



MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO
AS A YOUNG MAN

A hitherto unpublished portrait, reproduced from the original oil painting in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Charles D. McGettigan (Francisca Vallejo).

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MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

and

SONOMA

A Biography and a History

By GEORGE TAYS

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY of Sonoma did not begin with the founding of the town, nor even with the founding of the Mission San Francisco Solano, around which it grew. It began with the birth of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, who was born on July 7, 1808.

Under these circumstances the narrative covering the town's first forty years is largely the biography of Vallejo. Many events that had their inception elsewhere are integral parts of the story, for the life of the town and that of its protector and foremost citizen are so inextricably interwoven that it might truly be said that without the man the town could not have come into existence.

Note must be taken of Vallejo's campaigns against the Indians at the beginning of his military career; likewise his services as a member of the territorial assembly of California under Mexican rule and his activities in the revolutionary movements which were so much a part of California politics at that time. Into the story also comes the Russian advance down the Pacific Coast; not so much from the standpoint of international politics as from the effect the settlement at Fort Ross had upon the founding of Sonoma.

To the ardent desires of Father Altimira to open new pagan fields for conversion may be traced the establishment of Sonoma's Mission. It thrived and was becoming rich and powerful when it was overtaken by secularization; and at this point Vallejo was ordered to take control. As its administrator in 1835 he settled the members of the Padres-Hijar colony in a village near the Mission, and thus the town of Sonoma came into being.

Early in 1836, the Presidio of San Francisco was abandoned, and Vallejo, as its commandant, moved the troops to Sonoma, where he set up a military post for the protection of the Northern Frontier.

During the year that followed, with few exceptions, Vallejo seldom absented himself from Sonoma. He occupied his time with the building up of a private army and his endeavors to increase his vast land holdings and herds of cattle. When the Russians decided to withdraw from California and offered their property for sale, Vallejo was one of the bidders, but it went to Captain Johann August Sutter, of New Helvetia, who offered a higher price. This sale was the cause of the quarrel between the two powerful barons of northern California, though in time the breach was healed and they became fast friends.

Meanwhile, American immigrants were drifting over the Sierra and settling in the Sacramento Valley; and while Vallejo was friendly to Americans he realized that the populating of the northern half of California by a people distinctly different in ideals and customs from the Mexicans constituted a definite threat and danger to the sovereignty of the government which he represented. Many times he wrote to the authorities in Mexico, pointing out this danger, but nothing came of his suggestions; consequently by 1846 the Sacramento Valley and the north shore of San Francisco Bay were well populated by American pioneers.

The match was set to the powder magazine by the arrival of Frémont. Early on the morning of June 14, 1846, Vallejo awoke to find his house in Sonoma surrounded by a filibustering band of some thirty-three rough Americans. He was taken prisoner, together with his brother Salvador and Victor Prudon, and sent under guard to Frémont's camp at Sutter's Fort; his brother-in-law, Jacob P. Leese, accompanying the party as interpreter. The Americans who remained at Sonoma helped themselves to Vallejo's property and set up the abortive Bear Flag Republic.

For a few days the little frontier hamlet became the capital of a fantastic state; but its glory was short-lived, for three weeks later the forces of the United States took Monterey, and on July 9, the American flag was raised over Sonoma. The town became a military post, with Lieutenant Joseph Warren Revere, of the United States Navy, as its commandant.

Sonoma had great hopes for its future. Its inhabitants had visualized it as the bulwark against the Russian menace, but the Russians had withdrawn and that opportunity was lost. There were hopes that it might become a port;

mud-flats and lack of deep water blasted them. The Bear Flag episode again raised hopes, but the bubble burst when Commodore Sloat took possession of California. When Lieutenant Revere raised the American flag, Sonoma seemed to grow in importance, yet little came of its aspirations. Two years later Sonoma became unduly excited. It was felt that the Gold Rush held out glittering possibilities. Sonoma was about to become the northern metropolis, the gateway to the "diggings"; for it was supposed that gold-seekers landing at San Francisco would cross to the Marin shore and thence make their journey overland to Sonoma and the mines. But Sonoma was just a bit too far off the direct route. It was passed by, and its hoped-for prosperity languished.

With hopes of greatness gone, the people of the community turned to agricultural pursuits: the making of good wines, the growing of fine fruits, the raising of blooded stock.

It has been justly said that any institution is but the lengthened shadow of one man. This is likewise true of Sonoma, for without Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo there would have been no town. It is to him that it owes its distinction, for it provided the background for this man of high principles, rare culture and wealth, who has taken his place in history as one of California's outstanding characters.

CHAPTER I

A YOUNG REBEL IN THE MAKING

SOME TOWNS owe their establishment and location to some outstanding natural feature, such as a fine harbor, the junction of two great rivers, a large lake, or some strategic mountain pass near by. Others spring up overnight, due to the discovery of some great source of wealth in the locality. While still others are deliberately founded for a purpose by a government, a society, or even an individual. This last was the case in the founding of Sonoma. Although established mainly because of a governmental edict, nevertheless the success of the enterprise was largely in the hands of one individual, who spent most of his lifetime and his wealth in carrying it on. That person was one of California's most famous native sons, Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo.

Ignacio Vicente Ferrer Vallejo, father of Mariano, was born in Jalisco, Mexico, in 1748, of pure Spanish blood. He in turn was the son of Gerónimo Vallejo and Antonia Gomez, natives of Bilbao, ancient capital of the province of Burgos, Spain.¹ On both sides of his family Ignacio came from long lines of prominent individuals, which included priests, friars, nuns, soldiers, and statesmen. And it was while in the service of the Spanish Government that his father Don Gerónimo came to America and was assigned as an official to the Province of Jalisco, on the west coast of Mexico.²

Ignacio, like one of his brothers, was dedicated to the church by his

parents; but soon after beginning his studies he showed that he had no inclination for an education or the church and refused to pursue the course farther. His occupation during his early manhood seems to have been along agricultural lines; but in 1773, at the age of twenty-five years, he enlisted as a soldier at Compostela, in Tepic, under Captain Fernando Javier Rivera y Moncada, for service in California. After spending some months in Lower California he arrived at San Diego in September, 1774.³

In California he was moved about from post to post, serving at San Diego, San Luis Obispo, San Carlos (Carmel), San José, Soledad, Monterey, Branciforte, and again at Monterey, where he settled permanently. He married Maria Antonia Lugo at San José. To this union were born thirteen children—five sons and eight daughters—of whom one son and three daughters died before 1831, at which time the distinguished Sergeant Don Ignacio Vallejo passed away. It was while the family was living in Monterey that Mariano Guadalupe, the fourth son and eighth child, was born on July 7, 1808.⁴

Mariano began life just as the Spanish people were trying to oust Napoleon from Spain, and the Hispanic countries (of the Western Hemisphere) were beginning their revolutionary struggles for independence from European domination. Although California was very remote from the center of those revolutionary conflicts, still the germs of independence must have been in the air, and the infant Mariano Guadalupe must have been affected by them; for very early in life he revealed traits of a republican character.

During his entire infancy and childhood, the war of independence was being carried on in Mexico with varying success. About the Presidio of Monterey, where his father Don Ignacio was stationed, the youthful Mariano and his nephew, Juan Bautista Alvarado, one year younger, and his friend, José Castro, two years his junior, played, entirely oblivious of the great events and changes that were taking place beyond the boundaries of California and which in a few years were to have such a marked effect upon their careers.

During the first ten years of Vallejo's life, nothing happened to disturb the peace and quiet of this remote fringe of the Spanish Empire. Yet he was only three years old when down from Alaska came the Russians in 1811, to establish a post upon the northern California coast. Their coming determined many of Vallejo's later activities and, in part, the founding of Sonoma. Then, late in the afternoon of November 20, 1818, two strange vessels, commanded by the French captain, Hypolite Bouchard and flying the flag of the Argentine Insurgents, entered Monterey harbor to convince the inhabitants of California, by force if necessary, that they wanted to join the revolutionary cause against Spain.⁵

Without any warning, the ships opened fire upon the fort and presidio, and a landing was attempted, but was repulsed by a battery on the beach,

commanded by José Jesus Vallejo, Mariano's oldest brother. Don Ignacio was in charge of the artillery of the fort, which also took part in the action. So accurate was the fire from the land batteries, that one of the insurgent ships was badly disabled and probably would have been sunk had not the other ship hauled it out of range. Later in the day the insurgents effected a landing with several hundred men, a few miles to the west of the fort, and by nightfall, due to their superior numbers, had succeeded in capturing the town, forcing the government defenders to retire to Rancho del Rey, now Salinas, and the populace of Monterey to flee in wild disorder to the same refuge, leaving most of their property and valuables behind. Many of them saved only what they had on their persons at the time of the attack.

That unwarranted invasion by the insurgents, the battle, the capture of Monterey and the ensuing scenes of disorder and anguish among the civilian inhabitants made a profound impression upon the plastic mind of the ten-year-old Mariano Vallejo. And undoubtedly this incident made him realize how defenceless his country was, and in the end proved to be one of the important factors in determining his choice of a military career, so that he might do all in his power to secure the safety of California.⁶

At the time of this raid, Mariano was already in school, and although the school was poor and the instruction very meager, his quick mind and his ambition to get ahead caused him to make the most of his limited advantages.

Mariano began his education in 1815, some time after he passed his seventh birthday. At that time, and since 1811, the only school that Monterey afforded was conducted by Miguel Gerónimo Archuleta, a soldier, son of Ignacio Archuleta who had come to California with the Anza colony in 1776 and had settled at Mission San Francisco. Miguel Gerónimo was born at that Mission in 1779, and later became a soldier in the San Francisco Company. Early in the 1800's, he was promoted to the rank of corporal. His education was only elementary, such as his father could give him in that frontier post. Yet in 1811, Governor Arrillaga had him transferred to the Monterey Company and ordered him to teach the school which Arrillaga, who was much interested in education, had decided to open in Monterey. Previous to 1811, there had been no permanent public school in Monterey. What instruction had been available was entirely private, supported by contributions from the inhabitants, and whenever the funds became exhausted the school also closed. Spasmodically, somebody opened a school, but it never operated for more than a few months at a time. When Governor Arrillaga took office, he saw the need for a public school, and after some years of patient planning he was able to open one with the inexperienced but willing Archuleta as instructor.⁷

In this school the primers were furnished by the parents of the children; but the company paymaster provided the writing paper, to whom it was afterwards returned to be used in the manufacture of wadding for the car-

tridges used by the army. The main object of this education was to teach the Christian doctrine. This the pupils acquired by rote, repeating it word by word and sentence by sentence after the instructor. Ripalda's *Christian Doctrine* and the Catechism were what the pupils learned first. Reading and writing were matters of secondary importance, and no child started on them until he had stored in his memory the treasures of religion. Usually, the A B C's in reading and writing were begun in the second year, and from then on each pupil's progress in his studies was as slow or as fast as his own inclinations and the limited knowledge of the instructor permitted. In this respect, Vallejo was more fortunate than most of his classmates. Not only did he have a better mind and a greater capacity for learning, but he was full of ambition and made the most of his meager opportunities. The only one of his companions who made an equal use of his opportunities was Juan Bautista Alvarado.

