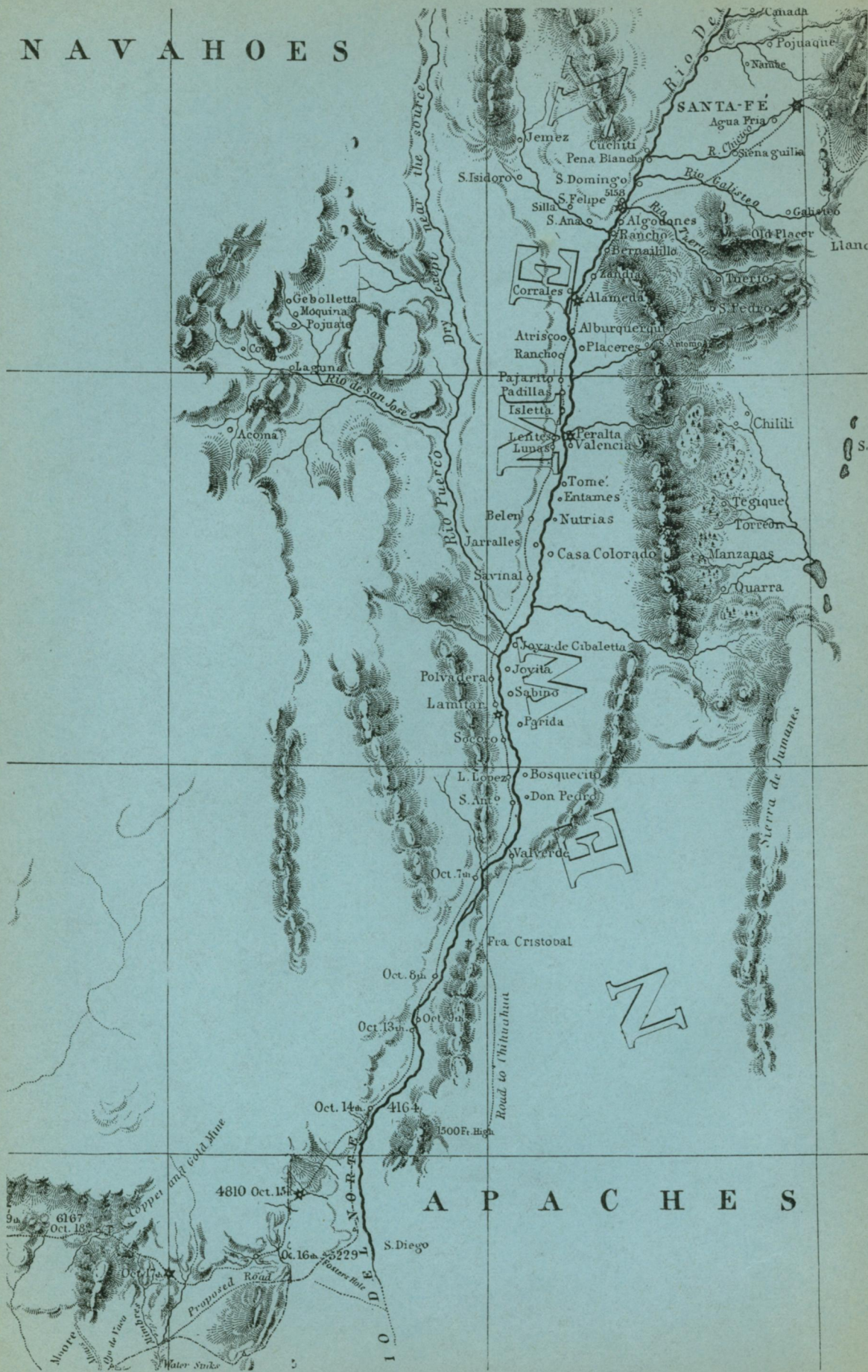


NAVAHOES



APACHES

A Doctor Comes to California

The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon

with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-47

Edited by GEORGE WALCOTT AMES, JR.

INTRODUCTION

UNITED STATES strategy in the Mexican War contemplated offensive operations in several theatres. There was to be a land thrust from the northeast frontier at the principal towns in north central Mexico, another drive farther to the west at Chihuahua, the capture of Santa Fé, and the invasion of California by an "army of the west." A landing on the east coast and a march against Mexico City itself were later projected, while a vigorous naval blockade of both coast lines was instituted from the very outbreak of hostilities.

It was to the "Army of the West" that John Strother Griffin, assistant surgeon, United States Army, was attached in 1846. Under the command of Colonel—later General—Stephen Watts Kearny, First Dragoons, the "army" was to go overland to New Mexico; after capturing and pacifying the territory, march was to be resumed to California. Upon arrival, the cooperation of any naval forces found along the coast was to be invited, and complete possession was to be taken of the area.

To support the original force, consisting principally of dragoons and mounted Missouri volunteers, which marched from Fort Leavenworth, reinforcements were despatched from the East by the United States Government as soon as they could be assembled and outfitted. Colonel Sterling Price took a regiment of Missouri volunteers to Santa Fé; the Mormons, who had planned to settle in the Far West, were induced to contribute a battalion which marched overland to San Diego but by a more southerly route than Kearny's; a regiment of New York volunteers under Jonathan D. Stevenson sailed around the Horn to San Francisco; and a battery of regulars from the Third Artillery, with all needful materials for building harbor defenses, also arrived by way of the Horn.

When Kearny arrived in California he found Commodore Robert Field Stockton commanding the naval forces on the coast. Stockton had succeeded Commodore John Drake Sloat, who had taken all of the important northern towns by July 17, 1846. Under Stockton the southern part of the territory was as easily occupied as the north. The naval forces met their first important opposition when they were compelled to evacuate Los Angeles in late September and early October. Troops were being concentrated at San Diego

for movement once more against the Pueblo, when the army arrived. With the battles of San Gabriel and La Mesa in January 1847, all organized hostility was finally crushed. Stockton refused to recognize Kearny's orders as civil governor and supported Colonel John Charles Frémont, whom he, Stockton, had appointed to the office. Frémont, contending that he held a commission from Stockton, also refused, at first, to obey Kearny's orders. Kearny, with less than a hundred men to enforce his commands, bided his time until Commodore William Branford Shubrick arrived to replace Stockton. The general's unwillingness to force the issue, particularly in regard to Frémont, was deeply resented by most of the army officers, who felt that a politician's son-in-law should not be given special consideration.

Several accounts have been written of the army's departure from Fort Leavenworth in the summer of 1846, the rendezvous at Bent's Fort, and the occupation of Santa Fé. Lieutenant James William Abert, who did not journey farther west than New Mexico, and Lieutenant William Helmsley Emory wrote official reports which give probably the best descriptions; these were printed in government documents which have made them easily accessible to the interested reader. Lieutenant Emory continued the journey to the Pacific Coast and reported on events through the final cessation of hostilities. Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston, who was killed in the battle of San Pascual, also wrote an interesting account of the hardships passed through on the journey between Santa Fé and the California settlements.¹ Another journal written on that march, one which carried on the tale much farther in point of time and events after arrival in California, is that of assistant surgeon John S. Griffin. Of this, however, only a portion has been published: two or three pages were printed in a local history of Los Angeles,² and a few paragraphs in *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes*.³ A longer version, a supposedly complete copy in the handwriting of one of Hubert Howe Bancroft's numerous secretaries, lies in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, in Berkeley. In his *History of California* Bancroft gives no indication that only a section of the whole, albeit a large section, was copied; nor does he use any portion after January 10, 1847, although he or his copyist must have known of the remainder. The fact that his copyist and the present editor find the same words illegible would indicate that what he did have was taken from the original. That journal remained in the possession of the family until 1941, when, through the generosity of Mrs. John Griffin Johnston, widow of Dr. Griffin's grandnephew, it was presented to the California Historical Society.

Griffin was born in Virginia in 1816.⁴ Left an orphan at the age of nine, he was reared by relatives in Louisville, Kentucky. In 1837, he graduated in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania. After graduation he practiced in Louisville until 1840, when he entered the United States Army as an assistant surgeon. As such he served under General Worth in Florida and

later at Fort Gibson on the southwest frontier. After the battles at San Pasqual, San Gabriel River, and La Mesa, Dr. Griffin was placed in charge of the general hospital at San Diego. In May 1847 he was sent to Los Angeles to serve under Colonel Jonathan Drake Stevenson, and after a year there he was transferred to the staff of General Persifor F. Smith. From 1850 to 1853 he was stationed at Benicia except for a brief interval when he accompanied Major Samuel P. Heintzelman on an expedition against the Yuma Indians on the Colorado River. In 1853 he was ordered to Washington, D. C., and there resigned his commission the following year. He then returned to Los Angeles, where he took up his permanent residence. On June 7, 1856, Dr. Griffin was elected superintendent of the Los Angeles city schools, and later the same year he married Miss Louisa Hayes, the first woman public-school teacher in Los Angeles. She was a sister of Judge Benjamin Hayes and sister-in-law of Benjamin S. Eaton. In 1858 Dr. Griffin became owner of the San Pasqual rancho, a portion of which was soon after purchased by his sister Eliza, Mrs. Albert Sidney Johnson. After many years of active participation in civil affairs, Griffin died at his home on August 23, 1898.

The journal which Griffin kept is valuable in that it reveals the character of an interesting "Yanqui" of early American Los Angeles and that it gives new shades of meaning to certain not too well understood episodes of California history. Particularly worthy of note was Griffin's attitude toward his work and profession, the antithesis of that of Dr. Cadwallader Cuticle, the navy surgeon, whom Herman Melville caricatures in *White Jacket*. Griffin well knew his own limitation. He was always seeking new treatments and discarding old methods; yet his concern for his patient was always present.

The good doctor's writing, while fairly legible in the main, at times is a trial to the editor. This and his use of anatomical terms and pharmaceutical abbreviations and a fanciful method of spelling proper names and Spanish words make certain passages difficult to understand. In the text of the Journal, therefore, well known anatomical names or those which appear in the ordinary dictionary are not explained, although spelling has been corrected where necessary. Pharmaceutical phrases have been more fully interpreted. Misspelled proper names and Spanish words are corrected only on their first appearance. In tracing full names of persons to whom Griffin refers, Hubert Howe Bancroft's "Pioneer Register and Index," in Volumes II to V of his *History of California*, is indispensable, as is Francis B. Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*.

For anyone who is interested in delving deeper into the background, the most convenient place for finding additional facts as well as the best source for authorities is again Bancroft, *History of California*, V. As has been mentioned, Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* is excellent and makes a fine complement, while the accompanying map of the route from Santa Fé to San Diego is a most valuable adjunct when reading Dr. Griffin's diary.⁵

DOCTOR GRIFFIN'S DIARY

Camp near St Philippe,
Sept 26th 1846.

We left Santa Fe yesterday—that is to say, Gen^l. Kearny, Staff, & myself and joined the Dragoons at their camp near Del Gordo's Ranch⁶—found all hands in great spirits at the prospect of the trip—not as volunteers but as men who had a duty to do & intended to do it.

26. Left camp early & had a hard days march through a perfectly barren country, one that would not feed a single goose to the acre. All the men are mounted on mules—some of them devlish poor at that. One or two gave out to day. This is a bad prospect for California to have the animals giving out the first day. It is said that there is gold in the sands, and that a man can make a living washing dirt, it is well this can be done for I am damned if any one could make a living ploughing. St Philippe is an Indian Village near the Rio Grande [del Norte]. I have not seen it yet, but several of the people have been in camp selling corn, mellons &c.

27. Left camp early, passed St Philippe—a good looking town, and two other villages—the last called Barnardeo,⁷ this country on the Rio Grande is better than that about Santa Fe—fine vineyards, Peaches, Mellons and other fruits the best grapes I have ever seen—by calculation of my own we are fifty six miles from Santa Fe to night The mules purchased by the Qr master are extremely weak many of them are nearly given out, the officers are becoming great jockeys, trading horses for mules, and we do get bit like the devil, to-morrow it is said we cross the Rio Grande.

28, 29, 30th Sept. For the last three days I have been engaged in riding about through the country, trading horses for mules this has been the occupation of most of the officers, and we have all succeeded pretty much alike that is to say, a fine horse for a most indifferent mule, the Mexicans, we have all come to the conclusion, are great rascals, and are not burthened with any great amount of the article called conscience.⁸ They are entirely too sharp for us, and for a conquered people are treated with a damn sight more courtesy than they deserve. This may appear a strange remark but our general has a regular Board every morning to assess damages, comitted by our poor half starved mules on their corn fields, and the result is that the amount of damages assessed is generally about twice as much as has really been sustained by the owner of the field. All of which is duly charged to the unlucky wight whose horse or mule may have been caught, thus doing two things, paying the Mexican more money than he ever dreamed his field would produce, and feeding Uncle Sams cattle at the expense of the officers and soldiers of the said good old Uncle—now I do not think this is all quite fair, for if a man does not earn his pay marching over these sands in New Mexico, he would not earn it mauling rails in Missouri, besides this is a most

expensive country—it takes every red cent a poor devil can rake together to keep body and soul together and then to be made to pay for feeding Uncle Sams mules is rather too strong a pull—Since the 27th we have been marching slowly along the banks of the Rio Grande—and devilish poor banks they are—nothing but sand, and sand hills and barren Mountains with occasionally a Mexican settlement. We passed through an indian village to day.⁹ these people live quite as well as the Mexicans, in the same sort of houses, the only difference is that they enter from the roof. they are a better looking people than the Mexicans, and seem to be their equal in every way—the great majority speak Spanish, though it is said a Mexican cannot acquire their language. At St Philippe some 40 miles back it was said that we had descended 1300 feet from Santa fe. We have been going down hill ever since. There is a perceptible change in the climate, the days being very warm and the nights not so cold—though ice formed last night. We are encamped to night in the neighborhood of Tomé, a Mexican Village on the East side of the Rio Grande.¹⁰ We crossed the River yesterday at Al[b]uquerque, the Residence of the former governor Armejo [Manuel Armijo]. I took dinner at Al[b]uquerque, in regular Mexican style—one dish at a time with *tortillias* and lots of red pepper. We ended with grapes. This is decidedly the best thing in all Mexico. Our sick report is small, though we will be obliged to send back one poor fellow, in consequence of a dislocation of the clavicle. Paid for mutton this evening on account of the mess 75 cts

Oct. 1st—This morning, we found one of the mess minus. Stauntons¹¹ servant a Mexican concluded to leave the camp last night & did so with his (Staunton's) best horse and up to this time we have heard nothing of him, this only confirms me in my belief that they are certainly the damndest rascals that can be found any where. The country marched through to day better than yesterday, country on the River well populated, passed through several villages, marched some 16 miles.¹² I am at present sick and am fearful that I shall be obliged to return to Santa Fe. I hope however this will not be the case. I will ride in the wagon tomorrow & hope that will stop the further development of the infernal disease.

Oct. 2^d—We made an early start this morning. The country not much settled, and but little grass, the country being sandy. We are encamped opposite a small Mexican village on the opposite side of the Rio Grande—¹³ the Alcalde sent us word that we had better keep a bright look out on our animals, as some Navahoe Indians were seen about yesterday. These Indians whip the Mexicans, and drive off cattle, whenever it pleases them to do so and the Mexicans make little resistance. This is a very poor grazing country, & up to this time I have not seen three thousand head of cattle since I left Santa Fe, nor is there grass or grain sufficient in this country to feed more than a regiment of Dragoons. We marched today about 15 or 17 miles—

no timber in the country except cotton wood, and that hard to find, I gave 25 cts yesterday for one little stick to cook my breakfast by.

Oct. 3^d. Last night an express arrived from Santa Fe—announcing the arrival of Col. Price with a part of his regiment,¹⁴ at that time we received no mail, letters or papers, and not one word of news, at this we all swore like troopers, at friends, post masters & commanding officers, however it is all the same to me, as it will all be news when we hear it, & I do reckon we shall find out something when we arrive at Monterey. The news of Captain Allens death was confirmed poor fellow—he is gone.¹⁵ I wonder how many more of us will go, before we return to the United States for I am damned if I do call this Uncle Sam, whatever Mr Polk may say. We have remained quiet in camp all day waiting for the ox-teams to come. One Company C—Capt Moore was sent off to trounce the Navahoes who were said to be giving the Spaniards the devil [with] in some 11 miles of us.¹⁶ Capt Cook left camp to day to return to Santa Fe to take command of the Mormons.¹⁷

Oct. 4. This morning we had an increase in the number of animals in the command. Major Summers¹⁸ Lady of the Lake was delivered safely of a small colt, which was abandoned shortly after its birth. We marched over some ten miles of deep sand—it fatigued our animals very much to get through it. This I suppose is only a beginning of what we are to have from here to Monterey. We passed several poor Mexican villages. Capt Moor could not catch the Navahoes. I heard to day the Gen^l. directed the commanding officer at Santa Fe to make fierce war on the red rascals. The banks & bottoms of the Rio Grande has presented a much better appearance to day than I have yet seen—more grass, and timber, some beautiful groves of cotton wood—and grazing enough for thousands of animals—yet we have seen scarcely any stock to day—the Indians have plundered the poor devil[s] of Mexicans out of every thing. We marched some 16 miles to day.¹⁹ The day has been warm, the atmosphere presenting very much the same appearance as our Indian summer in the States nor has it rained since we left Santa Fe.

Oct. 5. We made an early start this morning, but marched a short distance, and encamped near Secora [Socorro], a small Mexican village. Tomorrow we leave the Rio Grande & strike west across the mountains for the Rio Gila. As we look at them from the valley of the Rio Grande they present rather a forbidding front, nothing in the world but sand, lava and trap rock. They are not very high and that is a comfort, and it is said after we get to the top of the mountain it is a prairie from there to the Gila—good grass—but water hard to find, and devlish little of it when found. The valley of the Rio Grande has appeared decidedly prettier to day than I have yet seen it. in one place it looked a little like the Missouri Bottom, the river here is a rapid stream, about 120 or 200 feet wide, dividing off, so as to make many islands, the water is Muddy & Reddish, nearly the color of the Red River. There

seems to be plenty of soft shell turtles & Cat fish in the river & lots of Wild geese and Sand Hill cranes—the only game I have seen in New Mexico—

6 & 7—On the 6th I was not able to write up my journal to day, in consequence of being busily engaged till bed time, about ten o'clock while marching along, some 8 or 9 men came charging up to us with an Indian yell. These turned out to be [Kit] Carson, the celebrated mountain man and his party on his way to Washington with an express from Capt [Robert F.] Stockton of the Navy & Col [John C.] Fremont announcing that they had taken California & that the latter was to be governor of the same. This created considerable sensation in our party, but the general feeling [was] one of disappointment and regret—most of us hoped when leaving Santa Fe—that we might have a little kick up with the good people of California but this totally blasted all our hopes, and reduced our expedition to one of mere escort duty the Genl taking the same view of the matter took only two Companies C & K, 1st Drags, and left the remaining three in New Mexico under command of Major Sumner.²⁰ We parted with our friends with regret. Dr Simpson²¹ & myself drew straws to see who should go to California, and I won, if it be said to be a gain to have such a march going and if we get there to have just such another returning. Mr. Fitzpatrick took Carson's mail, and left for Washington.²²

7th—After duly turning over our property, which I did all to one fifth chains, for which I must get Ingalls²³ receipt upon my return from California, and taking leave of the fellows left behind, we put out, with merry hearts & light packs on our long march—Carson as guide, every man feeling renewed confidence in consequence of having such a guide. The county we passed through to day, the valley of the Rio Grande was decidedly the most desirable portion I have yet seen of New Mexico, The Towns being scattered about in beautiful clumps, fine grass and every thing looking as fresh as in spring. The hills are as bleak and sterile as ever—this country is not occupied. The Mexicans cant stay in it for the Indians. I forgot to mention that several Apachee indians came into camp yesterday, and that four are now with us. The Genl. I suppose intends collecting the tribe for a council as we pass through the country. We did not leave the Rio Grande yesterday as I supposed we would, but continued on it & will do so for some time. We left the trail to Chihuahua to day. I think we are encamped to night opposite or below Fra Cristobal. From the way the Genl. marched to day, I should say he was on his way in Earnest. We have come some 23 miles. The day has been clear with a strong south wind blowing the dust in our faces. This has annoyed us much & made my eyes quite sore.

8th Oct. The Genl. pushed out early this morning, had us all astir in tolerably quick time after revallie. We travelled well for some two or three miles, and then struck the most infernal route prehaps that has been seen, with the exception of the country ahead. it was one succession of reedy bottoms,

sand hills and occasionally a sprinkling of tolerable thick cotton wood—but what was most annoying, was the chapparal this has long thorns on it, and we found it pretty thick in the high lands, this annoyed our mules in the team greatly, and if there be much of it ahead it will be impossible to pass through it. The leaf of the plant looks like the honey locust. We saw some bear tracks to day—a flock of turkeys and a deer was killed by Mr. Stanley.²⁴ It is reported that several coveys of black partridges have been seen. The country passed over to day was not so pretty as we saw yesterday. Yet from the size of the trees, I should say the bottoms were better and would produce well.

Oct. 9th We have not made more than 7 or 8 miles to day. it has been decidedly the hardest days journey we have yet had, it was with the greatest difficulty that the wagons could be brought up at all. The guide Carson declares that he believes it impossible to get wagons through and I think the Genl. is becoming of the same opinion, five of the team mules utterly caved and the remainder were so near to it, that the difference could scarcely be told, it was one succession of hills and what is called in this country cañons (pronounced canyons). The sides of the hills being nothing but beds of Lava, when on top of the hills chapparal, prickly pear & sand, so withall the poor mules had a devil of a time, this is the poorest country I have yet seen in New Mexico, though the River bottoms are good The Genl is now consulting with the guides & Mr Martin about taking on the wagons. The general opinion is to abandon them. To day we have seen several flocks of what we call black partridges, their plumage is very beautiful with a long top knot on the head—They fly, run and call very much like our quail, they are a longer bird than the quail, but not heavier I think. I have not eaten any of them yet, four or five were killed, but only two found in consequence of the thick brush and undergrowth that they were among. One man saw some 10 or 12 deer after coming into camp. I was out saw great sign both of deer & bear but could not find any of the animals. I think when we leave this camp we shall go on packs—There is no sickness in camp. The day was slightly cloudy, with a breeze blowing from the south as there has been for the last three days—there is distant lightning in the East, but no rain has fallen near us yet.

An express came up to us about 12 oclock to day—from some alcalde, announcing that the Navahoes were about to attack the mexican settlements and wipe them out—there was said to be a Mexican by name Sandone who was said to have joined these Indians, the Genl. sent back word that the troops in the country should look after the Navahoes, and directed Major Sumner to take a hand.

Oct. 10th. Last night the council determined that wagons could not be taken any farther—it was therefore determined to leave them—an express²⁵ was immediately sent to Major Sumner for a party to take back the wagons,

and to send us the pack saddles. We have remained in camp all day, reducing our baggage so that it might be packed—it had already been cut down to the lowest point, at the camp & Santa Fe. I suppose by the time we arrive at Monterey if we have the Georgia uniform on it will be as much as we can reasonably expect. Some Mexicans brought mules into camp to trade the Gen^l. finding they had been trading with the Apaches without a license confiscated the whole of them.

11 & 12th Oct remaining quiet in camp, nothing going on. All impatient except the mules who—(if the personal pronoun can be applied to them) seem to be very well contented. We have good grass on the other side of the River, and the poor things seem to enjoy the rest very much, particularly the team mules. We have all been engaged in weighing flour[,] pork &c. so as to adjust our packs equally. We are inexperienced in this mode of progression, and I expect nothing else but that we will ruin the backs of most of our animals. last night we amused ourselves having an illumination in camp, and Burning up the Qr Masters Tar, against which the Major strenuously protested, and gave us all a lecture on economy—which was all perfectly natural & proper for a quarter master.²⁶

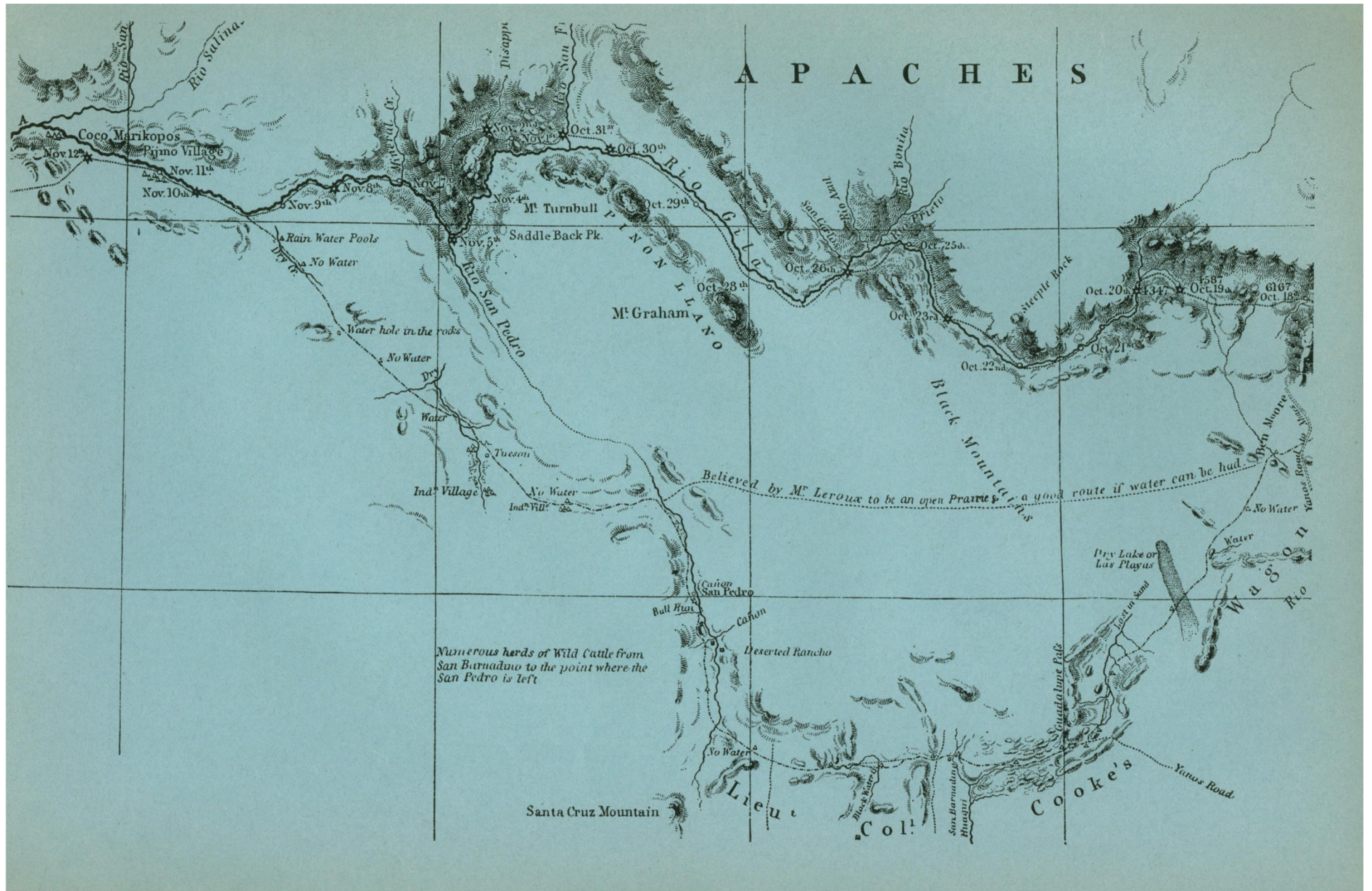
Oct. 13th—We crossed the river and moved our camp some mile[s] to better grass. Shortly after getting into camp Lt Ingalls came up with the mail, and notice that the pack saddles would be up in an hour or two. So tomorrow we are off for California in earnest. The mail brought us up but little news only an order, and an old N. Y. Herald—which had little or nothing in it. I received a letter from Philadelphia, from some unknown friend, who signs himself R. K. P. The Lord only knows who he is, I don't. he speaks of meeting with some cousin of mine in philadelphia Who she is the Lord knows for I dont I can swear—the rest of his letter I cant read, so I will use it for gun wadding—there is nothing going on in camp. Carson the guide says it will take us fifty days to go to St Diego. this is the 13—by that calculation it should take some time about the 1 or 3^d of Dec. *Whew* [?] but it is a long time to live on the prairies or rather desert and maybe on half rations at that, with not a very brilliant prospect of enjoyment or ease even when we get to Monterey. N. B. [*Nota bene*] Moor says I owe hime \$5.00, borrowed in my name by Chorbano.²⁷

Oct. 14th—This morning we were all up early, adjusting packs, and our spaniards were in great requisition. This was a perfectly new mode of doing business to us, the consequence was we expected to see some little fun by the mules raising the devil generally only two or three of them got into a muss and caused their packs to be thrown off. My own kit got somewhat damaged, but upon the whole I think we shall get along swimmingly. The country passed over most miserable, though the River bottoms looked well at a distance but *perhaps* it was only distance that lent enchantment to the view. The River here is some fifty or seventy five yards wide rapid and

muddy. Mountains in all directions, the country extremely rugged, and no game. So endeth the chapter. We marched nearly 18 miles to day.

