrera's subordinates for the collection of revenue at the presidios, so that locally there was no change. Whether the comisario appointed them voluntarily or in obedience to his instructions does not appear; but their duty was simply to collect the revenues and pay them over to Herrera, their duty as company paymasters in disbursing funds subsequently re-obtained from the comisaría being a distinct matter.

Naturally the habilitados were jealous from the first of the authority exercised by their new master, and were displeased at every innovation on the old method under Estrada's administration. Moreover, Herrera was a stranger, and worse yet a Mexican, being therefore liable to distrust as not properly appreciative of Californian ways. He was also a friend and relative of Captain Gonzalez, and involved to some extent in the quarrel between that officer and Estrada, which circumstance contributed not a

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little to his unpopularity. A quarrel resulted, the details of which it is neither desirable nor possible to follow closely. What were the relations between Herrera and Echeandía before they left Mexico, I do not know; but after their arrival in California there could hardly fail to be jealousy, especially on Echeandía's part; and at any rate, the latter soon became leader in the opposition to the comisario. I append some items from the correspondence of the times.[4]

Herrera was an intelligent and able man; his acts were approved by his superior officer; and I find in contemporary documents no proof of irregularities or unfaithfulness in his official conduct; though it would perhaps be presumptuous to found on the imperfect record an opinion that he acted wisely or

[4] March 3, 1826, com. gen. to Herrera. Reproves him for not sending accounts so that the great necessity of the troops might be known and relieved. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 22. March 25th, Id. to Id., announces that all claims of Cal. may be presented at the comisaría. *Id.*, ii. 17. April 7th, H. to Echeandía. Charges that Lieut. Estudillo for a just reprimand becomes abusive. *Id.*, i. 41–2. May 11th, E. orders that all amounts due the treasury be paid at the comisario's office. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., iv. 37. June 27th, H. to E. Wishes to know why he is not recognized as gefe de hacienda; measures have been ordered without his consent or knowledge. He wishes E. to define his own position, so that he, H., may be freed from his burdens and report to the supreme government. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., i. 136. July 11th, H. to E. Defence of the practice of allowing vessels to touch at way points. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., i. 42–7. Sept. 11th, com. gen. to E. Asks him to order habilitados to send in their accounts to Herrera in two months, or he will appeal to Mexico. Reprimands him for exceeding his powers, using funds without Herrera's permission, treating H. as a subordinate and not as the gefe of all treasury branches, and not obeying the laws. Threatens to withdraw the comisario altogether if E. does not mend his ways. Accuses him of preventing the execution of Herrera's decree on the payment of duties, without authority to do so. H. was under no obligation to submit his orders or those of his superior to the gefe político. 'Watch also over those friars with their Spanish ideas.' The comisario must be supported, not opposed. In the appointment of a sub-comisario at Loreto, E. had also usurped authority. 'I can not permit you thus to interfere. The power of appointment rests exclusively with H. as my subordinate.' H. was not to be blamed for reporting these things, since he had positive orders to do so. *Id.*, i. 23–34. Oct. 16th, H. to E. on the details of business, explaining his efforts to get along with an insufficient revenue. Complains of habilitados for not rendering accounts, and for drawing drafts on him when they knew he had no money. Protests against paying one company more than another; and claims that in case of urgent need the soldiers should be preferred to officials. *Id.*, i. 56–60. Dec. 1st, H. complains that his orders are disregarded, and that Estrada refuses to render accounts. Repeats the complaint a little later, with threats to report to Mexico. Dec. 27th, 30th, orders from Mexico requiring half the revenues to be remitted to the national treasury! and that regular accounts be sent for publication in the *Gazeta* of Guadalajara. *Id.*, i. 72–3, 89–91, 14.

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honestly throughout the quarrel, especially in opposition to the statements of several Californians who remember the controversy.[5] It is my opinion, however, that the class of Californians represented by Alvarado, Osio, and Vallejo look at Herrera's acts through the colored glasses of political prejudice; and that among other classes the comisario was by no means unpopular.

In April 1827 Echeandía ordered a secret investigation of Herrera's administration, to be conducted by Zamorano. The proceedings were begun at San Diego the 30th of April, and afterwards continued at Monterey and Los Angeles in May and June. The main charge was that the comisario had, on his way to California, invested a portion of the $22,000 of territorial funds intrusted to his care in effects to be sold for his own account and profit, though it was not claimed apparently that there was any deficit in his accounts, or that the money thus improperly used had not been refunded.[6] Zamorano as fiscal reported the

[5] No one has anything to say in Herrera's favor. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 111–17, 132–46, is especially bitter in his criticism, charging H. with dishonesty, embezzlement, conspiracy, usurpation, insolence, and pretty much everything that was bad. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 122–3, is hardly less severe. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 62–3, tells us that H. 'did nothing but conspire and make trouble.' J. J. Vallejo, *Reminis.*, MS., 91–2, represents H. as intriguing with the support of the padres to unseat Echeandía and put himself in power. Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio*, i. 282–6, describes the quarrel without attaching much blame to Herrera; and it is to be noted that Mrs. Ord, one of the clearest-headed Californian writers, personally friendly to Echeandia, expresses no opinion on the merits of the parties to this quarrel. *Ocurrencias*, MS., 20–1.

[6] *Herrera, Causa contra el Comisario Sub-Principal de Californias, José María Herrera, 1827*, MS.; also an abridged record in the archives. Capt. Guerra testified that of the $22,000 the Sta B. Co. had got only $3,000; knew not what had become of the rest; had heard that the money was landed at S. Blas, and only a part reshipped with goods supposed to have been purchased with that money. Maitorena had heard of the investment of public funds, and had seen in the possession of Luis Bringas certain bales of goods, which he judged to be the ones bought by H. In a letter of later date, Maitorena attempts to show some irregularities in the collection of duties from the *Nile*, in 1825. Juan Bandini reserved his formal testimony until the matter should come before the diputacion; but declared it to be a matter of public notoriety that H. had misapplied the public funds. Alf. Romualdo Pacheco noticed at S. Blas that only $6,500 of the $22,000 was reshipped, and was told by J. M. Padrés that H. had invested the balance in goods, having admitted as much to him, Padrés. It was a notorious fact that Bringas had sold the goods at the presidios, towns, and missions of Cal. Alf. Juan José Rocha confirmed

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charge well founded; and it must be admitted that the testimony against the comisario, though for the most part weak, furnished some grounds for suspicion —and nothing stronger under the circumstances—that certain packages of goods had been purchased with public money. When we consider that these proceedings were conducted in secret, mainly by Herrera's enemies, that they were never carried further in public, that Herrera was never called upon for a defence upon any criminal charge, and that Echeandía was smarting under the rebukes of the comisario general, it seems wisest at the least to attach little importance to the accusations.

The matter was discussed by the diputacion in the sessions of July, Bandini and the president making all the speeches. Bandini's deferred revelations proved to be the reading of a treasury report on the sums of

the statement as to what was seen in S. Blas. Lieut. Estrada testified that the *Morelos* brought some 20 packages, including cigars and brandy, more than were on the manifest; and these goods were opened at Herrera's house, where and elsewhere they were sold by Bringas. Deponent believed the goods belonged to H. Luis Mariano Bringas, after much difficulty, was found and induced to testify at Angeles before the alcalde and Capt. Portilla. His testimony was clear enough, and to the effect that of the $4,500 in goods which he had brought to California and sold, $3,000 belonged to his friend Tejada, a trader of Saltillo, and $1,500 had been committed to him by H. as belonging to his (H.'s) cousin. Full particulars were given of his dealings. But by the testimony of Ignacio M. Alvarado it was shown that Bringas, while refusing to testify on various pretences, had sent a messenger post-haste to Monterey and had received a message from H. Capt. Portilla's opinion was, therefore, that Bringas had testified falsely under instructions from H., whose accomplice he was. One of the documents exhibited by Bringas, in support of his testimony, was a draft bearing the name of Wm. A. Gale, written Galle, and pronounced a forgery by Gale himself, who denied that he had ever had any transaction with Bringas. Moreover, Rodrigo del Pliego testified that H. had openly boasted of furnishing Bringas with papers that would serve his purpose, implying that the signatures were forged by him. Zamorano's final opinion, rendered to Echeandía at the end of July, was that H. had invested a part of the public funds for his own account at Tepic, since of the $22,000 only about $8,500 in coin could be proved to have arrived in Cal.; and it was very likely that the bales of goods referred to represented the balance; though it was hard to prove, because H. had had plenty of time to replace the deficit in coin. June 16th, Echeandía in a circular orders the apprehension of Bringas, who is to be compelled to testify. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 53. April 26th, E. to com. gen., says that H. has not acted properly, and that proceedings have been instituted to prove his misbehavior. *Id.*, v. 136. July 10th, H. to gov., with renewed complaints on the disregard of his orders by Martinez, Estrada, and Argüello. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 76–9.

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money intrusted to Herrera, and his own statement that he was positive of Herrera's misuse of the funds. The record of the previous secret investigations seems also to have been read. *Ternas*, or trios, of candidates for contador and treasurer were proposed in due form. Bandini then advocated the suspension of Herrera; but Echeandía opposed so radical a measure, arguing that the comisario would be so closely watched by the new officials that he could do no harm, and meanwhile the charges against him could be investigated by the supreme government. It is not easy to determine whether the governor's opposition was a mere pretence, or whether, while wishing to humble his rival, he doubted the expediency of suspending him on so slight evidence. On the first vote, four members were for suspension, one against it, and one besides the president did not vote. Subsequently another member was called in, the arguments were repeated, and Bandini obtained a secret vote in favor of suspension. It is not unlikely that this result had been prearranged, and that the arguments of Bandini and Echeandía were made merely for effect.[7]

Herrera was not suspended, because the candidates for treasurer declined to serve, and no suitable person for the place could be found; but Pablo Gonzalez was installed as contador from July 23d, and matters went on much as before, save that Herrera, offended at the charges of interfering with other officials, now declined to perform some duties thought to belong to him.[8] He neglected certain details of gathering sup-

[7] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 91–101. For contador the *ternà* was, 1. Pablo Gonzalez, 2. Joaquin Estudillo, 3. Manuel Dominguez. For treasurer, 1. José Antonio Carrillo, 2. José Antonio Estudillo, 3. Antonio María Osio. In the first vote Ortega, Bandini, Carrillo, and Buelna voted for suspension; Estrada against, and Tapia reserved his vote. Romualdo Pacheco was the suplente called in, but the final vote was secret, no names being given.

[8] Appointment of Gonzalez, who spoke English, as contador, July 23d. *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 64, 91; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 71. Aug. 7th, Echeandía to com. gen. Says he has forwarded to the secretary of the treasury the secret investigations against H., whom the diputacion does not suspend for want of a suitable man to take his place. *Id.*, v. 138. Sept. 19th, H. to com. gen. complaining that the ministro de hacienda fails to answer his important questions. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Co . and Treas.*, MS., i. 91.

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plies and serving out rations to prisoners, was summoned before the diputacion on September 19th, denied the right of that body to question him, but indulged in a wordy warfare with Echeandía in the legislative hall. Next day the governor evolved from his inner consciousness, and caused to be approved by the diputacion, the theory that the duty of a comisario subprincipal de hacienda was confined to 'systematizing the financial administration,' by reporting on needed reforms, and keeping accounts of net products of revenue.[9] Accordingly he notified Herrera of the result of his legal studies prompted by the comisario's misdeeds, and ordered him to restore to the habilitados all their former powers, and to confine his own authority to the narrow limits indicated above. Herrera thereupon, in obedience as he said to previous instructions from his superior, resigned his position, leaving the financial administration wholly in the hands of the gefe político, and asking for a passport to go to Mazatlan, which Echeandía refused. Thus the matter stood during the rest of 1827.[10]

[9] *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 86–90, 101–4. Sessions of Sept. 19th–20th. Echeandía supported his new theory with an elaborate argument. A new terna for treasurer was proposed, consisting of Santiago Argüello, Maitorena, and Ignacio Martinez; but military duties prevented their acceptance.

[10] Sept. 25, 1827, gov. to H. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 91–2, repeated Sept. 27th. Sept. 26th, H. to Estrada, announcing his resignation. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., i. 110. Sept. 26th, gov. to Estrada, announcing and explaining the change. The complaint was in the matter of furnishing supplies and rations, and the theory was that Gov. Argüello had given up to H. at first powers to which he was not entitled. *Id.*, i. 109. Same date, Echeandía notifies Prefect Sarría of the change. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt i. 38–9. Echeandía's argument quoted in *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 172–4. E. says in 1829 that H. 'se suspendió y tenazmento se negó en el ejercicio de todas sus funciones desde el dia 26 de Septiembre de 1827, dejandolas al cargo de este gobierno.' *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxx. 19. Sept. 29th, E. to H. Chides him for his refusal to perform duties belonging to his office, and refuses a passport. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 93. October, E. asks minister of the treasury that the trial or investigation of himself and H. may take place in Cal. *Id.*, v. 130–1. Oct. 1st, E. to comandantes and prefect on his orders to H. *Id.*, v. 93–4; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 41. Oct. 3d, E. to H. Never told him not to manage the funds entering his office; and if he persists in resigning the place, the treasury will be injured even more than it was by his assumption of the habilitados' duties and rights. *Dept. Rec.*, v. 95. Oct. 11th, H. to E., protesting against the orders which detain him in Cal. If the treasury interests were injured, it was because he was not allowed to go to report to his superior in order that the latter might put another man in his place; and the governor, to whom he was in no way responsible, was the only one to blame. If charged with criminal acts, he was ready for trial; if

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Nor did 1828 bring any notable change in the situation. The habilitados attended to the revenues as of old, Estrada and afterward Vallejo of Monterey exercising a kind of supervision, until in November Manuel Jimeno Casarin, a young man brought to California by his brothers, the friars Jimeno, was appointed by Echeandía as acting comisario, or administrator of the revenues, his position being similar to that held by Estrada before the coming of Herrera;[11] and Juan Bandini was appointed at about the same time as subordinate comisario at San Diego. Meanwhile Herrera continued his protests against being kept in California; could obtain neither a trial nor a passport; but made some efforts to obtain material for a later prosecution of his adversary. Echeandía was greatly blamed by both the comisario general and the minister of the treasury for his course towards his foe; but he defended himself as well as he could in writing, and insisted on keeping Herrera in the territory and holding him responsible for all financial ills, present and prospective.[12]

not, there was no right to detain him. He wished to enjoy the wise laws of his country where they were respected and obeyed, and not remain where they were shamefully transgressed, as he was ready to prove. He also claimed his arrears of salary, he having received only $126 in a year, and having to sell his furniture to keep alive. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 51. Oct. 16th, E. to comandantes, alcaldes, etc., announcing his action towards H., urging habilitados to attend carefully to their duties, and explaining why H. was not allowed to depart—that is because at a distance it would be hard to prove H.'s frauds or justify his own action or that of the diputacion. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., 101, 103; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., iv. 49–50; *Dept. St. Pap., Ang.*, MS., xi. 1. Oct. 28th, E. to com. gen. Thinks the administration of the revenue by the habilitados is injurious. With an administrator, vista, and guard at each port, the revenue might amount to $30,000 or $10,000 annually. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 139. Nov. 27th, E. tells the comandante that the company officers had never been free from responsibility in the matter of finances. *Id.*, v. 105.

[11] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 13, 133; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 286. Oct. 6th, P. Antonio Jimeno writes to P. Peyri about getting for his brother the position of collector of customs. Peyri replies that he should obtain a certificate of fitness, and security for $4,000. Perhaps Jimeno did not take possession until Jan. 1, 1829. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 308.

[12] Jan. 11, 1828, gov. to min. of war. Defends himself against charges of usurpation by the min. of the treasury. Some of the charges had apparently been printed, for which satisfaction is demanded. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 18–19. Feb. 22d, H. asks for a passport to go and render his accounts at Mazatlan. *St. Pap., Sec.*, MS., x. 101. March 1st and April 26th, com. gen. to E., blaming him and the diputacion for exceeding their powers, even on the supposition that H. was guilty as charged, in which case a report should have

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A kind of revolt occurred in the north in October 1828, with which Herrera's name is connected as instigator by Alvarado, Osio, and Vallejo, without the slightest foundation so far as can be known. There is indeed very little information extant respecting the movement, although I have the statements of several old Californians on the subject, including two of the leaders, José de Jesus Pico and Pablo Véjar. It appears that on the 8th of October, a large part of the cavalry soldiers at Monterey, joined by those of the escoltas who left their missions, refused to serve longer unless they were paid, thereupon marching out of the presidio with their weapons. Touching subsequent events, there is no agreement among the narrators, beyond the fact that Lieutenant Romualdo Pacheco persuaded the rebels to return to their duties, several of the number being put in prison to await the decision of the supreme government on their fate.[13] All agree that want of clothing and food was

been sent to his superior officer. H. is also reprimanded on the same date for failing to report properly on E.'s misdeeds and other matters. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 96–103. June 13th, H. to E. Protests against what is virtually his arrest, since he is not allowed to leave Monterey for Sta Bárbara and S. Diego to attend to business. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 58. July 1st, H. required by the pres. of Mexico to form a regular accusation against E.; nothing to be kept back. *Id., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, i. 92–3. Aug. 7th, E. says he did not intend to prevent H. from travelling by land within the territory. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 79. Sept. 15th, E. to com. gen. Says H.'s charge that he and the diputacion deprived him of his office is false. *Id.*, vi. 12–13. Nov. 7th, E. orders that H.'s salary be paid punctually. *Id.*, vi. 131. Same date, will not allow him to leave the territory till ordered to do so by the sup. govt. *Id.*, vi. 129. Dec. 4th, 9th, 17th, further correspondence, showing that H. went to S. Diego, apparently to make secret investigations against his foe, which caused additional complications not very clearly recorded. *Id.*, vi. 148, 150, 154–6, 158.

[13] Oct. 1828, escoltas from S. Luis Obispo to S. Juan Bautista have abandoned their posts. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Just.*, MS., i. 6, 8–9. Oct. 18th, Echeandía orders comandante of Monterey to bring the rebels to trial by court-martial; but if he cannot master them, to offer a pardon. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 113. Oct. 20th, E. to min. of war. Says the escoltas left their posts, and with the other troops came with arms in their hands to demand their pay. Hopes by the aid of the artillery lately arrived to prevent such disorder; but needs officers. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 36–8. Oct. 31st, Id. to Id. Mentions the revolt, and asks that the guilty ones be pardoned. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 36. Nov. 7th, comandante of Monterey has made known to the troops the governor's pleasure at their loyalty in rejecting the proposals by some degenerate *militares*. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., i. 159. Jan. 1829, fiscal's opinion in case of Francisco Soto for the revolt of Oct. 8th, and other insubordination, then in prison. Thinks the death penalty

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the cause of the rising; and there is no reason to suppose that it had any politically personal significance. There is also a vague allusion to insubordination at San Francisco about the same time, but we have no particulars.[14]

In 1829 there was a practical cessation of the financial controversy in its old phases, the situation remaining unchanged, save that Antonio María Osio acted as comisario during part of the year in the place of Jimeno, and an opportunity was afforded Echeandía to rid himself of Herrera by sending him away as a prisoner for trial, on charges somewhat less unfounded than that of mismanaging the revenues. Discontent among the soldiers continued, resulting in a revolt more extensive and complicated than that of 1828, though not much more serious in its results. Destitution, resulting from non-receipt of pay and rations, and attributed naturally by the troops to some fault of the governor, was the leading motive of the soldiers; the participants in the last revolt, yet under

should not be inflicted. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxix. 24. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 123–5, says 40 soldiers, not including the older sergeants and corporals, marched 12 leagues to Codornices Mt., and were induced to come back by Pacheco and the padres, the former offering to intercede for their pardon. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, ii. 83–5, tells us the cavalry company went to Sauzal, could not agree among themselves, and when Pacheco put himself at their head, they instinctively obeyed his order to march back to their quarters, where they were under arrest for many months. Pico, *Acontecimientos*, MS., 10, says that 80 men wandered about for a month, when half went back and were pardoned. The rest, the leaders being Felipe Arceo, Raimundo and Gabriel de la Torre, Pablo Véjar, José de Jesus Pico, and Francisco Soto, remained away longer, but at last returned at the request of their friends and families, and were put in prison. Véjar, *Recuerdos*, MS., 8–9, says he and another man were sent to Estrada to say that they would serve no longer without pay; and that before they returned to duty Estrada promised pardon and some relief. Torre, *Reminiscencias*, MS., 8–9, says that Arceo was leader, and that the rebels went as far as Sta Cruz, S. Juan, and S. José. Ávila, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 25–7, saw the rebels form in line near her husband's house to return with Pacheco. She says Véjar was the leader, and that while in prison all were terrified at threats of being put to death. Amador, *Memorias*, MS., 86, tells us it was a long time before all returned to duty. He and José de Jesus Vallejo, *Reminis.*, MS., 15–16, represent the soldiers as having been in a pitiable state of destitution when they were driven to insubordination. Mention of the affair in *Luyo, Vida*, MS., 13; *Larios, Convulsiones*, MS., 8; *Ord, Ocurrencias*, MS., 24.