As the students advanced in their studies, they were given such books to read as were recommended by the church, usually having to do with religion. For penmanship exercises, the pupils were made to copy state documents which were to be sent to Mexico. Ordinary discipline was maintained through the liberal use of the master's ferule, but for more serious infractions, such as laughing aloud, running in the street, playing truant, spilling ink, or failing to know their lessons, there was a far more terrible implement of exquisite torture. This was a hempen scourge with a number of cords, to each of which was attached an iron point; a sort of cat-o-nine-tails. Whenever one of the guilty little wretches was caught in the act, he was brought before the inquisitorial master's desk. He was there stripped of his poor shirt, often his only garment, and, stretched face downward upon a bench, with a handkerchief thrust into his mouth as a gag, was lashed by one of the larger pupils, at the command of the teacher, with a dozen or more blows. Not infrequently the iron points cut the skin and blood ran down the little lacerated back; thus not a few Californians bore the scars of learning to their dying day.⁸

The type of school to which Mariano Vallejo went consisted of a long, narrow, badly lighted room, with unadorned walls, save for a huge cross or the picture of some saint, usually the Virgin of Guadalupe, hanging behind the master's head or to one side of his desk. As a general thing, the place was dirty and dilapidated. Along the sides of the room were placed rows of roughly made benches, while at one end was a rude platform upon which was a table or desk covered with a dingy black cloth. Behind this table sat the old soldier of ill-tempered visage and repulsive presence, robed in a greasy dress of fantastic cut. Such a schoolmaster was Miguel Archuleta. As each schoolboy dragged himself into the chilling and forbidding atmosphere of the room, he walked the length of the chamber, knelt before the cross or saint, recited a prayer aloud, and crossed himself. On finishing his devotions, he approached the master and requested the latter's hand. Thereupon, that

dignitary extended his hairy, unkempt paw, with a sort of grunt or bellow, and the pupil kissed it. The boy then tossed his hat upon the heap of other hats in a corner and took his accustomed seat. When the lesson of the day had been assigned, each one began to memorize his by repeating it aloud, thereby producing a bedlam that could be heard a quarter of a league away.⁹

For the penmanship lesson, the master set a copy which the pupil repeated over and over again. When the sheet was completed, the child took it to the teacher, who inspected it minutely while the student quaked and trembled. Should the smallest blot appear, the unfortunate scholar would be bidden to hold out his hand and would thereupon receive a resounding smack of the ferule. The culprit then promised to improve next time and resumed his seat. During the time devoted to inspection of the copies the ferule had little rest.¹⁰

In this connection Vallejo told a story, in later years, about the first revolt of Californians against the authority of the government. It seems that it was customary in Monterey to allow the boys to go to the beach in order to see the incoming ships. One day about 1818, the vessel *Princesa* arrived. At the time, the elder pupils were completing copies of documents to be sent to Mexico on the ship's return trip. The boys were given the usual permission by the master, but were admonished to put away their copies carefully and to close the hole in the door for the cat as they went out. All the pupils, big and small, tumbled out on the heels of the master, heedless of everything but their anticipated pleasure, and, completely forgetting his instructions, hurried to the shore. There they met Governor Sola, who pleasantly enquired as to the progress the youngsters were making. In due course of time, after the passengers were all ashore, the lads began their slow, unwilling return to school. On entering, their hearts almost stopped beating, for there, to their dismay, were their precious copies scattered all over the room, ink bottles overturned, and most of the manuscripts ruined beyond redemption. In their absence, hens had invaded their hated classroom and wrought havoc among their elaborate copies.

As they began to realize the impending consequences, the whole thing took on the proportions of a major calamity. Hurriedly they picked up the scattered documents and restored things to proper order. In the midst of this work, in walked Archuleta and took the situation in at a glance. With a scowl that was more demoniacal than usual, he ordered the entire class into the torture chamber, an inner apartment with its only door opening into the schoolroom. The pupils obeyed in silence. But when he ordered two of the older boys to hold the first victim while he applied the cat-o-nine-tails, they flatly refused. This bold stand encouraged the rest and they at once barricaded themselves in, while they discussed the next step. The master soon heard the young rebels making plans to seize him, lay him out on the bench and apply the scourge to his back. If well laid on, it might serve as a

reminder to lessen their tortures when again they were the victims. They prepared their concerted action and flung open the door. On seeing the youthful conspirators rushing upon him, the schoolmaster took to his heels and did not stop until he was within the safety of the Presidio gates. There he reported the matter to the commanding officer of the post, who in turn informed the Governor. The kindly old chief at once appointed Sergeant Ignacio Vallejo as commissioner to investigate the matter and punish the rebels if necessary. Poor Mariano Guadalupe must have felt even more frightened than ever when confronted by so uncompromising a commissioner as his own father. But Don Ignacio chose to take a very lenient view of the matter. Since he was enjoying the discomfiture of the schoolmaster, who was a thoroughly disliked man, and he had two sons and a grandson among the rebels, Don Ignacio generously arbitrated the difficulty, on the basis that the documents were to be recopied by the time the vessel was ready to sail on its return voyage. Then he pardoned the culprits on the ground that their excessive joy at the arrival of the *Princesa* had so affected their minds for the moment as to render them irresponsible agents.¹¹

Writing about the event some fifty years later, General Vallejo fancied himself in one of the important rôles. But one can hardly imagine a boy scarcely ten years old, no matter how rebellious, being a leader in the deposition of the schoolmaster. The facts of the case may not have been very clear in Vallejo's mind at the time that he wrote them, and he may have thought himself older than he really was.

Not all of Mariano Vallejo's school days were as unpleasant as those described above, however. There was also a brighter side to the picture. Governor Sola took a keen interest in his education and in that of his chums, Juan B. Alvarado and José Castro. These three boys, only a year or two apart in age, were frequently invited to the executive study, where the kindly old Governor spent hours discussing world affairs and historical topics with them. Furthermore, he gave them Mexican newspapers and certain official reports to read. He also presented them with a copy of the Constitution of 1812 and, better yet, a copy of *Don Quixote*. With such stimulus, the three boys widened their education materially. By the time they entered their early teens, their knowledge was far greater than that of any of their companions, even those several years their senior.¹²

Vallejo's interest in an education was widened considerably by the arrival of foreigners after 1820. About the time that he was fourteen years old, in 1822, his studies were helped further by the arrival in Monterey of William Edward P. Hartnell, a merchant who was a linguist of note, and later by such other men as Nathan Spear and David Spence. These men employed Vallejo, Alvarado and other young Californians in their stores as clerks, and it was from them that Vallejo learned to read French, English and Latin, and also became acquainted with arithmetic and bookkeeping. These new studies

opened to him and his companions new fields of thought and an understanding of the great political movements that followed in the wake of the American and French revolutions. Of course, most of the new books, pamphlets and other literature that Vallejo obtained for reading during those years were on the prohibited list of the Church. Nevertheless, he and his companions managed to smuggle them into the country by one means or another, and they were avidly read and passed around from one person to another, until the younger Californians were thoroughly imbued with the new liberal doctrines.¹³

When Vallejo was sixteen years of age, there were three possible careers open to an ambitious boy who did not want to enter the Church. He could take up the profession of arms and raise cattle on the side; he could enter politics, and raise cattle as an avocation; or he could ignore both arms and politics and make cattle raising his profession. The choice was not difficult for Mariano Guadalupe. He entered the Monterey Company as a cadet on January 8, 1824, and began to study to become an officer in the Mexican Army.¹⁴ In this career he was to rise rapidly, and within a few short years was to be rewarded with the highest military rank his native country could offer him.

At the time he entered the military service, though only a lad of sixteen, Vallejo had already acquired the characteristics and formed many of the habits that marked his personality and made him one of the most influential men of his territory. He was full of energy and was independent of spirit. He possessed a fine mind and was eager to seek and acquire knowledge, wherever it might be found. Of proud family and good bearing, he soon became somewhat arrogant and a strict disciplinarian. He was truthful and honest in his dealings with others, and showed no inclination to acquire the intemperate vices to which some of his friends became addicted. He was not as popular with the rest of his young friends as were Juan Alvarado and José Castro, but his opinions always carried much more weight with others than did theirs. Of his courage there can be no doubt, and even in his early years he showed the kindness and generosity of spirit that marked him as a fine host later in life.

CHAPTER II

EXPLORING FOR PAGAN SOULS

IN 1741, Vitus Bering and his hardy crew found their way from Siberia to the Alaska coast. Four years later, the Russians founded their first settlement on the American Continent, which act frightened King Charles III of Spain into sending a colonizing expedition into Upper California in 1769, in an effort to prevent Russian encroachment upon the unoccupied portions of California over which Spain claimed dominion by right of previous discovery.

The Russian advance down the western coast of North America was very slow, however, and sixty years later, in 1805, they were still above 54°40' north latitude. During the intervening period, the Spanish authorities had had considerable fear of the Russian advance, but as years had gone by and it had failed to materialize, by the end of the Eighteenth Century little thought was given to it.

In 1806, the California authorities had their first contact with the Russian colonies in Alaska, in the visit to San Francisco of Count Nikolai Petrovich Rezánoff and his party on board the *Juno*, for the purpose of buying California grain for the starving Russian colonists in the far Northwest.¹

The *Juno* entered San Francisco harbor on April 5, 1806, and departed six weeks later, on May 21, laden with the much-needed grain which Rezánoff had finally secured, by hook and by crook, after many difficulties.² The story of his love affair with Concepcion Argüello is too well known to be repeated here.

After Rezánoff's return to Sitka, there was no further contact between the Russians in Alaska and the Spaniards in California for several years. Occasionally some otter-hunting expedition came down the coast but did not enter the ports. Nevertheless, Rezánoff, after leaving California, planned to establish trade with this territory on a permanent basis, and also to establish Russian settlements on the northern coast of California and at the mouth of the Columbia River. With these posts as bases of operation, he hoped to extend Russian dominion gradually southward, and eventually to wrest a large part of Upper California from Spain.³

Rezánoff managed to induce the director of the Russian American Company, Alexander Baránoff, to take up his scheme, and the latter selected Ivan A. Kuskoff to carry out the plan. Kuskoff sailed from Sitka aboard the *Kadiak* in 1808, to explore the California coast north of the Spanish settlements. He selected Bodega Bay as a likely location for a trading post and returned north after three months, in March, 1809. In February, 1811, Kuskoff again appeared at Bodega Bay aboard the *Chirikoff* and secured a load of furs, as well as the title to the surrounding land, which he bought from the Indians for three blankets, three pairs of breeches, two axes, three hoes, and some beads. Soon after, he returned to Sitka with a formal deed of ownership to the northern coast of California.⁴

In November, 1811, Kuskoff again set out for California, this time with a colony of ninety-five Russians and eighty Aleutian Indians, and arrived at Bodega in the spring of 1812. Very soon after, the colonists discovered that the Bodega site would be difficult to defend, so they moved the settlement to a small inlet eighteen miles to the north. There on a bare strip of tableland they established Fort Ross.⁵

The Russian American Company asked the Tzar for permission to establish the settlement and requested that the Spanish Government should be

notified. But the Russian Government made no effort to secure permission from Spain. In fact Russia proceeded as if Spain had nothing to say in the matter. It simply informed the company that it might make whatever commercial arrangement it could and that it was at liberty to found a settlement on its own account, relying on the protection of the Government.⁶

During the summer of 1812, the Spaniards made the surprising discovery that the Russians had settled at Ross. Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga was sent with a party of seven soldiers to investigate. After making enquiries and ascertaining that the Russians wished to establish trade relations with the Spanish settlements, he returned to San Francisco and reported to the Governor at Monterey.

Lieutenant Moraga made two subsequent trips to Fort Ross, and informed the Russians that they were not wanted and were forbidden to enter Spanish ports. The Russians, however, refused to obey the instructions and continued to expand their fur-trapping, farming, and commercial activities. Thereafter, the Spaniards sent repeated protests every year to the Russian commanders at Fort Ross, ordering them to abandon the settlements and retire to Alaska. Since those demands were never backed by military force, the Russians simply ignored them and continued their activities on the California coast.⁷

For the first three or four years of the Russian advance into California, the Spanish authorities in California, Mexico, and to a certain extent even in Spain, were considerably perturbed, and much correspondence passed between them concerning the establishment of an adequate defence against this new danger.⁸

By 1817, however, much of the Spanish fear concerning the Russians had passed, and although they still protested against the latter's establishments, they did nothing about it. As the years went by, less and less was said or done by the Spaniards and Mexicans, until the Russians finally abandoned their settlements in California and peaceably and quietly withdrew to Alaska in 1841.

Meanwhile, mission affairs in San Francisco had not been proceeding so well. The mortality among the Indians at that Mission had become alarming, and there was danger that there might be a panic. Thereupon, Governor Sola suggested that some of the neophytes might be transferred across the bay as a remedy. A few were sent over as an experiment, and benefited greatly in health. The Father President at first, while approving Sola's plan, hesitated to transfer part of the Mission formally, because he had no friars to send there and because communication would be difficult. But when several Christian Indians died at the new site without religious aid, Father Luis Gil y Taboada, who had lately come from Mission Purisima, consented to take charge of the branch establishment. Mission San Rafael was thus established by Fathers Abella, Narciso Durán, Luis Taboada, and Vicente Sarria, on December 14, 1817.⁹ Here we have the true reason for the founding of

Mission San Rafael, rather than those suggested by Russian and American writers, namely that the movement was in opposition to the Russian occupation of New Albion. One California writer has even stated that the friars moved the Mission across the bay because they wished to be nearer Ross as a convenient market.¹⁰

San Rafael at first was only a branch of Mission San Francisco, attended by a supernumerary friar from the latter. It had only a chapel instead of a church, but there was no difference in the method of managing it. During the years that followed it prospered to some extent, but at no time would it have been a serious obstacle to the Russians, had they contemplated or attempted to extend their settlements into the interior of California north of San Francisco Bay.

