

Bear Flag Lieutenant

*The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related
and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart*

By FRED B. ROGERS

PREFACE

FEW Californians, who proudly display or march under their state flag, know much of Henry L. Ford, whose suggestion resulted in the adoption of the grizzly bear as the distinctive feature of the original design. Scarce are those who know the real name or have seen a likeness of the successful commander at Olompali, the skirmish of the Bear Flag revolt in which blood was shed. Virtually none, except members of his family, know of his early life.

Upon first approach of the author to this subject, Henry L. Ford seemed an almost legendary person who was surrounded by mystery and who lapsed into obscurity after a brief moment of fame. Gradually his story has unfolded, and, although much of the mystery is dispelled here, enough remains to stimulate lively speculation and the hope of further discoveries.

This writer confesses his liking for apt but little-known descriptions of persons, events and places. Such accounts are used freely in the background of this narrative, a notable example being Kemble's classic story of the hardships of Frémont's California Battalion during a Christmas day in the mountains near Santa Barbara. So too, the antics of one "Badger" Smith and data on some of Ford's close associates are detailed, while some actions of Frémont and Stockton appear in outline only. No disproportion results, since we are concerned primarily with matters nearer to Ford.

This is more than a short biography of Ford. Because of his connection with the Bear Flag revolt and the operations of Frémont's California Battalion, the chapters on those subjects are brief histories of those events. Much fresh material is used. New light is shed by the John Wilson papers, now at the Bancroft Library and now used for the first time. The Edouart paintings, located and identified under fortunate circumstances, add markedly to this presentation.

Here is the story of the brief but eventful life of a stalwart figure.

I

IN THE EAST

A close reader of the *California Star*, published by Sam Brannan at San Francisco, could have noted in the issue of October 19, 1847, the name of Noah E. Ford in a list of persons for whom unclaimed letters were held at a temporary post office provided by the army quartermaster at San Francisco.

That notice and a similar one, appearing the next April in both the *Star* and the *Californian*, did not escape the searchers laboring nearly forty years later for Hubert H. Bancroft, the historian. Unable to learn more, the person compiling Bancroft's register of pioneers dutifully gave Noah a single short sentence and passed on to seemingly better-known persons. Another Ford—Henry L.—was rightfully given considerable notice both in the register of pioneers and in the main text of Bancroft's history of California, but who was this Noah E. Ford? Did he deserve more than a line in an extensive history of California? Let us solve this century-old mystery, for with that solution this story must commence.

At North Conway, New Hampshire, on August 24, 1822, was born to Abiah Eastman Ford and William Churchill Ford a son who was named Noah Eastman.¹ The family was of early New England stock which traced its lineage to William Foord (1604-1676) and to Roger Eastman (1611-1694). William Foord landed at New Plymouth November 11, 1621, arriving from Leyden, Holland, on the ship *Fortune* with his mother, the "Widdo Foord," and other of her children.² Roger Eastman was born in Wales, sailed from Southampton, England, in April 1638 on the ship *Confidence*, and settled at Salisbury, Massachusetts.³

Noah's father, son of a soldier of the Revolution, Hezekiah Ford (1736-1819), was born at Cornwall, Connecticut, on March 19th in the year of Independence, and was one of the first settlers at South Lancaster, New Hampshire.⁴ Abiah Eastman, Noah's mother, was born at Conway, New Hampshire, April 6, 1782. She was the daughter of Richard Eastman, Jr., and Abiah Holt Eastman, who in October 1769 occupied the first frame house built in North Conway.⁵

Noah's parents were married May 1, 1806, lived at Lancaster until about 1816, and then moved to North Conway. Noah was the youngest of six children who reached maturity; the others in order of birth were William, Deborah, Richard Heman, Henry Lewis, and John Eastman.

Little is known of Noah's early boyhood except that it was spent in the scenic country on the banks of the Saco in full view of the towering Presidential Range of the White Mountains. To Noah and his young companions it was a place for adventure and enjoyment. In the fall there was the sight of Mount Washington capped with early snow, and of the foothills covered with vivid autumn colors. In the winter came bobsledding, and skating on the frozen ponds and river. The spring brought sap from the maples and "sugaring off," and after the freshets came fishing in the streams. These pleasurable times, and a moderate amount of schooling, came to an end all too soon for Noah. His mother died at North Conway November 14, 1840, and about that time he went to Boston to work.⁶

Whether his work was connected with the shipping industry is not certain, but of course he could observe the coming and going of the merchantmen

and whalers at the metropolis of New England. These sights undoubtedly stirred in Noah a restlessness and spirit of adventure, heightened by stories of the exploits of the army's dragoon regiments on the Mississippi Valley frontier. Possibly his determination was hastened by the wiles of a recruiting sergeant. At any rate he presented himself to the recruiting officer at Boston and on December 11, 1841, he enlisted for the dragoons. His description was recorded as "eyes, hazel; hair, brown; complexion, ruddy; height, 5 feet 9½ inches."

If the experience recorded by another dragoon recruit who enlisted later at Boston is an indication, Noah's tall beaver hat, sateen waistcoat, and Sunday-go-to-meeting suit were taken from him by the sergeant, whose fatherly advice, "You can't take those clothes with you. Give them to me . . ." was an unofficial and self-assumed prerogative held by recruiting sergeants for many years later. Issued uniforms, Noah and other recruits were sent by way of New York to Carlisle Barracks in the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania.⁸

There, on the outskirts of the town of Carlisle, was a training school for mounted service, established in 1835 at the post built in 1777 by Hessian prisoners captured at Trenton.⁹ Several companies constituted the "permanent party," from which came the instructors. In the mornings were held foot drill and instruction with the carbine and saber. In the afternoons came mounted drill, with the raw riders making innumerable and involuntary deployments not to be found in the drill regulations.¹⁰

It appears that Noah was held at the post longer than would be expected. Perhaps he was being groomed for retention with the permanent party, as sometimes happened in the case of the "best behaved men." However he was still carried on the records as a recruit when he deserted at Carlisle Barracks October 6, 1842.¹¹ In the meantime his family had tried to obtain his discharge, only to learn of his desertion.

Now for a time, trace of him must be through "family tradition" without more positive proof. The story goes as follows. Noah became engaged in an altercation with an officer, and the recruit left without delay to escape further trouble, an action he was destined for life to regret. Making his way to an unnamed port, he stowed away on a ship bound for the Pacific. When discovered, he gave his name as that of his brother, Henry L. Ford, by which name he was known thereafter. At some point on the voyage he is said to have dived off the ship to rescue a girl who had fallen overboard. Both were rescued by his ship after it had nearly given up the search, and eventually he landed in California.¹²

II

EARLY DAYS IN CALIFORNIA

Without naming the port of his debarkation, Henry later stated that he arrived in California September 14, 1842.¹³ It is evident that he was in error

as to the year. If he was at Carlisle Barracks until October, as appears certain, no existing means of transportation could have brought him to California in 1842.

No reason exists to doubt his statements regarding his movements in 1843, which are the first that have been found covering his activities in California. Commencing about September 20 or 25 of that year he stayed about three weeks at the house of William Gulnac in San Jose. In November he stopped at the home of William S. Hinckley in Yerba Buena. Henry gave his early residences as San Jose and Santa Cruz. He stated that he knew nearly all the persons who resided at Yerba Buena in 1843. This was not difficult for the small cluster of houses of the pueblo proper, less than twenty in number, probably sheltered fewer than one hundred persons.¹⁴

From the foregoing, one gains the impression that he landed at Monterey or Yerba Buena in 1843, possibly as late as September. Monterey was the official port of entry, but the regulation was sometimes evaded, particularly by whalers which found the water supply much better at Sausalito on San Francisco Bay.

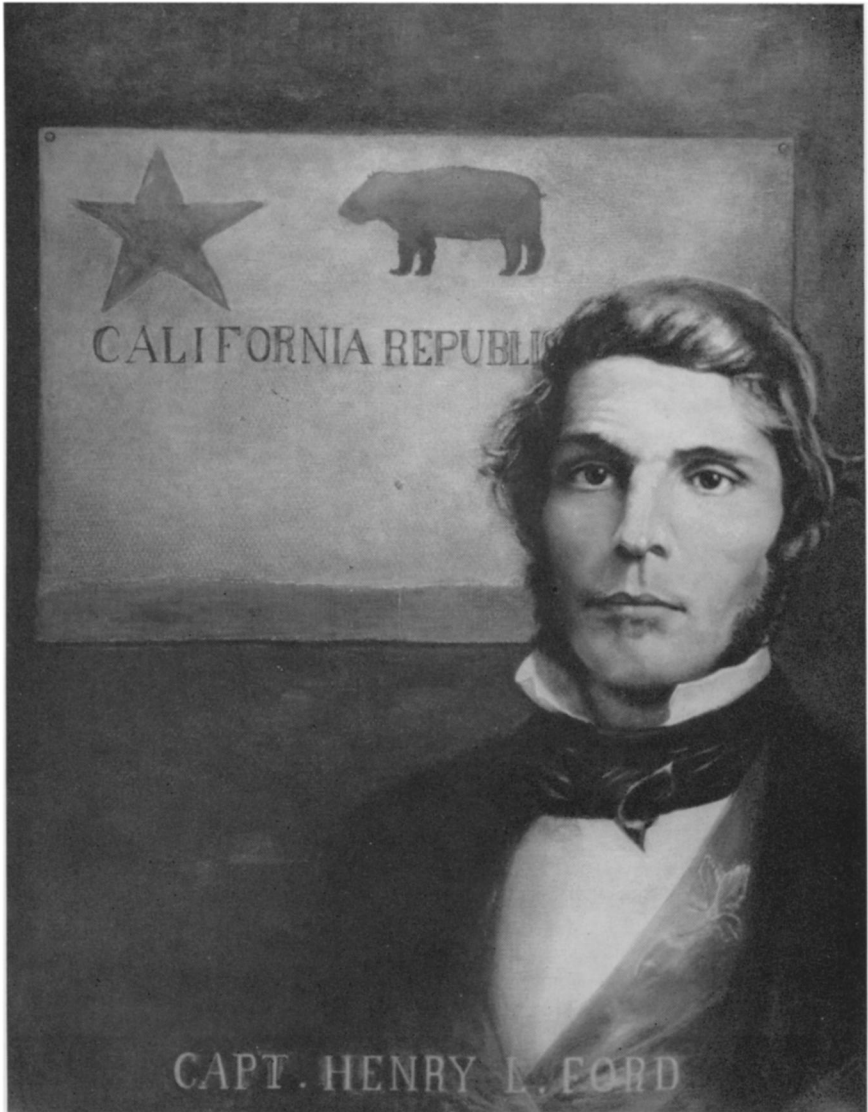
San Jose, where our young adventurer was befriended by the blacksmith William Gulnac and his wife, the former María Isabel de Casena, was a pueblo of about three hundred people.¹⁵ There were some houses of adobe, but others were built of posts with the intervals filled with mud, and with roofs thatched with straw. The houses were only partially floored, and only the "best families" had tables. The food was mainly beef and beans, seasoned with chili peppers.

The commerce of the country was in hides and tallow. Wealth was in cattle, and there were many horses. Amusements included the dancing of the fandango to the music of the guitar and violin, horse racing, bull-and-bear fighting, and some cock fighting. There was a general deficiency of education but no lack of hospitality, for "A man could travel all over the country without a cent of money if necessary."¹⁶

Monterey was the largest town of the area and had a population of about seven hundred. There the merchant Thomas O. Larkin traded his goods for hides, and successfully survived the changing political scene. There Ford, finding his lack of knowledge of Spanish to be a handicap, studied the language under the genial William E. P. Hartnell, customs officer, court clerk, linguist and teacher.¹⁷

In March 1844, Ford was again at Yerba Buena and rode to Mission Dolores with Alcalde William S. Hinckley.¹⁸ Following Ford's declaration of American citizenship, certified to by Isaac Graham at Monterey on April 19, 1844, he was issued a passport, signed by Gen. Manuel Micheltoarena, governor of California, enabling him to remain in the country.¹⁹

Possibly because of lack of employment in the towns he had visited, Henry set out that spring to investigate reported opportunities for huntsmen in the



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FORD AND THE BEAR FLAG

Reproduction of painting by Ethel K. Perdriau; from daguerreotype of Ford, courtesy of Mrs. Geraldine Hansen, and photograph of Bear Flag, courtesy of the Society of California Pioneers

Following his participation as lieutenant in the Bear Flag revolt, Ford became a captain in the California Battalion

Sacramento Valley. Crossing over to the valley of the San Joaquin, he rode north along the east bank of the Sacramento and neared its junction with the American River.

In the distance could be seen a structure which, because of its height and the rise on which it was located, dominated the flat, surrounding country. On closer view, it was seen to have adobe walls about 18 feet in height inclosing an area of perhaps 300 by 150 feet, with bastions mounting cannon at the southeast and northwest corners. In front of the south entrance an Indian sentinel paced his beat in a uniform of green with red trimming.

This was the famed Sutter's Fort.²⁰

Striking as was the exterior aspect, the scene within was one of even greater interest. Gaining admittance, the visitor passed through heavy gates hung on thick walls, and turned left to the first of a series of rooms and other structures which bordered the inclosure. Here were the quarters of the master of New Helvetia, the Swiss pseudo-Mexican, the benefactor of American emigrants: "Captain" John A. Sutter. Next was Sutter's office where a clerk kept the records and correspondence. Probably here was kept a copy of the Vioget map of 1841, showing the immense empire of New Helvetia, which was a grant obtained by Sutter from Alvarado that year, and which extended from the vicinity of the fort northerly up the Sacramento and Feather rivers to the present Marysville Buttes. Probably also to be found in the same office was a copy of the map of the upper Sacramento Valley, made by John Bidwell in 1843, which showed but few settlers above New Helvetia.

Next to the office, in passing clockwise around the quadrangle, were the quarters of Sutter's bodyguard; then in succession were a blacksmith shop, coal bin, wheat storehouse, boarding house, storerooms for tools, and entrance to the northwest bastion. Beyond an open space were the distillery and another tool house; then extending around to the east gate were a number of "family rooms" which housed certain employees and their Mexican or Indian wives and children. Between the east and south gates were other family rooms, the entrance to the southeast bastion, a workshop, and storerooms. In the center of the inclosure was a large boarding house. The whole was a scene of activity, with the going and coming of hunters, trappers, herdsman, and other retainers. Over all floated the flag of Mexico.

Southeast of the fort was a corral; to the east were the vaqueros' quarters; north on the south bank of the American River was a tannery; and the whole establishment was surrounded by wheat fields.

Making the acquaintance of Captain Sutter, Henry learned of the hunting procedure. Deer and elk skins were desired. The hunters outfitted at the fort, where they obtained pack animals and necessary supplies, and then left for the hunting grounds. After getting a load of skins, they delivered them to the fort, and so continued their operations.

Ford became one of the hunters and ranged the country on both sides of

the Sacramento and on Cache Creek to the west.²¹ At the mouth of the latter stream was the tule hut of Thomas M. Hardy, grantee of Río de Jesús María. The usual crossing of the Sacramento in the vicinity was at Hardy's, or at a place later known as Knight's Landing, where William Knight had a dwelling made of poles, rawhide, tule, and mud plaster. Farther up Cache Creek was the rancho of the hospitable "Uncle Billy" Gordon, about ten miles west of the present Woodland.

Thousands of wild horses roamed the valley. There were elk in bands of a hundred or more, antelope in small groups, and plenty of deer, bear, geese, and ducks. In the spring large areas were carpeted with wild flowers, and the rank growth of wild oats was well above saddle height.²²

During this stay on the Sacramento, Ford met not only the fort personnel but also most of the settlers and many transients. He specifically mentioned John S. Williams, Peter Lassen, Thomas Hardy, Pierson B. Reading, John Bidwell, and Ezekiel Merritt.²³ That summer the Kelsey party arrived in the valley from Oregon. In the party were several with whom Ford became associated in later military ventures: William Hargrave, Andrew and Samuel Kelsey, and Granville P. Swift. The latter, who did much hunting on the Sacramento and became a very close friend of Ford, will be given more than passing mention in these pages. Swift was described by William Baldrige as follows:

Although his father was a man of wealth, Granville's education was much neglected, being able only to read and write indifferently, which was partially his own fault, being passionately fond of a hunter's life for which he was admirably adapted. He was fair complectioned, six feet one inch in height, very erect and symmetrical, and of great endurance and undoubted bravery. It was well known that he was the best shot, and could load and fire with greater rapidity than any man on the Pacific coast.²⁴

In September Ford returned to Santa Cruz which, with the neighboring Branciforte, probably had a population somewhat less than 350 excluding Indians.²⁵

In November 1844 occurred a revolt by Californians against General Micheltorena and the Mexican rule. This resulted from the Californians' resentment of the depredations of members of Micheltorena's battalion, which consisted largely of convicts, and the desire of some Californians to govern themselves in preference to the rule of remote control by Mexico. December first, after bloodless maneuvers, Micheltorena signed a treaty with the rebels at Santa Teresa in which he promised to send away the "bad men" within three months.

Captain Sutter recruited a force on the Sacramento and made preparations to join Micheltorena. On January 1, 1845, Sutter marched from New Helvetia with about 220 men including some 100 Indians. Moving via Marsh's rancho and San Jose, he arrived at the Salinas River. Micheltorena, having repudiated his treaty, joined forces with Sutter and assumed command. At some time prior to this, Ford had joined Captain Gantt's company of for-

eigners under Sutter. Micheltorena moved south in slow pursuit of the rebels under José Castro.

The only statements by Ford that are found regarding the campaign are that he then served under Captain Sutter as did also Thomas Hardy, that there was "some trouble in camp and the soldiers talked of turning back," and that Micheltorena addressed the volunteers at Santa Barbara encouraging them to continue. Actually the foreigners with Sutter and those who joined the rebels in the south had no inclination to fight each other.²⁶

Following a "battle" at Cahuenga, which caused few if any casualties, Micheltorena agreed to leave for Mexico with those of his troops who wished to follow him. Pío Pico became governor, and José Castro commandant of the department. Micheltorena returned to Monterey and then left California with his "cholos" in late March, by which time most of Sutter's men had returned north. The latter gained little from the campaign except possibly a better knowledge of their comrades and of the functioning of the Californians in the field.

Ford returned to Santa Cruz in March 1845. During the remainder of the year he was engaged in buying and selling cattle, horses, and mules. By this time he could read Spanish and could transact business without an interpreter. In April he was at New Helvetia and remained in the general vicinity for several months, returning to San Jose for a drove of cattle which he took to the "head of Sacramento Valley."²⁷ On September 26, 1845, Ford read the ceremony at the contract marriage of Isaac Graham and Catherine Bennett, which took place at Zayante, a settlement of Americans about seven miles up the San Lorenzo River from Santa Cruz.²⁸ This affair caused some meddling by Consul Larkin, who, on receipt of a complaint that the pair were unmarried and living together, wrote the justice of the peace at Santa Cruz requesting their "immediate separation."²⁹ The justice replied, "Graham answered me that he was properly married and would not separate from his wife nor would he give her up—he would lose 1000 lives rather than do so—that Mr. Pared [Ford?] and another gentleman had approved his marriage, that no authority could exact a separation, and that he did not recognize you as consul. . . ."³⁰ Seven years later, the California Supreme Court opined that the marriage was binding, except for a legal disability—the fact that Graham had a wife in the east, by prior marriage.³¹

The New Helvetia diary notes Ford's arrival "from above" on December 3, 1845, and his departure for Monterey the next day with A. Toomes and Job F. Dye.³² March 1846 found Ford on the Sacramento again when he visited Reading's rancho for the first time. He explained, "It was on account of an outbreak of Indians; a company was raised for the purpose of quelling the same and I formed one of the company."³³ It seems that settlers in the valley appealed to Capt. John C. Frémont, then at Lassen's rancho with his exploring party, for assistance in combatting a reported uprising of Indians,

and that Frémont allowed his men to give aid. The combined forces moved against the Indians and found a large number at a bend of the Sacramento River, probably on or near Reading's San Buenaventura Rancho. In the engagement which followed many Indians were killed. The number was estimated by Thomas S. Martin as 175; Kit Carson said that the battleground was "strewed with dead Indians"; and William I. Tustin gives the number as from 600 to 700 on land alone.³⁴ Reading, a participant, says that the island opposite Cottonwood Creek was named Bloody Island because of this fight.³⁵

Probably Ford then went to the ranch which had been established by William C. Moon in 1845, below and on the opposite side of the Sacramento from Deer Creek.³⁶ At any rate, Henry was on hand in the vicinity for the exciting events which followed.

(To be continued)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—The assistance kindly given by the following-named persons and institutions made this work possible:

Mrs. Geraldine Hansen allowed the use of manuscript material pertaining to Captain Ford, and his daguerreotype portrait, collected by her father, Henry Lambert Ford (1860-1930). Of equal importance from an art standpoint are the five Edouart paintings reproduced by permission of Frederick Sidney Jones. Mrs. Evva M. Cooper furnished material on the Wilsons. Alexander Edouart gave data on his artist father, as did Mrs. Augustin Edouart Bryant. Suggestions of Dr. John A. Hussey, Dr. George Tays, and George W. Ames, Jr., were of material assistance in the revolt and conquest phases of this work. Others helping in certain fields of their knowledge were Dr. Jacob N. Bowman, Ruth Gaines, Georgia W. Read, Mrs. J. S. Cotton, Hannibal C. Ford, Frederick W. Ford, F. M. Dunlap, and Warren N. Woodson.

The bulk of the unusual material consulted was made available by the directors and staffs of those great depositories, the Bancroft Library, the National Archives, and the California State Library. Other agencies which furnished unique or corroborating items were the Department of the Army, Huntington Library, Stanford University Library, Dartmouth College Library, the Smithsonian Institution, the city libraries of San Francisco, Petaluma, Santa Rosa and Red Bluff, the Society of California Pioneers, California Historical Society, Missouri Historical Society, the clerk of the U. S. District Court at San Francisco, and the clerks and recorders of Mendocino, Colusa, and Tehama counties, California.

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FRED B. ROGERS

NOTES

In order to keep this section within reasonable bounds, these notes and references are selective, not exhaustive.

Abbreviations to show location of certain manuscripts are:

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|--------|---|
| (C) | California State Library, Sacramento |
| (CSMH) | Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino |
| (CSP) | Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco |

- (CST) Stanford University
 (CU) University of California Library, Berkeley
 (CUB) Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
 (NA) National Archives, Washington, D. C.
 (TAGDA) The Adjutant General, Department of the Army

1. Data on William C. and Abiah E. Ford and their children are from Abby E. Ford, MS "Statement" (ca. 1913) to H. L. Ford; Frederick W. Ford to F. B. Rogers, Sept. 28, Nov. 15, 1948.

2. Hannibal C. Ford, *William Foord of the Fortune* (Great Neck, N. Y., 1946), introd., charts 1 and 2.

3. "Genealogy of the Eastman Family," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston, 1847 to present), XXI, 229.

4. Georgia D. Merrill, ed., *History of Coos County, New Hampshire* (Syracuse, 1888), p. 279.

5. Georgia D. Merrill, ed., *History of Carroll County, New Hampshire* (Boston, 1889), p. 844.

6. William A. Ford, MS "Statement" (ca. 1913) to H. L. Ford.

7. Record, Noah E. Ford (TAGDA).

8. Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon* (Kansas City, Mo., 1906), p. 6.

9. Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), p. 270.

10. Lowe, *loc. cit.*

11. Record, Noah E. Ford (TAGDA).

12. Wm. A. Ford, *op. cit.* Henry Lewis Ford, Noah's brother, was born at Lancaster, N. H., Aug. 31, 1815, and died at Hanson, Mass., Mar. 10, 1908. Abby E. Ford, *op. cit.* He should not be confused with Henry Lambert Ford (1860-1930). See Appendix B.

13. Case No. 379, U. S. Court, Northern District, California (hereafter cited as ND) 24; 427 ND 56.

14. 357 ND 7, 8; 360 ND 111; 427 ND 56. At least ten vessels which left North Atlantic ports on the east coast in 1842 landed at Monterey, Yerba Buena, or Sausalito in 1843.

15. San Jose (Calif.) *Pioneer*, Jan. 20, 1877.

16. Josiah Belden, MS "Statement" (CUB).

17. 310 ND 93; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-1890), III, 777. A recent biography of this gifted man is Susanna Bryant Dakin's *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford University Press, 1949).

18. 427 ND 56.

19. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 743, 744; 319 ND 92; MS notes in files of Ford and Graham (CUB), citing "Larkin Papers" (not found).

20. Description of Sutter's Fort is based on *Themis* (Sacramento), Nov. 30, 1889; John A. Sutter, MS "Personal Reminiscences," pp. 75-77 (CUB); and Joseph W. Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California* (New York, 1849), pp. 70-74. John Bidwell tells of mapping the upper Sacramento Valley in 1843 in *Butte County, California* (Oakland: Smith and Elliot, 1877), p. ii. Bidwell's 1844 map of the area in (C).