[14] Oct. 20th, gov. to min. of war. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 38–9.

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arrest, were rendered reckless by current rumors that they were to be shot;[15] Herrera and some of the friars, from motives of personal hostility, were willing to encourage any movement directed against Echeandía; and finally the records, without clearly implicating any prominent individual, leave room for a suspicion that most of the officers at Monterey and San Francisco were at the least not very earnest in their opposition to the rebels, though lacking confidence in their success and courage to take risks.

In June two soldiers revealed to Alférez José Fernandez del Campo a plot of the troops to rise against the governor and all those *de la otra banda*, with a view to put all the offices in the hands of Californians. The outbreak at Monterey was to take place June 22d, but the plan was revealed on the 18th. The leader was Joaquin Solis, a convict ranchero, living not far from the presidio. Solis was a companion of Vicente Gomez, El Capador. Like him, he had rendered service in the war of independence, and like him, had been sentenced to California for brutal crimes, which, but for his past services, would have been more severely punished. This revelation strangely seems to have caused no special sensation. There was a formal examination of several witnesses, with some official correspondence. Difficulty was experienced in inducing any officer to act as fiscal, or prosecutor, and finally the matter was dropped for reasons not apparent. Stranger still, this affair was ignored in all the proceedings arising from later troubles.[16]

[15] June 9, 1829, order from Mexico that the soldiers under arrest for mutiny be set at liberty, after admonishment as to their duties. *Sup. Govt St. Pap.*, MS., v. 12. It does not appear that this order reached Monterey before the rising. The fact that the prisoners began the movement is stated by Pico, *Acont.*, MS., 10-13; Larios, *Convulsiones*, MS., 8-10; Ávila, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 25-8.

[16] June 23, 1829, com. of Monterey to Echeandía. Says a conspiracy of the Californians against the Mexicans had been detected, and his men had been under arms for 3 days, though the conspirators had not dared to break out. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 16. June 25th, Alf. Fernandez reported to the com. the revelations of Mariano Peguero, corporal of artillery, and of private Pedro Guerrero. Gabriel Espinosa and Raimundo de la Torre were named as concerned in the plot. The cavalryman, Juan Elizalde, confirmed the statements of Peguero

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During the night of November 12th–13th, the soldiers at Monterey rose and took possession of the presidio. By a previous understanding, doubtless, though little or nothing was ever brought to light on the subject, there was no opposition in any of the barracks; but some of the men, especially of the infantry, seem to have been permitted to remain neutral by giving up their weapons. The ringleaders were Mariano Peguero, Andrés Leon, Pablo Véjar, and the two brothers Raimundo and Gabriel de la Torre, though even of these none would subsequently admit that he entered altogether willingly into the plot, or that he contemplated anything more serious than the sending of a 'representation' to the governor. Small parties, each including two or more of the men named, proceeded to the houses of Vallejo, the acting commandant of the company, Juan José Rocha of the artillery, Sergeant Andrés Cervantes, and of the acting comisario Manuel Jimeno Casarin, all of whom were roused from their slumbers on one pretext or another, and were locked up in the calabozo before dawn. Juan B. Alvarado and José Castro seem also to have been arrested. No resistance beyond verbal protest was attempted, except that the doors of Vallejo and Rocha had to be kicked down by Estévan Espinosa.[17]

and Guerrero. Follows a record of preliminary legal proceedings, leading to no intelligible result. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxix. 15–19. July 1st, gov. to com. of Monterey. Orders arrest of Solis, Espinosa, and Torre, and examination of Elizalde, Guerrero, and Fernando Curiel. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 96–7; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 187. July 8th, gov. orders artillery comandante to redouble his efforts to prevent the threatened revolt. *Id.*, vii. 193. Sept. 22d, José T. Castro, alcalde, assures Echeandía of the fealty of S. José. *St. Pap., Miss. and Colon.*, MS., ii. 7. Sept. 28th, Fernandez del Campo to alcalde. Must watch that no one carries forbidden arms. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxix. 419.

[17] The details of the arrests are given at considerable length in testimony to be referred to later. R. Torre, Véjar, Leon, Dolores García, Espinosa, and a few artillerymen composed the party that took Vallejo. He was called on pretext of an important message just arrived, but suspecting something, would not come out; therefore the door was kicked in after consultation. Peguero, Véjar, and Espinosa arrested Jimeno. Several witnesses testified that Alvarado and Castro were imprisoned. Ávila, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 25–8, was told by Véjar at the time that the object was to make the officers eat *moriqueta* and learn how the soldiers had to live. Spence, *Hist. Notes*, MS., 3–7, says Solis

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The rebels thus secured Monterey without opposition, and similar easy success at all other points was anticipated. There was the usual indulgence in prospective death or liberty as a figure of speech, but clearly none of the conspirators expected serious obstacles. A leader was needed, none of the conspirators ranking higher than corporal, or feeling competent to take the command. Raimundo de la Torre was accordingly despatched with a summons to Joaquin Solis, who came in from his rancho on the 14th and assumed the position of comandante general of the Californian troops.[13] I suppose that all this had been prearranged, although Solis and the rest insisted on their trial, that the convict general now heard of the rising for the first time, and he even had the assurance to claim that he accepted the command to prevent the disorders that would naturally arise from leaving the rabble uncontrolled!

Now that there was a general, a plan or pronunciamiento was an absolute necessity. Solis applied for such a plan—or, as he afterward tried to make it appear, for a petition or 'representation' to Echeandía on existing evils—to José María Herrera. The ex-

took the officers of the presidio by stratagem. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 148–59, says he and Castro were sleeping in the same room with Vallejo, when 10 soldiers came and marched all three to jail, where they spent the night on the bare ground, half-dressed. Vallejo got a chance to make a speech, but to no avail. The prisoners feared at first serious results from the reckless character of the conspirators. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 86–96, 110–11; iii. 245, gives a similar narrative to that of Alvarado. Says it was 2 A. M. when the soldiers came on pretence of giving him the mail-bag. They were shut up with the lowest criminals, who were however soon released. He was much relieved to hear from Jimeno, the last prisoner brought to jail, that the plot was to overthrow Echeandía, and not, as he had feared, to plunder the town and flee on one of the vessels in port. Torre, *Reminis.*, MS., 10–21, says his brothers Raimundo and Gabriel were in command of the escoltas of S. Miguel and S. Luis respectively, and came with their men and those of S. Antonio and Soledad, arriving on the night of the revolt. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 125–51, tells us that Rocha, Vallejo, and Fernandez del Campo had repeatedly warned Echeandía of the danger, without his having paid the slightest heed. Véjar, *Recuerdos*, MS., 9–35, says Echeandía would certainly have been shot had he been in Monterey at the time, as the soldiers considered him responsible for all their troubles.

[13] Nov. 13, 1829, summons to Solis to take the command, in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 45, signed by Peguero, Leon, Gabriel de la Torre, and Petronilo Rios. See also *Id.*, p. 40, 43, 53, 55.

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comisario was in sympathy with any movement against the governor. We are told by Osio, Vallejo, Alvarado, and others that he was the prime mover in the revolt, Solis being merely a tool in his hands. I think this view of the case an exaggeration, and that Herrera, like several others perhaps who were never directly implicated, was willing to wait, and even aid so far as he could in safety. However this may have been, the troops counted on him to a certain extent,[19] and he at the least dictated the plan, which was written at his house by Petronilo Rios, and completed in the evening of November 15th. It was read aloud to a group of foreigners, including Hartnell, Spence, Cooper, Stearns, Anderson, McCulloch, and others who happened to be present, and who more or less approved the document, 'from motives of courtesy,' as David Spence afterward testified. It was read to the soldiers and approved by them the same night. Many claimed later not to have been pleased with the paper, since it was a plan of revolution, and not a petition for redress of grievances; but this was an afterthought in most cases.

The plan was made to embody the grievances of Herrera, as well as of the troops, and was directed against Echeandía as the author of all territorial evils.[20] The avowed object was to put the territory

[19] There are several vague allusions in the testimony to two *brazos fuertes*, on whom dependence was placed. One was supposed to be Herrera, and the other perhaps Capt. Gonzalez, or Lieut. Lobato, or Francisco Pacheco. Solis claimed to have acted in many things on H.'s advice after he had taken the command. H. in his testimony said he first knew of the trouble when in the night of the 12th he heard a noise in Jimeno's room next to his own, and rushed out sword in hand to defend him. Next day he was offered the comisaría, but declined, and advised the rebels to await the arrival of Osio, who already had the appointment from Echeandía. He again declined the office when offered by Solis. He was asked for advice, and gave it in the interest of good order. He subsequently agreed to dictate the plan on condition that the officers should be set at liberty, and with a view to secure respect for the authorities, to prevent outrages on persons and property; in fact, to control for the good of the territory so far as possible a revolution which he was powerless to prevent. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., lxxii. 71–4. It is fair to state that this defence was at least plausible, and that there is really no evidence of any weight against its accuracy, except the statements of persons liable to be influenced by prejudice.

[20] *Solis, Manifiesto al Público, ó sea Plan de Revolucion, 1829*, MS. It was signed by Solis, Peguero, Leon, Rios, and Gabriel de la Torre. In substance,

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in the hands of a temporary governor appointed by the diputacion. There was no need of a such a revolution, or at least no reason to expect relief from such measures; the charges against Echeandía were grossly exaggerated, since he was merely a weak man placed in circumstances where a strong man could have done but little; but the prevalent destitution among the troops was real, and was perhaps a sufficient motive

the document was as follows: The sup. govt, which is ever anxious for our good, and to which we are ever obedient, sent a governor who has failed to comply with his instructions; has scandalously abused his authority; has devoted himself to his own interests and comforts and those of a few men about him; and has paid no attention to the complaints of hungry and naked soldiers. The laws call for a diputacion chosen by the people; but the gefe fails to either convoke that body or to explain his reasons for not doing so, and consequently agriculture, commerce, education, and other vital interests are grossly neglected. Two years ago the gov. suspended the comisario of the revenues for reasons not known, which has resulted in the most scandalous mismanagement of the public funds. The administration of justice and military discipline are in a state of detestable abandonment; immorality and crime are rampant; and all results directly from the ruler's neglect and lack of energy. Therefore, having endured all of misery and neglect that is humanly possible, having resorted in vain to every other expedient, the troops have resolved to use force, and to support the following plan: 1. The diputacion shall meet in due form with all its members. 2. When it has assembled Echeandía shall resign all his powers to the dip., which shall appoint a person worthy of confidence to serve until the arrival of a new gefe sent by the sup. govt, who will be immediately recognized. 3. Both this ayuntamiento (of Monterey) and those of other places will name proper persons to manage the revenues provisionally in accordance with the laws. 4. The troops will remain under their old officers, if the latter agree to this plan; otherwise they will choose a sergeant or corporal as comandante, who shall acknowledge the authority of the gefe appointed by the diputacion. 5. Commandants of troops will apply for pay and supplies to the respective administrators of revenue appointed as above, and never to missions or private persons. 6. Only alcaldes may apply to missions for supplies, giving proper receipts, and delivering the product to the administrators. 7. In very urgent cases the ayuntamiento and administrator may require a moderate loan from private persons, the amount being proportioned to their means. 8. Persons and property to be fully protected, especially in the case of foreigners belonging to a friendly nation. (Herrera added to this article a note in his own handwriting which extended the assurance of protection to the Spaniards already living in the territory--that is, leaving all further action against them for the sup. govt and the new governor to dispose of.) 9. An eloquent peroration, in which the pronunciados declare that they will never lay down their arms until their object is accomplished; that no violence will be used beyond what is necessary in defence of their rights; that there will be no persecution of opponents; that anxiety may be banished from the minds of all, citizens or foreigners; that the object was to reëstablish and not to overthrow the government; that 'the military apparatus which has caused alarm is only the effort of free men against tyranny, and the use of this last resource made everywhere to overthrow tyranny by soldiers overwhelmed by misery, weakened by hunger, and fully awakened by the painful spectacle daily presented to their eyes of a dear wife and tender children, naked, and on the point of becoming victims to indigence.'

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for mutiny. It was natural enough that all existing evils should be popularly attributed to the ruler, and could the soldiers have induced some popular and intelligent officer to take the command, the movement would have been successful so far as the overthrow of Echeandía was concerned.

Soon after his arrival at Monterey, Solis transferred the imprisoned officers from the calabozo to the warehouse. Meanwhile Raimundo de la Torre was sent to San Juan, where he lay in wait for and captured Fernandez del Campo, an officer who at the time of the revolt was absent on an Indian expedition. His men joined the rebels, and the leader was brought to the presidio under arrest. Whether he also was locked up with the rest does not appear; but in a few weeks all the prisoners were released at the intercession of foreigners, and on the advice of Herrera, much against the wishes of some of the soldiers. Vallejo and Rocha were however sent south in the *Brookline*. Stephen Anderson carried copies of the plan to Santa Bárbara by water, and Meliton Soto, a citizen, was sent south with letters calculated to advance the rebel cause, while Raimundo de la Torre read the plan to the soldiers of every escolta from Soledad to San Luis Obispo. The ayuntamiento of Monterey, headed by Tiburcio Castro, the alcalde, accepted the plan, proclaimed it to the assembled citizens, and urged its acceptance by other towns.[21] Castro turned over the municipal funds, and replenished the rebel treasury by imposing a tax or loan of a few thousand dollars on the traders, chiefly foreigners. In accordance with the plan, an administrator of revenues was chosen, the position being given to Antonio María Osio, who accepted it.[22] When all had been arranged at the capital, General

[21] Nov. 16, 1829, Alcalde Castro to Solis, in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 359–60.

[22] Nov. 16th, Tiburcio Castro's statement. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 358. In his *Historia de California*, MS., 145, Don Antonio María naturally calls attention to the fact that he had been previously appointed by Echeandía.

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Solis turned his attention to the north, leaving Francisco Pacheco in command at Monterey.[23]

Of the march northward and return we have few details; but there had been a previous understanding with the garrison, and neither at San Francisco nor at any point on the way did Solis encounter opposition. The northern tour consumed about a month, to December 20th. The ayuntamiento of San José accepted the plan as the best means of securing peace and order; or at least so I interpret a letter of Alcalde Archuleta, which that dignitary perhaps intended to be vague and unintelligible. At San Juan and Santa Clara Solis received supplies and money to the amount of a few hundred dollars; but Padre Duran at Mission San José, not in the comandante's route, declined to contribute, on the ground that he had no official knowl-

[23] Nov. 21st, Pacheco to Solis. Says he is not capable of undertaking the command, having neither talent nor disposition for it; but he was willing to serve his country in any possible way. The following items are from the various statements made from memory: Pablo Véjar, *Recuerdos*, MS., 9–17, says he had for a week the key of the comisaría, where there was a large box of silver coin, which fact he did not reveal, fearing the men would seize the money and give color to a charge that they had rebelled for plunder. He claims to have been a leader with Torre at first. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 143–6, tells us that Castro was forced to lend $1,000 of the municipal funds, and that he, Osio, distributed over $3,000 in effects to the troops. He arrived the same day as Solis, and helped to secure the release of the prisoners. Estévan de la Torre, *Reminis.*, MS., 12–14, gives some details of the capture by his brother of Fernandez del Campo at S. Juan. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 86–90, attributes his release to the efforts of the foreigners headed by David Spence. He says Sergt Cervantes was also sent south in the *Brookline*. José de Jesus Pico, *Acont.*, MS., 10–13, says he was sent to intercept the mail at Soledad and to bring away the guard, succeeding in both undertakings. Gonzalez, *Revoluciones*, MS., 1–3, gives a brief account of the whole affair. Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 69–70, says that Solis seized about $3,000 in the comisaría, and levied a contribution on the inhabitants. James O. Pattie's version of the Solis revolt is perhaps worth presenting apart. That part relating to this first phase of the affair at Monterey is as follows: In January 1830 (the date is wrong) my acquaintances informed me on landing 'that there was a revolution in the country, a part of the inhabitants having revolted against the constituted authorities. The revolted party seemed at present likely to gain the ascendency. They had promised the English and Americans the same privileges and liberty in regard to trade on the coast that belonged to the native citizens, upon the condition that these people aided them in their attempt to gain their freedom by imparting advice and funds. I readily appropriated a part of my little store to their use, and I would fain have accompanied them in hopes to have one shot at the general with my rifle. But my countrymen said it was enough to give counsel and funds at first, and it would be best to see how they managed their own affairs before we committed ourselves by taking an active part in them.' *Pattie's Nar.*, 222.

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edge of any change in the government. He was perhaps the only man in the north who ventured to question the authority of Solis.[24] At San Francisco Solis and his army were received with an artillery salute; the whole garrison promptly joined the rebel cause; José Sanchez was made comandante instead of Martinez; and that is practically all that is known on the subject.[25]

At San Francisco Solis tried to induce Luis Argüello to take the chief command of the rebel forces. There is no documentary evidence of this fact, but it is stated by many of the Californians. The effort was natural; and José Fernandez says that the offer was made in his presence, Solis urging Argüello's acceptance, and promising to retire himself, so that Don Luis might not have to associate with a convict. But

[24] Nov. 22d, Solis announces that he is near S. Juan, and his men need clothing. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., v. 369. Nov. 25th, Alcalde Archuleta seems to accept the plan. *Id.*, v. 357–8. Amounts of money obtained, $140 at S. Juan; $100 at Sta Clara; and $200 at S. José. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 46. Nov. 26th, Solis, at Sta Clara, to ayunt. of S. José. Must have $100 from municipal fund or nearest mission in order to resume his march. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 14. Nov. 30th, *Id.* to *Id.* from S. F., again demands money to supply the troops. *Id.*, vi. 15. Dec. 1st, P. Duran declines to give $200 for a comandante general interino of whose authority he knows nothing. *Id.*, vi. 17. Dec. 4th, 6th, Solis, at S. Francisco, to the ayunt., arguing the case as against P. Duran. The beauties of the plan and the duties of all, including friars, under it are earnestly set forth. *Id.*, vi. 12, 11. Dec. 6th, Solis, back at Sta Clara, gives receipt for $100 of the tithes of S. José, and $200 of Sta Clara. *Id.*, ii. 49. Dec. 11th, Solis, at La Laguna, with complaint against the alcalde of S. José for nothing in particular. *Id.*, i. 35.