15th & 16th Oct. On the 15th after leaving our camp on the Rio Grande, and following down the River some four miles, we struck off to the S. W. the mountains appearing as a barrier on our front. One pass appeared and for that we struck, we crossed two enormous cañons, and camped in the third. We found fine water in the two last. A new growth of trees The oak—a peculiar species, leaf small and serrated, acorn small, and sweet, a walnut, in appearance like the white walnut, the country rugged. We marched this day 24 or 25 miles. On the 16th left camp early, and had a devil of a hill to climb at the start, it was a breather after we got to the top of it—found a beautiful country—the finest stock country I have yet seen in New Mexico—the whole earth covered with grammer [grama] grass—a most nutritious food for Cattle and horses—stock water in abundance, in the small streams and I think a good deal of land might be cultivated by irrigation. We marched to day 18 or 20 miles, it is a little cloudy this evening—this is the first cloudy day we have had since leaving Santa Fe.

17th & 18th. Oct. Last night I did not write my journal in consequence of getting into camp late, and it being excessively cold. We travelled principally through mountain passes, along beds of the small streams, which seem to be dry at this season of the year—the road excessively rough. We were ascending mountains nearly all day—they were covered to their very tops with the finest species of grass—in the evening we crossed the Rio Mimbres, a small clear mountain stream, out of which Capt Turner²⁸ had caught about a dozen of the finest Brook trout. Capt T had been sent forward by the Genl to find the Apaches, but did not succeed in doing so. We saw many Apachee lodges scattered about through the prairie, the bottoms and side of the mountains, covered with a species of dwarf oak, very much like the live oak—it is evidently the evergreen—and several species of cedar that I have not seen before. The Bottom of the Mimbres was quite a fine piece of land, with pretty good timber, no game—from some cause unknown to myself, my Mule Manuel saw fit to throw me over his head which he did in less time than any four foot animal, has ever done before. On the 18th we started early,—the morning being very cold, continued to travel through pretty much the same sort of passes as yesterday, with occasionally a beautiful mountain vally. About 12 miles from our Camp, we came to the copper mines. We found here quite an extensive town, which had been deserted, the mine seems to have been worked to a considerable extent, as there were shafts running in every direction, it is said an American named McKnight worked them and obtained a fine profit—in fact made a fortune, that there was a large per centage of gold found in the copper—in fact so much as to pay the transportation of the copper from hence to the City of Mexico.²⁹ There is said to be a pretty good wagon road running here from the passo



Del Norte. I was in several of the shafts—the copper ore seemed to be plenty and very rich—as I cut out a piece of metal nearly pure—it is in veins in the rock, which seems to be a sand stone. We passed on beyond the Mines and encamped on a beautiful creek—about two miles from the mines—I saw a Black tail deer near the mines the first I have yet seen. After we had encamped Red Sleeve the principal chief of the Apachees,³⁰ with one of his men came into camp he was quite friendly, and the Genl gave him some presents. We move on tomorrow about 15 miles where the chief says he will meet us with his people. it is quite warm to-night and a little cloudy.

19th & 20th. Oct. On the 19th the Genl promised us a short march, the Apachees had promised to meet us at a certain point, sixteen miles distant, so we started out in fine spirits, expecting to have a pleasant evening in camp the Indians disappointed us, and when we arrived at the point designated we found that the grass had been all eaten up. Carson our guide had gone back with a party of officers to the copper mines. The old Mexican, who was acting as guide for the day reported water nine miles ahead so off we put, marched till dark, no water, continued the march, and it was 10 oclock before our poor mules got into camp. Many of them gave out, and one got drowned, it had a heavy pack and rushed into the water, and perished—fine grass, mountains &c. After we had been in camp a short time the Apachees came up.

20th. This morning presents were made to the Indians, and then an attempt to trade for mules We found them sharp traders, and only succeeded in getting two or three. They were armed—some with guns, bows and arrows and all with lances, they are said to be very formidable with these weapons, they are finely mounted, expressed the greatest friendship, and lasting hostility against the Mexicans, they seem to think that the Mexicans are great rascals and that they have a right to kill them whenever they can. Many of them had Mexican saddles, cartridge boxes, and different parts of the Mexican dress, all of which had no doubt been plundered from some poor devil who they had killed. We followed down a branch of the Gila [Night Creek] to day, and about 3 oclock came to that stream, it is a fine bold, beautiful mountain stream but with no land about it that can be cultivated, cotton wood timber, fine fish, plenty caught this evening. No game, though I found plenty of deer sign. We have marched in the last two days forty five miles.

Oct. 21st This has been a long and fatiguing days journey. When we left camp this morning we had two difficulties presented to us—the one a most steep and rugged mountain, the other a cañon of the river, we took the latter as the lesser evil, followed down the Gila some five or six miles and finally turned the steepest point of the mountain, in following the course of the river, we were obliged to cross it every half mile or so, the mountain jutting down to the very edge of the stream, making a very picturesque affair of it—but damn bad roads—the fact is we have so much of the grand, & sublime

scenery that I am tired of it. After turning the flank of the mountain we ascended it, and found it bad enough even at that. Carson said this was a turnpike road in comparison to the other route. We struck the river about 3 or 4 o'clock in the evening and found the country quite open. More fish have been caught this evening I tried my hand but could not get even a nibble—plenty of deer & turkey sign to day—none seen. I had to take a *pleasant* ride of some miles on the back trail to see a sick man—this made me late in getting into camp Our march to day some 18 miles by my computation. The Howitzers have not come up yet, and it is now 8 P M—poor Davidson³¹ he has a sweet time of it—these are the only wheeled vehicles we have along, and they are about as much trouble as all the packs put together Our pack animals begin to suffer dreadfully from sore backs, and the beef cattle are becoming so tender footed that the[y] are driven along with the greatest difficulty. Some Indians came up shortly after we started this morning—We have seen nothing of them since, the rascals are loafing along after us to steal some mules, I suppose.

Oct. 22^d. We arrived late in camp this evening as usual having marched 18 or 20 miles—the country is better than that passed over yesterday. Kept the river bottom for a few miles, but was again headed off by another cañon—we then had a rough country, the Howitzers broke down another set of mules yesterday these devilish things cost us more in the shape of mules than a Company of Dragoons. Captain Johnston lost one of his mules³²—with the pack—he has gone back after it. We are to march ten miles a day till he overtakes us—

Oct. 23^d. This morning we left camp about 9 o'clock, crossed the River, and marched down the bottom on the north side of the stream, the road was quite level, but ye gods the dust. I never suffered or saw men suffer more from any trifling annoyance in my life. The grass & weeds indicated quite strong soil, and might be cultivated by proper irrigation. We saw one or two wild geese & two or three flocks of ducks—the advanced guard saw the black quail & the common quail of the United States No other game was seen, the fact is Carson says he never knew a party on the Gila, that did not leave it starving, this I am fearful will be our case before we leave—Marched about 16 or 17 miles.

Oct. 24 The Gen^l determined to remain quiet to day. We have been fishing & caught nothing. Capt Johnston got up about 12 M. he caught his mule and found most of his pack. ruins of ancient buildings seen yesterday and broken crockery.³³ No fish caught, and only one wild goose killed.

25th. We left camp early this morning continued to travel along the River Gila, had a hard and rugged days march. Encamped on a high hill or rather mountain, near the river, had to pack wood & water up the hill for more than ¼ of a mile, good grass.

27. On the 26th we left camp early revallie having been sounded at 4 A.M.

Orders were issued the night before that we should have every thing prepared to start so soon as there was light sufficient to see this was represented as being a hard day—and it was not belied, it was one succession of mountains so covered with sharp stones that I do not believe our mules touched the ground once in five miles. A mule without shoes stood no chance, many could not be driven, and many from exhaustion fell by the wayside, and no effort on the part of the men could get them any farther. Some ten or twelve utterly give up—the men were coming in last night till one o'clock, and five or six had to lay out in the mountains, one poor fellow lost the way and following a ravine our camp fires being in sight, tumbled over a bluff thirty feet high—but fortunately did not get hurt much. There is a mule now on the mountain opposite to us that can be driven neither up or down. The Howitzers did not get in Water had to be sent back to the men—the River from our last camp to this runs through a cañon, the water is inaccessible for any thing but a bird—therefore we were obliged to do without it all day—the men and animals suffered very much.

There was some rain last night, and it is now raining. A few days wet weather will use up the remainder of our animals, and we shall be obliged to foot it from here to California. The Gen^l. determined to stay still this morning until 12 M, when we start to look for grass. Our animals had but little last night.

28th—After 12 M yesterday, the Gen^l. concluded to remain in camp the balance of the day. Men were coming in camp all day with broken down mules, and cattle. The Howitzers got in about 1 P M—plenty of fish caught, and two turkeys killed by Mr. Stanly, the artist. This morning we are all up bright and early preparing for a start. When my cavalry were driven up I found one of them my poor old pony so used up that I was obliged to abandon him—he will I think do well and perhaps be the sire of a new race of horses in the mountains. Several mules were left also. After travelling a few miles over rough broken country, we got into the river bottom, and have come on finely all day. No hills or stone, but deep sand and plenty of dust. The River tolerably well wooded with cotton wood—some thickets of a species of wood that I do not know—the bottom was better to day than I have yet seen it on the Gila, and might be cultivated by irrigation—passed the ruins of several buildings in some places the cedar posts were standing. The buildings were evidently quite large—and pieces of crockery were scattered about in great profusion—we have found these ever since we got on the Gila. Some pieces are plane, some painted black & white, & red & black.⁸⁴ Who could have done this—there is no record nor tradition that I have heard of, of the Mexicans having lived in this country, and the present race of Indians evidently never either built so extensively or made the crockery—that they may have smashed it is quite likely as they seem to have a genius that way, in common with all the red skin rascals I have ever seen

yet. The River at this point is some 60 yds broad and very rapid and quite deep it is cloudy, and has been raining in the mountains to our left all day—No game seen—yet every day we see plenty of deer & turkey tracks. great numbers of the partridge of the country must rise along the river as we constantly see their tracks and occasionally a covey of birds very few water fowl.

29 Oct. This morning it had cleared off beautifully—but a few drops of rain fell last night. This evening however it has clouded up again. We have made a fine march to day, had good roads, we struck the main Indian trace used by the red rascals for going into Sonora, where they plunder the Mexicans to their hearts content, of mules, Horses, women & children³⁵—This latter two articles they make slaves of. We are now in the Quietero (I believe so they are called—though I do not know how to spell the word) country.³⁶ They are represented by our guide as being great rascals and thieves—they will steal our mules if possible—therefore we keep pretty good guard for them—none have been seen to day, though some were seen at a distance yesterday. Saw plenty of broken crockery, but no ruins of buildings. Some of our party maintain that the buildings were erected by the Aztecs, but I do think if it were so we would hardly find cedar posts standing—though it is a wood that lasts a long time. It is said that on the Salt River a branch of the Gila, that large villages are found, & dikes &c. showing that the earth had been cultivated—the bottom of the river quite large & might be cultivated by irrigation—the river seems to be high at times overflowing the country to a considerable extent. The Engineer party I believe named a large mountain to the west of us, Mount Dallas, after the Vice president.³⁷ This grass is not good—long but tough and wiry.

30th Oct. To day has been pretty much the same as yesterday, only the road a little rougher—hills, &c—no game except partridges, centipedes, tarantulas & rattlesnakes, musquite bushes & cotton wood. Two Indians seen and caught to day—could not make them understand any thing, they were most infernally frightened—a few presents made to them—

31st Oct. Cloudy this morning, a few drops of rain last night. considerable rain fell near us yesterday but we caught none of it—this evening clear. Left camp $\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 oclock—marched down the River—pretty much the same as yesterday—except the country rougher and more broken. After marching some ten miles encamped, on a branch of the Gila—called I believe the San Francisco. We came thus early to a halt—about 12 M—because the great Cañon of this River commences here, and we will in all probability not be able to get water again for two days. Some Indians came and hailed us—a white flag sent out and a talk held with them, but I believe they could not be induced to come into camp. The mules are breaking down fast and our beef cattle are giving out fast. We usually kill the most foot sore, and it often happens that the poor beast cannot be made to get up—so as to be killed

decently—and it is devilish poor & tough beef at that. The trail that we are now travelling is strewn with the carcasses of cattle these have been driven from Sonora by the Indians—they steal constantly from the Mexicans. This is muster day, & the rolls have been made out.

1st Nov. The guide warned us this morning that we would march but six or seven miles before we should leave the River—we would be headed off by a cañon—and it might be three days before we should see water again—this was rather a gloomy prospect—We therefore filled everything that was portable and would hold water—with that fluid—coffee pots, gourds, canteens, and some had their gum elastic cloaks made up in the shape of bags, and filled with water. We started out on an Indian trail, up the mountain. Carson had never travelled this trail, and did not know any thing of country on it but from its course he thought it best for us to follow it. We followed on up the trail & up the mountain—sometimes a very good road, then again rough. Saw many of the most beautiful amygdaloid stones—The mountains covered with fine grass, and the most enormous cactus. They were fully thirty feet high—and from 18 inches to 2 ½ feet in diameter. We found a nut also of very agreeable flavour. About 4 P M—we saw cotton wood to our great surprise and joy in a ravine. We at once made search, and found water, not in any great quantity yet sufficient to keep us from suffering—I had walked nearly all day—as we were constantly ascending—had but one drink of water all day. A man may easily imagine our joy when the water was discovered, as we had made up our minds to do on about a quart each for three days—and all this time our poor mules were to have none. We have made about 17 miles to day—9 of which was up the mountain.

2^d Nov.—Revellie sounded this morning at 4 o'clock and by day light we had breakfasted and all prepared for an early start, when we saw Indians on the top of the mountain, being extremely anxious to establish friendly relations with them, Carson was sent up to try and get them into camp, but they would not come, nor allow more than one person to approach them, and he must be unarmed—finally by leaving a hostage, one was induced to come in—he of course was received kindly, & presents made to him—then another came, when the first went back, and finally a third, who could speak a little spanish. With the last our interpreter and Carson talked—made him understand where we were going, and that we were at war with the Mexicans, and did not wish to injure the Indians, that we wanted to trade for mules and horses—All of this he seemed well satisfied with—but could not understand what the devil we wanted with the artillery. They however went off seemingly well contented, furnishd us a guide to conduct us to water, and promised to bring mules to-morrow. It is said that an American from Sonora killed their chief and several others of the tribe a few years since in the most treacherous manner, and what was the worst of it, there were sixteen other Americans in the neighborhood trapping who had received no notice of this

fellows intentions and knew nothing of the murder. The Indians attacked them and killed the whole number.³⁸ We traveled down the mountain to day—rough road—and camped on a little stream about 2 P.M. The stream is well wooded—with cottonwood, sycamore—the first I have seen in New Mexico—and ash—

3^d. Nov.—It being understood that we would not move camp to day, We were quite fashionable in our breakfast hour and took matters and things in the most quiet manner, every one hoping to be the possessor of a good fat mule or horse before night. About 8 o'clock a few Indians made their appearance—when the quarter master—Major Swords—pitched his tents and opened shop—about twenty Indians came in fine formed, active healthy looking fellows, but most scantily provided with any thing like clothing. The red & blue cloth, with the blankets & knives were shown in the most tempting manner. After some time, a trade was made—one blanket a piece of scarlet, 4 yds of domestic—a paper of paint, two butcher knives and some rings & glasses for a mule. for this price we succeeded in getting seven mules—not fat or remarkable for sound backs either. The chief then arrived—a good looking man of some thirty five years dressed in beaver skin. This fellow first embraced the General, made a long speech to him, and as usual among Indians commenced begging. We found him the greatest beggar in the crowd—he found this unprofitable, When he wished to sell a mule for more than any one else—this the Major would not give—when the chief mounted his horse and put off since when we have not seen any thing of the red rascals—not one half came in that promised, and so ended our fond anticipations of a remount, and getting rid of a bale of Indian goods. There was one old squaw—a perfect old beggar—from the tone of her voice, dressed in fine muslin & Brussels lace—this had evidently been the ball dress of some Mexican belle³⁹—in fact most of the Indians had Spanish saddles—or some part of the clothing of the Mexicans—evidently plundered. Many of their horses & mules were branded. They told us that there were now two parties on a plundering expedition into the Mexican country. We saw one boy some 15 years old, very handsome—and intelligent in his looks—who told us he was a Mexican. We wished to make up a purse to buy him—but so soon as the proposition was made his master bundled him up and put off with him—the boy did not seem to be discontented—nor did he express any wish to quit the Indians⁴⁰—he was from a place in Sonora called St Ana—we are now within 80 miles of the settlements of Sonora. The Indians brought in the muscal [mescal]—the whole plant I think recently gathered and roasted—the heart of it was extremely pleasant—much in taste like a sweet potatoe only sweeter and more juicy they had it preserved also—as we saw it among the Apachees. They proffered us acorns—and the chief had money—plundered from the Mexicans no doubt—An old squaw showed us some metal—

which some of us thought to be ammoniate of silver. She would not part with it—at any reasonable price.

4th & 5th. Nov. On the 4th we left camp early, nothing having been seen of our friends the Pelomaroes⁴¹—(so the Indians are called) Our road laid over the tops of—and along the sides of the most steep and rugged mountains, occasionally we would come to a little vally—where the oak, walnut, cotton wood and ash were found—No water however—though it might be had no doubt by digging a little in the sand—towards evening we got into a little valley and reached our camp at 5½ or 6 P M having marched some 25 miles—The men were coming up until 10 oclock at night. Hammond⁴² with the rear guard and Howitzers did not get up. We saw in the valley—a large trail of cattle & Indians—no doubt these were just out of Sonora.

On the 5th we left camp about 9 A.M. travelled down the river, through a cañon—still continued on the cattle trail—found a little steer left by the Indians—and encamped about 3 P M—some ¾ or 1 mile on the St Pedro—above its mouth this little stream is also called the Hog river by the Americans—from the number of wild Hogs found on it—the country passed over barren mountains, and utterly worthless—

6th. This has been a most weary day, the Howitzers being left in the mountains and the great difficulty of getting any thing along with wheels, caused the loss of another day—they have not got up yet—and the lord knows when they will arrive—though I have no doubt that Hammond and his party—have worked like devils to get the cursed things ahead. There has been no excitement—or nothing else in camp the only consolation a man has, is that his mule is feeding and may be able to carry him another day farther on the journey—our pack animals are getting in a most pitiable condition—their backs cut all to pieces—and so poor and weak that they can hardly be goaded along. Then the beef—poor and tender footed—When they get into camp, and one of them has to be butchered—he meets his death—lying down, nor can the poor devil be made to stand up long enough to be decently disposed of—every bush in the country is full of thorns—and every piece of grass so soon as it is broken becomes a thorn at both ends—every rock you turn over has a tarantula or centipede under it, and Carson says in the summer—the most beautiful specimens of rattle snakes are scattered around in the greatest profusion. The fact is take the country all together, and I defy any man who has not seen it—or one as utterly worthless—even to imagine any so barren—The cactus is the only thing that does grow, and we saw some of them yesterday—I should say 50 feet high—one was measured and found to be 45 feet high. Yesterday our rear met a party of Indians—The red rascals would have nothing to do with the soldiers but wished to trade with a Mexican who was with the party—& desired the Mexican to bring his wares to the bushes at some distance from the party—but the Mexican could not be prevailed upon to leave the company—They (the Indians) no doubt wished to

murder the poor devil. I have been asleep nearly all day—waked up in a horrible humour—hope to feel better tomorrow. We are now within some fifty miles of a Mexican post in Sonora—lord if they only knew our condition I do think they might trade our Gen^l off for La Vega⁴³—The Howitzers have got in so we leave in the morning bright and early.

7th. Started from camp about 8 o'clock—followed the River bottom all day. The road very good—except the dust, and if you did happen to ride off of the beaten trace you stood a reasonable chance of having your mules leg broken. The ground seems hollow beneath—& your animal is constantly stumbling or falling with you by slipping through up to the fetlock & sometimes nearly to the knee—The whole face of the country is perfectly barren—the only thing growing being a little cotton wood—the cactus in the lord knows how many varieties—the *Artemisia* & musquite. We are encamped to night among the mountains again—no game seen to day. little grass in our camp—Three Indians have come in two Quiriteroes & one Navajoe⁴⁴—our march to day has been about 18 miles. The frost has not touched the leaves of the cotton wood much—not more than it would in Missouri by the middle of Sept.—it has clouded up this evening and looks like it might rain—the wind being from the S west. The command is remarkably healthy not a man on the sick report whose disease could in any manner be attributed to the country—

8. & 9th Nov. On the night of the 7th it clouded up and threatened a great storm of wind and rain, after blustering till about 11 o'clock P M—it rained very hard, for about half an hour and then cleared off. This is the first rain of consequence that we have had since leaving Sante Fe. It was quite cool all day. We travelled through a cañon all day crossed the river very frequently which made it disagreeable, in consequence of the depth of the stream our feet and legs got wet—Our Indians staid in camp all night, promised to bring in horses, mules, & cattle, to trade, but failed to do so—this however did not disappoint us any as we have learned not to put much faith in their promises. After getting in camp tried my hand fishing, as usual failed to catch any thing—then tried it hunting, being incited thereto by seeing several geese—Killed a hawk & one patridge. little or no grass for animals, and very little seen all day—

9th Last night we had a white frost—the first I have seen on the march—and in fact the first appearance I have seen of moisture in the air—as we have had no dew—The morning quite chilly. Our course continued through the cañon for some two or three miles. This part of the cañon presented the grandest scene I have yet seen in the Rocky Mountains. The cliffs were some hundred and fifty feet & perfectly precipitous. They are basaltic I believe. After leaving the cañon, we came suddenly on a large plain with mountains in the distance. One piece of good news the guide told us and that was—that we were through the mountains. No man can imagine our

relief, who has not toiled through them for the last forty days on tired and damn contrary mules—The bottom almost destitute of grass and covered with musquite wood. The soil is not sandy, but is more like that found in an extremely dusty road in the States—and beaten down a little with rain—There is some sort of animal that burrows under it in every direction, which makes it disagreeable as well as unsafe to leave the beaten trail. We found more ruins, and broken crockery, and our antiquaries will persist in saying that it is remains of ancient Aztec houses. After marching some 20 miles we found a patch of coarse grass—where we encamped, our mules however seem to enjoy it very much—and well they may, for they have been on devilish short rations for the last two nights and likely to be so for some time to come—if report speaks true.

10th & 11th Nov. Our course to day still continued through the bottom of the Gila, the same powder baked for soil—but we were agreeably disappointed in finding an occasional patch of grass—the advance of our party saw what is known in this country as the Casa Montazuma, this is a house of considerable extent, and apparently fine finish, built of cement and sand, and the inside of a very fine finish. The rafters I was told by a person who inspected it, had evidently been hewn off with a stone axe or hatchet. They were of cedar. The house occupied a most commanding position—there is no tradition either among the Mexicans or Indians as to what time it was built.⁴⁵ About 6 o'clock we encamped in a grassy bottom some six miles above the Pimas village, here it seems we were first discovered by the Indians—and the Genl received a message from the chief to know who we were, where we were going and with what intention we were coming into their country all of which being answered in a satisfactory manner—and being informed that we would trade for provisions, they at once hurried off and by nine o'clock our camp was crowded with them with various articles to trade, such as corn, beans in great abundance—water mellons mollasses made from the prickly pear—which has very much the taste of preserved quinces—white beads and red cloth were the articles most in demand—they came in to trade with us with the greatest confidence, showing not the slightest fear as the mountain Indians did⁴⁶—They were most eager to trade—and kept Major S. at it till ten o'clock.