21. 360 ND 111, 112.

22. Thomas Knight, MS "Recollections," pp. 40, 45; also his MS "Statement of Early Events in California," p. 6 (both CUB).

23. 4 ND 52; 38 ND 38; 360 ND 110, 111; 367 ND 25.

24. William Baldrige, MS "The Days of 1846," p. 24 (CUB).

25. 360 ND 111.

26. 360 ND 116; 319 ND 91, 94. See *The Diary of Johann August Sutter* (San Francisco, 1932), for a partial roster of Gantt's company, including the name of Ford.

27. 360 ND 111, 319 ND 91, 93.
28. Third Judicial District for Santa Cruz, *Graham vs. Bennett* (1852).
29. Larkin, "Official Correspondence," I, 59 (CUB).
30. Doc. Hist. Calif., I, 419, translation in Isaac Graham file (CUB).
31. *Reports, Supreme Court of the State of Calif.* (San Francisco, 1906), II, 503-507.
32. *New Helvetia Diary* (San Francisco, 1939), p. 15.
33. 4 ND 52.
34. Martin, MS "Dictation," pp. 13-14 (CUB); Dewitt C. Peters, *Kit Carson's Life and Adventures* (Hartford, 1875), pp. 252-254; Tustin, MS "Recollections," p. 3 (CUB).
35. 4 ND 49.
36. *History of Tehama County* (San Francisco: Elliot and Moore, 1880), p. 53.

Bear Flag Lieutenant

*The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related
and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart*

By FRED B. ROGERS

(Continued)

III. REVOLT

The year 1846 had commenced with conflict imminent between the United States and Mexico. The Americans who had infiltrated into the Sacramento Valley and the Napa country were a hardy, self-reliant lot, excellent marksmen, and ready to fight if their interests were affected. Some, including the more foot-loose, were ready to fight just to be fighting. Others, having more at stake, proved more cautious until a favorable situation developed. All were in a comparatively isolated position and had been subjected to little control. Except in mounted action, they considered themselves more than a match for Californians, man for man. Many had recently established homes in California either as squatters or on land granted them by the Mexican government. The waters extending from San Francisco Bay to the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers constituted a natural obstacle, easy to hold against any comparable Californian forces which could have been brought from the south.⁸⁷

With these conditions existing, only an incident and effective leadership were needed to cause the Americans in the north to take the field against the Californians.

Incidents, and exaggerated rumors of incidents, were soon supplied. Word reached the north country that Gen. José Castro had, by proclamation, ordered foreigners to leave the country, that he planned forcible execution of that edict, and that he had encouraged Indians to burn the crops of the Americans. Actually the proclamation set forth that the purchase or acquisition of land by foreigners who had not become naturalized as Mexicans "will be null and void, and they will be subject (if they do not retire voluntarily from the country) to be expelled whenever the country may find it convenient."⁸⁸ This plain threat of expulsion, stating an undoubted right of the Mexican government and implying the willingness to place it in execution at an opportune time, was properly interpreted by many of the foreigners as placing in jeopardy their future existence in California. The threat thus had all the effect of a direct order to leave and caused those toward whom it was directed to seek counter action.

The needed leadership was slower in forthcoming. Capt. John C. Frémont, U. S. Topographical Engineers, following his wordy battle with Castro and

the raising of the American flag on a peak of the Gabilan Range, about twenty-five miles northeast of Monterey, had moved slowly to Oregon with his exploring party. Thence he returned to the Sacramento Valley after receipt of a message delivered to him by Lieut. Archibald Gillespie, U. S. Marine Corps.³⁹ The actual content of the message has been the subject of much speculation. Obviously its import was sufficient to cause the return of Frémont, who reached Lassen's on May 24, and soon changed his camp to one at the Marysville Buttes.⁴⁰

Henry L. Ford was on the scene, for John Bidwell says that Ford was "one of the first (being near) to see Frémont passing down the Sacramento Valley."⁴¹ Mrs. Healey, daughter of William B. Ide, says that Ford came to the Belden rancho, near the present Red Bluff, "to tell father that Gen. Castro was on his way to drive all Americans from the country. How sad," says she, "for Mother and I to see father and Mr. Henry Ford ride off on such an expedition."⁴² Without claiming that Ford was a Paul Revere of the Bear Flag revolt, it must be noted that he did his part, probably including some hard riding, in spreading the alarm among the widely dispersed settlers in the upper Sacramento Valley.

Because of Frémont's official position, the settlers naturally turned to him for advice as to action and probably received from him encouragement to revolt, but no definite promises as to his immediate participation. On June 8, messages were sent out to assemble the settlers, and Frémont soon moved to a position in readiness near the junction of the Bear and Feather rivers.⁴³

The stage was set, and events soon moved toward positive action.

Early in June, General Castro went to Sonoma, consulted with Mariano G. Vallejo (then colonel in the Mexican army) and obtained some 170 horses. These were sent with an escort, consisting of lieutenants Francisco Arce and José María Alviso and eight men, by way of the Sacramento, destined for Santa Clara, where Castro was organizing his forces. The party with the horses crossed the Sacramento at William Knight's, arrived at Sutter's Fort June 8, and on the ninth moved to Martin Murphy's place on the Cosumnes River.⁴⁴

Meanwhile Frémont was notified of Arce's movement by William Knight. The story grew that the horses were to be used by Castro's forces in driving the settlers from the valley. Arce's boasting may have confirmed that impression. On June 9, a party consisting of Ezekiel Merritt as leader, Granville P. Swift, Henry L. Ford, Robert Semple, and about a half-dozen others, started after Arce from the neighborhood of Frémont's camp. This movement had Frémont's approval, if not ordered by him.⁴⁵

"Stuttering" Merritt, who had "settled" at Moon's in 1845, was an old Rocky Mountain trapper of a "coarse, almost savage nature." Frémont described him thus: "He was tall and spare, what I understood by 'raw boned'; a rugged man, fearless and simple; taking delight in incurring risks, but tract-

able and not given to asking questions when there was something he was required to do. Merritt was my Field-Lieutenant among the settlers."⁴⁶

Simple, a native of Kentucky, was described as being over six and one-half feet in height and "fifteen inches in diameter." He was the good-natured subject of many stories regarding his height, one of which was that he wore his spurs attached to the calves of his legs when mounted. A versatile person of fine personality and manners, dentist, printer, able speaker, later called "Bueno Oso" by the Californians, he was a dominant figure in the early stages of the revolt.⁴⁷

The party was increased by two men at Hock Farm and by two more at American River, including Allen Montgomery, at whose place a halt was made for the evening meal. Pushing on, they camped within a few miles of Murphy's place. At dawn on the tenth they left for Arce's camp, which they surprised and captured with a charge. Arce was allowed to keep his sword and a horse for each of his party. He was notified to tell Castro to come and try to take the horses if he dared. The Americans also made a threat to take Sonoma, and Merritt is said to have offered boastfully to re-enact Arce's capture, since the latter objected because he had been taken by surprise.⁴⁸

The captured horses were taken to Frémont's camp on the Bear River where Merritt's party arrived on the morning of June 11, having traveled about 120 miles in two days. Merritt, with additional men bringing his party to twenty, left that afternoon to carry out the plan to take Sonoma.⁴⁹

Since trouble with Sutter at New Helvetia was not feared, it was logical that Sonoma was made the next objective. The town had not been garrisoned for some time, but a few cannon, several hundred muskets, and some ammunition were located there. At Sonoma were Colonel Vallejo, a person of much influence north of the bay, and his brother Capt. Salvador Vallejo. Control of Sonoma would serve to protect the nearby foreigners and would afford a convenient base for further operations in the general area.

To keep the march as secret as possible, it was necessary to avoid the usually traveled route to Sonoma; furthermore it was important to get information of the plan of action to the American settlers in Napa Valley. Crossing the Sacramento at Hardy's, the party made a stop for supper at Gordon's on Cache Creek. Merritt, who had hunted the country often, then led his men farther up Cache Creek, crossed Blue Ridge with a hard climb and even steeper descent into Berryessa Valley, and thence, via Elias Barnett's place in Pope Valley, passed to the head of Napa Valley near present-day Calistoga. Scattered south from that vicinity toward Yount's were the habitations of several American settlers, Benjamin and Samuel Kelsey, John York, and John Grigsby, among others.⁵⁰

While the party rested in the upper Napa Valley, messengers were sent out to warn the settlers. Those who had joined en route and those recruited at this time brought the strength of the party to about thirty-three. A final

meeting, addressed by Semple, was held at Bale's Mill, which still stands about three miles north of the present town of St. Helena. On the night of June 13-14, the group passed down the valley, crossed the intervening ridge, possibly by a route lying somewhat north of the present Napa-Sonoma road, and approached the sleeping pueblo of Sonoma at dawn. A native was arrested near town to prevent his giving an alarm.⁵¹

At the northeast corner of the plaza was the chapel of Mission San Francisco Solano, established in 1823; then in succession on the north side were the unguarded barracks, the home of Colonel Vallejo, and the residence of his brother, Salvador. On the west side was the home of Jacob Leese, and other houses bordered the square.⁵²

Awakened, Colonel Vallejo peered out and saw the rough-looking crowd. He dressed quickly and, although advised to escape by his wife, went to the door, asked the cause of the disturbance and learned that he was taken into custody as a prisoner. Soon, by compulsion or otherwise, Lieut. Col. Victor Prudon, Salvador Vallejo, and Jacob Leese, all prominent men of the vicinity, entered Colonel Vallejo's house.⁵³

Written guaranties were exchanged. The two Vallejos and Prudon signed a document as "prisoners of war," pledging that they would not "take up arms for or against" the insurgents. In return, written assurance, signed by Ezekiel Merritt, R. Semple, William Fallon, and Samuel Kelsey for their party, asserted "it is not our intention to take or injure any person who is not in opposition to the cause, nor will we take or destroy the property of private individuals further than is necessary for our immediate support."⁵⁴

According to Ide, it appears that members of the party who remained outside grew impatient of the delay, elected John Grigsby as captain, and sent him to the inner sanctum to investigate. Another long wait ensued, made partially bearable by someone who produced a supply of brandy for the outsiders. Finally they selected Ide to enquire into the situation.

Of his findings, Ide says, "The General's [Vallejo's] generous spirits gave proof of his usual hospitality, as the richest wines and brandies sparkled in the glasses, and those who had thus unceremoniously met soon became merry companions; more especially—the weary visitors. . . . There sat Dr. S. [Semple], just modifying a long string of articles of capitulation. There sat Merritt—his head fallen; there sat Knight, no longer able to interpret; and there sat the new-made Captain [Grigsby], as mute as the seat he sat upon. The bottles had well nigh vanquished the captors."⁵⁵

It is useless to speculate as to whether the drinking inside and outside the house reached the state indicated by the later disgruntled Ide and by some non-insurgents. Certainly it is not to be supposed that the frontiersmen would allow the event to pass without some sort of a celebration.

A scene between Merritt and Salvador Vallejo is described by Ford and several others. It appears that in 1843, when Merritt was hunting in the upper

Napa Valley, he had been taken prisoner by Captain Vallejo, who struck him with the flat of his sword. Now, the situation reversed, Merritt approached Vallejo and, with eyes which "fairly flashed fire," said, "When I was your prisoner you struck me; now you are my prisoner, I will not strike you." One unruly individual proposed a division of the spoils, "but one universal, dark indignant frown made him shrink from the presence of honest men." Another, or possibly the same person, advised that Colonel Vallejo's house be sacked; the more severe deterrent applied in his case, according to Ford, was a threat that he would be "hung as high as Haman."⁵⁶

As it appeared that the prisoners were about to be released on parole, immediate disagreement arose. After much argument it was decided that they should be taken to the Sacramento, and Leese was allowed to accompany them as an interpreter. Merritt, Grigsby, and Semple preferring to go with the prisoners, an escort was formed which included about six others. Before their departure there was held a final meeting, addressed by Semple, at which Ide was selected captain of the twenty-four who were to remain at Sonoma. Riding away at about eleven o'clock on the morning of June 14, the erstwhile leaders were followed while within earshot by the upbraiding voice of Ide, who considered that they had deserted the cause.⁵⁷

The prisoners and escort arrived at Frémont's new camp on the American on the sixteenth. The trip was made without incident except that there is some evidence of an abortive attempt, or at least a plan on the part of some Californians, to release the captives en route. As an afterthought, Leese was included among the prisoners who were soon confined at Sutter's Fort and not released until the following August.⁵⁸

Back at Sonoma a flag was needed to replace that of Mexico, usually flown on the staff in front of the barracks. A hunt for materials took place. Whether the unbleached cotton came from Mrs. John Sears or another; whether the red stripe sewn horizontally at the bottom of the flag was from the petticoat of Chepa Mathews or of Mrs. Sears; whether red paint or berry juice was the medium used by William L. Todd, and a brush or a chewed stick his tool—all are still matters of confusion comparable with that which existed on that historic Sunday at Sonoma.

Certain it is that the completed flag showed on its upper right (observer's left) a single star in red; above the red stripe were the words CALIFORNIA REPUBLIC, outlined in black; and above that lettering, facing the star and also in red, was a crude representation of a grizzly bear standing on all fours.

Certainly also, Henry L. Ford must be conceded the distinction of having suggested as the central figure of the flag the grizzly bear, so respected as a fighter by Americans and Californians alike. Ford so states, others agree, and none apparently has asserted or proved otherwise.⁵⁹ As Todd's bear took form, we can well believe but cannot confirm that his efforts were met with the shouts of his comrades, "Bill! It looks more like a hog!" a judgment glee-

fully but less loudly seconded by the curious Californians. But a bear was intended, so the nickname-loving Californians dubbed the revolt as "Oso." As "Bears" we shall now know them; as "Bears" they always will be known.⁶⁰

The halyards of the flagstaff were manned and, "amid the hurrahs of the little party who swore to defend it if need be with their lives," there arose to the peak this famous frontier flag.⁶¹ The date of the first hoisting remains in doubt. The context of Ford's account of the flag raising indicates that it occurred the same day as the taking of Sonoma. Then followed a further organization of the party with Henry L. Ford elected first lieutenant, Samuel Kelsey second lieutenant, Granville P. Swift first sergeant, and Samuel Gibson second sergeant. The selection of Ford may have been due in part to his dragoon service, which had become known.⁶²

On the morning of the fifteenth the flag was raised at sunrise, and, after the mounting of the new guard, Lieutenant Ford addressed his contingent. He explained to his men that they were at war with the Mexican nation, that they must defend their cause, that discipline was necessary, and that the chosen officers must be obeyed. To which the party agreed.⁶³

By daylight of the fifteenth Ide completed a proclamation setting forth the reasons for the revolt, policies for future action, and assurances for the Californians. He prepared a letter for the U. S. naval authority at San Francisco Bay, explaining affairs at Sonoma, and dispatched it on the fifteenth by flag-maker Todd.⁶⁴

Capt. John B. Montgomery, U. S. navy, commanding the *Portsmouth*, then at Sausalito, received Todd and also José de la Rosa, who had been sent from Sonoma by Vallejo with a plea for Montgomery's authority or influence to save "the helpless inhabitants from violence and anarchy." Accordingly, Montgomery sent Lieut. John S. Missroon to Sonoma where he arrived with Todd on the sixteenth. Missroon obtained from Ide assurances and transmitted them to Alcalde Berreyesa and to the Vallejo family, thus allaying fears of violence. Complimenting the garrison on their orderly conduct, mediator Missroon departed and reported his findings to his commander.⁶⁵

Soon the Bear party was increased by additions of American settlers who had remained aloof, also settlers' families were brought to Sonoma for their protection. With Ide busy on his meditations and his paper work, including revisions and translations of his proclamation and arrangements for their distribution, the direct functions of providing for the common defense fell upon Lieutenant Ford.

On or about June 18, Ford sent Thomas Cowie and one Fowler to get a keg of powder from Fitch's rancho on Russian River, near the present Healdsburg. Spurning Ford's advice, the two took the usually traveled road. About two miles from Santa Rosa they were made prisoners by a band of

Californians, prominent among whom were Juan N. Padilla, Ramón Carrillo, and Bernardino García, also known as “Four-fingered (or Three-fingered) Jack.” To García is attributed a statement of, and a principal part in, the atrocities which followed. Cowie and Fowler were put to death, and there is evidence of their torture before and mutilation of their bodies after the killings.⁶⁶

Also captured about this time were two other Bears, one of whom was Todd, on his way to Bodega on messenger service. Becoming concerned because of the failure of the four to return, Lieutenant Ford, on the night of June 20-21, sent Sergeant Gibson with four men to Fitch’s to investigate. There Gibson got the powder, and on the way back, near Santa Rosa about daylight, he had a brush with three or four Mexicans, one of whom he captured. It was from this prisoner that the first news of the horrible fate of Cowie and Fowler was received.⁶⁷

Ford decided to rescue the prisoners still held by the Californians. Although it was believed that possibly sixty men might oppose them, a comparatively small party was determined upon. So many volunteered that it was decided to form the men in a single line and to have them count off by fives, thus selecting every fifth man. Let Baldrige tell his humorous story of the elimination:

I had the honor of standing at the head of the line, and a man by the name of Smith, usually known as Badger Smith, from the circumstance of his wearing a coat made of badger skins, stood at the other end of the line, who was a small, but muscular man and much disliked by all who knew him for the reason of his being greatly given to quarreling and fighting, but seemed to prefer fighting to any other kind of amusement. The order being given I of course was counted out first and looking down the line I saw Smith very energetically step forward to watch the proceedings with the most intense interest. And when the man next above him was counted out, and he being the only one left, he began to rave and declared that he would go anyhow. He did not walk, but jumped into the ranks with a bounce. He exclaimed that he would go or die, and he’d knock anyone down that should try to prevent him, advancing upon the men at the same time with drawn fist, and it was with much difficulty that we could preserve order and avoid a fight upon the spot. However Smith was pugnacious and obstreperous, to avoid further trouble he was allowed to go.

Although the matter was settled according to agreement Swift was not quite satisfied, so he in a very agreeable way requested some to withdraw and allow him to fill their place with those that he thought could perform the work better. And as we all had great confidence in Swift, and thought him worth a dozen common men in fight, and consequently a good judge of fighting men and as all concerned were desirous that, if a fight should take place the work should be done in the most efficacious [efficacious] manner, so those requested withdrew and Swift filled their place with men of his own choosing. So with two or three exceptions Ford and Swift had the men that they most preferred, Badger Smith being one of the exceptions.⁶⁸

Ford asserts that some time before departing he sent a message to Merritt, then at the Sacramento, telling of a report that Castro was crossing with troops at Carquinez Strait with the intention of attacking Sonoma, and re-

questing that Merritt come with a force to aid the garrison there. Ide's version of the message was that the message went to Frémont and showed lack of confidence "in the ability of Mr. Ide to manage matters at the fort at Sonoma."⁶⁹

Ford left Sonoma on the morning of June 23 with a party of about eighty, taking Gibson's prisoner along. The camp of the Mexicans near Santa Rosa was found to have been vacated recently. Ford followed their trail, after destroying twelve or fifteen muskets found at a house in the vicinity, and arrived about sundown at one of Padilla's houses near Two Rock. Several Indians found there disclosed under duress that the Mexicans had left Padilla's about three hours earlier and would stop at the Laguna de San Antonio, a rancho which derived its name from a lagoon which was about five miles southwest of Petaluma. After a hasty meal of beef at Padilla's, the Bears then proceeded to a point about a half-mile from the lagoon, where they camped to await daylight. Next morning they "charged the place" and took four Mexicans as prisoners.⁷⁰

After breakfast, horses were changed, and Ford's effective strength was reduced to fourteen by the necessary detail of several men to guard prisoners and to drive the horses. Learning from the prisoners that the enemy did not exceed twenty-five, Ford pursued toward San Rafael and entered the rancho of Olompali, a grant made to the Indian, José Camilo Ynitia, in 1843.⁷¹

Nearing Camilo's adobe house, nearly four miles north of the present Novato, Ford saw a number of horses in the corral but only a few men nearby. Corralling his spare horses in a small canyon and forming his men into two "platoons," he promptly charged to secure fresh mounts. To his great surprise he saw more men among the trees, others came "pouring out of the house," and he was soon confronted with about forty-six of the enemy. Ford's serious situation was caused by the joining of Padilla's band with most of the force of about fifty under Joaquín de la Torre who, under orders from Castro, had crossed the bay from San Pablo on the twenty-third and had arrived at Camilo's this morning of the twenty-fourth.⁷²

Ford dismounted his men and ordered them to take cover among some nearby trees. The enemy, armed with muskets and lances, soon mounted and began an encircling charge which was met by the fire of Ford's "front rank." When the enemy broke, the "rear rank" fired, but at greater range. The Californians "kept skurrying about," firing at random, but did not attempt another charge. They then withdrew to a position on a hill out of effective range, and desultory firing from both sides continued for a while. Then, says Baldrige, "they simultaneously dashed off at great speed in the direction of San Rafael and the fight was ended."

Torre's verifiable casualties, most of which occurred at Ford's first volley, were Manuel Cantua killed and at least two wounded, Agaton Ruiz and probably the Indian, Isidoro. Others may have had slight wounds. Ruiz was

said to have been shot through the lungs by Swift, but was given medical aid on the *Portsmouth* and recovered. Ford later insisted that "by going to Camillo Rancho you now find the graves of the 8 men who were buried where they fell."⁷³ One writer attributes the excessive estimates of the number of Californians killed to the number of riderless horses seen.⁷⁴ No American casualties are mentioned by Ford or Baldrige. Ide says that Ford reported to him: "We have whipped them, and that without receiving a scratch."⁷⁵

The story of the fight would not be complete without Baldrige's account of the actions of the irrepressible "Badger" Smith. It appears that in Ford's rear initially, and not involved in his charge, were his prisoners and horse guards, among them George Williams, Thomas H. Burgess, and "Badger" Smith. These made a dash to join their comrades as the cordon of Californians was about to close. Says Baldrige:

Williams said he never was so frightened in his life as when several shots were fired at him and from the sound several balls passed within an inch of his head, and he looked each side of him to enable them to keep as near as possible in the center of the gap and hence as far as possible away from the enemy but was perfectly horrified just as they got between the wings to see Smith suddenly wheel his horse and start at full speed directly meeting the wing and yelling like a wild Indian. When the foremost man fired at him and missed him, he then wheeled his horse and Smith fired just as his side was turned to him putting the ball through the part of his body that was in the saddle, as he distinctly saw the blood gush out on either side as the man ran directly from him. After which Smith went to the front where he went in to the fight with perfect vengeance, his actions being so remarkable as to attract the attention of the whole company, who all agreed that there was not the slightest particle of fear in his nature, as he shouted and laugh heartily during the whole of the fight, and no one doubted that it was the most enjoyable treat of his life.⁷⁶

Todd, who had been taken prisoner by Padilla, was in the ranch house when the fight commenced. With him was another prisoner taken during Todd's captivity. Though not allowed to communicate with him, Todd believed his fellow prisoner to be an Englishman "and of little sense, for that reason." When the Californians rushed out of the house, Todd proposed escape, but his companion refused, whereupon Todd ran out and joined his comrades who were "so overjoyed at seeing him that nearly every man ran to shake hands with him notwithstanding it was right in the hottest of the fight."

The engagement at Olompali was a surprise for both Ford and Torre. Opposed by a mounted force practically triple his own, Lieutenant Ford's tactics in choosing dismounted defensive action, and his use of cover, were effective. Had he chosen otherwise, it is quite probable that he would have sustained a defeat and severe casualties such as Californians later inflicted on General Kearny at San Pascual and on Captain Burrass at Natividad.

Ford had accomplished his immediate mission. The situation with respect to Castro's forces was still obscure; possibly Sonoma was in danger. There

was little to be gained and probably much to be lost by a pursuit of Torre. For these reasons Ford returned to Sonoma with the rescued Todd and received a "very well done" from Captain Ide.