[25] Feb. 19, 1830, Martinez writes to Echeandía, that on Nov. 15, 1829, Solis was about to attack S. Francisco and he prepared to resist him, but found the troops so demoralized and so disposed to join Solis that he was obliged, not to accept the plan, but to remain neutral and await results. Nov. 30th, he was ordered to deliver the military command to José Sanchez and the habilitacion to Francisco Sanchez, and also to remain in his house as a prisoner. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 129. It would seem that on the final approach of Solis, Martinez had some idea of resistance, for Nov. 19th he wrote to S. José, asking for a reënforcement of 10 vecinos. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 33. In Feb. and March 1830 Corporal Joaquin Piña, who had been in command of the artillery in the past Nov., was accused of insolence to Martinez on Nov. 28th, when he came by order of Solis, then at the mission, to demand ammunition for a salute. Piña denied the insolence, but in turn accused Martinez of having approved the plan when it was first read, Nov. 21st or 22d, and of having sent to Solis a written surrender of the presidio, much to the disgust of Piña, but with the approval of Francisco de Haro. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxi. 21–8. All of the Californian writers mention the expedition to S. Francisco, but none give details. Osio, however, says that Solis met with no opposition from Martinez.

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Argüello, while admitting that he would rejoice at the overthrow of Echeandía, had no disposition to head a revolution, and persisted in his refusal. A part of the San Francisco garrison was incorporated in the army of Solis, but most of the men deserted at San José on the march to Monterey.

On his return Solis received despatches warning him to make haste or Santa Bárbara would be lost to the cause. Accordingly after a short stay at the capital, he began his march southward with over one hundred men, Gabriel de la Torre commanding the cavalry and Lázaro Piña the artillery. Beyond the facts that the army was at San Miguel December 28th, got plenty of supplies at each mission, and was in such good spirits at Santa Inés that the men refused to accept the governor's *indulto* which met them at that point, we have practically no details respecting the march. Thus far all went well; but the leader had no ability, nor control over his men; the army had no elements of coherence, and would fall apart of its own weight at the slightest obstacle; yet if success should take the form of a hole, the fragments might fall into it.[26]

Let us now turn to the south. Echeandía heard of the Solis revolt November 25th, or a day or two earlier. On that date he revealed it to the officers and people in a circular, stating that he had convoked a council of seven officers, who were asked for a frank opinion whether his rule was satisfactory, and what changes if any could be advantageously made in the administration. The response was unanimous that he was a good governor, though Juan Malarin was named as the best man for the revenue department.

[26] The march south, organization of the army, trifling details. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 41, 45–6, 76–7, and scattering. Jan. 15, 1830, Alcalde Soberanes writes from Monterey that he has notice of Solis passing Purísima on Jan. 10th, and that Pacheco is awaiting him at La Cieneguita with 200 men. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., i. 37. Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS., 147, mentions that at Monterey Solis showed an inclination to give up the command; that his old companion Antonio Ávila threatened to oppose him if he continued to be the tool of Herrera; and that a sergeant of artillery went south in his army with the express purpose of betraying him (Lázaro Piña?), as he did.

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Consequently he declares that the adherents of Solis, if they do not lay down their arms and leave the authorities free, shall be deemed traitors and accomplices of the Spanish invaders at Vera Cruz.[27] Two days later Echeandía reported the matter to the minister of war, announcing that he would start north in a few days to retake the capital. He declared his belief that Herrera was at the bottom of the revolt, hoping to gratify personal hatred, to avoid the rendering of accounts and exposure of his frauds, and either to escape by some vessel, or more likely to declare for Spain or North American adventurers. Echeandía does not fail to make the affair a text for discourse on the difficulties of his position, and the urgent need of aid from Mexico.[28] He left San Diego on December 1st and reached Santa Bárbara the 15th, after having made arrangements on the way for reenforcements to come from Los Angeles, and for a meeting of the diputacion, as elsewhere related.

At San Diego the rebellion obtained no foothold;[29] but at Santa Bárbara in the early days of December, before Echeandía's arrival, the garrison rose much as at Monterey, and held the presidio for nearly two days. The outbreak seems to have taken place just after the arrival of Meliton Soto with despatches from the north on the 2d. The coming of such a messenger had been expected, and a rising had been planned since the beginning of November. It was now settled

[27] Nov. 25, 1829, Echeandía's circular. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 257.

[28] Nov. 27, 1829, E. to min. of war. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 53–5. He is hard pressed by numerous duties, the difficulty of maintaining harmony with disaffected Spanish friars, the fear of a neophyte uprising, the total want of funds, the difficulties of communication, etc. He wants officers, troops, priests, money, and above all, just now 50 men from Sonora to establish communication by land.

[29] Nov. 26, 1829, Echeandía orders the comandante to summon the militia in case of need to serve against Solis. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 258. Dec. 30th, Argüello assures E. that all at San Diego are opposed to the plan and determined to support the govt. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 92. Sergt José María Medrano was accused by P. Menendez of saying that he had expected the outbreak since July, and that had he been at Monterey he would have favored the plan; but after investigation the padre's testimony was doubted, and Medrano acquitted as a faithful soldier.

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that the discharge of a musket at midnight of the 3d, eve of Santa Bárbara, should be the signal; but an accidental discharge brought on the outbreak prematurely at 11 A. M. Romualdo Pacheco, acting comandante, and Rodrigo del Pliego were seized and placed under arrest in Pacheco's house, guarded by a corporal and eight soldiers. Sergeant Dámaso Rodriguez was perhaps the leader of the rebels, or perhaps, as he afterward claimed, only pretended to be so to preserve order. No violence was done to persons or property. A distribution of warehouse effects was proposed, but was postponed until the soldiers of the mission guards should come to claim their share. The quelling of this revolt was a simple matter. The officers were released by Rodriguez and a few others, on the 4th, against the wishes of many. Pacheco easily won over a few soldiers, marched to the barracks next day, and advised the troops to return to their allegiance and duty. They were given until 9 P. M. to think of the matter, and they deemed it best to surrender, after six of the number, presumably the leaders, whom only Pacheco had threatened with arrest, had been given time to run away with Meliton Soto for the north.[30]

Echeandía put Santa Bárbara in the best possible state for defence. He obtained reënforcements of men,

[30] The best account is given in the testimony of the artilleryman Máximo Guerra. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 65–7. He names as implicated in the revolt and in the previous plans: Dámaso Rodriguez, Antonio Guevara, Vicente Rico, Joaquin Cota, Martinez, and himself, who were the 6 who ran away; also José María Perez, Luciano Félix, and Ex-alcalde Fernando Tiró, who spoke of Anastasio Carrillo as the prospective comandante. Soto in his testimony, *Id.*, 62–3, claimed to have had nothing further to do with the plot than, having business in the south, to carry letters for Solis, receiving $50 for the service. He was back at Monterey before Solis started for Sta Bárbara. Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 26–9, who was alcalde of Sta Bárbara at the time, gives a version agreeing with that of Guerra, so far as it goes. Dec. 8th, Echeandia at S. Gabriel wrote about the revolt, stating that Rodriguez was said to have only pretended to accept the command, that Pacheco had regained control by the aid of citizens, and that he was in pursuit of wounded (?) mutineers. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 259. Slight mention in *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 56. Mrs Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 28–32, tells us that all the artillery revolted except Corporal Basualdo, who took refuge in the comandante's house.

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animals, and supplies from the pueblo and missions,[31] stationed Pacheco with about ninety soldiers at Cieneguita, two or three miles from the mission, and awaited the approach of the rebel forces. The 7th of January, 1830, he issued a proclamation, in which he called upon the Monterey insurgents to surrender on condition of full pardon and liberty, except to the leaders, who would be simply imprisoned until their pardon could be obtained from Mexico. He believed the revolt to be due to the selfish aims and the crimes of Herrera, who had deceived the troops; and he warned them that in opposing him they were really in rebellion against the republic, a state of things that could lead only to blood and ruin.[32] Next day he received a communication from Solis, dated at Santa Inés or El Refugio the 7th, in which he was called upon to give up the command in accordance with the plan. He answered it the same day with a refusal. He ordered the rebels to present themselves unarmed for surrender, and renewed the argument against Herrera, claiming that the troops had received two thirds of their pay, and that there had been no complaint to him.[33]

None of the Solis men accepted the first offer of pardon received at or near Santa Inés. No obstacles had yet been encountered, and this revolt was so planned as to overcome everything else. It was yet hoped that the Santa Bárbara garrison might join the movement, and the rebel army marched bravely on to Dos Pueblos, even coming in sight of the foe on the 13th. Pacheco and his men immediately executed a

[31] Thirty-one citizens went from Angeles. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxiii. 60-1. Dec. 20th, Echeandía directs padres of Sta Inés and Purísima to send to Sta Bárbara all people capable of bearing arms; also all spare animals and supplies to keep them from the hands of the rebels. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 266. Jan. 5, 1830, E. orders alcalde of Angeles to send armed and mounted citizens. *Id.*, viii. 2. Pacheco's advance guard consisted of 30 of the Mazatlan company, 8 artillerymen, 30 of the regular presidial company under Alf. Pliego, 20 of the S. Diego company under Alf. Ramirez, and about 100 neophytes with bows and arrows. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 56.

[32] Jan. 7, 1830, proclamation. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 4.

[33] *Id.*, viii. 4-7.

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change of base to prevent being cut off—that is, they retreated from Cieneguita as fast as their legs would carry them, and took refuge in the presidio.[34] Solis seems to have come somewhat nearer Santa Bárbara, but we know little in detail respecting what occurred for three days. Echeandía wrote to the minister of war: "On the 13th the rebels came in sight of the *divisioncita* of government troops, and from that time by their movements and frivolous correspondence endeavored to gain a victory; but knowing the uselessness of their resources and the danger of being cut off on their retreat, they fled precipitately at dusk on the 15th in different directions, spiking their cannon, and losing twenty-six men who have accepted the *indulto*."[35] The last act of Solis before running away was to announce that his men were ready for a fight, and would never surrender until they got their pay.[36] The rebel chieftain described the events at Santa Bárbara thus: "Having taken a position between the presidio and mission, I found it impossible to enter either one or the other, the first because it was fortified, the second because of the walls pierced with loop-holes for musket-fire, and of all the people within, so that I knew we were going to lose, and this was the motive for not exposing the troops by entering. —— wrote me that the general had ordered Portilla to march with 150 men to surprise us, and seeing myself without means of defence for want of munitions, I determined to spike the cannon, and retire with my army to fortify myself in Monterey—*lo que verifiqué al mo-*

[34] The retreat is definitely stated only by Ord, *Ocurrencias*, MS., 29-30; Gonzalez, *Experiencias*, MS., 27-9; and Pico, *Acont.*, MS., 10-13; but all are good authorities.

[35] Jan. 26, 1830, Echeandía to min. of war. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 58. He says the pursuit of the fugitives had to be suspended temporarily at Purísima. A list of 28 soldiers, who at this time surrendered themselves, is given in *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxvi. 23. Jan. 16th, E. announces the surrender of the 26th and his hopes of final success. Some additional correspondence of minor importance, from Jan. 8th to 18th. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 10. Jan. 13th, Pacheco tells E. that he has gained an advantage over the foe. *Id.*, viii. 85.

[36] Jan. 15th, Solis from 'Campo Nacional' to E. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben.*, MS., ii. 4. He was willing, however, to have a conference.

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mento."[37] Dr Anderson wrote to Captain Cooper: "You would have laughed had you been here when the gentlemen from your quarter made their appearance. All the people moved into the presidio, except thirty women, who went bag and baggage on board the *Funchal.* The two parties were in sight of each other for nearly two days, and exchanged shots, but at such a distance that there was no chance of my assistance being needed. About thirty have passed over to this side. The general appears to be perplexed what to do with them. He seems as much frightened as ever."[38] All my original witnesses state that cannon were fired, but give no particulars save the important one that nobody was hurt. Several represent the army of Solis to have fled at the first discharge of Pacheco's guns. At any rate, the rebel force fled, pursued at not very close quarters, scattering as they advanced northward, and wholly disbanded before they reached the capital, where singly and in groups they soon took advantage of the renewed offers of pardon. The campaign of the south, and the battles of Santa Bárbara, Cieneguita, and Dos Pueblos—the first in which Californians were pitted against Californians—were over.

On the 18th Echeandía summoned the soldiers of the north, that is, those who had surrendered, before himself, Carrillo, and Zamorano. Each one was interrogated about the charges made in the plan. Each declared that there were no grounds whatever for

[37] Jan. 20th, Solis, at S. Miguel, to José Sanchez. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 118. Solis at this time claimed to have over 100 men left, and to be confident of success. He had only 40 men when he reached Soledad. *Id., Ben. Mil.*, lxxii. 46. Jan. 15th, 16th, 18th, 28th, E. to Pacheco. Instructions about the pursuit of the rebels, and the retaking of Monterey. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 85–90.

[38] Jan. 24th, Dr Anderson to Cooper. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 7. The affair as reported at Monterey and reported by Pattie, *Narr.*, 225, was as follows: 'A continual firing had been kept up on both sides during the three days, at the expiration of which Gen. Solis, having expended his ammunition and consumed his provisions, was compelled to withdraw, having sustained no loss, except that of one horse, from a sustained action of three days! The cannon-balls discharged from the fort upon the enemy had so little force that persons arrested them in their course without injury.'

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complaint; whereupon the governor showed documents to prove that in 1829, one month with another, the soldiers had received two thirds of their full pay.[39] On the 24th the *Brookline* arrived at San Diego with Vallejo and Rocha, the Monterey prisoners, and the same day or the next there came the news that the capital had been retaken. Pacheco was already on his way north to assume the command at Monterey.[40] On the 26th, Echeandía reported all he had done to the supreme government, and did not fail to utilize the occasion by expatiating on California's great dangers and needs.[41]

The recapture of Monterey was effected January 20th, largely by the aid of the foreign residents. It was feared that Solis and his men, defeated at Santa Bárbara, would devote their efforts to plunder, and it was deemed prudent to act before their return. There was no more difficulty in bringing about this movement in favor of Echeandía than in effecting the original revolt against him; yet David Spence indulged in a little Mexicanism when he wrote of the affair that "with the firm resolution of death or victory, like bold British tars, we stood it out for twelve days and nights."[42] Malarin, Munrás, Alvarado, and José de Jesus Vallejo were most prominent among those who aided the foreigners; and the citizens of San José seem to have sent a party to assist in the reëstablishment of the regular government.[43] Fran-

[39] *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 120–1.

[40] Arrival of Vallejo and Rocha. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-II.*, MS., iii. 58. It is erroneously stated by some that these prisoners first carried the news of the revolt to the south. Jan. 23th, Echeandía to Francisco Pacheco, in reply to the latter's announcement that order has been restored at Monterey. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 12.

[41] Jan. 26th, E. to min. of war. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 56–8.

[42] Feb. 4, 1830, Spence to Hartnell. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 19.

[43] Meliton Soto in his testimony stated that Cooper's house was the headquarters, whence he went with Alvarado, Santiago Moreno, Alcalde Soberanes, and several citizens and foreigners to take possession of the artillery barracks at 7 or 8 P. M. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 64. Galindo, *Apuntes*, MS., 8–13, tells us that the alcalde of S. José sent 45 men, who arrived at midnight and surprised the garrison. Pattie's account of events at Monterey, from the time that Solis marched for the south—absurdly inaccurate in many respects—is as follows in substance: Solis marched on

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cisco Pacheco was apparently still left in command, and Solis' men as they came straggling in were pardoned and incorporated in the garrison. Eight or ten of the ringleaders failed to present themselves, and patrol parties were sent out to find them. Solis himself, concealed near his rancho, was taken by a company of thirty men under Antonio Ávila. This man was a convict companion of Solis and Gomez, and he undertook the capture on a promise from Spence and Malarin to obtain from him a passport for Mexico. Neither Echeandía nor his successors could grant the pass, and Ávila had to stay in California.[44] Just after the capture of Solis, early in February, Romualdo Pacheco arrived with a force

March 28th with 200 men. Echeandía had no knowledge of the revolt. The insurgents were so elated at their victory at S. F. that they were sure of success, and decided to expel all Americans and Englishmen. Capt. Cooper's father-in-law, Ignacio Vallejo, reported this to the foreigners, and at a consultation it was decided to send to Echeandía notice of the impending attack on him at Sta Bárbara, which was done successfully by means of a letter forwarded by a trusty runner. April 12th news came of the battle and retreat. 'The name and fame of Gen. Solis was exalted to the skies.' 'The climax of his excellence was his having retreated without the loss of a man.' Capt. Cooper rolled out a barrel of rum, and when the admirers of Solis were sufficiently drunk, they were locked up, 50 in number, and the rest of the inhabitants took sides against Solis. 'Huzza for Gen. Echedio and the Americans! was the prevailing cry.' There were 39 foreigners who signed the rolls, and Capt. Cooper was chosen commander. They spiked the cannon of the castle, except 4 which they carried to the presidio; broke open the magazine for powder and ball; and stationed sentinels for miles along the road. The Spanish people were all locked up at night to prevent possible communication with the approaching general. In a few days Solis drew near; the Americans waited at their guns with lighted matches until the army was at the very gates, and then ordered a surrender. The soldiers obeyed, but Solis with 6 officers fled. Six Americans, of whom Pattie was orderly sergeant and commander, armed with rifles, were at once sent in pursuit to bring back the fugitives dead or alive. Minute details are given. Several shots were exchanged; one American was wounded, and a Mexican killed, with 4 bullets through his body; but the rest surrendered and were brought back to Monterey, where the American flag floated until Echeandía arrived! *Pattie's Narr.*, 225–9.

[44] Spence, Osio, Vallejo (M. G. and J. J.), Alvarado, and others mention the promise to Ávila; but most of them state that the promise was kept, Echeandía granting the pass and $500 in money. Fernandez even speaks of Ávila as subsequently becoming a brigadier in Mexico. I have before me Ávila's petition to Gov. Figueroa in 1833, narrating the Solis capture. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxv. 13. Botello, *Anales*, MS., 53, mentions Ávila as being at S. Buenaventura in 1838. For some reason unknown to me, the Californians are disposed to regard Ávila very favorably, representing him as sent to Cal. for political offences merely; but in the records he stands as 'a vicious man of very bad conduct, who took part in various murders and assaults on travellers.' He was sentenced on Aug. 24, 1824, and

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from the south, and took the command. Herrera was now put under arrest in his own house.

Now followed the formal investigation and trial of the imprisoned leaders. It was carried on at Monterey and Santa Bárbara, by Zamorano, Pacheco, Lobato, and Pliego, under instructions from Echeandía, and extended from January to June. The testimony [45] I have utilized in the preceding narrative, and it requires no further notice except in a single point. The evidence respecting the revolt was clear enough; but nearly all the troops were implicated; few men of any class had shown real opposition to the movement in the north; a rising of soldiers with the object of getting their pay was not a very serious offence from a military point of view; and pretty nearly everybody had been included in the various indultos offered. In fact, the criminal case was hardly strong enough to suit Echeandía's purposes respecting Herrera, the only one of the accused for whose fate he cared particularly. A more serious charge was needed, and grounds for it were easily found. After their defeat at Santa Bárbara, Solis and one or two of his men, wishing to gain the support of the padres, like drowning men clutching at straws, talked about raising the Spanish flag. It was easy to prove these ravings of the soldiers, and the foolish remarks of Padre Luis Martinez at San Luis Obispo. Particular attention was given to this phase of the matter in the investigation.[46] A revolt in favor of Spain would sound very differently in Mexico from a rising of hungry soldiers against

came on the *Morelos* in July 1825. *Prov. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., li. 2; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lvii. 3.