11th. Our camp still full of the Indians they encamped with us last night, and accompanied us this morning to their village—which we found to be some six miles from our camping place These are an agricultural people their fields are well fenced, and the land well irrigated—they are well mounted on fine horses and mules, their houses mud hovels, thatched They raise cotton, corn & beans in great abundance, and the best mellons I have yet seen in this country. Many of them speak spanish, and altogether, I think they live better and have more than the people of New Mexico—they are extremely honest—last night, we left every thing we had laying about as usual,

nothing was missing, and to day while trading with them, they had free access to the tent—and not an article was missing, although they might have been stolen with the greatest ease. They are armed with the bow, bludgeon & shield, and are considered formidable by the neighbouring tribes. their bow is much larger than I have observed among any other Indian tribe—they cultivate cotton to a considerable extent—they seem to pull the plant up, about the time the pod opens, dry it & pick the wool at their leisure. They manufacture their own blankets from cotton, shirts &c. Their cloth though coarse is of beautiful texture the threads being perfectly even, and in fact it looks as well as the article commonly used for summer clothing called I believe everlasting We purchased from them for a few pounds of beads, over an hundred pounds of corn meal & flour. They place great value on the beads and white domestic is also a cash article. The men I think are below the ordinary hight, though they are muscular—and appear healthy. They wear their hair very long, many of them I think had it over two feet, they could sit upon it easily. Their women are ugly and coarse looking, have merely a petticoat girted around the loins—all the upper part of the person being perfectly naked.⁴⁷ We have succeeded in getting one beef.

12th. Nov. The trading commenced this morning most briskly again—for flour & meal and the supply was fully equal to the demand—besides the traders in meal and flour there were many others who went off sadly disappointed that they could not sell their wares—these consisted as yesterday of beans, sweet corn, shelled corn, water mellons, red pepper, & the molasses spoken of before. About ½ past 8 we left camp and marched some sixteen miles, at least ten of the number through well cultivated fields, that had been planted in cotton, Wheat Corn and mellons. They have the greatest abundance of food, and take care of it well, as we saw many of their storehouses full of pumpkins, mellons, corn &c.—their village is scattered at intervals on the river for some twenty five miles—there are two distinct bands—the Pimas, & Mericopas—each having their seperate chief—and seperate village.⁴⁸ We left some ten broken down mules with them to be turned over to Capt Cook—also one or two bales of goods—this I think will test their honesty—if they turn the goods over to Cook they certainly deserve half for their honor⁴⁹—from the number I saw to day, and the extent of the village below where we left it—I should suppose there were fully two thousand persons. We are now trading for cattle—they value them at \$10 a head. I saw them spinning cotton. This is done entirely by hand—the cotton has a very fine and silky appearance. The trade still continues These people seem to enjoy fine health. We have seen no place of burial, though we have travelled half through their village nor have I seen a man, woman or child who presented the appearance of ill health. One man seemed to have some cutaneous affection that did not affect his general health—and one or two had but one eye. There were no cases of deformity, or idiocy so commonly met with about



our Indian Villages. They all seemed sprightly good tempered fellows—and there were as many or more children than a person would meet with in one of our new States among the same number of people—they wear their hair very long the men much longer than the women. We have had no reason up to this time to alter our opinion as regards their honesty. They have had the free range of the camp, access to any place that pleased them, allowed to handle and examine every thing, and not one article that I have heard of has been missing

13th & 14th Nov. On the 13th we had a repetition of the same scene of trading—Indians wandering about camp in all directions. The chief of the Mericopas paid us a visit, and received presents—all of which he divided out among the attendants, reserving nothing for himself. These are a much finer looking set of Indians than the Pimas, the men are larger and more muscular—on an average much taller—the women are ugly—large and fat They are people of the same habits all agriculturalists—fond of drink—offered us any price—or to trade—any thing they had for liquor. We succeeded in obtaining here two beeves—for a blanket and some 14 yds of white domestic—and one yard of red cloth. At 12 o'clock we left camp—marched through a perfectly barren country. We [at] 8 o'clock at night, encamped no water or grass for our animals.

14. We had revellie sounded so soon as the moon rose this morning and in half an hour was under way. The mules were nearly mad for water and something to eat—but we were obliged to drive them out though this was attended with great difficulty, for soon as their ropes were untied every one was for taking the back track, and if your eyes were off them for a minute, you found the mule gone—and probably making the best of his way to yesterdays camp. About day break we passed through a gorge of mountains—from this place to the river—it is a gentle descent we went ahead finely—and at 11½ A.M. struck the river The country is destitute of every thing save the musquite—and other kindred bushes. The cactus is from 1 inch to 40 feet—covered with thorns. After striking the river we marched down some 4 or 5 miles—and found a camp of dry grass and weeds. The river here is considerably larger than where we last saw it, as the Salt River comes in just below the Pimas—it is also a little brackish. We have marched since 12 yesterday I think about 45 miles.

15th. This being sunday and the mules still showing great fatigue from their hard march and starvation, the Gen^l. concluded to remain quiet for the day. The loss in mule flesh in crossing the jornada [*jornada*], 6 and a great many that could just be driven in camp.

16th.—We left camp this morning at 7½ A.M. Every thing in the way of mule flesh looking bright considering the state they were in. Marched down the River—or in its course. The bottom extends out on each side on the north to some mountains say ten miles off on the south to a greater distance—The

mountains are not so high as those we have passed through—but are if any thing more rough—and jagged and forbidding in their appearance—they look black from the volcanic stone on them—this is Basalt—and we passed over a bed of it to day more than three miles—it looked like it had hardly time to get cold—since the fire left it—the country nothing but dust, sand musquite and cactus—not a bird seen except some ravens—and scarcely a spear of grass to ten feet square from this time to the mouth of the Gila. Carson says we must depend on seeds and willows immediately on the River banks for food for our mules—in spots—though they are few and far between a little patch of grass may be found, ten feet wide. This is immediately on the banks of the River and the Animal most frequently will have to stand in the water to pick the grass. We have marched 18 or 20 miles to day.

17th & 18th—One days march on the River is so much like unto another that one description will do for all that is to say—sand, dust, & a black stone, so blistered from the effects of heat that they look like they had hardly got cool—no grass, nothing but weeds & cactus. The River here is some 60 or 80 yards wide—on an average 3 feet deep and rapid. We have seen more water fowel in the last two days, than we have yet met with on the River—ducks, brant geese & swan. The cotton wood shows the effect of frost very little—not more than the same tree did when we left the Rio Grande a month since—On the night of the 17th we had considerable frost.—The mountains still continue on our right and left, and if any thing more jagged and forbidding in appearance than any we have yet passed. Some of them have the most fantastic forms. Our march for the last two days has been some 35 or 37 miles—I neglected to note a stone we passed on the 16th or rather a hill of stone—all carved up with Indian hieroglyphics—the sun moon & stars—horned frogs—Attempts at the human form divine, were the most frequent forms—they seemed to be of recent date—whether cut in sport or to commemorate some great event we could not tell—We also camped opposite to a stone last night with the names of Carsons party ca[r]ved on it as they passed from California to New Mexico last summer.⁵⁰

19. 20. 21st 22 & part of 23 Nov. On the 19th I had to return to see a sick man left back by the rear guard, & this together with our days march cost me a ride of forty odd miles—20 of which I rode by night. Carson saw several mountain sheep and killed one. I found the command encamped on a pond—some miles from the river. On the 21st we started again made another long days march and encamped on a little slough with some poor salt grass. We found the greatest difficulty in obtaining water here as we were some two miles from the river and the thickest brush between that a man ever dreamed of, considering the thorns it was as bad as a Florida hammock. The 22^d—We found this morning to our surprise and great joy that we were nearer by some days marches to the mouth of the Gila than we supposed. We started and found a tolerable patch of grass some nine miles from our last camp.

here we passed the rest of the day—suffered again for water, as it was a half days journey to the river through the chapparal—I suppose the Army of occupation would call it and if they had to pass through much of it, I think they were more to be pitied than from any danger of the enemy here. We killed a deer and two geese.

22d. Started again early. Made a long days march—passed through some very rugged sand hills, imagined all day we could discover the course of the Colorado—in the evening as we approached the river, discovered the trail of a large body of horse—supposed this to be a Mexican force sent out from Sonora to intercept us, as we rode into camp—the Gen^l sent Carson ahead to find the whereabouts of the enemy, and said “find them Carson and we will fight them to night.” All preparations were made to guard against a night attack the Howitzers were late in getting in—every man was directed to lay by his arms loaded, and prepared for instant action. thirty men were put on guard and distributed as pickets around the camp—spies sent out. Capt Johnston and Carson went out, and returned in an hour or so, but could discover nothing. They captured some horses, and a mare and colt. This latter circumstance lead us to believe that it was traders we had to deal with, besides Carson saw the tracks of women on the sand. We thought the Mexicans would hardly bring the fair creatures out to witness a blow up with us. Lt Emory went out with a party of twenty men—and brought in 3 or 4 Mexicans—about 12 ½ A.M. Then we learned that they were a party of traders on their way, or rather refugees from California to Sonora,⁵¹ that they had some five hundred horses and mules—that they had been six days crossing from the settlements in California to the Colorado—that there was but one place on the route where water could be found—that they had been lost and suffered much—that a revolution had taken place, and that a Mexican by the name Flores was at the Pueblo governor,⁵² in the name of the Mexican government—that he had some eight hundred men. they did not know where Frémont was—that there was another party in the country in favour of the Americans. They numbered some two hundred and were on the road fortified—between St Diago [San Diego] and the puebla—that they expected assistance from the American squadron. That the Mexicans had killed several Americans—and had Robedoux prisoner.⁵³ We were advised not to lose time as our presence would be of great benefit to our countrymen, and I rather think not many minutes will be lost. They told us they thought the Mexicans had two pieces of artillery—and that our people had either three or five. We have sent down to examine the drove of horses so as to pick out the best for our service. They look badly, and many of them are unbroken, never having had either bridle or saddle on them. Our men are nearly naked and barefooted Their feet are sore and leg weary—They have been marching many of them for the last four or five hundred miles. Our mules are all so that they can scarcely get along with a pack or a man

on their backs, only the sick have been allowed to ride lately. This is rather a bad picture for men who have a hard campaign before them, but then our powder is dry, and guns in good order and if they dont pile an unreasonable number up before us—we will be able to give them a good sound thrashing, though Moor said two weeks since that we all deserved a good trouncing for coming into such a God forsaken country, however a couple of weeks or such a matter will show every thing. We are encamped just above the mouth of the Gila about one mile and a half. The Mexicans forded the Colerado so that saves us some trouble.

Part of 23^d and 24th Nov. In the Evening Lts Emory and Warner were out making observations when they came across a Mexican in the bottom—something attracted their attention to the fellow, they searched him and found that he had a mail several letters addressed to Gen^l. Castro the former Mexican commander in California, were found.⁵⁴ All the reports we had heard from the horse drovers were confirmed. The Mexicans were bragging like the devil of having whipped some 450 sailors with 80 Mexican Dragoons they said they took a piece of artillery from the Navy called the Teazer, that the Web footed Yankies ran like the Devil⁵⁵—that the young men of the country are perfectly furious, that they are fiends incarnate—so I suppose we may expect a small chunk of hell when we get over there. We obtained from the drovers some 20 animals wild and broken—On the 24th I went to the camp of the drovers and witnessed one of the finest scenes I ever beheld. The Mexicans were driving about in all directions lassoing the wild horses—and our Dragoons so soon as they were caught mounted them. Some got thrown some kicked but they hung on to their animals—and finally succeeded in riding all except one fine bay mare. She was perfectly untamable—she kicked—plunged—struck—laid down—sulked & plaid the devil so completely in general—that we were obliged, to let her go. 12 dolls ahead was the price of horses and mules—or one broken down animal and two dollars to boot The drovers seemed surprised when they received pay for their animals, as they full well knew had we been a party of their own troops in a similar situation that devil a cent would they have got. They were well contented with their trade. They had a child born in their camp on the night of the 23^d. We all contributed tea sugar & coffee to the mother. They had nothing to eat but penolas⁵⁶ & corn mush—no shelter. We left camp at 2 P M. & encamped on the Colorado about dark—Marched ten miles—We cross the river & take the desert in the morning—if it be a worse one than that we leave it will be desolate indeed.

25. 26. 27. & 28th Nov. We forded the Colorado on the morning of the 25th, the River nearly swiming the mules in places. We however crossed with little difficulty—our course laid through the bottom—in the evening we struck on the edge of the sand hills We passed in the bottom an old Sakiea [*acequia*] and encamped at an old well which we dug out, and obtained

sufficient very bad water for drinking and cooking. Marched some 14 or 15 miles. We had been warned by Carson that we would have nothing for our animals to live on going across the desert. Every man in consequence gathered all the grass he could on the river and packed on his mule. We also found a bean on the musquite that the mules seemed very fond of—we devoted the whole evening to gather it. The bean is sweet and very pleasant to the taste. We also found another product of the musquite that the animals are fond of—this is a small spiral pod—something in form like a cork screw—several of them being on the same stalk. It contains a great quantity of saccharine matter—and the Pimas grind it up with their pinola—to use instead of sugar—Our animals got no water to night. On the 26th made an early start and marched to a place known as the Alamo—or cotton wood tree—here we were engaged in cleaning out an old well and digging a new one. Water was obtained late at night—the very worst it was ever my misfortune to drink. We were engaged all night in watering the animals—two buckets full each was all that was allowed—and an officer stood by to see division fairly made. Some of our mules being wild and unused to such attention refused to have anything to do with the water. When such a subject was found, the bucket had to be buried in the sand or covered with grass. My riding mule was the most refractory of all. I however succeeded at last in making him drink, by covering the water with the musquite bean. Many of the new purchased horses gave out to day—they failed even quicker than our weary and broken down animals—

27. We left camp early at 6½ A M marched till 9 P M—distance 32 miles—road heavy. The sand is much worse to go through than snow. We pushed to get to a lake—called the Lagoon by the Mexicans. When we arrived here we found it so salt that it was utterly impossible for man or beast to touch it—here the men suffered from want of water—we had nothing for our animals to pick except a little musquite brush. About 11 A M in the day, we had allowed our animals to pick a little dried up grass that we found on the plain—We found a little the day before. This probably was the only thing that enabled us to get through—& the pack forage together.

28—We left camp at 4 A M Marched hard and encamped on running water—the Carisa or Clousa [Carrizo] Creek (I do not know how to spell it) it means the Cane creek in plain English—distance some 22 miles, here we found a little cane for our animals to browse on and some water, the first they have had for thirty six hours. We are now over the desert. I have seen the Elephant and I hope I shall never be compelled to cross it again—The water we obtained the second night imparted such an infernal smell to my canteen that I fear I shall never be able to purify it again. The head spring of the creek near which we are encamped is warm—above blood heat—it is in some hundred yards of camp—No living animal seems to make his abode on this bleak and desolate waste. I do not recollect of seeing a single living

thing except a crow, near our camp on the 26th two or three ants, and some half dozen large tarantulas near the creek as We came in on the evening of the 28th At the Lagoon we heard several wolves howling—but nothing that is useful to man could possibly exist in such a place. The mountains were on our left the whole way—some twenty miles distant, in front of us, and as we approached, another range seemed to commence on our right. This latter I believe is the commencement of the Sierra Nevada, spoken of by Fremont. The range on our left is the coast range. On the morning of the 27 we had a fog, on the 28th a very dense one, so moist that our hair and the manes of the mules became quite wet. This I think is fog from the Californian gulph—as the wind was from the South west—and we could see it driven up before it—After getting in camp we all felt quite comfortable, and as we had had nothing like cooking for several days every man turned out the best he had—a canister of potted meat and a cup of tea—with a brandy toddy were the greatest luxuries that could be found—and we went at them with a will. We supped out. I took one supper at home—drank penola with Carson⁵⁷—& wound up in the evening by eating again with Captain Moore—it seemed to me that there was no such thing as quenching my thirst I drank tea and water until I could stand no more, and yet I was thirsty and every one complained of the same. Many of the Messes had nothing but a pure vegetable diet—that is to say, bread—made of salt & flour & water or a little boiled corn, or beans, with not even meat enough to grease it—among the number in this situation was the general. The Engineer camp were even worse off it was reported that they had nothing at all for the men employed in the department, a Mexican who they had to herd their mules had stolen from them, and sold the provisions to another Mexican a trader who was allowed to travel with the troops. The fellow was caught in the fact—yet nothing was done with him except to put him under guard—this only goes to confirm me in my opinion formed in New Mexico—that these low Mexicans are the greatest scoundrels that are to be found any place—the question was seriously mooted whether a mule should be killed or not It was not done—but I suppose will be at the next camp—as we are fully seventy miles from any settlements.

29th.—The command left this morning about 9 A.M. Major Swords and myself live together—Upon search being made it was found two of our mules are missing—so we will have to wait until they are found, or till those who have gone out to search for the lost ones return. it is now past 1 o'clock, so I think there is little hopes of our catching the command to-night—and if they dont lay by tomorrow the lord knows when we shall see them—not before they get to settlements I suppose. About half past 3 P M. our Mexicans returned from the hunt after the lost mules, without finding them, from all he could see he believed that they had been stolen by Indians, this was rendered possible as he found one of the company mules dead, and it had

been butchered, the fleece being taken out as if to eat.⁵⁸ We therefore put off for our next camp with the animals we had, first one gave out, then another until we were obliged to abandon four—to pack everything in the party—both public & private animals—About 11 ½ o'clock, we discovered a camp but as we had understood the next camp was to be at least 20 miles from our last we feared that the fire we saw, was either straglers or Indians. We therefore prepared our arms and rode forward, but to our great joy, we discovered it to be our own people—encamped at a place called the Vayewaw Chitoes—little prairies—(the two Spanish words above I think is near the sound but I cant vouch for the orthography.)⁵⁹

30th. Our mules all standing in need of rest—and something to eat. We have remained in camp—there are several old cornfields about, cultivated by the Indians—and the advanced guard found a bale of grass from which the Indians make rope laying by the side of the stream—some of it twisted into strings on sticks—this no doubt had just been left by the owners, who fled when they discovered us—the grass is of a fine beautiful fibre—white—and I would think—as good ropes might be made from it, as the Manilla rope. They seem also to use the grass for sewing—as we found with the bale of grass—several of their needles made of hard sticks painted—& with an eye drilled through them—the grass at this place is salt, the ground being incrustated with salt, it looks very much as if a slight fall of snow had just covered the ground—the salt is even incrustated on the grass—this purges the animals and also acts as a diuretic—the fact is it seems to weaken them more, than it does good. The water is bitter and salt—and this has been the character of every drop of water that I have tasted since leaving the Gila—this land we passed over yesterday perfectly unproductive—in one place the palmetto is found—Where we are encamped is perfectly destitute of timber. The wind has been from the N.W. all the day, and rain seems to be falling in the mountains—We have had a slight mist—it is extremely cold and disagreeable—We were reduced to day to kill a horse, for provisions. Some of the men had been for several days past on one fourth of one ration per Diem.

1st Dec. This is the first day of winter, and it feels like it. The wind is from N. & W. there is a slight fall of snow on the mountains. We feel the cold sensibly, and overcoats are in demand. We met an Indian to day, he could give us little or no information as to what was going on. he told us that there were many Americans at St Diego. The country passed through to day is perfectly barren—sand and gravel in the vallies—& mica sand stone & I believe granite in the mountains. We passed through a cañon to day, so narrow that an ordinary sized wagon could not have passed. About sun down we came to an Indian village—deserted.⁶⁰ There were the remains of corn fields and pea patches. The country is in a great measure destitute of timber & we were obliged to destroy their lodges for fire wood.

2^d Dec. Still cold and bleak. Passed down the vally we were encamped in

last night—or rather passed up the vally—as I believe the water ran to the East. Passed over a hill, in a kind of vally—here the live oak commenced, As we passed on we found them of magnificent dimensions. We saw to our left at a distance a most beautiful vally, with timber thrown about it in clumps, in the most picturesque manner. Some of this was live oak—the other I could not tell what species of timber it was. We saw several shrubs in bloom, & yesterday I forgot to mention I saw the bloom of what I was told was the century plant. This is the muscal from which the Indians make a very pleasant preserve. About 4 P M. we arrived at Warners,⁶¹ the extreme frontier settlement of California, this man is living very comfortably—he seems to have plenty of stock, cattle, Horses & Sheep and certainly has a fine range for them. Warner is at present at St Diego I believe a prisoner, although he is an American from Connecticut. Yet I believe he is suspected of favouring the Mexicans rather more than his own countrymen. We found an American occupying Warner's premises by name Marshall—he was from New Hampshire—he was the only white man about when we rode up.⁶² There was one fellow however upon seeing us approach, an Irishman I should judge from his brogue put off—but he was soon brought back by some Indians, who were about the Ranch. A Mexican was also brought in with the Irishman—from these we learned that the Mexicans were in arms and had possession of the Puebla de los Angelos—that the Americans were in force at St Diego, some five or six ships of war being there that Fremont was advancing on the Puebla with some four hundred Mexicans [*sic*] and about one hundred Indians—that the Mexicans were well armed—and exhibited vastly more courage than they did at the commencement of difficulties in the country—We also learned that there were several detached parties of the enemy between us and St Diego. They also expected the arrival of a Mexican force escorting prisoners out of the country to Mexico. This force they thought probable would arrive in our neighbourhood to night. They also told us of a parcel of mules belonging to Flores, the leader of the Mexicans in a vally some fifteen miles from where we now are, a command is now being organized and put in motion to capture the mules if possible.⁶³ We have obtained a supply of beef & mutton, so let what will happen we wont starve, the Irishman spoken of above is to act as guide. I forgot to mention that we met an old fellow with all of his family & horses fleeing from the country to Sonora, from what we can learn there are a great many making preperations for the same trip. There seems to be perfect anarchy in the Enemy's camp. My Hospital mule ran off this evening & broke my panniers all to the devil

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. William Helmesley Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers* (Washington, 1848), 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Exec. Doc. 7; also printed as 30th Cong., 1st sess., H. Exec. Doc. 41. The latter includes Abert's notes and report and Johnston's journal and will be cited in these notes as Emory, *op. cit.* Johnston's diary is also quoted in James Madison Cutts, *The Conquest of California and New Mexico, by the Forces of the United States, in the Years 1846 & 1847* (Philadelphia, 1847).
2. [Juan José Warner, Benjamin Hayes, and Joseph P. Widney], *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California* . . . (Los Angeles, 1876).
3. *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875* (Los Angeles: Privately printed, 1929).
4. Material for this paragraph on his life was taken in the main from Henry Dwight Barrows, "Memorial Sketch of Dr. John S. Griffin," *Historical Society of Southern California Annual Publication*, IV (1898), 183-85. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* (Boston and N. Y.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930) contains many scattered references to Dr. Griffin, and the story of San Pasqual rancho will be found in W. W. Robinson, *Ranchos Become Cities* (Pasadena: San Pasqual Press, 1939), pp. 173-85.
5. The map is entitled "Military Reconnaissance of the Arkansas Rio del Norte and Rio Gila by W. H. Emory, Lieut., Top. Engrs. Assisted from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé by Lieuts. J. W. Abert and W. G. Peck, and from Santa Fé to San Diego on the Pacific by Lieut. W. H. Warner and Mr. Norman Bestor, Made in 1846-7, with the advance guard of the 'Army of the West,' under command of Brig. Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, Constructed under the Orders of Col. J. J. Abert, Ch. Corps Top. Engrs., 1847." It was drawn by Joseph Welch and engraved on stone by E. Weber & Co., Baltimore.
6. The dragoon camp was thirteen miles from Santa Fé. General Stephen Watts Kearny's staff consisted of Captain Henry Smith Turner, acting assistant adjutant general; Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston, aide-de-camp; Major Thomas Swords, quartermaster; Lieutenants William Helmesley Emory and William H. Warner, topographical engineers; and John Strother Griffin, assistant surgeon.
7. The first village was Algodones. Barnardeo is in reality Bernalillo. Johnston mentions a third town, Sandia. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 567, 568.
8. Lieutenant Emory and Captain Johnston also felt that the Americans came out second best in the horse-mule trading. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 and 568.
9. Probably Isleta. Emory says that the alcalde of Isleta was an Indian. *Op. cit.*, p. 47. Other settlements passed through on the 30th, according to Johnston, were Paharito, Padillo, and Los Lentos. *Op. cit.*, p. 569.
10. The party encamped at Los Lunas, according to Johnston. *Loc. cit.*
11. Henry Whiting Stanton, second lieutenant of First Dragoons.
12. Emory on this date mentions by name only one village, Belen, in his report, but he says that there were several well cultivated Indian rancherias near it. The camp site is not shown on his map. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Johnston mentions camping below Puebloletors. *Op. cit.*, p. 570.
13. Emory calls it La Lloya and later, La Joya. On that day they passed through the village of Sabinal. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49. Johnston states that the camp was opposite La Jozin. *Op. cit.*, p. 570.
14. Sterling Price, colonel of the Second Missouri Infantry, became governor of New Mexico upon his arrival in Santa Fé. He later served the Confederate States in the Civil War.

15. James Allen, captain of First Dragoons, had been sent by Kearny to recruit the Mormon Volunteers. News of Allen's death was received from Colonel Price. Stephen Watts Kearny to Robert Jones, Rio del Norte, October 3, 1846, Kearny Letter Book (original MS in Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri).

16. Benjamin D. Moore, captain of First Dragoons. The town eleven or twelve miles away was the town of Polvadera. Emory and Johnston call it "Pulvidera." Emory. *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 57.

17. Philip St. George Cooke, captain of First Dragoons. The Mormon Battalion, consisting of about five hundred men, was recruited in about two weeks and mustered in at Council Bluffs, after the Mormons had begun their migration from Nauvoo, Illinois. The men were to be discharged in California at the end of their service. After Captain Allen's death at Fort Leavenworth, the Mormons marched to Santa Fé under the command of Lt. A. J. Smith, whom they heartily disliked. Cooke was ordered to open a wagon route between Santa Fé and California.

