

CAPTAIN ANDRÉS CASTILLERO, DIPLOMAT

*An Account from Unpublished Sources of His Services to Mexico in
the Alvarado Revolution of 1836-1838*

By GEORGE TAYS

AS THE EARLY MORNING MISTS of November 4, 1836, lifted from over the thickly wooded hills back of the town and spacious Bay of Monterey, the oft-beleaguered capital of Upper California awoke to find itself in a state of siege. Under cover of darkness, on the night of November 3, a revolutionary army of some 125 men, commanded by José Castro and Juan Bautista Alvarado and including nearly fifty foreign volunteers of all nationalities masquerading as American riflemen led by Isaac Graham, had stolen stealthily through the deserted streets and had taken possession of the ruined and abandoned fort, which stood on an eminence several hundred yards west of the crumbling presidio, where a company of fifty-five loyal Mexican officers and soldiers commanded by Governor Gutierrez were quartered. During the day and night of the 4th and early morning of the 5th, negotiations for the surrender of the post were carried on between Castro and Gutierrez. In the meantime, half of the latter's soldiers deserted him and the rebels were materially aided with arms, ammunition, and other supplies, by some eight or ten foreign vessels, especially those owned by Captain William S. Hinckley, which by some strange coincidence had assembled in Monterey Bay at that particular time. The rebels had also received the moral support of Commodore Edmund B. Kennedy, Commander-in-chief of the Asiatic squadron of the United States, who had visited Monterey to make some absurd demands upon the authorities and who had sailed south only four days before, after receiving information about the intended revolution.

The negotiations completed, Governor Gutierrez capitulated at 8 A. M. on November 5, having received full assurances for the safety of the lives and property of himself, his officers and his men. The revolutionists then took formal possession of the capital and on the 7th proclaimed California a free and sovereign state, independent from Mexico, until such time as the federal system of 1824, which earlier in the year had been supplanted by centralism, should be restored. This was done amidst great festivities of rejoicing and resounding *vivas!* to the federation, to liberty, and to the free and sovereign State of Alta California.¹

For over a year previous to the above events, California had been in a state



H. J. Vallejo



Juan B. Alvarado



José Castro



Manuel Castro

Four prominent
Californians
who were involved
in the
Alvarado Revolution
of 1836-1838

of political ferment which had finally culminated in the revolt. Just before his death, Governor Figueroa had appointed José Castro to act as ad interim civil governor until such time as the Mexican Government might otherwise direct. The military command he transferred to his second in command and close friend, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolas Gutierrez, a loyal Mexican officer.

Castro's appointment at once aroused the resentment of Los Angeles and San Diego politicians, who had expected Don José Antonio Estudillo of San Diego to receive it, because, in theory, he was the senior member of the legislature. Therefore they refused to recognize Castro's authority. On receiving notice of Castro's plight, and fearing that the southerners might cause trouble, the national government ordered Colonel Gutierrez to take over the civil command, which he did on January 2, 1836. Early that same year, President Santa Anna converted the federal system into a centralized government with a new constitution and a new set of officials which he appointed.

To California, early in April, 1836, came Colonel Don Mariano Chico, a congressman, as civil governor and military commandant to replace Gutierrez. No sooner did Chico arrive in California than he became involved in controversies with the politicians, most of which were the result of his lack of tact and of his intense loyalty to Mexico. During Chico's stay of three months, California was in a state of turmoil and excitement bordering on open revolt.

On Chico's departure, Colonel Gutierrez again assumed the two offices. He, also, was loyal to Mexico, and when he refused to join the Californians in their schemes it earned him their hatred. From then on, Castro and Alvarado, members of the legislature, and two Mexican officials, Director of Customs Angel Ramirez, and District Attorney Cosme Peña, plotted the revolt against him that led to his surrender on November 5, 1836.

The Californians gave many reasons for the uprising, the chief one being the abolition of the federal system in Mexico and their refusal to endure the subsequent despotism. More potent reasons, however, were the ambitions of the young Californians to hold important offices in the territorial government; the desires of the principal Californian families to acquire the rich mission properties; the hatred of the Californians for things Mexican; and finally the quiet instigation by the growing foreign element, especially the Americans, who were anxious to see and help the Californians revolt so that this rich territory might be turned into another Texas.²

Before attempting his revolution, Alvarado solicited the aid of his young uncle, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, but the latter declined because he saw little to gain and much to lose by joining such an uncertain venture. Nevertheless, Alvarado and Castro using Vallejo's name and prestige to good advantage, although without his consent, soon enlisted an army of about a hundred men. Thus by the potency of the Vallejo name they were able to capture Monterey without a struggle. Once possessed of the capital, they soon

reorganized the territorial government. A new legislature was convened; Alvarado was appointed as governor; Castro was placed in active command of the field forces; and Vallejo was given the post of Commandant General, which he accepted since it called for no great effort on his part. As soon as the organization in the north was completed, Alvarado and Castro moved south where they hoped to consolidate the victory of their revolution by enlisting the southern Californians in their service.³

The prominent southerners received the news of the November revolution with either surprise, timidity, fear, indignation or grief, due to the sectional rivalry which had grown up between north and south during the preceding ten years. A number of them wrote to Vallejo expressing their feelings. Antonio Maria Osio wrote that he was stunned with surprise and sorrow;⁴ Juan Bandini was in a frenzy of grief;⁵ Pio Pico expressed his surprise and fear of the consequences⁶ and they all hoped that Vallejo had had nothing to do with the affair and that he would do all in his power to restore the territory to order. Carlos Antonio Carrillo was one of the few who was pleased that California had been declared independent. He also promised the northerners his aid, although a year later he was to become their bitterest enemy.⁷ Carrillo, furthermore, advised Vallejo and Alvarado to move to Santa Barbara with their troops so as to consolidate the revolutionary spirit. He also gave them information concerning the movements of persons opposed to the revolution and of their attempts to get troops from Sonora with which to quell the revolt. Due partly to this advice, Alvarado and Castro moved to Santa Barbara.⁸

Meanwhile, the officials in Los Angeles and San Diego decided to remain loyal to the national government and refused to join in the revolution. Public assemblies were held at Los Angeles and San Diego, during which committees were appointed to interview the Monterey leaders in order to ascertain their plans.⁹ One of their chief arguments against the revolution centered about the granting of religious tolerance by the Monterey faction.¹⁰

In San Diego a committee composed of Juan Bandini and Santiago E. Argüello was appointed to consult and cooperate with Los Angeles and Santa Barbara as to the measures to be taken against the revolution.¹¹ This commission returned to San Diego as soon as their object was attained.¹²

According to their report, a number of resolutions were passed at Los Angeles. These provided that a provisional governor was to be elected; Los Angeles was to be the new capital; an army was to be raised to suppress the revolt; and the Monterey leaders were to be arrested. However, no sooner had these resolutions been adopted than a message was received from Santa Barbara, stating that it could not accept them.

For a few days southern cooperation seemed to be on the point of bearing fruit. A separate provisional government was about to be established which might defeat the Monterey faction, or at least exact favorable terms. This possibility was strengthened by the arrival in southern California of Captains

Portilla and Zamorano, who had been ousted from Monterey with Gutierrez and who could and did lend their support to a counter revolution.¹³ But just when success appeared within reach, trouble began. The troops refused to serve unless they received the back pay that was due them for many years' service. At the same time that Santa Barbara refused to accept the Los Angeles proposal, it suggested a plan of its own. This provided for a general congress to meet at Santa Inés, which would represent the whole territory in choosing a provisional ruler. This idea so discouraged the Los Angeles leaders that the matter was dropped temporarily.

Early in January, 1837, municipal elections gave southern California a new political setup which instilled new courage and life in the southerners. Los Angeles, on January 3, 1837, blossomed out with a new political plan. In this it was proposed not to recognize the Monterey party; to elect a new legislature which would meet in Los Angeles; and to submit all future plans to Mexico for approval.¹⁴ San Diego promised to cooperate and the Commandant of Lower California was requested to march north with a company of troops to aid the southern cause. Unfortunately for the patriots, those troops were busily engaged in quelling an Indian uprising just below the boundary of Lower California, and were unable to give aid to Los Angeles.¹⁵ San Diego, at this time, began to procrastinate in sending the volunteers it had promised, so Los Angeles had to shoulder all the burden of raising the army, which it recruited to some 270 men. This force was placed under the command of Lieutenant Juan José Rocha and by mid-January was stationed at Mission San Fernando awaiting the approach of the revolutionary faction.

Meanwhile, Alvarado and Castro set out from Monterey about Christmas, arriving in Santa Barbara early in January, where they received the cooperation of the populace and that of Captain Don José de la Guerra and Father President Narciso Duran as well. Backed by this moral support, Alvarado by January 19 had moved his small army of 110 men against Rocha's force, and was camped at Encino, not far from San Fernando, where he conferred with a commission sent from Los Angeles.

Alvarado had been in touch with Los Angeles authorities for several days, during which he tried to win them to his views by conciliatory promises, but he made it plain that he had the force and would use it to gain his point if necessary. When they heard this, the Los Angeles leaders decided that he was not such a bad fellow after all; accordingly they sent a peace commission to discuss terms with him. On the 16th, Commissioner Osio had a conference with Alvarado at San Buenaventura, with no result except that he was able to report the numerical inferiority of Alvarado's army. At this, Commissioner Sepúlveda requested that every available man should be sent from Los Angeles to the front.

On the 19th, Osio and Sepúlveda had a conference with Alvarado in accordance with instructions from Los Angeles to make a treaty, but they were to

wait for Pio Pico and other San Diego commissioners, who were to take part in the negotiations. When Pico and his associates failed to arrive on the 20th, Sepúlveda and Osio met Alvarado at Encino. Being poor diplomats, instead of opening negotiations, they showed him their secret instructions, which he approved in writing on the margin. Believing that this constituted a treaty, the Los Angeles envoys stated that Alvarado should disband his army and retire to the north at once. Alvarado became offended at this, and, after some argument, demanded the immediate surrender of San Fernando; otherwise he threatened to take it by force. His demand was met at once by the frightened commissioners, and Lieutenant Rocha's army, although willing to fight, had to retire towards San Gabriel without firing a shot. Alvarado's force occupied the Mission on the afternoon of January 21.¹⁶

Just about this time, Pio Pico and his San Diego reinforcements put in a tardy appearance and met the patriot army in full and inglorious retreat. The brave Dieguiños loudly voiced their contempt and rage over so disgraceful a surrender. Nevertheless, after some reflection, they decided not to attempt a recapture of the Mission, as they had at first proposed.

The news of the fall of San Fernando caused great excitement and consternation in Los Angeles. Official meetings were held; the city was placed in a stage of siege and guards were posted. In spite of all this activity, Alvarado, accompanied by Graham's riflemen and his Monterey militia, entered the city unopposed. Soon after, Alvarado ordered the volunteer troops disbanded; Rocha's regulars were garrisoned at San Gabriel and Pico's twenty men were used to police the city. On January 26, Alvarado summoned the authorities to a meeting at which he presented a new plan. This provided that California would support the federal system, that a new legislative body should be elected, and that only a native son would be acceptable as a ruler.¹⁷

After subduing Los Angeles, Alvarado stationed Castro with thirty men at San Gabriel and then returned to Santa Barbara, from whence he sent the rest of his troops home to Monterey. For the following four months peace prevailed, although the southerners failed to cooperate as they had promised, while the San Diego authorities went so far as to refuse to accept any plan other than one pledging a complete return to Mexican rule. To add to Alvarado's anxiety, there came disquieting rumors that a large military expedition was to be sent to California from Mexico. When this failed to materialize, the revolutionists took new courage and Castro sent a small force to San Diego to arrest as trouble-makers such leaders as Argüello, Zamorano, Portilla, and Estrada. These men, getting wind that they were wanted, fled into Lower California where they remained all spring plotting a counter revolt against the Monterey party. Alvarado, believing that the south would remain peaceful, returned to Monterey late in May unaware of trouble in the near future.

When Governor Gutierrez and his officers were deported, only such officers as were married to Californian women were allowed to remain in California.

Three of these, Portilla, Zamorano and Del Valle, moved to Southern California where they joined Captain Santiago Argüello, Zamorano's father-in-law, in opposing Alvarado. Among the officers who sailed with Governor Gutierrez was Captain Andrés Castillero, who a few months later was to play a most important part in changing the course of Alvarado's revolution from federalism to centralism.