[45] *Solis, Proceso instruido contra Joaquin Solis y otros Revolucionarios de 1830*, MS. These documents do not contain the final sentence under which the prisoners were sent away.

[46] Pp. 78–105 of the *Proceso* noticed in the last note are entitled '*Autos que aclaran que el objeto de la faccion de Solis era de pronunciarse en favor del Gobierno Español.*' Meliton Soto, Raimundo de la Torre, and Máximo Guerra were said to have spoken in favor of a *grito* for Spain; and a letter of Solis, dated Jan. 17th, to P. Arroyo de la Cuesta, was produced, in which he announced his purpose to raise the Spanish flag, asked for a neophyte force to aid him, and said that the southern padres had agreed to the plan. p. 88.

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their local chief, and Echeandía hoped he might now safely send Herrera out of the territory. Respecting the banishment of Padre Martinez, I shall speak in the following chapter.[47]

On May 9, 1830, the American bark *Volunteer*, John Coffin Jones, Jr., master, sailed from Monterey with fifteen prisoners on board to be delivered at San Blas. Herrera was confined to a room constructed for the purpose on deck; Solis and the rest were in irons.[48] We have no particulars about the reception of the prisoners by the Mexican authorities, but it is certain that they were discharged from custody without punishment.[49] Three at least of the soldiers, Torre, Véjar, and one of the Altamiranos, found their way back to California in later years; while Herrera, in spite of all Echeandía's accusations and precautions, was soon sent back, as we shall see, to take his old position as comisario de hacienda. California's first revolution was over, and little harm had been done.[50]

[47] Feb. 23d, Echeandía reported to min. of war the pacification of the territory, begged most earnestly for aid, and announced the fact that the revolution had really been in the interests of Spain. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 61–3. April 7th, order from Mexico that Solis and his seven companions be tried for treason. Also thanks to E. for having suffocated the revolt. *Sup. Gort St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 8. Miscellaneous communications respecting the trial in addition to those contained in the *Proceso*, in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 127–130; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 13, 22, 32, 36, 78.

[48] May 7, 1830, receipt of Jones for the 15 prisoners, as follows: José María Herrera, Joaquin Solis, Meliton Soto, Serapio Escamilla, Raimundo de la Torre, Pablo Véjar, Victoriano Altamirano, Gonzalo Altamirano, Leonardo Arceo, Mariano Peguero, Andrés Leon, Máximo Guerra, Antonio Guevara, Gracia Larios, Inés Polanco. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxii. 17–18. Sailing of the *Volunteer* on May 9th. *Id.*, lxii. 28. Pattie, *Narr.*, 238–9, also sailed on the *Volunteer*, and names Capt. Wm. H. Hinckley as having been on board and leaving the vessel at S. Blas. The prisoners reached Tepic May 22d. *Guerra, Doc.*, MS., vi. 129. Those belonging to the Monterey cavalry company were dropped from the company rolls in 1836. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Mil.*, MS., lxxxii. 65. Six other men had been sent away from Sta Bárbara in February in the *Emily Marshum*, 3 of them, Joaquin Garcia, José M. Arenas, and Antonio Peña, for complicity in the Solis affair. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 74.

[49] Torre, *Reminis.*, MS., 19–21, says that his brother Raimundo was tried by court-martial and acquitted; whereupon the rest were discharged without trial.

[50] The Solis revolt is described more or less fully in the following narratives, in addition to such as have been cited in the preceding pages: *Avila, Cosas*, MS., 25–8; *Bandini, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 71–2; *Amador, Mem.*, MS., 86–90; *Fernandez, Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 59–64; *Pico, Hist. Cal.*, MS., 20; *Castro, Rel.*, MS., 19–23; *Pinto, Apunt.*, MS., 2; *Valdés, Mem.*, MS., 18–20. It is men-

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Respecting the management of the revenues in 1829–30 there is little or nothing to be said beyond noting the fact that Osio, Jimeno, and Bandini are mentioned as comisarios during 1830, without much regard to chronology. It would seem that after the revolt Jimeno was restored to his old position, and that Bandini was appointed before the end of the year, though there is inextricable confusion, not only in dates, but in the offices of comisario, administrador, and contador.[51]

tioned in print by Mofras, *Explor.*, i. 293–4; Petit-Thouars, *Voy.*, ii. 90–1; Lafond, *Voy.*, 209; Pickett, in *Shuck's Rep. Men*, 227; Wilkes, *Narr.*, v. 173–4; Capron, *Hist. Cal.*, 37–8; Tuthill, *Hist. Cal.*, 130–1; Robinson, *Life in Cal.*, 69–70; and Flint, *Pattie's Narr.*, 222–30.

[51] See *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 155–6; iii. 209–10; *Id.*, *Ben. Mil.*, lxii. 22; lxxiii. 53; lxxiv. 6; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 246–3; *Leg. Rec.*, MS., i. 269, 281–90. Apr. 25, 1830, the Californian diputado in congress urged the uselessness of sending special officers to manage the revenues. *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS., iv. 898. Jimeno was appointed contador on Sept. 30, 1829, by the min. de hacienda, but declined the place in Nov. 1830. Oct. 21, 1830, Echeandía, Bandini, and Jimeno met at Monterey, and decided on the following custom-house organization at Monterey: administrador, with duties of comisario, at $1,000 per year; contador, with duties of vista, at $800; commandant of the guard, with duties of alcalde, at $800; guarda and clerk at $400; servant at $144; patron and two sailors at $144 and $96. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 155–6.

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CHAPTER VI.

OVERLAND—SMITH AND PATTIE—FOREIGNERS

1826–1830.

THE EASTERN FRONTIER—THE TRAPPERS—FIRST VISITORS BY THE OVERLAND ROUTE—JEDEDIAH SMITH, 1826–8—ERRORS CORRECTED—ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS—THE SIERRA NEVADA CROSSED AND RE-CROSSED—FIRST ENTRY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—MCLEOD AND OGDEN—PATTIE'S VISIT AND IMPRISONMENT, 1828–30—FLINT'S NARRATIVE—TRUTH AND FICTION—A TOUR OF VACCINATION—'PEG-LEG' SMITH—TRAPPING LICENSE OF EXTER AND WILSON—VACA FROM NEW MEXICO—EWING YOUNG AND HIS HUNTERS FROM NEW MEXICO—FOREIGN RESIDENTS—ANNUAL LISTS OF NEW-COMERS—REGULATIONS ON PASSPORTS AND NATURALIZATION.

FOR forty years California had been visited with increasing frequency by foreigners, that is, by men whose blood was neither Indian nor Spanish. England, the United States, Russia, and France were the nations chiefly represented among the visitors, some of whom came to stay, and to all of whom in the order of their coming I have devoted some attention in the annals of the respective years. All had come from the south, or west, or north by the broad highway of the Pacific Ocean bounding the territory on the west and leading to within a few miles of the most inland Spanish establishments. The inland boundary—an arc whose extremities touch the coast at San Diego and at 42°, an arc for the most part of *sierras nevadas* so far as could be seen, with a zone of desert beyond as yet unknown—had never yet been crossed by man of foreign race, nor trod, if we except the

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southern segment cut by a line from San Gabriel to Mojave, by other than aboriginal feet.[1]

Meanwhile a grand advance movement from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi, to the plains, to the Rocky Mountains, and into the Great Basin had been gradually made by the fur-hunting pioneers of the broad interior—struggling onward from year to year against obstacles incomparably greater than those presented by the gales and scurvy of the Pacific. If I were writing the history of California alone, it would be appropriate and probably necessary to present here, en résumé at least, the general movement to which I have alluded, embodying the annals of the various fur companies. But the centre of the fur trade was much farther north, and its annals cannot be profitably separated from the history of the North-west. For this reason—bearing in mind also those portions of my work relating locally to Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona—I feel justified in referring the reader for the general exploration westward to other chapters of other volumes, and in confining my record here to such expeditions as directly affect Californian territory.

These began in 1826, when the inland barrier of mountain and desert was first passed, and from that date the influx of foreigners by overland routes becomes a topic of ever growing importance. It is well, however, to understand at the outset, that respecting the movements of the trappers no record of even tolerable completeness exists, or could be expected to exist. After 1826 an army of hunters, increasing from hundreds to thousands, frequented the fur-producing

[1] A few English and American deserters, leaving their vessels at Todos Santos or thereabouts, had on two or three occasions been sent across the frontier to S. Diego, forming an exception of little importance to my general statement. Another exception of somewhat greater weight rests in the possibility that trappers may have crossed the northern frontier before 1826. It is not improbable that Hudson's Bay Company men may have done so from the Willamette Valley on one or more occasions, though there is no more definite record than the rumor of 1820–1, that foreign hunters were present in the north, and the newspaper report of McKay's presence in Siskiyou in 1825.

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streams of the interior, and even the valleys of California, flitting hither and thither, individuals and parties large or small according to the disposition of the natives, wandering without other motive than the hope of more abundant game, well acquainted with the country, as is the wont of trappers, but making no maps and keeping no diaries. Occasionally they came in contact with civilization east or west, and left a trace in the archives; sometimes a famous trapper and Indian-fighter was lucky enough to fall in with a writer to put his fame and life in print; some of them lived later among the border settlers, and their tales of wild adventure, passing not without modification through many hands, found their way into newspaper print. Some of them still live to relate their memories to me and others, sometimes truly and accurately, sometimes confusedly, and sometimes falsely, as is the custom of trappers like other men. I make no claim of ability to weave continuity from fragments, bring order from chaos, distinguish in every instance truth from falsehood, or build up a narrative without data; nevertheless, I proceed with confidence to write in this chapter and others of the men who came to California overland from the east.

Jedediah S. Smith was the first man who made the trip. From a post of the fur company established at or near Great Salt Lake a year or two earlier,[2] Smith started in August 1826 for the south-west with fifteen men, intent rather on explorations for future work than on present trapping.[3] Crossing Utah Lake,

[2] Smith was associated with Jackson and Sublette, and the post had been established by W. H. Ashley.

[3] *Smith, Excursion à l'ouest des Monts Rocky. Extrait d'une lettre de M. Jedidiah Smith, employé de la Compagnie des Pelleteries*, in *Nouv. Ann. des Voy.*, xxxvii. 208–12. Taken from an American paper. The news—perhaps the paper, but certainly not Smith's letter as might seem from the translation—was dated St. Louis Oct. 11, 1827. This brief letter, in which very likely wild work is made with names in the printing and translation, is in connection with the correspondence preserved in the archives, the best authority on the subject. The general accounts extant are full of errors, though each purports to correct errors previously made. Warner, *Reminiscences*, MS.,

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he seems to have passed in a general south-westerly course to the junction of the Virgin River and Colo-

21–9, errs chiefly in dates and order of events. He makes Smith start in 1824 and lead a party of hunters through the Green River country, south of Salt Lake, over the Sierra Nevada near Walker Pass, into the Tulare Valley. In June 1825, leaving his men on the American Fork—whence the name—he re-crossed the sierra with two men. Starting back for California in the autumn of 1825 by a more southern route, he was attacked by the Mojaves while crossing the Colorado, and lost all his men but 2 or 3, with whom he reached S. Gabriel late in 1826. The author of *Cronise's Natural Wealth of Cal.*, after being at much trouble to unravel the various stories, 'gathered the following particulars from those who knew Smith personally, and from documents in the state archives:' 'In the spring of 1825, Smith, with a party of 40 trappers and Indians, left their rendezvous on Green River near the South Pass, and pushed their way westward, crossing the Sierra Nevada into the Tulare Valley, which they reached in July 1825. The party trapped from the Tulare to the American fork of the Sacramento, where there was already a camp of American trappers (?). Smith camped near the site of the present town of Folsom, about 22 miles north-east of the other party. From this camp Smith sent out parties, which were so successful that in October, leaving all the others in California, in company with 2 of the party, he returned to his rendezvous on Green River with several bales of skins. In May 1826 Smith was sent back with a reënforcement. On this trip he led his party farther south than on the former one, which brought them into the Mojaves' settlements on the Colorado, where all the party except Smith, Galbraith, and Turner were killed by the Indians. These three made their way to S. Gabriel on Dec. 26, 1826, where they were arrested,' etc. Cronise also publishes a translation of 2 documents from the archives, of which more later.

Thomas Sprague, in a letter of Sept. 18, 1860, to Edmund Randolph, published in *Hutchings' Mag.*, v. 351–2, and also in the *S. F. Bulletin*, states that Smith, starting from Green River in 1825, reached and went down the Humboldt River, which he named Mary River from his Indian wife, crossed the mountains probably near the head of the Truckee, and passed on down the valley to S. José and S. Diego. Recruiting his men and buying many horses, he re-crossed the mountains near Walker Pass, skirted the eastern base to near Mono Lake, and on a straight north-east course for Salt Lake found placer gold in large quantities. He was ordered to return and prospect the gold fields on his way back from California, but near the gold mines he was killed with most of his party.

Robert Lyon furnished to Angel, author of the *Nevada Hist.*, 29 et seq., a version somewhat similar to that of Sprague, including the discovery of coarse placer gold near Mono Lake. His account seems to rest on the testimony, in 1860, of Rocky Mountain Jack and Bill Reed, who claimed to have been companions of Smith.

An 'associate of the daring pioneer' corrected prevailing errors as follows in the *S. F. Times*, June 14, 1867: 'He came into California in 1827, with a trapping party from the rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, on the Yellowstone River. He left his party on the American fork of the Sacramento in the summer of that year, and with two men returned to the rendezvous, where he fitted out a new party and returned in 1828 to the American, where the two parties were combined, and moving northwardly, he reached the Umpqua River,' etc.

It will be noticed that all these versions have the double trip and some other points in common, and that the confusion is largely removed by the original authorities, on which I found my text. Randolph, *Oration*, 313–14, translating Smith's letter to P. Duran, and Tuthill, *Hist. Cal.*, 124–5, as well as Frignet, *La Californie*, 58–60, mention Smith's arrival in 1826 in so general a manner as to avoid serious error. The same may be said of Douglas,

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rado, down to the Mojave villages, and westward across the desert to San Gabriel.[4]

The Amajabes on the Colorado treated the party well, furnishing fresh provisions, and horses stolen from the Spaniards, and two wandering neophytes guided the sixteen Americans over the desert to the mission, where they arrived in December. The trappers gave up their arms, and the leader was taken to San Diego, where he explained his object, and submitted to Governor Echeandía his papers, including passports from the U. S. government, and a diary. The coming of the strangers naturally excited suspicion at first; but this was removed by Smith's plea that he had been compelled to enter the territory for want of provisions and water, it being impossible to return by the same route; and his cause was still further strengthened by a certificate of Dana, Cunningham, and other Americans, that the trapper's papers were all *en règle*, and his motives doubtless pacific and honorable.[5] He was therefore permitted to purchase supplies, and undertake his eastward march by a new route; but not, as

Private Papers, MS., 2d series, p. 1, Victor, *River of the West*, 34, and Hines, *Voyage*, 110, though these writers speak with reference to later events in Oregon, and derived their information from distinct sources. The *Yolo Co. Hist.*, *S. Joaq. Co. Hist.*, and other like works describe Smith's adventures, in some cases as accurately as was possibly from accessible data, still with various combinations of the errors already noted.

[4] The details of the route are worth preservation briefly, though not clear in all respects. Started Aug. 22d from Salt Lake, crossed the little Utá Lake, went up the Ashley, which flows into that lake through the country of the Sumpatch Indians, crossed a range of mountains extending S. E. to N. W., crossed a river which he named Adams for the president, and which flowed S. W. Ten days' march to the Adams again, which had turned S. E. (This is not clear; the text says, 'à dix journées de marche l'Adams River tourne au S. E., il y a là une caverne,' etc. Query—Did Smith pass from the Sevier to the Virgin, and suppose them to be one stream?) Two days down the Adams to its junction with the Seeds-Keeder, a river with many shallows and rapids, and having a sterile country on the south; farther to a fertile wooded valley inhabited by the Ammucheebès (Amajabes, or Mojaves), where he remained 15 days. This was 80 miles above where the Seeds-Keeder, under the name of Rio Colorado, flowed into the gulf of California. Re-crossing the Seeds-Keeder, he went 15 days west into a desert country, and across a salt plain 8 by 20 miles. Here the details cease abruptly, and he next speaks of his arrival in Upper California.

[5] Dated at S. Diego Dec. 20, 1826, and signed by Wm G. Dana, Wm H. Cunningham, Wm Henderson, Diego Scott, Thomas M. Robbins, and Thomas Shaw, in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 19–20. An English translation has been published in several works.

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he wished, to follow the coast up to the Columbia via Bodega.[6]

The Californians supposed for a month that they were rid of their overland guests; but at the beginning of February 1827 some of them were seen at different places, particularly near San Bernardino, where Smith appeared on the 2d of February. There he left a sick man, and thence he seems to have sent a letter to Padre Sanchez by one of his men. The letter, as translated at the time, stated as the reason for return that the trappers in crossing a stream had been attacked by Indians, who killed eight of their number and stripped them of everything but their clothes—a statement that would seem to be false, though Smith bore the reputation of truthfulness.[7] At any rate, the trappers had tried without success to cross the Sierra, and were reported to be in a destitute condition. The two men to whom I have referred were, I suppose, Isaac Galbraith and Joaquin Bowman, who were detained at the time for examination, and who remained in the territory. Orders were issued to detain the whole party, but Smith had left San Bernardino before the orders could be executed.[8]

[6] Dec. 30, 1826. Echeandía reports Smith's arrival with 14 companions, 40 beaver skins, and many traps; also his visit to S. Diego and his apparent good faith. *St. Pap., Sec.*, MS., xix. 37–8. He enclosed Smith's diary to the minister of war, and it may come to light some day. Smith himself, *Excursion*, 210, says: 'Mon arrivée dans la Haute-Californie excita les soupçons du gouverneur, qui demeurait à San Diego. Il me fit conduire devant lui; mais plusieurs citoyens des Etats-Unis, notamment M. Cunningham, capitaine du *Courrier* de Boston, ayant répondu de moi, j'obtins la permission de retourner avec ma suite, et d'acheter des provisions; mais le gouverneur refusa de me laisser côtoyer la mer en allant vers la Bodega.'

[7] The letter is not extant, and its purport only is given in one of Argüello's letters to the governor. It is possible that there is an error somewhere, and that Smith in the original letter spoke of a fight in which he killed 8 Indians, especially as 2 women are also said to have been killed. Smith himself, *Excursion*, p. 211, gives no details nor even mention of having come in contact with the Spaniards at this time. He says, in continuation of quotation of note 6, 'I marched therefore E. and then N. E. (from S. Gabriel or S. Diego), keeping at a distance of 150 to 200 miles from the coast. I went nearly 300 miles in that direction,' through some fertile regions peopled by many naked Indians, and 'having reached a river which I named Kimmel-ché from the tribe living on its banks. I found beavers, etc. Here I remained some days; I intended to return to Salt Lake by crossing Mount Joseph; but the snow was so deep on the heights that my horses, 5 of which had died of hunger, could not advance. I was therefore obliged to re-descend into the valley.'