As development at San Rafael continued during the first five years, Mission San Francisco declined rapidly. In 1822, at a conference between Canon Agustin Fernandez, Commissioner to California from Mexico, Father Prefect Mariano Payeras and Governor Luis Argüello, the matter of transferring Mission San Francisco to the northeastern shore of San Francisco Bay was discussed, but no decision was reached at the time.¹¹ That move had been contemplated because of the sterility of the San Francisco site, the insalubrity of the climate, and the decline in the number of new conversions. The pagan frontier was already beyond the bay, and though there was no idea of founding a new mission, the transfer of the old one promised a broadening field for conversions in the north, as was evident by the success of the branch at San Rafael.¹²

After the conference the matter was dropped. It was brought up again, however, early in 1823, before Father Payeras' death, but he dropped the subject and had no more to do with it.

At that time, Mission San Francisco was under the management of a young, inexperienced friar, Father José Altimira, thirty-three years of age, who had arrived in California on August 18, 1820. He had come to California burning with religious zeal to go to the frontier and convert the heathen. When he found himself assigned to San Francisco, one of the oldest Missions, from which the frontier had already receded to the north, where there was little opportunity to make conversions, and, in fact, a mission that in his eyes was unattractive, unhealthful, and already declining, he was very unhappy. He craved and had come to see action. But in San Francisco there was no action; only indolence, sterility, and decay.¹³

When Father Altimira heard of the conference to transfer his Mission to the north, he became very enthusiastic over the prospect, and was keenly disappointed when the matter was dropped. Consequently, on March 23, 1823, probably instigated by Governor Argüello, Altimira drew up a memorial urging the transfer of Mission San Francisco, and had it presented to the territorial legislature at Monterey in April.¹⁴

Of course the legislature had no legal right to decide when, how, or where new missions should be established. That was a matter entirely in the hands of the College of San Fernando in Mexico. Nevertheless, on April 9, the legislature voted in favor of the transfer. It was ordered that the branch Mission of San Rafael should be joined to San Francisco again, and transferred with it. Furthermore, the suggestion was made that the new site should be selected in the country of the Petalumas or in that of the Canicaimos. The next day Governor Argüello forwarded copies of the resolutions to Mexico.¹⁵

Meanwhile, Prefect Mariano Payeras had been taken seriously ill in February, and was now on his deathbed. Early in April he appointed as his successor, his associate, the President and Vice-Prefect, Father José Francisco de Paula Señan. Father Altimira then forwarded copies of the legislature's resolutions to the new Prefect on April 30, 1823, but received no reply.¹⁶

Father Juan Amorós of San Rafael soon after heard that his post was to be suppressed, so, on May 17, he addressed a protest to Governor Argüello against the transfer. He pointed out that he was feeding, clothing and instructing eight hundred Indian converts, and declared that the suppression was unreasonable and unjust. Furthermore, the late Father Prefect, during his visit there on October 19, 1822, had decreed that San Rafael should be independent from San Francisco in everything.

On the other hand, Father Altimira did not wait to receive the approval of the Father President, now that Father Payeras had passed away. He organized an exploring party to look over the country between the Suisunes and Petalumas, which as yet was practically unknown, since the Spaniards had never visited some parts of it. Along with Father Altimira went Deputy Francisco Sanchez and an armed escort of nineteen men.¹⁷

The party crossed from San Francisco to the Marin shore on June 25, 1823, and spent the night at San Rafael. The next day they began to explore the country for a favorable site, both Sanchez and Altimira keeping diaries of their journey.

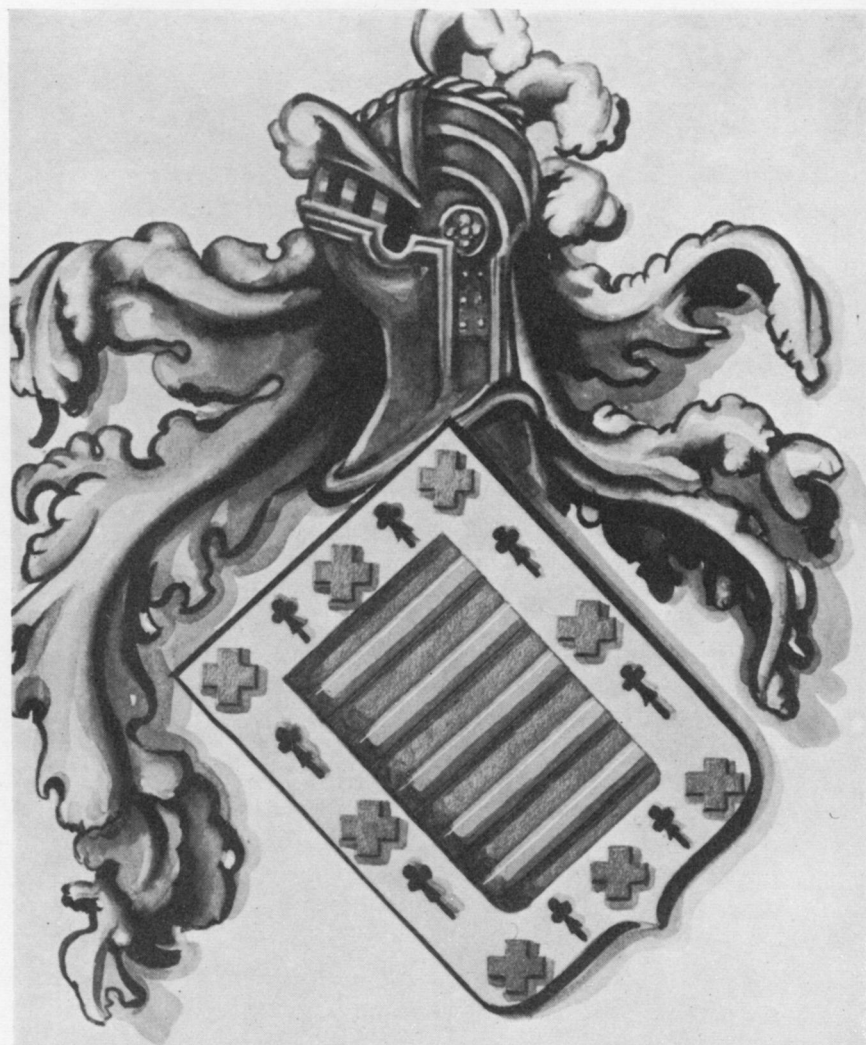
From San Rafael they went north five leagues to Olompoli, where they arrived at 9:00 A.M. and halted for lunch and a siesta. They continued their journey at 3:00 P.M., going north and around the head of the creek at a point called Chocuay, where the town of Petaluma now stands, on to a little brook called the Lema, arriving at 7:00 P.M. There on the plain of the Petalumas they killed a bear and passed the night, in company with eight or ten pagan Indians of the Libantilyomi.

On June 27, they set out from Lema at six in the morning and, exploring the plain to the east, found extensive and fertile lands that would require irrigation for certain crops during the summer. Then they explored the hills to the northeast, for some six miles, but found nothing useful except oak

groves. Several small lakes covered with tules were also found. Continuing in the same direction, they soon found a large lake named Tolay, for the chief of the Indians who had lived there formerly. It was a quarter of a league in length and about a quarter of a league wide. The water was fresh, and the hills about it were covered with grass, so it was a good spot for stock raising.¹⁸ This was probably back of the modern Lakeville. From there they proceeded northeast again until they came to the plain called Sonoma, named for the Indian tribe which formerly occupied it. Since it seemed a desirable location, they camped there at 10:00 A.M. to make a more thorough examination. That afternoon they left their mounts and equipment, guarded by a soldier and several Christian Indians, and surveyed the plain to the northwest on foot. They discovered a small, clear, stream suitable for drinking, running from a thick growth of trees. Following the same direction, they traversed a grove of great oak trees, extending three leagues from east to west and one and a half leagues from north to south. Soon they found a larger stream with abundant water, that ran from the west to the east and irrigated the middle of the valley. This stream ran into Sonoma Creek, which flows from east to west. The remainder of the day was spent in examining this section, where there were many springs and firewood in quantity was available in the mountains. Furthermore, grass-lands, forests and several kinds of building stone were close at hand. At 8:00 P.M. the explorers returned to camp.

After breakfast on the fourth day, the party set out about seven o'clock in the morning, leaving the camp where it was and the barge in Sonoma Creek a quarter of a league away, to explore a portion of the valley that they had been unable to inspect the previous day. They climbed a small hill on the east side about a quarter of a league from the creek. From its top they saw the entire plain, the creek, the bay and its encircling hills to the east and west. They also found that the temperature was eleven degrees warmer than at Mission San Francisco. Every plant and tree bore witness to the mildness of Sonoma's climate. Further observation revealed that large areas of land could be cultivated and that the barge could land near a place where buildings might be erected. On enquiring from the Indians, they learned that the creek contained an abundance of fish. From all these facts it was decided that Sonoma was a very suitable locality in which to found a mission. Returning to camp they rested and lunched, after which they continued their explorations to improve their knowledge of the country.

The following four days were given over to exploration, and on the ninth day, at 6:00 A.M., the party began their return to Sonoma, and arrived in that valley before night. They made for some hills which shelter the valley from the southerly winds near the point of the creek. In the valley, a quarter of a league before reaching a rill of clear water which they had been informed ran down from the hills and emptied into the creek, they found a small pond



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of fresh water, overgrown with tules, muddy but good to drink. This lake was about fifty yards square. Some five hundred yards further on, there was another pond of fresh drinkable water. They made note of all this as they traveled along the hills towards the creek until they arrived at the spring of which they had been told. Instead of coming from the hills, however, the spring was at their foot, and it was found that by a little excavation it could be made to produce about six inches of good fresh water for irrigating, washing, tanning, etc., but not for drinking, because it was always lukewarm. One of the Christian Indians, whose rancheria had been only some twenty yards from the spring, told the Spaniards that to his knowledge the spring never went dry. The pagans always drank the water, and the party used it for drinking and cooking during the twenty-four hours of their stay on the spot. They felt sure that with the spring and the ponds a quarter of a league away, the place would be satisfactory. Furthermore, about five hundred yards to the rear there was another abundant source of very clear, fresh water. Finally, there were so many springs and ponds around the place that they got tired of seeing them. This, in addition to having a barge anchorage only five hundred yards away, a fine view, timber not more than two leagues away over a level road, abundant firewood at hand, limestone only a short league away, all the advantages for raising stock at Petaluma, where a ranch would also help to civilize the pagans in that vicinity, and all other agreeable circumstances connected with the place, caused Father Altimira, Deputy Francisco Castro, and Second Lieutenant Don José Sanchez, who commanded the troops, to agree to found the mission at once. They made that decision about 10:00 A.M.; then they set out for a small stream a half league away, where they made camp.

About three o'clock that afternoon, they moved camp to the spot agreed upon for the site of the Mission. Later on they explored a range of hills back of the site, overlooking the bay. They selected a place on top for a lookout from which all traffic by water might be observed. They also noticed some land where horses might graze, some flats where corn, watermelons, squash, beans and other produce might be raised. At nightfall the party returned to camp, resolved to plant the Holy Cross on the spot the following day.¹⁹

The tenth day of the expedition was July 4, 1823, and a festive occasion for all its members. The men arose at 6:00 A.M.; a field altar was erected, and a cross nineteen feet tall and eight feet across was made of redwood. It was blessed by Father Altimira, who also sprinkled holy water over the site where the Mission buildings were to rise. Then where the former pagan rancheria had been they planted the cross. At the moment that the symbol of redemption was erected, the soldiers fired a volley. Father Altimira and the neophytes sang verses of the *Pangue lingua* etc., and *Crux fidelis*, in adoration of the Holy Cross. The imposing sacrifice of the Mass was then celebrated as an act of gratitude, every man of the expedition taking part

in it. Then a sermon was preached, followed by the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus*, and the ceremony terminated by the firing of volleys of musketry. It was eight o'clock in the morning when the ceremony ended. Then it was announced to all that, henceforth and thereafter, this site was to be known as New San Francisco.

After the rites, the party partook of a feast, and about 2:00 P. M. they started their return journey. Mission San Francisco Solano, on the site of the town-to-be of Sonoma, had been founded.²⁰

CHAPTER III

GROWTH OF MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO

ALTHOUGH Father Altimira and his exploring party had performed the founding ceremony, Mission San Francisco Solano as yet was by no means a reality. Supplies had to be secured and brought to the spot, buildings must be erected, livestock acquired, and pagan Indians converted and trained to do the necessary work.