18. Edward V. Sumner, major of Second Dragoons.

19. Johnston says they camped five miles below Polvadera. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 571. This would be a mile south of present day Lemitar.

20. Companies B, G, and I remained in New Mexico under Major Sumner. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

21. There are two Doctor Simpsons listed in Heitman's *Register*, Josiah and Richard French. Both served in the Mexican War. Unfortunately the organization in which each served is not given.

22. Thomas Fitzpatrick, the famous mountain man, who had served Kearny as guide on the campaign into New Mexico, was retained to direct the Army of the West to California. When the meeting with Carson took place, Kearny ordered Carson, who was more familiar with the California route, to act as guide, while Fitzpatrick took Carson's mail to Washington. Both men were undoubtedly disappointed at the order. Leroy R. Hafen and William James Ghent, *Broken Hand, the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Chief of the Mountain Men* (Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1931), pp. 185-87.

23. Rufus Ingalls, second lieutenant of First Dragoons.

24. John Mix Stanley, draughtsman for Emory's party of topographical engineers.

25. According to Johnston, the express consisted of Corporal Joseph Clapin and a Mexican by the name of Tones. They were ordered to ride straight to Major Sumner without stopping—a distance of sixty miles. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

26. Thomas Swords, major of the Quartermaster Corps.

27. Chorbano is probably Jean B. Charbonneau, who was sent back on October 15 to act as a guide for Captain Cooke and the Mormons.

28. Henry Smith Turner, captain of First Dragoons and acting assistant adjutant general.

29. Robert McKnight had spent nine years in a Chihuahua prison before making his fortune in the copper mine, Santa Rita del Cobre. In 1828 Kit Carson had worked for him on the copper mine road as a teamster. The hostility of the Apaches had been a decided handicap. Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1914), pp. 35-37. See also Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59 and 577-78.

30. Red Sleeve, Black Knife and Lasady, according to Johnston, were the three principal chiefs of the Apaches on the west of the Del Norte. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 579.

31. John Wynn Davidson, second lieutenant of First Dragoons.

32. Abraham R. Johnston, captain of First Dragoons and aide-de-camp to General Kearny.

33. Cf. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 and 581-82.

34. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 65-69 and 584-86.

35. "About five miles from camp, we fell upon the great stealing road of the Apaches; it was hard beaten, and in places many yards wide, filled with horses' mules' and cattle tracks, the latter all going one way—from Sonora. . . ." Johnston, in Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 586. According to Johnston the army used the "Kiataro" (Coyotero) trail for several days, still being on it November 5. *Op. cit.*, p. 591. Ruxton notes the incursions of the Apaches and Comanches and the resulting devastation in parts of northern Mexico. George Frederick Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1847), pp. 100-2.

36. "Quietero" is Griffin's version of Coyoterros, a division of the Apaches. The Spanish meaning is wolf-men, so-called, supposedly because they ate wolves and coyotes but more probably because of their roving habits. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, D. C., 1907-10), (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30) I, 356.

37. Mt. Dallas was named for George Mifflin Dallas. It does not appear on Emory's map.

38. Chief Juan José was killed by James Johnson and a man named Glisson. The party attacked by the Apaches was the Charles Kent party of twenty-two, trappers on the Gila. Bancroft gives reference to Benjamin D. Wilson, "Observations" (MS), whose party was also captured on the Gila. Wilson, however, managed to escape. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1886-90), p. 407. Johnson acted to gain a reward offered by the then Governor of Sonora, who allowed \$100 for a scalp and \$25 for a captive. After luring the Indians into camp, Johnson fired a six-pounder among them, killing a large number. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

39. Cf. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 and 590.

40. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 73 and 74.

41. Pinaleños, a division of the Apache, noted for their warlike character and hostility toward the United States. They carried on extensive raids on Sonora and Chihuahua. Hodge, *op. cit.*, II, 254.

42. Thomas C. Hammond, second lieutenant of First Dragoons.

43. General R. Díaz de la Vega, who was captured by the Americans at Resaca de la Palma in May 1846.

44. Emory says these Indians were of the Piñon Lano (piñon wood) tribe. Johnston calls them Apaches. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 and 594.

45. Casa Montezuma was also called Casa Blanca. Hodge points out that it should not be confused with Casa Grande. Hodge, *op. cit.*, I, 210. For a detailed description of the ruins see Johnston, in Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 596-99.

46. The Pima, a division of the Piman family living in the Gila and Salt River valleys. They were a peaceable yet courageous people. Hodge, *op. cit.*, II, 252.

47. See also Emory's and Johnston's description of the Indians in Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85 and 599-602.

48. The Maricopas, an important Yuman tribe living with and below the Pima. Maricopa is their Piman name. Although each has a separate language, not understood by the other, the Maricopa and Pima joined for mutual protection against the Yuma and have lived together ever since. Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 806.

49. For honesty of the Pima see Griffin's entry of March 10, 1847.

50. "This point Carson calls Independence Rock." Johnston, in Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

51. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96 and 608-9.

52. José María Flores had been elected governor of California by a decree of the assembly, October 26, 1846.

53. Louis Robidoux, brother of Antoine Robidoux, the guide, was captured at the battle fought at Chino ranch on September 26 and 27. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History*

of California (San Francisco, 1886-90), V, 311-12. There are many versions of the spelling of the name Robidoux.

54. General José Castro fled from California August 10, 1846, when Commodore Robert F. Stockton marched into Los Angeles.

55. This is the Mexican version of the battle of Dominguez Rancho, October 8, 1846, and is, on the whole, fairly accurate. Captain William Mervine landed his sailors from the *Savannah* at San Pedro and attempted to march to Los Angeles, in an effort to retake the city after the surrender of Lt. Archibald H. Gillespie and his garrison. Because of the lack of artillery, Mervine was forced to retreat to his ship. The number of Americans engaged has been variously reported. Bancroft says 350; Mervine, 288; Gillespie, 310; however, the adjutant's report for October 7-8, 1846, gives the detailed account and a total of 299, which must be accepted as correct. Henry W. Queen, Adjutant's Report, Dominguez, October 7-8, 1846 (original MS in Office of Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.). Bancroft gives the Mexican force as 110, which may be considered accurate. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 318-19. The piece of artillery used by the Mexicans was not taken from the Americans but was the "Old Woman's gun."

56. Pinole is a meal of parched maize, mixed with sugar and spice.

57. ". . . a handful [of pinole] in a pint of water makes a most cooling and agreeable drink, . . ." Ruxton, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

58. The "fleece" is the flesh covering the ribs. Mountain men considered the fleece of the buffalo particularly choice. Ruxton mentions it many times.

59. Vayew Chitoes is probably Vallecito. Johnston calls the place "Bayou Cita." Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 612.

60. San Felipe.

61. Jonathan Trumbull Warner, known in California as Juan José Warner, had come west for his health. After residing in California for several years he had applied to the Mexican Government for a land grant, which was approved in 1844. An additional acreage was granted to him in 1846. Joseph J. Hill, *The History of Warner's Ranch and Its Environs* (Los Angeles: Privately printed, 1927), pp. 101-11.

62. William Marshall, a deserter from the *Hopewell* at San Diego, in 1845. In 1851 he was hanged for having instigated the Pauma massacre. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 567.

63. "Lieutenant Davidson, with 25 men, was dispatched with Carson and Sanders, to see if we could get a remount . . ." Johnston, in Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

The maps illustrating this article are reproductions of portions of "Military Reconnaissance of the Arkansas, Rio del Norte and Rio Gila by W. H. Emory . . .," 1847, drawn by Joseph Welch, which accompanied Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Exec. Doc. 7 (1848).

THE EDITOR OF THE GRIFFIN DIARY

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A Doctor Comes to California

*The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon
with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-47*

Edited by GEORGE WALCOTT AMES, JR.

(Continued)

3^d Dec. 9 o'clock. This place of Warners is called the Aqua Calliente, there is a boiling spring heads just above Warner's house—it is a bold stream, there is a strong smell of sulphureted hydrogen, and where we are encamped there is a fine spring of cool, sweet water—this furnishes sufficient for stock & I suppose for irrigating the soil—The Ranch is some three miles distant from Warners house: about the house there is some ten or fifteen acres under cultivation, about one acre and a half which is a vineyard. We obtained some of the grapes dried—they were nearly as sweet as raisins & of fine flavour, & size—it is said wine in considerable quantities is made in this country. Warner has a small band of Indians about him, he uses these people for herdsmen and I suppose as servants generally; they are fine large, healthy looking fellows—and speak well for the salubrity of the climate. We also obtained some water mellons from the Indians—they are of good size—as to the flavour I cant speak, as I have not eaten of them yet. Last night we had a visit from an Englishman, by name Stokes,⁶⁴ who owns a Ranch some fifteen miles distant, he has remained neutral during the difficulties taking side with neither party. I believe he was a sailor—took a fancy for farming, at which he seems to have succeeded very well as he is represented as owning several Ranches, and some thousand head of cattle, he did not give much more information so far as I could learn than we had already obtained—he however consented to carry a letter to Com^d Stockton at St Diego. This morning the Gen^l is sending back a party of our Mexicans to Capt Cook to pilot him across the Desert.⁶⁵ Lt Davidson has not yet returned with his party.

3^d & 4th Dec. Lt Davidson returned about 1 P M. with some hundred young mules and horses, some of them had been broken and were fine animals, but the majority were perfectly worthless to us. We had them driven along however, as they can be made useful and they belonged to Flores, the rebel governor, Davidson also captured several guns, & lances, one very fine rifle. Upon the whole it was a very successful foray. The warm spring spoken of above was found to be of the temperature of 137° F—I saw some of the wheat produced on this Ranch—it was large grained, white and the bald headed, or beardless wheat We were told the produce was very great.

The man who had charge of the farm said he would sow 35 bushels, and expected to reap 1000—rather a large product I should suppose—Their mode of thrashing is rather primitive. We wanted some flour. The man in charge therefore put all hands to work thrashing out. They rub the heads of wheat between the palms of their hands and winow it by letting it fall and blowing the chaff away with their breath and the wind—they grind between two stones, by hand. The quality of the ground is quite good—black but rather sandy. We marched about half past 8 A.M. continued down the vally, which we found to be beautiful—some of the most lovely scenes presented themselves that I have ever looked at—the live oak scattered about in the most beautiful clumps—stones of large size—and luxuriant grass— the day was most disagreeable, cloudy, and a drizzling beating rain all day—with a cold wind—in the evening we encamped at Stokes ranch—called St Isabelle. I believe this was an old mission or rather the Ranch of a mission called St Isabelle. We found the buildings here much better than at Warners—everything presenting a much neater appearance, the work no doubt of the priests—as usual the Indian village was near the house—these Rancheroes seem to live in fuedal style—each man has his band of Indian dependents—who are completely subject to his authority. Warners Major Domo told us he could raise 300 fighting men in a few hours. These Indians are peacible in their nature— their chief made a speech to the Gen^l last evening—in which he declared his wish not to engage in the war in any manner, but that he was perfectly willing to go to work. Of course this was what the Gen^l advised them to do, to keep at peace and work hard—and they would be well treated. They are certainly in a most miserable condition, worse by far than worst treated slaves in the United States. They seem to live on the offal of the ranches principally. Stokes seems to have a large stock, and his Major Domo—Seignor Bill—and old sailor promised to find us carts to transport our baggage to St Diego—this Seignor Bill treated us with the most distinguished hospitality giving a supper to the officers—turning out his mutton, grapes, and tortillas in great profusion. This was good, but his wine was abominable.⁶⁶ Seignor Bill gave the Gen^l some information of a party of Mexicans at some mission on our road with some 500 animals. I should suppose we would try and capture these gentlemen The only game I have seen yet has been wild pigeons, hares, & Ducks—no great number of the first and last.

5th–6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th On the morning of the 5th we marched from Stokes Ranch with Seignor Bill for guide, but bill having drank the night previous rather freely of his own or rather Stokes Liquor found himself very much in the humor for chasing wild horses the next morning, and a Band of mares presenting themselves Bill took after them got thrown and declared he would not go any further with [us]. At this the General demured, and mounted the Seignor with a couple of the guard by his side. Bill took us on the wrong rode once but soon corrected the mistake, in marching a few

miles further. We met Capt Gallespies party,⁶⁷ from St Diago consisting of 35 men, and one small 4 lb Gallespie encamped his party soon after we met, and we passed on to a ranch [Santa María] some eight miles distant, there we found wood and water, but no grass. We had therefore to march two miles farther on where we encamped, in a grove of live oak but no water except that which was falling from the heavens—and the rain did come down most severely. A party of the enemy being reported in our vicinity—it was first determined that Capt Moore should take sixty men and make a night attack but for some reason the Gen^l altered his mind, and sent Lieut Hammond with three men to reconnoiter. Hammond found the enemy at some 10 miles distant, but was discovered—and as he ran off with his party the Mexicans gave three cheers—

6th—We were all afoot about 2 A.M. and expected to surprise the party of Mexicans, though we had been in the rain all night our arms were not reloaded, but boots and saddles was the word, and off we put in search of adventure, in two miles from our camp we met Gallespie with his company, which fell in⁶⁸—in our rear— Major Swords was left back with the baggage, and thirty men. Another party some 10 or 15 men were left back with Gallespies four pounder. This reduced our fighting men to about 85 all told—with these and two howitzers we marched forward. The morning was excessively cold, and we felt it more as the most of us were wet to the skin. After passing over a mountain and travelling as near as I can judge some ten or eleven miles we came in sight of the enemys fires. We marched down the mountain so soon as we arrived on the plain the shout and charge was commenced from the advance. After runing our jaded and broken down mules and horses some $\frac{3}{4}$ or a mile, the Enemy fired on us. The balls whistled about most infernally for a while but the light was not sufficient, for me to distinguish any thing like a line of the Enemy, on my left however from the flashing of the guns I could see that there was a considerable row, and in a few moments the Enemy broke and, we found they had made a stand in front of a Ranchereo. This was called St Pasqual. At this time a fellow came dashing by, and I saw he was a Mexican several shots were fired at him when he fell I think as well as I could judge by the light, day was just breaking—it was Lt Beal⁶⁹ of the Navy who fired the shot. At this time another fellow came dashing by presenting with his hat & c a most Mexican look—when bang went a dragoon pistol—but missed another dragoon who happened to be near—drew his sabre and was about cutting the man down when I yelled out to him to stop as the man was one of Gallespies party—by this time we were very much disordered—our men some being mounted on fresh horses, and others on poor and broken down mules could not come. Capt Moor however ordered the charge to be continued and it was in the most hurly burly manner—not more than ten or fifteen men being in line and not over forty all together on they went however—the Enemy con-

tinued to retreat for about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile further when they rallied and came at us like devils with their lances—being mounted on swift horses—and most of our fire arms having been discharged or missed fire from the rain of the night previous, our advance was perfectly at their mercy. The men wheeled, and by this time a howitzer being near rallied on the gun, and drove the enemy off—Hammond was the first wounded man I saw, he had been in the advance with Moore—and got a lance wound on the left side between the 8th and 9th ribs—I told him to go a little farther to the rear and I would attend to him. At this time I was seperated from him—when the Gen^l saw me and told me he was wounded and wished my services, shortly after the devils got around me, and like to have fixed my flint—but I got off by dropping my gun which I snapped at a fellow and drawing an empty pistol—this answered the purposes of a loaded one—I then met Capt Galespie who told me he was wounded he was bleeding most profusely, the wound being in front directly over the heart. Cap^t Gibson next called on me and in a few moments I found I had my hands full. Capt Johnston who led the first charge was killed by a gun shot wound in the head. I was told this was the only man of ours who—received any injury from gun shot—Moor was killed far in the advance leading the second charge and Hammond I was told received his wound in attempting to rescue Moor—a man by name of [Frank] Menard, of Capt Emorys party was killed, one of Galespies men, 2 Sergts—1 Cop^l and 11 privates of Dragoons and one missing—supposed to be killed—we lost one of our Howitzers in this action, the mules in it ran wild and ran off with the piece. There [were] but three men with it and one was killed and the other two desperately wounded—upon the whole we suffered most terribly in this action 4 officers wounded one Sergt. one Cop^l and 10 privates, and Mr Robedeaux our interpreter—in all 35 men killed and wounded and I should think there was not to exceed fifty men who saw the enemy⁷⁰—We took two prisoners. The Enemy I think must have suffered as much as we did. This was an action where decidedly more courage than conduct was showed The first charge was a mistake on the part of Capt Johnston, the 2^d on the part of Capt Moor. After the Gen^l was wounded and the men were rallied he was anxious for another charge but was persuaded not to risk it. We drove the enemy from the field and encamped. All that day was engaged in dressing the wounded. On the 7th we left again on our march. Small parties of the Enemy hanging about in sight all day. in the evening we passed the Ranch of St Bernard, and killed some chickens for our wounded and drove some cattle off with us. When we had marched some miles from the Ranch the enemy again appeared and made another rush, to occupy a hill, where they could annoy us. They got to the top of the hill about the time we got half way up when the fight commenced and after two or three minutes the rascals ran, leaving three of their spears on the field. We occupied these heights as a camp for that night on the 8th we saw some commo-

tion on the plain—in a short time a flag of truce was sent to us by Picot the commander of the Mexicans,⁷¹ with some sugar & tea—a change of clothing for Capt Gallespie—which had been sent to Gallespie from St Diago, and he had taken them with the prisoners. The capture of these three men we now found out caused the commotion on the plain in the morning. We exchanged our prisoner for one of the men taken, and learned from him that Commodore Stockton refused to send us a reinforcement.⁷² The Gen^l then determined to march out at all hazards but in a council of officers, the Navy officers pledged themselves so strongly that Stockton would send relief, and on account of the wounded, the Gen^l consented to remain— in the evening Lt Beal of the Navy with Carson started again as an express to Stockton.⁷³ We burnt all of our baggage so as to have as little encumbrance as possible, dismounted the men and determined to perform the rest of the march on foot. We left our camp on the battle field of the 6th with 6 ambulances with wounded. The enemy are constantly hanging around us but are very careful not to come within gun shot— 9th We remained in camp, nothing going on the Enemy perading about on the mountains and the other side of the vally—We are reduced to mule meat— it does not go so coarse—after all some of my poor fellows have as many as 8 wounds on a side 3 are run through the arm—generally—they seem to aim with their lances so as to strike a man near the kidneys.

10th Sergt [John] Cox died this morning his wound on the left side, just above the crista of the Illeum [ilium]—he had singultus [hiccups] for several hours before death and vomited bloody water. We remain in camp to day waiting in case reinforcements be sent, if they are not sent we march in the morning at all hazards. On the evening of the 10th we were grazing our animals at the foot of the hill near our camp—when we saw the Mexicans driving a band of wild horses towards us. Capt Gilispie who has been in this country during the war, immediately told us what they were up to. Their plan was to run them full speed among our animals, and in that way to take off all we had— in half an hour we saw them coming full speed—the wild devils with sheep skins & other things of that sort tied to their tails, it certainly presented one of the most beautiful sights we had ever beheld—but as we were warned of their intentions, we were prepared. We waited a few moments so as to entice some of the rascals in gun shot if possible, and then quietly drove our animals out of the way throwing out a strong body of men to meet the rascals if they should come within reach of our guns.—by a shout the drove of wild horses were turned. One mule however with a sheep skin tied to his tail was so imprudent as to come within gun shot, forty balls I was told struck him, yet he did not fall, and was finally driven on the hill where we were encamped and butchered. This was a god send to us as the mule was fat, and that which we had been eating was not equal by any means to stall fed beef. The Gen^l ordered all things to be in readiness for marching in the

morning. We all went to bed firmly convinced that we should be obliged to fight our way to St. Diago. About 2 A. M. of the 11th our sentinels heard a body of armed men approaching they were hailed, and to our great joy found to be friends sent to our relief from St Diego. They mustered two hundred strong, 80 marines & 120 sailors.⁷⁴ We of course were delighted to meet our friends. We immediately vacated our beds and surrendered them up to our tired comrades they turned in and took a comfortable snooze, waked up and found some mule soup prepared for their breakfast. They turned out the contents of their haversacks which consisted of jerked beef & bread & we all made a first rate breakfast—The Jack tars seemed highly delighted playing soldier, they turned out their tobacco & provisions most liberally to our men, and did not seem to be discontented with any thing but the enemy, and with him they were decidedly in the humor for growling with because, he did not have the decency to give them a fight before reaching our camp. Early on the morning of the 11th we left camp and marched to the Ranch called *poneascitoes* [Peñasquitas]—little stones—the country was quite barren, that is to say, the soil would not have been called rich—yet it produced a wild oat in great profusion. The hill sides were well set, so well that they looked as green as a wheat field. The oat was just sprouting, and was some two or three inches above the surface. I examined the grain and it was nearly as large as our own oats, the straw very similar. We collected to day some hundred head of cattle in fine condition, and at the Ranch, picked up about one hundred sheep—We also found plenty of chickens, pigs & a barrel of wine. As this ranch belonged to a man who was notorious as an enemy, we made free quarters, and took everything we wished to eat, and the barrel of wine for our sick & wounded.⁷⁵ We had a plentiful supper, & laid down and took a good nights rest. Our two poor fellows who were in the litters suffered terribly from the roughness of the road.

12th—We all arose freshened with the idea of reaching St Diego to day, and thus finishing this long weary march. We left and marched in to St Diego about 4 PM, where we received the warmest welcome and kindest attention from our naval friends. I found every thing so far as it was in the power of the surgeons post prepared for my wounded men, and every attention that a warm and generous heart extended to the poor fellows. The Congress & Portsmouth were laying at anchor in the bay, & the town of St Diego garrisoned by the crew & marines from these two ships.⁷⁶

13th—The hospitality of our naval friends has enabled us to get along very comfortably. We have no vegetables however and but little bread. A party has gone south to capture horses, so as to enable the force now at this town to move out and take the field. They have no means of transporting provisions or even hauling their artillery—no cavallry—and our broken down stock has added nothing to our forces. As soon as animals can be obtained it is understood that we take the field. My wounded are all doing well with

the exception of [David] Streeter & [Joseph] Kennedy. The first has 8 wounds on one side one in the neck, five in the chest and one on each hip. The second is pierced through the arm, and has some five stabs with the lance on the left side of the head. I fear the skull is fractured, and inflammation of the brain developed from the symptoms. We had an alarm last night. scouts of the enemy seem to be in our vicinity all the time— in the evening two Mexicans came in, and reported that there was a party of some forty, who were anxious to deliver themselves up, that Picot & his party who were opposed to us in the fight had gone to the puebla de los Angeles—The ship Stoneington has taken a party to the South in lower California to drive up mules and cattle.

14th—Another alarm last night. 3 Mexicans seen by our outpost. fired at them, but did not hit. My wounded are all yet alive—but two Streeter & Kennedy, continue in the most precarious condition. Mortification has taken place near the wound on the left hip, & looks as if it were about to be developed on the right side of the spine—about the 6 rib—near one of the stabs in the chest suppuration is most profuse and the man is delirious. he suffered greatly until about 12 last night, since that time he has been at ease. Kennedy, is perfectly sensible when spoken to nothing like stupor, or delirium when spoken to—but if left alone he sleeps never speaks or complains, and mutters incoherently. He has had his head shaved, cold constantly applied to the scalp, low diet, & cool drinks & cup to the temples & nucha. This morning a blister was applied to the back of the neck. I had bled him twice, previous to our arrival at St Diego, purged him freely. in all my cases of wounded, my treatment has been to deplete as far as I thought it safe under the circumstances all bled profusely after they were wounded. The two Mexicans who came in yesterday reported, that St Barbara was taken by the Americans, and that the only place left the Mexicans in the country was the puebla.⁷⁷—This report was not believed—as the only party who could have taken this place would be Fremont, and it is thought here that it will be two weeks yet before he reaches that town. I forgot to mention that some of our men, Capt Gelispie I think was told by a Mexican who brought the flag of truce the day after we encamped at St Bernardo, that Flores and all the principal leaders of the Californians were held by their party as prisoners, the people having no faith in their leaders. The two Mexicans who came in yesterday reported that Flores was marching with a force to attack this point—this I look upon as absurd.

20th Dec—Since I last wrote anything I have been constantly engaged with my wounded, and other duties. One poor fellow, Kennedy died last night. Upon an examination of the brain, there was found to be four punctured wounds penetrating through the bone, into the brain—driving the spicula of bone in front and wounding the meninges & brain— he has been comatose—for the last week—passing for the last few days his faeces & urine involun-

tarily—he did not seem to be sensible of any thing going on, and suffered but very little. We made free incisions, and exposed two of the largest wounds in the skull—extracted many spicula of bone. The other wounds had healed by the first intention, and it was not thought advisable to disturb them. The Trephine was proposed by myself to evacuate any purulent matter that might have formed on the brain and to extract spicula, but was objected to by the other gentlemen, on the grounds that all the indications were answered by exposing the wound, and extracting the spicula. There was no depression of the external table of the skull—and no spicula, could be discovered either with the finger or probe. Some days previous to death there was a discharge of purulent matter from the wounds of the skull which was promoted by poultices & warm fermentations. When we examined his brain today—we found nearly the whole left side softened—purulent matter formed almost down to the ventricles—and the meninges reddened and infected. Streeter is now improving slowly though he has suffered terribly. The abscess in the back was evacuated by a counter opening near the spine. The wound on the right hip near the sacrum mortified for a space two inches and a half in diameter, with excoriations running down in the raphe near the anus, the slough begins to come away—and the abscess in the back to discharge much less—though even now he is bathed in the purulent discharge—he has colligative [colligative] perspirations—but his appetite is good, the granulations under the mortified parts healthy—the other wounds in his body healing—and upon the whole I think he is improving—and if the sacrum does not become carious I have strong hopes of his recovery— he has had 10 grs. sul Quinine [sulfate of Quinine] 3 times per Diem. Brandy toddy, or sherry wine ad lib—nourishing diet, Beef steak & c and his bowels kept open with an enema his wound on the sacrum, has been dressed with but soaked in a weak solution of the Chlorid Soda—with light dressings of Emplast adhesive & cerat simp⁷⁸—The other wounds dressed merely with Emplast adhesive & cerat simp—

All of my other cases are doing well—light dressings & cleanliness being all that was required, the majority of the wounds, have suppurated, but are healing kindly by granulation—I think the hard marching we were obliged to make after leaving the St Bernard injured the great majority of them, and I made another mistake in taking out my sutures too soon. I shall in case of having similar cases to treat let the sutures remain, as they have done no injury in any case where I have left them. The Gen^{ls} wound has almost entirely cicatrized—the punctured wounds through the arm have become better under the use of pressure judiciously applied—There is one punctured wound through the nates that is not improving so fast as I could desire.