[8] Letters of Santiago Argüello to comandante of S. Diego and to gov., with

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When next heard of in May, Smith had moved northward and was encamped in the country of the Moquelumnes and Cosumnes. Padre Duran, of Mission San José, accused the Americans of having enticed his neophytes to desert, but Comandante Martinez pronounced the charge groundless.[9] New communications and orders to investigate passed between the authorities; and a letter came to Padre Duran from Smith himself, bearing date of May 19th. It was a frank statement of his identity and situation, of his failures to cross the mountains, and of the necessity of waiting for the snow to melt. He was far from home, destitute of clothing and all the necessaries of life, save only game for food. He was particularly in need of horses; in fact, he was very disagreeably situated, but yet, "though a foreigner unknown to you, Reverend Father, your true friend and Christian brother, J. S. Smith."[10]

The next day after writing this letter Smith started

references to replies and other communications, in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 33–7. Mention of Galbraith (Gil Brest) and the 'sick man' in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 89, 115, also of Galbraith in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 16–17. Bowman is mentioned as one of Smith's men in *Los Angeles, Hist.*, 19, by Mr Warner, and there may be some mistake. The sick man may possibly have been John Wilson, who was in custody in May as one of Smith's men. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 45; *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt i. 29, 33. Cronise calls Galbraith's companion Turner.

[9] May 16, 1827, Duran to com. of S. Francisco. 400 neophytes have been induced to run away. *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt i. 27. May 18th, gov. orders Martinez not to rely wholly on reports of the Indians, but to send out scouts to learn who are the strangers and what their business; also to demand their passports and detain them until further orders. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 45. On same date Rocha is ordered to institute proceedings against John Wilson, and take deposition of Daniel Ferguson, with a view to find out the aims of the strangers. *Id.* May 21st, Martinez from S. José to gov. The Americans had nothing to do with the flight of the neophytes. Sergt Soto has been ordered to investigate, find out what *gente* it is, not allow them to approach the missions, treat them courteously, etc. A letter has been received from Smith to Duran, which the latter would not receive, but which Martinez had had translated and sent to Monterey for Hartnell to retranslate. The Indians say that there are 12 of the strangers, the same who were at S. Gabriel, and they had killed 5 Moquelumnes in a fight. John Wilson, a prisoner at Monterey, has apparently not been missed, and he says something of the party having come from Boston in 18 months to make surveys and buy lands of the natives (?). *Arch. Arzob.*, MS., v. pt i. 28–33.

[10] May 19, 1827, Spanish translation of Smith's letter, in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 18–19. English version, in *Randolph's Oration*, 313–14; and other works. French version, in *Frignet, La Cal.*, 58–60.

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homeward with but two companions. This was the first crossing of the Sierra Nevada, and the traveller's narrative, though brief and meagre, must be presented in his own words. "On May 20, 1827," he writes, "with two men, seven horses, and two mules laden with hay and food, I started from the valley. In eight days we crossed Mount Joseph, losing on this passage two horses and one mule. At the summit of the mountain the snow was from four to eight feet deep, and so hard that the horses sank only a few inches. After a march of twenty days eastward from Mount Joseph, I reached the south-west corner of the Great Salt Lake. The country separating it from the mountains is arid and without game. Often we had no water for two days at a time; we saw but a plain without the slightest trace of vegetation. Farther on I found rocky hills with springs, then hordes of Indians, who seemed to us the most miserable beings imaginable. When we reached the Great Salt Lake we had left only one horse and one mule, so exhausted that they could hardly carry our slight luggage. We had been forced to eat the horses that had succumbed."[11] There are no means of knowing anything about his route; but I think he is as likely to have crossed the mountains near the present railroad line as elsewhere.[12]

Smith returned from Salt Lake to California with eight men, arriving probably in October 1827, but

[11] *Smith, Excursion*, 211–12. With the quotation given, the letter ends abruptly.

[12] Still it is not impossible or unlikely that in this trip or on the return Smith went through Walker Pass, as Warner and others say, or followed the Humboldt or Mary, as Sprague tells us; but the gold discovery on the way as related by Sprague merits no consideration, in the absence of other evidence and the presence of evident absurdities. It is to be noticed that Warner describes this crossing of the sierra by Smith and two men accurately enough, except in date; and I think it probable that he has reversed the order of the two entries to California, the first being by Mojave in 1826, and the second by Walker Pass in 1827. On Wilkes' map of 1841, reproduced in vol. iv. of this work, Smith's route is indicated, on what authority is not stated, by a line extending s. w. from Salt Lake, and approaching the sierra on the 39th parallel, with a lake on the line in long. 119°, and three streams running N. between the lake and mountains. A peak in the sierra just N. of 39° is called Mt Smith; and Mt Joseph is at the northern end of the range in lat. 41°. This may all rest on accurate reports.

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about the route followed or incidents of the trip nothing is known. The Californians apparently knew nothing of the leader's separation from his company, though the record of what occurred during his absence is meagre. On May 23d Echeandía issued instructions, by virtue of which the fur-hunter was to be informed that his actions had become suspicious, and that he must either start homeward at once, come to San José to enjoy the hospitality of California under surveillance until the supreme government could decide, or sail on the first vessel that could carry him beyond latitude 42°.[13] According to fragmentary records in the archives, it was supposed early in August that the strangers had gone. In September it was known that they were still present, and in October several orders were issued that they be brought to San José. It is not clear that any were thus brought in,[14] but it would seem that on Smith's return from the east late in October, he soon came, voluntarily or otherwise, to San José and Monterey with seventeen or eighteen companions.[15]

The 12th of November Captain Cooper at Monterey signed a bond in favor of his countryman. As the agent of Steel, Park, and others, and in the name of the United States, Cooper became responsible with his person and property for the good behavior of Jed-

[13] May 23, 1827, Echeandía to Martinez. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 48.

[14] Gov.'s orders of Aug. 3d, Sept. 14th, Oct. 1st, 16th, in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 73, 88, 94, 102. Bojorges, *Recuerdos*, MS., 12-14, the only one of my Californian writers who mentions this affair at all, says that Soto was sent out with 40 men to the Rio Estanislao, and brought in all the trappers to S. Francisco. As such orders had been issued, this is likely enough to be true, though perhaps it took place after Smith's return. Oct. 8th, Isaac Galbraith asks for an interview with Echeandía, wishing a license either to remain in the country or to rejoin his leader. He also corrects an impression that Smith is a captain of troops, stating that he is but a hunter of the company of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 36-7.

[15] The Spanish records make the number 17, which is probably accurate, though records of a later event in Oregon speak of 18. Morineau, *Notice*, MS., 153-4, says that in October 1827 a caravan of 17 voyageurs arrived at S. Francisco from New Orleans. They sold some furs to a Russian vessel, bought horses, and returned by the same way they came. Carrillo, *Exposicion*, MS., 9, says that in 1827 one of the hunters passed through the country with 60 men, reached the house of the comandante general, made plans, etc., and went away unmolested!

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ediah Smith in all that concerned his return to Salt Lake. In the document it was set forth that Smith and his men, as honorable citizens of the United States, were to be treated as friends, and furnished at fair prices with the aid in arms, horses, and provisions necessary for the return march by way of Mission San José, Strait of Carquines, and Bodega; but there was to be no unnecessary delay en route, and in future they must not visit the coast south of latitude 42°, nor extend their inland operations farther than specifically allowed by the latest treaties. To this bond Echeandía attached his written permission for Smith and his company to return, with one hundred mules, one hundred and fifty horses, a gun for each man, and divers bales of provisions and other effects which are named.[16]

Echeandía issued orders for a guard of ten men to escort the trappers to a point a little beyond San Francisco Solano, starting from San José;[17] but a slight change must have been made in the plan, for on the 18th the whole company arrived at San Francisco on the *Franklin* from Monterey.[18] This is really the last that is known of Smith in California, where four and perhaps five men of his party remained, besides Turner who came back later. I have accredited these men to the year 1826, though some of them probably came in the second party of 1827. The party doubtless left San Francisco at the end of the year or early in 1828, and proceeded somewhat leisurely northward, probably by a coast route as intended,[19] and not without some new misconduct, or what was vaguely alluded to as such by the authori-

[16] I have, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxix. 171, the orginal of this interesting document kept by Cooper. Three copies were made, one sent to Mexico, one kept in the archives, and one given to Smith. It is written on paper provisionally 'habilitated' by the autographs of Herrera and Echeandia, bears a certificate of José Estrada, is signed John B^a R. Cooper. Then follows the autograph of the hunter. 'I acknowledge this bond, Jedediah S. Smith,' and closes with Echeandia's pass.

[17] Nov. 15th, E. to com. of S. Francisco. *Dept. Rec.*, MS. v. 107. Louis Pombert, a French Canadian, left Smith's party about this time and remained in the country. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 25–8.

[18] Argüello to gov. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 45.

[19] Bojorges, *Recuerdos*, MS., 14, says he left S. Francisco by water on an

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ties.[20] While attempting to ford the Umpqua River he was attacked by Indians, who killed fifteen of the company and took all their property. Smith, Turner, and two others[21] escaped to Fort Vancouver. McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company sent back a party with one of the survivors to recover the lost effects, in which they are said to have been successful. Jedediah Smith returned eastward by a northern route in 1829, and two years later he was killed by the Indians in New Mexico. I append part of a map of 1826 purporting to show 'all the recent geographical discoveries' to that date.

An important topic, perhaps connected indirectly with Jedediah Smith's visit, is the first operations of the Hudson's Bay Company's trappers in California. Respecting these operations before 1830, I have no original and definite information, except that contained in the statement of J. J. Warner, himself an old trapper, still living in 1884, and an excellent authority on all connected with the earliest American pioneers, although he did not himself reach California until the beginning of the next decade.[22] Warner states

American vessel. It is possible, but not I think probable, that such was the case, one of the vessels being chartered to take him up the coast to or beyond Bodega. Warner says Smith started up the interior valley, but on account of difficulties in the way, turned to the coast 200 miles above Ross. The men who remained, besides Galbraith and Bowman, were Bolbeda, Pombert, and probably Wilson.

[20] Feb. 1, 1828, gov. to Martinez. Alludes to the abuses committed by Smith. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 178. Probably he had stopped on the way to hunt and trap. June 26th, Cooper was thanked by J. Lennox Kennedy, U. S. consul at Mazatlan, for his services in Smith's behalf; will send documents to U. S. min. at Mexico. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxix. 250. But May 6, 1829, he was ordered as bondsman by gov. to pay $176 due from Smith. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 148. June 25, 1829, E. reports to the min. of rel. a rumor that the Americans intend to take S. Francisco, a plan which he ascribes to the advent of Smith. *Id.*, vii. 25.

[21] There is a discrepancy of one man in totals, but there is also a compensating uncertainty about one of the men who remained in Cal. Cronise, *Nat. Wealth of Cal.*, 42, erroneously names two of the three survivors Laughlin and Prior. Victor, *River of the West*, 35–6, names Turner and Black. The particulars of the Umpqua fight belong to other parts of this series. See *Hist. Or.* and *Hist. Northwest Coast*. The map given herewith is copied from one in *Warren's Mem.* In *Pac. R. R. Repts*, xi. pl. iii., being a reduction from A. Finley's map of N. America published at Philadelphia in 1826.

[22] *Warner's Reminiscences of Early California*, MS., 27–33. The author

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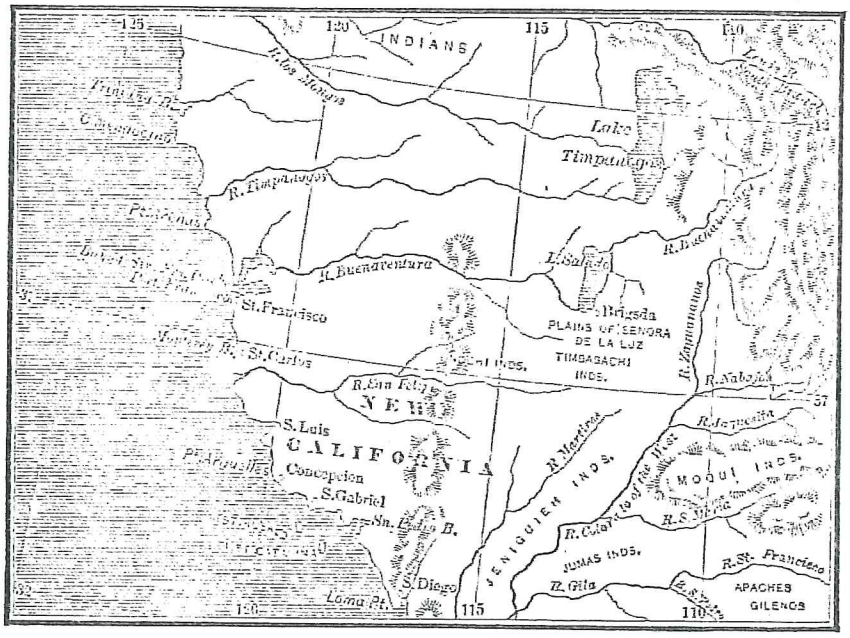
that the party sent back from Fort Vancouver to avenge Smith's disasters was under the command of McLeod, and after recovering the stolen furs, traps, and horses, was guided by Turner down into the Sacramento Valley in 1828, where he made a successful hunt. Returning northward, however, he was overtaken by a snow-storm in the Pit River country, which he was the first to traverse.[23] He lost his animals, and was compelled to leave his furs, which were spoiled by melting snow before they could be moved.



MAP OF 1826.

McLeod was discharged for his imprudence or for his bad luck. Meanwhile the company had hastened to despatch Ogden with another party of hunters up the Columbia and Snake, to proceed thence southward to Smith's trail,[24] by which he was to enter Califor-

represents the manager of the company as having driven a shrewd bargain with Smith, and derived much profit from his disaster.

[23] The McLeod River, generally written McCloud, was named by or in honor of this hunter.

[24] That is one of Smith's trails, probably the most northerly, though Warner makes it the earliest.

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nia, and thus get the start of any American trappers that might be sent as a result of Smith's reports. Ogden was successful in this movement, and entered the great valley about the same time that McLeod left it.[25] He also obtained a rich harvest of skins during his stay of eight months, and carried his furs to the north by McLeod's trail. These were the only visits of Hudson Bay trappers before 1832.[26]

The visit of the Patties to California in 1828–30 is the topic next demanding attention. Sylvester Pattie, a Kentuckian, lieutenant of rangers against the Indians in 1812–13, and later a lumberman in Missouri, joined a trapping and trading expedition to New Mexico in 1824, with his son James Ohio Pattie. The father was about forty years of age, and the son a school-boy of perhaps fifteen. With their adventures in New Mexico and Arizona for the next three years I am not concerned here. More than once they visited the Gila, and in September 1827 the elder Pattie was made captain of a company of thirty trappers, organized at Santa Fé to operate on the Colorado.[27] They reached the Colorado and Gila junction December 1st, or at least the Patties and six men did so, the rest having left the Gila, striking northward some two weeks earlier. The eight of Pattie's party were in a desperate strait. They understood from the Yumas that there were Christians down the river, and started to find them, floating on canoe rafts, trapping successfully as they went, and

[25] It seems rather unlikely that this could have been accomplished so soon as the autumn of 1828. Either it was in 1829, or Smith had reached Fort Vancouver early in 1828, instead of in the autumn as has been supposed.

[26] Similar versions of McLeod's and Ogden's expeditions, originating probably indirectly from Warner, but perhaps also from the recollections of other old trappers, are given in the county histories, newspaper articles, and other recent publications. See also *Hist. N. W. Coast*, i., this series. Cronise, *Nat. Wealth*, 41, says that French Camp, near Stockton, was located by a party of these trappers who encamped here from 1829 to 1838. In *Humphreys' Letter to Gwin*, *1858*, p. 5, it is stated that Richard Campbell of Sta Fé came with pack-mules from N. Orleans to S. Diego in 1827. I find nothing more on the subject.

[27] Pattie, *Narr.*, 133, translates the passport given them.

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reaching tide-water the 18th of January, 1828. They soon started back up the river, making little progress, and February 16th, having buried their furs and traps, they started westward across the desert. After terrible suffering they reached Santa Catalina Mission in Lower California the 12th of March. Ten days later, by Echeandía's order,[28] they started under a guard for San Diego, where they arrived the 27th. The company included, besides the Patties, Nathaniel Pryor, Richard Laughlin, William Pope, Isaac Slover, Jesse Ferguson, and James Puter,[29] most of whom sooner or later became permanent residents of California.

The narrative of James O. Pattie was subsequently printed; from it I have drawn the preceding résumé, and I have now to present in substance that part of it relating to California, introducing occasional notes from other sources, and reserving comment until the end.[30] On arrival at San Diego the strangers were

[28] March 22, 1828, E. to com. of S. Diego. Eight armed men have appeared at a frontier post with a *guia* of the N. Mex. custom-house as a passport. Arrest them and seize their arms. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 194; *Pattie's Narr.*, 170.

[29] All the names appear in the archives, in one place or another, though Ferguson is not clearly stated to have belonged to this company. Joseph Yorgens is named, perhaps a corruption of Ferguson's name, since Warner speaks of Ferguson, whom he must have known. Puter is mentioned only once, and there may be some error about his name. Pattie himself strangely names only Slover in his narrative, speaking also of a Dutchman; and on the other hand, Pattie's own name appears only once in the archives.

[30] *Pattie, The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky, during an expedition from St Louis through the west regions between that place and the Pacific Ocean, and thence back through the city of Mexico to Vera Cruz, during journeyings of six years; in which he and his father, who accompanied him, suffered unheard-of hardships and dangers, had various conflicts with the Indians, and were made captives, in which captivity his father died; together with a description of the country, and the various nations through which they passed. Edited by Timothy Flint.* Cincinnati, 1833. 8vo. 300 pp. The editor, a somewhat voluminous writer of works largely fictitious, claims not to have drawn on his imagination, but to have changed the author's statement—apparently written—only in orthography and by an occasional abridgment.

The Hunters of Kentucky; or the trials and toils of traders and trappers, during an expedition to the Rocky Mountains, New Mexico, and California, by B. Bilson, New York, 1847, 8vo, 160 pp., is called by T. W. Field, see *Sabin's Dictionary*, viii. 560-70, 'a reproduction of Pattie's narrative, which the penury of the thieving writer's imagination has not empowered him to clothe with new language, or interleave with new incidents;' yet this reprint is much less rare than the original, and has been much more widely read. From it at the time of publication many people formed their ideas about the

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brought before Echeandía and questioned, the younger Pattie, who had learned a little Spanish in New Mexico, serving as spokesman, and expressing his ideas with great freedom on this as on every other occasion when he came into contact with the Spaniards. The governor believed nothing of their story, accused them of being spies for Spain—worse than thieves and murderers—tore up their passport as a forgery, cut short their explanations, and remanded them to prison. On the way they resolved to redress their wrongs by force or die in the attempt; but their arms had been removed,[31] and they were locked up in separate cells. The father was cruelly torn from the son, and died a month later without being permitted again to see him. The cells were eight or ten feet square, with iron doors, and walls and floor of stone. Young Pattie's experience alone is recorded, as no communication was allowed. Nauseating food and continued insults and taunts were added to the horrors of solitary confinement. From his grated door Pattie could see Echeandía at his house opposite. "Ah! that I had had but my trusty rifle well charged to my face! Could I but have had the pleasure of that single shot,

Spanish Californians. In *Harper's Magazine*, xxi. 80–94, J. T. Headley tells the story of Pattie's sufferings, taken from one of the preceding works, and erroneously called the first overland expedition to California. Cronise, *Nat. Wealth of Cal.*, 45, says, 'the particulars of Pattie's journey were published with President Jackson's message to congress in 1836.' The subject is vaguely and incorrectly mentioned in *Greenhow's Hist. Ogn*, 366; and *Capron's Hist. Cal.*, 37. Warner, who knew personally most of Pattie's companions, gives a valuable account in his *Reminiscences*, MS., 33–7. The archive records are much less satisfactory than in the case of Jedediah Smith; but I shall have occasion to refer to them on special points.