Governor Gutierrez and his fellow-exiles were set ashore on the barren coast of Cape San Lucas, Lower California, on November 23, 1836, from whence Gutierrez reported to the national government on November 30.¹⁸ By the end of December the exiles had traveled overland to La Paz, and from thence, after a lapse of several months, to Mazatlan and Mexico City where they urged the government to send a large military force to subdue the Californians. Captain Castillero, however, chose to remain at La Paz, where he was soon appointed as secretary to the Commandant General of Lower California, Don José Caballero. From that important post he was detached in May to act the rôle of principal mediator in the Alvarado revolution.

Turning to Mexico, we find the news of the California revolt arriving from all directions. The first reports were written on November 30, 1836, by Governor Gutierrez from Cape San Lucas, by Lieutenant Rocha from San Gabriel, and by Lieutenant José María Ramirez from Los Angeles. Each told a different story, but they all requested that an army of at least six hundred men be sent to quell the revolution.¹⁹ For the following six months numerous private and official reports arrived in Mexico. The most active of those reporting was Captain Santiago Argüello, who emphasized the destitute condition of Mexican troops in California and the activities of the San Diego loyalists in their attempts to preserve Mexico's authority in the territory.²⁰

Early in 1837, the Mexican Government decided to take some action, and a bill was passed in congress providing that a loan of 60,000 pesos be secured from the Pious Fund, with which to finance the proposed military expedition.²¹ This turned out to be a dream, for by then the Pious Fund was practically exhausted. Nevertheless, for the succeeding four months, plans for the expedition went forward although the loan was not forthcoming. On June 6, 1837, a naval officer, Captain Lucas F. Manso, submitted a complete estimate of the cost of the expedition. It was to consist of six hundred fully equipped men under a competent commander, General Iniestra, and was to go by water in four transports convoyed by two war vessels, with provisions for a three months' campaign. The total cost of the expedition was estimated at 59,335 pesos.²²

Meanwhile, on March 30, the Commandant of La Paz, Lower California, Don José María Mata, decided to take measures to protect Lower California from the revolution. He therefore ordered Captain Juan Castañeda to take a few men to the California frontier to defend it against incursions by the revolutionists. He also requested permission to raise a force of two hundred

men to be sent to the frontier, with which he was confident he could restore peace in California.²³ Captain Castañeda and his men went on their way, but the government, doubting the success of Mata's larger scheme, withheld its permission for some time. Nevertheless, when it was seen that it would be unable to get the Pious Fund loan, by May the government was ready to grasp any suggestion by which it might bring peace to California.

On April 12, 1837, the Commandant General of Lower California, Don José Caballero, sent the following order to his secretary, Captain Andrés Castellero:

You will set out immediately for the frontier with a corporal and six men and when you have joined the force that is stationed there, of which you will take command, you will operate with it and take such action as you see fit according to the circumstances that present themselves to you due to the difficulties, so I am informed, in which the factions in California are involved; with the understanding that for that purpose you may requisition supplies from the parish priest of that Mission, Father Feliz Caballero, who I am sure, with his counsel and prestige, will aid you in all that you may require for your enterprise, in which no less than the honor and the reputation of the National arms are at stake. If by any chance you should be faced with some insuperable difficulty you will see fit to stay within the boundaries of the frontier in order to prevent the incursion of the enemies of order into the territory under your jurisdiction.

In a postscript Castellero was told that he was to carry out the above order upon the approval of superior authority.²⁴

A copy of the order was sent to the War Department for approval, which was granted on May 16, Caballero being advised that he might go ahead with his plan, provided that he could raise a force sufficient to assure the pacification of California. However, he was to attempt no movement that did not have the probability of success.²⁵ At the same time the government continued its fruitless efforts to secure the Pious Fund loan. The War Department stated that there was urgent necessity for sending the expedition to California, because the rebels were gaining strength and should the army delay its start until the end of the dry season, it would have to wait until the following year. Such a situation might cause irreparable harm.²⁶

On receiving governmental approval for his enterprise, Captain Castellero set out at once with his eight men for the California frontier, paying all expenses out of his own pocket. He arrived at the frontier on June 12, 1837, and took command at once, since he found that events north of the line were rapidly moving towards a crisis.

In California, Alvarado had consolidated his position in the south to some extent; by May, 1837, at least most of the politicians were rendering him lip service, although there was a party led by Pico and Osio that was secretly plotting against him. The people of San Diego, however, had consistently refused to take part in any revolt and remained loyal to Mexico. Consequently, those officers who fled into Lower California, decided to organize a counter revolution to overthrow Alvarado. The arrival of Captain Juan Castañeda

with his company at the frontier as well as the return of Ensign Nicanor Estrada from Cape San Lucas gave them new courage. They assembled at Argüello's Rancho de Ti Juan on May 15, 1837, to evolve their plans. Captain Agustín V. Zamorano, as the senior officer, assumed temporarily the post of commandant general and civil governor. The rest of the assemblage included Juan Bandini, Santiago Argüello and his numerous sons, Ensign Nicanor Estrada, José María Mier y Terán and Lieutenant Antonio M. Zavaleta. Captain Pablo de la Portilla was to assume the command on his return from a campaign against the Indians. Aided by the verbose Bandini, a lengthy plan of twenty articles was soon issued. Its purport was to undo all that had been done since November 5, 1836; to recognize Mexico's full authority; and to rule the territory under southern auspices until the government should otherwise direct.²⁷ Once having proclaimed their plan, the loyalists enlisted a force of some seventy-five soldiers and civilians from the vicinity. Then they collected supplies for the expedition which was to set out in June for Monterey.

Late in May, Zamorano sent a group of some ten men led by Bandini and Santiago E. Argüello, son of Captain Santiago Argüello, to invite the Los Angeles authorities to join with San Diego in its plan. The commissioners kept their arrival in the city a secret until they had rallied some of their friends to their support. Then, by a previous understanding, on the night of May 26, they surprised the guard at the barracks. The next day the civil authorities were forced to accept the plan, and a committee of three was appointed to go to Santa Barbara to confer with Alvarado.

Bandini and his party remained in Los Angeles only a few days, maintaining their position only with great difficulty so they claimed. On June 1, they set out for San Diego to help subdue an Indian uprising. It is said, however, that a report of Castro's approach from the north added impetus to their hasty departure. In spite of their hurry, Bandini remembered to carry away the old cannon that Castro had captured at San Diego earlier in the year and arrived home to receive a hero's triumphal welcome from his cheering fellowtownsmen. With the return of the commission, the preparation for the northward advance of the San Diego army began in earnest. Captain Portilla returned to San Diego on June 5, and the same day Zamorano transferred the command of the army to him. After a week of preparation, on June 12, the loyalist army set out for Los Angeles.²⁸

In the meantime, an important event took place in Mexico which was to influence greatly the course of California politics for the following two years. At that time the government was in desperate circumstances, being unable to raise the money with which to send the military expedition to California. Already, it had consented to send Castillero in an effort to bring peace to the territory. And it continued to grasp at straws, however weak, which might aid it in that undertaking. One of these broken reeds which it clutched was Don Carlos Antonio Carrillo who up to that time was helping Alvarado in

Santa Barbara. Early in the year, Don José A. Carrillo, who was in Mexico, began to whisper into the government's ear that if his brother was appointed governor of California the revolution would end. At first, little heed was paid to him but as other plans failed the suggestion was finally acted upon, and on June 6, 1837, the President appointed Don Carlos as governor. The Minister of Interior wrote as follows:

Excellent sir:

His Excellency the President of the Republic, making use of the authority vested in him by Article 6, of the law of December 30, last, has seen fit to appoint Your Excellency provisional governor of the new Department of the Californias. This I have the honor to communicate to Your Excellency by Supreme order; with the understanding that wherever you may reside, be it the City of Los Angeles, Monterey or any other place, which you may deem convenient due to the present political circumstances of the country, shall be declared henceforth the provisional capital of that Department, but only for those objects which are expressed in the above law.

I have the honor to communicate this to Your Excellency for your knowledge and guidance.

God and Liberty. Mexico, June 6, 1837.

(Signed) PEÑA Y PEÑA.²⁹

His Excellency Don Carlos Antonio Carrillo,
Provisional Governor of the Department
of the Californias.

A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Commandant General of California by the War Department on June 9. However, this news did not arrive in California until sometime in October.

Meanwhile, Captain Portilla, with Captain Zamorano acting as secretary, set out for Los Angeles with his army of seventy Californians and a few trappers from New Mexico on June 13. While preparing to depart, on the 12th, Portilla received a message from Fr. Felix Caballero of the frontier Mission, enclosing a copy of the new constitution of 1836, also announcing the arrival of Captain Andrés Castillero as commander of the frontier company. When Portilla received the letter, he assembled his army and the citizens of San Diego and had them take an oath to the new constitution. The following day he wrote to Captain Castillero requesting the aid of the latter's troops if possible. He then marched his army to Mission San Luis Rey, where he stayed June 14 and 15 to repair some equipment. At that place Captain Castillero overtook the army on the 15th, with a sergeant and eight dragoons.

Upon receiving Portilla's request for aid, Captain Castillero at once decided to act under that clause in his commission that empowered him to act as he saw fit, according to the circumstances. At San Luis Rey he informed Captain Portilla, orally, that he had been commissioned by the Mexican Government to settle the revolution; but that because of the haste with which he had set out from the frontier, he had left his credentials behind with his luggage. Due to that incident and to the fact that he had been a fellow-officer

under Gutierrez only a few months before, Portilla and his officers believed him. Henceforth, they recognized him as invested with the character of an envoy from the national government for the stated purpose, and agreed that he might discharge his commission within sight of their army.³⁰

By his actions in this case, Castellero showed himself to be a shrewd diplomat. In fact, his commission was only a lefthanded affair issued to him by Don José Caballero, with the approval of the national government, but it could hardly be construed as a direct grant from the central authorities. Furthermore, it was so vaguely worded that he would have found it difficult to establish his position as an envoy. He probably reasoned that if he showed the document to Portilla, he might not accept it, as he very likely would not have done. He also may have thought that if he made verbal claims, leaving the proof behind, there was a chance that the other officers might believe him, since they had known him as a comrade for several years, and none of them could be sure that he had not been to Mexico with Gutierrez and really been appointed as an envoy. His scheme worked and he did not have to present his credentials, thus saving himself much embarrassment. Nevertheless, before he had finished his work, Portilla, Argüello, Bandini, and others began to suspect that his claims were spurious.³¹

From San Luis Rey the San Diego army continued its slow march to Los Angeles, augmenting its ranks on the way with deserters from General Castro's army. As Portilla and his troops neared the San Gabriel River on June 18, they met Ensign Anastasio Carrillo, of the Santa Barbara Company, who had been sent by Castro to arrange an interview between himself and Castellero at Los Angeles, at which they might discuss the attitude of the northerners towards the new constitution. The army camped across the river while Portilla and his staff considered Castro's proposal. While thus encamped, the southerners were alarmed by an approaching party of horsemen, but it turned out to be Lieutenant Juan José Rocha and a small group who came to join Portilla. The staff continued the discussion, after order had been restored, and decided that Captain Castellero should not go to Los Angeles, but that the opposing armies should line up in battle array within sight of one another, at cannon's shot distance, and that Castro and Castellero should meet half way between. There Castro would either be convinced that he should take the oath to the constitution and lay down his arms, submitting to the government, or else he would have to fight Portilla's division.³²

After Castro's envoy departed, Portilla's army resumed its march on Los Angeles in order to select an advantageous location for the interview. On the way it was met by Pio Pico who had a message from Carrillo, saying that Castro wished to consult Governor Alvarado before replying, so was retiring northward for that purpose. Some Californians claimed that Castro became so frightened at Portilla's approach that he and his men left the city in shameful flight, Castro leaving some of his underthings behind.³³ Portilla stated

that he knew that they were in great haste to get to Santa Barbara. It was Portilla's intention to send a pursuing party, but he gave up the idea as he was sure that it would never overtake the fleeing Castro.