As to the affairs going on generally I have not paid much attention to them. We have had many flags of truce and Mexicans coming in and delivering themselves up some the very rascals who were in the fight at St Pasqual.

They are well received and well treated. I fear from the way things are conducted that we are to have a second Florida business of it—We do not own at this present time more of California than we occupy with our forces, the enemy have the country and we have no communication with our friends in the north. The Sonorians are runing off all the cattle and horses, and the fact is the country will have nothing in it after the war is over. Our General has no force at his command, and he seems low spirited. The Commodore speaks of marching on the Puebla, the head quarters of the Mexican force. This expedition is to leave the last of next week—it was first understood that we would go on the 22^d but I suppose if we are off in five days thereafter we will do well. The party sent to the South for mules and cattle—under Capt Hensly [Samuel J. Hensley] of the California battalion returned this evening after making a very successful foray. I did not learn what number of animals he obtained—but all his men seemed pretty well mounted—

A few nights since some five hundred cattle were brought in, and a large herd of sheep— so far as beef and mutton go—we are in no fear of starving, though the animals may have that terror before their eyes—as there is little or no grass about—I visited the frigate Congress, a few days ago—a most elegant affair I found her to be. Was kindly and hospitably treated by the officers. Our Navy friends in fact wear well upon acquaintance. They are as kind and hospitable as it is possible for any persons to be, turn out any thing they have in the most liberal manner. Major Swords leaves in the morning to obtain supplies⁷⁹—for the troops, we are much in need of Bread Stuffs, Sugar, Coffee, clothing, and in fact every thing, and our friends of the Navy are not greatly better off than ourselves. 4 oz of Bread is the present allowance of bread per Diem per man—no vegetables—Some of the dragoons begin to report sick with dysentery & fever. This is no doubt brought on in a great measure from eating too much & exercising too little—The water at this place is miserable—being brackish and it is said urinary calculus is common at this point—

A report reached our camp the other day that the Indians had killed eleven Mexicans,—that these fellows had first attacked the Indians taken their cattle, & horses, & killed some five or six Indians—that at night the Indians had surrounded their camp taken the party prisoners—then took them off to some distance and shot them to death with arrows. All tell the same story as regards the number killed but vary as to the manner. Those best versed in California affairs believe these men were killed in the action of the 6th and that the Mexicans complain of the red skins to conceal their own loss. They acknowledge 1 killed and 14 desperately wounded—After the action of St Bernard, I sent word to Picot that I would be most happy to attend to his wounded—he replied that he had none—it is now said that his men are in the greatest state of excitement against him for not accepting my services.⁸⁰ We have a report in Camp—said to be brought in by Indians that there are many

Americans with covered wagons near Warners Ranch if this should be so, it must be Cook with his Mormons, though I do not believe it possible for him to have arrived there yet.⁸¹

23^d.—The wounded have continued to improve. [Jeremiah] Crabb & [John] Brown, punctured wounds through the arm, had slight suppuration— poultices applied & the pressure of the Bandages taken off, has caused it to improve. Streeter is better. The discharge from the back is less or almost reduced to nothing no fluctuation to be discovered, and the wounds begin to close. The wound on the sacrum presents a healthy appearance, the slough is perfectly defined, and the granulations are full and healthy—The wound of the sacrum is dressed every day by filling the cavity with dry lint and placing over it lint spread with simp cerate and the Dressings secured with adhesive straps—The nourishing diet—& Quinine continued. With all he begins to Emaciate—& the night sweats continue—I forgot to mention that a portion of Kennedys brain—a piece near as large as a dollar—was in a gangrenous state—the temporal bone also blackened. One case of dysentery and a severe case of fever. This is of a low character—with no well defined remissions, the pulse not hard or full—the stomach irritable and bowels torpid. We have but little bread only four ounces per Diem, no vegetables—but plenty of fresh beef & mutton. I fear dysentery with this diet—the garrison is in a wretched state of police—the quarters like all Mexican houses are ill ventilated, cold and damp. As to military affairs we had what I suppose was intended for a grand review yesterday—20 dragoons on horses that would not have been used for any thing else in the United States, but for wolf bait—some 80 or one hundred marines—some 40 volunteer riflemen, and some 40 Jacktars—all mounted on horses & mules. This presented certainly the most grotesque cavalry parade I have ever witnessed—All hands however got along remarkably well with their horses—except the marines They either had the luck of getting the worst animals, or were the worst horsemen—A horse occasionally would become a little restive and give a slight kick—and off would roll the marine, bayonet—& musket—then another would give a shake—and off would go another marine—then some poor fellow had been made to believe that he could ride—and in an evil hour had put on the long California spur, when by some awkward movement or other he would get the spur in the horses flank—The consequence was, the horse would commence going ahead—the marine would check him but continue to spur, then would commence a short scene of plunging and kicking—the Marine abandoning all holts, except the pummel and the spurs in the flank. The affair terminated as a matter of course by the marine being rolled in the dust—but they exhibited the best of game, for so soon as they touched the ground they commenced grabing in all directions for the creatures and one fellow caught his horses tail. They remounted again—and some got a second fall. After this exhibition I believe it was decided that the marines & Jack tars would be

more effective troops afoot, and it was left to their choice which they would take—foot or horse service—and to their honor they preferred the foot. The Marines are a fine body of Infantry as good I should suppose as could be raised in the United States. They are well drilled, active, healthy young men—and the Jack tars are not to be classed as Infantry but as Artillery. Jack has no superior as to fighting—he dont know what back out means. They are in first rate discipline, and if they only had shoes, there is certainly no reason why they should not make first rate soldiers.⁸² All are out drilling today. The big guns were fired yesterday—and every thing portends important events. It is said a Mexican arrived in camp this morning with the news that Fremont was at some Ranch near Santa Barbara. The ranch is called the Tejon—he is represented as having four hundred men & two hundred Indians—the Mexicans mustering some seven hundred. Before this time I suppose the matter has been decided one way or the other I hope that this will quicken our movements.

26th Several cases of fever have occurred within the last few days. One case Hmbkey [Conrad Hembkey] of C. Company 1st Dragoons, died on the morning of the 25th after an illness of only 4 days—he complained of great pain in the head—soreness in the chest, and bowels—the bowels costive, tympanetic[,] tongue foul, & coated, stomach irritable The pulse was never very full or hard, nor was there great heat of surface I thought I could discover a paroxysm towards evening, like an intermitten On the evening of the 24th his brain became affected and he died in a state of delirium early the next morning, his hands & feet were cold and covered with a clammy perspiration, the head & body of natural temperature. I commenced the treatment with an emetic—this caused the discharge of great quantities of bilious matter—but I think did harm by increasing the irritability of the stomach & tenderness of the abdomen. Mercury in form of blue mass—oil & sul mag. None of them seem to have a proper purgative effect. Enemas were no better—cups applied over the abdomen gave no relief. On the evening of the 23rd he took an anodyne and seemed better in the morning—When I saw him about 8 PM, on the evening of the 24, he was Delirious with cold extremities &c as has been described—Sinapisms—Terebinthenatic frictions—blisters to Temples—cups—Turpentine internally & in Enemas—external warmth &c were used to call the blood to the extremeties without effect.—There are two cases of the same fever now in Hospital—in both cases I have given mercurial purgatives followed up with Ol Ricini, V.S. and one suferer[?] being clear of fever I have ordered him Quinine Sul V grs, 3 times per Diem, commencing at 12 M. he thought he had a chill last night about 12 o'clock, and complained of great head ache—but that passed off about ten. he now complains of the greatest pain in the chest. The other case Sergt [Richard] Williams still having fever this morning, V.S. cups to temples R, Cal [Calomel] v grs Ipecac v gr m[?] 3 times per Diem⁸³

Streeter poor fellow still continues to suffer dreadfully, but upon the whole he is improving—the abscess in the back has ceased discharging and the wounds are nearly all closed—The mortified spot on the sacrum begins to fill with healthy granulations. The bone is exposed but up to this time no exfoliation he suffers most from an ulcer forming from pressure on the left hip— Every effort has been used to shield the part, and I hope we have succeeded by a dressing of lint confined by a broad split bandage. The other wounded are all doing well with the exception of Brown, who was punctured through the arm. This inflamed last night, the granulations becoming fungous-pitted all around the wound an incision was made with a lancet, pressure with a bandage & warm solut acet plumb constantly applied.⁸⁴ We have not much news, as to public affairs. We are drilling constantly, preparing for our march on the Puebla. Gen^l Kearny it is now said will take the command at which the naval gentlemen seem much pleased. On the night of the 24th the Commodore sent an express to Co^l Fremont, informing him of our intended movements— it is now said—the Commodore informed me of it—that we would have one hundred Indians to accompany us in our march.—A ship of War is now coming in, so we will probably have some news this evening⁸⁵—we had a fine ball last night, quite a turn out of good looking women.

30th Dec. On the 29th we left St Diego on our march against the Puebla de los Angeles, the head quarters of the Enemy—All told the army numbers some six hundred—consisting of the crews of the Congress, Frigate, Portsmouth & Cyane sloops of war, Dragoons, Volunteers and Californians.⁸⁶ The Quarter Masters department is rather in a dilapidated state, some ten carts drawn by oxen, of the poorest sort, the artillery six pieces drawn by very poor mules—our Commissary department consists mostly in fresh beef—and whatever else we can pick up along the route. Commodore Stockton is the commander in chief and, Gen^l Kearney has the immediate command of the troops. We had a late start and marched to the Soledad, it was nearly ten oclock when we got into camp— it rained like the devil, and we had wet jackets when we arrived in camp—On the 30th we started at 9 A.M., marched as hard as our poor devilish broken down animals could carry us— We passed by the Ranch called the Panischitoes, and camped on a creek the name of which I did not learn at some 3 miles distant from this Ranch—arrived late, consequently an uncomfortable camp—We heard from the Puebla today— it is said that Fremont is at Santa Barbara, with his force, that the Mexicans are in the greatest confusion, frequent assassinations &c— all of which is no doubt true, my sick men were left back at San Diego, the sailors stand the march very well, and will soon be good infantry it is said that we will have a fresh supply of horses and cattle tomorrow.

31st Dec 1846—This has been a beautiful day though the night was very cold, water freezing near the fire. The mountains at a distance covered with

snow, the grass and wild oats springing up most luxuriantly, and in a short time we will have fine pasturage, to night we encamped at the foot of the hill,—where we had the fight as we passed here, (I mean St Bernard [Bernardo Mountain]) I visited the place where we passed three very anxious days, every thing just as we left it, except poor Sergt Coxs grave the wolves had scratched down to the body, and eaten off part of his feet. The Californians I do not think had had any hand in it. We received report today that the Mexicans & a party of Indians had attacked the Indians about Warner's Ranch and killed some thirty of them.⁸⁷ These Indians are our friends, and have most certainly been encouraged to take up arms in our favour and I should think ought to be supported. The Commodore with his staff went up to the Ranch of St Bernard to spend the night, he took with him the marine guard, and one piece of artillery— it is said that there are now in our neighborhood some seventy Californians and 300 Indians in arms— This does not look much like Fremont was very near the puebla— Some little dysentery among the men, but generally they are healthy—

1st Jan'y 1847, This has been a most beautiful clear day—last night very cold—We passed over our old Battle ground near the Ranch of St Bernard—and at the Ranch found the marine guard drawn up. The commodore with his staff passed the night at the Ranch—and report says had a fine supper. The Commodore has the most enlarged view of the hardships of a soldiers life—he has a fine large tent well supplied with table furniture and bedstead, I am told—while our old Gen^l has nothing in the world but his blankets & bear skin—and a common tent—one pack mule for himself, Capt Turner & servant As for my mess it is a first rate one, Capt Gellespie being at the head of it, Emory, Capt Zeilin, Lt Renshaw,⁸⁸ of the Navy & myself. This is considered rather the crack concern in camp next to the Commodore's— We passed by a small Ranch called the buena vista & encamped near an Indian village called buena ventura.⁸⁹ The distance marched to day variously estimated from fourteen to sixteen miles. We received another message from Jose Antonio Picot (the brother of Andreas, the man who fought us at San Pascual) that he had horses for us at his Ranch but it is said that he has ten men at the same place waiting our arrival, so as to despatch them to the Puebla, that notice may be given of our approach— We saw a great many wild geese and a herd of antelope, one of which Carson killed. We have not much amusement on the march, but Jack tar, makes rather a queer Infantry soldier. The sailors begin to suffer much from sore feet. The most exciting scene we have is the lassoing of horses by the Californians. This we have frequent opportunities of seeing, as every horse we find that will be serviceable is at once seized upon, at night when we get into camp butchering comes on then the californians lasso the cattle throw them and in fact manage them with the greatest ease

2^d Jany. Today we have marched some six miles only—and arrived at the Mission of San Luis Rey—this mission is situated in an extensive vally, with beautiful grounds, it is a most extensive building—the front being five hundred feet including the church, which is said to be beautifully ornamented, it was locked up and we did not see the inside of it—though some of the sailors did break in at the back window, and I am sorry to say removed articles, fortunately of little value, every effort was made to discover the sacriligious scamp but without avail— The rooms in the Mission are very comfortable, and many of them ornamented with rude paintings, some of saints, and others of birds, marvelously favouring a goose, the chairs are of the most capacious dimensions covered with dressed skins, the sofas also made of oak, and of like capacity with the chairs, the finest and most extensive vineyard olive garden, and pear orchard A great deal of land enclosed for gardens, the fences made of adobes covered with tyles, the lands well irrigated, and beautiful reservoirs for water. The internal face of the building is a square, about 300 feet on a side, with the corals—and what I took to be the quarters for the laborers on the right flank. There are collonades extending all around the four sides of the square.—The whole front from the church to the right, is a long row of collonades. The whole building presents a most grand appearance. it is built entirely of brick about eight inches broad and long, and some two inches thick—it is roofed first with reeds, then with some composition over that brick and earth, and covering all tyles, presenting very much the appearance of a flower pot split vertically and the bottom broken out, it is said that no less than 12,000 Indians were attached to this mission, they owned many Ranches, and the Padres clothed, fed and educated the Indians well, that all were happy. The missions were broken up in 1834, and their property seized and confiscated, the Indians driven to the mountains, or made slaves of. They have been constantly harrassing the Californians since. The Padres were said to have lived a most luxurious life, and were remarkable for their love to the most beautiful young Indian girls—A Mister Foster came in camp this evening and gave us some reports⁹⁰—he says that Andreas Picot is at present the general of the Californians, that Fremont is reported to have left Santa Barbara last Sunday—and that Picot left the Puebla this morning for the purpose of giving Fremont battle, that the mexicans had some six hundred men—and they believed Fremont could not muster over two hundred— a party under Capt Hensley went over to Pico Picot Ranch Santa Margarita, to obtain cattle and mules & if possible to surprise a small party of Californians, said to be there.⁹¹

4th [3d] Jany—Last night we were threatened with rain, this to us would be a serious misfortune, as we are badly provided with tents, not one half of the men could get under cover, the rains at this season of the year are extremely cold and disagreeable.⁹² The men are generally in very fine health, a little dysentery being the only complaint— We made an early start from

the Mission this morning, but in consequence of the broken country and bad state of the quarter masters department our progress was slow, and extremely laborious. Capt Hensly returned last night with some indifferent horses, and some forty fine [five?] oxen. Today we have been enabled to get two or three carts, which will aid us much in going ahead. We passed by an Indian village, some five miles from the Mission at I believe the lower end of the Ranch of San Margaritta—and encamped on a plain near the Ranch of Flores, belonging to one of the Picot family. Foster the Englishman, who brought us the reports yesterday of the movements of Fremont & the intentions of the Californians to march out and give him battle—is a Brotherinlaw of Picot. Andreas Picot by taking up arms has twice broken his parole, once given to Commodore Stockton and once to Capt Gilispie— he was told by doing so that he was risking all of his property and at the same time runing a reasonable chance of being shot or hung if taken. Foster says Picot believes the American government, will neither confiscate property—or shoot a man, though he may have violated the most sacred pledge— this I think is a misfortune, that our government has the reputation of exercising too much leniency. These fellows suppose that they can make war as long as it is convenient—and when they get tired of it—come in and be paid high wages for little or no services— This was too much the case in Florida and up to this time I have no doubt has been too much the case here.—The country begins to look beautiful, the young grass springing in all directions—the hills green with the wild oats—and some most beautiful flowers in bloom—among the rest I saw a beautiful variety of the pea, the bloom being red—and extremely rich— There is no timber except on the small streams, and then only a few sycamores.— the plains are covered with wild geese—white brant—& ducks. About 2 PM we had a view of the Pacific—and saw many whales spouting the water in the air—We are encamped within three quarters of a mile of the ocean. This evening a Californian who left San Diego with us by name Orsoona⁹³ came in camp. he reported that he had been taken prisoner by the enemy, had made his escape—and been pursued by them from the Mission of St John's to within a few miles of our present camp. It is believed by many persons in camp that these fellows make it convenient to be taken, and escape as it may suit their fancy. marched ten miles and a half—by measurement—

4th Jany—Some how or other I have missed a day in my reckoning, and lost a day, but it does not make much odds.⁹⁴ We left our camp early this morning, and would have been off at an earlier hour had not many of our artillery mules and oxen been absent, some 15 or 17 animals were lost.—We passed by the Ranch of Flores—quite an extensive concern, with a monument standing in front. This I suppose is a grave—and probably a bishop by the size of the cross— After leaving the Ranch, we had quite a rough road until we got near San Matteo [Mateo]—another Ranch of the Picot family—

after leaving San Matteo we struck the Sea Shore—through a pass that an army could have been cut to pieces—without the loss of a man, on the part of those who attacked. The bluffs were from fifty to a hundred feet in height, and nothing but a bird could have got from the Sea Shore to the hills—We had a party of Riflemen on the hills as scouts, but if they had been attacked by a large force, we could have afforded them no support— The sand in many places heavy and hard to pace through— We arrived in camp near the Mission of San Juan—at 7 PM— About 11 A.M. we received a flag of truce, borne by a German, an Englishman—named Workman—and a Californian.⁹⁵ They bore a letter from Flores to the Commodore. Flores signed himself Governor, and Commander in Chief in California. They wished to open negociations for peace. The assumption of these titles seemed to enrage the Commodore who claimed the titles himself— he sent word back that he would have nothing to do with Flores—that he Flores, was a rebel, and that he would shoot him, if he the Commodore could only lay his hands on him— The envoys plead for the country— the Commodore said that if the people would come, and deliver up their arms that he might take into consideration any propositions they might make for peace—that he was not blood thirsty, but if he did not give up, that we had come to do our best and please God we would. Marched to day—19 miles.

5th We have marched 11 ½ miles to day, and encamped at the Ranch of los Alisos, or the Sycamores.—About two miles and a half from our camp of this morning, we passed the Mission of St John's *Clopestrano* [Capistrano], this Mission is situated in a most beautiful vally—with a fine runing stream near it, it is in rather a dilapidated condition, it is not so extensive as San Luis Rey—the church however must have been quite a handsome building—it is large two story high and well finished with cut stone arches over the doors windows &c—The cornice of the building was of fine cut stone—& the corners of the building the same. The rest of the building was of stone—and covered with cement & stucco work, the church is said to have been thrown down in 1822 by an earthquake—it is now used or has been for a stable. The building and Ranch all belongs to Foster the Englishman spoken of before. Foster told us that after the battle of San Pascual that the Californians came to St Johns—that each man—told how many of our men they had killed individually—that upon computation taking of each man—they killed some 300 of our people. Of course the bragging must have been rare— We found here four Californians—who had been wounded in the action Foster also told us that these rascals after they had concluded to run—found some of our dead & wounded in the bushes, and actually stuck their lances in them, so that they might show blood on their lances. This is called fighting a civilized enemy, and we are not allowed even to take wood enough to make a fire, although our poor fellows suffer every night from the cold. We found many familys at the Mission—collected there since the war as a place of refuge.

Foster treated the Commodore very nice—had wine—apples, pears &c The apples I tasted—they wanted flavour and were extremely tough. There are extensive dams now standing used in irrigation and the vally seems to have been in a high State of cultivation by the Padres—but everything is now going to decay— This morning Mr. Workman the envoy from the Puebla again made his appearance in camp— after some talk with the Commodore —Commodore Stockton sent a proclamation to the Californians offering them peace—on the condition that they would give up Flores and disperse to their Ranches. This I am fearful they will do—come in with some cock & bull story of Flores having escaped—they will be believed—& the Californians will disperse—we will withdraw our forces—leave a small garrison—and the first time they catch us off of our guard, they will pitch into us again—and every thing will have to be done over again. The country passed over destitute of trees—plenty of wild geese—ducks &c— Snow on the mountains in our front—every thing green and Spring like around us, except the nights & they are devlish cold—

6th We have had a long tiresome march today—over a dead level—little or no Grass—but immense numbers of cattle in all directions, About 12 [?] M we passed the ranch of *Supelvera* [Sepúlveda]—to whom I believe all the cattle belonged— We have had a strong wind from the snow capped peaks in our neighborhood—cold and disagreeable. Our tents can hardly stand now, We have had many reports in camp—one that the forces at the Puebla would meet us tomorrow or the next day—the other that they had all left for the north to fight Fremont. We encamped at the town or Ranch of St Anna— Just before leaving camp this morning McNealy [John McNeilly] of Company C 1st Dragoons shot himself by the accidental discharge of his pistol—the ball cut the phalngial bones—near the 3^d joint of the middle & ring finger of the right hand. Entered on the inner side of the little finger and passed out near the carpus on the out side of the little finger— The middle finger was amputated just below the joint & the ring finger at the joint— little or no hemorrhage—

7th We had a very disagreeable night of it the wind blew a perfect gale all night & kept it up until ten o clock to day. The dust was most distressing to weak eyes. We got corn for our animals.—The enemy made his appearance today for the first time—the rascals are much better mounted than anything we can muster, and they know it—the consequence is they are extremely impudent. to day they captured two of our vaccaroes [vaqueros] who were sent ahead, and also took Mr Foster our English *friend* prisoner. They however let him go again—as he made his appearance just before we got into camp. We had a report this morning that the enemy had eight hundred Indians in his employ—with which he intended to attack us— then again we heard that we should have a grand battle just before we arrived at the Ranch of los coyotes— This evening however the report is—that the

forces 435—have left the Puebla to fight Fremont—that Flores with a small party—some forty strong has gone to lord knows where—that Andreas Picot is still in the Puebla—and that Ramon Corelea [Carrillo] is now in our neighbourhood, and that he is anxious to give up—if he can obtain forgiveness for his past sins—One of them—is only breaking his parole— this offense of a Mexican breaking his parole, does not seem to be looked upon as any great sin—Most of the leaders now in California are in the same predicament.—The rascals caught another of our vaccaroes out and struck him with the butt of the pistol over the eye—knocked him down & I fear have fractured the poor fellows skull—The country passed over an extensive plain Just after leaving our camp this morning we crossed the Rio Santa Ana—a small stream sandy bottom & poor land—We encamped at the Ranch of los Coyotes—about 3 P M—

8th Jany. We left our camp this morning early. it was reported to us that the enemy would certainly give us a brush that they had crossed the San Gabriel in force with 3 pieces of artillery. We saw their scouts hovering about all day—About 2½ P M we arrived at an Indian village near the San Gabriel—here we saw more scouts— Our line of battle was formed—the Volunteer riflemen leading as scouts—then the Dragoons & Cyane's Musketeers—4 pieces of Artillery, Marines & sailors—baggage in the centre. Cattle & rear guard with two pieces of Artillery—As we approached the river the Enemy appeared in great force. Some hundred or so crossed the river & threatened our advance. These however, soon retired and took post on the opposite side of the river— As we approached they let fly grape at us—but it fell short— We advanced steadily—the Dragoons and Cyane's Marines supporting the two guns which were in the advance— two large guns followed supported by the Marines and Congress crew—in this shape we took the river ran the enemy off & made a lodgement under the first bank —We exchanged shots here with the enemy—and dismounted one or two of their guns— One of the guns that dismounted a gun of the enemy—was fired & armed by Commodore Stockton.—After firing a few shots from the first bank we made a rush at the second. The plain between the points must have been two hundred and fifty yards broad—Across this we charged under the full fire from the Enemy. When we got about half way across—we were threatened with a charge—but the Jacktars threw themselves in square, and drove them off with the greatest ease. We continued to charge at the hill, topped it & ran our friends the Mexicans clearly out of the field. Many of our men did not fire a gun. We lost one man killed—8 wounded—and one I fear mortally wounded by the accidental discharge of a musket, We lost 21 horses. These were lost by the volunteers, tying them as they went in action and forgot all about them—until it was too late. [Jacob] Hait an Artillery driver was shot in the chest, and I think [it] is rather a serious wound, another man of the Savannah crew received several flesh wounds—the re-

mainder are merely slight wounds from spent balls—with the exception of the poor fellow who was accidentally wounded—

9th Jany All lights were put out early in the evening—about 11½ we had an alarm and all hands turned out under arms. This morning a Mexican came galloping up with a white flag—this man we found to be [Lorenzo] Soto—a californian who had been sent out by the commodore some days before—he reported that Fremont was at San Fernando within eight leagues of the Puebla—that two American ships had arrived at Santa Barbara— all hands supposed as a matter of course that Fremont would press forward and that we would meet at the Puebla or near it in the evening. When we first left camp we saw but few of the enemy in sight—although he had encamped within a mile of us in the evening—As we proceeded—we saw him—in considerable force on our right flank—we exchanged shots with our artillery—What damage we did to him we know not. The only hurt we sustained, was one mule—one ox wounded one of our men, a sailor shot himself in the foot. [Mark A.] Childs a dragoon was shot in the heel of the left foot, the ball ranged up, and I think is lodged in his ankle joint, a sailor was shot through the fleshy part of the thigh. Capt Gilispie & Capt Rowan⁹⁶ were hit by spent balls—We advanced across a plain for two miles under fire from the artillery. We were obliged to march slow in consequence of the broken down condition of our ox teams—nor could we leave our baggage to charge their guns—which we could have captured with the greatest ease—as one—the heaviest—a nine pounder was drawn by oxen. The enemy drew up at some distance—out of gun shot—at open order—threatening our right rear—& left front—finally they made the rush, and got most terribly peppered. I saw several fall and several horses were killed after the charge. They seemed to be perfectly convinced that they could do nothing with us. They withdrew and marched for the town. We encamped—on the stream some two miles below the town— it is said yesterday as they were marching their forces to meet us at the crossing of the San Gabriel—they thought it impossible for us to cross the river in their face—They therefore argued the question whether they would cut us to pieces or allow us to surrender. Last night the poor fellow one of the Cyanes men, who was accidentally shot by one of the marines died.⁹⁷ Hait one of the volunteers, died just after we got into camp. This poor fellow crossed the mountains with us and—was an old dragoon. Our party who came from New Mexico, has been terribly cut to pieces—nearly one half of our number either killed or wounded.⁹⁸

10th Jany. Last night we had an alarm in camp and all hands were up and in arms in a few moments—We encamped on the river about two miles below the town—there was no noise in the town everything as quiet as possible—occasionally a light was seen passing about, but no demonstration made on us—during the night a Mexican came in who had been sent in to observe what was going on, he however brought nothing in that I could hear of.