[31] Dr Marsh, *Letter to Com. Jones*, MS., 1842, p. 3, says they came to S. Diego on a friendly visit, 'were well received at first, and shown into comfortable lodgings, where they deposited their arms and baggage. They were shortly after invited into another apartment to partake of some refreshment, and when they returned found that their arms had been removed, and that they were prisoners. I mention this incident, trivial as it is, because I consider it as a characteristic trait of the whole Mexican people. Gen. Echeandía in his own capital, with all his troops, could not take five American hunters without resorting to an artifice which would have been disdained by the most barbarous tribe of Indians on the whole continent. These poor men were kept in close confinement a long time...Two or three of the number are still in the country.' Where Marsh got this version, which leaves even Pattie in the shade, does not appear.

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I think I would have been willing to have purchased it with my life," writes the captive, and this before his father died alone. No attention was paid to pleas for justice or pity. Yet a sergeant showed much kindness, and his beautiful sister came often to the cell with sympathy and food, and even enabled the prisoner to get a glimpse of his father's coffin as it was hastily covered with earth.[32]

Captain Bradshaw of the *Franklin* soon got Pattie out of jail for a day by the 'innocent stratagem' of pretending to need his services as an interpreter; and with an eye to business, he made an effort to get permission for the hunters to go to the Colorado and bring the buried furs, but in vain. In the proceedings against Bradshaw for smuggling, Pattie served as interpreter; and later, by reporting certain orders which he had overheard, he claims to have prevented Bradshaw's arrest, and thus to have contributed to the escape of the *Franklin*.[33] Seth Rogers, A. W. Williams, and W. H. Cunningham are named as other American masters of vessels who befriended the young prisoner, and gave him money.

Echeandía himself also employed Pattie as an interpreter, and at times assumed a friendly tone. The captive took advantage of this to plead his cause anew, to discuss questions of international law, and to suggest that there was money to be made by sending after the buried furs. At the first he had known that every word of kindness pronounced by Echeandía "was a vile and deceitful lie," and after repeated interviews he perceived "that, like most arbitrary and cruel men, he was fickle and infirm of purpose," and

[32] He calls the young lady Miss Peaks, and the couple may have been Sergt Pico and his sister. A certain *capitan de armas* is also mentioned as of a friendly disposition, though he did not dare to brave the tyrant's rage. The reference may be to Portilla or Ruiz. It is remarkable that Pattie came so often into contact with the governor, and not at all with the comandante.

[33] See preceding chapter for affair of the *Franklin*. Pattie's statements that Bradshaw's trial was concluded July 28th, that the *Franklin* ran out of the harbor in Sept., and that she fired a broadside at the fort, are so positive, so erroneous, and yet so closely connected with details of his own affairs, as to leave a doubt as to the accuracy of those details.

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thereupon proceeded to "tease him with importunities;" but under this treatment the general became surly. "How earnestly I wished that he and I had been together in the wild woods, and I armed with my rifle!" writes Pattie. This could not be, but he refused to translate any more letters, and the governor, striking him on the head with the flat of his sword, had him dragged again to prison to lie and rot.

The suggestion of profit from the furs had, however, taken root; and early in September the prisoners were released, allowed once more to see each other, and promised permission to go to the Colorado, greatly to their delight. "I was convinced that Mexico could not array force enough to bring us back alive. I foresaw that the general would send no more than ten or twelve soldiers with us. I knew that it would be no more than an amusement to rise upon them, take their horses for our own riding, flea some of them of their skins to show that we knew how to inflict torture, and send the rest back to the general on foot." Pattie was allowed to go to the mission to hire horses for the trip; but at the last moment Echeandía remarked that he could spare no soldiers to go with them. It did not matter, they said, though it spoiled their plan of vengeance. But the governor added that one must remain as a hostage for the return of the rest, and Pattie was the man selected. "At this horrible sentence, breaking upon us in the sanguine rapture of confidence, we all gazed at each other in the consternation of despair;" but Pattie urged them to go and follow their inclinations about coming back. They came back at the end of September. The furs had all been spoiled by the overflow of the river, and the traps were sold to pay the mule-hire. Two of the six, however, failed to return, having left their companions on the Colorado and started for New Mexico.[34]

[34] These two were probably Slover and Pope, since these are the only ones not recorded as being in California in 1829. Warner says Slover and Pope (with Geo. C. Yount, whom nobody else connects with this expedition at all) started

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In the absence of his companions, Pattie, by advice of Bradshaw and Perkins,[35] had written a letter to Jones, consul of the United States at the Sandwich Islands, imploring intervention in his own behalf, and then he lay in his cell, harassed by continual threats of being shot at as a target, hanged, or burned alive. Soon came news from the north that the small-pox was raging in the missions. Fortunately Pattie had a small quantity of vaccine matter, and he resolved to make the best possible use of his advantage. Negotiations followed, which gave the young trapper many opportunities to show what could be done by the tongue of a free American citizen. In return for the liberty of himself and companions, he offered to vaccinate everybody in the territory; refusing his own liberty, refusing to vaccinate the governor himself, though trembling in fear of death, refusing even to operate on the arm of his beautiful guardian angel, the Señorita Pico, unless his proposition were accepted. There were many stormy scenes, and Pattie was often remanded to prison with a curse from Echeandía, who told him he might die for his obstinacy. But at last the governor had to yield. Certain old black papers in possession of the trappers, as interpreted by Pattie, were accepted as certificates of American citizenship, and in December all were freed for a week as an experiment.[36]

from New Mexico with the company, but returned from the Colorado without coming to Cal. There must be an error in Pattie's version of the departure of these two men; for I find that on Nov. 11, 1828, Echeandía informed the com. at Altar that he has issued passports to Pope and Sover, who started from N. Mexico for Sonora, but lost their way and entered Cal. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 13. Pope came back some years later, and has left his name to Pope Valley, Napa county, where he lived and died. May 1, 1828, E. had written to the com. of Altar about the 8 Americans detained at S. Diego, whom he thought it expedient to send back to the Colorado under a guard, that they might go to Sonora according to their custom-house permit. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 9. July 5th, the gov. of Sonora writes to the alcalde of Altar on the subject, and presumes that the com. gen. has already issued the proper instructions. The captives are alluded to as suspicious characters. *Pinart, Col. Doc., Son.*, MS., 43.

[35] Bradshaw had really been gone over a month at the time when these interviews are said to have taken place.

[36] It is implied by the writer that vaccination was a great mystery to the Californians, and even to the Russians, which is absurdly inaccurate, and

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It was deemed best to take no risks. By a false promise to their friend, the capitan de armas, they got their rifles and pistols on pretence of cleaning them, and refused to return the weapons, which were concealed in the thicket. Charles Lang, the smuggler, now made his appearance secretly,[37] and the trappers determined to join him. Pattie with one companion left San Diego Christmas night, and went down to Todos Santos; but learning that Lang had been arrested, they returned. Their comrades were still at liberty; no trouble was made by Echeandía about their absence or the recovery of their arms; and in January and February 1829, Pattie vaccinated everybody at the presidio and mission. On February 28th a paper was issued to each, granting liberty for a year on parole;[38] and Pattie obtained also a letter to the padres, who were instructed to furnish supplies and horses for the journey, and "indemnify me for my services as far as they thought proper."

Pattie started immediately on his trip northward, called at mission, presidio, and pueblo, and arrived at San Francisco the 20th of June. He had vaccinated

forms a weak point in the narrative. It is not certain, however, that they had any vaccine matter in their possession in 1828, nor is it evident that Pattie could have kept that which he had from being taken. I suppose that all is exaggerated for effect, but that Pattie may have been really employed to vaccinate. Early in 1829 a Russian vessel brought vaccine matter, and W. A. Richardson was employed that year to vaccinate at the missions; and in 1821 the Russians had vaccinated 54 persons at Monterey.

[37] See p. 159, this volume, for Lang's adventures.

[38] Pattie's *carta de seguridad* of Feb. 28th is preserved in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 89. It is as follows: 'Whereas, Santiago Ohio Pattie, who came into this territory hunting beaver in company with other foreigners, without any license whatever, in March of the past year, appears to be a North American according to a custom-house permit given in New Mexico; and whereas, the comandante of this place reports him not to be vicious but of regular conduct, in the petition presented by Pattie on the 27th of this month for permission to travel and remain in the country, there being no consul nor mercantile agent of his nation, nor any Mexican bondsman, therefore I have determined to grant him provisionally this letter of security, that he may remain and travel in this territory for one year,' in accordance, so far as possible, with the laws of May 1 and Mar. 12, 1828.

I have not found the papers of the other men under this date, but in a list of Feb. 14th, *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 44, Pryor, Puter, and Yorgens are named, Pryor being already at S. Luis Rey. He received a *carta de seguridad* April 52th. *Id.*, xix. 18–19. It is doubtful if any of them were kept in prison after their return from the Colorado.

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in all 22,000 persons,[39] receiving from the padres certificates by which the value of his services was to be finally estimated by a 'high dignitary' in the north. After a week's visit to Ross, where everything pleased the American, and where he received $100 for his medical services,[40] he returned and presented his certificates to the padre at San Francisco. On July 8th John Cabortes, presumably Padre Juan Cabot, presented the amateur physician a paper, by which he gave him 500 cattle and 500 mules, with land on which to pasture the same—to be delivered when he had become a Catholic and a Mexican citizen. "When I had read this," says Pattie, "I was struck dumb. My anger choked me." But he soon recovered his speech sufficiently to give the padre his opinion in the matter, to say that he came from a country where the laws compelled a man to pay another what he justly owed him without condition of submission to "any of his whimsical desires;" that as a protestant he would not change his opinions for all the money the mission was worth, and that as an American, "rather than consent to be adopted into the society and companionship of such a band of murderers and robbers," he would suffer death. For this "honest and plain utterance" of his feelings, he was ordered to leave the house; and, keeping his rifle ready for any one the priest might send after him, he bought a horse for three dollars, and started for Monte El Rey!

At the capital Pattie shipped on an American vessel, and for several months ploughed the Pacific, touching at various ports. He does not name the vessel, and he gives no particulars of his voyage, save

[39] Strangely enough there is no record in the archives respecting the ravages of small-pox or Pattie's professional tour; yet his statement is confirmed by the fact that the statistical tables show an extraordinary number of deaths this year among the Indians of all the northern missions. (See note 36.) Sta Cruz, S. José, and Sta Clara do not appear to have been visited at all. Here in the extreme north only the few who had not had the small-pox were vaccinated.

[40] He had seen Don Sereldo, as he calls the Russian manager, at S. Diego, and had been implored to come to Bodega and administer his remedy.

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of the first week's terrible sea-sickness. Back at Monterey,[41] he took a more or less active part, on both sides, in the Solis revolt, to which event considerable space is devoted in his narrative.[42] At first the trapper had contributed in a small way to the rebellion fund, and had with difficulty been dissuaded from joining the army of Solis in the hope of getting a shot at Echeandía; but in the end he had become an ally of his old foe, who on his coming to Monterey received Pattie affably, and even listened with some patience to a repetition of his long-winded arguments and complaints. Yet notwithstanding the portentous aspect of a document which Pattie had prepared by the advice of the Hawaiian consul, Jones,[43] for presentation to the American minister at Mexico, Echeandía ventured to doubt that his wrongs would be redressed, though he granted a passport that he might go to Mexico and try. Spending three days *de fiesta* at San Cárlos in company with Captain William Hinckley, hunting otter profitably for ten days on the coast, presenting his rifle to Captain Cooper, and writing a letter of farewell to his former companions in the south, Pattie sailed on the *Volunteer* May 9th, in company with Solis and his fellow-prisoners, for San Blas. At Mexico in June, at the office of Butler, American chargé d'affaires, he saw a communication of President Andrew Jackson in his behalf. He was honored by an interview with President Guerrero, and had the pleasure of learning that Echeandía had been recalled. I have his original letter of June 14, 1830, to friends in California, naming Lothlin (Laugh-

[41] He says it was Jan. 6, 1830; but if there is any foundation of truth in that part of the narrative which follows, it must have been about 2 months earlier.

[42] See chapter iii., this volume, on the Solis revolt, and especially Pattie's version of that affair. His dates are all wrong; there are many absurd inaccuracies built on a substratum of truth; and there is apparently deliberate falsehood respecting his personal exploits in the capture of Solis.

[43] Pattie says that this consul, John W. Jones, to whom he had written from S. Diego, arrived at Monterey April 29th in his own brig from the Islands. The reference is to John C. Jones, Jr., owner of the *Volunteer*, which arrived at about this time.

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lin), Pryor, and Cooper, in which he explains that 'Kernal' Butler had been able to give no satisfaction, but had advised him to seek redress from the President of the United States. The adventurer reached New Orleans in August, and proceeding up the Mississippi, was soon introduced to Rev. Timothy Flint, who was to make his name and fame more or less immortal.[44]

I have thus presented, with fairness I think, the substance and spirit of Pattie's narrative, though obliged to omit many details, making no pretension to point out minor errors, and perhaps failing to give a full idea of the writer's bitter feelings toward his oppressors. The subject is entitled to the space I have given it, on account of the extraordinary nature of the adventures recounted, the early date of the visit to California, the extent of the author's travels in the territory, the fame of his book, and the accuracy of many of his statements. Yet from the spirit of the narrative, from the numerous erroneous statements, and from my knowledge of Echeandía's character, I have no hesitation in pronouncing Pattie's complaints of ill treatment grossly exaggerated. This opinion is confirmed by those of the company who remained in the country. Entering the territory without passports, the hunters were, according to the unwise policy of Mexican laws, liable to arrest. Presidio fare, and especially prison fare, in California at that time, was even less congenial to American hunters than was the narrow spirit of Spanish policy. Naturally they were disappointed at their reception, and disgusted with their situation, but they were not probably made the victims of any special oppression. James O. Pattie was, however, a self-conceited and quick-tempered boy, with a freedom of

[44] Letter in *Vallejo, Doc.*, xxx. 85. In 1883 a man whose name I cannot recall, apparently trustworthy, while visiting my Library, stated that his wife was a niece of Pattie, and that the latter had spent some time at her residence in San Diego in late years, or at least since 1850. The man promised to obtain from his wife a more definite statement on the subject, but I have not received it.

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speech often amounting to insolence, and unlimited ability to make himself disagreeable. How far these peculiarities, and the young man's connection with the smuggling operations of Bradshaw and Lang, may have provoked Echeandía to the infliction of special penalties, I cannot say.

Thomas L. Smith, commonly called 'Peg-leg' Smith —a well known character in many parts of California, but chiefly in later times, who died in a San Francisco hospital in 1866—was one of the famous trappers and Indian-fighters of this early epoch. He was at times a companion of Jedediah Smith, and was the hero of many wild adventures in various parts of the great interior; but very few of his early exploits have ever been recorded with even approximate accuracy of time or place. He owes his position on this page to a report that he came to California in 1829, a report that I have not been able to trace to any reliable source.[45] Engaged in trapping in the Utah regions, he came to California to dispose of his furs. He was ordered out of the country, and departed, he and his companion taking with them, however, a band of three or four hundred horses, in spite of efforts of the Californians to prevent the act. Some accounts say that be visited the country repeatedly in those early years, and we shall find archive evidence of his presence a little later, acting with the horse-thieves of the Tulares, and known as 'El Cojo Smit.'[46]

In the spring of 1828 the Mexican government granted to Richard Exter and Julian Wilson[47] a pro-

[45] The story is told in many newspaper biographical sketches published at the time of Smith's death. I have before me the *S. F. Bulletin*, Oct. 26, 1866; *Nevada Daily Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1866; and others in *Hayes' Scraps, Cal. Notes*, ii. 309–12.

[46] As an item which I am unable to connect with any of the expeditions particularly accredited to this period, I may notice a record of Nov. 6, 1829, that five deserters from Upper California were captured on the frontier of the peninsula, one of whom, an Englishman, stabbed a neophyte, and was shot by another. *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xiv. 10–11.

[47] Exter, of Exter, Graves, & Co., Mexico, was connected with the General

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visional license to hunt and trap in New Mexico and California, as well as on the coasts for sea-otter. They had asked for an exclusive privilege, which proposition was reserved for consideration by congress. The object in view was to derive a revenue from the territorial wealth of furs, and by a contract with these foreigners to prevent the constantly increasing clandestine operations of other foreigners, whom no revenue laws could control. The idea was a good one. Such a contract with a responsible and powerful company was perhaps the only means by which Mexico could partially protect her interests in this direction; but there may be some doubt whether Exter and Wilson possessed the requisite qualifications, since little is known about them. It does not appear that the exclusive privilege was ever conceded,[48] and nothing was ever done under the provisional permit. Vallejo and Alvarado say that there was a strong feeling in California against the scheme, and that when the two men came to the country in 1829, strutting up and down as if they owned it, Echeandía refused to recognize their authority, and they went away in disgust.[49]

In January 1830 a small party—of Mexicans apparently—came from New Mexico to Los Angeles under the leadership of José Antonio Vaca; but of their purposes and adventures we know nothing from the fragmentary records.[50] A somewhat better known

Pearl and Coral Fishing Association of London, and there are several letters from him to Hartnell, dated 1827, and not referring to the fur business, in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxix. 153–4, 163.

[48] April 28, 1828, provisional license granted. Hunting parties must be made up of at least two thirds Mexican citizens. *Mexico, Mem. Rel.*, 1829, p. 22. Aug. 7th, the comisario communicates the concession to Herrera. Exact accounts must be kept of number, size, and quality of skins. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Com. and Treas.*, MS., i. 106. Dec. 23, 1828, gov. announces the license in Cal., and says that the parties will be allowed to catch otter. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 162.

[49] *Vallejo, Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 124–5; *Alvarado, Hist. Cal.*, MS., ii. 128–9. Fernandez, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS., 58–9, mentions their failure to get an exclusive privilege, but says nothing of their having come to Cal.

[50] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 14, 18, 69; *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Just.*, MS., i. 31.

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expedition is that of Ewing Young, the Tennesseean, or Joaquin Jóven as he was often called, who entered the territory later in the same year from New Mexico with a company of beaver-hunters of various nationalities. Warner says this party came by Jedediah Smith's old trail, and found Ogden's Hudson Bay trappers on the Sacramento.[51] After trapping for a short time in the Tulares, Young moved north and met the Indian alcalde of San José mission out on a hunt for runaway neophytes by order of the padre. The fugitives allied with the gentiles showed fight, but eleven of the trappers aided the alcalde to defeat the foe. Taking advantage of this service rendered, Young, with three of his men, came to the mission July 11th, showed his passports, explained his need of horses, and departed after promising to return in a week with furs to sell or to exchange for supplies.[52]

There is no record that the hunters returned to San José, though they may have done so; but at the end of July three Frenchmen came to Monterey, announcing their intention to return to New Mexico, having left the company.[53] In October the hunters were in the vicinity of Los Angeles, where the leader had great difficulty in controlling them, and where one man was killed.[54] It had been the intention to return from the Colorado in December to sell furs and buy

[51] *Warner's Reminis.*, MS., 37–9. In *Dept. St. Pap.*, ii. 84, 113, is Young's passport of 1829 signed by Henry Clay.