The next morning, June 19, the southern army entered Los Angeles where Portilla and Castillero ordered all officials and citizens to assemble and take the oath to the new constitution. The oath was publicly and duly solemnized at the plaza with religious rites, the ringing of bells and salvos of artillery, after which Portilla's army returned to San Gabriel.³⁴

For the next two days the army repaired its equipment, then on June 22 it set out for San Fernando, passing through the city to pick up supplies and reinforcements, composed of 150 pesos in silver and 170 pesos worth of merchandise given by the merchants of the city at Portilla's request, also a number of men. The supplies were obtained but not the men, due to the alcalde's lack of energy. Portilla, not satisfied with results, that evening returned to the city in company with Castillero. This time he insisted on getting a list of men who could be conscripted, after which he and Castillero returned to their camp. On the 24th they arrived at San Fernando where the army camped for some days to repair equipment and await the reinforcements from Los Angeles.

While there, news was received that Castro's division was fortified at Rincon Pass, to prevent further advance by the southerners. On the evening of the 25th, Don Antonio Lugo arrived from Los Angeles with twenty-four men, so Portilla ordered his army to advance to San Buenaventura the following day. Just as the march was resumed, a message from Argüello was received calling for aid to subdue an Indian uprising in San Diego. After a discussion it was decided to suspend the advance while aid was rushed south.

At midnight of June 26, Don Carlos Antonio Carrillo arrived at San Fernando bearing a letter from Castro to Castillero, in which the former expressed a desire to adhere to centralism and stated that on the arrival of Governor Alvarado and General Vallejo they would acknowledge their submission. The letter also empowered Carrillo to make further explanations on the subject.

Portilla once again assembled his officers to consider Castro's proposals, with Carrillo present to explain them.³⁵ These were that neither army should advance from its present position while Alvarado and Castillero should hold a parley, at which some agreement might be reached. After some discussion, it was decided to allow Captain Castillero to act as mediator, so a set of instructions on behalf of the division was drawn up for him. They were as follows:

Instructions to which Captain Don Andrés Castillero must conform on behalf of the Division, in the interview which he will have with Don José Castro encamped in the vicinity of Santa Barbara, commanding an armed force of the Monterey revolution of November 7 of the previous year. 1. That supposing Señor Castro and his Division to be

most willing to adhere to the present form of government; they shall take the oath to the constitution and return to their allegiance to the Supreme Government; and having limited his special commission from the supreme authority to this, it is recommended to Señor Castillero, that he make all efforts suggested to him by his patriotism and intelligence, to dispel Señor Castro's doubts or difficulties, in order to consummate his good wishes and intentions in favor of the constitution, thus preventing the misfortunes that might occur in the Department. 2. That Señor Castro and his Division having taken the oath to the constitution, and consequently having recognized the Supreme Mexican Government, shall allow full freedom of action to the ruler who may be summoned to the office, so that the latter may carry on everything that lies within his duty, according to the constitution and related laws. 3. That supposing Señor Castro and his Division take the oath to the constitution and return to their allegiance to the Supreme Government, they must disband their forces, because there will be no reason for their remaining under arms. 4. Señor Castillero is hereby empowered to consider any other point not expressed in these instructions, notifying this Division of it by special messenger, so that it may decide. 5. Señor Castillero has four days in which to transact the business, and if it is not settled within that time, this Division will start its advance, the time beginning today at ten o'clock in the morning.

Mission San Fernando, June 27, 1837.

(Signed) PABLO DE LA PORTILLA.³⁶

Armed with these instructions, Castillero set out that same morning and met Governor Alvarado in the vicinity of San Buenaventura at a spot called *Cañada de los Sauces* (Willow Glade), where they held their conference. What transpired at this interview it is impossible to say, but whatever his arguments, Castillero managed to convince Alvarado that it would be wise for him to abandon his revolution and take the oath to the new constitution. In a report of the War Department upon his return to Mexico, Castillero said that on acquainting himself with the San Diego plan, he lost no time in informing the leaders of the impolitic course of their actions, and pointing out that the government would look with displeasure on the matter. Then having approached the principal leaders of the revolution, he had managed to convince all of them of the advantages to be derived by them from their adoption of the constitutional system which the majority of the nation had accepted, and of the necessity of loyalty to the Supreme Government, whose wisdom would end the difficulties existing between them.³⁷

Possibly Castillero's discussion with Alvarado was as follows: Should California return to its national allegiance the legislature would resume its duties and Alvarado as senior member would automatically become *ad interim* governor. The southerners would have no further pretext for their opposition. Portilla's army would have to disband, while the San Diego plan would disappear, and moreover there would be no temporary offices to fill. Experience had demonstrated that the southerners could not be depended upon to support Alvarado's position for independence. On the contrary, they were sure to seize every pretext to revolt in order to gain advantages or to gratify personal grudges. Even in the north there were signs of dissatisfaction and uprisings had resulted. United effort which alone could bring success to

the revolution was impossible. Furthermore, Mexico was preparing a strong force with which to reconquer California (of course Castellero knew nothing of Mexico's difficulty in assembling the army and of its final failure), and it was merely a question under whom the territory would return to its allegiance. Castellero made no secret of his preference: that it should be Alvarado. Becoming governor in this manner, Alvarado would then owe the southerners nothing. Possibly, Castellero suggested to Alvarado that if he, Castellero, were sent to Mexico as a commissioner, he might by his influence prevent the sending of the army, which otherwise would ruin the country, and perhaps he might even secure Alvarado's confirmation as governor. Finally, California by the decree of December 30, 1836, had already become a department, which was one of the principal objects sought by the Monterey revolution. It must have been arguments such as these that converted Alvarado to centralism. In his report to Mexico, Castellero stated:

I succeeded as a result of my labors, in getting all to take the oath to the constitution, to give up all their pretensions, to remove all foreigners from public offices, to disband the Anglo-American company of riflemen, to dismiss the congress that they had convened, to reestablish the former territorial assembly, and to send a commission, to which I have the honor of belonging to the central government.³⁸

Undoubtedly, Don Andrés used his position to good advantage.

As soon as the interview was over, Governor Alvarado returned to Santa Barbara to confer with his officers and to prepare them for their acceptance of centralism, while Castellero journeyed to San Fernando to report to Portilla. From Santa Barbara, on June 30, Alvarado wrote to Castellero expressing his ideas regarding their interview and opinions on his southern opponents. He said:

Government of the Department.

In consequence of the interview which you and I had at the *Cañada de los Sauses*, I have assembled the officers of my division. I acquaint them with the good intentions that exist in my favor of peace and union in California, and everything else that you saw fit to tell me on the subject. In it they have seen a proof of the merited esteem which you enjoy in the country, and we all congratulate ourselves upon the distinguished choice made by the Supreme Government, in sending to us a commissioner so worthy of the love and faith with which we have always regarded him.

All the towns lying between San Francisco and San Diego, with the exception of the latter, are in accord, and there exists a perfect sympathy of their sentiments with those which you have affirmed. We have always longed for peace, and if we have twice had to send arms into the South, it has been for the purpose of curbing those from San Diego. They are the ones that today attack us, we only maintain ourselves on the defensive. There is no plan except in San Diego; ours is none other than that of the conservation of peace and the observance of the new Mexican Constitution; for it leaves us nothing to be desired. It offers us the guaranties to which we aspire, and we would be wholly satisfied if we did not have to repel the attack of the Dieguiños. They would not now have to lament misfortunes that befell them, due to the disunion which they promote with respect to the rest of the Department, had they not attempted to live apart from the government.

If they raised arms against it, I can not protect them with mine against the ravishes of the Indians who at this very moment are pillaging them. You, missionary of peace upon our soil, perhaps may be able to end the lamentable consequences of the civil war to which we are provoked by the Dieguiños; therefore, if they respect the Supreme Government, they must obey its representative; and if you can get them to lay down their fratricidal arms, and to retire to the care of their homes, you will prevent the Californians from shedding the blood of Californians; and that noted service shall be a new claim which you shall acquire to the gratitude and esteem which we entertain for you.

In previous communications which I had the honor of sending to the Executive, I have contracted, as a ruler, the obligations of pacifying the territory and of organizing it under the new constitutional laws. I doubt not that I shall attain it, because there are republican virtues and disinterested patriotism among my fellow-citizens. That the good to which they aspire shall be the common good and not the individual one. They covet no other title than that of worthy citizen, nor any other employment than that of serving the Fatherland, and they will merit its support and honor.

Among my compatriots, I aspire not to wear the laurel but the olive. Should I receive it from you, my wishes will be fulfilled.

God and Liberty. Santa Barbara, June 30, 1837.

(Signed) JUAN B. ALVARADO.³⁹

To the Commissioner of the National Government
Captain Don Andrés Castillero.

The above letter shows how completely Alvarado's views had been changed by Castillero's arguments, and how easily he shifted the responsibility for the civil war to the San Diego party. Castillero, being anxious to bring peace by any method, was perfectly willing to allow Alvarado to blame the southerners who had always been loyal to Mexico, if that would accomplish his aims. At his first meeting with the San Diego leaders he had warned them that the government would look upon their plan with disfavor.⁴⁰ In this respect, Castillero not only did a good job in convincing Alvarado that his most profitable course was to accept the national administration; but he did an even better one in convincing Portilla and other southerners, including Zamorano, that the northerners were sincere in their views. Castillero showed clearly that he possessed the qualities of tact and diplomacy of the true statesman. Indeed, he had to be a keen statesman to reconcile, even for a moment, the violent sectional hatreds existing between northerners and southerners. That he did so successfully is clearly shown by the following letter from Portilla to Alvarado.

Captain Don Andrés Castillero has made it clear to us how well disposed that northern part of the Department is to take the oath willingly to the constitutional laws decreed and sanctioned by the sovereign national congress. The principal object of the Division under my command being none other, it, as well as I, congratulate ourselves that by that method, there shall be established in the northern section as well as over all the Department, laws as wise as the ones that save us from our internal dissensions and which may plant the olive of peace; so forgetting all resentments, may the order of the laws and the fraternity between the towns descend upon this distant Department, forming one single family. Therefore, we expect that all may be happily attained so that we may begin our

march against the revolting pagans, and to leave them fully chastised for the depredations which they have recently committed.⁴¹

God and Liberty. Mission San Fernando, July 2, 1837.

(Signed) PABLO DE LA PORTILLA.

Don Juan B. Alvarado.

Alvarado's victory over the southerners had been complete, yet he had administered a crushing defeat to his own revolution. The southerners no longer had any ground to stand upon in their armed opposition to Alvarado. Therefore, Portilla prepared to march his army back to San Diego. Alvarado, by changing his political complexion had left the San Diego party no better off than it had been in the beginning, while he remained in full control of all California.

After several days of conferences with his comrades at San Fernando, Castillero set out on July 4, for Santa Barbara to administer the oath to the Alvarado forces. That same day Portilla issued a notice to the southern communities advising them of the decision of the northern faction to accept the constitutional laws, and the withdrawal of his army to San Gabriel. He said:

Division of Operations of the Supreme Government.

In virtue of the fact that the northern rebels have agreed with Captain Don Andrés Castillero, commissioner for the Supreme Government, willingly to take the oath to the constitutional laws and to yield submission to the general government, I have withdrawn my forces to this post to establish here my General Headquarters, until such time as the peace of Upper California is assured. I have the honor of notifying Your Worship for your information.

(Signed) PABLO DE LA PORTILLA.⁴²

The Illustrious Ayuntamiento of San Diego.

On July 8, Alvarado, his officers and all the citizens of Santa Barbara assembled at the plaza, took the oath to the new constitution before Captain Castillero and California once more became a part of the Mexican federation. The following day, Alvarado issued a short and fluent proclamation to the people of California, which was written by his secretary, the versatile Frenchman, Victor Prudon:

Compatriots!

Liberty, peace and union are the trinal intelligence that should rule our destinies. Our arms secured us the first; a wise congress guarantees us the second, and the last one depends upon ourselves, without which we have neither liberty nor peace. Let us then preserve that union inviolate, sacred ark which holds the custody of our political redemption. Let us war only against the tyrant! Peace amongst ourselves!

The solidarity of a material building consists in the union of its parts; a single stone displaced from an arch causes the columns to totter, bringing ruin to a structure that would mark the age of time, did its component parts remain united. In the same way disunion has an influence in the destruction of the moral edifice of a society.

The Territory of Alta California is immense; its coasts are washed by the Pacific Ocean which, placing us in touch with the nations, develops our industry and commerce, the source of abundance. The mildness of our climate; the fertility of our soil, and (I

shall say it also in our behalf) the suavity of our customs, and our good humor are so many other privileges with which the Omnipotence has favored us in distributing his gifts. What country can number so many advantages as ours? Let us strive then to give it a place in history as conspicuous as it has on the map.