Stirred to action by Ford's message and other intelligence of Castro's impending attack, Frémont left his camp at Sinclair's on the American River June 23 en route for Sonoma. With him were his own party and a group of settlers, a total force of about ninety, described by James W. Marshall as follows:

There were Americans, French, English, Swiss, Poles, Russians, Prussians, Chilians, Germans, Greeks, Austrians, Pawnees, native Indians, etc. . . . Some wore the relics of their home spun garments, some relied on the antelope and the bear for their wardrobe, some lightly habited in buckskin leggins and a coat of war-paint and their weapons were equally various. There was the grim old hunter with his long heavy rifle, and the farmer with his double-barreled shotgun, the Indian with his bow and arrows, and others with horsepistols, revolvers, sabers, ship cutlasses, bowie knives and "pepper boxes" (Allen's revolvers). . . . Well if they whip this crowd they can beat all the world, for Castro will whip all nations, languages and tongues!⁷⁷

Captain Frémont arrived at Sonoma on the twenty-fifth, and left the following day for San Rafael with a force augmented to about 125 including Lieutenant Ford. With Frémont was Semple, who confessed to Ide that he had previously doubted the leadership in conduct of the enterprise "but since the event of the 24th [Olompali] he was willing to risk his life anywhere that such a man as Lieut. Ford might lead the way." About four in the afternoon the mission was reached and charged as usual, but it was found that Torre had decamped several hours previously. Frémont camped at the mission and the next day sent out scouts to locate Torre.⁷⁸

On June 28 occurred an event which reflected adversely on the conduct of the revolt and particularly upon Frémont, then in command. Ramón and Francisco de Haro, twin brothers, crossed by boat from San Pablo to the shore in the vicinity of San Rafael. One of these carried a message to Torre dealing, it seems, with plans for crossing the bay by additional Castro forces. José de los Santos Berreyesa accompanied the pair in order to visit his son, the alcalde at Sonoma. Their landing discovered, the three were shot to death by members of Frémont's party. It is doubtful whether this extreme action would have been taken but in retaliation for the previous torture and murders of Cowie and Fowler. Of course neither outrage was excusable.⁷⁹

Torre was in a desperate situation but was equal to the occasion. Frémont's scouts captured an Indian carrying a letter from Torre to Castro, telling of Torre's plan to attack Sonoma the next morning. The two intercepted letters were quite sufficient to cause Frémont to make a night march to Sonoma, contrary to the advice of Ford and Gillespie, who feared a ruse.⁸⁰

Somehow the Bears at Sonoma had heard of the expected attack. At dawn on the twenty-ninth an approaching force was heard, then seen. The alarm was given, posts manned, and lighted matches swung near the shotted can-

non. There were a few tense moments, broken by the cry of Ide from his vantage point: "Hold on! Hold on! 'Tis Frémont, 'tis Frémont."⁸¹

'Twas Frémont indeed—a tricked Frémont—who soon started back for San Rafael only to find that Torre had the same morning commandeered a launch of Captain William A. Richardson at Sausalito and had crossed the bay to San Pablo.⁸² The next day Castro's united force marched for Santa Clara. Frémont then made two small raids south of the bay.

From an elevated point on its south side, the entrance to the bay was overlooked by an ungarrisoned fortress, the Castillo de San Joaquín, completed in 1794, but since ravaged by the elements and in complete ruin. At the castillo were perhaps a half-score of cannon, some of which were of bronze cast in Lima, Peru, in the seventeenth century.⁸³ On July first, Frémont crossed a small party in a launch from the *Moscow*, whose captain, William D. Phelps, acted as pilot. Frémont spiked the guns at the fort without opposition and returned to the north shore.⁸⁴ For the aid furnished, Phelps later made a claim of \$10,000 but a claims board agreed with Gillespie that "the service would be well paid for at fifty dollars."⁸⁵ One statement asserts that Ford took part in the raid—on the castillo, that is, not on the Treasury.⁸⁶

The next day another party was sent to Yerba Buena to capture William S. Hinckley, the alcalde. It was found that Hinckley had died a few days before, so Robert Ridley, the harbor master, was taken instead and was sent to join Vallejo in captivity at Sutter's Fort.⁸⁷ Ford says that he dispatched Samuel Gibson in charge of the party; another account names Semple as its leader.⁸⁸

Frémont's force returned to Sonoma in time to join the garrison there in a celebration of the Fourth "in old independent style." The men were formed under arms, the Declaration of Independence was read, salutes were fired, and the day ended with a fandango.⁸⁹

The need was felt for joining the diverse elements of the revolt into an organized military force. A committee, consisting of Bidwell, Reading, and Ide, was formed to draft an organization plan. Bidwell's brief solution was selected by Frémont. It has not been preserved, but according to Bidwell its effect was as follows: "To be signed by all willing to prosecute the war already begun, to wit: the undersigned agree to organize and to remain in service as long as necessary for the purpose of gaining and maintaining the independence of California." The simple compact was signed by many present at Sonoma and later by others in the Sacramento Valley.⁹⁰

Four companies were then organized at Sonoma. One, consisting largely of Frémont's own exploring party, was probably under Richard Owens who is known to have commanded that company later. The three other companies were commanded by captains Ford, Grigsby, and Swift. These three were elected, but it is unlikely that Frémont countenanced a general election to determine the immediate leader of his own explorer group. Otherwise, the

men were allowed to decide which captain they desired to serve under. No evidence appears that the companies were given letter designations at the time. Frémont, rank not stated, was accorded and assumed leadership of the newly formed battalion, and Gillespie acted as adjutant.⁹¹

The effect of the elections and of the organization was to replace Ide completely. This seems unjust, for, when the Bear flag was raised at Sonoma, nominal leadership fell to this honest, devoted, and self-styled "captain-general," and was exercised by him until Frémont saw fit to emerge from his position in readiness to take Ide's place. However, Ide's fellows were the judges. They thought him eccentric and hence probably not well fitted for military command. Ide "attached himself" to the battalion for its first trip south.⁹²

Excepting Grigsby's company of about fifty, which remained as the Sonoma garrison, the battalion started on July 6 for the Sacramento Valley. Ford and Swift went by way of Berryessa Valley, where they unsuccessfully attempted to get more horses, while Frémont and the others took the usually traveled route via Soscol.⁹³ Two cannon which had been captured at Sonoma, some muskets, rifles, ammunition, and saddles were sent by wagons to Napa, thence by water on the seven-ton *Mermaid* to Sutter's Fort, where the vessel arrived at the landing in advance of Frémont. The crew made a Bear flag from their shirts, an action which much pleased Frémont when he arrived. William Russell, a member of the crew, tells of finding another "lone star" (Bear flag), converted from a Mexican flag, flying at the fort.⁹⁴ By July 10 the entire force, less Grigsby's, was assembled on the American River.

On July 7, 1846, Commodore John D. Sloat, commanding the Pacific squadron, raised the American flag, after much irresolution, at Monterey. Under Sloat's orders, Captain Montgomery took similar action at Yerba Buena on the ninth; Lieut. Joseph W. Revere replaced the Bear flag with the Stars and Stripes at Sonoma on the same day; and on the eleventh the United States flag was hoisted over Sutter's Fort. Most of the Bears were ready and pleased to serve under the new authority, and thus ended the Bear Flag revolt.

The scope of the present work does not include an extended analysis of the Bear Flag revolt, of Frémont's conduct in California, or of operations for the further conquest of California. Much has been written in support or condemnation of the Bears and of Mexican rule in California. Bancroft, whose research was extensive and who was certainly no partisan of the Bears or of Frémont, admitted, "Rarely if ever has a filibuster revolt been conducted with so much moderation in respect of private rights." The present writer believes it possible and proper to hold a just regard for the sincerity and aggressiveness of the Bears, and at the same time to have a reasoned appreciation of the Californians' difficult position.

Ford's participation in the revolt was such as to merit and receive the approval of his comrades, as evidenced by his election as a company commander. That trust was continued by the United States authorities.

An analogy exists—with obvious differences of time, space, forces, and casualties involved—between the revolt in California and the fight for the independence of Texas. Had war between the United States and Mexico been much further delayed, San Francisco Bay or possibly a line farther south would have assumed an importance to the Bears and to the United States similar to that of the Nueces for those who fought under another lone star—that of the Texas Republic.

IV. WITH FREMONT'S BATTALION

Captain Ford was now a member of a larger unit which the course of events was to sweep into a still greater command. Obviously his name was to appear in the records less often than in accounts of the Bear Flag revolt, in which he was a leading participant. Therefore, while mentioning Ford when possible, the fortunes of Frémont's California Battalion will be followed in particular. Other related operations during the conquest of California will be sketched more briefly.

On July 9, 1846, Commodore Sloat called on Frémont to hurry to Monterey with at least a hundred men.⁹⁵ Frémont started on or about July 12 with some 160 men, at least double that number of horses, and a brass nine-pounder obtained from Sutter. William Russel's account is followed for some details of the march.⁹⁶ The San Joaquin was crossed somewhere south of its junction with the Merced. The men with their impedimenta were passed over in Frémont's rubber boat, and the horses were forced to swim. Moving via the "pass of San Juan," Frémont made a noon halt on July 17, about six miles from San Juan Bautista. He learned that Castro had left San Juan for the south, after burying eight cannon in a wheat field and concealing small arms about the mission. Frémont ordered the person in charge of the mission to have the arms "in sight when he got there."

When the battalion arrived at the mission that afternoon, "200 stand of arms stood against the wall of the house, on the outside." In the building were found nine kegs of powder. Some of the men began a hunt for more arms, and others were eating pears in the orchard when an alarm was given because of approaching horsemen. The battalion sprang to arms, but the horsemen proved to be friends. "They were Capt. [Daingerfield] Fauntleroy's Company of 'Leather A Dragoons,' as they were called from having leather upon the seats and knees of their pants." The American flag was raised at San Juan on July 17, similar action having been taken on the thirteenth by Thomas Fallon at San Jose.⁹⁷

Several witnesses tell of the impression made by Frémont and his men when they arrived at Monterey July 19. The accounts of Colton and Wal-

pole have been repeated often. Much less known is a letter of Lieut. James F. Schenck, U. S. navy, stating in part:

Capt. Fremont's party arrived here on Sunday last; his force has been swollen to 250 strong by the addition of two companies of volunteers, American California settlers. For a few days they were the grand attraction, not only to the officers of our own squadron, but more especially to the officers of the *Collingwood*, an English 80 gun ship. They are indeed fine specimens of the bone and sinew of our country, with the bold and reckless bearing which you would expect to meet with in men engaged in so hazardous and daring an enterprise. The effect of all this [was] increased by their dress—being entirely of buckskin—hunting shirt, trowsers and moccasins, armed with bowie knife, pistol and rifle. Their skillful performance with the rifle astonished us all, and made the English stare. Off hand, at 150 yards, 19 out of 20 [shots] would hit a dollar. This, I assure you, is no exaggeration; and you are at liberty to make the positive assertion and give me as your authority.⁹⁸

A small, but characteristic bit of the account of Lieutenant the Honorable Fred Walpole, Royal Navy, will suffice. It requires but little imagination to hear Walpole telling his brother officers of a contact had with one of Frémont's men: "One day returning from a ride a party of us were galloping hard in pursuit of a jackal, when a man rode up to us, an ill-looking little old fellow, and asked us who we were, adding 'I came up thinking you were Mexicans, to stop you; as you are not, you may proceed.' Fancy the fellow, six to one!"⁹⁹

Practically unknown are these quaint entries made in the journal of Mr. Clements R. Markham, a midshipman aged thirteen, on the *Collingwood*:

July 21st [1846]. Leave to go on shore. Copied some proclamations stuck on the barrack walls. I went up the hill to see Captain Fremont. At the entrance of his camp there was a sentry, and the camp covered about two acres of ground. In the middle was a small tent occupied by Fremont himself. Those of the trappers were all scattered about in different directions around it. I was introduced into his tent, and he offered me a seat on skins. He is a middle sized man with an aquiline nose, very piercing eyes, and hair parted amidships. [Here Mr. Markham repeats some stories told him by Frémont regarding his adventures in the mountains.] He had a beautiful rifle, and it was all inlaid with mother o' pearl, and he was guarded by the last of the Delaware Indians. I sat with him a whole half hour it must have been, and he was very kind. Then I went away into the woods to try and shoot quails. I saw a deer standing at gaze in the path, but he darted off like lightning. I shot two brace of quails, as large as partridges, with lovely tufts on their heads. When I got back, I had some bread and cheese at a shop kept by Mr. Watson. At sunset I went on board, after having spent a very happy day.

July 22d. Captain Fremont came on board to see the ship, and walked around with the captain, but only nodded at me.¹⁰⁰

Frémont and Gillespie were not able to impress Sloat with their reasons for their aggressive actions and current policies, so Sloat, still without news of a declaration of war against Mexico, had a change of mind and declined to receive the battalion in his command. However, Frémont soon found a more resolute champion in Sloat's successor, Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who had arrived at Monterey July 15, and whom Sloat placed in command of the land forces on July 23. On the latter date Stockton incorporated

the battalion in his forces and appointed Frémont major and Gillespite adjutant with the rank of captain.¹⁰¹ Sloat soon left the coast, and Stockton then assumed command of the naval forces also.

The three companies of the battalion then at Monterey were those of Owens, Ford, and Swift, and there was a small artillery detachment under 2d Lieut. Alexis Godey. From later happenings it is gathered that the general sentiment of the volunteers at this time was for service without pay, at least not for the ten or eleven dollars per month offered.¹⁰² Bidwell, who says that Merritt was quartermaster, tells of the latter's qualifications for that office:

Merritt not being an adept in forms for he could neither read nor write, got some one to make out requisitions for him and in due time drew a considerable amount of money from Purser Speiden. The first thing he did was to fill the pockets of his buckskin pants and start out into the town to see if he could find anything to buy.

His first investment was in considerable whiskey for his personal use. It was my lot to meet him shortly after and found him very rich. Putting his hands into his pockets and bringing them out full of Mexican dollars he told me to take that and if I could find anything to buy it and come to him when I wanted more money and he would give me all I wanted for he had lots of it.¹⁰³

Soon came the bustle of preparation for the loading of the battalion on the *Cyane*, Capt. Samuel F. Dupont. On July 24 the unit was issued items of naval clothing by Purser William Speiden of the *Congress*. The number of any one item received did not exceed one hundred, so some frontier garb was continued in use by many of the men. The horses were left at Monterey. With 165 battalion personnel, their saddles and gear, the *Cyane* cleared the harbor at six o'clock on the evening of July 26, bound south. Captain Dupont tells of Frémont's excitement when, on the twenty-ninth, the lead showed only a slight clearance for the vessel as it crossed the bar into the harbor of San Diego.¹⁰⁴

(To be continued)

NOTES

37. The most complete published description of the Bear Flag revolt and allied matters is still that in Bancroft's *History of California*, V, 1-190. The lack of a separate, comprehensive account, embodying later research, will be met with the publication of a book in preparation by Dr. John A. Hussey. Henry L. Ford, MS "The Bear Flag Revolt" (CUB), written in 1851, is used extensively in this chapter with correction of some of Ford's dates.

38. 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Report 75, here cited as *Frémont's Calif. Claims*, pp. 12-13, 25-26, 29, 33-34, 38-40; Charles H. Sawyer, MS "Documents," pp. 36-37 (CUB); Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

39. John C. Frémont, *Memoirs of my Life* (New York, 1887), p. 460.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 502-509.

41. "Reminiscences of the Conquest," *Overland Monthly*, 2d ser., XVI, 562.

42. *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of William B. Ide* (probably Claremont, N. H., 1880), cited here as *Ide Biography*, pp. 48-49.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-19; Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

44. *Ibid.*; Francisco Arce, MS "Memorias," pp. 52-54 (CUB).

45. *Monterey Californian*, Aug. 29, 1846; Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Members of the party in pursuit of Arce are named in *Sacramento Mercury*, June 25, 1858, republished in *San Francisco Herald*, July 9, 1858. This is the earliest account found to mention Ford's dragoon service.

46. Pat McChristian, MS "Narrative," p. 3 (CUB); *History of Tehama County*, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 509.

47. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 715; MS "Bear Flag Papers," pp. 7, 18 (CUB); William F. Swasey, *Early Days and Men of California* (Oakland, 1891), pp. 13-15.

48. T. O. Larkin, MS "Official Correspondence," I, 131; II, 65 (CUB); *Monterey Californian*, Aug. 29, 1846; Arce, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55; Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 4. Thomas M. Hardy's bill for ferriage on June 11, 1846, in *Fort Sutter Papers* (Edward Eberstadt, pub., n.p., n.d.), No. 31. Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-23, 37, tells of meeting John Grigsby and Thomas W. Bradley in Berryessa Valley (presently accepted spelling) when they were bound for Napa Valley in advance of Merritt's party, to warn the settlers. Difficulties of the route between Gordon's and the head of the Napa Valley are mentioned in Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman* (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc., 1928), pp. 171-72, and William Russell (pseud. "Bear Flag") in *Napa County Reporter*, Feb. 23, 1861. According to Ide, Merritt's party stopped by the places of Gordon and a "Major Barnard," the latter probably confused with Elias Barnett. *Ide Biography*, pp. 20-21.

51. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 4; McChristian, *op. cit.*, p. 3; *Ide Biography*, pp. 120-21; Thomas Knight, "Statement," p. 8 (CUB); Harvey Porterfield, MS "Reminiscences" (CSMH). The names of some members of the "original Bear Party" remain in doubt. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 110, n. 21, for his list. Joseph Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California* (New York, 1849), p. 89, describes a rough and stony path, traveled by him in 1846, leading across a mountain between the Sonoma and Napa valleys. That route may have been the one used by the Bears.

52. Probably the best depiction of early Sonoma is the 1851 drawing by George Gibbs in *Smithsonian Misc. Coll.*, XCVII, No. 8, Pl. 12.

53. *Monterey Californian*, Sept. 5, 1846; M. G. Vallejo, MS "Historia de California," V, 111 (CUB).

54. "Bear Flag Papers," pp. 19-20, 60-61.

55. *Ide Biography*, pp. 124-25; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 113.

56. *Monterey Californian*, Sept. 5, 1846; Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5; *Ide Biography*, pp. 127-28; Mrs. F. H. Day, "Dr. Robert Semple," *The Hesperian*, III (1859), 388-89; "Bear Flag Papers," p. 13.

58. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 119-21.

59. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Todd, in letter, Jan. 11, 1878, to the *Los Angeles Express*, says that those who did the work on the flag were "Granville P. Swift, Peter Storm, Henry L. Ford and myself." Among the many references confirming Ford's claim that he suggested the grizzly for the flag, those seeming to show special insight, rather than mere repetition, are an anonymous article in the *Sacramento Mercury*, June 25, 1858, and a letter, W. M. Boggs to Marie Snyder, in *Weekly Expositor* (Sonoma), Feb. 3, 1905, in which Boggs states that the flag making was often discussed at his father's store by Todd, Swift, and Ford. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 146-50, discusses the Bear flag in great detail and gives its dimensions as about three feet hoist and five feet fly. The original Bear flag, received by

the Society of California Pioneers from the navy department in 1855, was destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906. A formalized version of the Bear flag was adopted as the state flag of California by act of its legislature approved Feb. 3, 1911. MS letter, John B. Weller, Sept. 8, 1855 (CSP); *California Blue Book* (1909), p. 20, note; *ibid.*, (1911), p. xiv.

60. Antioch *Ledger*, Aug. 15, 1874. Prominent "Osos" are listed in "Bear Flag Papers," p. 18.
61. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The *Solano Republican* (Suisun), March 24, 1870, credits the first raising of the flag to Granville P. Swift.
62. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
63. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
64. *Ide Biography*, pp. 138-51.
65. "Bear Flag Papers," pp. 46-57. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
66. *Ibid.*; Monterey *Californian*, Sept. 12, 1846; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58; 121 ND 204. Padilla was grantee of Roblar de la Misería in 1845 and claimant of Bolsa Tomales. Bernardino García was asserted to have been killed by a posse in pursuit of Joaquín Murieta in July 1853. San Francisco *Alta*, July 31, 1853.
67. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
68. Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.
69. Ford, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11; *Ide Biography*, p. 181.
70. Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 9; 121 ND 111-14; Ford to Sam Brannan, MS letter, Feb. 8, 1854 (CSP).
71. Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," pp. 9-10.
72. The main accounts of the engagement at Olompali are in Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," pp. 9-10; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-71; Luis German, MS "Sucesos in California," pp. 18-20. The site of the skirmish and a large house which incorporates Camilo's adobe are now owned by the Society of Jesus.
73. Larkin, "Official Corres.," *op. cit.*, I, 125; Boggs in *Napa Register*, Apr. 13, 1872; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, p. 65; Ford to Brannan, Feb. 8, 1854.
74. San Francisco *Californian*, May 29, 1847.
75. *Ide Biography*, pp. 173-74.
76. Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.
77. San Jose *Pioneer*, June 7, 1879.
78. *Ide Biography*, p. 175; Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," p. 11.
79. Jasper O'Farrell, in Los Angeles *Star*, Sept. 27, 1856; Francisco Rico, MS "Memorias Historicas," pp. 19-23 (CUB); *Frémont's Calif. Claims*, p. 28.
80. Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," p. 11.
81. *Ide Biography*, pp. 187-90.
82. Ford, "Bear Flag Revolt," p. 12; German, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.
83. Douglas S. Watson, "San Francisco's Ancient Cannon," this *QUARTERLY*, XV, 58-69.
84. William D. Phelps, *Fore and Aft* (Boston, 1871), pp. 290-91. T. O. Larkin, "Documents," IV, 192 (CUB).
85. 34th Cong., 1st sess., S. *Ex. Doc.* 109, p. 71.
86. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893.
87. Larkin "Documents," IV, 192.
88. Ford deposition, 357 ND 8; Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 294; *Californian*, Mar. 20, 1847.
89. Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
90. John Bidwell, MS "California in 1841-8," pp. 171-74 (CUB).
91. *Ibid.*, p. 173; *Frémont's Calif. Claims*, pp. 28, 35; Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-73.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *History of Napa and Lake Counties, California* (San Francisco: Slocum and Bowen, 1881), p. 393.

94. *Napa County Register*, Feb. 23, 1861.
95. Frémont, *Memoirs*, pp. 530-31.
96. *Napa County Reporter*, Mar. 2, 1861.
97. *Ibid.*; Frederick Hall, *History of San Jose* (San Francisco, 1871), p. 151; 29th Cong., 2d sess., *H. Ex. Doc.* 4, p. 641.
98. *California Star*, July 3, 1847.
99. Frederick Walpole, *Four Years in the Pacific* (London, 1849), II, 217-18.
100. Markham, MS "Journal Extract" (CUB).
101. Frémont, *Memoirs*, pp. 434-44.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 562.
103. John Bidwell, MS "California, 1841-8," p. 178 (CUB).
104. 34th Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 109, p. 17; *Napa County Reporter*, Mar. 9, 1861; Samuel F. Dupont, *Extracts from Private Journal-Letters* (Wilmington, Del., 1885), pp. 34-37.

Bear Flag Lieutenant

*The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related
and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart*

By FRED B. ROGERS

Chapter IV (*Continued*)

The occupation of San Diego by Frémont was as uneventful as that of San Pedro on August 6 by Stockton, who had sailed from Monterey August 1, with a naval and marine force of 360.

Meanwhile, early in July, Castro had made his way south from Santa Clara with a small contingent and had met Gov. Pío Pico at Santa Margarita. The two rivals ostensibly patched up their differences and set about plans for the protection of Los Angeles, the capital. Little success was met. Recruiting was slow, disagreement continued between the civil and military, and between the northern and southern elements. In general there seemed to be a lack of enthusiasm for the cause.

General Castro determined to negotiate if possible and sent two commissioners to Stockton with a statement naming as a condition to negotiations that "hostile movements must be suspended by both forces." Stockton countered with the proposition to Castro that California declare her independence, and stated, "If, therefore, you will agree to hoist the American flag in California, I will stop my forces and negotiate the treaty."

Castro and Pico, unable to bring themselves to submit to Stockton's terms, left Los Angeles separately on August 10, and were off for Mexico. Frémont, leaving a small garrison at San Diego, departed August 8 to join Stockton, whose force he met outside of Los Angeles on the thirteenth. The Americans entered the town the same day and raised their flag without resistance.¹⁰⁵

Since Castro's men had disbanded and had left for the north in small groups, Captains Ford and Swift, with portions of their own companies, were sent to follow up. En route, some of the Californians were captured and paroled, but there is found no confirmation of a statement by Lancey of a "sharp skirmish" near San Luis Obispo.¹⁰⁶

The *Californian*, first newspaper of California, published at Monterey by Chaplain Walter Colton and Robert Semple, noted the arrival there on September 2 of Ford and Swift, who then came under control of Commander William Mervine. The total strength of the two companies, depleted by detachments left in the south, was about forty men. At first it was intended that Ford should return south, for he reported that many of his horses were broken down and unable to perform the journey back to Los Angeles. His needs were ordered supplied from horses left in the north by Frémont. Swift

was first sent to San Juan, but on September 11 was instructed to move south with Ford.¹⁰⁷

Then came an alarm because of the return to California from Oregon by chief Yellow Serpent of the Walla Wallas with about forty of his followers. Reprisals were feared because Yellow Serpent's son had been killed at Sutter's Fort a few winters before. On September 12, Mervine supplied Ford's men with clothing and available ammunition, and ordered Ford to San Juan where he was to unite with Swift and thence proceed to Sutter's Fort, picking up Purser Daingerfield Fauntleroy and his naval detachment if met en route.¹⁰⁸

Up to this time, the men of Ford and Swift, and doubtless all the volunteers in Frémont's battalion, had been serving without pay, "for patriotism alone," and without a definite prescribed period of service. On September 14, Mervine received from Captains Ford and Swift "a joint communication stating that the men under their command considered their engagements fulfilled and refused to march from San Juan until some new arrangements," with Stockton "could be entered into."¹⁰⁹ The reason underlying the communication was not clear to Mervine, but he believed that pay was the issue and therefore wrote to Ford the same day:

Every officer and man, whose services are accepted, is entitled to receive the Rank, Pay and emoluments of the corresponding grades of the Army of the United States—what other terms they desire I am at a loss to conjecture. On receipt of this you will permit every man under your orders, who desires to serve his country, and I may add, their own firesides—on this pressing occasion, to join Capt. D. Fauntleroy who is ordered to proceed instanter, to the Sacramento. . . .¹¹⁰

Meanwhile, the "Walla Walla invasion" proved a false alarm, since Yellow Serpent came to talk and trade, not fight. On September 15, Mervine ordered Fauntleroy to return to Monterey, adding, "You will please notify Capt. H. L. Ford that Commodore Stockton desires to see him."¹¹¹ Whatever may have transpired at the meeting between Stockton and Ford, it is plain that, on the reorganization of the battalion, definite periods of service and pay were provided for.