Keeping those things in mind, the explorers set out that very afternoon for San Francisco. By six o'clock that evening they had traveled six long leagues to Olompali, where they spent the night.

On the eleventh day, July 5, they started at six o'clock for San Rafael, where they arrived at half-past nine that same morning. There they remained the rest of the day waiting for the barge, which had left Sonoma before the land party but had been forced to anchor off Point San Pedro, three leagues from San Rafael, because of a southwest wind. There it stayed until day-break of July 6.

About 5:00 A. M. of July 6, the barge passed San Rafael on her oars, steering for Point Tiburon. At that moment, Father Altimira and the others were saying Mass, after which they breakfasted and departed at 7:30 A. M. They arrived at Point Tiburon at ten o'clock and embarked at about half-past eleven; but due to calms it was not until 4:00 P. M. that they arrived at the beach in front of the Presidio of San Francisco and landed. There they were given a fine welcome at the door of the post commander's house.¹

It will be remembered that Father Altimira had set out on his expedition at the instigation of Governor Argüello, but without the knowledge or consent of the Father President and Prefect. On returning from his illegal undertaking, Father Altimira at once wrote the prelate a personal letter, on July 10, and began his official report, which he sent on July 16, 1823.²

Father President José Señan was amazed and highly displeased at the summary and highhanded way in which the Assembly had taken upon itself to found a mission by the suppression of an old one, without consulting the Mexican Government. Furthermore, he was astounded at the audacity of the youthful Father Altimira. On his deathbed, on August 14, he transferred the

prefect's office to Father Vicente Sarria, and in his instructions he stated that he considered the transfer of Mission San Francisco as striking at authority. However, he left Father Sarria free to do what he thought proper in the circumstances.³

Meanwhile, Governor Argüello, seeing that nothing further had been done towards establishing the Mission, wrote to Altimira enquiring about the delay in transferring Mission San Francisco. The latter replied that it was impossible to begin operations without the Indians from San Rafael, for those in San Francisco were not numerous enough. At a conference with the Governor at Monterey, Altimira was advised not to wait for the prelate's orders but to make a beginning at once. The Friar returned to San Francisco, and Governor Argüello, on August 4, notified President Señan, Father Amorós of San Rafael, and Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez at San Francisco, of the action that was about to be taken.⁴

As soon as he received Argüello's letter, Altimira, without waiting for his superior's permission, on August 12, accompanied by Lieutenant Martinez, crossed the bay, took possession of Mission San Rafael's property by inventory and returned to San Francisco. After some days of preparation, he set out for Sonoma on August 23, with an escort of twelve men, with five hundred cartridges, and an artilleryman to operate a two-pounder. He also took a large group of Indian laborers. Arriving at New San Francisco on August 25, 1823, they set to work at once on a granary, irrigation ditch, corrals, and other necessary structures. For a week the work made good progress, then on August 31, Altimira received a letter from Prefect Sarria which brought things to a halt for the time being.⁵

Meanwhile, President Señan became quite indignant at the actions of Argüello and Altimira. But being about to die, he turned the matter over to Father Sarria. The new Prefect set out from Mission Soledad for San Juan Bautista, where he consulted Fathers Estévan Tapis and Narciso Durán. From there Sarria wrote to Altimira, on August 23, a rather pointed note, saying in part:

I have learned with regret what Your Reverence has done in attempting to found the new Mission San Francisco. By order of the Rev. Fr. President José Señan . . . who is grievously ill . . . I shall have to act in his behalf according to his circular. . . . Nevertheless, I have not wished to take any steps until the subject was discussed according to our regulations. For this purpose several fathers and I have assembled to-day at this mission. By their judgment as well as mine, I say that Your Reverence is not lawfully authorized to undertake the founding of a mission, and that consequently you expose the spiritual functions of your ministry to nullification, because the powers that we have are *in locis a suis superioribus assignatis*. Such is the declaration of the Bull of Pius V, on this point. Your Reverence cannot defend your action with the alleged will of the late Rev. Fr. Prefect, God rest his soul, which did not touch the present transaction of designating time and place, nor did it extend to the topographic site of the founding, or the sending of Your Reverence to such a distant place without an associate, contrary to canonical and civil laws and in opposition to

the statutes of our Apostolic College. I do not know that there is among the fathers one who approves of your actions. It will cause much grief at our College when it is informed about the matter. My dear Father, no one perhaps will surpass me in zeal for extending the glory of the Holy Name of the Lord by means of the light of the Holy Gospel; but Your Reverence knows that this zeal must be *secundum scientiam*. If it must be against charity and its sweet fruit, peace, then let us put it aside or at least postpone it, the former for the sake of the latter, which is more necessary.⁶

This stinging rebuke arrived at Sonoma on August 31, and found the young and energetic Padre Altimira in the midst of his labors. This note from his superior, which virtually was an order to stop the founding of the Mission, was like a thunderbolt out of the blue to the Friar. It never seemed to have occurred to the impetuous minister that as a member of the Franciscan Order he was under very strict rules, and that serious undertakings, such as the founding of a mission, were governed by long established customs. He had completely ignored the fact that consultation with and securing permission from his superiors, his college, and the Government were the first steps in the founding of a mission.

When that truth dawned upon him, he stopped the work, but he was furious with what he considered righteous indignation. While still in that fit of temper, he wrote a letter to Governor Argüello. In it he complained bitterly of the treatment he had received, and of the "frivolous difficulties" and obstacles which one of the fathers, with the aid of confederates, had placed in his way. He claimed that Father Durán and others were allies of the devil and that President Sarria seemed to be one of the plotters. In conclusion he said:

I wish to know whether the assembly has any authority in this province or not, and if these men can overthrow Your Honor's wise provisions. I came here to convert pagans and to establish new missions. If I can not do it here, which as we all agree is the best spot in California for the purpose, I will leave the country.⁷

Ordinarily such gross insubordination on the part of a junior friar would have meant his prompt dismissal from California, and perhaps disciplinary measures taken by his college. But at that time there was a great shortage of friars here, so Father Altimira could not be spared. Therefore President Sarria chose to overlook the false accusations of his subordinate and assumed a conciliatory attitude.

In a long letter to Governor Argüello, written September 5 from San Juan Bautista, Fray Sarria refuted all the assumptions of Argüello and Altimira. He also pointed out that according to the law the prelate and not the territorial legislature still had the authority to found or move missions. Furthermore, Father Altimira had no authority to change the site from Petaluma, originally selected, to New San Francisco. He added that he was sure that neither Father Payeras nor Señan would have approved the haste and violence with which the transfer was effected; and that although Father Altimira may not have acted in bad faith, still too much weight could not be given to his statements unsupported by his prelate and associates. Finally, though

all the friars were eager to see the pagans converted, they wished it done in an orderly manner.⁸

Governor Argüello made no attempt to answer Sarria's arguments in detail, on September 17, because from his viewpoint it did not matter what the prefect or padres thought or approved. He took the ground that the assembly was acting for the public good in the matter and that its decree should be carried out. Furthermore, during fifty years the missionaries had done nothing to convert the pagans north of the bay, and so now the secular authorities proposed to take charge of the matter and really do something about it. Therefore, the new establishment would be sustained with its guard under a majordomo, and if Father Altimira was refused permission to attend to the Mission, the matter would be reported to Mexico.⁹

After considerable correspondence during September and October, the parties reached a compromise. New San Francisco was to be continued as a mission, with Father Altimira as its regular minister, subject to the approval of the college. But neither old San Francisco nor San Rafael was to be suppressed, and Altimira would continue as associate minister of the former. Neophytes might be transferred voluntarily from San Francisco, San José, or San Rafael, provided they had originally lived in the Sonoma region. Also the Indians from San Rafael would have the privilege of returning to that Mission any time within a year. New converts might be attracted from any direction to the mission they preferred, but no force was to be used to get them.¹⁰

Father Altimira returned to Sonoma as soon as the compromise was effected and took up mission construction where he had left off some weeks before. Nevertheless, he was soon confronted by numerous difficulties. He accused Father Durán and other friars in neighboring missions of trickery, spreading false rumors of pagan attacks on Sonoma, and other shady methods of keeping Christian Indians away from his Mission. Furthermore, his establishment was not receiving the customary aid from the old ones. The friar at San Francisco was disposed to retain all church property of any value. He also found that a larger military force would be necessary on that frontier, in order to inspire respect on the part of the pagans. Finally, Altimira found that the neophytes had too much liberty in choosing their residence, consequently they were inclined to change their minds too often. He found it difficult to build a mission when his laborers were always going off to live elsewhere, whenever a particularly hard task presented itself. But in spite of these troubles, the young Friar found his establishment making some progress.¹¹

By spring, the first structures were ready for occupancy. These consisted of a granary, the missionaries' house, and seven houses for families, all built of wood. On April 4, 1824, Passion Sunday, Father Altimira proudly dedicated his church. It was a very crude affair, temporary in nature, but it was

the symbol of religious development on the northern frontier. This rude temple was a 24 by 105 foot structure, built of whitewashed boards, but well furnished and decorated within. Many of the articles were gifts from the Russians at Fort Ross, a rather friendly gesture from a people who had been so feared by the Spanish and Mexican nations.¹²

On its dedication, April 4, the Mission was christened San Francisco Solano, after the famous apostle to Peru, and thereafter it was known by that name. The transfer of San Francisco de Asis to Sonoma was forgotten. Thus happily did Fr. José Altimira perform the dedicatory service, with his neophytes around him singing and praying as the program called for, and the soldiers in full array, standing in the background, somewhat uncomfortably doing their part. It was a proud moment for the inexperienced Friar who was trying to tame a wilderness. Five hundred Indians were then under his care, and sixty-nine of those were living at the Mission. As Father Altimira faced his sizable congregation to pronounce the benediction, his satisfaction must have been great indeed. His church was well furnished. Around the walls were three crosses with candles over them. In the sanctuary stood a well-built altar, and above it hung a canvas painting of San Francisco Solano which had been donated by the Father President. Furthermore, the Mission had been promised a relic of the patron saint, to be put on the altar.¹³

Under the energetic supervision of Fray Altimira, ranches for his Mission were established as far east as Suisun, which were to take care of the herds and flocks. Also during 1824, the building activities included a large adobe structure 30 by 120 feet, and seven feet high, roofed with tiles, with a corridor extending the full length of it. This was completed, and two other buildings were made ready for roofing. Unfortunately the rains set in before the work was finished. It was a wet season and the new structures dissolved into heaps of mud. A loom was set up to weave cloth for the Indians; a large garden plot, fenced with willow posts, was planted with 300 fruit trees; and a vineyard was set out with more than 1000 vines. As the months passed by, the cattle increased to 1,100 head, and the horses to 400; while the sheep numbered several thousand. All these animals were watched over at the various mission ranches by Indian herdsmen. Even the Christian Indians had increased to 693 by the close of 1824. It looked as if San Francisco Solano would be one of the richest of the missions.

In spite of its good beginning and bright outlook, Mission San Francisco Solano did not fulfill its promise after the second year. The first blow fell in 1826. Soon after a bumper crop was harvested, the natives began to show signs of restlessness and hostility. Suddenly, the savages fell upon the unsuspecting Mission. In a few minutes, Father Altimira saw the dream which he had turned into reality after three years of hard labor vanish before his eyes. The Indians sacked and burned it and within a few short hours the Mission was in ruins. The few soldiers stationed there could offer little effective re-

sistance, so, with Father Altimira and some of the neophytes, they barely escaped with their lives. They retreated to San Rafael, and from there crossed over to San Francisco. Fray Altimira was now a brokenhearted man, and asked to be transferred to Santa Barbara. There he remained until January, 1828, when in company with Father Ripoll of San Buenaventura, he stole aboard the American brig *Harbinger*, and sailed for Spain.¹⁴

All was not lost in the Indian uprising, however. Father Buenaventura Fortuni was assigned to rebuild Mission Solano, after the tide of savage fury had receded. Temporary structures were erected. Livestock of different kinds was donated by the other missions to form the nucleus of new flocks and herds. Ten neophytes returned and crops were planted. By 1830, all the evil effects of the destructive blow of 1826 had been overcome and, although the creator of the Mission was gone, his work lived after him. Also, in 1830, Father Fortuni was transferred to one of the southern missions. His place was taken by Fr. José de Jesus Maria Gutierrez. Under him more permanent buildings were erected to replace the temporary ones, and the acreage of cultivated lands was greatly increased. During the years that Father Gutierrez was in charge, the Mission prospered greatly.¹⁵

It reached its maximum productivity in 1832, at which time it possessed 3,500 head of cattle, 5,000 head of sheep and goats, 500 pigs, and 725 horses. The crops also increased, and that year the yield was 3,260 bushels of grain. Outposts and ranches, where the stock was kept, were established at Santa Rosa, Petaluma, Napa and Suisun.