About 9 A.m. a flag of truce was sent to us, by the enemy, informing us that they would not oppose our entering the town—as they did not wish us to destroy the place.⁹⁹ We however marched up in battle array, every thing prepared for action, as we entered the town the music struck up—The hights immediately over the town was lined by the drunken rascals, who were threatening us with their guns. Of these however we took no notice, but marched on steadily, although I felt the greatest inclination to shoot a rascal who had a dragoon coat on, and took particular delight in showing it—Another rode in front of us, cursing & swearing at us, shaking his gun, and occasionally taking aim at us—but he would not fire— just before we arrived in the square, we saw one of the rascals strike a californian knock him from his horse run at the man, and attempt to lance him—it was the impression that the man who was getting the worst of it was one of our vaccaroes— instantly a man cried out shoot the damned rascal no quicker said than done. Out rushed several of the Cyane's crew and blazed away—two or three dragoons followed their example—a rifle shot or two followed, and upon the whole I think the fellow got well peppered. So soon as the man who was down got released, he jumped up and ran off with the rest—and so ended the row, except the old Gen^l pitched into the men for their bad conduct in firing without orders, and for shooting so cursedly bad,—in not killing the scoundrel instantly— Two guns with some two hundred men were ordered to occupy the hill—immediately over the town—and the rest were quartered about the town—every thing went on quietly till towards dark, when it was found many of the men were becoming drunk, the assembly was immediately blown—the guard increased and every precaution used to preserve order. I got a very comfortable house for my wounded—but no furniture. All are doing well, except the poor fellow Childs who suffers dreadfully from his wound. The ball is clearly lodged I think in the tibia [tibia]—the hemorrhage was considerable after the wound—and a substance that I took to be synovia—one of the other medical gentlemen thought so likewise oozed from the wound with the blood—the inflammation or swelling is not very great—nor is there much fever up to this time— the man McNealy who shot himself in the hand is doing well. I dressed his wound this evening— It is reported in camp, that Picot will come in tomorrow—and that the enemy have gone to attack Fremont. They said that it was no use to attack us any more, that we could not be broken. They rode around our square looking for a weak point but it could not be found. They had signals to designate the point when found—but it was not given I suppose— They were utterly surprised at our crossing the San Gabriel in their face in the way it was done—and said that men who were capable of such actions ought not to be shot— They had five hundred horsemen to oppose us the first day and upwards of four hundred the second— their loss is variously estimated from 68, to some ten or twelve. All of our accounts are very vague and not to be relied on—

but I should think they must have lost many men. I saw them reel in their saddles from our discharge of musketry, and the rifles poured in the shot most beautifully on our right flank and rear which they attacked at the same time. They used musketry & grape

11th I have been engaged all day arranging my Hospital. I have not heard any thing that is going on, everything seems quiet, the citizens of the place do not so far as I can discover manifest very friendly feelings— Nothing heard from Fremont, last night there was a devil of a row among the men, liquor the cause of it all—although every precaution had been taken. An Indian was found dead this morning—how killed I do not know.

12th We still remain quiet. I have not been over the town yet, being so much engaged in arranging my Hospital. The wounded are not doing as well as I could wish. The bed clothing is scant—and they have nothing to lay on but the hard boards, and a blanket— Childs suffers considerably—his ankle swollen—and some fever— I gave him last night x grs massa ex Hyd, & ½ gr Tart Ant— during the night, I was obliged to Give him an opiate—this morning I dressed the foot applied a fresh poultice—and gave Sul mag ʒi. Tart ant i gr—¹⁰⁰ this evening the salts had not operated and an Enema was ordered— [William] Cope's arm very much swollen and inflamed, he took blue mass & Tart Ant last night—had incisions made in the arm— he suffered much—till towards morning—When I dressed the wound this morning suppuration had been established—and the appearance of the arm decidedly better— he took salts & Tart Ant this morning—& was quiet this evening.—Yesterday a Sailor was prowling about, when he met a californian some place in the suburbs—the Sailor claimed the californian as a prisoner, and the Californian claimed the sailor as both were armed— the friends of either party who happened to be within hail—would have decided the matter— the Californian seeing a couple of his friends called upon them to take the sailor—When Jack up and put a musket ball through the gentleman—and that ended the business. We have many reports as to the movements of Fremont and the enemy.—Fremont is said by some to have turned back—by others to be at this time within 8 miles of this place some say that Flores has gone out to give Fremont battle, others that he is at the mission of San Gabriel—We see scouts on the hills near the town every day— A fort is about to be constructed on the hill immediately commanding the place. We had a report that American troops had arrived at Warners pass—if this be so it must be Captain Cook with his Mormons— A large quantity of Wine and Brandy of the country has been seized and placed in store—so as to keep it out of the sailors way— this is the chief point in California where all wine is made, and great quantities is made—it is of fine flavour, as good I think as I ever tasted. The white wine is particularly fine—The grapes are said to be delicious—and all fruits abound. I ate of a very fine orange—grown near this place—the climate is very healthy, and taking every thing into considera-

tion, I think this is decidedly one of the most desirable places I [have] ever been at.

13th This has been a day of excitement, this morning a Californian presented himself with a despatch from Picot—signed by Fremont, the contents of this I learned, was on Fremonts part granting Picot permission to take his Picots wounded men in San Fernando— The inference on our part was that Picot and Fremont had had a battle, also a cessation of hostilities until this evening, and commissioners were to be appointed to arrange affairs between the hostile parties in the country— The bearer of the despatch was questioned as to whether there had been a battle between Picot & the Forces under Fremont—but he declared there had been no meeting— The whole affair was inexplicable—but it was believed by many that a fight had taken place and Picot, was anxious to keep us from knowing any thing about the matter—so that no forces would be marched out from this place. This evening Col. Russell & Mr. Talbot arrived in town from Fremonts camp¹⁰¹— They informed us that Fremont had had no fight, and was within a days march of the Puebla—that Picot would be in tomorrow to deliver up his arms—that a treaty had actually been entered in—between the parties, Picot agreeing on his part to deliver up all arms—with the exception of his officers—and immediately upon the reception of this news it was announced that despatches would be sent tonight for the U.S. Flores it is said has fled for Sonora—some say with forty, others with a hundred men— it is certain however that he will run off all the horses in the country, while he is about it—¹⁰²

My wounded were much better this morning. The swelling and discoloration had in a great measure left Child's foot, the Poultrice continued & Low Diet, tonight the poultrice renewed, he however complains of intollerable itching about the wound—

On the day of the battle of the 8th I have understood from Lieut Emory, that Commodore Stockton was anxious to encamp on the opposite side of the San Gabriel, from that which we occupied after the action of the 8th— I was standing near the Gen^l—after we took the first bank of the river. Commodore Stockton I think had just fired a piece of artillery, which was supposed to have dismounted one of the Enemy's, when I distinctly heard the Gen^l say (he had a pistol in each hand at the time) now Commodore "I am ready for the charge"— in a few moments the column did charge—and took the second hight— I have understood since that Mr Southwick paced off the distance from the 1st to the 2d bank, and found it to be 900 paces & upwards—these I should say were extremely short paces—though a man is not a very good judge of distance when under fire—it did not look to me to exceed 300 yards—¹⁰³

(To be continued.)

NOTES

64. Edward Stokes came on the *Fly* from Honolulu and settled in California in 1840. With José Joaquin Ortega he was grantee of the Santa Ysabel and Valle de Pamo or Santa Maria ranchos. Emory gives the following description of Stokes's dress: ". . . he appeared in our camp, presenting a very singular and striking appearance. His dress was a black velvet English hunting coat, a pair of black velvet trowsers, cut off at the knee and open on the outside of the hip, beneath which were drawers of spotless white; his leggins were of black buck-skin, and his heels armed with spurs six inches long. Above the whole bloomed the broad merry face of Mr. Stokes, the Englishman." William H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California* (Washington, 1848), 30th Cong., 1st sess., H. Exec. Doc. 41, p. 106.

65. Francisco, sent by Kearny from Warner's Ranch, reached Captain Cooke while the latter was with the Pima Indians.

66. C[harles] E[dward] P[ickett] says that this wine was the cause of the defeat at San Pascual. *Daily Alta Californian*, November 13, 1868. Archibald H. Gillespie makes a fervent denial of this charge. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1868.

67. Archibald H. Gillespie, of the Marine Corps, who had been sent to California by the Government as a special agent. His letters to the Secretary of the Navy make an interesting story of events in California. George W. Ames, Jr., ed., "Gillespie and the Conquest of California," this *QUARTERLY*, XVII (June to December 1938), 123-40, 271-84, 325-50. Gillespie had been sent by Stockton to meet Kearny and advise him to attack the enemy.

68. Gillespie and his command had received permission to encamp two miles from the Dragoons, where there was a stand of grass for their animals.

69. Edward F. Beale, lieutenant United States Navy, a member of the Gillespie party from San Diego.

70. Bancroft cites the different opinions given as to the number of killed and wounded at San Pascual. He, himself, follows Griffin's Journal and notes. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 346.

71. Andrés Pico, brother of Governor Pio Pico, was left in command by the flight of José Castro. When revolt broke out in the south in September of 1846, he was third in command under José María Flores. Upon the flight of Flores, after the battles in January 1847, Pico was again in command and surrendered to Frémont.

72. The three captured by the enemy were the Alexis Godey party which had been sent to San Diego after the battle to report and request reinforcements. The prisoner exchanged was Thomas H. Burgess. There seems to be some question concerning the letter from Stockton carried by Godey. According to Emory, Burgess reported hiding the letter under a tree, but a later search revealed that the message had been removed. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 110. There is among the Abel Stearns papers in the Huntington Library, a letter purported to have been written by Stockton, saying that he has no mounts for his men and therefore cannot send a relief expedition. However, the signature is not in Stockton's handwriting. A note, added later, says in part: ". . . the letter was found by an Indian and given to Don Juan Bandini." At any rate, Burgess must have reported that assistance was not forthcoming or the officers would not have considered it necessary to despatch a second party to San Diego.

73. Carson and Beale were accompanied by Beale's Indian servant. Descriptions of their hazardous journey are given in several places. For an accurate account see Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days* (New York, 1914), pp. 536-39.

74. This force under the command of Lt. Andrew F. V. Gray left San Diego on December 9, 1846.

75. This was the ranch of Francisco María Alvarado, who the United States troops considered had forfeited all rights by breaking his parole.

76. The *Congress* had arrived on October 31, 1846, and the *Portsmouth*, on December 9.

77. A rumor. Frémont did not arrive in Santa Barbara with his battalion until the 27th. John Charles Frémont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago and New York, 1887), pp. 599-600. This is a good example of the constant rumors which were flying around and which kept the United States troops at nervous tension.

78. *Chlorid soda* is common salt. *Cerat simp* is simple cerate—a salve, or ointment.

79. Major Swords was dispatched on December 21, 1846, in the trading ship *Stonington* to the Sandwich Islands.

80. The Californian loss is still a matter of speculation. The Americans tended greatly to exaggerate the number of the enemy killed and wounded. Kearny's statement that there were six dead and wounded left on the field is unsupported by any evidence. Stephen Watts Kearny to Roger Jones, San Diego, December 13, 1846, 30th Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1 (1848), 514-16. Griffin, on January 5, mentions finding four wounded Californians at San Juan Capistrano, supposedly victims of the battle of San Pascual. On the 14th he makes the number six. In any case it is reasonable to surmise that the Californians escaped very lightly.

81. Captain Cooke arrived at Warner's Ranch on January 21, 1847.

82. The lack of shoes was a problem when the sailors were forced to make long marches. Stockton remarks, "Our men were badly clothed and their shoes generally made by themselves out of canvas. . . ." Robert Field Stockton to George Bancroft, San Diego, February 5, 1847, Pacific Squadron Letters, Commodore Stockton's Cruise, June 1846-February 1847 (original MSS in Office of Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.).

83. A *sinapism* is a mustard poultice. *Terebinthenatic frictions*—turpentine rub. *Ol Ricini* is *Oleum Ricini* or castor oil. *V.S.* probably stands for V.S. cups (or cup) which are applied without previous scarification. *Quinine sul.* is quinine sulphate. *Gr.* is the abbreviation for grains.

84. *Acet plumb* is acetate of lead.

85. The *Cyane* came into San Diego harbor on the 26th.

86. Bancroft gives in detail the composition of the force and states that the total number was 607 men, of whom 44 were officers. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 385-86.

87. The Pauma massacre in which eleven men were killed by Garra's band of Cahuillas and fugitive ex-neophytes of San Luis Rey. William Marshall, who was said to have instigated the affair, was afterward hanged for the offense. *Ibid.*, p. 567.

88. Jacob Zeilin, lieutenant of Marines on the *Congress* and acting captain in Stockton's battalion. William B. Renshaw, lieutenant in the Navy and acting captain in Stockton's battalion.

89. The camp was at Buena Vista.

90. John Forster, an Englishman, who had married into the Pico family.

91. Santa Margarita belonged to former governor Pio Pico. Hensley's mission was at least partially successful, as he returned next day with some horses and forty or forty-five oxen.

92. In this regard it is interesting to note William H. Meyers' sketch of the camp at San Gabriel. He depicts most of the tents as being of the A type. The camp is generously posted with sentries. William H. Myers, *Naval Sketches of the War in California* (New York: Random House, 1939), Plate X.

93. Probably Juan María Osuña.

94. The good doctor really did not lose a day but merely misdated January 3, calling it the 4th.

95. The messengers were Charles Flügge, William Workman, and Domingo Olivas.

96. Stephen C. Rowan, lieutenant in the Navy and acting major in Stockton's battalion.

97. Thomas Smith, ordinary seaman, Co. D. He was shot through the hip by accident.

98. The authorities do not agree on the number of casualties for the battles of the 8th and 9th, but Griffin was in a position to know. An easily obtainable list is given in Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1936), pp. 385-86.

99. The flag of truce was borne by William Workman, Eulogio Célis and Juan Avila.

100. *Massa ex Hyd* [*hydrargyrum*]*—*a pill of mercury. *Tart. Ant.* is antimony tartrate; *Sul. mag.* is magnesium sulphate or Epsom salts; ξ i—the doctor's symbol indicating two tablespoonfuls. The small letter "m" possibly indicates that the dose was given in the morning.

101. William H. Russell, who served as ordnance officer with the rank of major in the California Battalion, and Theodore Talbot, one of Frémont's original party, who served as lieutenant and adjutant of the California Battalion.

102. Flores resigned his command to Andrés Pico on January 11 and started that same night for Sonora. Bancroft gives the text of the Flores resignation as well as details of the flight. The number of men accompanying him was approximately thirty-six. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 403-4, 407-8.

103. John Southwick was carpenter of the *Congress* and served as captain and chief engineer in Stockton's battalion. Griffin's point here is hazy. He is undoubtedly answering some current question but has failed to give the reader the entire context. It may refer to the controversy over leadership which occurred between Stockton and Kearny, or possibly to the question of Stockton's marksmanship.



JOHN STROTHER GRIFFIN, M.D.

From a photograph in the possession of Mrs. John Griffin Johnston

A Doctor Comes to California

*The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon
with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846-47*

Edited by GEORGE WALCOTT AMES, JR.

(Concluded)

14th—This has been a most disagreeable day, raining constantly. About 12 M. Fremont with his forces made their appearance, some mounted on sorry looking animals, and some on fine fat horses—The men all armed with the Rifle, and a fine looking set of fellows they were—stout and healthy, they had several pieces of Artillery, and among the rest, we saw the howitzer we lost at San Pascual— the only regret I had in seeing this was that the Enemy should have delivered it up, before we had an opportunity of taking it, or some other piece from the Mexicans; a treaty or state of truce no doubt now exists between the enemy and our forces. We took the wind out of Fremonts sails by capturing the Puebla—and whipping the enemy on the 8th & 9th, but he has shown himself the better politician by negotiating first with the enemy— What the terms of the treaty may be—has not yet been divulged—but report says, that the stipulations are 1st that the Californians shall lay down their arms and retire to their occupations, and that all passed offences will be forgiven, and they will enjoy all the rights of American citizens¹⁰⁴ This is certainly most favourable terms for the Californians, considering the great force we now have against them—at the lowest estimate some 1100 men—and they cannot raise over five hundred, with their Artillery in such a state that it could be captured the very first time we got in action with them, Lt McLean of the Navy, commanding Fremonts artillery, Major Redding Paymaster,¹⁰⁵ & Col Russell were the negotiators on our side. Picot was the head of the California Commissioners. This treaty, truce or whatever it may be is as I understand negotiated without the knowledge of Commodore Stockton or Gen^l Kearny. The fact is, it is said that the Californians would not have negotiated with Stockton on any terms, in consequence of the proclamation he sent them from the Mission of St. John's¹⁰⁶—[Here the paper is torn.] he sent by, the commissioners to Flores who met us below the Mission—The junior officers have opinions of their own, and like all Americans will express them. They are decidedly opposed to the treaty and the terms granted to the Californians as not a man among them believes it will be observed on the part of the Californians with good faith, the only thing that can be said to justify their superiors, is that they are anxious to send a despatch home, to inform our government that California is now ours, so soon

as the Forces are withdrawn, which they must be from the nature of things in a short time, being composed chiefly of sailors & Volunteers for 3 & six months—there being only one company of regular troops in the concern—The people will rise again, and we will have the same scenes enacted over again, it is reported however that Cook is at Warners pass— here we have some six hundred men who can be kept in service a short time then the New York regiment may arrive in the mean time. Two of our vaccaroes got into a fight today—one attempted to run the other through. he with the lance, got a pistol shot in the breast, right side, between the 7th & 8th ribs, the ball ranging downwards and backwards & came out about 3½ inches to the right of the spine— When the fellow came in [the] hospital his pulse was extremely feeble—& perspiration on his forehead, he was in a very depressed state, simple dressing applied to the wound with a roller & a little Brandy & Tinct opii¹⁰⁷ given, about 4 P M he had a passage from his bowels and passed about a quart of blood— at ten P.M, I examined him his pulse was good—breathing easy, and his surface [Paper torn.] the rest of the wounded are doing well, suppuration in most of the wounds has been established and in one or two the sloughs begin to come away and granulations to form.

As our fighting is all over it is well as one thinks of the scenes previous to the fight and during the action to note them down. On the morning of the 8th I accompanied the old Gen^l around to every division of the force on the field. The old fellow I believe had been informed that we would certainly have a fight that day. He appeared in fine spirits, and was particularly gay—he made a short speech to each corps as he passed, he did not fail to remind the men of the day, that it was the 8th of Jany—and that we had a right on that day to flog any thing that we might come in contact with—that after the fight that the Jack tars would have a good long yarn to spin to each other on the subject—and that then we would have a good fat bullock for our supper. Jack got the fight, as promised, licked the enemy—had an opportunity of spinning a short yarn by the camp fire—but swore that the beef was not what had been promised—our Commissary seemed to have a desire to reserve the fat ones for some special purpose— We heard today that Gen^l. [Zachary] Taylor was at [blank] & that Santa Anna was at San Luis Potosi determined to give battle, that the Americans had taken Tampico, and that a large reinforcement was marching by that place to join Gen^l Taylor—that our army was exclusive of the reinforcement some 25,000 or 30,000 men; and that the Mexican force was about the same. The Californians had hung out in hopes of obtaining aid from Mexico, but when they were told of what had taken place they gave up all ideas of assistance— They declared that they had but two men killed—& 12 wounded, and 18 horses killed in the two actions, and what is singular, all of their wounded are officers. This report is not believed by us, they treat their soldiery with great brutality—and hide them away when wounded—this we know, as we found six wounded men

at the Mission of San John's, badly hurt, who had been shot in the action of San Pascual and Picot—declared he had no wounded. We heard when we arrived here—that they brought to this place 12 wounded, & 2 dead, these were probably persons of some property.

15 Jan'y. Everything in town going on, in the most quiet, and orderly manner, one would not suppose that there was in town more than the ordinary staid and quiet citizens, instead of over 1000 devil may care Jack tars and back woodsmen with thousands of gallons of liquor, to be had for the searching—not an outrage of any magnitude has been committed, nor half the disorder that would have been on any public day in the states— the terms of the treaty still remain enveloped in mystery and what will be our future course no one knows, nor do they seem to know, whether peace or war actually exists, such an uncertain state of affairs to say the least is very disagreeable to the uninitiated— Picot and several of the Mexican leaders have been in town nearly all day. Many believe that Picot is an honorable man and can be trusted, many believe that all of them are a pack of scoundrels, that fear alone can controle and that now they are only brought [to] terms by abject fear, and that the very first chance they get will turn against us. I heard that the leaders were in conference with the commodore. It is reported outside, that Flores has run off for Sonora, with one hundred men, 21 [?] pieces of artillery, and four hundred horses—Others say that he has burnt the gun carriages and cashed the guns. None of these stories are believed by us outside barbarians, except that Flores may have run off, and stolen 400 horses. I have not seen Picot yet—but any way a despatch goes to the U.S. tomorrow— I understood that Col Fremont had told the Californians to disperse, and then deliver up their arms I wonder why they could not have been made to march in and deliver up their arms in a body, it would seem that it was a much more convenient way of obtaining them—and much more certain also.—My wounded still continue [to] improve—nothing like violent inflammation in any of the cases—Childs I look upon as being in the most critical situation, and at this present time I cannot discover a single bad symptom, the Indian who was shot yesterday, is in a very bad condition, his breathing is laborious—& quick, his pulse weak, and as far as I can comprehend him, he labours from excessive pain over the chest and abdomen. The man who shot himself, McNealy of C Company, 1st Drags, at the camp of the Alcytos is rapidly recovering. Two deserters have been found in Fremonts ranks, these men ran off from their companies G & F 1st Dragoons—at Fort Leavenworth last spring, one stole a fine horse belonging to Uncle Sam, the other stole nothing,— I forgot to mention that Dr. Henderson¹⁰⁸ thinks he discovered bilious matter oosing out of the wound on the Indians back—when the ball came out, judges that it was bile by the color & taste—It was discharged in considerable quantities—It is said in town that the Californians are in arms to the north, in Fremonts rear, that they threaten to attack Monterey. This of

course will continue to be the case, until a sufficient military force is sent to occupy the country—and harsh measures are taken by our commanding officers.

Some artist among the Californians, drew a picture of the action of the 9th—which represented us in square, three deep, and our cattle & baggage in the centre. Under it was written “The infernal Yankee Coral”— They came into town after the fight, and said they would have broken our square when they charged, but that we stretched ropes or chains around us, using the Jack tars, as posts. This of course was an absurd story—but at the same time, I think is a great compliment to Jack—as it shows how steadily he met the charge. It is reported today that they acknowledge 70 killed & wounded in the two actions.¹⁰⁹

16th Quietness and peace still reigns over the city of the angels, except a little drunkenness, nothing going on, the Jack tars begin to talk about their ships again, and going home. I understand from the officers that the time for which, many of them shipped has long since expired, yet they remain doing duty—and that too of a sort, that they are unaccustomed to, and moreover it is hard service for they have to dig and labour, at the fort on the hill—and yet Jack does not grumble very much— some of the volunteers absolutely refused to work at the fort. I wonder who the patriots are in this case— Many of the Men who came with Fremont only enlisted for 3 months, their time has expired and in some instances I understand for several weeks. They have done their duty cheerfully, I understand—yet from all accounts there was some discont[ent] shown to day. This I think goes to show the policy of making the treaty we did with the Californians, so long as the men had an enemy before them they thought of nothing but whipping him—now he has disappeared. No one as yet knows exactly how. All hands begin to get impatient—and in a short time our forces must be scattered, and then the enemy will have the country again—for what confidence can be placed in men—who have broken their honor, and their commander Picot has twice done so.— The terms of the treaty have not been made public—but the delivery of arms it is understood was a sine qua non—yet they come in slowly—another cannon given up to day, they yet have two with them. Picot and his chief men have been in town all day, in close conference with Col Fremont, and consultations seems going on among all of our big guns—what may be in the wind I know not— I understand that the Gen^l. had sent or was sending an express, to see if there was any truth in the report of the arrival of Capt Cook at Warners Pass.