By the end of September, John Brown, called "Juan Flaco," arrived after a fast and adventuresome ride, bearing to Stockton from the south authentic news of a most alarming nature.

Stockton, believing the situation well in hand, had left Los Angeles for Monterey on September 2. Before departing he appointed Frémont military commandant for California with orders to recruit his battalion to 300 men and to report to Yerba Buena on October 25. Gillespie, made commandant of the southern district, was left with about fifty men at Los Angeles. That number was reduced by the sending of Ezekiel Merritt with a small group to San Diego.

Stockton learned at Santa Barbara of the existence of war with Mexico and arrived at Monterey September 15. Frémont moved north with about forty

men, detached Lieutenant Talbot at Santa Barbara with nine men, and came to the vicinity of Soledad in late September.

On September 2, one Sérbulo Varela and others made an ineffective attack on Gillespie at Los Angeles. The next day Varela, his force grown to over 300, issued a proclamation to the populace urging them to repel the invaders. Gillespie then dispatched Brown with a message to Stockton apprising him of the revolt. Varela was joined by José María Flores as comandante, and by Gen. José Antonio Carrillo and Capt. Andrés Pico. At Chino rancho, east of Los Angeles, on September 27, Varela attacked Benjamin D. Wilson and a party of twenty left by Stockton to protect the San Bernardino frontier. After several casualties on each side, Wilson's force surrendered to Varela. Gillespie, far outnumbered, was allowed by Flores to withdraw from Los Angeles to San Pedro, where he boarded the *Vandalia*. Talbot took to the mountains with his Santa Barbara garrison, while Merritt at San Diego, joined by Bidwell from San Luis Rey, took refuge on the whaler, *Stonington*. Thus, within a period of about ten days, the Americans lost control in the south.

Under orders from Stockton, Captain Mervine sailed from San Francisco Bay with 350 men and arrived at San Pedro on October 6. Gillespie joining, the combined force moved on Los Angeles the next day without mounts or cannon. The Californians were supplied with both, and so served their cannon that a half-dozen Americans were killed and an equal number were wounded. Mervine then returned to San Pedro and boarded his ship. Stockton arrived at San Pedro from the north on October 23, landed there on the twenty-seventh, but changed his mind and went to San Diego early in November, where he remained for a month engaged in consolidating his position and in obtaining horses and beef cattle.¹¹²

About October 13, Frémont, with some 160 men, started south from San Francisco Bay on the merchantman, *Sterling*. Speaking the *Vandalia*, and learning of Mervine's reverse and the lack of available horses in the south, Frémont landed at Monterey on October 28, determined to increase his force, obtain horses, and march overland. On landing, Frémont received word that he had been appointed lieutenant colonel by the President on May 27.¹¹³

There were nine companies in the battalion when its reorganization was completed in November. Besides the companies A, B, and C, commanded respectively by Owens, Ford, and Swift, the following companies were added: D, Capt. John Sears; E, Capt. John Grigsby; F, Capt. Lansford W. Hastings; G, Capt. Bluford K. Thompson; H, Capt. Richard K. Jacob; and an artillery company under Capt. Louis McLane.

After making a long inland detour from Santa Barbara and suffering much hardship, 1st Lieut. Theodore Talbot rejoined and was appointed adjutant, vice Gillespie. Other staff officers were Maj. Pierson B. Reading, paymaster;

Maj. Jacob R. Snyder, quartermaster; Maj. William H. Russell, ordnance officer; Capt. Henry King, commissary of subsistence; Edward Gilchrist, surgeon; and Albert Anselin, assistant surgeon.¹¹⁴

Considerable recruiting for the battalion had continued during Frémont's absence on the *Sterling*. Fortunately, hundreds of emigrants from the east had arrived recently, and many of these enlisted. Sears' and Grigsby's units, both recruited mostly at Sonoma, were composed of settlers and emigrants. Hastings' men were nearly all members of the year's emigration. Thompson's company, recruited in November at San Jose, was from varied sources as will be shown later. Jacob's company, also enlisted in November, "contained a detachment of the tribe of San Joaquin Indians known as the horse-thief tribe," enlisted by Edwin Bryant, who became a lieutenant in the company. Most of McLane's company enlisted at Yerba Buena.¹¹⁵

Within the limits set for this work, it is found possible to detail the background of but few who served with this famous battalion. It is doubtful whether, in general, the members of any other comparable organization of volunteers had such adventuresome careers prior to their entry into the military service of the United States.

On November 11 and 12, Captain Ford had a new experience, that of sitting as one of the five members of a court-martial convened for the trial of three persons charged with lurking as spies. Each of the accused was found not guilty.¹¹⁶

Though some of the men of the battalion brought their mounts, it was essential that Frémont increase his mobility by gathering many horses and much riding equipment. These were necessarily commandeered, but in some instances subordinates failed to give the customary receipts. It was to the interest of enemy Californians to prevent horses from reaching Frémont. Through the latter circumstance occurred the only noteworthy battle casualties sustained by elements of Frémont's battalion during the conquest of California.

On October 23, Flores had appointed Manuel Castro, who had broken his parole, to the position of commandant in the north. Castro moved north and arrived in the vicinity of Soledad, on the Salinas, about November 12 with well over 100 men.¹¹⁷ On the night of November 15-16 a Castro detachment captured Thomas O. Larkin, the American consul, at the rancho of José Joaquín Gómez, some twenty miles northeast of Monterey. Larkin, who was en route to Yerba Buena, was escorted to Castro's camp and was taken south after the battle which followed.¹¹⁸

The Gómez rancho, granted in 1835, was named Vergeles, meaning "flower garden." The best available evidence indicates that Gómez' two-story adobe was located on the east slope of a small, bald hill immediately north of the junction of two creeks now named Gabilan and Mud. The ranch house and the hospitality dispensed there by Gómez are mentioned by



THE SCOUT

By Alexander Edouart (1818-1892)

One of five paintings, which are considered to represent an episode during Capt. Henry L. Ford's service with the California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen.

Reproduced by permission of Frederick Sidney Jones; photographed by William Hawken.



THE CHASE
By Alexander Edouart

many travelers of the early days, Larkin, Sir James Douglas, Dr. William Maxwell Wood, and Lieut. William Tecumseh Sherman, among others. Today, the ground shows only the dim outlines of the house and corral sites.

Adjoining Vergeles on the south, the rancho of Natividad (Nativity) was granted in 1837 to Manuel Butrón and Nicolás Alviso, who built adobe houses bordering the large hill mass on the east. A high hill, now called Sugar Loaf, is the most prominent feature of the terrain and overlooks both ranchos from a position near their common boundary.

While Vergeles is broken by ridges and valleys radiating south from the Gabilan range, Natividad has much level ground, traversed by Gabilan Creek. Cart roads entered Natividad from Monterey and from the upper Salinas Valley and joined about a half-mile south of a lagunita (little lake) near the boundary between the two ranchos. Thence there led over the Gabilan Range to San Juan Bautista three rough trails, one of which followed up Mud Creek past the Gómez place.

Vergeles and Natividad are each somewhat triangular in form, and the two join in an outline roughly resembling that of an hour-glass. It was there that the sands of time ran out for those killed during an engagement known as the battle of Natividad, fought by Americans and Californians on November 16, 1846.

November 15 there arrived at San Juan Bautista two increments of men destined for Frémont's battalion at Monterey. One was a group, under Capt. Charles D. Burrass, of about 34 men from the Sacramento. Burrass escorted a band of horses estimated as high as 500 in number. The other group was of about 35 men, recently recruited at San Jose, under Capt. Bluford K. Thompson. Edward C. Kemble, a member, describes this company and its leader:

The San Jose company was made up of American rancheros, runaway sailors, Englishmen, Germans and negroes—the most motley crew that ever fought under one flag (except a death's head and crossbones) and commanded by a Southern dare-devil, at once a desperado and a gentleman, if you can imagine such a commingling of opposite characters, known as B. K. Thompson, or red-haired Thompson, and sometimes (let me not shock ears polite) as "h--- (infernal pit) roaring Thompson."¹¹⁹

Burrass, with his party, a small cannon, and horses, preceded by a few scouts, moved south through a gap in the Gabilan Range on the morning of the sixteenth and reached the Gómez rancho. The advance party, under Joseph E. Foster, included James Hayes, two Delawares named Tom Hill and Jim Simonds, and several Walla Wallas. This party passed the lagunita, entered the Natividad plain, sighted Castro's force advancing north, and withdrew to a small grove of oaks (encinalito) on lower ground. Castro's men surrounded the oaks and a brisk fight was under way.

Burrass, notified of the predicament of the scouts by some of the Walla Wallas, saw that he was far outnumbered and that it would be folly to attack.

He sent a messenger for the aid of the company at San Juan, and prepared for defense.

Thompson had that morning left San Juan for Monterey with a few men. Taking a different route, he also encountered the enemy, was chased by them, and galloped into the San Juan camp shouting to his men: "Saddle up! Get your horses! We're going to have a fight! Hip—ya!" Then followed a wild scene of catching and mounting the frightened animals. Soon the San Jose company was tearing through the gap, scattering poorly secured gear along the way. It needed no guidon, for in the lead on his iron-grey stud was Thompson, sorrel locks flying in the wind. Soon the command was strung out over several miles, but all joined Burrass.

At the distant grove, occasional puffs of smoke showed that the scouts had not been entirely overcome. Foster had been killed early in the fight, and Hayes was wounded. Tom Hill was lanced in the hand, but tomahawked his opponent. Several Californians had been killed and the Delawares had scalps to prove it. The Californians who were wounded were "raised up" by their comrades with a fine display of horsemanship. Most of the Californians, lances and muskets in hand, could be seen drawn up in the distance, but they showed no inclination to advance on the American main force. The cannon brought by Burrass was found useless, since no charges had been prepared for it.

Thompson was all for an immediate attack, but Burrass declined, pointing out his responsibility for the horses, and the superior numbers and better mounts of the Californians. Finally, accused of cowardice, Burrass agreed. A horse guard of fifteen men was detailed. The men were counted off, and orders were given for the alternate firing and loading by numbers 1 and 2—to insure that half the men would always be prepared to fire.

Burrass then took a position in the lead on Frémont's grey charger, "Sacramento," a present from Sutter to Frémont. Out from the "Garden of the Flowers" trotted, then loped, fifty-five Americans against Californians at least twice their number. The Californians' fire had become quite general when the Americans dismounted and replied.

Had but half the Americans fired at that time and reloaded at once, the ensuing debacle might have been prevented. Nearly all forgot instructions and determined to fire before the enemy could withdraw. Someone cried "Char-r-ge!" In a moment the volunteers were on their horses, "and with empty upraised rifles, rushed pell-mell upon the foe." The Californian center gave way, but their left charged through the helpless Americans—helpless because empty rifles were no defense against lances and loaded weapons in the hands of those fine horsemen. Burrass was shot in the breast and killed. Also killed at this time were Hiram Ames and one Thorne. James Cash, William McGlone and Henry Marshall were wounded. A few Americans had reloaded after their first volley, and these resisted the attack of the Califor-

nians, who did not press their advantage further, but withdrew to the south and left the field to the Americans.

The Delaware, Tom Hill, came out of the oaks, waving the scalps of his victims. A thoroughly chastened Thompson led the Americans back to the Gómez ranch house, taking with him the American dead except Foster.

The casualties on each side had been about equal. The large drove of horses had been saved for Frémont's battalion. Had this not been the case, Frémont's later march south would have been much delayed, with problematical results as to the time, place, and circumstances of the termination of the war in California. Captain Ford later wrote an account of the battle, undoubtedly based on first-hand accounts he obtained. His terse criticism of the American tactics was: "The rifle was never calculated for a charge when it can be used with greater effect at a distance."¹²⁰

Since an attack was feared, Thompson sent Tom Hill and Charley McIntosh, a half-breed, to Frémont at Monterey with information of the situation. The hill at the Gómez place was prepared for defense, and pickets were posted. The cannon was placed on the hill, and loads were prepared. The bodies of the dead, wrapped in blankets, were on the porch of the ranch house. A Frenchman named Dague administered to the wounded. Even a scalp dance of the Walla Wallas failed to dispel the general gloom.

The next morning, the seventeenth, the bodies of Burrass, Ames, and Thorne were buried on the hill, and three volleys were fired over the graves. It was that afternoon when the lookouts reported an approaching force. The companies manned the hill, the little cannon was trained, and coals were brought from a camp fire to enable its discharge. The anxious watchers saw a mounted column emerge from the woods in "perfect order," supported by skirmishers on each flank. At the head was a strange device, an eagle on a field of blue. A bugle played a reasonable imitation of "Yankee Doodle."

The men on the hill broke out in cheers, only to be silenced when the again confident Thompson ordered them to form in open ranks facing inward, to receive their comrades with due ceremony. "Then," says Kemble, "as the bugle played a lively march, and the column began to ascend the hill, the valiant chargers of the Salinas opened their ragged ranks, like Joseph's coat, presented arms of all sorts, shapes, and sizes, and with Fremont at their head . . . the famous battalion of '46 marched through." In the relief force were Owens, Ford, Swift, Sears, Grigsby, and Hastings, with their companies.

The body of Foster was buried, where he fell, at the foot of an oak which was carved with the inscription "FOSTER—1846." A large wooden cross was erected on a hill near the road, probably the hill on which the other American dead were buried. The Californian dead were said to have been buried on the Natividad rancho near the Alviso place.

After some attempt to locate the Californians, Frémont moved to San Juan, where he continued his work of organization and supply. McLane was

sent to Gilroy to mount his cannon.¹²¹ Kemble tells of the equipment and clothing of the battalion:

Officers and men furnished their own horses, so far as they were able, and brought with them into the service their own arms, ammunition and clothing. The weapons were rifles, and in the hands of men generally well acquainted with their use. Some of the sailor volunteers carried the old-fashioned ship's carbine, and there was here and there a musket of revolutionary pattern. The only equipment universally worn was the ancient powder horn, material for which could be picked on the plains anywhere, and the making of which served to while away the time in camp. It was noticeable that Jack, with his carbine or old flint-lock, usually carried the handsomest powder horn, sparing no labor on its ornamentation and polish.

The only article of clothing issued to the battalion by the United States was the sailor's common blue flannel shirt, with broad collar and a star worked with white thread in each corner. This, worn over other clothing and gathered around the waist by the broad, greasy, leather belt—from which was depended hunting knife and pistols—was the only uniform of the battalion. Most of the men wore buckskin trowsers, sometimes fringed down the outer seam with buckskin and red flannel intermixed, moccasins on their feet, and their heads crowned with the broad-rimmed Mexican hat, minus the black oil-silk cover. A narrow band of red flannel around the hat was in high favor among those who, from long life on the frontier seemed to have acquired the Indian fondness for bright colors.

The bullets, "patching" and percussion caps of our riflemen were carried in a pouch of leather or badger-skin, slung over the shoulder and dropping on the left side, opposite the powder-horn. The only other universal article of equipment was the hunting or sheath knife, thrust in its leather case, and, like the spades in General McClellan's army during the late [Civil] war, no weapon carried by the volunteers under Fremont came out brighter at the close of the campaign. Those sheath knives were sword and pruning hook combined, with which we carved our way into the enemy's country, slaughtering his beeves, clearing the ground for camp and preparing food for our mouths. No other domestic article of individual use could be seen around the camp-fire, except at the messes of the highly-favored few, save this knife and a common tin cup. There were company kettles and fry-pans, but usually the beef was roasted on sticks set before the fire, and the mess gathering around attacked it with their knives.¹²²

Here should be corrected any false impression of the battalion that may persist because of the rough dress, the simple habits of its members, and the doings of its least responsible element. This was not merely a cross section, but a sizable portion of those available to represent America on a distant frontier. Most of the volunteers had come overland to California. The physically weak and those lacking in self-reliance and courage had undergone an initial screening upon contemplating the trip to the west. Then there had been a further elimination on the trail. The end product was one of toughened fiber. Even a casual inspection of the available life records of hundreds of the officers and men leads to the conclusion that, on the whole, the five hundred odd who served in this organization at one time or another proved excellent citizen material for the California to come.¹²³

The foregoing remarks, modified as to numbers only, apply no less to the members of the original Bear party, notwithstanding a condemnation dis-

playing in some cases actual umbrage, which they received from Bancroft and others.

Kemble describes the departure of the battalion from San Juan Bautista:

It was now late in November and the rainy season had set in with unusual severity. The battalion was ill-prepared for a Winter campaign even in this hospitable climate. The horses which we were to ride were so poor in flesh that they were certain to fail along the march. The men were insufficiently provided with overcoats and blankets and our commissary was absolutely empty. A scant supply of flour and sugar and cocoa beans were served out at San Juan, and the beef of the country must furnish our staple article of diet. On the 26th [more probably the 28th as Bryant avers] the command was given to break up camp and march, and with our forlorn little flags waving and our single and sorry bugle playing its merriest, the battalion unwound its coil about the mission and stretched out in a southerly direction, leaving the main roads and striking into the hills and canyons. We might have taken at this point an affecting farewell of highways and civilization, for we saw very little of either henceforward until we reached Los Angeles.¹²⁴

With the lesson of Natividad fresh in mind, and with an engineer's eye for terrain, Frémont selected a route almost a model for defense against a mechanized force of today. Says he, "There was no point on the line which I chose for my march from San Juan to San Fernando—no camp by night—where I could have been taken at a disadvantage."¹²⁵

Ten miles were made the first day, and the camp for the night was on an arroyo south of San Juan. The next day camp was made after an eight-mile march in the rain. The foraging party being unable to find beeves in the vicinity, a company was sent back to the mission "and drove in all the cattle in the neighborhood and rejoined us," says Bryant, who had joined meanwhile with his "Horse-thief" recruits. Every afternoon a dozen or more beeves were slaughtered to meet the daily requirement of ten pounds of beef per man. The small store of flour and brown sugar was nearly exhausted, some having "melted away in the rain from the backs of the pack mules." Soon little sweetening remained for the "coffee," made of parched wheat and corn. The forage situation was much worse, for the new grass was too short and the old grass contained little nutriment.¹²⁶

The march was resumed up the San Benito River on December 3, 1846, after the weather cleared. The route used by the battalion in crossing from the San Benito to the Salinas is a matter of conjecture. Frémont says that on December 7 the battalion "descended into the valley of the Salinas," and Bryant agrees that the valley was "reached" on that date. Accepting Bryant's statement that camp was made on December 10 in a grove "three or four miles south" of San Miguel Mission, and accepting his and Grigsby's mileage figures, the camp of the seventh was apparently several miles southeast of the present King City. The march on the fifth, says Bryant, involved the passage of a "deep, brushy mountain gorge through which it was almost impossible to force the field pieces. In one place they were lowered with ropes down a steep and nearly perpendicular precipice."¹²⁷

At San Miguel, says Kemble, "we varied our fare with Mission mutton, and two or three companies were so fortunate as to get a few beans." Up to this time the terrain and the condition of the animals had caused many to march on foot. An order was now issued that all horses be placed in the common drove. On December 12 the entire battalion, from the colonel down, set forth on foot. The same day was captured an Indian, Santa María, a spy in the service of Jesús Pico. Of the Indian's fate after his trial and sentence, Kemble says: "On the morning of the 13th he was led out, the battalion forming three sides of a hollow square, and in the presence of the Indians of a neighboring rancheria, who had been forcibly compelled to attend as witnesses, the reputed dispatch-bearer was blindfolded and shot by a file of men drawn from the horse-guards."¹²⁸

Larkin Stanley of Company D, who had died of typhoid fever the preceding night, was buried the same morning, the battalion attending the ceremony. Then the march was resumed to Santa Margarita. On the fourteenth, after negotiating the pass over the Santa Lucia Range, an afternoon halt was made short of San Luis Obispo. A meal was served preparatory to a night movement on the mission, planned because of the reported presence of insurgents there. The battalion moved under cover of darkness and in heavy rain down onto the plain. Again, more by Kemble:

The companies were now thrown out so as to surround the Mission, and the whole command moved forward at a brisk pace. The watchword was "Jackson." Before we were aware, some of the beleaguering force were inside the walls, while others were beating about in the thick darkness and wind trying to discover the Mission. If the inmates of the old adobes were as much surprised as some of our company officers were when the halt was sounded, our first effort to surprise the enemy could not have proved altogether a failure, though, as a military maneuver, it was not a brilliant success. A few old ladies and black-eyed senoritas were captured, and on a ranch not far distant a party of our men laid hands on Tortorio [José de Jesús] Pico, the only prize taken in this night attack.¹²⁹

On December 15 Pico was brought in to the camp at the mission. There he was tried by court martial for breaking his parole by serving under Flores, and was sentenced to death. William F. Swasey tells that the battalion was ordered to parade on the plaza to witness Pico's execution. The prisoner, with Frémont and other officers, was in a room in the mission when Pico's wife and eight or nine of his children entered, clad in mourning. Swasey continues:

Among the officers present was Captain Richard Owens, that stern warrior, whose heart had never failed in the presence of a living foe, but whose eyes, as those of his brother officers, were now dim. Suddenly, he gave utterance to one word, "Colonel." It broke the spell. Fremont's face instantly relaxed its determined expression, and he exclaimed, "Yes, Dick, we had rather meet a thousand of them in the field to-morrow than take this one life." And, turning to the prisoner, he said, "You are pardoned; you are free." The prisoner immediately fell on his knees at Fremont's feet, and pressed the hem of his garment to his lips, exclaiming in Spanish: "My life is forfeit. You have given it back, and henceforth it shall be devoted to you."¹³⁰

Although some members of the battalion thought it unjust to put the Indian to death and free Pico, the leniency in Pico's case paid returns, as will appear later. Others captured about the same time were released, and Pico accompanied the battalion on the march which was resumed on the seventeenth.

Reaching the sea at Pismo beach, a quite direct and inland course which avoided the coastal Gaviota Pass was laid for Santa Barbara. The route selected by Frémont possibly approximated in reverse that used by him on his trip north in September 1846. It presented no important difficulties except the San Marcos Pass in the Santa Ynez Mountains north of Santa Barbara. On December 18, camp was made at the Nipomo rancho of William G. Dana, and eighteen miles were made up the Santa Maria River on the nineteenth. The next day a short march took the battalion to Benjamin (William Domingo) Foxen's Tinaquaic rancho. On the twenty-first, the divide into the Santa Ynez watershed was crossed, and camp was made about four miles from Santa Ynez Mission and near present-day Los Olivos. Definitely turning away from the last chance to use the easier Gaviota Pass route, Frémont the next day led the straggling battalion fifteen miles up the Santa Ynez Valley.¹³¹

In retrospect Frémont has been criticized for his choice of the more difficult route, some indicating that he wished to avoid the possibility of ambush along the coastal route. Actually Frémont's facilities for gathering information were much inferior to those of the Californians. He did not share the contempt of many of his men for the efficiency of the Californians in open combat. Therefore he chose to approach Santa Barbara from the heights on the north rather than along the more open passageway near the coast. In planning that maneuver he had to consider the fatigue of his men and animals, and the difficulty of moving his cannon through San Marcos Pass by what was merely a short-cut path between the Santa Ynez Valley and Santa Barbara.

(To be continued)

NOTES

105. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 261-281 for a discussion of this campaign in the south. Battalion sick reports, July 31-Aug. 7, 1846, are in "Pacific Slope MSS," II (CST).

106. San Jose *Pioneer*, Nov. 8, 1879.

107. Mervine, Letters Sent Book (NA), to Montgomery, Sept. 12, 1846; to Fautleroy, Sept. 4, 1846; to Swift, Sept. 5 and 11, 1846.

108. *Ibid.*, to Ford, Sept. 12, 1846.

109. *Ibid.*, to Stockton, Sept. 16, 1846.

110. *Ibid.*, to Ford, Sept. 14, 1846.

111. *Ibid.*, to Fautleroy, Sept. 15, 1846.