By that year also, the total number of baptisms was 1,315, the deaths 651, and the Mission had a maximum population of 996. These Indians were converted from some thirty-five different neighboring tribes: the Aloquiomi, Atenomac, Canoma, Carquin, Canijolmano, Caymus, Chemoco, Chichoyomi, Chocuyem, Coyayomi, Huilca, Huymen, Lacatiut, Loquiomi, Linayto, Locnoma, Mayacma, Muticolmo, Malaca, Napato, Oleomi, Putah, Polnomanoc, Paque, Petaluma, Suisun, Satayomi, Soneto, Tolen, Tlayacma, Tamal, Topayto, Ululato, Utinomanoc, and Zaclom.¹⁶

By 1833, Mission San Francisco Solano gave promise of being one of the wealthiest in California. In 1834, Father Gutierrez was transferred to one of the other missions, and about that time the Mexican Government decided that the mission system had become outworn and decreed that all of the California missions should be secularized.¹⁷

(To be continued)

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Helen Putnam Van Sicklen, "The Life and Times of General M. G. Vallejo," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, IX (Sept., 1932), 151.
2. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 756.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, II, 226-41.
6. M. G. Vallejo, *Historia de California*, MS, I, 182-204. The author gives a full account of the events and his impressions and reactions to the unwarranted attack.
7. H. H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, pp. 495-509, gives a long discussion of the schools and the methods of instruction as well as the discipline maintained.
8. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, I, 127-35, gives details of his schooling. Also L. Lothrop, "The Noblest Roman," *Touring Topics*, XXIII (Feb., 1931), 36-37.
9. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-35.
10. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, pp. 502-3.
11. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-35; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 504-8; Lothrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.
12. C. Gutherie, General Vallejo's Home, California Historical Landmark Series, MS, No. 4, pp. 4-5; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 500-1.
13. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 505-25.
14. Van Sicklen, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-59.

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2. G. H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World, 1803-1807*, II, 172-86.
3. P. N. Rezanoff to Zapiski, New Archangel, Feb. 15, 1806; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
4. E. O. Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Ross," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XII (Sept., 1933), 191.
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7. Essig, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-209; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-320; T. H. Hittell, *History of California*, I, 622-30.
8. California Archives: Provincial State Papers, MS, XIX, XX; Provincial Records, MS, IX; Provincial State Papers, Benicia, Military, MS, XLV, XLVI; Departmental State Papers, Benicia, Military, MS, LXXXVII; and J. Guerra, *Documentos para la Historia de California*, MS, III, IV, V; Vallejo, *Documentos para la Historia de California*, MS, IV; all have numerous letters from King, Viceroy, and Governor, on the subject.
9. Fr. Z. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, III, 30-31.
10. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 329-30; J. Fernandez, *Cosas de California*, MS, p. 86, Bancroft Library.
11. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
12. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 496.
13. C. Gutherie, Mission San Francisco Solano, California Historical Landmark Series, MS, No. 3, pp. 2-3.
14. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
15. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 490-91.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 497.
17. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
18. Fr. J. Altimira, "Journal of the Expedition Made to Examine the Sites for the Founding of the New Mission San Francisco of Upper California," *Hutchings's California Magazine*, V (Aug., 1860), 58-59, trans. by A. S. Taylor.
19. *Ibid.*, V (Sept., 1860), 117-18.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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3. Fr. J. Señan to Fr. Sarria, San Buenaventura, Aug. 14, 1823, letter of instructions, MS, Archb. Arch., MS, IV, No. 1458, San Francisco.
4. Gov. L. Argüello to Fr. Amoros, Fr. Altimira to Fr. Señan, and Lt. I. Martinez, Monterey, Aug. 4, 1823, in Dept. Records, MS, I, 32; also Archb. Arch., MS, IV, Part III, 16-20.
5. Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 499-501.
6. Fr. V. Sarria to Fr. J. Altimira, San Juan Bautista, Aug. 23, 1823, Archb. Arch., MS, IV, Part II, 16, No. 1461, San Francisco.
7. Fr. Altimira, to Gov. Argüello, New San Francisco, Aug. 31, 1823, Archb. Arch., MS, IV, Part II, No. 1464; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 501-2.
8. Fr. V. Sarria to Gov. Argüello, San Juan Bautista, Sept. 5, 1823, Archb. Arch., MS, IV, Part II, No. 1465.
9. Gov. Argüello to Fr. V. Sarria, Monterey, Sept. 17, 1823, in Dept. Records, MS, I, 42-46.
10. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 503-4.
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14. J. P. Monro-Fraser, *History of Sonoma County*, p. 45.
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16. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 506; III, 718-19.
17. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, III, 637.

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

and

SONOMA

A Biography and a History

By GEORGE TAYS

CHAPTER IV

A MILITARY CAREER BEGINS

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO began his military career in the Monterey Company, on January 8, 1824. It is almost impossible to trace his activities during his three years of service as a cadet. His training was the same as that of any other youth who chose the army for a career. He was assigned to the cavalry, and in that branch served his apprenticeship as a private, doing the regular routine duties of his rank, mounting guard, going on an occasional expedition, drilling, and no doubt studying the manual of the soldier and military tactics.

The following year, 1825, he was promoted to the rank of corporal, and began to learn to command a squad of men. He studied the duties of the noncommissioned officer, kept the company books, and performed other military tasks.¹

During his third year, 1826, he received his sergeant's stripes, and had command of a platoon. He began to assume more responsibility and to discharge duties of some importance. Now, besides going on expeditions, he commanded the guard, did most of the company paper work and helped to keep its accounts.²

Vallejo was an apt student, learned quickly, and had a great liking for the discipline, authority, and activities of military life. Consequently, his promotion was rapid, and after serving a little more than a year as sergeant, on July 30, 1827, just a week before his nineteenth birthday, he was appointed an ensign. Although he deserved the promotion, he might not have been advanced so soon had it not been for a piece of good fortune. Santiago Argüello, who was filling the post of ensign of the San Francisco Company at that time, had been attached to the San Diego Company for over a year, and was absent in the south. In the spring of 1827, he was permanently transferred to the San Diego Presidio, and a vacancy thus occurred in the San Francisco Company. Mariano Vallejo, having completed his training, was immediately commissioned to fill the vacancy. The new Ensign, however, did not go to San Francisco until 1830, for his services were required in Monterey.³



SEÑORA FRANCISCA BENICIA CARRILLO VALLEJO

(Wife of General Vallejo)

From a painting in the possession of Mrs. Charles D. McGettigan (Francisca Vallejo).

Early in 1827, Governor José M. Echeandia called the Territorial Assembly to convene in June. Elections were held in which seven regular members of the Assembly and three alternates were selected. The session was held in Monterey on June 14, 1827, but after the first meeting, most of the members left to attend to other business elsewhere. Consequently the Assembly was unable to carry on its business for lack of a quorum. After several weeks, the two remaining members, Mariano Estrada and Antonio Buelna, with the aid of the Monterey Ayuntamiento selected five provisional members for the Assembly. Among the five young men who lived near Monterey and could attend the meetings was Mariano G. Vallejo, who was sworn in on September 19, 1827. Thus, two months after his nineteenth birthday, he was launched on his political career, almost simultaneously with his service as a commissioned officer.⁴

At that time Governor Echeandia visited Monterey to preside over the meetings of the legislature, which he proceeded to dominate, for he was a mature man while most of the members were mere boys. Estrada and Buelna were mature men, but Francisco Pacheco, Estévan Munras, and José Rocha were only in their twenties, while Vallejo, Juan B. Alvarado and José Castro were nineteen, eighteen and seventeen years old, respectively. Alvarado served as secretary.

During September and October, 1827, Vallejo was engaged in legislative work, which dealt mainly with the regulation of commerce, the financing of the government, and especially with the collection and administration of the revenues by José Maria Herrera, the collector of customs, who was entirely independent of the Governor's authority. This fact led to a bitter controversy between the Governor and Herrera which lasted for months, and in which Vallejo and other officials became involved.⁵

Another subject acted upon by the legislature at that session was a proposal to change the name of California to that of Moctezuma, and that of Los Angeles to Villa Victoria de la Reina de Los Angeles, to distinguish it from Puebla de Los Angeles in Mexico. They also adopted a coat of arms for California, consisting of an Indian with plume, bow, and quiver, in the act of crossing a strait, all on an oval field with an olive and oak on the border, in memory of the peopling of the Americas by way of the Strait of Anian, according to tradition. The resolution was passed with little argument and sent to Mexico for approval. Fortunately for California, that government was too busy with other more serious matters to consider these proposals. Thus, they found a quiet and dusty grave on a shelf in the Mexican archives. It is to be deplored that Vallejo, who loved California so much, should have approved such ill-considered propositions.⁶

After the legislature adjourned, Vallejo spent the remainder of the year 1827 in discharging the routine duties of his post. During the early months of 1828, all was quiet politically in California. Governor Echeandia returned

to San Diego in March, 1828, and on April 10, 1828, summoned the legislature to meet there. But Vallejo, having been only a temporary member, stayed in Monterey looking after the affairs of his company.⁷

Meanwhile, Governor Echeandia transferred Captain Miguel Gonzalez, commander at Monterey, to the Santa Barbara Presidio, and Mariano Estrada became company commander at Monterey.

Late in 1827, Echeandia began the old quarrel with Herrera again, which finally led to Herrera's resignation as treasurer after weeks of controversy. On September 26, 1827, he turned the office over to Lieutenant Estrada, who held that position until early in 1828, when he surrendered it to Ensign Vallejo.⁸ At that time also, and until November, 1828, Vallejo served as paymaster of the Monterey Company. In November, Echeandia appointed Ensign Manuel Jimeno Casarin as paymaster to relieve Vallejo.

When the legislature met in San Diego in October, 1828, Lieutenant Estrada, as one of its members, went south. On his departure, the twenty-year-old Ensign Vallejo became acting commandant of Monterey, besides discharging his regular duties as paymaster. All went well until the evening of October 8, 1828, when he found himself confronted with a mutiny of a part of the garrison. Due to the depleted state of the territorial treasury, the soldiers had not received their full pay for most of 1828. Led by José de Jesus Pico and Pablo Véjar, a large part of the cavalry detachment at Monterey appeared before Vallejo and informed him that they would render no further service until paid in full. He tried to reason with them, said that the treasury was empty, pointed out the enormity of their crime of mutiny, and asked them to return to duty. The soldiers refused to listen, and took their horses and arms and rode off to the Salinas Valley. There they were joined by detachments from Missions San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, and San Luis Obispo, at a camp called *Sausal*, or Willow Grove, near the Salinas River.

Ensign Vallejo at once notified Governor Echeandia of the state of affairs, and Lieutenant Romualdo Pacheco, who had recently arrived in Monterey, decided to meet and parley with the mutineers. With a platoon of artillery troops he visited the rebels' camp and engaged the soldiers in conversation. Finding them without any definite plans and without a forceful leader, Pacheco tried a trick on them. While he continued to talk, he suddenly raised his voice and cried: "Company fall in!" Whereupon the rebels automatically obeyed and formed their ranks. Before the men had time to think, he gave another command, "Right wheel! March!" As the cavalymen executed the movement, Pacheco placed himself at the head and marched them back to their barracks in Monterey.⁹

Once back at the post, the men were disarmed and the leaders locked in jail to await trial. Some days later Echeandia wrote to Vallejo instructing him to try the rebels, but if he could not master them to offer them a par-

don.¹⁰ They were tried and found guilty, but their case had to go to Mexico for review, so they were in the Monterey jail for over a year while awaiting their fate. During the trial and later, Vallejo and Alvarado blamed José Maria Herrera for the mutiny, although there was no evidence to justify their claim. The men all testified that it was due entirely to their state of destitution, and the want of clothing and food, since they had not been paid for months. There was no political significance to the affair.¹¹

For the remainder of the year 1828, Vallejo continued as commander at Monterey, and on Estrada's return from the south early in 1829, he resumed his regular duties as ensign of the company. For the first half of 1829, the discontent among the troops continued, still due to the same destitution resulting from non-receipt of pay and rations. There were rumors that a revolt would start in June, backed by Herrera and some of the friars who wished to overthrow Echeandia. On June 18, 1829, two soldiers told Ensign José Fernandez del Campo of a plot to revolt against the Governor, to be led on June 22 by Joaquin Solis, a convict at Monterey. The plot caused no surprise, and after an investigation the matter was dropped, especially since the Indians about Mission San José and the San Joaquin Valley had begun again to make trouble.¹²

In November, 1826, Ensign José Sanchez had led into the San Joaquin Valley an expedition which had destroyed a rancheria, killed some forty Indians and captured many more, but retired without decisively defeating the tribes.¹³

At that time there was a neophyte at Mission San José of more than ordinary ability, named Estanislao. Father Durán had taught him and had made him alcalde. Sometime late in 1827, he ran away and joined a marauding band of ex-neophytes and pagans, who had their refuge in the San Joaquin Valley. As the leader of this band, along with his associate Cipriano, Estanislao soon made himself famous for his daring raids. Late in 1828 and in early 1829, he and his band raided Mission San José. Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez sent a company of twenty men from San Francisco against him, late in November, but this accomplished nothing. Meanwhile, Estanislao continued his onslaughts and insulting challenges to the soldiers.