[52] July 15, 1830, report of José Berreyesa. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 135–9. One of Young's passports was viséd at Washington, March 20, 1828, by the Mex. minister. It permitted the bearer to go into the interior.

[53] These men were François Turcote, Jean Vaillant, and Anastase Curier. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Cust.-H.*, MS., ii. 4–5. In a letter to Capt. Cooper of Oct. 10th, Young says that the Frenchmen, who owed him money, had mutinied, and determined to stay in the country; but they had been forced to return with the party. He also speaks of the fight with Indians, but indicates that it was to recover stolen horses rather than to aid the neophytes. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 135. Dec. 23d, Echeandía to alcalde of S. José. Speaks of 4 Americans who had come to the rancho of S. Pablo and must depart at once. There may be an error in this date. *Dept. Rec.*, MS., viii. 134.

[54] Warner says that James Higgins killed an Irishman known as Big Jim. José Antonio Pico reports the killing on Oct. 7th. He had orders to detain Young, but his force was too small. *Dept. St. Pap., Ben. Pref. y Just.*, MS., i. 97. Juan Higgins, probably the same, remained in Cal. for 5 or 6 years at least. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 156, 159.

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mules; but Young had lost confidence in his men, and thought he would be fortunate to get safely home with his company by the aid of the Americans. He intended, however, to come back the following year.[55] There are several men named as being in California from New Mexico this year, some of whom may have belonged to this party; but Young and Higgins are the only ones known here later, unless Kit Carson may have made his first visit at this time.

Of the foreign residents who came to California before 1826, about fifty are mentioned in the records of 1826–30, a dozen or more having died or left the country. Some of the more prominent, like Hartnell, Spence, Cooper, and Gale, have been noticed in connection with commercial and maritime topics in the preceding chapter. All, including new-comers, were in this period as a class law-abiding citizens of considerable influence in their new home. Many were baptized, married, and naturalized. Space does not permit the introduction of personal experiences and achievements here, but the reader is referred to the biographic sketches presented elsewhere in this work.[56]

In respect of general policy toward foreigners,[57] there was little or no tendency in California to exclusiveness or oppression in 1826, as has been seen from the commercial record, and especially from the privileges allowed to Captain Beechey, in contrast with the treatment of Vancouver at an earlier date and under another régime. Yet the Mexican laws were strict in requiring foreigners to show passports, and submit to surveillance; hence the precautions taken in the case of Jedediah Smith and his company; hence certain orders for the arrest of deserting sailors.

[55] Young to Cooper. *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxx. 135.

[56] See alphabetical register of pioneers at end of vol. ii.–v. Also a list of pioneers who came before 1830, at the end of vol. ii. of this work.

[57] Aug., Dec. 1826, orders of sup. govt against admission of foreigners without passports circulated by gov. and comandantes. *S. José, Arch.*, MS., vi. 25; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., iv. 25.

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Of new-comers for 1826, about sixty are named. It is not easy to decide exactly which of these are entitled to the name of pioneers, nor is it necessary, because I shall mention them all elsewhere. Here I name only such as remained in the country several years at least, traders who came often during a series of years and became well known to the people, men who though visitors now became permanent residents later, and men who died in California. Such for this year number twenty-five.[58] The most prominent names are those of Dana, Fitch, and Wilson; but ten or twelve lived long in the country and were well known.

In 1827 the general orders from Mexico promulgated by Echeandía, and more or less fully enforced, were to insist on passports, to keep a strict watch, render a monthly account of new arrivals, grant no lands to foreigners, and by no means to allow them to form settlements on coast or islands.[59] On the intercession of the English chargé d'affaires in Mexico, the local authorities were empowered to extend the passports of English residents for one year, while the papers of other foreigners might be extended so as to allow them time to make a regular application for renewal.[60] My list of newly arrived pioneers for the year contains twelve names, the total number, including visitors, being about thirty.[61] John Temple and

[58] For complete lists see Pioneer Register at end of these volumes. The pioneers of 1826 were the following: Louis Bolbeda, Joaquin Bowman, Michael Charles, Wm H. Cunningham, Wm G. Dana, Henry D. Fitch, Guy F. Fling, Benj. Foxen, Isaac Galbraith, Cornelius A. Johnson, John Littleton, Wm Logan, Thomas B. Park, Joaquin Pereira, Louis Pombert, John Read (?), Geo. J. Rice, James Scott, Joseph Steele, Wm Trevethan, John S. Turner, Geo. W. Vincent, John Wilson, John Wilson (trapper), and John H. Wilson the negro.

[59] *Sup. Gort St. Pap.*, MS., iv. 1; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., v. 19, 53, 95; *Dept. St. Pap., S. José*, MS., v. 12.

[60] *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xvi. 1–3; *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 175. Barron and Forbes at Tepic were at this time pumping Bandini and Hartnell for information about California, and projecting a visit. Oct. 17, 1827, Eustacio Barron to Bandini. *Bandini, Doc.*, MS., 7.

[61] See Pioneer Register at end of these volumes. Pioneers of 1827: Miguel Allen (born in Cal.), John Bradshaw, Geo. Coleman, Nicolas Dodero, Robt J. Elwell, John A. C. Holmes, Giovanni Glande, Joseph Jackson, John B. Leandry, Jean B. Mutrel, William Smith, and John Temple.

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Robert J. Elwell became most prominent in California; though Bradshaw, Holmes, and Leandry were also well known men. It was during this year that the Californians were excited at the presence and actions of Jedediah Smith's trappers, their first American visitors by the overland route. As Smith arrived in December 1826, the names of his companions who settled in the country have been included in the list of that year, though they left the company of hunters, and some of them arrived, in 1827.

Orders of the Californian officials in 1828 respecting foreigners were of the same tenor as before; applications for naturalization were frequent; many strangers wished to marry Californian wives. Bands of trappers on the frontiers round about excited some apprehensions. A few immigrants of Mexican blood seem to have come in from Sonora, and all was faithfully reported to the minister of relations in Mexico.[62] In accordance with the decree of March 12, 1828, which declared that no foreigner could remain in Mexican territory without a passport, and regulated the holding of property by naturalized citizens,[63] a reglamento was issued by the president on May 1st prescribing in detail the methods to be observed in obtaining, granting, and using passports of various kinds. This document was doubtless forwarded to California later in the year.[64] I find about sixty new

[62] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vi. 21, 27, 177, 192, 194; vii. 25; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., x. 98; *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS., xxix. passim. The Americans celebrated July 4th by burning much powder on the vessels at S. Diego.

[63] *Mexico, Decreto sobre Pasaportes y modo de adquirir propiedades los Estrangeros, 12 de Marzo de 1828.* 12 articles. In *Schmidt's Civil Law of Spain and Mexico*, 346–51, in Spanish and English; *Hayes' Mex. Laws*, 81–2.

[64] *Mexico, Reglamento para el ramo de Pasaportes—decretado por el Presidente en 1 de Mayo 1828.* Printed copy in *Pinto, Doc.*, i. 3. 25 articles, numbered as 22. Also in *Dept. St. Pap., Angeles*, MS., ix. 30–6; and part of it in *Vallejo, Doc.*, MS. Omitting minor details, this regulation was in substance as follows: The master of a ship, on arrival, must furnish a report of his foreign passengers, and each passenger a report of his name, business, etc., to the customs officer, who will grant a *boleto de disembarco* to such as are not Spaniards, and have a passport from the general government, or from duly accredited Mexican agents abroad, or a bond from the consul or agent of their nation at the port of landing, or of a Mexican citizen. The *boleto*, without which no foreigner could leave the vessel, must be presented within

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names of foreigners in this year's records, several belonging to men whose presence is noted in consequence of the regulations just mentioned, but about whom no more is known than that they were here in 1828–9. Pioneers proper number eighteen, as per appended list.[65] Several of these became in later times locally prominent; and one of the number, Henry A. Peirce, is still living in 1884, being in a sense the oldest living pioneer within my knowledge, though he has by no means resided continuously in California. Two or three detected attempts at smuggling, together with the presence of Pattie and his trappers from New Mexico, were the leading topics of interest for 1828, as far as foreigners were concerned.

In 1829 Echeandía continued to circulate the passport regulations for the benefit of foreigners and of local officials. He still received numerous applications for permits to remain, to travel, to marry, or to become naturalized, and called for full reports of resident foreigners.[66] It is from these reports, and the various certificates connected with the applications above referred to, that I have obtained much of the information presented elsewhere respecting individuals; still the lists are incomplete, and have to be perfected from numerous scattered documents.[67] Eche-

24 hours to the civil authority of the port, who will visé the passport. To travel in the interior a *carta de seguridad* for a year must be obtained. Whatever passports a foreigner might have, he must present himself to the civil authorities of any place where he intended to remain over 8 days, and on each change of residence. Due provision was made for renewal of licenses, penalties for failure to comply with the law, and for full reports to be sent to the government.

[65] Pioneers of 1828: Stephen Anderson, Louis Bouchet, John Brown (?), John Davis, Jesse Ferguson, Richard Laughlin, Timothy Murphy, Sylvester Pattie, Henry A. Peirce, Wm Pope, Nathaniel Pryor, Isaac Slover, Wm Taylor, James Thompson, Wm Warren (?) the negro, Edward Watson, Wm Willis, and Julian Wilson. For biographical sketches, see Pioneer Register at the end of vol. ii.–v., this work.

[66] *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 59, 86, 105, 176; *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 20–2; *St. Pap., Sac.*, MS., xi. 4; *Vallejo. Doc.*, MS., xxix. 310.

[67] Naturalization records in *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. passim. List of 48 names dated Feb. 14th, in *Id.*, xix. 44. List of 44 names in Monterey district Feb. 16th, in *Id.*, ii. 115. List of 7 names in S. José, Feb. 5th. *Id.*, xix. 3. List of 7 at Los Angeles Feb. 14th, in *Monterey, Arch.*, MS., vii. 24–5. Apparently 2 foreigners at S. F. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., ii. 97–8. There are no lists for Sta Bárbara or S. Diego.

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andía heard this year and forwarded to the supreme government a rumor that the Americans were plotting to seize the port of San Francisco; while on the other side of the continent we find a rumor from Mexico, by way of England, that California with Texas was to be made over to the United States for a term of years, as security for a large sum of money to be spent in resisting Spanish invasion.[68] The new arrivals of the year, as named in an appended list, were seventeen,[69] or about thirty-five including visitors, or men about whom nothing more is known than their mention in lists of the year. Prominent names are those of Captain Hinckley, Alfred Robinson, and Abel Stearns. Robinson still lives in 1884, with none to dispute his title as the oldest pioneer, unless it be Peirce of 1828, as already mentioned, or Michael White, perhaps still alive, but about whose arrival in 1829 there is some doubt. The great excitement of the year was the Solis revolt, in which, as we have seen, the foreigners, though at first somewhat inclined to sympathize with the movement as promising them certain commercial advantages, later took a decided stand in favor of the regular authorities, and contributed largely to the restoration of the capital.

In February 1830 the Mexican government, in reply to reports respecting Abel Stearns and others in California who were seeking lands, directed Echeandía to distribute the public lands in accordance with the laws to such foreigners as could comply with all the requirements, taking care, however, that the Russians and

[68] June 25th, E. to min. of rel., in *Dept. Rec.*, MS., vii. 25. *Niles' Reg.*, xxxvii. 87. The *John Bull* says: 'The proposition of America must not be quietly listened to or tamely permitted; while we are earnest in our endeavors to put a stop to the power of Russia, we must not forget the necessity of checking the aggrandizement of America.'

[69] Pioneers of 1829—the '(?)' indicates uncertainty about the exact date of arrival: James D. Arther, Jas Breck, Walter Duckworth (?), James Flemming, Wm S. Hinckley (?), Geo. Kinlock (?), Lawrence (born in Cal.), John Meek, Manuel D. Olivera, Jordan Pacheco, John Rainsford, Alfred Robinson, Thos L. (Peg-leg) Smith (?), Abel Stearns, Chas A. Swain (?), Michael White (?), and Geo. Williams. See biog. sketches of them and also of the years' visitors in Pioneer Register at the end of these volumes.

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Americans should be the least numerous, and be located in the central parts.[70] A little later, however, foreigners of adjacent countries were prohibited from colonization on the frontier.[71] It is not certain that any resident foreigner had yet obtained his final and complete papers of naturalization; though a few may have done so, and many had made application and complied with all the preliminary requirements, receiving certificates which served all practical purposes.[72] Newcomers of this final year of the decade were fifty, of whom twenty-four named in a note may be regarded as pioneers proper.[73] The arrival of Kit Carson this year is doubtful. Bee, Jones, Nye, Snook, and Young were the names best known in the annals of later years. Some details about all the men named in this chapter and many visitors not here named may be found in the Pioneer Register appended to these volumes. That register will also serve as an index through which may be found all that is recorded of any early Californian in this work.

[70] Feb. 2, 1830, Alaman to E. *Sup. Gort St. Pap.*, MS., vi. 4.

[71] Law of April 6, 1830, in *Halleck's Report*, 121–2. Article 7 of the law of Aug. 18, 1824, was thereby repealed.

[72] The naturalization regulations, probably of 1828, are given in *Schmidt's Civil Law of Spain and Mexico*, 353–9, in Spanish and English. The general purport had been circulated by Echeandía on June 4, 1829. *Dept. St. Pap.*, MS., xix. 29–1. These rules prescribed in substance that any foreigner of two years' residence might, one year after having announced his intention, obtain a *carta de naturaleza* from the gov. by renouncing all allegiance to any foreign power, swearing to support the constitution and laws of Mexico, and presenting proof in due form of Catholic faith, means of support, and good conduct. See also the Mex. passport regulations of Oct. 12, 1830, in *Arrillaga, Recop.*, 1830, p. 474–99.

[73] Pioneers of 1830; Henry J. Bee, John Burns, Kit Carson (?), James Cook, Phil. H. Devoll, Juan Domingo, *William Duckworth, John Ebbetts, James Harris, John Higgins, John C. Jones, *Geo. D. Kinlock, Laure, Allen Lewis, Gorham H. Nye, *Juan Pombert, Sam. Prentice, John Rice, John Roach, Ed Robinson (?), Jos F. Snook, Sam. Thompson, *Francis Watson, and Ewing Young. Those whose names are marked with a * were born in Cal., their fathers being foreigners.

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HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD

OF

THE SIERRAS.

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An Historical Story of the State's Marvelous Growth from Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time

BY

PROF. J. M. GUINN, A. M.,

Author of A History of Los Angeles and Vicinity, History of Southern California, Secretary and Curator of the Historical Society of Southern California, Member of the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C.

ALSO

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PREFACE.

HISTORICAL.

THERE are very few states in the Union that have a more varied and a more interesting history than California; and there are few if any whose history is so vaguely and so indefinitely known. This is largely due to the fact that its colonization was effected by one race and its evolution as a state by another.

In the rapid development of the state by the conquering race, the trials and struggles of the first colonists have been forgotten. No forefathers' day keeps their memory green, and no observance celebrates the anniversary of their landing. To many of its people, the history of California begins with the discovery of gold, and all behind that is regarded of little importance. The race characteristics of the two peoples who have dominated California differ widely; and from this divergence arises the lack of sympathetic unison. Perhaps no better expression for this difference can be given than is found in popular bywords of each. The "poco tiempo" (by and by) of the Spaniard is significant of a people who are willing to wait —who would rather defer till *mañana*—to-morrow—than hurry to-day. The "go ahead" of the American is indicative of haste, of rush, of a strenuous struggle to overcome obstacles, whatever they may be, in the present.

In narrating the story of California, I have endeavored to deal justly with the different eras and episodes of its history; to state facts; to tell the truth without favoritism or prejudice; to give credit where credit is due and blame where it is deserved. In the preparation of this history I have tried to make it readable. I have avoided dull details and have omitted cumbrous statistics.

The subject has been presented by topic, observing so far as possible the chronological order of the events. In collecting material for this work, I have visited all the large libraries of the state, have consulted state and county archives, and have scanned thousands of pages of newspapers and magazines. Where extracts have been made, due credit has been given in the body of the work. I have received valuable assistance from librarians, from pioneers of the state, from editors and others. To all who have assisted me, I return my sincere thanks.

J. M. GUINN.

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CHAPTER X.

FIRST DECADE OF MEXICAN RULE.

JOSE MARIA ECHEANDIA, a lieutenant colonel of the Mexican army, was appointed governor of the two Californias, February 1, 1825. With his staff officers and a few soldiers he landed at Loreto June 22. After a delay of a few months at Loreto he marched overland to San Diego, where he arrived about the middle of October. He summoned Arguello to meet him there, which he did and turned over the government, October 31, 1825. Echeandia established his capital at San Diego, that town being about the center of his jurisdiction. This did not suit the people of Monterey, who become prejudiced against the new governor. Shortly after his inauguration he began an investigation of the attitude of the mission friars towards the republic of Mexico. He called padres Sanches, Zalvidea, Peyri and Martin, representatives of the four southern missions, to San Diego and demanded of them whether they would take the oath of allegiance to the supreme government. They expressed their willingness and were accordingly sworn to support the constitution of 1824. Many of the friars of the northern missions remained contumacious. Among the most stubborn of these was Padre Vicente Francisco de Sarria, former president of the missions. He had resigned the presidency to escape taking the oath of allegiance and still continued his opposition. He was put under arrest and an order issued for his expulsion by the supreme government, but the execution of the order was delayed for fear that if he were banished others of the disloyal padres would abandon their missions and secretly leave the country. The government was not ready yet to take possession of the missions. The friars could keep the neophytes in subjection and make them work. The business of the country was in the hands of the friars and any radical change would have been disastrous.

The national government in 1827 had issued a decree for the expulsion of Spaniards from Mexican territory. There were certain classes of those born in Spain who were exempt from banishment, but the friars were not among the exempts. The decree of expulsion reached California in 1828; but it was not enforced for the reason that all of the mission padres except three were Spaniards. To have sent these out of the country would have demoralized the missions. The Spanish friars were expelled from Mexico; but those in California, although some of them had boldly proclaimed their willingness to die for their king and their religion and demanded their passports to leave the country, were allowed to remain in the country. Their passports were not given them for reasons above stated. Padres Ripoll and Altimira made their escape without passports. They secretly took passage on an American brig lying at Santa Barbara. Orders were issued to seize the vessel should she put into any other harbor on the coast, but the captain, who no doubt had been liberally paid, took no chance of capture and the padres eventually reached Spain in safety. There was a suspicion that the two friars had taken with them a large amount of money from the mission funds, but nothing was proved. It was certain that they carried away something more than the bag and staff, the only property allowed them by the rules of their order.

The most bitter opponent of the new government was Father Luis Antonio Martinez of San Luis Obispo. Before the clandestine departure of Ripoll and Altimira there were rumors that he meditated a secret departure from the country. The mysterious shipment of $6,000 in gold belonging to the mission on a vessel called the Santa Apolonia gave credence to the report of his intended flight. He had been given a passport but still remained in the territory. His

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outspoken disloyalty and his well known success in evading the revenue laws and smuggling goods into the country had made him particularly obnoxious to the authorities. Governor Echeandia determined to make an example of him. He was arrested in February, 1830, and confined in a room at Santa Barbara. In his trial before a council of war an attempt was made to connect him with complicity in the Solis revolution, but the evidence against him was weak. By a vote of five to one it was decided to send him out of the country. He was put on board an English vessel bound for Callao and there transferred to a vessel bound for Europe; he finally arrived safely at Madrid.