The Constitutional Laws of 1836 guarantee to us the inviolability of our rights. The august national chamber of representatives is ready to consider a project of those which we may introduce to it for our greatest welfare and prosperity; our votes may be cast in favor of the meritorious citizen whom we may judge worthy of occupying the supreme magistracy of the nation. And what more do you wish? The very laws assure us that we shall not again fall prey to the despotism and ambition of another tyrant such as Don Mariano Chico. The Department of Alta California may henceforth be governed only by a native or citizen of it.

Yes, my friends; the enthusiasm and pleasure that you feel at such specious news is very justifiable. I am possessed of the same pleasure and I close so that you may no longer have to restrain your rejoicing. Give it free expression, shouting with me; Long live the Nation! Long live the Constitution of 1836! Long live the Congress that sanctioned it! Long live Liberty! Long live Union!

Santa Barbara, July 9, 1837.
Victor Prudon,
Secretary.

(Signed) JUAN B. ALVARADO.⁴³

Captain Castellero convinced the San Diego party that Governor Alvarado was sincere in his change of political views. Captains Portilla and Zamorano and other leaders were willing to accept the fact and peace was established. There was one member of the party, however, who did not accept Alvarado's actions as being sincere. He was Captain Don Santiago Argüello, native Californian, related to Alvarado and fully conversant with all the political tricks of his fellow-countrymen. In fact, he was fully convinced that Captain Castellero had been tricked by Alvarado and that he had sold out the San Diego party. When he read Portilla's report of July 4, he became so vexed at its terms that he immediately wrote that officer a bitter letter, reproaching him for failing to carry out the San Diego plan. Writing on the 8th, Argüello said that he found it impossible to believe that the rebels had voluntarily agreed to take the oath to the constitution and to submit to the control of the central government. His reasons for so believing were: that he had seen insulting letters from José Castro to some Mexican officers in the division. Why then, should they now negotiate with Mexicans in whom could be found the same objections that were attributed to the others already mentioned? He accused Portilla of showing little thought or understanding of the aims of the revolutionists. The rebels had undoubtedly considered themselves weak, yet they had been given time to fortify themselves and to recover from their shameful flight. Now that they were well prepared, having never kept faith in anything, they would impose their will upon the southerners. Argüello said that he foresaw this and believed that it was already under way; "then," said he, "all our hardships, sacrifices and labors will be a mockery." If the rebels' proposals were made in good faith, why had they not asked that a commission

of San Diego adherents accompany Castillero? He was unable to understand why the victors, the San Diego party, should have had to go to the enemy camp to propose terms that perhaps might be looked upon with disfavor by the Mexican Government, for that government never entered into treaties with traitors. An example of this was had in the Texas revolt and the capture of General Santa Anna. Why then were the rebels not made to settle the matter on the battle field? Argüello wanted to know whether they were already subject to the will of the rebels, and he was sure that they would soon fall victims to their intrigues, because they had left themselves open to that. All this came from not having pursued Castro, as he had foreseen and intimated. The enemy would, no doubt, boastfully attribute to fear the retreat of Portilla to San Gabriel; consequently theirs was the victory, since they had imposed their terms upon the southerners, who had accepted them. The visit of Don Carlos Carrillo to the southern division had been only for the purpose of delaying its advance and frightening it, so as to give the enemy a chance to fortify Rincon Pass. Thus intrigue had prevailed in everything.

Portilla might well argue that Argüello, not being present, was in no position to judge the difficulties and obstacles encountered, yet the fact remained that all these events were the result of not having pursued Castro. Had the southerners done so, they could have captured Santa Barbara and returned to San Diego. In closing, Argüello, in order to show his right to criticize, said that he had made many sacrifices and spent much, all without hope of personal gain, but, on the contrary, only for the general good and as a testimony to the government of his support.⁴⁴

No doubt Argüello was justified in being suspicious of Alvarado, because probably the governor had intentions of taking advantage of the southerners. But so far as Castillero was concerned, Argüello's idea that he had sold them out was wrong. Don Andrés had only one thought in mind, which was to get California back under Mexican control. He cared not at all which side won or lost, nor how the Californians settled their sectional grudges, so long as there was peace in the territory under Mexican authority.

Portilla and Zamorano seem to have paid no heed to Argüello's opinions, for they continued to deal with Alvarado and Castillero. On July 14, Governor Alvarado wrote to Portilla that he had withdrawn his forces from *El Rincon* and ordered Portilla to send his army to subdue the San Diego Indians who were on the war-path.⁴⁵

Castillero left Santa Barbara for the South on July 16, with intentions of taking his troops to San Diego to subdue the Indians and bearing Alvarado's letter to Portilla. He stopped at San Gabriel reporting to Portilla, who then wrote to Alvarado on July 17, saying that Captain Castillero had informed him that the civil government of Alta California had been reestablished, and the territory thus returned to peace and order. Portilla congratulated everyone concerned over the happy event and promised to report the fact and his

own military operations to the national government. Meanwhile, he wished to know what steps had been taken in regard to settling the question of the chief military command. Since Alvarado was in control of the government, it was up to him to decide, said Portilla, and he wished to know so that he might take whatever action was required of him.⁴⁶

After reporting to Portilla, Castellero gathered his soldiers and marched on to San Diego to fight Indians, at the same time removing from San Gabriel several unruly soldiers who had been causing trouble. But before leaving San Gabriel, he wrote a brief report to his superior officer, Don José Caballero:

Without delay I report to you, for the information of His Excellency the President, that on the eighth of this month the Territorial Assembly has solemnly taken the oath to the Constitution of the year thirty-six, followed by all the towns of upper California. All the native sons have placed themselves at the disposal of the Central Government. I presented myself to them in the name of the Supreme Government and yours, and convinced them of the advantages in the new constitutional laws. I sail aboard the national schooner *California* commissioned to deliver into the very hands of His Excellency the President the necessary documents, which, along with some personal interviews, will set the new system into perfect operation. I have the honor of announcing this happy event to you, as well as to offer you all my consideration and respect.

God and Liberty. San Gabriel, July 18, 1837.

(Signed) ANDRÉS CASTILLERO.⁴⁷

Principal Commandant of Lower California,
Don José Caballero.

After several weeks of campaigning on the frontier, Castellero returned to Santa Barbara, from whence he was to sail for Mexico aboard the *California* as Alvarado's commissioner. Meanwhile, Alvarado, Vallejo and Portilla had been carrying on a correspondence concerning the military command. In this controversy, Castellero wisely took no active part. In the first place, it was none of his concern how the Californians settled that issue. And in the end, had he meddled in it, he would have been sure to have made enemies of those against whom he decided. In his letters to Vallejo, Alvarado clearly showed his attitude toward the San Diego party, thus supporting Argüello's arguments that he was trying to trick them. On July 12, 1837, he wrote:

My dear uncle:

You must know by now, from the circular that I sent north after my last interview with Don Andrés Castellero, of all that has happened since I left you. On the 9th we took the oath to the central constitution, not because there is no longer any other remedy but, on the contrary, because it actually offers us guaranties and gives us advantages which we did not enjoy under the defunct one. Read it and you will see that it is not the flattery of a widower bridegroom.

All is now settled except for the Commandancy General and I do not know whether it should fall to Don Pablo de la Portilla or to Don José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega. I should lean by preference in favor of the latter and you may give me your opinion in the matter.

Castillero and Don Pio are here, the former in the best of disposition is willing to

accompany the commission that may go to Mexico. I believe that he may be of some service, not only because he has been an eyewitness to our revolt and its consequences but also because of the influence exercised by his brother in the national government, as at present it is to our advantage to place ourselves under its protection. After that let come what may.

Meanwhile, order as you will of your affectionate nephew, who kisses your hand.

(Signed) JUAN BAUTISTA ALVARADO.⁴⁸

A few days later Alvarado wrote to Vallejo:

My esteemed uncle:

Santa Barbara, July 17, 1837.

Yesterday the legislature convened here. I called it so as to begin the organization of the constitutional régime and, also, because I found Don Pio in a mood to join with that crowd of hoodlums that continues to gather in part at San Gabriel, under the command of Portilla, whom the drunkards and ruffians want as commandant general and civil governor, even though the constitution may not designate him, because he is a great tolerator of mischief, due to his generous heart and that of his director, Zamorano.

Señor Castellero has decided to uphold the stability of my government; he even went so far as to point out to me that if it were not for the obstacle presented by the laws the military command should be left in your hands, because, from what he has seen, he has not found an officer in all that southern rabble capable of preserving order even in his own house. He has assured me that he is going to make it thus known to the government. Therefore, I intend sending him to Mexico in the schooner and he has offered to act as the commissioner who will talk to the government and he will convince it more completely that justice has been on the side of the natives.

Captain Castellero left here yesterday for San Gabriel to withdraw the troops he brought from the frontier, which I requested of him due to the fact that the Indians are menacing that district and because of the disorders, tolerated by Portilla and Zamorano, committed by the soldiers at San Gabriel, who, without thinking, want to make them the rulers of the country. There are twenty-four mounted soldiers from the frontier, undisciplined and insubordinate. He will soon return here.

I have said nothing concerning the general command because I have not wished the question taken up by the legislature. Portilla and Zamorano desire the post; so it is time that you, acting in that capacity, should make the necessary invitation to Noriega. He has turned into a friend against our enemies, and according to what he told me yesterday, he has no confidence in a single officer other than yourself (but he does not expect anything on that account; he has remained very quiet). Your proclaiming of Noriega, who is on our side, without any reservations on your part, will leave Portilla and Zamorano fooled and will give them a good drubbing. My retaining the powers of governor, in conformity with the constitution, will help a little and then you will have us as the victors in everything. These are my opinions and the reasons why I hurry this by special messenger.

Bandini has already retired, quite satisfied that I should hold the reins of government, because Castellero told them that was the law and that they should not deviate the slightest from it. The ambitious leaders of the opposition have been left humiliated and the whole division has dispersed, except for some hungry colonists and some very poorly armed men from the frontier. That is the condition in which things are. I continue here with some concern.

The Indians are attacking San Diego. They burned all the nearby ranches and almost captured the presidio.

The commissioner to Mexico will leave here soon and it would be a good thing if you would send a communication to the government.

Yesterday I received mail from Monterey in which Villa tells me officially that he has been taking action on the affair of the *castillo* in accordance with orders that you have given him.

I commend to you that rascal Peña as well as Ramirez and all the rest. Castillero tells me that any troops the government may send will be delayed a long while and that there is time for him to arrive there to prevent any such expedition. It is necessary to act at once so that we may remain well fixed.

The Father President has shown himself to be my best friend as well as of all the Californians. Some day I shall have a talk with you on that point, and shall give you proofs of his good behavior. As soon as I send the vessel and can leave these places in order, I shall go north and I wish that you would come south and have an interview with Noriega.

This gentleman as you know, is an upright officer and will agree with you without argument on the organization of the presidial companies similar to what they used to be, which opinion you have given me on previous occasions. I also think the same.

(Signed) JUAN B. ALVARADO.⁴⁹

These letters show Alvarado as the politician that Castillero estimated him to be and as Argüello knew him to be. He was probably trying to ease Vallejo out of the military command, at the same time that he was using him against Portilla whom he did not want. Perhaps Alvarado thought that Vallejo might have ambitions to displace him from the governorship once he became powerful in the military office. He even may have foreseen the subsequent trouble he was to have with Vallejo when the latter tried to influence the government to remove Alvarado from office. At any rate Vallejo did not take kindly to the suggestion that he should relinquish the office and so delayed his decision as long as he could.