Then on May 5, 1829, Ensign José Sanchez started from San Francisco with some forty men and a swivel-gun. At San José he recruited many white and Indian volunteers. This company found the savages camped in a thick wood on the banks of the Lasquisimes [Stanislaus] River. The Indians opened the battle, which lasted all day without advantage to either side, and at sunset Sanchez withdrew. The next morning the soldiers attacked from all sides in groups of six men. At the end of that day, finding his ammunition and men exhausted, Sanchez abandoned the siege and left Estanislao unconquered. In this battle he lost two soldiers, eight were wounded, and eleven Indian volunteers had been injured. The enemy losses were not known.¹⁴

Lieutenant Martinez considered the result of the expedition a failure, so another company was organized, commanded by Ensign M. G. Vallejo, assisted by Sanchez. At that time Vallejo had had little experience as an Indian fighter. In 1828 he had led an expedition from Mission San Miguel to the Sierra Madre, and later another into the Tulares, in which he lost one man and had fifteen wounded. Then in 1829, just before Sanchez made his expedition, Vallejo returned to Monterey from a campaign to the Tulares, in which his army of thirty-five men had suffered no casualties, but had slain forty-eight Indians.¹⁵

On May 16, 1829, Lieutenant Martinez sent instructions to Vallejo, informing him of the depredations committed by the Indians and of their insulting attitude towards the troops sent against them. The order closed as follows:

In view of the reenforcements of the three arms of the service sent to me by the Commander of Monterey, and now having a sufficient number of troops on hand and two light field pieces; you will march to *Los Rios* with all the troops of your command. You will be commander-in-chief of the expedition, with Ensign José Sanchez as second in command, and you will give the rebel Christian Indians a complete rout and thoroughly frighten and cow the wild ones that help them. Finally, you and Don José Sanchez will act as your practical knowledge deems best in all matters, and pay them back with as much damage as they have caused.¹⁶

Several days later Vallejo set out from Monterey with his thirty-five men and was joined at San José by Ensign Sanchez with the San Francisco troops. About May 24, Vallejo's army, 107 strong, marched from San José to the San Joaquin Valley. On May 29, the troops crossed the San Joaquin River on rafts, and the next day arrived at the scene of the former battle. The Indians were still there and the fight was on. A cloud of arrows greeted the soldiers as they approached the woods. The forest was found to be quite impenetrable, so Vallejo had it set on fire at once. He stationed his men and his artillery on the opposite bank of the river, and as the Indians were driven to the edge of the thicket by the fire, some of them were killed. At 5:00 P. M., Sanchez was sent with twenty-five men to attack the foe, and the battle raged for over two hours in the burning wood, until dusk, when he retired with three men wounded.

The next morning at nine o'clock, Vallejo entered the forest with thirty-seven men, and found that the Indians had fled during the night. He also found a series of pits and ditches arranged very skilfully and protected by barricades of logs and brush. It was evident that fire was the only thing that could have dislodged the defenders from such a stronghold. Vallejo and his men started in pursuit, and that evening camped at the Lasquisimes [Stanislaus] River. The next day, May 31, they surrounded part of the fugitives in another thicket on the Arroyo Seco. Peace negotiations were begun, but the Indians refused to surrender, stating that they would rather die. Finding that he could not persuade the savages, Vallejo ordered the battle resumed

late that afternoon, and the thicket was set on fire. The enemy began a slow retreat during which they wounded eight soldiers. The artillery ammunition was exhausted, and the fire was so hot that Vallejo's troops were forced to retire to a distance. That night, under cover of darkness, the Indians tried to escape one by one. Vallejo had the place surrounded and many savages were killed, but some made good their escape. By the next morning the supplies had become exhausted, so on June 1, the expedition began its return to San José, where it arrived on June 4, 1829.¹⁷

From there Vallejo sent a detailed report to Martinez, who on June 5 congratulated Vallejo, Sanchez and the volunteers for having restored the army's prestige, but expressed regret that the Indians had not suffered a complete rout. Then he called Vallejo to San Francisco for a conference, to map the next campaign.¹⁸

Vallejo was severely criticised by Father Durán and others for excessive cruelty in having several Indians, including three women, shot after the battle. They demanded his punishment, but after an investigation he was exonerated.¹⁹

On his return to Monterey, Vallejo found much discontent among the troops. It was the same old story of destitution, arrears of pay and rations, and total neglect by the Government, that gave the soldiers cause for revolt.

Thus on the night of November 12-13, 1829, the garrison at Monterey rose in arms and took possession of the Presidio. Mariano Vallejo was acting commandant at the time, and had already retired for the night. The ring-leaders of the uprising were Mariano Pegura, Andrés Leon, Pablo Véjar, and the brothers Raimundo and Gabriel de la Torre. There was no opposition to the mutiny at any of the barracks, but most of the infantrymen were allowed to remain neutral when they surrendered their arms. Then armed details of four or five men were sent to arrest the officers at their respective quarters.

That night, Juan B. Alvarado and José Castro happened to be guests at Vallejo's house, and all were sound asleep. Suddenly Vallejo was awakened by a loud knocking at the door. He remained silent for a moment, then asked who it was. A voice outside said he was Estévan Espinosa, and that he was on very important business. Vallejo opened the window and looked out. There stood Espinosa, who said that the mail from the south had just arrived and that the carrier had brought important despatches. As Vallejo was also the postmaster, Espinosa had brought the pouch and asked Vallejo to open the door so that he could deliver it. Furthermore, there were other things that demanded Vallejo's attention, and he must dress and go to the post. Mariano was somewhat suspicious by that time, but since Espinosa had brought the mail pouch to his house a number of times before, he finally decided to open the door. He had no sooner removed the latch than the door was pushed open violently, and in rushed Raimundo de la Torre, Véjar, Leon, Dolores, Garcia, and Espinosa, fully armed.

Vallejo was in his night clothes. He was ordered to dress quickly. Alvarado and Castro, who had been sleeping throughout the affair, were rudely awakened from their sound slumbers and also placed under arrest. Before they were fully dressed, the three were marched off to the cavalry barracks with their clothes still in their hands. This party had scarcely reached its destination and locked up its prisoners, when another detail arrived with Ensign Juan José Rocha as a prisoner. A few moments later in came another group with Sergeant Andrés Cervantes under arrest. Then a fourth party arrived with Quartermaster Manuel Jimeno Casarin.

When all the officers had been assembled, they were taken to the jail, where they were unceremoniously cast into one of the darkest and dirtiest cells along with the worst criminals. At that moment, convict Joaquin Solis appeared as the leader of the revolt and ordered all of the prisoners, including the soldiers implicated in the 1828 mutiny, set free. Some of the convicts did not even tarry to dress, but, seizing their clothing, ran out into the street, saying that they would take no chances, lest their deliverers change their minds before they finished dressing in the jail and lock them up again. When the prison had been emptied of its criminals, the officers were left there in solitary confinement, while the rebels debated whether to shoot them or set them free on parole.

When Monterey was fully under his control, Solis removed the officers from the prison and locked them in a warehouse. A short time after that, David Spence and several other foreigners interceded with Solis on behalf of the captive officers. The rebels agreed to set them free if they would take no further part in the revolt. Vallejo and Rocha, however, were not allowed to remain in Monterey, but were placed aboard the *Brookline* and sent to San Diego.²⁰

Vallejo's voyage south was a fateful affair, for it changed completely the course of his life. A few days after landing in San Diego, on January 24, 1830, he met for the first time the young, charming, and beautiful Francisca Benicia Carrillo, daughter of Don Joaquin Carrillo.²¹ Romance was in the air, and it was a case of love at first sight for the young couple. Although Vallejo stayed in San Diego only a few weeks, he made good use of his time while there and won the heart and consent of the object of his affections.

Returning to Monterey late in February, 1830, Vallejo was called upon to serve on a court to try Father Luis Antonio Martinez, of Mission San Luis Obispo, for conspiracy in the Solis revolt.²² Father Martinez had been arrested early in February, and the court met in Santa Barbara on March 9, 1830, for the trial. It was composed of Captain Agustin V. Zamorano, as President; Lieutenants M. G. Lobato, and Juan Maria Ibarra; and Ensigns Juan José Rocha, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, and Domingo Carrillo. Echeandia wanted the Friar banished, because he was too outspoken in politics; so after considering the evidence, which was very weak, the

court voted five to one for his conviction. Vallejo was one of the five. Father Martinez was then exiled from Mexican territory by the first vessel available. Captain Stephen Anderson took the missionary aboard his ship, the *Thomas Nowlan*, and carried him to Callao, Peru. According to Vallejo, he was the officer detailed to escort Father Martinez aboard the vessel.²³

Soon after that trial, Ensign Vallejo returned to Monterey. Then in April, 1830, he was ordered to join his company at San Francisco. For the first time, Vallejo now went to serve at that post. Soon after his arrival, he was assigned to the duties of *habilitado*, or paymaster, which he performed until the end of 1830.²⁴

In October, 1830, Mariano Vallejo was named as a candidate for the territorial legislature, and went to Monterey for the election. While there, on October 15, 1830, he addressed the following petition to the President of Mexico, requesting permission to marry:

Most Excellent Sir:

Citizen Mariano G. Vallejo, Ensign of the regular Company of the Port of San Francisco, greets Your Excellency most respectfully, stating that he is 23 years of age, as is attested by his baptismal certificate, which he attaches marked as No. 1, and has pledged his troth with Doña Francisca Carrillo, single, 15 years old, as is attested by her baptismal certificate, marked as No. 2, the legitimate daughter of Don Joaquin Carrillo and Doña Maria Ignacia Lopez, of honorable parentage, as is shown by the judicial certificate marked No. 3, herein attached. The suppliant, as well as his betrothed, having the consent of their respective parents, as attested by documents Nos. 4 and 5, herein also enclosed, beg Your Excellency to be pleased to grant the necessary permission to contract their matrimony, a favor which they hope to receive from Your Excellency.

MARIANO G. VALLEJO ²⁵

Monterey, October 15, 1830.

This petition, which was of such vital importance to the young couple, had to be sent to Mexico and to make several journeys back and forth before the favorable reply was received by Vallejo in 1832.

Late in October, 1830, Don Mariano was elected as deputy to the legislature, to serve during the year 1831. Then on January 29, 1831, Governor Echeandia, who was about to retire at the arrival of the new Governor, Manuel Victoria, summoned the legislature to meet at Monterey. Vallejo returned to the capital in answer to the summons, but when he arrived he found that Governor Victoria had already taken office and had proclaimed that for the time being he would not need the legislature in session.²⁶

Vallejo went back to San Francisco in February, 1831, to resume his company duties and to await the summons to a regular session. This ordinarily took place on March 1, but that year Victoria refused to issue the call, much to the indignation of the members, who for that session were: Pio Pico, chairman; M. G. Vallejo, A. M. Osio, J. J. Ortega, Santiago Argüello, J. T. Castro, and J. B. Alvarado, secretary.²⁷

Seeing that Victoria did not intend to call the legislature, Vallejo, Osio, Ortega, and Castro went to San Francisco. From there they began a campaign to force Victoria to summon it. In February and early March, the four conspirators enlisted the influence of the Monterey and San Jose ayuntamientos to put pressure upon the Governor. Both municipal bodies petitioned Victoria to convene the legislature, but he curtly replied that they should attend to their municipal affairs and refrain from meddling in matters which did not concern them.²⁸

While the quarrel with the legislature was on, there were other matters in which Victoria's actions angered the Californians. In these acts Vallejo also took part. The first had to do with the conviction and execution of a young Indian named Atanacio who had stolen 200 pesos worth of goods from a warehouse in 1830. The court condemned him to death on April 18, 1831, and Victoria had him executed April 26, 1831. Immediately Vallejo, Alvarado and others accused the Governor of being a tyrant.