112. The foregoing additional developments in the south are condensed from Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 303-25.
113. Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York, 1850), pp. 79, 82.
114. Data on units and staff from rolls in (NA) and (C).
115. Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 357; Edward C. Kemble in *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 9, 1871.
116. Proceedings, in Jacob R. Snyder Collection (CSP).
117. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 361-363, for details.
118. Larkin "Docs.," IV, 333, 347.
119. "K." [E. C. Kemble], "The Battle of Salinas," *Sacramento Daily Union*, Nov. 23, 1869. The designation "Battle of Natividad," used by Bancroft, is to be preferred since it fixes the locale on the Natividad rancho.
120. The foregoing account is based largely on Edward C. Kemble, an eye-witness, in *California Star* (San Francisco), Aug. 21, 1847; *Sacramento Daily Union*, Nov. 23, 1869, Nov. 18, Dec. 2, 1871. Among the best Californian accounts consulted are Vicente P. Gómez, MS "Lo que sabe," pp. 31-35, 49-52, 316-33; and José A. Alviso, MS "Recollections concerning the Campaign of Natividad," both in (CUB). Ford's MS "The Battle of Salinas," n.d. [ca. 1854] is in (CSP). Reference to the engagement is condensed in the present work, since Ford did not arrive at the site until the following day, but the outcome had an important relation to Frémont's operations. The full and correctly spelled name of Burrass, often garbled, is obtained from his MS note to Fremont, Oct. 26, 1846, in Liedesdorff papers at (CUB). The full names of Foster and Ames are from records of P. B. Reading, paymaster, at (C).
121. Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 596.
122. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 9, 1871.
123. See Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 595.
124. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 9, 1871.
125. Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 595. For a detailed study see Guy J. and Helen S. Giffen, "Tracing Frémont's Route with the California Battalion . . .," *Quarterly*, Hist. Soc. of Southern Calif., XXII (March 1940), 5-32.
126. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 369.
127. Frémont, "Geographical Memoir upon Upper California," in 30th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Misc. Doc. 5, p. 601; Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 368-72; MS "John Grigsby Papers" (CUB), 9.
128. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 3, 1871.
129. *Ibid.*
130. William F. Swasey, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.
131. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-79.

Bear Flag Lieutenant

*The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related
and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart*

By FRED B. ROGERS

IV. WITH FREMONT'S BATTALION

(Continued)

On the twenty-third the command, marching through rain, reached the San Marcos rancho, from which the ascent of the mountain was to be made. Again we turn to Kemble for a vivid description of hardship and disaster:

The morning of Christmas eve broke cheerily, for all our troubles, and gave promise of a clear day. Enlivened by the prospect of a Christmas dinner of frijoles, and possibly a fat ox from the plains around Santa Barbara, the camp awoke in good spirits at the first blasts of [William D.] Miller's bugle. The order had been issued the night before that we were to cross the mountains that day, and it soon transpired that we were to attempt the passage by a narrow path which had been used in former times when the missions were in their glory, but had of late years been abandoned. It was only a bridle path up steep ascents, and though it presented no serious hardships to foot-soldiers, and was even traveled with tolerable ease by our skeleton mules and horses, it was a road full of difficulty to our company of improvised artillerymen.

The field pieces were dragged up by ropes, and our progress was so delayed by the frequent halts where the acclivities seemed unsurmountable, that the day was well nigh gone before we reached the summit of the mountain. A cold wind swept the heights, the sun went down in a bank of ominous clouds, but there was no help for it. We must pass the night on this rocky crest. The fierce blasts almost blew away our little fires of light manzanita brush, and our larder was as bare as the crags around us. But we had our songs and stories for the night before Christmas, and when the bugle sounded retreat stretched our aching bones and empty bellies under the lee of the rocks, wherever a thin layer of earth or a softer stratum of granite than the rest offered a couch, spreading our tattered and muddy blankets between us and the weather.

At midnight the heavens were overspread with clouds, and the wind, which had freshened to a gale, bore to our ears the hoarse, prolonged roar of the ocean. Our sailor-men lay awake and listened, and predicted the roughest and nastiest kind of weather.

At morn the tempest broke. One glimpse of the great, white, wild sea was vouchsafed to those who were first up, and then the clouds closed over it and we were enveloped in mist and driving rain, and nearly caught up into the air by the fury of the pitiless wind. Out from the clefts of the rocks and from behind sheltering crags crept the haggard and shivering soldiers at the command "fall in." "Forward!" but there was no forward, for the exulting gale fairly pinned us to the rocks when we essayed to move.

Our route lay down the mountain by a path almost as difficult as the ascent had been the day before. For a few moments the men stood irresolute and cowering, and then the column began to melt away and disappear in the driving scud like phantoms. Order and discipline were at an end, and every individual must fight a battle for self. Only two organizations remained intact: the artillery company, and the men detailed for the horse guard. The latter strove in vain to compel the horses and mules to face the blinding storm. They wandered hither and thither along the slippery steeps, conscious of their

danger, shivering with cold and terror, but unable to go forward. A few were led down the path and a few more followed and were then forced to go down the descent. The plucky gunners stuck to their field pieces as long as there was a chance in their favor.

But now new difficulties and dangers beset us. The hurricane raging above our heads began to form torrents and cascades along our track. The narrow mule-path we were following became the bed of a foaming mountain river, which loosened stones and bowlders and unrooted young trees in its course. Men and animals were swept before it. For human life there was a foothold, by clinging to the face of projecting rocks and crawling up the steep gully sides; but horses and mules were actually crushed over precipices and either killed outright or crippled beyond cure. . . . In their half-famished state the strength of our soldiers soon gave out. Shoeless and coatless, and hugging their arms under their thin, ragged blankets, many of them sank down benumbed and exhausted wherever the rocks afforded a shelter. . . .

The foothills were reached at last and on the first strip of level ground the sorry fragments of the now famous battalion huddled together and made their miserable camp. By indefatigable labor and perseverance a few fires were lighted. Some of the veteran frontiersmen had led their company pack mules down the mountain, starting very early in the morning. A few other animals had been washed down the rocks and were grouped, more dead than alive, in a place of partial shelter. The rain still fell, and the wind raved, nor did the storm abate until towards morning.

All night long men struggled into camp. Those who had found tolerable shelter, where they could light fires to keep themselves from freezing, remained on the mountain side; a few had found caves and holes, into which they crept and passed the night. The horse guard battled all the morning with a three-fold enemy, the perils of the weather and road, the obstinacy of the mules and the perversity of horse instinct. They were compelled, in order to save their own lives, to abandon them at last, and numbers of the poor beasts perished on the mountains. The gallant artilleryists made a desperate struggle to bring off their pieces with them, but in the final *sauve qui peut* [let him save himself who can] they left them high and wet, stuck fast in the perilous pathway. . . .

The storm did not abate until after midnight, and as soon as a lull came, every man that was able crept out of his place of refuge and camp fires began to show their cheerful light along the rocky slope, the first pleasant sight we had seen since entering the mountains. Before the first streak of dawn the men were mustered by companies, parties dispatched to the relief of those unable to reach camp, and an effort was made to get together what was left of our tents and camp equipage, to bring in a few beeves from the adjacent plains and to break our long fast and revive our famishing bodies.

The squads sent up into the pass to search for missing comrades were able to report the safety of the stragglers and to help them into camp in various stages of dilapidation and wretchedness, but represented the scenes along the path of our march the day before as sickening. Over one hundred horses and mules were counted, dying and dead, in the track of the battalion. Nearly the whole day was consumed in recovering baggage and bringing down the mountain the surviving animals. Every man and every company had lost something, and a great many soldiers had lost every article of personal property they owned; with the rest of the battalion, they were only too thankful to get off with their lives. . . .

It was late in the afternoon of December 27th before the little column of tattered remnants was again in motion, headed towards Santa Barbara, distant eight or ten miles. . . . The battalion encamped a short distance north of the ancient town, in a grove of oaks near the seashore, and did not move again until the 3d of January. During our encampment at Santa Barbara the boys made up for their Christmas toil and fast by keeping the rest of the holiday season in backwoods fashion—roaring camp-fires at night, fat

sides of beef with salt to season it, bread baked in the ashes or upon sticks, coffee and sugar, and even milk. Never was good fare so keenly relished. Native wine and aguardiente were to be had in the town, but drunkenness and disorder were rare.¹³²

Lieutenant Talbot and his men, who had been forced out of Santa Barbara about three months earlier, now had the satisfaction of raising the American flag over the nearly deserted town.¹³³ There is some evidence that Frémont intended to enter Santa Barbara "with fire and sword," but, if so, he relented and contented himself with ordering searches for arms. Paroles were accepted from such residents as could be induced to return by the foreign townsmen present.¹³⁴ The troops were required to obtain special permission to leave their camp.¹³⁵ Captain Ford was one of twenty-nine officers of the battalion to whom Major Reading administered the oath of office at "camp near Santa Barbara" on December 26.¹³⁶

William H. Davis, a merchant en route from Monterey with a cargo of goods, put in at Santa Barbara after weathering on Christmas day "a tremendous gale of wind from the southeast." Frémont demanded and received from Davis six or seven thousand dollars worth of supplies, including provisions and arms.¹³⁷

On the thirtieth, the schooner *Julia* landed a cannon for use of the battalion, and a rumor circulated that the Californians would oppose Frémont's advance at San Buenaventura. New Year's Day 1847 was celebrated by the Indians of mission and town with a procession and music, including the playing of "Yankee Doodle" for the edification of their visitors.¹³⁸

Although no definite statement to that effect is found, it would seem that by this time Frémont must have received some information of Gen. Stephen W. Kearny's defeat by Californians on December sixth, and possibly of Stockton's planned march from San Diego toward Los Angeles. Kearny, coming overland from Santa Fe with two companies of dragoons, was joined near the Santa Maria rancho by a force of thirty-nine, including Gillespie, a small naval contingent, and twenty-five volunteers under Samuel Gibson, now captain. The latter with about twenty others of Ford's original company had remained south in August. At dawn on December sixth Kearny made an attack at San Pascual on about eighty Californians under Capt. Andrés Pico. The Americans lost eighteen killed and had about an equal number of wounded, of whom three died later, while the Californian casualties were disproportionately small. Among the American casualties of special interest to Ford were these former associates of his: Henry Booker, killed; Gillespie and Gibson, wounded. The same Thomas H. Burgess who was with Ford at Olompali was one of several messengers sent by Kearny to Stockton for aid. A naval group of two hundred arrived on December 11th, and Kearny was thus enabled to reach San Diego the following day. Stockton started north from San Diego with a force of about 600 on December 29th, and the first day of 1847 found him at Buenavista.¹³⁹

On January 3, 1847, Frémont's battalion, rested and better fed, left Santa Barbara and made ten miles eastward along the coast. The next day an advance of only six miles was made along the beach in the vicinity of the Rincón. During the march of the fifth, the *Julia* stood by in order to be of possible assistance. Camp was made in the vicinity of the San Buenaventura mission. There the battalion was called to arms when some Californians were seen on the hill above the mission, but a few shots from McLane's artillery caused the enemy to "scamper away like a flock of antelopes." A party of sixty or seventy Californians were seen "drawn up in order on the bank of the river," during the advance of the sixth to the Santa Clara. American scouting parties were sent into the hills. The Californians cavorted, and Frémont attempted a maneuver without success. The Indian scouts exchanged shots with the enemy who withdrew, but no casualties appear of record.¹⁴⁰

The Santa Clara Valley, now a large citrus belt, was found to be very productive, furnishing beef and beans for the men and corn and grazing for their horses. Passing up the valley, camps were made at Carlos Carrillo's Rancho Sespe on the seventh, at a willow grove near the present Fillmore on the eighth, and on the western part of Antonio del Valle's San Francisco Rancho on the ninth.

On the morning of the latter date, George W. Hamley, master of the whaler *Stonington*, arrived at the willows camp with a letter for Frémont from Stockton, dated San Luis Rey, January 3. Stockton told of his plans for advance upon Los Angeles and warned Frémont against becoming unnecessarily extended during combat with the Californians.¹⁴¹

Events moved rapidly. Stockton, accompanied by Kearny, adhered quite closely to his timetable, for he entered Los Angeles on January 10 after fighting and winning two engagements with Flores, those of the San Gabriel River crossing and the Mesa on the eighth and ninth respectively. On the tenth Frémont, observed by forty or fifty mounted Californians, reached the vicinity of the present Castaic Junction and on the eleventh advanced in a protective formation through the pass leading to the San Fernando Valley. Two Californians from the Mission San Fernando met the advance element of the battalion when it cleared the hills. Receiving from those persons news of the American successes and entry into Los Angeles, Frémont continued and camped at the mission.

Thus Stockton's advance from the south and Frémont's closely watched but unresisted approach from the north constituted a pincer action which convinced Flores and many of the Californians of the uselessness of further opposition. At Los Verdugos a meeting of Californians was held on the eleventh to determine a course of action. At this meeting Frémont's former leniency in sparing the life of Jesús Pico was rewarded. Pico, sent by Frémont, appeared at the meeting and was successful in his plea that the Cali-

fornians negotiate with Frémont rather than with Stockton, who had refused to treat with Flores. Turning over his command to Andrés Pico, Flores left the same day for Sonora.

Representatives of the Californians met with Frémont at San Fernando on January 12, 1847, an armistice was signed, and the following peace commissioners were appointed: for the Americans, P. B. Reading, William H. Russell, and Louis McLane; for the Californians, José Antonio Carrillo and Agustín Olvera. At the rancho of Cahuenga, near which the battalion had moved on the twelfth, articles of capitulation were signed and approved by Frémont and Andrés Pico on the thirteenth. Russell carried the treaty to Los Angeles where it received the approbation of Kearny and the reluctant concurrence of Stockton. Thus ended the conquest of California.¹⁴²

It remains only to record the separation of the California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen from the service of the United States. In late January some officers and men were released—Grigsby, Hastings, and Bryant arriving at San Francisco in mid-February.¹⁴³ Captain Ford was one of nine officers whose resignations were accepted with reluctance on February 13. By March 5, the battalion was reduced to 208 rank and file, with some consolidation of companies.¹⁴⁴ All were discharged by April 19, 1847.¹⁴⁵

Some members of the original battalion had seen action at San Pascual, San Gabriel, and the Mesa. Comparatively few of the reorganized battalion were at Natividad, but all made the long march south and were present at the closing scene at Cahuenga. Henry L. Ford, Granville P. Swift, and Samuel Gibson were among the very few who had the distinction of continuous service from the inception of the Bear Flag revolt—the Arce affair on the Cosumnes.

Altogether, the battalion performed a useful, and in the beginning an indispensable role in support of the American cause in California.

V. OTHER VENTURES

After his release from military service, Ford again went to the Sacramento and, in April 1847, became a partner of William C. Moon, whose ranch then became known as the Moon and Ford Ranch. Moon was an old hunter and trapper who had come to California with the Workman party in 1841 and possibly before in 1834. He had been an associate of "Peg Leg" Smith, who credited Moon with saving his life several times from the Indians "on the Plains." In 1845 Moon squatted between the Saucos and the Capay ranches, but never received a grant. He died at Tehama May 31, 1878.¹⁴⁶

In May 1847, Ford went with John S. Williams to General Vallejo's ranch near Petaluma and helped drive 580 head of cattle and about 200 horses, mares, and colts to the "Larkin's Children" ranch, of which Williams was supervisor.¹⁴⁷ While in Sonoma on that trip, Ford joined a number of others in signing a petition to Gen. S. W. Kearny to appoint William B. Ide to some

office, the latter "being a competent land surveyor and possessing the requisite instruments."¹⁴⁸

John Bidwell is authority for a statement that in December 1847, there was in the Sacramento Valley north of the Buttes a settler population of 58 males and 24 females.¹⁴⁹ In 1848, permanent settlers who were neighbors of Moon and Ford were as follows. On the east side of the valley were Peter Lassen, with whom lived Daniel Sill, Sr., and William Myers, on Deer Creek; A. G. Toomes, at or near the mouth of Mill Creek; and Jacob F. Dye, on Antelope Creek. The northernmost ranch on the west side of the valley was that of Pierson B. Reading at and north of Cottonwood Creek. South of Reading were William B. Ide, south of Redbank Creek; William G. Chard, north of Elder Creek; and R. H. Thomes, south of that creek. South of Thomes and nearly opposite Lassen was the Moon and Ford Ranch. Next came Soto's Capay Rancho, and on Stony Creek were Granville P. Swift and Franklin Sears.¹⁵⁰ All these ranches, most of Reading's excepted, were in Colusi (later called Colusa) County when formed in 1851.

Col. R. B. Mason, governor of California, on January 28, 1848, addressed letters to Henry L. Ford, Granville P. Swift and Bluford K. Thompson, requesting that they raise three companies for service in Lower California. Ford replied on March 15, telling of his lack of success in complying with Mason's request and stating: "The citizens of the United States in California seem to have lost all their patriotism if they ever had any . . . I am always ready to render any service to my country that my humble abilities will allow of and think myself honored in so doing."¹⁵¹

The small pay and unfavorable climate of Lower California, also mentioned by those whom Ford approached, were not the only deterring influences, for gold had been discovered at Coloma in January and the great gold rush was gaining some local momentum. It was not only impossible to recruit, but most difficult to retain in the service those who desired to leave for the diggings.

A gold hunting party consisting of Toomes, Thomes, Swift, Samuel Gibson, Moon, James Meadows, and Dye was organized that spring on the upper Sacramento. An oxcart was loaded with tools, 48 Indian "volunteers" were obtained, and all set off for Feather River with 50 head of beef cattle. Rich diggings were found at Monterey Bar, afterward named Long's Bar. Six weeks of work yielded \$10,000 for each of the seven principals.¹⁵² Long's Bar is said to have had 4,000 diggers at one time.¹⁵³

John Bidwell tells of the continuation of mining that fall and winter by Swift, Gibson, and one Karr, assisted by impressed Indians. Says Bidwell:

If the Indians did not bring in a sufficient amount of gold to suit them, they were whipped. The Indians would often try to escape but were always brought back by these men, and treated like slaves. Swift was one of the best prospectors I ever knew. It seems as if he could almost smell the gold. He made an immense amount of money. When these

three men had worked all winter and fall, I believe they must have had some \$100,000 apiece and may be more. Swift took up the business of stock and sheep raising. Some years later I went over to his place, about twenty miles west of Colusa. I knew he had a great deal of money and I wanted to borrow some. He asked me how much money I wanted and I told him. He said he could not let me have it; his gold was all buried and he wouldn't dig it up, but he had some \$10,000 of that "stuff they call coin." "I have no confidence in that and I would rather let you have that [coin], but the gold I would not dig up for my own father. That is money and I know it."¹⁵⁴

No direct evidence is found that Ford did any mining himself, though it is probable that he assisted in the supply of miners, with beef cattle from his ranch. Ford, coming from the mines, was met by John S. Bradford at Potter's, southeast of Lassen's, on June 26, 1849.¹⁵⁵ Also on September 7, 1850, Ford and others with pack mules passed Lassen's en route to the Feather River mines to get Moon and his Indians from Nelson Creek, a place described as "literally speckled with gold."¹⁵⁶

Though nominated for the first legislature of California as assemblyman from the Sacramento District, Ford failed of election. Extended personal electioneering on his part was impracticable because he was engaged during the fall of that year in the relief of emigrants, as detailed later.¹⁵⁷

By 1850, Nathaniel Merrill, a cousin of Ford, had arrived at the Moon and Ford ranch and was employed as clerk, bookkeeper, and ferryman.¹⁵⁸ In 1852 he became postmaster at the same place.¹⁵⁹ Merrill and August Eastman took up farming on the ranch, which in 1852 had an assessed valuation of \$15,580.¹⁶⁰

In the first chapter it has been noted that certain letters addressed to Noah E. Ford were received at San Francisco in 1847 and 1848. It is of interest that in 1850 a letter to his nephew, William Ford, was written by Henry. Commencing to sign as Henry, he lined out the "H" and signed "Noah E. Ford."¹⁶¹

In 1850 Ford was elected secretary of the upper Sacramento division of the Society of California Pioneers and in 1854 he became one of the vice-presidents of the society.¹⁶² He was member number 572 of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851, proposed as such by L. Tuffs, but no record is found of Ford's activities in that connection.¹⁶³

In September 1851 Ford was elected the first assemblyman from the newly formed Colusi County, receiving 47 of the 98 votes cast in that sparsely populated county. Granville P. Swift was the first county treasurer, and William B. Ide was the county judge.¹⁶⁴ Ford's legislative experience seems to have been of a routine nature. His joint resolution, "instructing our Senators and Representatives in Congress in regard to an appropriation for improving the navigation of the Sacramento river," failed of passage. He was granted a few short leaves, several of which enabled him to testify in land grant cases before the federal land commission.¹⁶⁵ In all, Ford appeared as a witness in fourteen such cases during the years 1852 to 1856. His testimony

then given fortunately enables the tracing of many of his movements and activities from 1843 to 1847.¹⁶⁶

By 1852 Ford was the assessed owner of a 50-vara lot in San Francisco, corner of Fremont and Harrison streets, on which was built the home occupied by "General" John Wilson and family.¹⁶⁷ At one time Ford owned, under the following circumstances, a large part of the area now occupied by the city of Albany. In 1852 he bought from Vicente Castro some 600 acres in the southern part of Rancho de San Pablo, in Contra Costa County, and the following year deeded half of this interest to Jacob R. Snyder, former quartermaster of the California Battalion. Ford disposed of his holding to Maj. Robert Allen in 1857, apparently in settlement of a debt to Allen.¹⁶⁸ The same year Ford sold 1280 acres on the Sacramento, this being his interest in the Moon and Ford ranch, and also sold 500 acres which were originally a part of the Lassen rancho.¹⁶⁹

VI. THE WILSONS

Having discussed various activities of Ford from 1847 beyond the middle 'fifties, it is now possible to tell without interruption the story of an important phase of his life—his relations with the Wilson family. For this purpose return is made to the year 1849.

Because of the great overland emigration under way to the California gold fields, and in order to prevent a recurrence of extreme suffering such as was experienced by the Donner party during the winter of 1846-1847, Gen. Persifor F. Smith in the fall of 1849 set up a fund of \$100,000 for the relief of parties due to cross the mountains late that year. Citizens of San Francisco and many others, including miners, also contributed money and provisions. General Smith placed Bvt. Maj. Daniel H. Rucker, a quartermaster, U. S. Army, in general charge of the relief operations. John H. Peoples was in direct charge under Rucker of relief along the Lassen trail.¹⁷⁰

Among the parties which took the circuitous Lassen route to California was that of "General" John Wilson, a resident of Missouri who had been appointed Indian agent at "Salt Lake, California," and naval agent at San Francisco.¹⁷¹ The party consisted of Wilson and his wife, Anne R.; their sons, William Henry, Micajah D., and Robert; and their daughters, Mary Eliza and Susan Anne.¹⁷² Other parties accompanied Wilson's for a portion of the route. The Wilson train included Robert Thompson the wagon master, and eight drivers for Wilson's carriage and wagons.¹⁷³

Bvt. Col. William W. Loring, commanding the regiment of Mounted Rifles then at Fort Leavenworth, was ordered by the war department to furnish a military escort for the journey.¹⁷⁴ The Wilson effects, consisting of many bales, trunks, and boxes, were shipped by the "good Steamboat Tamerlane" from Glasgow, Missouri, to Fort Leavenworth, and there the party was assembled for the trip.¹⁷⁵ Ordnance, tentage, 3 horses, 50 mules, 7 wagons, and other items of equipment were issued to Wilson.¹⁷⁶



BLACK HORSE RIDER
By Alexander Edouart



THE DEATH
By Alexander Edouart



RETURN TO CAMP

By Alexander Edouart

These three reproductions of paintings by Alexander Edouart complete the series begun in the December *QUARTERLY*.

The parties got under way June 5, 1849, with the escort commanded by Bvt. Capt. Robert M. Morris. The trip to Fort Bridger seems to have been uneventful except for increasing tension between the crusty "general" and his escort commander, partly because of squabbles as to who should do guard duty and when, but also because Morris did not accord Wilson a deference equal to that shown a doctor who had been allowed to accompany as surgeon of the train. In Wilson's final report he testily dubbed Morris an "inexperienced, vain and dictatorial, puffed up young lieutenant."¹⁷⁷

Arriving at Fort Bridger August 21, Wilson on the next day wrote a letter to the secretary of the interior, principally on the subject of the Indians of the intermountain region.¹⁷⁸ From this point, the party moved to the vicinity of Great Salt Lake where, on September 1, Captain Morris became apprehensive because of "the advanced state of the season" and requested Wilson's plans for further progress and information whether transportation thence was to be by pack or wagon.¹⁷⁹ The decision was to continue with wagons.