While Portilla was waiting for replies from Alvarado and Vallejo, concerning the military command, he received another long letter from Argüello written July 28, 1837. In it, Argüello said that according to the law of December 24, 1836, Portilla was entitled to hold both the military and civil commands, because the members of the legislature had been implicated in the revolution. He now demanded Portilla's reasons for not claiming the governorship according to the law. He pointed out several precedents to support Portilla in making his demand which the people expected of him. Should he fail to make it, the southerners would become a laughing-stock before the government, then all their troubles, labors and sacrifices would have been made in vain. Argüello further pointed out that they would soon lament the fact that Alvarado was governor. Furthermore, the government would probably hold Portilla responsible for that, since the San Diego party had made no report of their activities and it was ignorant of their aims. On the other hand, the northerners were about to send a commission to Mexico, so there was no reason why the San Diego party could not do likewise. Unless they did so, they would be placed in a ridiculous light before the government. There was

also need for haste in sending the report because the Indian uprisings might close the land routes.⁵⁰

Portilla immediately replied to Argüello that it was the legislature's business to interpret the laws and not his. If some of its members had failed in that duty, according to the constitution, it belonged to the national congress to judge them as the one competent tribunal. He was, therefore, in no position to depose them from office, nor much less place them outside the law except by a special decree from the government, and he did not want to become involved in judicial matters. Furthermore, the northerners had taken the oath and had ordered all towns to take it, placing themselves at the disposal of the Supreme Government. Consequently, they must await the latter's decision in the matter, without taking by force a right that did not belong to them. Any hasty step taken at the moment solely to make a good impression might bring down upon them the President's displeasure. It was best to observe how the new law worked and to let the government lead the way in the matter, rather than to try to deprive the northerners of their authority; that was the way in which he interpreted the law.

Portilla also assured Argüello that the government would not long remain ignorant of the latter's patriotic services, as he was preparing a file of documents covering the period subsequent to November, 1836, which he presently would send to Mexico. He was also about to send the troops to San Diego to subdue the Indians. He said that Captain Castellero had shown him all the orders, passport and other documents which authorized him in his mission, so as to dispell any mistaken impressions of his actions.⁵¹ This calm and reasonable reply to Argüello's hotheaded proposals showed much thought and good sense. It was probably written by Zamorano, who was Portilla's secretary and adviser on the expedition. It has all the earmarks of Zamorano's careful thinking and love of law and order.

On July 30, Alvarado replied to Portilla's letter concerning the military command. He said that he had consulted with Don Mariano G. Vallejo on the matter and he had no doubt but that the latter would decide in accordance with the law and military regulations governing the case, so he promised to notify Portilla as soon as Vallejo's answer reached his hands.⁵²

Vallejo, however, wrote directly to Portilla on August 1, giving a history of how he had received the military command. Since the circumstances had now altered, he proposed that all the officers should assemble at a conference, there to decide which one of them should become commandant general. The meeting was to be held in Monterey on August 30, 1837; but if Portilla was unable to be present, he was to notify Vallejo in writing, naming his choice for the post.⁵³ To this proposal, Portilla immediately replied that there was no need for a conference, because the general regulations were very clear on the subject.⁵⁴ The law stated that the command should be assumed by the senior officer in the territory: in this case Captain Portilla. The controversy ended

at this point, because few of the officers were willing to attend the meeting and Vallejo refused to relinquish the command unless they assembled.

All this time Captain Castillero was fighting Indians on the southern frontier and was probably glad to be out of the thorny controversy. But he returned to Santa Barbara early in August, to arrange his departure for Mexico as Alvarado's commissioner.

The news that a commission was being sent soon spread throughout the territory. Thereupon, Argüello made a move to outwit Alvarado. On August 22, two days before Castillero sailed, he wrote a long letter to his brother Gervasio in Guadalajara, Mexico, giving him a detailed account of events since November, 1836. He told his brother to acquaint the government with the matter so as to counteract the effects of Alvarado's official documents. Don Santiago blamed Castillero for some of the difficulties that existed, claiming that as commissioner and commander of the frontier he had ordered that no reports from the San Diego party to the government should be allowed to leave California.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, Alvarado was busy in Santa Barbara preparing his reports and other documents to be sent to Mexico. When the governor first decided to send commissioners to Mexico he picked two prominent Californians, Don Carlos Carrillo and Don Antonio Maria Osio, to represent him. As the time for their departure drew near, the two envoys began to lose all desire to attempt the pleasant diplomatic mission. Finally Osio suggested that perhaps it might be best if he withdrew, because he had the bad habit of being frank and speaking his mind on all points, therefore his undiplomatic tongue might be detrimental to the cause that they were to champion. On Osio's withdrawal, Don Carlos also decided to resign. Other Californians hinted that it was not Osio's zeal for the truth that caused his resignation, since his reputation for veracity was little more than zero, rather it was due to a bad case of cold feet. It was suggested that the two, being prominently connected with the revolution, were afraid to venture to Mexico, lest once within the grasp of the government they might be seized and executed as traitors. There was much to be said for that point of view.

On August 24, Alvarado sent the Minister of the Interior, by his commissioners, a number of documents including a report of his actions from May to date. This was a continuation of a former one sent late in April covering the period of the revolution from November to April and explaining its motives and consequences. According to Alvarado, peace had been established by May, after which he had been busy straightening the political mess left by his predecessors. While he waited to see how the rest of the nation reacted to the new system, the San Diego troublemakers proclaimed their plan. Then they marched to Los Angeles leaving their homes exposed to the fury of the savages, who at once proceeded to burn and pillage. He set out for the south at once to save it from the threatened ruin, but when he arrived in Santa

Barbara he was informed that Captain Castillero was on his way north to have an interview with him. He accepted Castillero's invitation and their negotiations followed. Alvarado, after giving an extensive summary of his conferences and agreement with Castillero, praised the Captain very highly for his prudence, moderation and tact in using the constitution as a medium for bringing the two contending factions into agreement and peace. As a result of this the governor said that he had decided to send a commission to Mexico with Castillero as chairman, as a reward for his meritorious service and as a mark of esteem.

At the time that the San Diego troops were being disbanded in August, Alvarado received a very urgent message from Captain Portilla asking for aid. The Captain said that the North American Indians and trappers, led by one Charlefox, who had been induced to join the San Diego army by Victor Eugene Janssens, were about to revolt because they had not been paid according to the agreement made with them. There was great danger that the public peace would be disturbed if aid was not sent immediately. Alvarado claimed that he at once sent a sum of money to pay off the trappers, with orders that they were to leave the territory. The payment was made and order was restored.

In taking up the state of affairs in military matters, Alvarado praised Vallejo highly for his efficient organization of the presidios; and recommended him to the government for his discipline, valor, and for the many distinguished services to the country. He also asked that a well organized force be sent to California, with which to rebuild the southern companies whose former soldiers had lost all semblance of military discipline. Alvarado also reported the purchase of the schooner *California*, in which he was sending Castillero to Mexico. On its return he hoped to use the vessel as a coast guard to prevent the scandalous smuggling by foreign vessels, as well as to control the otter and seal hunting that was then being carried on with impunity.⁵⁶

California being now at peace and all problems presumably settled, except that of the military command, which Vallejo seemed determined to keep for himself, the commissioners were ready to set out on their mission. Castillero and Ensign Don Nicanor Estrada, carrying all the essential documents, boarded the *California* at Santa Barbara and sailed for Acapulco on August 25, 1837. After a short and uneventful voyage they arrived safely at Acapulco on September 15, from which place Castillero reported to the Minister of War :

Most Excellent sir :

I have the satisfaction of informing Your Excellency so that, should it please you, His Excellency the President may be acquainted with the fact that Alta California has returned to its allegiance to the Supreme Government, accepting the constitutional laws published in the year thirty-six. I have had the honor of making those laws known to them in the name of the Supreme Government, convincing the Californians that in them they have all that they may desire and ask for concerning the well-being of their people.

Your Excellency may rest assured that not a single place, no matter how small it may be, but that has taken the oath in good faith. I set out in the national schooner *California*, now the property of the Supreme Government, on August twenty-fifth from the port of Santa Barbara with all the acts and other necessary documents, which are a part of my mission, the People of California being worthy of this trust.

The details of the events since my march from Lower California to that territory and the measures taken with such fortunate results I shall make known in person as I set out on the way to the Capital in company of Don Nicanor Estrada, a person who in the present crisis has been of very great value to me.

There remains only for me to offer Your Excellency my most true consideration and respect.

God and Liberty. Port of Acapulco, September 15, 1837.

(Signed) ANDRÉS CASTILLERO.⁵⁷

In reply to Castillero, the War Department on September 30 said that the President had received the news of California's pacification with much satisfaction and wished that Castillero might hasten his journey to the capital so that the necessary action might be taken.⁵⁸

While Castillero was on the way to Mexico, the San Diego leaders gathered a number of documents, which along with Portilla's day to day report of September 12, telling of his campaign from June 12 to September 1, were sent to Mexico in the hope of counteracting the Castillero mission. But unfortunately for them their documents did not arrive in Mexico until December, 1837, and by that time many new developments had transpired.

On September 16, 1837, the military commander of Acapulco, Tomás Moreno, reported the arrival of the *California* with the commissioners aboard, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th. He sent his and Castillero's letters by special messenger, stating that he was overjoyed and full of satisfaction to report the happy news from California. He congratulated all concerned over the fortunate ending of the disturbances in that great territory and praised Castillero highly. He also begged the government's indulgence for the commissioners who might be delayed in their journey to the capital due to their arriving quite ill from seasickness.⁵⁹

That Moreno considered the results of Castillero's activities in California extremely important is suggested not only by his own statement, but also by the fact that he took the trouble to write and send his letter by special messenger on the 16th of September, Mexico's Independence Day, during which no Mexican will interrupt his celebrations except for the most urgent and important business. On September 30, the War Department replied, ordering him to do all that lay in his power to aid the commissioners to resume their trip.⁶⁰

Moreno was not the only official who considered the pacification of California important. On the same day that he wrote, September 16, the Commandant of Lower California, Lieutenant Colonel Don José Caballero was rushing the same glad tidings from La Paz to his chief, the General Com-

mandant of Sonora. He had just received Castillero's report of July 18, from San Gabriel and he was overjoyed with the success of the enterprise:

Without delay, I have the satisfaction of informing Your Excellency that in sending Captain Don Andrés Castillero as commander to the frontier, with the confidential instructions to take advantage of all opportunities that might present themselves in order to reestablish peace in Upper California, in conformity with my confidential note to Your Excellency of April 12, last, and the report which I also made to Your Excellency on the following August, my hopes have been realized. This measure was so opportune, that by means of it, we have managed to bring Upper California to peace and to its recognition of the Supreme Government, and to its taking of the oath, on the eighth of the recently past July, to the constitution of the year thirty-six, as Your Excellency will see by the attached note no. 22. Thus we have accomplished this happy event without the shedding of a drop of blood, with an extraordinary saving to the Public Treasury, as also of soldiers who are much needed to subdue the enemies of the Fatherland. I congratulate myself that this solution did not hinder the measures which the Supreme Government may have dictated for the reestablishment of order (now accomplished) as Your Excellency feared in the warning that you gave me in the confidential note of May 28, last.

All of which I have the honor of communicating to Your Excellency so that you may see fit to place it in the knowledge of His Excellency the President, giving him on my behalf the most expressive greetings over such a happy outcome.

The great extent to which Captain Castillero has worked in order to achieve such a great goal, I believe makes him a creditor to Your Excellency's recommendation to His Excellency the President. Likewise the Reverend Father Fr. Felix Caballero, for having cooperated in such happy events with his influence and money, in spite of the very great scarcity of cash. Reiterating to Your Excellency the protestations of my most distinguished regard and consideration.

God and Liberty. Port of La Paz, September 16, 1837.

(Signed) JOSÉ DE CABALLERO.⁶¹

Most Excellent Sir,
General Commandant of Sonora, Arispe.

General Ygnacio Elias Gonzales, General Commandant of Sonora, received the letter on October 8, and at once forwarded the news to the Minister of War, along with the originals from Castillero and Caballero; adding the following recommendation for Castillero:

Your Excellency will please bring to the superior attention of His Excellency the President this satisfactory matter, which is truly due to the activity, exactness and love for the country's laws of Captain Don Andrés Castillero, whom I heartily recommend to the consideration of the Supreme Government for the service which he has just rendered; as also the Religious Fr. Felix Caballero to whom I likewise do the justice of recommending his good and patriotic services to Your Excellency.⁶²

By the time that this despatch arrived in Mexico, Castillero had already reported in person, so the War Department informed General Gonzales, thanking him for the information.⁶³

Captain Castillero and Ensign Estrada arrived in Mexico early in October and at once reported orally to the various officials. On October 21, 1837,

Castillero wrote some suggestions and an account of his activities in California, giving brief character sketches of some of the leaders with whom he dealt. It is here presented in full for the first time.