A ship of war is said to be at San Pedro. Mr. Thompson U.S.N. was despatched this evening to communicate with her.¹¹⁰ Lt Gray, of the Navy, started as bearer of despatches for the U.S. this morning. One of Capt Fremonts captains, Jacob, accompanied Mr Gray.¹¹¹

Child complained of more pain this evening than usual, I discovered a little

fluctuation this morning just below the internal Maleolus [Malleolus]—the discharge from the wound is bloody and extremely foetid. The Sloughs from Copes wound has come away, and the surface is clean and filling up with fine healthy granulations— The Indian who was shot a few days since died this morning—I was sent for and went immediately to the hospital ward. There I found a priest—who I suppose had come to give the poor fellow a safe conduct to the next world. The padre had a little silver vessel around his neck—the contents of which he seemed anxious to put upon the dying man. The virtues of the remedy seemed to depend entirely, upon there being a spark of life remaining—if the vital spark were extinct—the powers of the fluid seemed to be nul—he therefore wished my opinion as [to] whether there was not a spark remaining; I did not at first understand what the padre wished. I therefore examined the man and told him it was no use—the man was dead. This seemed to give great distress to those around—who I judged were relations, as they seemed to be firmly convinced that the padre could have absolved the poor fellow from all sins, by the miraculous virtues of the fluid. The man who committed the murder was placed in double irons and under guard— A heavy snow fell last night on the mountains, yet in the day it is pleasant down here in the valley—everything is green, and presents the appearance of Spring—the contrast between winter and spring is very great—and quite agreeable—the nights are rather cool—and none or very few of the houses have fire places in them.

17th Jany: This has been a most beautiful clear day. I wish I could say it was the same in our political affairs, but they seem to be in the greatest state of confusion. This morning report says, that Commodore Stockton commenced organizing a civil government, his first act was to appoint Col Fremont governor, to this Gen^l Kearny is said to have objected, as the President had sent him to this country as governor, and with powers to organize a government for the country, the General did not object to the man, as I have frequently heard officers say that Gen^l K had said if Col. Fremont, would accept the appointment he should have it— to the General's communication the only reply the Commodore gave was an order suspending Kearny from all command.¹¹² Previous to this the General had given Fremont orders to make a report of the State of his command, and several other orders, the nature of which I do not recollect, all of which the Col utterly refused to obey, or disregarded. In the opinion of some Fremont's conduct has laid him liable to the charge of mutiny—at all events I think no other Lt Col. in the service would have paid so little attention to the orders of his commanding officer— As I predicted the whole force now assembled here will vanish, and we will have another revolution in the country in less than two months, tomorrow Gen^l. Kearny marches to San Diego, with what is left of his Dragoons, all told I do not believe we can muster over fifty men. On Wednesday it is said the Commodore marches with all of the naval force

for San Pedro, leaving Fremont, with what will remain of his battalion. They are to be reorganized, and Gillespie [is] to act as Major. Mr McLean is to act as Major of Artillery—

I think our march on San Diego, in the present state of affairs is a mere fact of so many persons thrown out to be murdered, for our enemy is not conquered—They have not complied with the treaty entered in with Fremont, their arms have not been delivered up—we found by accident the remainder of their cannon, loaded and mounted, and I have no doubt unless the military force expected here from the U.S. quickly arrives that a revolution will take place in a few months—and if it does every bit of it is to be attributed to Fremonts thirst for glory, and Stockton's—I wont say what—but I only wish I could marry a Senators daughter; I might then set at defiance the orders of my superiors and do as I pleased. Of course as affairs are now Kearny has no forces at his command, and must submit— I do not like the march—for setting all danger aside, and I regard the chance of attack as being at least two to one in favour of it—I have had enough of march without any particular object— When we arrive at San Diego, I do not see that we have bettered our condition, and what is to become of us I know not. The vessel seen at San Pedro proved to be the Stonington, from San Diego—with provisions &c. She brought no news, nothing had been heard of Cooks arrival, so I suppose the report was false. The forces of the Enemy seems to have vanished no one knows, where or how, nor is there apparently any great attention paid to it—Arms I understand have not been given up in any numbers, and no one seems to care a damned. This [thus] it is to have men of doubtful positions—and command in camp— Gen^l Kearny has been most outrageously used both by Fremont and Stockton, they are both men of political influence, and of course they will go scot free and in all probability throw the whole blame on Kearny—and succeed in doing it too—¹¹³

Jan^y- 18th We left the pueblo this morning, that is to say the General, Cpts Turner, Emory, Lt. Davidson, myself and some forty five or fifty non commissioned officers and privates—of C. Company, 1st Dragoons. Our hearts were heavy and forebodings of misfortune not wanting, I believe that all of us are opposed to the movement except the General and Turner— As to myself I fully confess that it is nothing but my sense of duty as an officer that compels me to take the trip—A great majority of the men have as good as no shoes—some none atal—already they begin to complain of sore feet— a falling house it is said, will be deserted by the rats—so with us— Some of the servants refused to accompany the officers—upon whom they had been in attendance. Commodore Stockton said that he did not consider that peace was made with these people until they complied with the terms of their treaty—that it had rendered up their arms. this they have not done— nor do they evince any disposition so far as I have heard—of doing so. They do not carry themselves as a people conquered or even overpowered—On

the contrary they boast of having compelled us to make terms, and there is not an American who had been a resident in the country but expects another revolution—and yet we are exposed with this small force to be cut off—when a few days since it was not considered safe for a man to move without an army at his heels— I never in all my life undertook an expedition with so much reluctance, I feel as if misfortune was before me. I hope my forebodings may be without foundation—and when we arrive at San Diego, I do not see that we have bettered our condition. We have encamped on a tributary of the San Gabriel—below the point where the battle took place some four or five miles.

Jan'y 19th We left camp early. Considering that we are new hands at infantry the men march well. We crossed the Santa Anna river some miles below the town, and encamped on a Ranch near the bank of the stream— On the plain some distance from the river we met a couple of young Californians. They approached us with great caution, and showed any thing but confidence in our friendship They professed utter ignorance of any treaty; and were by no means certain in their own minds that peace did actually exist— We asked them if they would sell us horses—and a beef—to this they replied that they did not know that they were at liberty to do so—When we arrived at the camp—near the ranch—the owner was badly frightened—and from his maner I have now [no] doubt expected to be plundered. In this he was agreeably disappointed, as the officers assured him nothing should be touched that was not paid for—and now I think he begins to believe it—We got a bullock—and now seem on quite friendly terms—the hospitality however is evidently forced—the country passed over, was an extensive plain in a great measure I think untillable from the want of water— No timber except on the stream and that Sycamore— The puebla is the best built town I have seen in the Mexican country—Many of the houses are good—but belong principally to foreigners—and the most of them Americans—the population is about 1000— the vineyards in the vicinity are extensive—and the grounds are beautiful—extensive orchards of pears & peaches—and taking it all in all it must be a very pleasant place— we found it so lived well & had the best of wine—

Jan'y 20th We are improving in our gait—we travel well and fast, but the men are decidedly tender footed. We heard to day of the arrival of Capt Cooks party, or rather the advance of it—at Warners Ranch. It is said that there are 8 men, with a member of Congress¹¹⁴ come ahead—and are now at San Diego— It is reported that the Commodore is some eight miles in our rear, and sent an express ahead for us to wait for him— The country seems quiet

21st We camped last night near the Mission of San Johns— About Dark the Commodore and staff came up, and staid all night at the Mission— We left camp early, and after passing San Matteo the Commodore passed us—

We went ahead—and did nothing more than a passing salute. Mr Hall & Le Roux¹¹⁵ joined us—they were sent ahead by Capt Cook—who they left at the Pimas villages, he had got along finely—and took a town in Sonoro¹¹⁶—he had fifteen wagons with him, when he was left at the Pimas— The men get along with difficulty—their feet being very sore—We have encamped this evening at Los [Las] Flores—in sight of the ocean—whose roar we can hear—

22^d Jany—We left camp early; marched hard—passed the Mission of San Louis Rey, when we saw the Commodores party at a distance—and encamped at a place called bitter water—this is well named— We marched some 18 or 20 miles to day—

23^d Jany to 3^d Febr'y. On the 23^d we left our camp at the bitter water, and marched out hoping to get to San Diego— it threatened rain—and as we had no tents pushed out accordingly. We arrived late in the evening at San Diego in a heavy storm of rain— We found everything had gone on quietly during our absence. No enemy appeared.—I found Streeter still alive—but extremely emaciated. The abcess on the back & side had returned, and discharged greatly. At first the discharge was extremely foetid, and mixed with air—his respiration much affected—When I returned, he was evidently improving—the discharge continuing, but of a more healthy appearance—his appetite good, night sweats, and hectic—The wound on the Sacrum had improved vastly—it had assumed a healthy appearance—granulations having filled up the cavity, with the exception of a small point on the right side—Carious pieces of bone had been discharged—and still continues to be—small pieces presenting themselves at every dressing—This discharge is not very great and is healthy—at present the Dressings to the sacrum are Solut nit argent, & Ung Resens. With a bandage—to the abscess nothing but cleanliness—No medicine given except Sul morphia & Acid Sul aromat¹¹⁷—at night and Wine or Brandy ad lib—with nourishing diet— his appetite now is good, little or no hectic—and very little night sweat—until yesterday he had no passage from his bowels for two weeks, an enema had been given but produced no effect—yesterday it was repeated and produced a slight effect. the retention of the faeces had produced no ill effects—his appetite is good, digestion good and respiration easy—no inconvenience in breathing from lying on back or either side. Child is about the same as when I left him at the Puebla—he was brought from that place on a ship—and came into Hospital on the 27th of Jany— the discharge is not healthy from the wound—being thin and rather foetid, there is a slight swelling of the ankle, and some pain and swelling, about each Malleolus—I think a slight fluctuation upon careful examination—he can move the Ankle joint and complains of little or no pain—With the probe hard substances can be detected which I think, are pieces of bone—he felt something move yesterday as if it were a piece of bone on the ball—his general health is good—appetite good, bowels regular—poultices & cold to the

ankle has been the only dressing up to this time, McNealy—has nearly recovered—

Brown has ankylosis of the left arm, at the Elbow joint—and Crabb of the right Elbow and loss of power of movement, and numbness of the index finger of the right hand—the wounds have all healed—Osbornes [James A. Osbourne's] neck has got straight—and [John? or Amasa?] Palmer—has numbness and some pain about the right hip from his wound—

Col Cook arrived with his battalion of Mormons at the Mission of San Diego—Jany 29—1847— Gen^l Kearny, with Capt Turner and Lt Warner sailed for the north—on the Sloop Cyane on the 31st of Jany— We are all getting along here very agreeably. Cook has marched with his men to the Mission of San Luis Rey—where he will remain— I am now in charge of Hospital with our wounded it not being considered safe to remove Streeter—The Sloop Portsmouth sails to day for the coast of Mexico— Emory went as bearer of despatches from General Kearny—to the US—via Panama—in the brig *Maleckadel* [Malek Adhel]¹¹⁸

27th Feby. I still remain at San Diego—in charge of the Hospital—having only two sick dragoons Streeter and Child— Streeter has continued to improve—not rapidly however—his strength is much increased—appetite good—and not so much emaciated— the wound on the sacrum presents a healthy aspect—but does not heal fast in consequence of his being obliged to lay on his back— occasionally—particularly when he has a passage—after being constipated for several days—he suffers greatly from twitchings in and around the wound—for the last few days the surface of the sore has been smooth, and no speculae of bone presented— The abcess in the side and back continues to discharge freely—an old cicatrix—near the spine—opened—and discharged freely—a few days since— his breathing is not affected—in whatever position he may assume, there are two or three little gatherings under the arm in the axilla—presenting much the appearance of bladders—these do not pain but have to be carefully washed, as they are apt to excoriate—the Sacrum & hip both excoriated—curing under the effects of Emplast Saponis¹¹⁹— to procure sleep it is still necessary to continue the Morphine and Acid Aromat— his diet is of the most nourishing quality & he has brandy, wine, & milk punch ad lib, Dressings to sacrum slightly stimulating—band[a]ge—cleanliness alone to abscess— Child upon the whole is better—The wound has closed—it discharged several pieces of bone from the heel—and some small pieces could be felt when the wound closed—The inflamed part is entirely confined around the internal Malleolus—two small abcesses have burst just below this point—and two days since I made free incisions near this point—but nothing of the ball could be discovered—the pain and inflammation is entirely confined to a small place around the internal Malleolus No appearance of swelling or pain at any other point— he cant move his ankle without causing pain—and hobbles about on his crutch— A man

by name [Eugene] Russell—a Volunteer has been in hospital for two weeks—with Typhoid Fever—he had been sick for some time previous to being admitted. When he was admitted his pulse slow—skin cool—tongue dry and glossy—Mind much affected—not being able to fix his attention at any time upon any subject. When questioned answered slowly and frequently not to the purpose—deaf—picking at bed clothes &c— his treatment Cal[omel]—purgatives—Wine—Quinine—blistering &c&c—cups to Spine—& abdomen & shaving head, his gums touched with mercury— on the 24th he had low muttering delirium passing urine & faeces unconsciously in which state he is at present—his gums have been touched with mercury but I do not see that it has done any good. This fever I should judge was common to the country as it is the fourth case I have seen of it.

As to public affairs we know little or nothing— The Sloop Dale passed by here some time since—on her way to Panama, by this vessel we learned of the arrival of Commodore Shubrick in the Independence—at Monterey—and also of the arrival of the Lexington, with the artillery from the U.S. That Commodore Biddle in the line of battle Ship Columbus would soon be here¹²⁰— We have also had a visit from the Secretary of State, Co^l Russell¹²¹—who arrived at this place from the Puebla—on the 22^d of February—he was received on the Congress with a salute of five guns— from this gentleman we learned that all was peace and quietness about the Puebla—that the Californians were well contented— The Co^l had with him a Californian—named *Boneea* (I believe) [José Mariano Bonilla?] this man was appointed a Captain by Fremont—he is said to be a fellow of notorious bad character—a gambler and the very first man who entered into the last revolution— two Californian gentlemen, who have been our friends since we landed here—who have contributed as much as any men in the country to the success of our flag—and had been appointed captains by Commodore Stockton, offered their resignations upon hearing of the appointment of this fellow Boneea, one of the above mentioned persons Don San Iego, offered to resign.¹²² Don Miguel Pedreorano¹²³—did not offer to resign, but informed me that he would do so if thrown in contact with Boneea. The Secretary of State [Colonel Russell] entered into conversations with the different officers freely and seemed to me to be very anxious to get their opinions as regards Fremonts controversy with Gen^l Kearny— The Co^l & myself had quite a hot discussion entering unpremeditated on my part but the whole tenor of his conversation seemed to invite argument and discussion— from this discussion I learned that Fremonts commission as Governor had been dated back to November 1846— Now I know from having heard Commodore Stockton so style himself—particularly on the occasion when the Flag of truce was received from Flores, near San Matteo—that he (Stockton) regarded himself as the Governor and Commander in chief of California—and

I believe every officer so understood it—and moreover he was so regarded up to the day previous to Gen^l K's leaving the pueblo.

About the 20th of this month Beale & Carson left for the U.S. via the Gila route and Santa Fe—they carryd despatches and a minister extraordinary from Fremont— from this place Russell sent a courier to Carson, who had orders to remain at Warners pass until he received further instructions from Fremont, Engineering is a great trade—all of our big guns are by the ears—and how the war [?] will terminate we shall see— Major Swords arrived from the Islands (Sandwich) on Feby [19]—he brought some provisions, but no money, for this article we are all suffering much— When we shall get away the lord knows—as neither the paymaster or Quarter master have one cent— On the 22^d the Commodore gave an elegant blow out on board of the Congress. The decorations were the flags of different nations, and the deck of the ship made decidedly the finest ball room I ever saw. We had all the ladies from San Diego, and everything went off in fine style—We have a little dance every evening at Señor [Juan] Bandini's, and upon the whole our time passes off agreeably— Last night I dreamed that there was another revolution, in my sleep I distinctly saw the Mexican flag—This dream has made a Strong impression on my mind—I do not put faith in dreams—but I thought I would note this—

10th March—The man Russell died of the fever—the Wounded men, Streeter & Child have continued to improve, Journalizing is rather dull work in these piping times of peace— The other day—the Julia arrived from the Puebla, bringing the report of the arrival of the Sloop Erie—at Monterey with a Co^l Mason on board¹²⁴—this is supposed to be Co^l Mason of the 1st Drags who comes out here it is said to take the command of Stevensons Regiment—Stevenson to be Governor— several papers called the Californian published in Monterey by a chaplain of the navy called [Walter] Colton—were received¹²⁵—These papers contain, what I think will be the commencement of a violent paper war between Kearny and Stockton—the piece referred to is a letter from the Angeles, giving an account of the march on that place and its being taken, by the forces under Commodore Stockton, Kearny is left out of the question entirely—and dirt thrown on his and Mervine's head for the Action of San Pascual & Domingos [Dominguez] Ranch¹²⁶— A report from Gillespie was received, stating that he had been informed in the Puebla by a Californian who was in both actions—that they lost 27—killed and wounded at Pascual and 85 killed & wounded—(55 of whom have since died) at San Gabriel & the Mesa—

The weather has been excessively cold of late. The mountains to the south are covered with snow—and it hailed quite hard—a few days ago.

The influenza prevails at present as an Epidemic— It is attended with considerable fever—it seems to be from accounts very severe about San Luis & the pueblo— Up to this time none of the Dragoons have had the disease—

though they are nearly naked—and quite barefooted— The disease seems to be confined almost entirely to natives of the country— I believe I have not recorded here as I intended the honesty of my friends the Pimas Indians—the goods & mules that were left with them by General Kearny for Cooks command were untouched—although they had been advised to take them by the Mexicans—

14th March—We have had two arrivals from the Puebla in the last two days—the first the little French doctor¹²⁷—who had been an assistant Surgeon in the California Battalion— he did not bring much news except that the Governor was extremely polite to all the natives—attended balls of all descriptions and that he was very popular, he said that there had been drank at a ball at that place—a health to the Independance of California—this however was denied by the second arrival— these were Mr. Dent [?], clerk to Paymaster Cloud¹²⁸ and Paymaster Redding [Reading] of the California battalion. The news brought by these gentlemen was very important— first it seems that Fremont has heard that there is a force marching from Sonora—some two thousand strong under the Command of General Castro and Pio Pico— This seems to have some foundation—as Fremont has sent a force to Warners pass of one hundred and seventy five men, and four pieces of Artillery. There seems also to be apprehensions of another rising in the country—the movements of persons who would likely be leaders seems to have attracted attention— The disappearance of large numbers of the best horses in the country—would seem to give farther confirmation to the reports—Major Redding says that a large band of horses have been discovered in the mountains—“cashed”— At this time our men are certainly not in a fit situation to take the field—no blankets—clothing or shoes—it is rather a bad showing for a march— Fremont sent an express to the north—so we will certainly have an arrival in a few days— he spoke of the suffering of an Emigrant party in the mountains—18 of whom attempted to come in—12 men and 6 women—The men all perished—all of the women were brought in on the backs of Indians—they were forced to eat of the bodies of those who were dead—in one case a woman eat part of her brother.¹²⁹ The weather has become warmer—but is still disagreeably cold in the shade—the cattarrhal fever that prevailed so extensively begins to abate—this epidemic seems confined to natives of the country or persons who have resided here a long time.

17th March—On the 15th, Lt Halleck of the Engineers arrived from Monterey¹³⁰—he came around Cape Horn with the Artillery— he brought orders from the General—it seems that the Government stood up to the General—and Fremont give up. The troops at San Luis Rey are to garrison that point—the Puebla—and this place One Company—B—of the Mormon Battalion got in to day. Major Swords, Cloud & Lt Halleck left for the north this morning—Lt Stoneman¹³¹ with his detachment of Dragoons also left for the puebla de los Angeles—where the dragoons are to be stationed— Halleck informed

us of the arrival of Commodore Biddle in the Columbus—It seems the report of the invasion of the Sonorians, was all as I thought it would turn out—for Buncombe Fremont I suppose did not wish to go to Monterey, so the report originated and the men were not sent to Warners pass

I believe that the fruit trees about here are in bloom. There are precious few of them, however. I mean of the trees not of the bloom— The wild oats are heading out, but are not more than 6 or 8 inches high— The animals are getting quite fat, but a horse is a most useless animal to a man situated as I am here—if he is kept up for riding he will starve to death—and if he is allowed to run out you will lose him—so I think they are most useless— My sick men continue to improve—Streeter's wounds are healing—but he has a bad cough—which I am fearful will ultimately carry him off—Child is nearly well so far at least as appearances go—

27th Yesterday the Frigate Savannah left this port for the U.S. she had been laying off this harbour for two or three days—last from Monterey—does not bring much news— However a portion of Stevenson's regiment has arrived¹³²—and the rest may be expected shortly. Many reports reach here but no great faith should be placed in them. The dispute for the governorship seems to have ceased, although efforts are being made yet to retain Fremont in power. He Fremont seems to have become immensely popular with the Californians, at least one would be led to believe so— A petition, remonstrance or something of the sort was received here—brought by Don San Jago [Santiago Argüello], on the bark Julia from the Puebla. I did not see this paper, but so far as I could learn the purport of it was, a remonstrance against Kearns taking upon himself the office of governor. This has been circulated at all the towns. This paper created much excitement here— An order was also received by Don San Jago—directing not to turn over horses—Guns &c to any officer or Corps unless by special order from Fremont or, to an agent of his— Commodore Stockton did not go home on the Savannah—

The health of the place has improved since I last wrote in my journal. The weather has become warm and pleasant—and the influenza has passed off— Among the Mormons I have two cases—one of Dysentery the other Febris—quite severe Streeter has suffered very much of late—his wounds continue to heal—but his appetite is bad, bowels irregular—Colliquetive sweats—and about the same hour every day suffers greatly from pain. This seems to be over the whole back— Morphia relieves him when he remains comparatively easy for the next twenty-four hours— Child continues about the same—not much improvement—

20th [30th?] March. Journalizing continues to be a most dull and profitless employment. Nothing of private or public interest going on, and take it all in all I am heartily tired of life in San Diego. A mail route from hence to San Francisco, to be carried by soldiers has been established to arrive every 15 days—This goes to show that there has been some improvement. The estab-

lism of the Capital at Monterey seems to give great dissatisfaction to the Californians— We have had many rumors of combats with the Indians, about the Puebla—according to these reports the dragoons have been thrashed, killed &c without doing much injury— We have heard since that all reports are false, with the exception that the Dragoons killed four Indians & took two or 3 prisoners—and one or two Dragoons slightly injured— These reports seem to be originated about the Puebla by some malicious persons for the purpose of annoying—There seems to have been quite an excitement at the puebla, upon the arrival of Cook with his battalion at that place. Capt Owens then in command of the California Battalion refused to deliver up artillery &c as he had received orders from Fremont¹³³—orders not to give up until he Fremont returned from Monterey— The Captain held out, and quite a sparring match took place—so far as wit and badinage was concerned—and from all I hear the Captain in this contest, got rather the better of Cook. Col Mason arrived and put all things to rights— What has become of the California Battalion—we have not learned—or what course will be taken by Fremont—or what will be done with him seems to be uncertain. We have had a little official correspondence here between Santiago E Arguello, and our Mormon Captain [Jesse D.] Hunter, Fremont had given to Santiago as a Captain in the California Battalion an order, not to deliver up horses, artillery &c &c at this point. This order he signed—not as Lt Col^l or Governor, but with his name alone— When called upon by Mason to know whether he had ever given such an order—he denied it— Dr. Sanderson wrote to me by Col Masons request to obtain this order if possible or a copy of it—Cook at the same time ordered Hunter to obtain it—Of course I merely gave my assistance to Hunter—Santiago would not give the order or copy—

The prejudice against the Mormons here seems to be wearing off—it is yet among the Californians a great term of reproach to be called Mormon—yet as they are a quiet, industrious, sober, inoffensive people—they seem to be gradually working their way up— they are extremely industrious—they have been engaged while here in digging wells, plastering houses, and seem anxious and ready to work— The Californians have no great idea of their soldier like qualities and in action would not dread them much—this arises in a great measure from their dress—carriage &c—which is as unlike any soldier—as any thing could possibly be—Yet I think if brought into action they would prove themselves good men—as I am told they are generally fine shots—and they drill—tolerably well— They are barefooted and almost naked—several of them are sick—with Intermittent fever— The day before yesterday a merchantman named the *Moscow*, arrived in port from the north—no news— She is in a leaky condition—and with difficulty was brought into port—she applied to Commodore Stockton for assistance, and it was at once given— The Commodore had appointed this day for leaving the port—but in consequence of the necessity of giving the Ship assistance

it is said he will not go for several days. A Vessel came into port from the North this morning—believed to be the Julia—though not certainly known yet— Streeter has improved rapidly since I last noticed his case—his cough has ceased in a great measure little or no pain on the back—abscess healed up & I believe solid & well Wound on sacrum nearly healed Child has also improved—

23^d April—Last night an express arrived from the Puebla de los Angeles—and went aboard the Congress immediately— Report says there is a duel on the tapis between Co^l Mason & Fremont—the latter challenged Mason—who accepted. The affair was to have come off at the Puebla but for some cause, was postponed until the arrival of the parties at Monterey; the weapons chosen double barrell shot guns;¹³⁴ no other news—

25 April—This evening another express arrived from the Puebla—and went immediately aboard, what the contents of the despatches were I have not learned— a report reached here from the Puebla that 1500 Mexicans were marching on us—and the commanding officer directed to be vigilant—and also that munitions of war had been landed some place or other— from all I can learn from the Puebla there seems to be some doubt whether Fremont ever gave Santiago Arguello the orders—spoken of by me in a letter to Dr Sanderson. S wrote me that when called on by Mason to know whether or not he had issued orders to Santiago, that Fremont denied having done so, as Commander of the California Battalion— The following is a true copy— word for word of the order. Lt Maddox¹³⁵ of the Marine Corps has a certified copy—

Cuidad de los Angeles—
18 March 1847.

Sir,

You are hereby ordered to take especial care of all the public arms, & munitions of war including artillery &c &c for which I am liable & turn them over to no Corps without my especial order, or the order of some authorized acting under me.—

Very Respectfully
Yr Obdt Servt

To Capt Don
Santiago Arguello
Calif. Battln.

(Signed) J. C. FREMONT.

Cuidad de los Angeles.
18 March 1847.

Sir

You are hereby ordered at your most convenient opportunity and with as little delay as possible to collect all the horses belonging to government—

between this point and San Diego, and keep them subject to my order, or the order emanating from some officer under my orders—

Very Respectfully
Your Obedt Servt—

(Signed) J. C. FREMONT.

To Capt D
Santiago Arguillo
Calif Battln.