On September 6, Wilson had a meeting with President Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders to whom Wilson conveyed a plan of President Zachary Taylor for the temporary joining of upper California and Deseret in a state which would declare against slavery. Young appointed Amasa Lyman as his representative to work with Wilson in California to gain this end, but the scheme was later defeated by the opposition of Gov. Peter H. Burnett and the legislature of California.¹⁸⁰

The Wilson party proceeded to Goose Creek, from which point Captain Morris went to Fort Hall for fresh animals. After his return, the squabble over guard duty came to a head on September 25. Morris discharged a number of teamsters for Wilson's transportation; Wilson rehired them and dismissed the escort including Morris, who retaliated by refusing to transfer rations requested by Wilson.¹⁸¹ Joel Palmer, who had just traveled over a portion of the Lassen route with a government train from Oregon, was then hired as a guide by Wilson at a cost stated by Wilson as \$2,000, and by Palmer as \$1,500.¹⁸²

At Lassen Meadows the party left the main trail leading down the Humboldt and took the Lassen route, said to have been "indicated by a post on the desert sands . . . inclined at an angle of forty-five degrees, across which was nailed a shake bearing the legend 'Lassen Road' to woo the unwary emigrant from the crooked and broad way he had been travelling."¹⁸³

The heavily laden Wilson train moved westward by short daily marches via Antelope Springs and Rabbit Hole Springs to Black Rock Desert, also known as Mud Lake. Crossing that desert and rounding Black Rock, the route led northwesterly by way of High Rock Lake and High Rock Creek to 49 Lake, west to the present California-Nevada boundary, northwest between Upper and Lower Lakes, and north to Fandango Pass, immediately west of the present Fort Bidwell. It was northeast of this pass, on September 26, 1849, that Indians killed Lieut. William H. Warner, topographical en-

gineer, and his guide, and wounded two of his party, one dying later. Along the trail were the graves of those who died before reaching the land of promise. There were the bodies of many dead oxen, some, bristling with Indian arrows, resembling huge pincushions.

At Fandango Valley, east of Goose Lake, on or about October 19, Indians drove off twenty-nine mules of the poorly guarded Wilson train, and only seven were recovered. This loss caused Wilson to cache at that point about half of his baggage including his law library, some fifty volumes of which were salvaged the next year by Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, 2d Infantry.¹⁸⁴ The loss of the animals was serious. Although the party had passed the divide between the great interior basin and Pit River, there was still ahead a long trip of about 225 miles over much rugged terrain.

Described in present-day nomenclature, the route which Wilson yet had to travel to Lassen's led southerly to the vicinity of Alturas, southwesterly down Pit River to Bieber, then southerly, passing east of Lassen Peak across the headwaters of Pine Creek and Susan River and over a divide into the headwaters of the north fork of Feather River to a point a few miles west of Westwood. Thence the route led southwest over ground now inundated by the waters of the central neck of Lake Almanor, west to Deer Creek Pass, down into the upper valley of Deer Creek, up on the ridge between Deer Creek and Mill Creek, and southwest on that ridge over a "mountain desert" to Lassen's place about a mile from the mouth of Deer Creek near Vina. There were, of course, many detours and variants.

Thievish Indians, always troublesome in the Pit River country, grew bolder and added to the difficult situation of the straggling tail of the season's emigration, impeded as it was by its poorly nourished and fast-weakening animals. Then too, there was the ominous possibility that the emigrants be delayed or even marooned because of the fall rains and early snows.

Meanwhile, organization of the relief parties had been effected, and their work was under way. Henry L. Ford was among those who joined in the relief operations along the Lassen trail. Peoples, in his reports to Rucker, made frequent reference to an assistant whom he named as E. H. Todd, calling him "Captain" and "one of the most experienced of men," which description also fits Ford as far as it goes. J. Goldsborough Bruff, who traveled and camped for quite a period on the trail at the time, and who was a careful recorder of events, mentions Ford in his diary but not Todd. On one occasion at least, there was a curious similarity between the recorded movements of Todd and Ford. Perhaps there is a simple but not presently obvious solution of these coincidences.¹⁸⁵

Peoples started from Sacramento on September 15, collected his men, supplies and animals, left Lassen's for the mountains on the twenty-second, and reached Deer Creek Valley on the twenty-fifth. He came to Feather River Valley the next day and made good progress until the thirtieth, when he and

three of his men became sick with mountain fever. Sending two of those men back, Peoples gained the Pit River next day, when Indians drove off six of his best animals. Unable to continue because of the fever, Peoples accepted a place in the wagon of a Dr. Austin and "started back on the morning of the 7th October, with the Washington City [Bruff's] train, first having turned over the command of the party to E. H. Todd." Peoples instructed Todd to go to the rear of the emigration, at least as far as Mud Lake, east of the Sierra Nevada, unless "well advised that all the emigration is over this side of it."¹⁸⁶

Meanwhile Rucker, realizing that there would be greater distress on the long Lassen route, had himself left Sacramento and had arrived at Lassen's. He managed to get four wagons with supplies through to Feather River Valley by October 10 and there he established a small depot of supplies. Thence, on the thirteenth, he sent a Mr. Hicks to the rear of the emigration with a circular advising emigrants to lighten their loads and rush on to Feather River Valley, there to recruit their animals and cut grass to last them from Deer Creek Valley through the "mountain desert" to Lassen's. The next day Rucker was stricken with mountain fever, but continued to Pit River. There on the twentieth, he was forced to turn over immediate command to Peoples, who had rejoined after a partial recovery from the fever. Rucker returned to Feather River and on October 27 left for Sacramento to continue his general supervision.¹⁸⁷

On October 21, Todd came into Peoples' camp on Pit River and reported that he had issued all his provisions and had seen the last of the emigration over the divide. Peoples wrote Rucker that he would take Todd with him, go up river several days with wagons and beef cattle, and establish a camp. Peoples added, "Mr. Lord [*sic*] came down with the men, and helped to stand guard and furnished them more provisions. As he was riding one of Todd's own horses, I told him to take it down to you at Feather River."¹⁸⁸

By this time the Indians had become a serious menace. Todd reported that on the nineteenth, despite his warning, "Indians came into a sleepy camp and drove off all the cattle." On the twenty-second, Peoples learned of the loss of the cattle belonging to the St. Louis train, and of the loss of some of Wilson's animals on the nineteenth. Early on the twenty-sixth, Indians drove off all of Peoples' beef cattle.¹⁸⁹

There appears to be no specific record of the progress of the Wilsons, October 19—November 2, 1849; therefore Peoples' experiences on his return trip to Feather River will be outlined. The Wilson party could not have preceded him by more than a few days at most, and elements of that party may have been separated at times. On the twenty-sixth, the St. Louis family train came into Peoples' camp. Placing the women and children in his own wagon, he started for Feather River. At midnight "Indian fires blazed up simultaneously from every elevated point." Believing that the In-

dians intended a concerted effort to drive off all the stock, and seeing Indians around the nearest fire, Peoples sent out a party under Young, an Oregon man, to attack the Indians from the rear. Young was successful, killing six Indians and wounding others. The march was resumed on October 27. On the thirtieth, snow and rain fell. The next day all the grass was covered with snow so that the animals could not feed. More snow fell. Peoples reached East Spring, Feather River, on November 1, and drove his mules to a place where the grass was too high to be covered by the snow. Returning to his wagons the next day, he found there the rear of the emigration, including Wilson and his party, all of whom Peoples urged to move on.¹⁹⁰

Wilson had brought his carriage to this point, so Peoples gave him two mules for the vehicle with advice that he abandon his wagons and pack his mules lightly. But, says Peoples, "He [Wilson] did not agree with me, and that night he lost all his mules in the storm whilst mine were safely sheltered in the valley."¹⁹¹

It was now a matter of getting out of the mountains alive, regardless of property. Wilson cached his remaining goods and started his son, William Henry, on foot for Lassen's to get more mules.¹⁹² It seems that it was about this time that Mrs. Wilson put her son, Micajah, under the "special charge" of Joel Palmer, the guide. Palmer, with a few others, became detained in the Feather River country for some three weeks because of an accident in which James Brown, one of Wilson's teamsters, lost an arm by amputation following the accidental discharge of his shotgun.¹⁹³ Micajah stayed with Palmer for a while, but rejoined his family, as will appear later.

At some time during the traversing of the Lassen Trail by the Wilsons, Henry L. Ford rode into one of the Wilson camps and saw for the first time brown-haired Susan Anne Wilson, a young lady of nineteen. Mary Eliza states Henry said later that "before he dismounted he made up his mind that if my sister would marry him she would be Mrs. Ford as soon as she liked." Susan's immediate reaction is not recorded. Mary Eliza places the locale of this incident as "on a river which he [Henry] named Susan's after sister; Susanville is on that river."¹⁹⁴ So the name of Susan Anne Wilson must be added to the names of several other Susans for whom the river and the town were asserted to have been named.¹⁹⁵

Bruff had established a camp on the Lassen Trail about thirty-two miles from Lassen's. Because of Bruff's careful records, his camp becomes a convenient check-point for movements of parties on the trail. He states that Ford came into the camp on October 26 with a wagon and some pedestrians and left the next day for Lassen's.¹⁹⁶

At Feather River on November 3, Peoples "laid by." He dismounted his own party on the fourth, hitched mules to four wagons, and with "healthy women mounted on mules" left Feather River Valley with "every woman, child and sick man." The going was hard, for the snow melted, causing the

wheels to sink in. At night the wind shifted to the north, and fires were built around the weakened animals, huddled in an all-night snowfall.¹⁹⁷

The next morning, Deer Creek was crossed with much difficulty, and camp was made four miles beyond, on the mountain.¹⁹⁸

On the morning of the sixth, eight or ten mules were dead. Says Peoples, "Several healthy ladies refused to go on mules in consequence of the storm and others because they had no side saddles to ride on. To such I gave to understand that on my return, I should pay little attention to them." Whether or not the Wilson ladies were among the dissidents, it seems that it was at this camp that John Wilson determined to await arrival of the animals, for which he had sent his son William to Lassen's.¹⁹⁹

Taking some of the women, Peoples made eight or ten miles through deep snow on the sixth and, late the next day, reached his base camp near Lassen's.²⁰⁰

On the morning of November 11, William Wilson and a few men, with mules obtained from Lassen and William Myers, reached Bruff's and passed on to the Wilson camp. The next evening the Wilson party came to Bruff's. The hospitable Bruff provided tents for the family; the others slept in wagons or around the campfire; and the party left on the thirteenth. The mules, brought by William, proved of little use because of the condition of the trail; three of the eight obtained were lost, and the whole party was forced to walk.²⁰¹

"About midnight a little before" on November 15, well over five months out of Fort Leavenworth, the John Wilson party reached the ranch of Peter J. Davis, about three miles from Lassen's, "without a mouthful of provisions." Davis seated all to a meal which, if similar to that served there to many other weary travelers, consisted of beefsteak and milk gravy, coffee, cream, milk, and butter—lots of butter for the hot biscuits and potatoes.²⁰²

When the Wilsons gathered around the table, spread with its white cloth and set with china, surely the "general" said grace, giving thanks for the happy ending of a trying ordeal, and ending with a prayer that "Cage" might soon and safely rejoin them from the mountains. Maybe Susan silently added a similar prayer for Henry Ford, whom she had passed below Bruff's when he was bound up the trail on more relief work.

The task of Peoples was not at an end, since many remained on the trail to be succored. On November 12, at Davis Rancho, he had in writing ordered E. H. Todd to take mules, work-cattle, and rations back on the trail, to assist weak and infirm persons and, if possible, to bring back the three wagons left at the camp near Deer Creek Valley. Todd started on the morning of the thirteenth.²⁰³

On the sixteenth, a relief party in charge of Ford—Todd is not mentioned—arrived at Bruff's with a note from Peoples dated the twelfth, stating that he was sending Bruff some provisions and a bottle of whiskey. Ford reported

that the provisions were on a mule left stuck in the mud. It appears that the whiskey failed to reach Bruff, but Ford gave him a poor substitute, a small bottle of sour wine.²⁰⁴ As an aside, it may be noted that in the early days there was an inordinate "loss" of liquor in transit, to the resultant detriment of supposed consignees. So disturbing did this situation become, that one army surgeon was led to complain: "The loss of wine, brandy, and other liquors is so constant and so great, and the arrival of the intended supply of these articles so irregular . . . that it is questionable whether these groceries should be continued as an article of supply."²⁰⁵

Micajah Wilson came to Bruff's with another man on the twentieth, and undoubtedly rejoined his family a few days later. On the twenty-eighth, the injured Brown and three others arrived at Bruff's and left the next day. One of these groups probably included Joel Palmer, since he seems to have appeared at Lassen's for a deal to be described later.²⁰⁶

By about the nineteenth, "Captain Todd" had advanced the rear of the emigration to the vicinity of Bruff's. All emigrants, except those who preferred to camp in the foothills where game was plentiful, had reached the settlements by November 27.²⁰⁷

Prior to the work of Read and Gaines on the Bruff papers, historians had given scant attention to the relief of the 1849 emigration on the Lassen Trail, an operation so successfully concluded. True, part of the story is in old printed documents, but perhaps some day the end of the trail will be marked with a fitting tribute to the heroic work of John H. Peoples and his men. For the present the following estimate of his men by Peoples must suffice:

They did everything that men could do to facilitate the progress of the family train; and although not one of the party had a dry blanket, or dry clothes for half a month, there was no complaint, but the harder the service, the greater the exertion. At every river or slough they stood ready to wade over, with the women and children in their arms; and even after reaching the settlements, many of them took money out of their own purses and gave to the destitute. . . . To Corporal Gessner and Mr. Todd I am greatly indebted, for they have rendered me infinite service.²⁰⁸

Gen. Persifor F. Smith added: "His [Peoples'] notice of the self-denying activity of the teamster and other persons employed in aiding the sick and feeble, will give unbounded satisfaction wherever it is read."²⁰⁹

"Old Pete" came in for his share of praise as well as condemnation from travelers of his trail, one of whom wrote:

Had Peter Lassen been within reach of any of the immigrants travelling his "cut off" before reaching his settlement he would have been hung to the first tree without benefit of clergy or conscientious compunction, so great was the indignation of those worn travellers. But he redeemed himself. . . . We reached his settlement in an exhausted and famished condition. He had his herds of cattle driven up and told the immigrants to shoot for all the meat they wanted and, though flour was worth \$1.50 per pound, he opened the doors of his storehouse and told the hungry to help themselves. If they had no money they should have bread.²¹⁰

During John Wilson's stay of about two weeks in the vicinity, he had

ample opportunity to learn from Lassen and from Ford the story of Lassen's "Bosquejo," the most noted ranch of the time on the upper Sacramento. Peter Lassen, a Danish blacksmith, came to California in 1840 and then went to Sutter's Fort and other places in northern California. In 1843, in company with John Bidwell and others, he visited and selected this ranch of five leagues, granted to him the following year. As finally determined through court action, it was a strip of land on the east bank of the Sacramento, about three miles wide and extending from a compromise line near Deer Creek south to the vicinity of the present Nord. He drove stock to the place in the fall of 1843 and first located on the north side of Deer Creek, but gave land there to Daniel Sill and developed a large establishment on the south side of the creek. The Sill place was used temporarily by Peter Davis while Sill was east in 1849. Ford says that in May 1844, Lassen had a house and blacksmith shop, corral, and small wheat field on the south side of Deer Creek, and had 180 head of cattle and almost 100 head of mules. In October of the same year Lassen built a large corral and in 1847 built an adobe house on the south side, immediately on the creek and about a mile from the Sacramento. By then, irrigation canals had been added, also a horse-power grist-mill, where Lassen ground for his neighbors. William B. Ide made a survey of the ranch during the winter of 1845-1846.²¹¹ While at Lassen's, Henry Ford gave John Wilson a memorandum about "Indians at Lassen's, Ford's and tribes not known."²¹²

Wilson was so impressed with the first California ranch he saw that he readily assented when, as he says, Peter Lassen "put it at me to buy an interest" in the ranch. A deal was made whereby Wilson and Joel Palmer bought two-thirds interest in the place, Lassen to receive \$15,000 from each in five years from January first next, without interest. Palmer went to Oregon but failed to return the next February as planned.²¹³ Col. Charles L. Wilson joined with John Wilson in the deal.²¹⁴ Henry Ford also obtained an interest in the ranch at a time not stated.²¹⁵ William H. Wilson was left at Lassen's to look out for his father's share in the place and was joined there by Micajah in the spring.²¹⁶

(To be continued)

NOTES

132. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Dec. 9, 1871, Jan. 6, 1872.
133. James M. Cutts, *The Conquest of California and New Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1847), pp. 161-62.
134. William A. Streeter, MS "Recollections," pp. 75-81 (CUB).
135. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-84.
136. MS in collection of Mr. and Mrs. C. Jackson Zane.
137. William H. Davis, MS "Glimpses of the Past," pp. 356-60 (CUB).
138. Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

139. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 326-56, 386. See also Arthur Woodward, *Lances at San Pascual* (Calif. Hist. Soc., Sp. Publ. No. 22, 1948).
140. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-94, is the principal authority for the march from Santa Barbara to Los Angeles. See the Giffens, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-29 for camp locations.
141. Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 601; 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 33, pp. 73, 403.
142. The closing incidents of the campaign are told in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 386-410, which see for many references.
143. "John Grigsby Papers" (CUB); "Fort Sutter Papers," MS No. 102. Thirty Indians discharged Jan. 27, 1847. List in "Reading Papers" (C).
144. 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 33, p. 63.
145. 31st Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 24, p. 22h. A roster of Frémont's battalion and other California volunteers in the U.S. service during the Mexican War has been prepared by the present writer for publication by the Society of California Pioneers.
146. 367 ND 25; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 743-44; *Sacramento Union*, May 19, 1858; *History of Tehama County*, p. 53; *Tehama Tocsin*, June 1, 1878.
147. 115 ND 12; Williams to Larkin, June 17, 1847, "Larkin Docs.," V, Pt. 2, p. 161 (CUB).
148. "Archives of Calif.," Unbound Docs., A63, p. 67 (CUB). The petition was successful, for Col. R. B. Mason appointed Ide surveyor for northern California. *California Star*, July 3, 1847.
149. Bidwell to Sutter, Dec. 21, 1847, "McKinstry Papers," p. 13 (CUB).
150. *History of Tehama County*, pp. 11-15, 57.
151. 31st Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 17, pp. 469, 470; Ford to Mason, Sonoma, Mar. 15, 1848, 10th Mil. Dept. Misc., F-5-1848 (NA).
152. *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 22, 1869.
153. Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, VI, 362, n. 29.
154. Bidwell, MS "Dictation," pp. 57, 58 (CUB).
155. Bradford came from Benicia to Benicia Moon and Ford's ranch with a view to placing a mercantile establishment there. John S. Bradford, MS "Diary" (C).
156. Georgia W. Read and Ruth Gaines, eds., *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff* (New York, 1944), II, 839.
157. *Placer Times* (Sacramento), Nov. 3, Dec. 1, 1849.
158. Warren N. Woodson, *Trail of the Trail Blazers* (Corning, n.d.), pp. 12, 13.
159. *Shasta Courier*, Mar. 19, 1853. Biographical sketch of Merrill is in *Daughters of the American Revolution, California*, MS "Records of the Families of California Pioneers," VI, 361 (C).
160. *History of Tehama County*, p. 20; Justus H. Rogers, *Colusa County* (Orland, 1891), p. 74.
161. Noah E. Ford to Wm. A. Ford, San Francisco, Aug. 8, 1850.
162. *Pacific News* (San Francisco), Oct. 23, 1850; Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 19.
163. Porter Garnett, ed., "Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance," *Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., Pubs.*, I, No. 7 (July 1910), p. 49; II, No. 2 (July 1911), p. 7.
164. J. H. Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 71.
165. Calif. Assembly, 3d sess., *Journal* (1852), pp. 5, 87, 153, 233, 263, 433, 611.
166. Numbers of the cases were 4, 38, 115, 121, 319, 356, 357, 358, 360, 367, 384, 417, 423, 427, ND.
167. Tax receipt, Dec. 4, 1852, "John Wilson Papers" (CUB).
168. L. C. Wittenmeyer, *Complete Search and Abstract of Title to the Rancho San Pablo* (San Francisco, 1867), pp. 47, 48, 63, 140 and map; Ford to Snyder, July 21, 1852, "Snyder Collection" (CSP).

169. Tehama County, "Deeds," Book A, pp. 263, 265; "Snyder Collection," Ford to Snyder, Apr. 20, 1857 (CSP), in which Ford stated that he owned 125 head of American cows and 40 horses, presumably kept on one or both these ranches.

170. Reports of Smith, Rucker, Peoples, and others of the relief operations are in 31st Cong., 1st sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 52, pp. 85-182, here cited as *Relief Report*. Mention of aid by citizens in *Pacific News*, Sept. 8, 1849, and Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *op. cit.*, p. 286. For Peoples' death by drowning near the present site of Crescent City, Calif., on March 27, 1850, see Fred B. Rogers, *Soldiers of the Overland* (San Francisco, 1938), pp. 5-8.

171. Letter, Office Ind. Affairs, to Wilson, Apr. 7, 1849 (NA); *Navy Register*, 1850. John Wilson, lawyer and Whig politician, was born at Knoxville, Tenn., Feb. 27, 1790, and died at Suisun, Calif., Feb. 2, 1877. San Jose *Pioneer*, Feb. 10, 1877. He served as sergeant in Capt. Samuel Doak's company, Virginia militia, in 1814. Pension records (NA). If he was identical with the John Wilson who had short service as inspector general with a few companies of Missouri militia during the Black Hawk war, that would account for his being called "general." 25th Cong., 2d sess., House *Report* 52, pp. 1-2. For much on Wilson and his family see Frederick A. Culmer, ed., "California Letter of John Wilson, 1850," *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XXIV, 200-13, and Culmer, "'General' John Wilson, Signer of the Deseret Petition," this *QUARTERLY*, XXVI, 321-48. The "John Wilson Papers," (CUB), include correspondence and expense vouchers pertaining to Wilson's overland trip to San Francisco in 1849.

172. Anne R. Pulliam married John Wilson Nov. 27, 1825, in Saline County, Mo. Certificate in "Wilson Papers." She died at San Francisco, Aug. 21, 1886. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Aug. 23, 1886. William Henry Wilson died in the fall of 1851 of dysentery, contracted in the California mines. Culmer, "'General' John Wilson . . .," p. 341. Mary Eliza married Ferdinand O. Wakeman Oct. 2, 1854, and died at Santa Cruz Sept. 29, 1897, aged 65 years. Her Bible, and Laurel Hill (San Francisco) Cemetery records. Micajah D. Wilson later served with William Walker, the filibusterer, who stated that Micajah's "conduct in Nicaragua was admirable." Oakland *Post Enquirer*, Mar. 20, 1928. Mary Eliza stated that William and Micajah attended the universities of Princeton and Missouri, respectively, and that Robert died in Denver, date not given. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893. Micajah died at Ukiah, Calif., Oct. 29, 1862. *Mendocino Herald* (Ukiah), Oct. 31, 1862.

173. "Wilson Papers," vouchers.

174. *Ibid.*, R. Jones to Loring, April 3, 1849.

175. *Ibid.*, vouchers and bill of lading.

176. *Ibid.*, various records of issues.

177. Wilson to Thomas Ewing, Secy. Int., Dec. 22, 1849 (NA).

178. 31st Cong., 1st sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 5, pp. 1002-1004.

179. "Wilson Papers," Morris to Wilson, Sept. 1, 1849.

180. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 446-47; *Americana*, VII, 1313-54; Calif. Sen. *Journal*, 1st sess., pp. 429-36.

181. Wilson to Ewing, Dec. 22, 1849.

182. *Ibid.*; "Wilson Papers," Palmer voucher; Joel Palmer, MS "Wagon Trains," pp. 44-45 (CUB).

183. *History of Plumas, Lassen and Sierra Counties* (San Francisco: Fariss and Smith, 1882), p. 333. Standard works on the Lassen Trail are Bruff's *Gold Rush*; Alonzo Delano, *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings* (Auburn, 1854); Irene D. Paden, *Prairie Schooner Detours* (New York, 1949).

184. Wilson to Ewing, Dec. 22, 1849; Lyon's report, Nov. 1, 1850 (NA).

185. An A. H. Todd, who came to California in June, 1849, organized an express to serve the mines in July and went to Oregon the same year. His MS "Statement" (CUB).