Early in May of this year the General Commandant of Lower California intimated to me by superior order that I was to march to Upper California, in command of the Company of the Frontier, so as to operate against the revolutionists. In effect, I set out from La Paz accompanied by eight men, maintained at my expense, because the assistant-quartermaster was unable to disburse any money; and when I arrive at the port of San Diego I learned that Captain Don Agustin Zamorano had attempted a reaction, declaring himself for a plan of twenty-two articles which in substance reduced itself to the distribution of the public offices among the same insurgents, to the establishment of a consultative Assembly and to the union of the military and civil commands. In order to uphold the plan, Zamorano added a company of American riflemen and some colonists to the local people.

Informed of the plan and project of the insurgents I immediately placed myself in touch with them and with the principal leaders of the revolution, making every effort to let the former know the impolitic idea that their plan contained and the displeasure with which the Supreme Government would look upon the cooperation of the foreigners in that affair; and trying to convince all of them of the advantages that they might hope for from the adoption of the only constitutional system which the majority of the Nation had accepted, and of the necessity that they should subject themselves to the Supreme Government whose wisdom would put an end to the difficulties that had arisen.

I managed, as a result of my efforts, to get them all to take the oath to the constitution, to give up without reservations, to remove all foreigners from public offices, to discharge the company of American riflemen, to dissolve the congress that they had convened, to reestablish the old territorial assembly, and to send a commission, to which I have the honor to belong, before the Supreme Government. All this appears in the documents which I have presented at considerable length.

I now pass on to give a slight idea of the persons who have figured most in that revolution, according to the concept which I have formed of them, from the intercourse which I have had and the information that I have acquired.

The Administrator of the Custom-house, Don Angel Ramirez, an apostate from the Mexican Religion and the Attorney, Don Cosme Peña, were the principal instigators of the uprising. Both were under arrest because they tried to make the Californians sell the Missions of San José and Santa Clara to the Americans so as to enter into a commercial company and to begin a revolution similar to the one in Texas. I used my influence so that they might remain in prison and I believe their residence in the country very dangerous.

Don Juan Bautista Alvarado, Inspector of the Customs in Monterey, served as the principal civil leader during the time of the revolution, and he made improvements. He is the best informed person known thereabouts, and as soon as he became aware of the necessity for changing his ideas he acted with the greatest celerity and he influenced greatly in the restoration of order. In my estimation he is ambitious, and appears to have good habits.

Don Guadalupe Vallejo, Lieutenant of the company of the Northern Frontier, who was the general commandant of the revolutionists, is active, of stern mien, and maintains the troops in rigorous discipline; he is an enemy of popular government, and has his influence only in the vicinity of San Francisco which is the northern part of California where he has always lived. A military decoration might be sufficient to keep him in favor of the government.

Don José Castro, Lieutenant-Colonel of Civil Militia, is whatever Alvarado and

Vallejo wish him to be; he is of a timid and peaceful disposition, of little intelligence, and of some influence among the soldiers he commands.

Don Carlos Carrillo is a man of little character, presumptuous of his knowledge because he has been to Mexico, very addicted to money and he always follows the winning party. During the revolution he kept his position as administrator of Mission San Buenaventura. One of his sons was an officer in the insurrection, and has been accused at various times of being a cattle-thief, and the said Don Carlos has three daughters married to Americans who are well established in the country.

Don Antonio his brother, lately a Deputy to the General Congress, is the worst man known to Upper California, without morals, without manners, of perverse heart, there never having been a revolution in the country in which he was not involved. He never stops at any means in carrying out his aims. He came to Mexico as deputy due to the influence of General Figueroa who wished to remove him from California.

Don Juan Bandini, native of South America, is the one who sowed the first seeds of independence in that soil, always fertile in governmental reforms; he has the authorities always in a quandary. He has stirred up the country several times, and if he did not take part in this uprising, it was because he was unable to get the highest post that he desired, that of inspector of the Customs of both Californias, with a large salary, which was promised to him by Don Valentine Gomez Farias when the latter was president.

The New California due to its topographic situation carries on the exchange of its products along the coast very easily. All its towns and missions are established very near to the best ports, so that the national and foreign vessels are like moving stores which remain more than a year selling their merchandise and collecting the payments of hides and tallow to carry them to Lima and North America. Due to this custom and because it is a newly settled country there has been carried on in it, almost by necessity, this commerce by barter, without its being possible to enforce the law on the subject there, and to forbid it would be a hardship to the class that needs it most. In order to prevent the contraband and so that the land trade would not suffer, it would be necessary to prevent the retail trade aboard; the sales should take place on land or by consignment. The national vessels that trade on those coasts, also the schooner *California*, should in my opinion be armed for war, for the safety of those ports and the waters of the Department. The frontier of Lower California should have a stronger force, increasing the number in the company up to one hundred men in order to aid the government of the Department and to prevent the raids of the savages in the southern part.

The proximity of Upper Sonora to California might serve so that the General Commandant of the former might be subject to the military command of the latter; placing in it a Principal Commander, native of the country, that is, if the former should merit the full confidence of the Government. It might also be opportune to post some force at Altar, a place close to the river road, so that, united to the frontier company in a given case, it may aid the Department, may make correspondence with the Supreme Government easier; and to establish the mail by that route because it is the shortest and surest road to this Capital.

The continual passage of troops might prevent the entry of hunters and adventurers from North America who carry on a scandalous robbery of pelts and horses through that section.

It seems to me convenient that so long as the Government does not place a respectable force in the Department, for the safety of California, the advanced posts of which I have spoken, Altar and that on the frontier of Lower California, should be kept reenforced, only leaving in the interior of the country the hundred men that there are there under arms with their own officers, and in case that it might be judged necessary to create a force, let it be on the frontier, keeping it there on the pretext of the Indian raids, it being possible to recruit the Dieguinos who have always been most friendly.

The Americans when traveling light can go from their establishment on the Columbia River to our port of San Francisco in nine days. The establishment belongs to the British, but the Americans have taken possession of it. The Supreme Government might well make a representation to the British Minister over this and point out to him at the same time the smuggling which the northern adventurers carry on in the beaver trapping, in the hope of stirring the interest of that nation, and by its complaints we might manage to expel from that near-by place the Americans who are now in contact with Texas.

It might also be worth while if the Principal Commander in conjunction with the civil governor of Lower California, making free grants of land on the frontier, should protect the movement of their citizens without showing any favoritism in it, taking care that honest and useful men shall go there for whatever contingency in which the fatherland may need them.

Upper and Lower Californias should not be governed by one governor nor should they have only one Court of Justice, because, being separated by a desert of more than three hundred leagues, the gubernatorial decisions could not be communicated quickly, and the easy and prompt administration of Justice would be lacking. There would arise between the two the jealousies born of the small ambitions of the civil command. Neither is there in both Californias any one who has the capital indicated by law, in order to become governor, senator or deputy. In this matter I believe some allowances should be made.

All the employees who did not embark, at the time of the last revolution, as well as the exiled ones, should not return to California, as much for their lack of energy in the handling of the troops as because of the old enmities that have sprung up between them and the Country, as well as because some of them tacitly approved the revolution. Those excepted from this are Lieutenant Don José Maria Cosío, Ensign Don Nicanor Estrada and Don Juan Rocha. Captain Juan Maria Ybarra and the Director of the National School, Don Mariano Romero.

The twenty-one missions situated on the coast, if they are administered with economy, can well care for the Indians and can yield the government much revenue on the condition that an inspector be appointed who will audit the accounts monthly. The national schooner *California*, now the property of the government, can bring some products of the country, from the Missions to the ports of the South Sea, carrying back goods necessary to the garrison.

The Reverend Father President of the Missions of Lower California, Fr. Felix Caballero, will pledge himself to cover the salary of the Company of the Frontier, on the condition that he be given a discount on duties at some one of the ports of our republic on the Pacific Coast, for the vessel on which he may send the certified account of said expenditure.

The Port of San Francisco is fortified and a garrison should be placed there at all cost, since it is one of the largest in the world, and it is the object of all the ambitions of the Americans who have none on the Pacific Ocean. The one of San Diego needs some repairs, and in the gorge that separates Upper from Lower Californias I believe a fort necessary, because it is a strategic point.

The convicts which the Supreme Government has sent to the Department since the year 1810 are not convicts there, because, not knowing where to get the means to keep them, they have been given the territory as their prison. Some of them have committed crimes that have remained unpunished due to the distance of the courts in which their cases should be tried. Perhaps it might be remedied if the desert islands of Santa Barbara were to serve as prisons, obliging those who are condemned to them to cultivate the soil and thus prevent on the other hand some ambitious person from populating them with other people.

LOWER CALIFORNIA.

It is necessary to place a garrison in that territory at Cape San Lucas; all vessels that sail from the ports of Guaymas, Mazatlan, and San Blas, must pass near it, and if the Americans, due to the ambitious aims which they manifest, should seize this point and should fortify it and keep two war ships cruising those waters, they would hold a small Gibraltar which would deprive us of the trade of the South Sea, and they could attack our coasts; furthermore, there are fifty or sixty American whaling vessels which alternately go there annually on the pretext of refreshing their stores and carry on a scandalous contraband.

The national schooner *Correo Mercado* should be in the port of La Paz at the orders of the General Commandant, so that that coast may be looked after and that it may carry the money for the troops from Mazatlan by a paymaster. There is a naval officer who will take the vessel on his own account, pledging himself to perform the services with that vessel, without any expense to the public treasury. In this way one might prevent the money changing that the merchants and treasury employees carry on at the expense of the garrison, forcing them to take only goods at a very high price, and in order to realize something on them the soldier in most cases has to lose half the value.

Mexico, October 21, 1837.

(Signed) ANDRÉS CASTILLERO.⁶⁴

This report indicates that Castillero was a very loyal, patriotic man possessed of keen powers of observation. Moreover, he was a person with diplomatic ability, who knew when to bluff, when to be firm and when to yield. He played his cards well and deserved all the fine commendations given to him by his immediate superiors.

While Castillero and Alvarado were negotiating near Santa Barbara early in July, some Mexican citizens and sympathizers started an insurrection at Monterey, which its leaders claimed was largely responsible for Alvarado's acceptance of the constitution of '36. This revolt occurred at 3 P. M. on July 1, 1837, under the instigation of two Mexicans, Angel Ramirez and Cosme Peña; who eight months before had helped Alvarado start his revolution. They were dissatisfied with their share of the spoils and angered by the harsh treatment meted out to some of the Mexican residents in Monterey. As a result they decided to attack Alvarado from the rear when they heard that the San Diego army was marching upon Santa Barbara.

The rebels to the number of about fifty, led by Captain Francisco Figueroa, brother of former Governor Figueroa, Sergeant Santiago Aguilar, director of the territorial government's printing press, and José Maria Castañares, former clerk in the custom-house, overpowered the small garrison commanded by Captain Jesus Pico. They seized the fort and presidio with all the arms and ammunition and made ready to repulse a siege. However, they failed to provide a sufficient supply of water and wood in the short time at their disposal. Consequently on July 3, when Captains José Maria Villavicencio and Isaac Graham with some of Alvarado's troops and American riflemen laid siege to Monterey, the rebels were forced to surrender. The leaders were then sent to Sonoma where they were held prisoners by Vallejo for several months. When Alvarado returned to Monterey some of them were freed.

On October 8, Castañares, Aguilar and others, sailed for Mexico aboard the *Griffon* and landed at Mazatlan, from whence the former sent the government a long report on October 30 concerning their revolution. It said in part:

The news of the capture of Monterey that was received by the usurping Governor Alvarado at Santa Barbara; the army from San Diego which threatened him on the other side; and the almost certain arrival overland of General Urrea, that was announced, put him (Alvarado) in such a state of fear, that seeing himself almost lost, and unable to do anything else, he availed himself of the opportunity of requesting an interview with Captain Castillero, offering to submit to the Supreme Government, but on the express conditions that Castillero should offer them in the name of the Supreme Government, that never again would Mexican officials come to govern them; and moreover, that it would be a fine gesture on the part of the government, if those who were to govern that Department should be some of their own native sons.⁶⁵

From the preceding statement we see that the gentlemen from Monterey overestimated the importance of their small uprising. By July 1, Alvarado had agreed with Castillero to take the oath, and as the northern revolt did not start until then and the news of it did not reach Alvarado until a week later, it could not have had much influence in causing Alvarado to accept the new constitution.