If the above be not orders then I have never seen one. They are not signed officially, but they are directed so—and it would seem that the whole tenor of the order was that a superior, the commander, was giving the most positive instructions to an inferior— It is said the Congress leaves here tomorrow—

27 April. Last night the wife of Captain Hunter died of Typhoid fever—or rather I think a malignant form of Quotidian fever. The attack was issued [ushered] in with severe rigors, some six days ago—with great difficulty of breathing and oppression, followed by high fever. About 11 A M each day the same attack came—with cramps & irregular nervous twitchings—serous diarrhoea—mind affected—purgative of Calomel, Massa ex Hyd &c given until slight ptyalism produced—her breasts became inflamed, and before death suppurated. The nervous twitchings were stopped by the use of small doses of morphia & Assafoetida. The chill checked by Quinine—her brain became very much excited Delirium for two days previous to death—and deafness— She finally died last night about 10 P M in great pain— This was the first American woman who ever bore a child in San Diego—

The Frigate Congress got out of the harbor yesterday. She sails today for the South, if there be any truth in the report of the arrival of a Mexican force to the South. Commodore Stockton proclaimed his intention of fighting them, if there was any chance of success—his object is also to ascertain if there be any truth in the report as to arms having been landed— San Vincente [Vicente] & San Tomassa [Santo Tomás] are said to be the points where they were landed—it is said a French brig brought them there from Acapulco. Stockton made a speech to his men before sailing yesterday—it seems from what he says that if pushed to the last, he will make the pass of San Vincente as renowned as Termopylae [Thermopylae]. Ye Gods what gass—

6th May—So little happens at San Diego, that journalizing is a most dull business, one naturally takes notice of all the reports—and considering the communication we have a plenty of them, on the 28th the Merchant Ship Vandalia, arrived from the north. She created quite an excitement as she is so large and fine a vessel, that she was taken for a Man of War. On the 2^d of May, paymaster Cloud arrived and payed the Troops—on the 4th this has

created some excitement— and then the Captain of the Mormon Company, arrested a fellow—an Englishman named Johnson, servant to the priest at San Tomassa, as a spy— This man professed to have been aboard of the ship, said to have brought arms— he reported that the Captain had told him there were arms aboard—but he has told so many stories that one does not know what to credit— I think there is little doubt however that arms have been landed—but whether they will be used or not is another question— A man arrived from lower California a few days since—who reported all things were quiet there— he says the Commodore, with Santiago Arguello, Don Miguel [Pedrorena] & twenty men had gone from Santa Vincente to San Tomassa to look for the arms—that no Mexican troops had been heard of— On the 4th a man named Walker arrived from the Aqua Calliente—who reports that the Indians from the Corasita, had come in—reporting that a large body of people were coming in by that route. What they were the Indians did not know— The reports of Mexican troops coming caused the greatest alarm and uneasiness among the residents of this place—they have been extremely friendly to the American cause—in fact the only place in California where natives are really friendly, and if the Mexicans should come and gain only a temporary advantage—they would suffer very much— from the movements of the Californians some faith seems to have been placed, in the reports, and it was believed that mischief of some sort was intended— On the 5th Mr. Norris¹⁸⁶ Secretary to Commodore Stockton arrived via Monterey—from the United States—he came on the Sloop of War Preble from Monterey or Callao— he brings little or no news— The determination on the part of the President [James K. Polk] to prosecute the War with great vigour—and the ready compliance of Congress with his views, seems to be the best— flying reports are said to have reached Monterey that the Castle of San Juan De Ulloa has been taken—and that Taylor has had another fight, in which he was victorious—That Santa Anna has been deposed—and General [Gabriel] Valencia takes his place— Mr. Norris arrived here from San Pedro in the schooner Julia— If an enemy be coming we are not making very extensive preparations to meet him— The Mormons after their payment took a little spree—some few men drunk and two or three black eyes— or small fights occurred—but much less drinking gambling &c occurred among them than I have ever witnessed among any troops after a payment— They are extremely industrious—and avaricious. They get all the pelf they can—and keep all they get. They are constantly employed by the citizens, and one is engaged in constructing a horse mill—This is looked upon in San Diego—as the greatest feat that has been ever undertaken in these parts. We have an Alcalde named Fitch¹⁸⁷—an old sea Captain—who knows about as much of law as he does of religion— two Yankees got into a law suit the other day—one accused the other of stealing mules, horses &c— The party accused was defended by a Mormon lawyer— The fellow acknowledged

several of the charges brought against him—but the Lawyer so confused the judge that he not only found the man guiltless, but ordered the accuser to pay all costs— Therefore the Mormon lawyer and the accused party determined to bring suit against the accuser so that damages might be obtained for slander. When they notified the judge that they wished to bring the suit—he asked who would try the case— You—answered the Mormon lawyer—I'll see you damned first replied the Judge—and what is more if you bother me any more with your damned suits I'll put the whole gang of you to work—and this ended the matter. My patients are all doing well. Streeter begins to walk about—his wounds having healed. The weather is damp and cold and he complains of some pain in consequence. Child is doing well—

11th May. Yesterday the Congress and Julia came in sight About 1 AM this morning several of the officers came up to town—diligent search had been made for the arms &c said to be deposited at San Vincente and San Tomassa—but nothing could be discovered. The Ship had been in the port as had been reported, but no arms seems to have been landed. The Commodore despatched Indians to the Rio Colorado, who brought back word that there was no sign of a Mexican force but that the Indians were taken [waging] a small private war out there on their own account. Lt Rowan U S N & Mr Norris, Commodore Stockton's secretary started from here this morning for Monterey by land—The Congress did not enter the port, but will sail directly for Monterey—where it is said the Commodore will take another ship and sail directly for the U.S. The Thos. H. Perkins a transport ship touched us on the 7th of May—on her way to Manilla— Last night I was so unfortunate as to have a man of the Mormon Battalion to die—Private Albert Dunham of B Company died about 3 A.M. this morning— On the 7th of May after playing ball—and exercising rather freely—he was suddenly seized with violent pains in the back of the neck & head (he had been subject to Rheumatic Attacks) he was brought in Hospital May 8th—The pains were extremely severe in the neck and back of the head, bowels costive, pulse full but not quicker or harder than natural skin natural—was sullen and evinced little disposition to answer question when addressed, ℞ Massa ex Hyd. Ext Colocynth Comp aa x Grs—and apply a stimulating liniment on warm flannel cloths to neck— on the morning of the 9th was some better The medicine had operated freely, and the Liniment and external warmth seemed to give some relief—although the pain was still severe. The pulse and skin seemed little affected, ℞ Sul Magꝓj Tart Ant i Gr. Aqua of M [Several illegible words follow, possibly in shorthand.] wine glass full every half hour till free operations are produced—Continue warm applications— in the evening some salts had operated very freely— The pain still continuing cups no 6 applied to back of neck—At bed time warm applications— ℞ Massa ex Hyd x Grs—Ipecac i Gr, Opii i Gr—& repeat often & Ipecac if he cant sleep—he has not slept any for two nights— 10—in morning was found to be much

worse—had rested but little during the night— Inflammation and some discoloration around the right eye—Delirium—tongue not coated nor has it been—℞ ol Ricini ꝑj¹⁸⁸—Apply blister to back of neck— The inflammation of Eye continued to increase rapidly—and the discoloration spread over the temple and part of the forehead, The swelling of the Eye about 2 PM—was enormous and looked as if it would burst—The Tunics much injected, and the pupil apparently perfectly insensible—at least it did not contract or dilate At first an Emolient poultice applied—but could not be retained in consequence of his picking at it—as in fact he was constantly doing at the bed clothing Stimulating Enemas given blisters to Extremities &c—without the slightest effect (when the Inflammation of Eye was first noticed cups applied to the Temple)—At bed time X Grs Calomel given— he rapidly got worse About 3 PM—his Extremities commenced getting cold, his pulse being much depressed—Delirium—breathing with difficulty—and he finally expired about 3 A M this morning— he was comatose several hours before death—and could not be roused sufficiently at any time during the day, so as to give a rational answer to any question. Post Mortem, The Brain was carefully examined about 10 hours after death The veins of the Dura Mater much distended with blood, the ventricles full of a Bloody serum, and a deposite on the arachnoid resembling coagulable lymph—This could not be removed with a sponge and water—

June 5th 1847. I left San Diego May 13 1847, by order of Lt Col. Cooke—and arrived in the Puebla de los Angeles, in two days and a half. The next day went to duty. Gen^l Kearny left the day before I arrived—for San Pedro where he would embark on one of the U.S. Vessels for Monterey—from thence he would go to the United States as soon as practicable— I was informed of the *pleasant* news that I might expect to make California my home for some time to come—That is to say if the Californians will allow us to do so—and I think they are great fools if they do—for in a short time our force will be much reduced by the Mormon Battalion being disbanded—and then we leave some points where there is plenty of cannon, San Diego for instance so guarded—that it only invites attack. I found much sickness in the command, and a great disposition on the part of the men of Co^l Stevensons Regiment to shirk work. They are all engaged in building a fort on the hill and this digging goes decidedly against the Stomachs of these valiant volunteers of the 7th N. Y. R. V. The fact is they are the poorest material for Soldiers I have ever seen—broken down gentlemen, infirm tradesmen &c &c at least it is so with the two Companies E. & G. stationed here.

On the Morning of the 4th of June I was requested to see an old Man at the House of Mr Prior [Nathaniel Miguel Pryor], near this place. The old man had been bitten in several places by a dog on the 23 of March last— All the wounds—(which were very severe) had healed up with the exception of one through the right hand—this had continued to discharge but slightly—occa-

sionally showing disposition to mortification—a little stimulating ointment had been used which generally caused the hand to assume a healthy appearance— The man had been much reduced by the long confinement—though he was still quite corpulent— he had been improving very fast up to the night of the 3rd of June—only complaining of wandering pains—over his body and in the abdomen— This he attributed to Rheumatism—which he had been subject to— during the night he was seized with a desire to drink water—which he found it imposible for him to do in consequence as he described it, of a ball rising in his throat— When I saw him which was about 5½ A M he was sane, but seemed to be in great distress suffering from the want of sleep—he was extremely sleepy, and thirsty—it seemed to produce violent agitation through out his whole system to even look upon water— I urged him to take some water—he attempted it several times—it seemed a violent effort for him to take the cup—when he brought it to his mouth, it seemed to produce the most violent convulsive movements of the muscles of his throat—abdomen and chest—He did take with a great effort a little thin corn meal gruel—This aversion to fluids increased until he could not bear to hear the word water mentioned—The mention of it causing him the most terrible fright and convulsions—he vomited and strained constantly in efforts to vomit—until he ruptured some small blood vessel— his mind about 12 M became flighty but upon speaking he gave a rational answer—his pulse was at each examination gradually weaker and more rapid. The saliva viscid and hard to expectorate— The hand looked as if mortification had taken place to a considerable extent— his eyes blood shot—he gradually grew worse, his mind wandering and confused— A short time before death he became sane—At this time he took a little *attole* [atole]—mixed with 3 V of Tinct opii—it produced no effect— he died about 8 A.M. on the morning of the 5th—

There was no news in the country everything seems quiet—though so far as I can see no particular good feeling among the men—the women seem better contented—

9 July. Since I last wrote, nothing of public importance in the vicinity has taken place, rumors of revolution are constantly afloat, a flagstaff has been erected on the hill, within the Fort. The flag was first hoisted on the 4th July, salutes fired, and the work christened Fort Moor. This ceremony seems to have given our friends the Californians great offence—during the time the staff was being erected various threats were made that it would be burned or cut down and supplanted by a better looking one with the Mexican colors—from the tone of feeling throughout the country, I have no doubt the slightest cause, would light up another revolution, The arrival of a single hundred men from Sonora would produce this effect—particularly at this time as the Mormon Battalion will be discharged in a few days—and Colonel [Henry S.] Burton of the 7th N.Y.R.V. and his companies leave for the South, to occupy

La Paz—a port in lower California; our Company is at Santa Barbara—and our garrisons seem to be scattered about over the country in like force— San Diego an important point will be left entirely without a garrison and the only force in this section of the country will be one Company of Dragoons dismounted, and two companies of N.Y. Volunteers— We have threats made constantly against us—and yet our governors and Commandants by their acts would seem to invite a revolution—by keeping all their force in the north, both army and Navy—On the morning of the 5th of July a most barbarous assassination was committed on a frenchman [Julien Bertalot] by whom the act was committed is not known but suspicion attaches to one of our Dragoons by name [Samuel E.] Cooper—also a Store was Robbed the same night of a large amount of money—This Robbery was no doubt committed by Soldiers of the Volunteer Regiment, and one Dragoon— On the night of the 4th we had a ball given by the officers in honor of the day,¹³⁸ and also one by the non commissioned officers—everything went off very pleasantly except one little circumstance. Don Jose Antonio Carrillo thought proper to express his decided disapprobation of the mode of dancing of the American officers—and said they were like all the rest of their nation beasts. The officers hearing of this determined to kick up a small fuss— the Colonel Stevenson hearing of the affair determined to call all hands to his quarters next morning and at supper accordingly invited every body— we assembled the next morning had a speech from the Coroneel defining our position &c— One remark he made was not exactly agreed to by the Juniors, that was that an officer receiving an insult from a Californian the affair should be taken notice of by the Authorities—& Vice Versa— This was objected to, as the officers claimed the right of looking out for their own private quarrels— One of the Mormon officers who was more particularly alluded to than the rest had determined to castigate the Don, but the public manner in which the Colonel had noticed it seemed to preclude any course of the kind, and particularly as the persons then and there did take a drink to the said Don José Antonio— Jose Antonio acknowledged the soft impeachment of having called us a parcel of beasts but declared he had no intention of making it public a great deal of gass was expended on the occasion—but the affair was settled—and without some farther provocation, I suppose there will hardly be a fight. Col Burton brought us the news of Gen^l Scotts two victories of Vera Cruz and Puerta Nacional, a salute was fired in consequence—and notices stuck up at the alcalde's office which were duly cut to pieces and destroyed during the night. Our friends here have no good will toward us, and would if they only dared cut our throats with great pleasure.

There has been considerable sickness of late among the troops stationed here—an Epidemic Catarrh, very obstinate and attended with fever. On the morning of the 4th of July about 2½ A M Hammerly [John Hemerle] of Co C 1st Dragoons died—of Typhoid Fever—He had been a prisoner, and

tried by a general court marshal—this seemed to have a great effect on him.

14th of August. As to public affairs we have absolutely nothing going on; our friends the Californians, received via Sonora the Mexican papers—detailing Scott & Taylors movements in Mexico—the taking of Vera Cruz the levying of taxes by old Taylor for the destruction of his baggage train, and the battle of *punte nacional*, seems to have acted as a soporific on their war-like feelings— talk of revolt now is not even heard of—every thing in that way is as quiet as possible—rumors of Indian hostilities seems even to have been forgotten—although I think the Californians have done their best to embroil us with a tribe called the St Luis Indians.—These fellows are however our warm friends. An Agent has been recently appointed, Capt Hunter late of the Mormon Battalion, this I hope will have the effect of quieting all reports— The Colonel leaves here to day for the purpose of holding council with all the Indians at San Luis Rey— Occasionally a rumor gets here from the North of disturbance between the Governors and the American settlers in the North— The ground of the difficulty seems to be the Mission lands, upon which our western men, following their true instinct and old habit have squatted—and are rather inclined to appropriate the lands &c to their own use— this the Governor objects to as the lands are private property, and as usual in such cases much talk—but no blood as yet—

The Company at Santa Barbara seems to have got in rather a disorganized State—and caused a court martial, the result of which was to send four of the number to Monterey in irons This seems to have quieted every thing— At this place every thing is quiet. Our military guard mounting is quite a show. Robbery has become very common of late—Stores, houses, persons riding & picking pockets. No less than five Robberys have taken place lately to considerable amounts—and the murder that occurred about the 4 of July— The worst of it is—there seems to be no means of finding out who are the authors of the crimes—So long as the Alcaldes supposed that it was a Dragoon who committed the murder they were excessively energetic—but the evidence being clear that the man was not guilty—no further prosecution was had in the case—

Sickness has prevailed to great extent both among the troops and the population here among the men—[William] Hopper of Co E died July [blank]. [Thomas] Bosquet Co. E. on 8 of August—[Charles A.] Webster Co E—on the 17th of August—all died—with the same fever:¹⁴⁰ The attack of this disease is not violent—but gradual—preceeded for some time—(in the two last cases it was so) by Diarrhoea, thin yellow, watery discharges—tongue coated, pulse not exhibiting much signs of disease or febrile action— in a few days the symptoms became worse—the tongue becoming black—chapped—and border around the teeth—slight delirium—nervous twitchings kicking at the bed clothes—position on back—and falling down in bed towards the foot— The Diarrhoea usually continues through the disease

When checked, it becomes worse in other cases the tongue has been smooth the edges red—the centre dry & chapped, Post Mortem of two cases has shown that inflammation was present in mucous membrane of Small intestines Stomach—& large intestines—that ulcers had formed in the Duodenum, illieum, and in the Colon, in Webster there were many points of the intestines infected and inflamed as if ulceration were about to commence, The ulcers were large—ragged—and containing in their center a yellow spot—When this yellow substance was removed, the whole mucous and muscular tunics of the intestine seemed to be removed with it—The bowels in both cases contained little but discolored matter— in Webster the gall Bladder full of yellow bile—the liver I do not think was diseased—except it might have been larger than usual—I did not observe that the Spleen was diseased—The pancreas was extremely hard and indurated—the urinary bladder empty and much contracted—Heart and lungs healthy—

The fever seems to take to the remittent form—and keeps to this type through the whole course of the disease—There are many other men who have had the fever—but are now either convalescing or have recovered—I have not remarked that any course of treatment was particularly successful—Sul Quinine does not seem to have as good an effect here as I have observed in the fevers of the U.S—Mercury seems to be the best remedy— The people of the country are not exempt from the fever—among them however so far as I have seen Quinine answers every expectation. The cause of this difference I cannot account for—except it be that the unacclimated Americans—from the change of climate are more subject to Gastric enteric affections—from the heat of the climate, and possibly the dryness—as there has not been rain here since May—diseases of the Bowels such as colic—Diarrhoea, Dysentaria are very common, This I think is no doubt to be attributed to eating fruit—unripe.—The Diet of the Country is almost exclusively fresh meat, Beef—and a coarse Bread—tortillias, &c—made of corn meal or Wheat badly ground— The Diet of the soldiers is 4 times a week Beef— 3 times pork—and Bread of fine American flour— The Bread so far as I have seen is well baked, The men who have died—and had the disease worst—were generally temperate, Stout young men, two of the fatal cases—Hammerly—the Dragoon—and Webster were taken while in the guard House—the first under sentence of general Court Martial for mutinous conduct—the latter arrested for disobedience of orders— Their situation seems [to] have exercised a bad effect on their minds in both cases—and I have no doubt contributed considerably to the fatal termination of their disease— Some time since I extracted a large tumor (in July) from the shoulder of a Californian This tumor must have weighed fifteen pounds— he has recovered rapidly.

NOTES

104. The Articles of Capitulation, signed at the rancho of Cahuenga on January 13, 1847, by José Antonio Carrillo, squadron commander; Agustin Olvera, deputy; P. B. Reading, major California Battalion; Louis McLane, commanding Artillery California Battalion; W. H. Russell, staff captain California Battalion; and approved by Andrés Pico, squadron commander and chief of the National forces in California; and J. C. Frémont, lieutenant-colonel U. S. Army and "military commandant of California," were printed in this *QUARTERLY*, XIII (June 1934), 135-36. They are also to be found in 30th Cong., 2d sess., S. Exec. Doc. No. 31 (1849), and elsewhere.

105. Louis McLane came to California as a midshipman on the *Savannah*. After helping recruit and organize the California Battalion, he became captain of an artillery company, later ranking as major. Pierson B. Reading served as paymaster of the California Battalion with the rank of major.

106. On January 5, at Mission San Juan Capistrano, Commodore Stockton, at the instigation of William Workman, issued a proclamation offering a general amnesty to all Californians except Flores, on condition that he be given up as a prisoner. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 387.

107. Tincture of Opium.

108. Andrew J. Henderson, assistant surgeon of the *Portsmouth*.

109. A consensus of Californian opinion seems to be that three were killed and not many more than fifteen wounded. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 396.

110. William H. Thompson, midshipman on the *Congress* and acting lieutenant of Stockton's battalion.

111. Lieutenant Andrew F. V. Gray was appointed by Stockton, and Lieutenant Emory by Kearny, to carry dispatches to Washington. Gray was accompanied by Richard Taylor Jacob, a captain in the California Battalion. After some delay they sailed in the *Malek Adhel* on January 25, 1847. For the *Malek Adhel* see Note 118.

112. ". . . you will consider yourself suspended from the command of the United States forces in this place." Robert Field Stockton to Stephen Watts Kearny, January 16, 1847, quoted in Thomas C. Lancey's "Cruise of the Dale," *San Jose Pioneer*, January 1, 1881. This order is well known and is printed in many places. It is a good indication of Stockton's attitude toward Kearny throughout the whole controversy. Stockton clearly stepped beyond his authority.

113. This is a clear exposition of the opinion held by most army officers on the coast, of the controversy between Kearny on one side and Stockton and Frémont on the other. There seems to have been no doubt in their minds of the importance of political pull, and their only complaint, as Griffin states above, was that Kearny was too lenient in his treatment of Frémont. As an example of opinion which duplicates Griffin's sentiments, see Captain Turner's letters to his wife. Henry Smith Turner, "Letters about the Mexican War," *Glimpses of the Past*, Missouri Historical Society, II (December 1934-January 1935), 14 *et seq.* For further details of the difficulties between Kearny, Stockton, and Frémont, see Thomas Kearny, "The Mexican War and the Conquest of California," in this *QUARTERLY*, VIII (September 1929), 251 ff.; also *A Sketch of the Life of Com. Robert F. Stockton* (New York, 1856), pp. 146, 149-56; Appendix, pp. 26-48; *Defence of Lieut. Col. J. C. Frémont before the Military Court Martial* (Washington, 1848); and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 414-32.

114. The Hon. Willard P. Hall, congressman from Missouri.

115. Leroux, one of the guides for the Mormons.

116. The town mentioned as taken by Cooke was Tucson.

117. *Nit argent* is silver nitrate. *Ungs Resens* is resin ointment. *Sul. morphia* and *Acid sul aromat.* are sulphate of morphia and aromatic sulphuric acid.

118. *Malek Adhel*, a Mexican brig cut out at Mazatlan by the boats of the *Warren*, on September 7, 1846. She was used by the United States Navy as a transport and dispatch boat on the Pacific Coast during the conquest. Log of the U.S.S. *Warren* (original MS in National Archives, Washington, D. C.).

119. Soap plaster.

120. Commodores William Branford Shubrick and James Biddle had been sent to increase the naval forces on the Pacific Coast. Shubrick arriving first, on January 22, 1847, superseded Stockton as commander of the fleet, and was in turn replaced by Biddle, on March 2, 1847. With the coming of Shubrick, the lack of cooperation between the Army and Navy forces on the Coast came to an end. Shubrick recognized Kearny as civil governor. The Lexington arrived on January 28, 1847, carrying a company of the 3rd Artillery under Captain Christopher Q. Tompkins, with materiel for building and maintaining fortifications.

121. William H. Russell had been appointed secretary of state to Governor Frémont, by Commodore Stockton.

122. Santiago Argüello held an honorary command as captain in the California Battalion.

123. Miguel Pedrorena acted as Stockton's aide and held the rank of captain in the California Battalion.

124. The U. S. storeship *Erie* arrived at Monterey on February 13, 1847. Colonel Richard Barnes Mason, 1st United States Dragoons, was on board, sent out to replace Kearny as civil governor when the latter should return home.

125. The first copy of the paper is dated August 15, 1846, and, according to Colton, appeared on that date. Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (Cincinnati, 1850), p. 32. At least some of the copies were in circulation as early as the 13th. George W. Ames, Jr., "Horse Marines, 1846," this *QUARTERLY*, XVIII (March 1939), 79. Commodore Stockton is said to have provided the money, out of his own pocket, for establishing the newspaper. *A Sketch of the Life of Com. Robert F. Stockton*, pp. 156-57.

126. For the "paper war" see *ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 43-48.

127. It is difficult to determine the person to whom Griffin refers.

128. James H. Cloud was paymaster for the Mormon Battalion.

129. This, of course, has reference to the ill-fated Donner party. For the best all-around work on this tragedy see George Rippey Stewart, *Ordeal by Hunger, the Story of the Donner Party* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1936).

130. Henry Wager Halleck, lieutenant of Engineers, came with Company F, 3rd U. S. Artillery, to inspect the fortifications on the Pacific Coast.

131. George Stoneman, lieutenant of 1st Dragoons, came with the Mormon Battalion. He earned an enviable reputation in the Civil War as a cavalry leader and in the eighties was governor of California. Camp Stoneman, near Pittsburg, California, was recently named for him.

132. The regiment was sent out in four ships, three of which left New York on September 26, 1846, and the fourth on November 13. The first three arrived in San Francisco during March of 1847; the *Thomas Perkins* on the 6th; the *Susan Drew* on the 19th; and the *Loo Choo* on the 25th. The fourth ship, the *Brutus*, arrived on April 18.

133. Richard Owens, one of Frémont's original party and captain of Company A, California Battalion. Owens River, Owens Valley, and Owens Lake were named for him.

134. Frémont challenged Mason because he considered himself insulted by the latter's manner in issuing orders. Mason requested that the affair be postponed until he had completed his duties at Los Angeles. The meeting never occurred because Kearny, on learning of the proposed duel, prevented it by official order.

135. William A. T. Maddox, lieutenant of Marines on the *Cyane* and *Congress*.

136. J. Parker Norris had been sent east by Stockton with dispatches in September 1846.

137. Henry Delano Fitch, one of the earliest and most popular of the foreign settlers in California.

138. ð the doctor's instruction to the pharmacist, an abbreviation from the Latin meaning "take thou," or "take thou of." *Massa ex Hyd. Ext Colocynth* is mercury with extract of bitter apple; the remainder of the prescription is unintelligible. *Ol Ricini* ʒj—two tablespoonfuls of castor oil.

139. For a description of this ball see *The Journal of John McHenry Hollingsworth of the First New York Volunteers* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1923), p. 30.

140. Bancroft lists these men as belonging to Company G, New York Volunteers.