186. *Relief Report*, pp. 117, 118.
187. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-50.
188. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.
189. *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 130.
190. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.
191. *Ibid.*, p. 120. The teamsters who accompanied Wilson to California are named in a voucher in "Wilson Papers."
192. Wilson to Ewing, Dec. 22, 1849. In 1850, Capt. Lyon found that Wilson's Feather River cache had been opened and the contents destroyed or damaged. Lyon's report, Nov. 1, 1850.
193. Joel Palmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.
194. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893; Jan. 16, 1894.
195. Among other Susans mentioned for the honor are: an otherwise unidentified Susan who passed through the country with a train in 1852; Susan, daughter of Isaac Roop; and a Susan DeWitt. Roop mentioned Susan River in describing his claim there in 1853. Fariss and Smith, pubs., *op. cit.*, p. 340. "T—," writing from Honey Lake July 30, 1857, asserts the river was named for Susan Noble, wife of the discoverer of Noble Pass. *Petaluma Weekly Journal*, Sept. 4, 1857.
196. *Gold Rush*, I, 234, 242, 243.
197. *Relief Report*, p. 120.
198. *Ibid.*
199. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 132.
200. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
201. *Gold Rush*, II, 636-38; Wilson to Ewing, Dec. 22, 1849.
202. Voucher for meals furnished by Peter Davis, \$32.00, Nov. 15, 1849, in "Wilson Papers"; W. A. Chalfant, *Outposts of Civilization* (Boston, [1928]), p. 168.
203. *Relief Report*, pp. 103, 121.
204. *Gold Rush*, II, 641.
205. 32d Cong., 2d sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 1, p. 136.
206. *Gold Rush*, II, 645, 652-53.
207. *Relief Report*, pp. 122-23.
208. *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 128. Gessner was possibly the William Gessner, once of the 2d Dragoons, whose biography is in *History of Napa and Lake Counties*, p. 235.
209. *Relief Report*, pp. 89-90.
210. N. E. Hansen, MS "Recollections," pp. 5-6 (C).
211. 367 ND, depositions of Bidwell, Dutton, Ford, Sill, and Sutter.
212. "Wilson Papers."
213. Culmer, "California Letter," pp. 204-206.
214. *Gold Rush*, II, 789.
215. On Dec. 17, 1856, Charles L. Wilson, John Wilson, Annie White, and Henry L. Ford gave Henry Gerke a quitclaim deed to "Bosque" [Bosquejo] for \$1000. The same day Gerke deeded to Charles L. Wilson 4500 acres of the "southerly portion," and to Henry L. Ford 500 acres off the "southwesterly corner" of the ranch. Ford held his tract of 500 acres until June 26, 1857, when he deeded it to John H. Belcher for \$1000. Tehama County, *Deeds*, Book A, pp. 153, 196, 262, 265.
216. Culmer, "California Letter," p. 204; *Gold Rush*, II, 787.

Bear Flag Lieutenant

*The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related
and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart*

By FRED B. ROGERS

(Concluded)

VI. THE WILSONS (Continued)

Because of the unusually heavy rains and floods, the land route to Sacramento was practically impassable. Henry Ford obtained an "open yawl" and piloted the Wilsons down the river to Sacramento City, where they arrived about December fifth and stayed for several days at the City Hotel of Fowler and Frye.²¹⁷ The *Alta California* noted that "General Wilson and his interesting family" arrived at San Francisco on the *Senator* December 8, 1849.²¹⁸ Thus was completed what may have been the most expensive overland journey of the time by a government official.²¹⁹

Lacking household goods, the Wilsons first put up at a hotel which was a "gambling hell" with the added discomfort of a leaky roof and fleas. Later they moved to the St. Francis, "a genteel place," thus avoiding all but the fleas. This four-story hotel at the southwest corner of Clay and Dupont streets was described as "the only hotel at present where respectable ladies are taken in." The manager, Robert A. Parker, gave parties at the hotel about once a month. A woman reporter was present and, for a monthly fee of \$100, wrote of these and other social events for New Orleans newspapers, which the Missouri friends of the Wilsons could read and learn of San Francisco society. Susan and Mary Eliza enjoyed the experience, for Mrs. Wilson wrote: "My daughters are boarders and like all young persons they want to be in society. In San Francisco I would as soon think of having their heads taken off as going anywhere without me, so that I am forced to go a good deal more than I have any desire."²²⁰

Regardless of this competition, Henry Ford occasionally came to town from his ranch and pressed his claim for Susan—finally with success—for the Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Willey entered in his diary, "On the first day Sept. 1851 I united Mr. Henry Ford and Miss Susan Wilson in marriage."²²¹ It is not recorded whether Susan and Henry had a church wedding, but if so it was probably held at the newly built Howard Presbyterian Church, Natoma and Jane streets, which had been dedicated June 15, 1851, by its pastor, Dr. Willey.²²²

It was also in 1851 that Captain Ford, at the request of Dr. Willey, wrote a manuscript narrative of the Bear Flag revolt and gave it to Willey, who noted thereon that Ford kept a record of events. The narrative was turned over to H. H. Bancroft by Willey and is preserved in the Bancroft Library, but assiduous search has failed to locate the slightest trace of the record of

events. Exception has been taken to some statements and dates in the Ford manuscript, but on the whole it is and will continue to be one of the most reliable, comprehensive, and frequently consulted accounts relating to its subject.

Many years later, in commenting on Ford's manuscript at the request of Dr. Willey, John Bidwell said that he knew Ford very well, having met him at Sutter's Fort in 1844. Bidwell continued:

While I am certain to differ with Captain Ford in some things, I attribute to him no intention to pervert the truth. He was earnest and sincere in his views; at the same time he was headstrong, and at times even to blindness. If he understood a thing in one way, he was intolerant to any other view of the same thing. He was never guilty of dissimulation, and therefore if he ever erred by tenaciously clinging to peculiar or partial conclusions, it was an error of the head and not of the heart.²²³

Henry took his bride to the upper Sacramento, and they lived on the Moon and Ford ranch, probably at the celebrated Moon House, one of the largest of the early houses in the area. Warren N. Woodson has given an excellent description of the house. It was a two-story structure, twenty by forty feet, of hewn logs and shake roof. Downstairs were two rooms, one a store and bar room, the other a combined kitchen and dining room. Upstairs were four bedrooms, and at each end of each floor was a fireplace. Thus it was not only a dwelling but a store and tavern as well. The house, since destroyed, was located in a grove of cottonwoods several hundred feet west of a high bank of the Sacramento River. The site is about three-fourths of a mile east of Merrill school and about a mile south of the present Woodson bridge over the Sacramento.²²⁴ Since Bruff found the second story of the house under construction in mid-November of 1850, completion was probably late in that year or early in 1851. The village of Moon's Indians was a short distance above the house, and several miles farther north was the Hall brothers' tavern, called "Miner's Rest."²²⁵

Stages ran past Moon's, but the going was difficult in bad weather, and the many taverns along the route must have been used to the utmost, for travel in the upper Sacramento Valley had greatly increased with the opening of the northern mining camps and the establishment of several towns above the Moon and Ford ranch.²²⁶ Nearest, and about twelve miles north, were the few houses at Tehama. About an equal distance farther north was the town of Red Bluff. Steamboats now plied the upper river to Tehama and even to Red Bluff, the vicinity of which was first reached by the *Jack Hays* in May of 1850.²²⁷

Across the river, Ford and John Wilson still retained their interests in parts of Bosquejo. Still farther east, fall snows soon whitened the Sierra Nevada, a reminder to Henry and Susan of their first meeting and hardships there.

Since Henry had been elected assemblyman from Colusi County, his ranch routine was broken in mid-winter by preparations for his attendance at the

1852 session of the legislature. Little more than two years before, Susan had made the trip from Lassen's downstream in an open boat with Henry as steersman at the stern. Now the pair embarked at Tehama and enjoyed the quite superior accommodations of the "new and splendid" 148-ton side-wheeler, *Camanche*, with Capt. James A. Grant in the wheel house.²²⁸ The Sacramento *Union* of January 3, 1852, noted the steamer's successful negotiation of the river hazards and said, "She brings down a large number of passengers among whom are Captain Ford (member of the House from Colusi county) and lady." Ford's service in the legislature, which met at Vallejo and Sacramento, has been noted.

During the session, Henry made several trips to San Francisco where Susan visited her family, then living at their new home built on a Rincon Hill lot owned by Henry. Mrs. Katherine Wakeman Cooper, daughter of Mary Eliza Wilson Wakeman, wrote of Rincon Hill. Her lengthy list of visitors and neighbors of the Wilsons reads like a who's who of old San Francisco. Among these were the Shermans of whom she says: "General [W. T.] Sherman and family occupied a home on Harrison Street, and were friends of my grandparents; when the General returned to San Francisco, at intervals, he always came to see Grandma Wilson." Of the Wilson home itself, Mrs. Cooper says:

My earliest recollections of Rincon Hill call to mind our old home on the southwest corner of Fremont and Harrison Streets, the house was not much to look at—a frame structure brought round the Horn in sections—but many illustrious people passed through its portals. But the garden, however, at one time known as the most beautiful in San Francisco, and the first one there, by the way, appealed to all. On the south of our house the white Cherokee ran riot with the small button rose, while the star-shaped clematis mingled its fragrance with the English honeysuckle. Below, in the garden beds, grew the *Triumphe de Luxemborg*, and a rose we called the musk, from its delicious odor, the rose geranium and the lemon verbena, while the old Scotch Broom swayed to and fro in the breeze. The bed of hyacinths, and the *amaryllis belladonna*, the first bulb of which was brought to my grandmother by an old ship captain from the Samoan Islands, these too had their place in this beautiful garden. There was a broad walk there, too, and the children of the neighborhood in search of excitement, would turn on the faucet and fill it with water, stepping backwards and forwards on abalone shells as from one port to another. . . .²²⁹

The Wilsons were very fond of Henry, and he of them. Mary Eliza wrote this warm appreciation of Henry: "In disposition he was gentle, but in a moment if any thing crossed him his eyes would flash as a tiger's, had beautiful brown eyes large and gentle. Well about his mouth it was large very, filled with most beautiful white teeth which he took no pains to hide, his hair light brown soft and fine, great reader loved music sang pretty well fond of poetry a little over six feet I think. Pa used to say was raw boned. Spoke Spanish well was affectionate, caressing and tender, careless in business of his own but with that of others was the soul of honor, would go on any man's bonds for thousands of dollars and often had it to pay."²³⁰

Henry was at his ranch in June 1852 when word came to him that Susan had died in San Francisco "from quick consumption following premature confinement."²³¹ Of further details, those contained in this newspaper notice are found:

Died—At the residence of her father, Gen. John Wilson, on the evening of the 22d inst [June]. Mrs. Susan Anne Ford, wife of Henry Ford Esq., aged 22 years. Mr. Ford was absent upon his farm in the country, preparing a future home of his family. The deceased was a lady of superior mind and accomplishments, of most amiable and lovely disposition, kind to all, and desiring to see everybody happy. She retained her faculties to the last and bid adieu to her weeping relatives and friends, without a murmur, her countenance beaming with resignation to the decree of the all-wise Disposer. Also on the same day, John Henry, infant son of Mr. and Mrs. Ford. The friends and acquaintances are invited to attend the funeral, from the residence of Gen. John Wilson, Rincon Point, on Friday morning, at 10 o'clock.²³²

Susan and little John Henry were laid to rest on the crest of the slope above the Wilson home, and Henry returned to his lonely ranch on the Sacramento.²³³

VII. INDIAN AGENT

Following his appointment as superintendent of Indian affairs for California on June 2, 1854, Thomas J. Henley proceeded to the consideration of a site for an Indian reservation in the upper Sacramento Valley.²³⁴ He availed himself of Ford's knowledge of the vicinity and obtained his services in the making of a detailed reconnaissance for a suitable area west of the village of Tehama.

Assembling a party, Ford with six others left Tehama August 29, 1854, and camped north of Elder Creek opposite the house of Robert H. Thomes. The following day they traveled up that creek six or eight miles, then moved southwesterly eight or nine miles to Dry Creek, thence northwest up the latter to a valley which Ford later named Reservation Valley. It was described by him as being six or eight hundred acres in extent, with fine oak and cottonwood timber and a luxuriant growth of wild oats and bunch grass. During a two-day camp in the valley, a visit was made to Elder Creek, about four miles to the north. September 1, camp was moved several miles south to a well-watered valley containing a sulphur spring. Examination of the country continued the next day. On the third, the party moved farther south to Thomes Creek, then down to its lower forks where Ford had a talk with, and distributed presents to, about fifty Indians of the "Nome Lacka" tribe who lived in the area traversed, and who indicated that their tribe, about 300 in number, would be willing to come in and work at a reservation if established.

Ford then returned to Tehama and, on September 4, he reported by letter his trip and recommendations to Henley. Among other advantages of the area reconnoitered, Ford mentioned its central location with respect to In-

dians of northwestern California, its valleys in which different tribes could be placed with ease of supervision, and its separation from white settlements by a low range of barren hills.²³⁵ The Nome Lackee Reservation, which resulted from Ford's investigation, may be described in general terms as triangular in shape and lying in the area outlined by the present villages of Lowrey, Flournoy, and Paskenta, all in Tehama County.

Several weeks later Henley inspected the area, but on his return to San Francisco he found that his instructions required the submission of estimates to Washington for approval in order to use the appropriated funds. In his letter giving his estimates to Supt. G. W. Manypenny, Henley told of his determination to proceed with the project already begun in order that the land could be prepared that fall, and a crop raised the next year for the destitute Indians. Among the many items required were stock cattle, work oxen, horses and mules, equipment, clothing and blankets, expense of collecting and subsisting Indians, freighting, and pay and rations for employees.²³⁶

Captain Ford was placed in charge as sub-agent and began his task, including the preparation of winter quarters. By October there were collected about 200 Indians of a "squalid appearance, almost without clothing or any means to acquire subsistence."²³⁷

Also early in October a meeting was held at the bull-and-bear fight arena of S. P. Storms in Nevada County, attended by Henley, Gen. John E. Wool, William M. Gwin, John B. Weller, James W. Denver, Sam Brannan, and others. This group had seats in the amphitheatre, and the Indians attending were seated on boards in the ring. Henley, interpreted by Storms, explained his proposal to move the Indians from the gold country to Nome Lackee where they would be unmolested. The Indians objected, saying that they had been lied to by Wozencraft, Beale, and McKee, former commissioners, and did not believe Henley. Nevertheless the committee approved Henley's proposal.²³⁸

In November, probably because of short rations, Henley instructed Ford: "For the present no further effort must be made to bring in Indians or to induce them to come to the Reservation." Ford was told to keep a daily record of work done, and to make a weekly written report to Henley. Detailed instructions were given, and "strict economy and vigilance" were to be required of all employees.²³⁹

Capt. E. D. Keyes, 3d Artillery, made an inspection in the fall of 1854 and recommended to General Wool a site for a military post just above the fork of Thomes Creek on the southerly side of the reserve.²⁴⁰ However a small detachment of Company B, 3d Artillery, under 2d Lieut. James Deshler, took station farther to the northwest where they established Camp Nome Lackee January 4, 1855.²⁴¹ The primitive quarters of the troops were located several hundred yards southerly from an adobe "fortification," built later in

1856, and probably were near rows of cottonwood trees and a field on which, according to local tradition, "the soldiers marched."²⁴² The adobe fortification was not a military fort, but it was built on a knoll for protection of agency personnel after the withdrawal of troops by General Wool, pending a survey of the reservation.²⁴³ It was about one hundred feet square and had walls two and one-half feet thick and about ten feet high.²⁴⁴ The location, about three miles northwest of Flournoy, is indicated today by crumbled walls and a historical marker.²⁴⁵

A long report by Captain Keyes, covering another inspection made by him in July 1855, complimented Ford's management of the reservation and the industry of his Indians. There were then 1000 Indians on the reserve, not including males absent hunting. The Indians appeared well fed, much better clothed, and contented. About 20,000 bushels of excellent wheat and barley had been grown on 1000 acres. "Immense amounts of wild oats, grass seeds and roots" had been cleaned and stored showing "a disposition to remain on the Reserve." A few huts had been built for the Indians. A flume, which eventually became five miles long and supplied water power for a flour mill, had been built to divert water from Elder Creek. The Indians were very adaptable, the men and boys cultivating and harvesting, the squaws gleaning the fields "so that not a head of wheat or barley is left." The squaws also were taught to plait straw, to make straw hats, and to sew and make clothing.²⁴⁶

Nome Lackee was but the beginning of Henley's ambitious reservation program. On September 22, 1855, he ordered an examination of the country and Indian tribes in the general area of Mendocino County and northward to Cape Mendocino. For this task he selected H. P. Heintzelman who served as state senator from the Sonoma district in 1855 and 1856.

Heintzelman assembled a small exploring party at Petaluma, left there September 24, and traveled by way of Santa Rosa, Russian River Valley and Anderson Valley to the ranch of "Bob" White, near the coast and some three miles north of "Boo-dam," now known as Big River. There the party was increased by the joining of White, John Simpson, and Samuel Watts, all residents since 1852, who could speak the language of several Indian tribes.

Leaving White's on October 2, the party reached Cape Mendocino October 8, after a fatiguing journey over rough terrain. Thence they moved eastward and southeastward, traversing the valleys now named Long, Sherwood, Little Lake, Ukiah and Potter. Returning to the Noyo River on the coast October 26, a further detailed examination was made. This resulted in Heintzelman's recommendation to Henley for a reservation site "lying between the south bank of the Noyo — so as to include the Noyo River — and a point on the coast one mile north of the mouth of Hale [now Ten Mile] River and running back to the Coast mountains." Heintzelman's report, map, and accompanying data on Indian tribes, were completed November 16, 1855.²⁴⁷

The next day Henley endorsed the project by letter to Manypenny, and President Franklin Pierce approved the reservation May 22, 1856.²⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Henley had selected to take charge of the proposed reserve the agent who had so successfully managed Nome Lackee. So Captain Ford was issued orders on November 3, 1855, to proceed to the new site and, if satisfied with the location, to commence building quarters for the winter. The employment of a hunter, carpenter, and a farmer was authorized. Ford was enjoined "to keep one plow running constantly," to keep the Indians at work getting out timber and gathering food, and to make no expenditures except those "absolutely necessary to keep possession of the Reserve and preserve peace with the Indians until the selection shall have been approved by the President."²⁴⁹

The country which Ford was now to examine was quite different from the upper Sacramento and the foothills of western Tehama County, which are characterized by hot summers and a comparatively light rainfall. The magnificent Mendocino shoreline must have reminded Henry of such portions of the Maine coastline as he had seen. Along the coast were jutting cliffs, open table land, patches of scraggly pines and some sand dunes, but farther back, in more protected and more favorable locations, were immense virgin stands of redwood and other timber, as yet virtually untouched by the operations of the two sawmills at the village and bay of Mendocino.

Passing about ten miles northward from that town, begun by "Honest Harry" Meiggs and his associates in 1852, the traveler reached the Noyo River, south boundary of the proposed reserve. There the estuary, its sheltering bluff once reached by light craft, would provide a good haven. Upstream about three miles were the ruins of a tiny sawmill established by George Hagenmeyer in 1852. About two miles north of the Noyo was Duff River or "Chimnabada," now Pudding Creek, and nearly three miles farther to the northeast was Bald Hill. Immediately west, and also several miles northeast of Bald Hill, were open, arable tracts.

North of Duff River were White's, now Virgin Creek, and a lake and an unnamed creek now called Laguna. Then came grassy table lands, fringed with coastal sand dunes, extending to Hale Creek, or "Beedatoo," later named Ten Mile River, which had several grass flats. Salmon were running the streams, seals appeared, and the shoreline had many mussel beds.²⁵⁰

The contiguous areas were inhabited mostly by various tribes of Pomo Indians, who each year took advantage of the mild climate to winter on the coast and escape the frost and snow of the high interior.

Ford, enthusiastic about the prospect, found the area "admirably adapted for an Indian Reservation, more so than any selection that could have been made in the State, for various reasons." Again, he enumerated as advantages the isolation from whites and natural obstacles, often later proved by land-

hungry settlers to be illusions. He also named the farming possibilities and the rich fishing resources. Satisfied, he set about the building of crude shelters as protection from the heavy winter rains.

During 1856 Ford constructed at least eight dwellings and a smoke house.²⁵¹ Included were the headquarters buildings of the agency, about a half-mile north of the Noyo.²⁵² Separate farms were established: at Bald Hill under M. C. Dougherty, and at "Cully-Bool" immediately south of the Noyo under John P. Simpson. "Bob" White was general overseer and in charge of the gardens. The work routine was prescribed in much detail by Henley who ordered, "The Bell should ring at 5 o'clock in the morning, Breakfast at 6 o'clock and at 7 o'clock let the work commence."²⁵³

The year 1857 was one of much activity. Henley found it hard to keep his Indians on the reservations. Neither did he confine to the authorized reservations his own activities, for he had conceived the idea of extending his control under the guise of additional "farms." In 1856 Henley had formed the "Nome Cult Farm," with S. P. Storms in charge, in Round Valley, north-eastern Mendocino County, as an adjunct of the Nome Lackee reserve.²⁵⁴ Early in 1857 Henley, with the same purpose in mind, sent James Tobin to investigate the country near Cape Mendocino. Leaving the Mendocino Reservation, Tobin with five others explored the coast northward. There was little opposition to his progress for, says Tobin, "Although ordered back by almost every new tribe we encountered, we soon disarmed opposition by an exhibition of our skill as riflemen." Deer and elk were reported numerous. At Cape Mendocino, erroneously described by Tobin as the extreme western point of the United States, the party's flag was planted, and three cheers were given for Uncle Sam. Returning, Tobin reported very favorably on the Mattole River Valley as a farm location.²⁵⁵ The Mattole Farm was established the same year, and it continued for several years despite the opposition of settlers. There is some evidence that Henley tried to extend his control even farther north to the Bear River.²⁵⁶

Captain Ford's report for 1857 showed much progress at his reservation; more than 3000 Indians were present, and the necessity for the schooling of the young Indians was stressed. Over 350 acres were planted to wheat, oats, barley, peas, potatoes and turnips. The fish taken included 30,000 pounds of cod, much of which was dried and salted, and 10,000 pounds of small fish. There were then 12 buildings, 25 houses for Indians, and a large hospital. Roads built included one to Little Valley by way of Bald Hill and another from the Noyo to Mendocino City. A new station was established at Ten Mile.²⁵⁷ Thaddeus M. Ames was the agency physician.²⁵⁸

A schooner of twenty tons was "used for bringing supplies from the landing at Mendocino City to the reservation, a distance of twelve miles." Of the resourcefulness of the Indian crew, Henley stated that once a gale came up when the schooner's captain was ashore drunk at Mendocino harbor. The

Indians took an anchor to windward in a small boat, dropped it, hauled the vessel until it could clear the point, put to sea, and the next day returned to safety.²⁵⁹

There were two occasions in 1857 when arrivals from the outside world gave Captain Ford opportunity to prove his frontier hospitality.

The first was on June 5 when 1st Lieut. Horatio G. Gibson, coming from the Presidio of San Francisco, landed at Mendocino City with a detachment of about twenty men of Company M, 3d Artillery, destined for duty at the reservation. Captain Ford made the reservation schooner available for the transport of the detachment's heavy equipment to the Noyo and provided Indians for carrying tents and light baggage. On June 11, 1857, Gibson established himself about one and one-half miles north of the Noyo and named his new post Fort Bragg, for his former company commander Captain, later General, Braxton Bragg, who had gained undying fame at the battle of Buena Vista. The fort was abandoned in 1864 but its name is retained by the town established at the same site in 1880. With the help of tools loaned by Captain Ford, three fort buildings were erected and occupied by mid-September, and others were soon under way.²⁶⁰

Soon after Gibson, a hunting party of fifteen from San Francisco arrived at the reservation, guided by James Tobin. This included prominent persons, among them Col. Jack Hays, Fred H. Teschemaker and Edward Vischer. Alexander Edouart, an artist from San Francisco, accompanied and made sketches en route. Among his seven sketches, which were later reproduced, were those of the hunting party at Sherwood Valley, the fishing station at the Noyo, and the issuing of rations to Indians at the reservation headquarters. The party was shown every courtesy by Superintendent Henley, then at the reservation, and by Captain Ford.²⁶¹

The chronicler with the party, probably Vischer, thus described the reservation headquarters and vicinity:

The buildings of the station stand on a slightly elevated plain, about a mile from the sea, and nearly the same distance from the mouth of the Noyo; they consist of a spacious store-house, offices and mess-rooms, the dwelling of the Agent and some smaller cottages for the employees. There is also a physician's and apothecary's department, and a number of work-shops. The Indians regularly employed, together with their families, live close by in block-houses, arranged in an open square. In the midst of this rises what seems to be a large mound. It is a mud-plastered roof, covering a round excavation, and the whole is a good specimen, though on a very large scale, of the usual Digger Indian style of architecture. On one side is a small hole, for entrance; and another hole in the roof serves for a chimney. The Indians use this wigwam as a Temascal or sweat-bath, in which they shut up their sick to pass through an ordeal of heat and smoke, sometimes for hours on a stretch. It also serves as a council-chamber and as a banquet-hall, and for the performance of their religious rites. In it the bodies of the dead are reduced to ashes, the whole community keeping up a most doleful howling meanwhile.