Furthermore, the report stated that although Alvarado had sent an order to all the towns to take the oath, General Vallejo, his officers, troops and many citizens had refused to take it. All of which was proof that Castillero's report that the whole territory had taken the oath was erroneous. It also proved that it was not taken in good faith. He complained bitterly of their imprisonment at Sonoma and of the insults and bad treatment other Mexicans received. As proof of the insincerity of the Californians, Aguilar said that the *Griffon* brought two hundred rifles from the Sandwich Islands which Alvarado accepted in exchange for the duties on the cargo; later sending obscene and insulting oral messages to Colonel Gutierrez, to the effect that should he return, they would use the rifles to resist him.⁶⁶

Undoubtedly, some of the Californians were insincere in taking the oath, while others refused to take it. There is also little doubt that some of the Mexicans were mistreated, since there was little love lost between them and the Californians. But it is quite evident that the Aguilar report was greatly exaggerated, due to the resentment that he felt over his arrest and imprisonment.

A letter written by the chronic malcontent Don Santiago Argüello to his brother Gervasio, who lived in Guadalajara, had much the same tone. Writing on November 1, he made many similar charges to those of Aguilar against Vallejo and Alvarado. He accused Castillero of being a party to all of Alvarado's actions, since he knew that the oath was being evaded by the Californians, and that the revolutionists still continued to act as they had done from the beginning. In spite of Castillero's statements, the only reason why the

Monterey party took the oath was to destroy the San Diego army. The proof of this was that Castillero did not use his influence to have Captain Portilla as general commandant; but instead, contributed in taking away his forces and leaving him helpless. Moreover, Alvarado was left with all the functions of the executive, legislative, judicial, military and fiscal departments. Finally, Castillero had issued an order prohibiting the sending of mail to Mexico except with his signed permission, which order was issued at the time that he sailed. All of which was done so that the government might not hear about the mess that he had made of things until after he had arrived there. According to Argüello, conditions were worse than before, and in addition all actions were now clothed in the cape of legality. Thus, due to Castillero's activities, the revolutionists would be placed in a favorable light before the government at the expense of the San Diego party. Furthermore, Castillero was doing his best to prevent the sending of troops from Mexico.⁶⁷

Looking at the preceding statements from the San Diego point of view, most of Argüello's arguments had much to recommend them. Undoubtedly, had Castillero used his influence, Portilla would have retained the military command. But Castillero had known Portilla for some years and knew him to be a lazy, weak and lax field commander, devoid of initiative and incapable of keeping his forces under a rigid discipline. To have retained him in command, would have meant continual trouble and lack of cooperation between the civil and military leaders. Therefore, he chose to sacrifice Portilla rather than the peace of California; which after all was the only wise thing to do. Moreover, when Argüello wrote this letter he had just suffered heavy losses due to the Indians, and being disgruntled, he was looking at the world through jaundiced eyes, which warped his views considerably.

Don Gervasio Argüello at once turned his brother's letter over to the Commandant of Jalisco, Don Manuel Cervantes; who forwarded it to the Minister of Interior, Don José Antonio Romero. He recommended the Argüellos highly, asking that their statements be given consideration, for California was in great danger of suffering the same fate as Texas. Therefore, it was imperative that a prudent, honest, wise and patriotic commander should be sent at once, with at least one hundred and fifty well equipped men to pacify and protect California. The funds with which to pay the expenses of the expedition might be borrowed from the Pious Fund and later repaid from the revenues of the Monterey custom-house. Cervantes, however, did not think very highly of the appointment of Don Carlos Carrillo as governor of California, stating that the latter had not behaved very honorably and had taken a large part in the last revolution.⁶⁸

On December 5, 1837, the Naval Commandant of San Blas, Don Francisco Anaya, had Santiago Aguilar make a formal disposition under oath about conditions in California. This was forwarded to the Minister of War, and received on December 13. Aguilar reiterated all that he had said in his report

from Mazatlan; but laid special stress upon the activities of the Americans, and upon Castillero's part in keeping Alvarado in power. He said that Castillero had promised in the name of the government, that it would not interfere with the Californians in anything; that all the principal officials would be native Californians and that Mexicans would no longer rule them.⁶⁹

With all those adverse reports of criticism reaching the government, soon after he arrived in Mexico, Castillero found it increasingly difficult to convince the administration that Alvarado should be given a permanent appointment as governor of California. It is impossible to say what methods he used in arguing his case, as most of the negotiations were conducted orally and only occasionally did he put anything in writing. On one of these rare occasions, December 19, 1837, he wrote a brief letter to the War Department stating reasons why some of the Mexicans in California had been imprisoned. Evidently, after receiving Aguilar's sworn statement the Minister of War called Castillero to answer the accusations made against him.

He replied that Cosma Peña and Angel Ramirez, besides appropriating some of the money from the customs revenues, also tried to sell Missions San José and Santa Clara to some Americans from the Sandwich Islands, so that they might form a commercial company like the one in Texas. He, therefore, on hearing of their intentions to destroy the integrity of the republic, had them put securely in prison. Santiago Aguilar and Ayala were arrested because they attacked Monterey, captured the quartermaster stores there and started a revolt just at the time that he was negotiating with Alvarado and the Territorial Assembly to take the oath, almost ruining the agreement. As for Don José Castañares, he of the adultery case, the least said the better, but he would refer the government to the report of the General Commandant of the Department, Don Mariano Chico, which was on file in the Ministry of War.⁷⁰

Castillero wasted little time in answering his accusers, because he only had to show that they were engaged in criminal activities. However, he had greater difficulties to overcome in helping Alvarado, because on arriving in Mexico, he found that as early as the month of June the government had appointed Don Carlos Carrillo as governor of California. Not only did that appointment make it extremely difficult for Castillero to get Alvarado accepted as governor, since Carrillo's appointment first had to be revoked, but also, all of Castillero's work in pacifying California had practically been undone.

While Castillero had been on his way up to California, Don José Antonio Carrillo, California's Congressman, had persuaded the President that if his brother was chosen the Californians would be pleased and peace would settle over the territory without the aid of the proposed army. Perhaps all would have gone well had the official news of Carrillo's appointment been received quickly in California. Instead, the appointment was a month old at the time that Alvarado and his party, of which Don Carlos was a member, took the

oath to the constitution. Months passed, peace was established, Castillero was back in Mexico and still no news had arrived here that Carrillo was to be the new governor. It was not until October 20, that Don Carlos received the news from his brother Don José who was in Lower California on his way home. It was not until October 30, that Alvarado received a copy of the appointment, but without official confirmation from the administration. It was not the kind of news for which Alvarado had been waiting, so it was received by all with mingled emotions. Alvarado and the northerners were stunned; while Don Carlos, who had been one of Alvarado's loyal southern supporters, was undecided. The Los Angeles politicians were jubilant and lost no time in congratulating the new governor, as well as inviting him to make that city his capital. Since his appointment order also gave him the choice of a town for his official residence, they felt sure that being a southerner he would choose Los Angeles. He being a weak man, of little executive ability and less common sense, fell in with their idea.

The San Diego party, which had suffered defeat at Alvarado's hands, was naturally only too eager to join Carrillo. To all the southerners the only thing that mattered was to make Los Angeles the capital and to defeat and get rid of the usurper Alvarado.

The Carrillo appointment placed Alvarado in a very difficult position. If he really was loyal to the government he would have to give up his office without question. Yet if he could only delay that event, he might receive news that Castillero had succeeded in getting him recognized by the administration. Such recognition was essential to extricate him and his followers from the dangerous situation into which they had fallen. As successful rebels they had a chance to negotiate with the government for favorable terms, but should Alvarado surrender his advantage and become a private citizen, the government might easily and legally take him and his aids and shoot them as traitors. Furthermore, in order to change incumbents in office, it was customary for the retiring official to receive an order to surrender the office to the new appointee. Should such an order arrive for Alvarado, that in itself would constitute recognition. Since that order did not arrive immediately, he decided to use its non-arrival as a pretext for delay. That would give more time for the arrival of news from Castillero.

On October 31, Alvarado issued a proclamation to the people stating the unofficial news of Carrillo's appointment, and his expectations of an official confirmation by the next mail. He said that as soon as he received it he would surrender the office to the new governor. Alvarado then wrote to Don Carlos on November 4, requesting an interview to discuss the matter of Alvarado's position, the delay in making the transfer and other details. To this request, however, Don Carlos turned a deaf ear, on his brother's advice and that of the other Los Angeles politicians.

To Carrillo and the southern leaders the delay was inexcusable; so the

southern municipal authorities refused to recognize Alvarado, and Los Angeles invited Don Carlos to establish his government there at once. The reason for the southerner's refusal of Alvarado's request was that they feared to trust the easily influenced and weak Don Carlos to the wiles of the persuasive Don Juan B. Alvarado; and the Carrillos feared Castellero's influence in Mexico and knew that delay would be fatal to their plans. Should Castellero arrive with an order that if no change had been made none need be effected, their cause would indeed be lost.

During all of November Alvarado kept delaying the surrender of his office. Finally on December 1, the City of Los Angeles furnished a house as the temporary capitol. The town assembly met in special session on the 4th, to make the necessary plans for the inauguration of Don Carlos as governor. With the people of the city and surrounding country assembled in the plaza, the new governor took the oath of office at 9 A. M. of December 6, amid great solemnity, ringing of bells, salvos of artillery, mass, Te Deum, patriotic speeches and the lusty *vivas* of the multitude. The festive day was followed by a night of banqueting, dancing, illuminations, fireworks and much reveling. Don Carlos, on accepting the congratulations of his followers, issued a grandiloquent address asking for the cooperation and unity of all factions. To this, the San Diego party responded with its recognition of Don Carlos on December 9. Governor Carrillo then sent his brother Don José to Santa Barbara to win its support. But conservative, honest Santa Barbara, in spite of being full of friends and relatives of the Carrillos, and notwithstanding all of Don José's pleas, eloquence and threats of the coming Mexican army, refused to change its allegiance. Its people had sworn to support Alvarado and they considered their oath as binding, until such time as the office was legally transferred.

For the rest of the year nothing was done by either side, except to carry on a more or less formal correspondence. As time went on, however, Carrillo grew more and more insistent that Alvarado should surrender the office without delay, and refused to recognize any right on the latter's part. He also virtually became the leader of the faction that had so long struggled against Alvarado and himself. All of which only served to create a general confusion among the people of all sections including his own Santa Barbara.

By January, 1838, the issues had been drawn and the peace of California was again broken. All of Castellero's work of the previous year was now undone, through the ignorance of the government, the ambitions of the Carrillos and no fault of his own. We need not go into the details of the 1838 campaigns here; other histories have done that.⁷¹ Suffice it to say that early in January Carrillo sent a request to Mexico for two hundred armed men. By February, California was again engaged in civil war and the armies of both factions were marching and counter-marching over southern California. In all the campaigns, the Alvarado armies had the decided advantage of more active,

able and resolute leadership; so that by midsummer of 1838 Carrillo's army had been crushed and the pretender as well as most of his followers were safely in prison either in Santa Barbara or Sonoma.

Meanwhile, Castillero had been laboring in Mexico. He had conferences with cabinet ministers and the president, trying to bring about a definite solution to California's troubles by advising the rejection of Carrillo and the appointment of Alvarado in his place. However, due to the general apathy of the Mexican Government toward all things Californian and to the perpetual unrest that troubled Mexico, Castillero encountered almost insurmountable obstacles to his plan. It was not until the reports of the new civil war in California began to arrive in Mexico, in 1838, that the administration began to pay heed to the situation. By that time, also, trouble with France was in the air and it behooved Mexico to have California at peace or it would have some foreign power fishing in those troubled northwestern waters. Thus, when the news of Alvarado's success in crushing Carrillo in April, 1838, arrived in June, the government began to act.

On August 13, the *Catalina* arrived at Monterey with a letter from Castillero to Alvarado, saying that he had finally succeeded and that he was about to start for California as a commissioner from the government. On receipt of that letter, Alvarado gave up all idea of surrendering his office until Castillero's arrival. There was nothing to do but await the *California's* arrival with Castillero aboard, but due to the war with France, his departure was delayed from July until September and it was not until November 15, that the *California* anchored at Santa Barbara. On landing, Don Andrés sent word to Alvarado and Vallejo that he had brought documents that would establish them in their offices, and requested them to come south for a personal conference.