On May 28, 1831, Victoria ordered the execution of two convicted robbers, Simon Aguilar from Mexico, and Eduardo Sagarra of Lima, Peru, who had been sentenced early in May. Once more Vallejo and others called Victoria a monster.

The most celebrated case of all, however, was that of the soldier Francisco Rubio, which dated from 1828. He was arrested on August 15, 1828, for the attack and murder of the five-year-old daughter and infant son of Ignacio Olivas, in their beds, at San Francisco. The case dragged on for three years, until Victoria came and ordered it reopened. He offered the post of prosecutor to Vallejo, who refused it, and José Maria Padrés was appointed. Vallejo then became the attorney for the defense. The trial began in May, and by July Rubio had been convicted. He was sentenced to death and executed at 11:30 A. M., August 1, 1831. Vallejo and other Californians branded the execution as judicial murder and Governor Victoria a blood-thirsty villain.²⁹

Meanwhile the controversy between the Governor and the legislature went on. July 30, 1831, Vallejo, Osio, Ortega, and Castro petitioned the Governor from San Francisco, to summon the legislature, but he refused. After waiting for several weeks, Vallejo and the others again addressed the Governor on September 11, 1831. They stated that the time for the regular session had long since passed and the legislature had not been called. It was urgently necessary that it be convened so that it might carry on its business and fulfill its legal duties. They, as members, knowing their duty and responsibility, urged its meeting, since they were sure that the National Congress had not altered the system of government.³⁰

Governor Victoria refused to reply to the petition, so Vallejo and the others reported Victoria's actions to the Government in Mexico on September 18, 1831, and begged redress and Victoria's recall.³¹

Just at that time Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez retired as commander at San Francisco, and Vallejo as the ranking officer assumed command of that post, late in September, 1831. From then on he was in a better position to act against Victoria.³²

Seeing that they could not prevail upon Governor Victoria to do their bidding, and that their appeals to the Mexican Government would take too long to bear fruit, Vallejo and the other deputies got in touch with Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, and other southern members of the assembly, as well as with former Governor Echeandia, who still lingered in San Diego, and began to plot a revolution against Governor Victoria. While carrying out their plans, on November 7, 1831, Vallejo and his three colleagues addressed another long petition to the National Government, making further charges against the Governor.³³

The revolutionary plotting had begun as early as April, 1831, and had gained in intensity as the year drew to a close, with Vallejo and José M. Padrés as the chief conspirators in San Francisco. The scheme finally reached its climax late in November, 1831. In September, by order of Governor Victoria, Abel Stearns and José A. Carrillo, the chief plotters in Los Angeles, were banished from California, followed in November by José M. Padrés.

Stearns and Carrillo returned to San Diego late in November, and joined Echeandia, Pico, and others in bringing about the revolt which broke out in San Diego on the night of November 29, 1831. The story of the revolution has no place here; suffice it to say that Governor Victoria was overthrown and deported from California in January, 1832.³⁴

In plotting against his superior officer, Governor Victoria, Vallejo was guilty of treason to the Mexican Government, in whose army he was an officer. According to army regulations he was subject to trial and might be punished by death. As a member of the legislature he had a right to oppose Victoria's civil policies, but even in that capacity he had no right to plot rebellion. In any case, if he intended to oppose the Governor he should have resigned his commission, because his first oath was to the military authority, and that precluded any action whatever on his part against his superiors. Vallejo had a difficult choice to make, and he chose treason to Mexico and loyalty to what he supposed were California's best interests.

As soon as Echeandia took over the government again, he sent letters to all the local authorities and army officers asking them to join the revolution. A number in northern California refused, but Vallejo and José Sanchez in San Francisco accepted. At the same time, December 9, 1831, Echeandia summoned the legislature to convene at Los Angeles.³⁵

When the copy of Echeandia's plan of San Diego arrived in San Francisco on December 19, 1831, Vallejo, Sanchez, and Lázaro Peña signed it at once. That same day Vallejo replied to Echeandia pledging the San Francisco garrison to support the revolution.³⁶

Vallejo transferred the command of the Presidio to Sanchez, and departed for Los Angeles at the close of the year to attend the session of the legislature. The opening date had been set between January 1 and 4, but when he arrived in Los Angeles on the 5th, he found that it had been postponed to a later date.

The legislature finally met on January 10, 1832. The next day Vallejo and Santiago Argüello were appointed a committee to draw up a formal case against Governor Victoria, to be presented to the Mexican Government. When that business was settled, Vallejo proposed a motion that Pio Pico as senior member should be appointed temporary civil governor. The motion was carried.³⁷

Daily meetings continued until January 18, when the legislature suspended its session until such time as Echeandia should arrive from San Diego to attend the meetings. At this time Vallejo decided that he would like to mix a little pleasure with public affairs. Two years had passed since he had parted from his beautiful little sweetheart, Francisca Carrillo, in San Diego, and he longed for the sight of his beloved. Therefore, on January 17, he proposed a resolution granting him a ten-day leave of absence from the legislature in which to visit San Diego. After some discussion, the request was granted.³⁸ It was rather an odd request to make in a legislature which was supposed to be considering revolutionary doctrines and high affairs of state. But it was spring in southern California, and young love was not to be denied. All the members of that august body were men in their thirties and twenties. They sympathized with the young couple. It is quite probable that they slapped Mariano on the back and sent him on his way with a "Go to it, old fellow, and the best of luck!"

Vallejo departed for San Diego on January 18, where he enjoyed his leave in the company of his destined bride, and then returned to his duties. Since Echeandia did not arrive, the deputies finally lost patience, and the legislature resumed its meetings on January 26. Don Mariano had returned from San Diego just in time to propose that the oath of office should be administered to Pio Pico as provisional governor without further delay, regardless of Echeandia's absence. The motion was carried, and Pico was sworn into office on January 27, 1832, at twelve o'clock noon. The ceremony took place with all due solemnity, and Vallejo as the ranking member administered the oath.

Echeandia then entered into a controversy with Pico over the governorship, but the legislature continued to meet until February 17. On that day, Vallejo and Argüello presented the house with the case against Victoria, fully documented. The legislature then passed a resolution approving it and ordering it sent to Mexico. At the same time the controversy with Echeandia had reached such a critical stage that a motion was proposed and passed that the house should adjourn indefinitely. Thus on February 17, 1832, the activities of the legislature came to an end for the time being.³⁹

Young Mariano finding himself free from his legislative burdens and duties, hastened again to San Diego to resume a much more pleasant duty: that of making love to a beautiful girl. Seventeen long months had passed since he had requested permission to marry. After seeing their documents travel back and forth from California to Mexico, it seemed to the impatient lovers that the request would never be granted, since other applicants had been refused similar permission.

Don Mariano had traveled on his way as far as San Juan Capistrano, when the postman delivered a letter to him. In it he found the coveted permission. With a whoop of joy, the light-hearted Vallejo ordered his horse and, setting spurs to his steed, galloped on toward San Diego as fast as horse-flesh could take him. Once provided with the legal consent, and setting all superfluous matters aside, the nuptials were celebrated on March 6, 1832, although he had only received the permission on March 2.⁴⁰

The wedding ceremony took place in the chapel of the Presidio of San Diego and was performed by Fray Fernando. The godfather and godmother, or sponsors, were Señor Juan Bandini and his wife Doña Dolores Estudillo. Among the witnesses and wedding guests were Commandant General José Maria Echeandia and his staff, with many of the most distinguished persons of both sexes in San Diego.

According to Don Guadalupe, it was customary for the groom on entering the church to give the officiating priest two rings and a dowry of thirteen loose coins, either of gold or silver according to the circumstances of the groom. These coins and rings were placed in a shell or plate. The dowry was to be the property of the bride. In observance of that custom, which dated from Father Serra's time, Vallejo on entering the church placed a roll of thirteen gold coins and two gold rings in the dish held before him by Father Fernando. Then the bridal party drew up to the presbytery where the wedding ceremony took place. While the priest went through the formalities prescribed by the church, and blessed the rings and the dowry, the bride and groom and the sponsors formed a circle. After the conclusion of the sacrament, the priest took one of the rings and placed it on the ring finger of Vallejo's right hand. Then the groom took the other ring and placed it on the hand of his bride. Vallejo then took the dowry, and addressing his wife said: "With this ring and dowry I now endow you, in token of our union."

If, after receiving the dowry, the bride spilled the coins in the shell, custom decreed that they then became the property of the officiating priest. Generally the good fathers used these sums to buy furnishings for the church and distributed some part of the money to the poor.

Francisca Carrillo, who from her infancy had been accustomed to do charitable acts for the church, did not neglect the opportunity to exercise her prerogative. Acting on the impulse of her generous heart, she gave the dowry to the reverend Father Fernando. Filled with happiness he said:

"Daughter, you love your Holy Mother Church, and your children in their turn will love you; I bless you in God's name."

From the church the wedding party went to the Bandini home where a sumptuous banquet had been prepared. The guests followed the established custom of toasting the happiness of the newlyweds. Governor Echeandia's toast lingered long in Vallejo's memory, for it brought recollections of the happiest day of his life. Forty-three years later he quoted it:

"I toast the happiness of this young couple whom I appreciate and esteem most highly. I made young Vallejo an ensign of cavalry because of his merits and activity in the service. I have known his young wife since she was eight years old, and I have had repeated occasions to admire her fine manners. May heaven load them with happiness, and may their progeny be numerous and worthy of them, an adornment to our beloved California, and to the cultured society of San Diego."⁴¹

He drank half the contents of the wineglass he held in his hand, and after a moment of silence addressed Vallejo. Times of revolt, he said, were not the most appropriate in which to marry. During the day, he told the groom, he had received news which made it imperative for him to move north quickly, and Vallejo must accompany him. He had made the decision previous to the wedding, had issued the necessary instructions, and it was impossible for him to change his decision. He was grieved to the very soul to separate Vallejo from his beloved, but the affairs of the service took precedence over all else.

Echeandia's words made Vallejo shudder. The guests gave him searching looks, trying to guess whether he would disobey the order that would tear him from his bride. And all the girls watched the bride to see if she would consent to have her husband leave on a campaign. But they learned nothing by their inquisitive looks, for both Vallejo and his wife maintained inscrutable faces, concealing their agitation though their hearts sank.

Music for the dance that followed was provided by the Presidio's orchestra and by a complete band that Don Juan Bandini had secured at Mission San Luis Rey. The festivities were kept up all night and part of the morning. The bridal pair wished to retire, but according to custom, were forced to remain until the party broke up and the last guest had departed.

It was six o'clock in the morning of March 7, 1832 (Ash Wednesday), when the staff sergeant came to Vallejo's house, presented General Echeandia's compliments and gave him his orders. Don Mariano reported at headquarters at once. There Echeandia handed him a sealed envelope. Anxiously Vallejo opened it. He hoped the Governor had taken pity on him at the last moment and had decided to keep him on garrison duty in San Diego, until such time as he could return to his own company at the Presidio of San Francisco. That hope gave him strength to break the seal. "But, merciful Lord! how soon it vanished!" The envelope contained his appointment as aide-de-camp, with orders to report to the Commander-in-chief. Vallejo approached the corner of the room where Echeandia sat; he saluted and awaited

his superior's orders, which were that he should inform the Post Adjutant, Second Lieutenant of Grenadiers, Don Juan Rocha, that first call to saddle was to be sounded at once; half an hour later the second call was to be given; and Rocha should hold himself in readiness to sound the third call whenever the order should come.

Imagine Vallejo's feelings at that moment! . . . When the bugler sounded the second call, Vallejo mounted his horse and set out for his father-in-law's house. He greeted his wife's relatives, and ordered his arms brought to him. There was a possibility that that very day they might have to fight the enemy, who, more arrogant than ever, believed Echeandia was surrounded by men incapable of withstanding a combat against the veterans who followed the pseudo-Commandant General Zamorano.

Don Mariano had not yet finished putting on his arms when the bugler sounded the third call. Vallejo had never before, nor did he ever afterward, hear a bugle call sound so harshly to his ears. Taking his wife by the hand, he removed a watch from around his neck and gave it to her. He told her he would do everything in his power to return to her soon. Fearing that his emotions would make him hesitate to do his duty, he called for his horse. He approached the animal's side to mount. As he did, he cast a glance toward his bride. An overpowering desire overcame him to give her a last embrace. He called her to him.