Not far from the buildings, on the edge of the woods, are the Rancherias of those tribes which still live in their primitive condition. Each tribe has a separate camp, and some of

their wigwams are so hidden in the bushes, that their whereabouts is only betrayed by the smoke.²⁶²

In 1858 Alex. McPherson built a sawmill on the north bank of the Noyo about a half-mile from its mouth and on the reservation.²⁶³ This enterprise, undoubtedly having Henley's sanction, was of benefit to the reservation and fort from the standpoint of lumber supply, but became involved later in the opposition of an Indian Department inspector. McPherson lived at the fort with Lieutenant Gibson, who made a survey of the harbor for McPherson.²⁶⁴

Sometime in the spring of 1858, Alexander Edouart returned and made two paintings of Fort Bragg for Gibson. Edouart also made a sketch of Round Valley the same year, possibly being accompanied on that visit by Captain Ford.²⁶⁵

J. Ross Browne, a special agent of the Indian Department, made a report attacking the conduct of the California Superintendency and the administration of the Mendocino Reservation. Concerning the latter, it appears that Ford, with his usual helpfulness, made the mistake of making to McPherson a loan of forage for McPherson's oxen and some clothing and provisions. This loan was subsequently repaid. At their own request, Indians were allowed to work for wages at the mill. To a charge that Indians were starved, Ford cited his issues of food, and forwarded statements of his assistants to show the falsity or distortion of this and other charges by Browne.²⁶⁶

Ford closed his report on these matters with the following frank statement:

In reference to loaning government property for private purposes, which I have done on two or three occasions, I admit upon reflection [it] was improper and wrong. It was done without reflection and without any intention of defrauding the Indians or the government. I have taken pains at all times and have spared no efforts to provide for the wants of the Indians. It is a difficult task. But if Mr. Brown [Browne] will take the trouble of remaining long enough on the Reservation to make himself fully acquainted with the subject, I will endeavor to show that he has erred in about all his conclusions in regard to the affairs at Mendocino.²⁶⁷

Later in the year G. Bailey, also a special agent, took exception to the high per capita cost of the care of Indians in California. He noted the sawmill at the Noyo and a store near it, and considered both an injury to the reservation.²⁶⁸ Finally the pressure against Henley reached such a degree that in the spring of 1859 he was relieved as superintendent by James Y. McDuffie, but Captain Ford weathered the storm and continued as sub-agent at Mendocino.²⁶⁹

During 1859 over 1000 Indians were received at the reservation from Gen. William C. Kibbe who conducted a campaign with state troops against hostile Indians in the northern part of California. The crops raised at the reserve in 1859 included over 7000 bushels of grain, 3000 bushels of potatoes, and many tons of other vegetables. About \$83,000 had been invested in stock,

improvements and implements. Captain Ford's plea for schooling of the Indians resulted in the employment of a schoolmaster.²⁷⁰

Soon after the receipt of his appointment, McDuffie made an inspection of the Mendocino Reservation. There he found large blacksmith and carpenter shops, and barns superior to any seen on other reservations. There were a number of houses built for employees, "of ordinary but comfortable character," and headquarters buildings which were small, though well constructed.²⁷¹

Let us visit Captain Ford in his house at headquarters. The place is furnished simply. Differing from most backwoods habitations, it holds a collection of books, and on the walls are ten or more oil paintings.²⁷² No words or pictures are necessary to revive in Henry's memory the scenes of his boyhood in New Hampshire. Equally clear is his remembrance of hot anger and cold terror at Carlisle, of his stowing away, of the inquiry, "What's your name, lad?" and of his reply, "I am Henry L. Ford." One of the books on the shelf, Edwin Bryant's, reminds Ford of his own service for California and the nation, by which he atoned in part for his former misdeed. Five of the paintings on the wall tell of an episode of that service, but only the memory remains of deadly lances flashing past and musket balls thudding against the oaks of Olompali. Also there is Susan's portrait, reviving thoughts of love in the Sierra Nevada and sorrow on Rincon Hill.

Captain Ford was now well known in the rural areas of northern California, less so in its growing cities. His management of Indian reservations brought him just praise and some blame for his mistakes. It appears that his tenure of office exceeded in length that of any contemporary sub-agent or agent in California. His boyhood education had been quite ordinary, but probably was about average for the time. His later writings show an improvement in vocabulary, expression, and spelling, but his habit of omitting words continued. Among characterizations of Ford, not previously mentioned, the following are found: "A man of retiring and modest demeanor . . . simple in his habits and address"; "highly respected by all who knew him and enjoyed his friendship"; "hardly less noted for his cool bravery in the hour of danger, than for his warm hearted affability in moments of social enjoyment."²⁷³ Ford had a desire for land, but his land ventures came to naught because of debt. So it seems that his richest possession was the respect of the pioneer element of which he was a part.

At Ukiah in February 1860, Captain Ford testified at length regarding reservation matters before a joint committee of the state legislature, then investigating the "Mendocino War" disturbances between the settlers and Indians.²⁷⁴

Somewhat later, Henry visited the Wilsons at San Francisco. He had contracted a "very bad cold." Mary Eliza tells of his departure: "Mother and I went out to the gate with him. Mother reached over and pulled his over-

coat together saying, 'Henry, you are so careless about yourself, it will be a wonder to me if you don't die from this cold, it seems to me you are bound to kill yourself.'" Knowing that Mrs. Wilson thought him careless in his handling of his pistol and that she was "in mortal terror always about his shooting himself," Henry put his arm about her to kiss her goodbye, saying, "Mammy, see this pistol. I don't fear that as much as I do a cold."²⁷⁵

In late June 1860, Captain Ford left his reservation and, in company with Superintendent McDuffie, ascended the old "Bucha" Indian trail leading from Ten Mile toward Sherwood Valley. Passing Cahto and crossing the Eel, the party reached the vicinity of an elevated point now called Inspiration. Before them is Round Valley, "encompassed around on all sides with a coronal of blue, broad-based mountains, which are dappled green and golden with wild-oat pasturage and shredded forest, while the valley spreads broadly out, in its great circumference, an ocean of yellow grain and pasture fields islanded with stately groves of white oak."²⁷⁶

Ford entered the valley on July first, intending to drive some stock back to his reservation. The next morning at about nine o'clock, while the saddle cover was being placed on his horse, a pistol attached to the horn of the saddle was accidentally discharged, and the ball which struck Captain Ford in the neck killed him almost instantly.²⁷⁷

There, in a small frontier burying-ground in the valley of Nome Cult, between the Sacramento and the Mendocino coast, was interred the body of Henry L. (Noah Eastman) Ford.²⁷⁸

The news of his death sped by trail from the isolated valley and across the mountains to Tehama, whence it was flashed to the outside. Newspaper notices appeared, to be read by many to whom his name meant little, but those who needed no reminder of his deeds—those who sorrowed most—were the survivors of that little band who knew him best as lieutenant of the Bears.

APPENDIX A. THE FIVE PAINTINGS

The group of five paintings reproduced with this biography was located by the author in 1948. Their identification as items associated with Ford and the establishment of the name of the artist are matters of probable interest to the reader.

The paintings are unsigned and bear no indication of their subject, but there was a tradition that they represented Captain Ford. A comparison of the paintings, particularly the close-up of the group, with daguerreotypes of Ford, showed that he was the central subject.

Next came the identification of the artist. Immediate suspicion arose that he was Alexander Edouart. We have seen that in 1857 Edouart, a San Francisco artist, accompanied a hunting party which visited the Mendocino Indian Reservation, then in charge of Ford; that Edouart made a number of

sketches on that trip, including one of the reservation headquarters; that he had some experience in painting mounted men, since his sketch of the mounted hunting party at Sherwood Valley was later developed into a painting and published; and that Edouart returned in 1858 and painted the military post of Fort Bragg and made a sketch of Round Valley.

Mary Eliza (Wilson) Wakeman wrote in 1894: "I know of a man who went to Mendocino to paint views. H. L. [Ford] got him to paint sister's [Susan's] picture and gave it to mother [Mrs. John Wilson], said he would send her his as a mate but it never came."²⁷⁹ An oil painting of Susan, possibly made by Edouart from her daguerreotype portrait, is in possession of the author.

All this was helpful and circumstantial, but inconclusive. Then the author examined the records of the Mendocino County Probate Court, estate of Henry L. Ford, deceased. Interest was immediately increased by finding an inventory and appraisal of the estate, listing among the personal property "10 pictures (paintings)" valued at \$25.00. Further search was rewarded. Among the papers was an approved claim against the estate, signed by Alexander Edouart, for "Five oil Paintings sold and delivered Sept. 1859, Fifty (50) Dollars each, \$250.00." A separate bill attached shows that the paintings were on canvas.²⁸⁰

As to the episode represented by the paintings, the camp on the hill and the flag bring to mind Frémont's camp in the Gabilan Range where the American flag was raised in March 1846. This possibility must be ruled out, since there is no record that Ford was associated with Frémont at that time, nor is there any record of comparable happenings connected with that event. Apparently the American flag was not raised again over any military camp in California until after the Bear Flag revolt. During Ford's service with Frémont's battalion there was much scouting, some skirmishing, and many camps in the hills. It is known that some tentage was used by the battalion.

It is safe to conclude that the paintings were executed by Alexander Edouart and that they were intended to represent a scouting episode, much idealized by the artist, pertaining to the service of Captain Ford in the California Battalion. Lacking titles, the captions shown are those suggested by the present writer.

The paintings are known to have been acquired by Capt. Granville P. Swift, possibly soon after Ford's death.²⁸¹ It is appropriate that they should have gone to Ford's friend and comrade.

Alexander Edouart, son of the famous silhouettist, Augustin Amant Constance Fidele Edouart (1789-1861), and Emilie Laurence Vital Edouart (1791-1825), was born in London, England, on November 5, 1818.²⁸² Alexander received a college education at Edinburgh, Scotland, and studied art in Italy in 1847 and 1848, possibly even earlier.²⁸³ He is presumed to be the Alexander Edouart who exhibited at the National Academy of Design, New

York City, as follows: 1849, "Group of Children" and "Portrait of a Gentleman"; 1850, "La Bella Romano," "View of Villa Pamphilia," and "Portrait of a Gentleman."²⁸⁴

It seems that he was the "A. Edwart" who arrived at San Francisco as a passenger on the clipper ship, *Queen of the East*, on September 8, 1852, after sailing from New York on April 7 or 8 of the same year.²⁸⁵ An article, "Blessing of the mine," signed "A. E.," appeared in *Hutchings' California Magazine* of February 1860.²⁸⁶ A woodcut, "The Enriqueta Quicksilver Mine, on the Morning of Dedication," accompanies the article. Since Edouart is known to have made a similar painting of the same subject, the article may be attributed to him. He states therein, "As an old miner, I was satisfied with what I saw." Mining may thus account, in part, for his occupation in California until he finally settled in San Francisco. A directory of that city, published in the fall of 1857, shows him as an artist with studio at 94 Montgomery Street.²⁸⁷ Early in 1859 he made a short visit to England and France.²⁸⁸ About 1860 he turned to photography and then continued in that profession.²⁸⁹ In 1890 he moved to Los Angeles where, until his death on November 6, 1892, he and his son, Alexander Edouart, Jr., were associated as photographers.²⁹⁰

To Edouart is attributed the following paintings in addition to those reproduced with this work; doubtless there were many others. The latest known owner of the paintings is first indicated:

Alexander Edouart, his son

Portrait of Augustin A. C. F. Edouart, his father
Santa Clara Valley

Augustin Edouart Bryant, his grandson

Alexander Edouart, self-portrait
Portrait of Melodile Farciot Edouart, his wife
A Landscape
An Italian Scene
Studies in watercolor
Miniatures

Frederick Sidney Jones (all probably originally owned by Ford)

Headquarters, Mendocino Indian Reservation (two scenes)
Indian Fishing Station at the Noyo River
An Indian Camp
Four coastal scenes

Mrs. Katherine Gibson White, daughter of Gen. Horatio G. Gibson

Fort Bragg, California (the military post)

C. W. Lyon, Inc.

Blessing of the Mine

Present location not discovered

Portrait of Flora, daughter of Thomas J. Haynes
Mendocino Hunting Party

Edwin Grabhorn has the original oil sketches from which were made the woodcuts and the paintings of the headquarters of the Mendocino Indian Reservation and of the Indian fishing station at the Noyo River.

Edouart's best paintings show considerable care in development and finish, good color, and effective composition. The "scouting" series of five paintings and some of his portraits are in this class. Other works, painted thinly and obviously quickly from hasty field sketches, aim only at a general impression with little regard for detail. In the latter category are his Mendocino scenes. Here it seems that any other handling would have been false to the rugged and primitive character of the subject matter. Such product carries to this day a conviction often quite lacking in more meticulous works. Edouart, of all artists of early California, contributed most to the painting of the old Mendocino.

APPENDIX B. AFTERMATH

Captain Ford's grave is in a cemetery about a mile south and a mile west of the town of Covelo in Round Valley, Mendocino County, California. The earliest date of death noted on any marker in the cemetery is 1858. When located by the writer in 1948, Ford's grave was marked only by a board which probably had been renewed several times. A military headstone now marks the grave more permanently and appropriately. A bronze tablet was placed at the grave by the people of Round Valley and was dedicated on Memorial Day 1950.²⁹¹

Richard Heman Ford, who had returned to California in 1860 after a previous visit in 1853, became administrator of the estate of his brother, Captain Ford. The liabilities far exceeded the assets, mainly because of a note for a large sum and accrued interest at a high rate. Numerous letters in the National Archives attest to the diligence but general lack of success of Richard Ford in his attempts to satisfy government requirements regarding some of Captain Ford's suspended vouchers.²⁹²

Several books dealing with members of the legal profession of California carry statements which indicate that Henry Lambert Ford, an attorney of Eureka, California, was a son of Captain Ford, was born at Noyo on May 15, 1860, and that his mother was Martine [*sic*] Yugera (Higuera?) Ford, who later married Archibald P. Osborn, a veteran of the Mexican War.²⁹³ It seems that such data must have been furnished by Henry Lambert Ford.

First Sergeant Osborn, Company E, 1st Battalion of Mountaineers, enlisted at Cahto, California, July 27, 1863, and was mustered out June 14, 1865, with his company, which saw most of its service at Camp Grant in Humboldt County.²⁹⁴ The lone grave of Martina Osborn is near the Chimney Tree and Highway 101, about nine miles north of Garberville, California. The headstone shows that she died February 17, 1884, aged thirty-six years, although a Bible record states that she was born in 1845. Martina was said to have been an Indian woman of more than ordinary attainments and of estimable character.

No record is found of the union of Captain Ford with Martina — indeed

there were probably quite a few unrecorded marriages in the early days of Mendocino County.²⁰⁵ It can only be stated that nothing is found to prove or disprove the claim of Attorney Ford, which he undoubtedly established to his own satisfaction. He must be given much credit for gathering some essential information regarding the early life of Captain Ford, thus enabling further research in that direction. Henry Lambert Ford died at Eureka March 3, 1930.²⁰⁶

NOTES

217. "Wilson Papers," Ford's voucher for \$150, and voucher for tavern bill.
218. Issue of Dec. 15, 1849. But see voucher in "Wilson Papers" for transport of Wilson and family to San Francisco on the schooner, *John Allyne*. Since Wilson officially reported his arrival as of Dec. 9, only a part of his family may have taken the *Senator*.
219. Wilson's vouchers total about \$5000, to which should be added the cost of his escort, Lyon's trip to retrieve the cached baggage, property and animals lost, and items of relief received, an aggregate of possibly \$15,000. Wilson's personal loss, at prices then current, may have reached nearly \$10,000.
220. Culmer, "California Letter," p. 203; "'General' John Wilson," p. 338; Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, VI, 188, n. 24.
221. Samuel Hopkins Willey, MS "Diary and Commonplace Book," p. 126 (CU). Mary Eliza cryptically states that Ford, before his marriage to Susan, disclosed to John Wilson a "life secret which saddened his life," perhaps the story of his desertion from the Dragoons. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893.
222. Willey, *History of the First Pastorate of the Howard Presbyterian Church* (San Francisco, 1900), p. 46.
223. John Bidwell, "Reminiscences of the Conquest," *Overland Monthly*, 2d ser., XVI, 561-62, 571.
224. Woodson, *Trail of the Trail Blazers*, p. 12; line cut of Moon house in Sacramento *Union*, April 20, 1941, p. 20.
225. *Gold Rush*, II, 928. A "Ford Springs," which may have been named for Henry L. Ford, is shown between Moon's and Thomes Creek on a MS map of 1849 by P. B. Reading (C). Woodson believes that this may be the spring about 1½ miles northeast of Corning.
226. *Cohusa County*, Calif., p. 38.
227. *Placer Times*, May 22, 1850; Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle-Wheel Days in California* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1944), pp. 16, 85.
228. *Ibid.*, p. 135; *Alta*, Dec. 20, 1851.
229. Mrs. Cooper, "Rincon Hill and its early-day Residents," *Grizzly Bear*, XII, No. 1, pp. 1, 11. A long article on Mrs. Wilson is in "Tea-Table Chat," *San Francisco Post*, Oct. 2, 1886. The former site of the Wilson home is now occupied by a service station, standing at an approach to the San Francisco-Oakland bay bridge.
230. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893.
231. *Ibid.*
232. *San Francisco Herald*, June 25, 1852. A long obituary also appeared in *The Pacific* (San Francisco), June 25, 1852.
233. Mrs. Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 1. The remains of Susan and John Henry Ford were transferred to the John Wilson lot at Laurel Hill cemetery in 1871. They now rest at Cypress Lawn cemetery, San Mateo County. *Records*, those cemeteries.

234. Thomas J. Henley (1807-1875) was a native of Indiana, served in the legislature of that state, was congressman for six years, came to California in 1849, and was post-master-general for California in 1853. He died at Round Valley, Mendocino County. Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, VI, 674.

235. Ford to Henley, Tehama, Sept. 4, 1854 (NA).

236. Henley to Manypenny, San Francisco, Sept. 25, 1854 (NA). Although Henley reported that Nome Lackee means "running water," Stephen Powers, in "The California Indians," *Overland Monthly*, XII (June 1874), 531, says that the term means "western tongue or talkers."

237. Capt. E. D. Keyes to Maj. Gen. J. E. Wool, May 31, 1855 (NA); *Weekly Placer Times and Transcript* (San Francisco), Sept. 30, 1854. During the last quarter, 1854, there were eighteen employees under Ford (list in CUB).

238. *Nevada Journal* (Nevada City, Calif.), Oct. 6, 1854. Storms became agent at the Round Valley reservation, to which some Nevadas were later transported. Augustus G. Tassin, "Chronicles of Camp Wright," *Overland Monthly*, 2d ser., X (July 1887), 25; "L.M." in "The Indians of Nevada County," *ibid.*, III (March 1884), 275.

239. Henley to Ford, Nov. 30, 1854 (NA). Copies of some weekly reports (CUB).

240. Keyes to Wool, Dec. 12, 1854 (NA).

241. War Department, "Returns" (NA).

242. Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 19; oral statement, Arthur Wilcox, Paskenta, to F. B. Rogers.

243. U.S., Office of Indian Affairs (hereafter cited as O.I.A.), *Report*, 1856 (Washington, 1857), p. 238; Wool to Sen. J. B. Weller, Oct. 5, 1856, in 34th Cong., 3d sess., House *Ex. Doc.* 76, pp. 143-44.

244. Calif. Legislature, 10th sess., Sen. *Journal*, App. 19, p. 228; Henley to Com. Ind. Affairs, Sept. 4, 1856 (NA).

245. *Grizzly Bear*, June 1938, p. 21.

246. Keyes to Townsend, Aug. 15, 1855 (NA).

247. Heintzelman to Henley, Nov. 16, 1855, and inclosures (NA).

248. Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and their Administration* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 61.

249. Henley to Ford, Nov. 3, 1855 (NA).

250. Description of the country and Indians based on Heintzelman's report and map, and Ford's report to Henley, Jan. 25, 1855 (both NA). Sawmill data from Lyman L. Palmer, *History of Mendocino County, Calif.* (San Francisco, 1880), pp. 141, 431-32.

251. O.I.A., *Report*, 1856, p. 239.

252. Lieut. H. G. Gibson to Maj. W. W. Mackall, June 18, 1857 (NA); plat of Twp. 18 N., R. 17 W., Mount Diablo meridian, Dec. 28, 1866, which shows the reservation headquarters buildings immediately northwest of the center of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the SW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sect. 7.

253. Henley to Ford, Dec. 19, 1856 (NA).

254. O.I.A., *Report*, 1858, pp. 306-309.

255. Tobin to Henley, April 29, 1857, *ibid.*, 1857, pp. 403-406.

256. *ibid.*, 1858, p. 285; Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 66; *Humboldt Times* (Eureka, Calif.), Sept. 5, 1857, June 18, 1858.

257. O.I.A., *Report*, 1857, pp. 394-98.

258. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

259. O.I.A., *Report*, 1857, p. 260.

260. Gibson to Mackall, June 8 and 18, Sept. 15, 1857 (NA). More data on Fort Bragg in F. B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California," this *QUARTERLY*, XXVII (Sept. 1948), 216-19.

261. Edward Vischer (1809-1879), probable author, "Reminiscences of Mendocino,"

Hutchings' California Magazine, III (Oct. 1858), 145-60, 177-81, in which are woodcuts by Thomas Armstrong from Edouart's sketches.

262. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-58.

263. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

264. Gibson to Mrs. J. S. Cotton, of Fort Bragg, Mar. 12, 1911.

265. *Ibid.* Reproduction of the Fort Bragg painting is in Jeanne Van Nostrand and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1948), p. 143. Photograph of the Round Valley sketch is in Smithsonian Institution.

266. Ford to Henley, May 5, 1858; statements of F. O. Wakeman, May 5; F. E. Warren, June 7; L. F. Hinckley and R. White, June 14, 1858 (all in NA).

267. Ford to Henley, May 5, 1858.

268. O.I.A., *Report*, 1858, p. 301.

269. Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

270. Calif. Legislature, 11th sess., Sen. *Journal*, App. 11, "... Reports ... on the Mendocino War," pp. 15-17.

271. McDuffie to the Com., Sept. 4, 1859, in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 46, p. 7.

272. Mendocino County, Calif., Probate Court Records, Case No. 17, "Inventory and Appraisal of Estate." See also Appendix A of the present work.

273. *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 10, 1860; *Sonoma County Journal* (Petaluma), July 13, 1860; *Sonoma County Democrat* (Santa Rosa), July 12, 1860.

274. "Reports on the Mendocino War" (as in note 270 above), pp. 15-17.

275. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893.

276. Description from Stephen Powers, "The Northern California Indians, V," *Overland Monthly*, IX (1872), 305. There is a Ford Peak, elevation 3301 feet, four and one-half miles of Covelo, Calif., but I am unable to ascertain for whom it was named.

277. McDuffie to Com. A. B. Greenwood, July 10, 1860 (NA); *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 6, 10, 1860; *Marysville Daily Herald*, July 8, 1860; *Sonoma County Journal*, July 13 and 20, 1860. Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, III, 744, erroneously states that Ford was killed in 1856 in Tehama County. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman says that Ford died in the arms of "Ed [Colston] Marshall," who became attorney general of California for period 1883-1886. Her postscript to H. L. Ford (ca. 1894).

278. See Appendix B.

279. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Jan. 16, 1894.

280. Mendocino County, Calif., Probate Court Records, Case No. 17.

281. *Napa Reporter*, May 1, 1875.

282. Mrs. F. Neville Jackson, *Ancestors in Silhouette* (London, 1921), pp. 2, 3, 21, gives data on Alexander's parents and some of their children, but fails to mention Alexander. However, I have seen a letter of Nov. 8, 1887, to his "brother" Alexander, from the vicar of Leominster, England, Augustin Gaspard Edouard (*sic*), son of A. A. C. F. Edouart. Collection of Alexander Edouart, son of the artist.

283. Information from his son, Alexander, and Mrs. Augustin Edouart Bryant.

284. *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860* (New York, 1943),

P. 145.

285. *Alta California*, and *San Francisco Herald*, both Sept. 9, 1852. The state census of 1852 for San Francisco County (C) lists Alexander Edouard (*sic*), artist, born in England, residence New York.

286. Vol. IV, 338-40.

287. *San Francisco Directory*, 1858.

288. Passport file of Alexander Edouart.

289. San Francisco directories, 1861 to 1889.

290. Statement, Alexander Edouart, Jr., to F. B. Rogers; Los Angeles directories, 1890 to 1892.

291. *Redwood Journal-Press-Dispatch* (Ukiah), June 5, 1950.

292. Some of this difficulty may have arisen because of the refusal by Captain Ford to settle his accounts until he could obtain an acknowledgment of a debt of \$2,500 which he claimed was owed him by Henley. J. Ross Browne to Com. Ind. Affairs, Feb. 4, 1860, in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 46, p. 15.

293. Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (Los Angeles, 1901), p. 836; J. C. Bates, *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (San Francisco, 1912), p. 312.

294. Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion* (Sacramento, 1890), pp. 830, 843.

295. The 1860 census of Big River Township, Mendocino County, Calif., includes the registration of Henry L. Ford, dated June 29, 1860, but lists no members of his family.

296. *Humboldt Times* (Eureka), March 4, 1930.