The most important of the documents brought by Castillero were: a decree of June 30, 1838, creating the Department of California;⁷² a commission as captain of the San Francisco Company for Vallejo;⁷³ a vote of thanks to the Department for the gift of the *California* to the nation;⁷⁴ a decree of amnesty for all political acts and opinions during the past troubles; with an order to Carrillo stating that Alvarado should act as temporary governor;⁷⁵ an appointment for Vallejo as General Commandant;⁷⁶ and finally, personal letters to both Alvarado and Vallejo from President Bustamante, who expressed his high esteem for them and confidence in their patriotism and ability to conduct California's affairs in the future.⁷⁷

With the arrival of the new appointments, Alvarado's main troubles were over, although he still had to contend with minor insurrectionary movements conducted by the Carrillo sympathizers during the early part of 1839. They naturally felt resentful at being left out, and denounced the base ingratitude of the Mexican Government in rewarding rebels while its loyal citizens were not even thanked. The loyalty of the southerners, however, may well be dis-

counted. Thus by the summer of 1839, Alvarado was firmly established as governor and the course of California politics was again running smoothly.

In conclusion, it may be said that Castillero had served Don Juan Bautista and California well. He had come almost on his own initiative and with only the weakest of official commissions, yet by dint of his energy, sagacity and tact he had averted a civil war and straightened out a badly tangled political situation. On arriving in Mexico he found the results of his labors undone by the ignorance of the government, and California again plunged in a worse mess. By slow, patient work which at times must have been exasperating and must have seemed almost hopeless, he finally succeeded in once more establishing peace in California. In so doing, he stamped himself as an able, patriotic, unselfish statesman and prudent soldier; one who had an intimate knowledge of California politics, as well as a keen appreciation of its potential riches and worth, and its eventual future development. Such a man was well worthy of all the honors that a grateful government might bestow upon him.

Having finished his work in bringing peace to California, he was granted Santa Cruz Island as a reward for his labors, in 1839. During the early part of 1839, Don Andrés was elected as congressman from California, and on May 17, sailed for Mexico aboard the *California*. There he served capably, later being appointed as paymaster general for California in Mexico. In 1841, he was still writing reports on the condition of the military defenses of California and urging the government to take some action, or the territory would be lost.⁷⁸ He remained in Mexico until September, 1845, when he returned to California as commissioner from the government, this time to prepare for the arrival of Mexican troops which the government was planning to send to defend the territory against the Americans. During October and November of that year he made a tour of inspection to the northern frontier including Sonoma and New Helvetia. He also had hopes of negotiating the purchase of Sutter's holdings and fort in order to establish a Mexican outpost there, by means of which American immigration to the Sacramento Valley might be stopped. Castillero distrusted the patriotism of John A. Sutter, so far as his loyalty to Mexico was concerned; and he wanted to remove him from that vital spot in the interior valley because he was certain that Sutter was giving too much aid to the Americans. Also during 1845 Castillero became interested in and denounced the famous New Almaden quicksilver mine south of San Jose.

Early in 1846 he again returned to Mexico to make a report and to speed up the military measures which he knew were so urgently needed, if California was to be saved to Mexico. While he was in Mexico the war with the United States began, and in it he took part. He did not return to California until after the war was over, when he came to attend to his mining interests. In 1849 he became involved in litigations over the mine. These lasted from 1849 to 1861,

when he finally gave up his holdings. During all those years he lived mostly in Mexico, making several trips to California.⁷⁹ After 1861 his name appears no more in the annals of California, and the details of the remainder of his life are obscure. There is no doubt that he served California with distinction. Would that the territory had had a few more men like him! Then its history might have been vastly different during the Mexican period.

NOTES TO DOCUMENTS

1. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, 111, 445-544, gives a detailed account of the Alvarado revolution.
2. *Ibid.*, 414-44, gives a detailed account of the events leading up to the attack on Monterey on November 3, 1836.
3. *Ibid.*, 459-77, deals with the subject of recognition of the government.
4. A. M. Osio to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, Nov. 26, 1836, in Vallejo, Doc. Hist. Cal., MS, III, 270.
5. J. Bandini to M. G. Vallejo, San Luis Rey, Dec. 3, 1836, *ibid.*, 274.
6. P. Pico to M. G. Vallejo, San Luis Rey, Dec. 3, 1836, *ibid.*, 275.
7. C. A. Carrillo to M. G. Vallejo, L. A., Nov. 26, 1836, *ibid.*, 273.
8. C. A. Carrillo to M. G. Vallejo, Santa Barbara, Dec. 5, 1836, *ibid.*, 276-78.
9. Proceedings of Los Angeles Ayuntamiento, Nov. 17, 1836, in Los Angeles Archives, MS, IV, 197-200.
10. A. M. Osio, History of California, MS, 318-20.
11. Proceedings of San Diego Ayuntamiento, Nov. 22, 1836, Justicia, MS, CLXXXII, Archivo General y Publico de Mexico.
12. Instructions to San Diego Commissioners, Nov. 22, 1836, *ibid.*
13. L. del Castillo Negrete, advice to L. A. Ayuntamiento, San Diego, Dec. 5, 1836, L. A. Arch., MS, IV, 213-14; Dept. State Papers, Los Angeles, MS, II, 58.
14. Plan of Los Angeles, Jan. 3, 1837, L. A. Arch, MS, I, 126-27.
15. G. Ibarra and J. A. Estudillo to Mil. Com. of the Frontier of L. Calif., Los Angeles, Jan. 10, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, Archivo General de Guerra y Marina, Mexico.
16. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 491-99.
17. Proceedings of L. A. Ayuntamiento, Jan. 26, 1837, in MS, 52-6-9-2, *op. cit.*
18. N. Gutierrez to Min. of War, Cape San Lucas, Nov. 30, 1836, MS No. 1, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
19. N. Gutierrez, J. J. Rocha, J. M. Ramirez, to Min. of War, Nov. 30, 1836, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
20. S. Argüello to Min. of State, San Diego, Dec. 25, 1836, MS, Justicia, CLXXXII, *op. cit.*; same to same, March 15, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *op. cit.*
21. Congressional decree, Mexico, April 1, 1837, MS, No. 14, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
22. L. F. Manso to War Dept., Mexico, June 6, 1837, MS, No. 34, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
23. J. M. Mata to War Dept., La Paz, March 30, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
24. J. Caballero to A. Castellero, La Paz, April 12, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
25. War Dept. to J. Caballero, Mexico, May 16, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
26. War Dept. to Int. Dept., Mexico, May 1 to 29, 1837, MS, No. 18, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
27. Plan of San Diego, Camp of la Palma, May 15, 1837, MS, No. 1, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
28. P. dela Portilla to Min. of War, San Diego, Sept. 12, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
29. M. Peña y Peña to C. A. Carrillo, Mexico, June 6, 1837, MS, No. 35, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

30. P. Portilla, report to Min. of War, San Diego, Sept. 12, 1837, MS, No. 39, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.* Portilla's report is a long and illuminating document giving a day to day account of his march to San Fernando and return to San Gabriel.

31. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 521-22; Bancroft states that Bandini and others even accused Castillero of forging his credentials, which was of course false.

32. P. Portilla, report to Min. of War, MS, *op. cit.*

33. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 520.

34. H. H. Bancroft, *ibid.*, 521, claims that Castillero ordered the taking of the oath, while Portilla in his report claims the honor. It seems likely that Portilla as commander of the army would issue the order at the suggestion of Castillero, who administered the oath as government commissioner.

35. Proceedings of council of war, San Fernando, June 26, 1837, MS, No. 1, 52-6-9-2, *op. cit.* This document was signed by Portilla, Castillero, Aniceto Zavaleta, J. M. Ramirez, J. A. Pico, N. Estrada, and A. V. Zamorano as secretary.

36. P. Portilla, instructions to Castillero, San Fernando, June 27, 1837, MS No. 2, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.* These documents were not available to Bancroft, and are here presented for the first time.

37. A. Castillero to Min. of War, Mexico, Oct. 21, 1837, MS, No. 53, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 526. He states that no records were left, but there were some extant in Mexico, and these are here presented for the first time.

38. A. Castillero, *ibid.*

39. J. B. Alvarado to A. Castillero, Santa Barbara, June 30, 1837, MS, No. 3, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

40. A. Castillero, report to Min. of War, Mexico, Oct. 21, 1837, MS, No. 53, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

41. P. Portilla to J. B. Alvarado, San Fernando, July 2, 1837, MS, No. 5, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

42. P. Portilla to San Diego Ayuntamiento, San Fernando, July 4, 1837, in Hayes, Doc. MS, 73, Bancroft Library.

43. J. B. Alvarado, address to people, Santa Barbara, July 9, 1837, MS, No. 4, 52-6-9-2, *op. cit.*

44. S. Argüello to P. Portilla, San Diego, July 8, 1837, MS, No. 1, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

45. J. B. Alvarado to P. Portilla, Santa Barbara, July 14, 1837, MS, No. 6, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

46. P. Portilla to J. B. Alvarado, San Gabriel, July 17, 1837, MS, No. 7, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

47. A. Castillero to J. Caballero, San Gabriel, July 18, 1837, MS, No. 22, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

48. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Santa Barbara, July 12, 1837, MS, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, IV, 282.

49. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, July 17, 1837, MS, *ibid.*, 283.

50. S. Argüello to P. Portilla, San Diego, July 28, 1837, MS, No. 2, 52-6-9-2, *op. cit.*

51. P. Portilla to S. Argüello, San Gabriel, July 30, 1837, MS, No. 3, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

52. J. B. Alvarado to P. Portilla, Santa Barbara, July 30, 1837, MS, No. 8, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

53. M. G. Vallejo to P. Portilla, Sonoma, Aug. 1, 1837, MS, No. 7, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

54. P. Portilla to Min. of War, San Diego, Sept. 12, 1837, MS, No. 39, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

55. S. Argüello to G. Argüello, San Diego, Aug. 22, 1837; MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*

56. J. B. Alvarado to Min. of Int., Santa Barbara, Aug. 24, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.* This report was forwarded to the War Department by that of the Interior on December 3, 1837. The other documents sent by Alvarado were evidently not forwarded. Unfortunately, in 1919 the archives of the Department of the Interior were removed to the

custody of the National Archives. Having no place to store them, they were kept in the basements of old abandoned convents, where moisture and rats have played havoc with them. It is almost impossible to locate them now, as most of the bundles have been broken in moving them from place to place.

57. A Castillero to Min. of War, Acapulco, Sept. 15, 1837, MS. 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
58. War Dept. to A. Castillero, Mexico, Sept. 30, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
59. T. Moreno to Min. of War, Acapulco, Sept. 16, 1837, MS, No. 213, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
60. War Dept. to T. Moreno, Mexico, Sept. 30, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
61. J. Caballero to Mil. Com. of Sonora, La Paz, Sept. 16, 1837, MS, No. 21, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
62. Y. E. Gonzales to Min. of War, Arispe, Oct. 8, 1837, MS, No. 48, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
63. War Dept. to Y. E. Gonzales, Mexico, Nov. 6, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
64. A. Castillero to Min. of War, Mexico, Oct. 21, 1837, MS, No. 53, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
65. J. M. Castañares, S. Aguilar, report to War Dept., Mazatlan, Oct. 30, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
66. J. M. Castañares, *ibid.*
67. S. Argüello to G. Argüello, San Diego, Nov. 1, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
68. M. Cervantes to J. Romero, Guadalajara, Nov. 24, 1837, MS, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
69. F. Anaya to Min. of War, San Blas, Dec. 7, 1837, MS, No. 103, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
70. A. Castillero to Min. of War, Mexico, Dec. 19, 1837, MS, No. 27, 52-6-9-2, *ibid.*
71. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 111, 534-72, gives a full account of all campaigns.
72. Decree of June 30, 1838, in Vallejo, *op. cit.*, MS, V, 251.
73. Military Commission, July 9, 1838, *ibid.*, I, 12.
74. Vote of thanks, July 10, 1838, *ibid.*, V, 110.
75. Amnesty decree, July 20, 1838, *ibid.*, V, 268.
76. Min. of War to M. G. Vallejo, Mexico, July 23, 1838, MS, *ibid.*, I, 13.
77. A. Bustamante to J. B. Alvarado, M. G. Vallejo, Mexico, Sept. 13, 1838, MS, *ibid.*, V, 166.
78. A. Castillero to Min. of War, Mexico, Feb. 17, 1841, MS, Justicia, CLXXXII, *op. cit.*
79. H. H. Bancroft, *Pioneer Register*, *op. cit.*, II, 749, gives the necessary references.
80. Most of these documents were obtained in the Mexican archives, transcripts of which have been given to the Bancroft Library.