Under the empire a diputacion or provincial legislature had been established in California. Arguello in 1825 had suppressed this while he was governor. Echeandia, shortly after his arrival, ordered an election for a new diputacion. The diputacion made the general laws of the territory. It consisted of seven members called vocals. These were chosen by an electoral junta, the members of which were elected by the people. The diputacion chose a diputado or delegate to the Mexican Congress. As it was a long distance for some of the members to travel to the territorial capital a suplente or substitute was chosen for each member, so as to assure a quorum. The diputacion called by Echeandia met at Monterey, June 14, 1828. The sessions, of which there were two each week, were held in the governor's palacio. This diputacion passed a rather peculiar revenue law. It taxed domestic aguardiente (grape brandy) $5 a barrel and wine half that amount in the jurisdictions of Monterey and San Francisco; but in the jurisdictions of Santa Barbara and San Diego the rates were doubled, brandy was taxed $10 a barrel and wine $5. San Diego, Los Angeles and Santa Barbara were wine producing districts, while Monterey and San Francisco were not. As there was a larger consumption of the product in the wine producing districts than in the others the law was enacted for revenue and not for prevention of drinking.

Another peculiar freak of legislation perpetrated by this diputacion was the attempt to change the name of the territory. The supreme government was memorialized to change the name of Alta California to that of Montezuma and also that of the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles to that of Villa Victoria de la Reyna de los Angeles and make it the capital of the territory. A coat of arms was adopted for the territory. It consisted of an oval with the figure of an oak tree on one side, an olive tree on the other and a plumed Indian in the center with his bow and quiver, just in the act of stepping across the mythical straits of Anian. The memorial was sent to Mexico, but the supreme government paid no attention to it.

The political upheavals, revolutions and counter revolutions that followed the inauguration of a republican form of government in Mexico demoralized the people and produced a prolific crop of criminals. The jails were always full and it became a serious question what to do with them. It was proposed to make California a penal colony, similar to England's Botany Bay. Orders were issued to send criminals to California as a means of reforming their morals. The Californians protested against the sending of these undesirable immigrants, but in vain. In February, 1830, the brig Maria Ester brought eighty convicts from Acapulco to San Diego. They were not allowed to land there and were taken to Santa Barbara. What to do with them was a serious question with the Santa Barbara authorities. The jail would not hold a tenth part of the shipment and to turn them loose in the sparsely settled country was dangerous to the peace of the community. Finally, about thirty or forty of the worst of the bad lot were shipped over to the island of Santa Cruz. They were given a supply of cattle, some fishhooks and a few tools and turned loose on the island to shift for themselves. They staid on the island until they had slaughtered and eaten the cattle, then they built a raft and drifted back to Santa Barbara, where they quartered themselves on the padres of the mission. Fifty more were sent from Mexico a few months later. These shipments of prison exiles were distributed around among the settlements. Some served out their time and returned to their native land, a few escaped over the border,

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others remained in the territory after their time was up and became fairly good citizens.

The colonization law passed by the Mexican Congress August 18, 1824, was the first break in the proscriptive regulations that had prevailed in Spanish-American countries since their settlement. Any foreigner of good character who should locate in the country and become a Roman Catholic could obtain a grant of public land, not exceeding eleven leagues; but no foreigner was allowed to obtain a grant within twenty leagues of the boundary of a foreign country nor within ten leagues of the sea coast. The law of April 14, 1828, allowed foreigners to become naturalized citizens. The applicant was required to have resided at least two years in the country, to be or to become a Roman Catholic, to renounce allegiance to his former country and to swear to support the constitution and laws of the Mexican republic. Quite a number of foreigners who had been residing a number of years in California took advantage of this law and became Mexican citizens by naturalization. The colonization law of November 18, 1828, prescribed a series of rules and regulations for the making of grants of land. Colonists were required to settle on and cultivate the land granted within a specified time or forfeit their grants. Any one residing outside of the republic could not retain possession of his land. The minimum size of a grant as defined by this law was two hundred varas square of irrigable land, eight hundred varas square of arable land (depending on the seasons) and twelve hundred varas square grazing land. The size of a house lot was one hundred varas square.

The Californians had grown accustomed to foreigners coming to the country by sea, but they were not prepared to have them come overland. The mountains and deserts that intervened between the United States and California were supposed to be an insurmountable barrier to foreign immigration by land. It was no doubt with feelings of dismay, mingled with anger, that Governor Echeandia received the advance guard of maldito estranjeros, who came across the continent. Echeandia hated foreigners and particularly Americans. The pioneer of overland travel from the United States to California was Capt. Jedediah S. Smith. Smith was born in Connecticut and when quite young came with his father to Ohio and located in Ashtabula county, where he grew to manhood amid the rude surroundings of pioneer life in the west. By some means he obtained a fairly good education. We have no record of when he began the life of a trapper. We first hear of him as an employe of General Ashley in 1822. He had command of a band of trappers on the waters of the Snake river in 1824. Afterwards he became a partner of Ashley under the firm name of Ashley & Smith and subsequently one of the members of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. The latter company had about 1825 established a post and fort near Great Salt Lake. From this, August 22, 1826, Captain Smith with a band of fifteen hunters and trappers started on his first expedition to California. His object was to find some new country that had not been occupied by a fur company. Traveling in a southwesterly direction he discovered a river which he named Adams (after President John Quincy Adams) now known as the Rio Virgin. This stream he followed down to its junction with the Colorado. Traveling down the latter river he arrived at the Mojave villages, where he rested fifteen days. Here he found two wandering neophytes, who guided his party across the desert to the San Gabriel mission, where he and his men arrived safely early in December, 1826.

The arrival of a party of armed Americans from across the mountains and deserts alarmed the padres and couriers were hastily dispatched to Governor Echeandia at San Diego. The Americans were placed under arrest and compelled to give up their arms. Smith was taken to San Diego to give an account of himself. He claimed that he had been compelled to enter the territory on account of the loss of horses and a scarcity of provisions. He was finally released from prison upon the endorsement of several American ship captains and supercargoes who were then at San Diego. He was allowed to return to San Gabriel, where he purchased horses and supplies. He moved his camp to San Bernardino, where he remained until February. The authorities had grown uneasy

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at his continued presence in the country and orders were sent to arrest him, but before this could be done he left for the Tulare country by way of Cajon Pass. He trapped on the tributaries of the San Joaquin. By the 1st of May he and his party had reached a fork of the Sacramento (near where the town of Folsom now stands). Here he established a summer camp and the river ever since has been known as the American fork from that circumstance.

Here again the presence of the Americans worried the Mexican authorities. Smith wrote a conciliatory letter to Padre Duran, president of the missions, informing him that he had "made several efforts to pass over the mountains, but the snow being so deep I could not succeed in getting over. I returned to this place, it being the only point to kill meat, to wait a few weeks until the snow melts so that I can go on." "On May 20, 1827," Smith writes, "with two men, seven horses and two mules, I started from the valley. In eight days we crossed Mount Joseph, losing two horses and one mule. After a march of twenty days eastward from Mount Joseph (the Sierra Nevadas) I reached the southwesterly corner of the Great Salt Lake. The country separating it from the mountains is arid and without game. Often we had no water for two days at a time. When we reached Salt Lake we had left only one horse and one mule, so exhausted that they could hardly carry our slight baggage. We had been forced to eat the horses that had succumbed."

Smith's route over the Sierras to Salt Lake was substantially the same as that followed by the overland emigration of later years. He discovered the Humboldt, which he named the Mary river, a name it bore until changed by Fremont in 1845. He was the first white man to cross the Sierra Nevadas. Smith left his party of trappers except the two who accompanied him in the Sacramento valley. He returned next year with reinforcements and was ordered out of the country by the governor. He traveled up the coast towards Oregon. On the Umpqua river he was attacked by the Indians. All his party except himself and two others were massacred. He lost all of his horses and furs. He reached Fort Vancouver, his clothing torn to rags and almost starved to death. In 1831 he started with a train of wagons to Santa Fe on a trading expedition. While alone searching for water near the Cimarron river he was set upon by a party of Indians and killed. Thus perished by the hands of cowardly savages in the wilds of New Mexico a man who, through almost incredible dangers and sufferings, had explored an unknown region as vast in extent as that which gave fame and immortality to the African explorer, Stanley; and who marked out trails over mountains and across deserts that Fremont following years afterwards won the title of "Pathfinder of the Great West." Smith led the advance guard of the fur trappers to California. Notwithstanding the fact that they were unwelcome visitors these adventurers continued to come at intervals up to 1845. They trapped on the tributaries of the San Joaquin, Sacramento and the rivers in the northern part of the territory. A few of them remained in the country and became permanent residents, but most of them sooner or later met death by the savages.

Capt. Jedediah S. Smith marked out two of the great immigrant trails by which the overland travel, after the discovery of gold, entered California, one by way of the Humboldt river over the Sierra Nevadas, the other southerly from Salt Lake, Utah Lake, the Rio Virgin, across the Colorado desert, through the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles. A third immigrant route was blazed by the Pattie party. This route led from Santa Fe, across New Mexico, down the Gila to the Colorado and from thence across the desert through the San Gorgonio Pass to Los Angeles.

This party consisted of Sylvester Pattie, James Ohio Pattie, his son, Nathaniel M. Pryor, Richard Laughlin, Jesse Furguson, Isaac Slover, William Pope and James Puter. The Patties left Kentucky in 1824 and followed trapping in New Mexico and Arizona until 1827; the elder Pattie for a time managing the copper mines of Santa Rita. In May, 1827, Pattie the elder, in command of a party of thirty trappers and hunters, set out to trap the tributaries of the Colorado. Losses by Indian hostilities, by dissensions and desertions reduced the party to eight persons. December 1st, 1827, while

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these were encamped on the Colorado near the mouth of the Gila, the Yuma Indians stole all their horses. They constructed rafts and floated down the Colorado, expecting to find Spanish settlements on its banks, where they hoped to procure horses to take them back to Santa Fe. They floated down the river until they encountered the flood tide from the gulf. Finding it impossible to go ahead on account of the tide or back on account of the river current, they landed, cached their furs and traps and with two days' supply of beaver meat struck out westerly across the desert. After traveling for twenty-four days and suffering almost incredible hardships they reached the old Mission of Santa Catalina near the head of the Gulf of California. Here they were detained until news of their arrival could be sent to Governor Echeandia at San Diego. A guard of sixteen soldiers was sent for them and they were conducted to San Diego, where they arrived February 27, 1828. Their arms were taken from them and they were put in prison. The elder Pattie died during their imprisonment. In September all the party except young Pattie, who was retained as a hostage, were released and permitted to go after their buried furs. They found their furs had been ruined by the overflow of the river. Two of the party, Slover and Pope, made their way back to Santa Fe; the others returned, bringing with them their beaver traps. They were again imprisoned by Governor Echeandia, but were finally released.

Three of the party, Nathaniel M. Pryor, Richard Laughlin and Jesse Furguson, became permanent residents of California. Young Pattie returned to the United States by way of Mexico. After his return, with the assistance of the Rev. Timothy Flint, he wrote an account of his adventures, which was published in Cincinnati in 1833, under the title of "Pattie's Narrative." Young Pattie was inclined to exaggeration. In his narrative he claims that with vaccine matter brought by his father from the Santa Rita mines he vaccinated twenty-two thousand people in California. In Los Angeles alone, he vaccinated twenty-five hundred, which was more than double the population of the town in 1828. He took a contract from the president of the missions to vaccinate all the neophytes in the territory. When his job was finished the president offered him in pay five hundred cattle and five hundred mules with land to pasture his stock on condition he would become a Roman Catholic and a citizen of Mexico. Pattie scorned the offer and roundly upbraided the padre for taking advantage of him. He had previously given Governor Eacheandia a tongue lashing and had threatened to shoot him on sight. From his narrative he seems to have put in most of his time in California blustering and threatening to shoot somebody.

Another famous trapper of this period was "Peg Leg" Smith. His real name was Thomas L. Smith. It is said that in a fight with the Indians his leg below the knee was shattered by a bullet. He coolly amputated his leg at the knee with no other instrument than his hunting knife. He wore a wooden leg and from this came his nickname. He first came to California in 1829. He was ordered out of the country. He and his party took their departure, but with them went three or four hundred California horses. He died in a San Francisco hospital in 1866.

Ewing Young, a famous captain of trappers, made several visits to California from 1830 to 1837. In 1831 he led a party of thirty hunters and trappers, among those of his party who remained in California was Col. J. J. Warner, who became prominent in the territory and state. In 1837 Ewing Young with a party of sixteen men came down from Oregon, where he finally located, to purchase cattle for the new settlements on the Willamette river. They bought seven hundred cattle at $3 per head from the government and drove them overland to Oregon, reaching there after a toilsome journey of four months with six hundred. Young died in Oregon in 1841.

From the downfall of Spanish domination in 1822, to the close of that decade there had been but few political disturbances in California. The only one of any consequence was Solis' and Herrera's attempt to revolutionize the territory and seize the government. José Maria Herrera had come to California as a commissioner of

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the commissary department, but after a short term of service had been removed from office for fraud. Joaquin Solis was a convict who was serving a ten years sentence of banishment from Mexico. The ex-official and the exile with others of damaged character combined to overturn the government.

On the night of November 12, 1829, Solis, with a band of soldiers that he had induced to join his standard, seized the principal government officials at Monterey and put them in prison. At Solis' solicitation Herrera drew up a pronunciamento. It followed the usual line of such documents. It began by deploring the evils that had come upon the territory through Echeandia's misgovernment and closed with promises of reformation if the revolutionists should obtain control of the government. To obtain the sinews of war the rebels seized $3,000 of the public funds. This was distributed among the soldiers and proved a great attraction to the rebel cause. Solis with twenty men went to San Francisco and the soldiers there joined his standard. Next he marched against Santa Barbara with an army of one hundred and fifty men. Echeandia on hearing of the revolt had marched northward with all the soldiers he could enlist. The two armies met at Santa Ynez. Solis opened fire on the governor's army. The fire was returned. Solis' men began to break away and soon the army and its valiant leader were in rapid flight. Pacheco's cavalry captured the leaders of the revolt. Herrara, Solis and thirteen others were shipped to Mexico under arrest to be tried for their crimes. The Mexican authorities, always lenient to California revolutionists, probably from a fellow feeling, turned them all loose and Herrera was sent back to fill his former office.

Near the close of his term Governor Echeandia formulated a plan for converting the mission into pueblos. To ascertain the fitness of the neophytes for citizenship he made an investigation to find out how many could read and write. He found so very few that he ordered schools opened at the missions. A pretense was made of establishing schools, but very little was accomplished. The padres were opposed to educating the natives for the same reason that the southern slave-holders were opposed to educating the negro, namely, that an ignorant people were more easily kept in subjection. Echeandia's plan of secularization was quite elaborate and dealt fairly with the neophytes. It received the sanction of the diputacion when that body met in July, 1830, but before anything could be done towards enforcing it another governor was appointed. Echeandia was thoroughly hated by the mission friars and their adherents. Robinson in his "Life in California" calls him a man of vice and makes a number of damaging assertions about his character and conduct, which are not in accordance with the facts. It was during Echeandia's term as governor that the motto of Mexico, Dios y Libertad (God and Liberty), was adopted. It became immensely popular and was used on all public documents and often in private correspondence.

A romantic episode that has furnished a theme for fiction writers occurred in the last year of Echeandia's rule. It was the elopement of Henry D. Fitch with Doña Josefa, daughter of Joaquin Carrillo of San Diego. Fitch was a native of New Bedford, Mass. He came to California in 1826 as master of the Maria Ester. He fell in love with Doña Josefa. There were legal obstructions to their marriage. Fitch was a foreigner and a Protestant. The latter objection was easily removed by Fitch becoming a Catholic. The Dominican friar who was to perform the marriage service, fearful that he might incur the wrath of the authorities, civil and clerical, refused to perform the ceremony, but suggested that there were other countries where the laws were less strict and offered to go beyond the limits of California and marry them. It is said that at this point Doña Josefa said: "Why don't you carry me off, Don Enrique?" The suggestion was quickly acted upon. The next night the lady, mounted on a steed with her cousin, Pio Pico, as an escort, was secretly taken to a point on the bay shore where a boat was waiting for her. The boat put off to the Vulture, where Captain Fitch received her on board and the vessel sailed for Valparaiso, where the couple were married. A year later Captain Fitch returned to California with his

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wife and infant son. At Monterey Fitch was arrested on an order of Padre Sanchez of San Gabriel and put in prison. His wife was also placed under arrest at the house of Captain Cooper. Fitch was taken to San Gabriel for trial, "his offenses being most heinous." At her intercession, Governor Echeandia released Mrs. Fitch and allowed her to go to San Gabriel, where her husband was imprisoned in one of the rooms of the mission. This act of clemency greatly enraged the friar and his fiscal, Palomares, and they seriously considered the question of arresting the governor. The trial dragged along for nearly a month. Many witnesses were examined and many learned points of clerical law discussed. Vicar Sanchez finally gave his decision that the marriage at Valparaiso, though not legitimate, was not null and void, but valid. The couple were condemned to do penance by "presenting themselves in church with lighted candles in their hands to hear high mass for three feast days and recite together for thirty days one-third of the rosary of the holy virgin."* In addition to these joint penances the vicar inflicted an additional penalty on Fitch in these words: "Yet considering the great scandal which Don Enrique has caused in this province I condemn him to give as penance and reparation a bell of at least fifty pounds in weight for the church at Los Angeles, which barely has a borrowed one." Fitch and his wife no doubt performed the joint penance imposed upon them, but the church at Los Angeles had to get along with its borrowed bell. Don Enrique never gave it one of fifty pounds or any other weight.

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. III-144.

CHAPTER XI.

REVOLUTIONS—THE HIJAR COLONISTS.

MANUEL VICTORIA was appointed governor in March, 1830, but did not reach California until the last month of the year. Victoria very soon became unpopular. He undertook to overturn the civil authority and substitute military rule. He recommended the abolition of the ayuntamientos and refused to call together the territorial diputacion. He exiled Don Abel Stearns and José Antonio Carrillo; and at different times, on trumped-up charges, had half a hundred of the leading citizens of Los Angeles incarcerated in the pueblo jail. Alcalde Vicente Sanchez was the petty despot of the pueblo, who carried out the tyrannical decrees of his master, Victoria. Among others who were imprisoned in the cuartel was José Maria Avila. Avila was proud, haughty and overbearing. He had incurred the hatred of both Victoria and Sanchez. Sanchez, under orders from Victoria, placed Avila in prison, and to humiliate him put him in irons. Avila brooded over the indignities inflicted upon him and vowed to be revenged.

Victoria's persecutions became so unbearable that Pio Pico, Juan Bandini and José Antonio Carrillo raised the standard of revolt at San Diego and issued a pronunciamento, in which they set forth the reasons why they felt themselves obliged to rise against the tyrant, Victoria. Pablo de Portilla, comandante of the presidio of San Diego, and his officers, with a force of fifty soldiers, joined the revolutionists and marched to Los Angeles. Sanchez's prisoners were released and he was chained up in the pueblo jail. Here Portilla's force was recruited to two hundred men. Avila and a number of the other released prisoners joined the revolutionists, and all marched forth to meet Victoria, who was moving southward with an armed force to suppress the insurrection. The two forces met on the plains of Cahuenga, west of the pueblo, at a place known as the Lomitas de la Canada de Breita. The sight of his persecutor so infuriated Avila that alone he rushed upon him to run him through with his lance. Captain Pacheco, of Victoria's staff, parried the lance thrust. Avila shot him dead with one of

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