"Francisca," he said,

Come, hold me close to thee,
From round me do not draw away thy embrace,
Do not hide thy lovely face,
Timidly fleeing from me.
Let our lips be pressed together,
In an eternal and ardent kiss,
And let us pass away like this
The slow sweet hours forever.

She came at his call. She drew near where he stood. Suddenly he realized that if he tarried, perhaps he might lack the courage to go. With a leap he was in the saddle. He dared not look back. He put spurs to his horse, leaving his beautiful bride, eyes brimful with tears, standing with outstretched arms, as he dashed away to war.⁴²

Thus Don Mariano described the parting when writing forty-three years later. It was pure fantasy that his pen put on paper. The fact is that Don Mariano was called away from the arms of his beloved on the morning of March 7, 1832, and ordered to report to Echeandia; but stern duty called him, not to engage in a campaign but to a council of war in San Diego.

Echeandia, frightened by the activities of Captain Agustin V. Zamorano in Monterey, who had organized a party to oppose him, called all his officers to assemble in a council of war at the Presidio of San Diego. They considered what action was to be taken against Zamorano. A number of resolu-

tions were proposed and approved, and the meeting adjourned until the next day. Continuing its work on March 8 and 13, the council debated the military succession to the command of the territory. After a long discussion, Vallejo moved that Colonel Echeandia, who was already in command, should be acknowledged as being the officer to whom the post belonged. The resolution was approved, with only Captain Santiago Argüello dissenting.⁴³

While he was contemplating his move against Zamorano, Echeandia, on March 6, appealed to Pio Pico to convene the legislature, which he himself had abolished the month before, requesting it to meet at San Diego to help him. The members of that august body, after pouting coyly for a time, consented to forget Echeandia's previous insults to their dignity and decided to meet. Vallejo of course was in San Diego all this time enjoying the companionship of his wife. Then on March 18, 1832, he was recalled from that blissful state to face the realities of life, when he received a letter from Pico stating that the legislature would meet in San Diego on the following day.

On March 19, the legislature considered measures for checking the disorders that might result from the northern counter-revolt. Since there was no civil governor, the members believed that this was their duty. Vallejo, with the rest, condemned Zamorano's action, especially his attempt to ignore the legislature. At the next meeting, on March 23, 1832, a circular was issued to all municipal authorities, asking them to preserve order and to recognize the legislature as the legitimate government. It then adjourned with the intention of convening again in Los Angeles within a few days.

Now for the first time, on March 24 Don Mariano was forced to separate from his bride. Torn between love and duty, he chose the latter and set out for the Pueblo de Los Angeles to attend to affairs of state. On arriving at Mission San Luis Rey, however, the deputies were dismayed to learn that Los Angeles had gone over to the opposition. They also found Echeandia arming the mission Indians for war. Greatly alarmed by all the martial activity on both sides, the timid deputies decided to meet at San Luis Rey, in an attempt to preserve the peace and prevent bloodshed. At this session a resolution was approved and sent to both parties to the civil war, warning Echeandia and Zamorano that they would be held responsible for any outbreak of hostilities and asking them to avoid a rupture. This done, the Most Excellent Legislature considered its business finished, and adjourned to meet again at San Diego on May 15, 1832.⁴⁴

Free once more, Vallejo returned to San Diego to finish his honeymoon. There he stayed the remainder of March and part of April. It was at that time that he was called by Echeandia, still at San Luis Rey, to join his troops on a march to Los Angeles.

Late in April after Echeandia had regained possession of Los Angeles, Vallejo went to Mission San Gabriel. From there, on April 25, 1832, he wrote to his cousin, Domingo Carrillo, who had previously been arrested by Zamo-

rano in Santa Barbara. Vallejo complained bitterly about the bad faith of certain friends who could not be trusted. It was because of their good faith, he wrote, that they had gotten into difficulties, for men did themselves great wrong not to distrust; and he added:

May the day come when the devil may take all of us Californians, after they have hanged those of us who have even the slightest faith in ourselves! If this ever comes to pass, even if I were the first one, I would be happy provided that all suffered alike. I rejoice that this is happening to us. This is the school of experience and thus we learn. Let come what may, for this must come to an end! We shall see who can best parry the thrust when things are seen in their proper perspective.⁴⁵

This letter clearly shows the state of mind into which Vallejo and doubtless other Californians had gotten over their political troubles.

After this visit to San Gabriel, Vallejo returned to San Diego early in May and was there when the legislature convened once again on May 15, 1832. During this session, that body prepared a memorial to the President of Mexico, detailing all political events since February 24, 1832. In composing this document Vallejo took a large part. After the meeting adjourned, the legislature moved to Los Angeles, not to meet again until late in December.⁴⁶ Vallejo, however, remained in San Diego with his bride.

At this time Echeandia and Zamorano entered into negotiations to divide the jurisdiction over the territory between them. After two months of correspondence, they finally agreed on July 7, 1832, when news arrived from Mexico that Brigadier General Don José Figueroa had been appointed the new Governor of California. From then on there was peace. Echeandia stayed in San Diego, and Vallejo probably remained there also, for there is no record of his movements during the latter half of 1832. Perhaps he made some trips to Los Angeles. Late in December he went to that city for the final session of the legislature. That body met on December 29, 30, and 31, to discuss the matters that were to be presented to the new Governor. On December 31, 1832, the legislature finished its business and adjourned *sine die*.⁴⁷

Vallejo seems to have remained in Los Angeles for some time in January, after the legislature adjourned, but he probably went to San Diego later on. After Governor Figueroa arrived in Monterey, on January 15, 1833, and issued his amnesty proclamation on the 19th, Vallejo, Osio, and Alvarado hastened to the Capital to report to the new Governor and offer their services to maintain order. General Figueroa received them cordially, had a long conference with them, and invited them to dinner. From that day forward they were his firm friends.⁴⁸

Whether Vallejo brought his wife north at that time does not appear, but it may be assumed that he did since he did not return to San Diego. Governor Figueroa took a great liking to Ensign Vallejo, and did all that lay in his power to promote the young officer's interests. Soon after his return from the south, Vallejo was ordered to join his company in San Francisco.

Late in February, Figueroa issued a call for new elections for members

of the legislature. The electors met on March 24, 1833, in Monterey. Vallejo was reelected as a holdover from 1832, as the senior ranking member; but something went wrong with the election and it was declared illegal. Another was held in December. When the legislature met, Vallejo was denied his seat, however, because an order had come from Mexico, dated May 17, 1832, stating that Vallejo as a military officer was not entitled to a seat in that body.⁴⁹

It was while this election was going on and Vallejo was still at San Francisco, on March 4, 1833, that the stork hovered over his simple home, and the first baby was born to Señora Vallejo. It was a proud day for Don Guadalupe, and his company officers and men celebrated the occasion by drinking a toast to the happy family. The first problem concerning the Vallejos was a name to give this first boy. Don Mariano solved the difficulty. He chose a name from the classics. The baby was christened Andronico.

In the meantime, Vallejo was busy with other affairs. Governor Figueroa had been instructed to pay particular attention to the northern frontier, and to colonize it up to latitude 42° north. Accordingly, on April 11, 1833, the Governor announced his intention to found a presidio north of San Francisco Bay. He ordered Ensign Vallejo to take an expedition into that territory, explore it, select a site and offer land to settlers.

Vallejo received the order on April 19, and at once began to prepare for the expedition. What day his party set out from San Francisco does not appear, but it must have been about April 23. It went directly to Fort Ross, where it arrived on the 26th. Vallejo and his men were received with great cordiality by the Russian commander, Peter Kostromitinoff, who insisted that they should stay several days. During their visit, Vallejo and Kostromitinoff discussed the purpose of the Russian settlements in America and especially of those in California. His host informed Don Mariano that Fort Ross and Bodega were founded solely with the object of carrying on the hunting for sea-otter and seal. The cultivation of the land was only to produce food for the two establishments and despite great effort yielded little profit. The raising of livestock was scarcely more profitable. After twenty years they had only 800 head of cattle, 700 horses, 2000 sheep, and sixty hogs. Their orchard consisted of 400 fruit trees and 700 vines. At one time the Russians had begun to cultivate wheat fields farther inland, but after representations made by Governor Echeandia to Chargé d'Affairs Cyril Klebnikoff, the latter ordered that further expansion inland should be abandoned.⁵⁰

At Fort Ross, Vallejo found two grist mills, one run by water and the other by wind. There was a shipyard where four brigs and some twelve launches had been constructed. The Fort also boasted a tannery, a blacksmith shop and a carpentry shop.

The population of Ross numbered some three hundred persons, among whom were seventy Russians of all ages and sexes, the remainder being half-

breeds, Russian and Kodiak, and native. The fort was a stockade, one hundred yards square, with towers on opposite corners each mounting six pieces of artillery of No. 8 caliber. Six other pieces of the same size were located inside a large building with turrets on both sides, which was known as the barracks and was located by the principal gate or sentry box. Three other pieces were placed behind the commander's house, and all the artillery was mounted on naval gun-carriages. Two light three-pounders were located laterally on the stairs of the principal building. There was also an armory in which a stand of sixty rifles was kept.

The walls of the fort and all the buildings were of timber, strong enough to resist an attack by the natives, but useless against the lightest artillery. There was no military force there, all the men being traders. The commander was a private individual entrusted with the administration of justice, and was directly under the authority of the Governor at Sitka. The town outside the fort consisted of fifty-seven large houses placed without regard to order or plan, which gave it a disordered aspect. Within the fort there were only nine large, handsome, frame buildings, including the warehouses and granaries.^{50a}

Vallejo found Kostromitinoff a person of fine qualities, possessing considerable talent and education, with liberal ideas in governmental affairs. After three days, Don Mariano and his party set out from Fort Ross for Bodega, on April 28, 1833. They visited that place and took note of the bay and the settlement, then they went inland to explore the country toward Santa Rosa and Petaluma. This was the first time Vallejo had ever been in the territory north of the Bay. That year the rainy season was long and heavy. Although it was May, the country was almost impassable due to the mud and rain. Vallejo on this account was prevented from making a thorough reconnaissance, and he had to be content with climbing several high peaks, from which he got a panoramic view of the country. The expedition also found the Indians in that territory very hostile, the result of the policy of forcibly inducting them into the mission service. After several days spent in exploring, the party returned to San Francisco on May 5, 1833.⁵¹

No sooner had Vallejo returned to San Francisco than he found trouble brewing in his own garrison. The troops had not been paid for months, and they had very little to eat. Consequently, on May 23, he made a trip to Missions Santa Clara and San José, to procure supplies. Provisions at the missions were scanty, and the best he could do was to get twenty pesos worth of soap, half a sack of peas, half a sack of lentils, and half a sack of chickpeas. The grain he bought with his own money. At Santa Clara he was able to obtain only four bars of soap, and there was no lard to be had anywhere. These missions were then in the hands of the Mexican Franciscans, and Vallejo voiced the wish that the days of the Spanish friars might return, when the soldiers did not want for anything. This was a bit ironic, for Vallejo

had been one of the most outspoken critics and enemies of the old Spanish missionaries.

Don Mariano even found it difficult to procure means to light his headquarters and the guardhouse. He had to borrow candles from Don José Sanchez, who was the only one willing to give him any. They were made from the tallow of the cattle that he had slaughtered. Vallejo claimed that he had to pay for them out of his own pocket, or from the company fund when there chanced to be any money in the treasury. There were times even when they had no candles, for there was no tallow from which to make them.⁵²

On May 31, 1833, Vallejo wrote to General Figueroa that he had heard from authentic sources that the Russian Governor of Sitka would arrive at Fort Ross in June. The real object of his visit was a secret, but in Vallejo's opinion the most likely reason was to extend the Russian settlements into the interior of California, toward Sonoma; therefore, it was imperative, by whatever means possible, to establish a Mexican settlement there. Otherwise, if the Russians acquired a foothold, it might result in the loss of a large, fertile, and attractive territory.⁵³

During the summer, Vallejo continued his efforts to get food and clothing for his troops, but without much success. On September 9, 1833, he wrote to the Paymaster General of California, Don Rafael Gomez, reporting that his soldiers were almost naked and that he had no means to clothe them. Furthermore, he had spent over 200 pesos of his own for necessary articles and wished the money refunded. He also wanted to know why he should have to furnish many things himself which the Government was supposed to provide.⁵⁴

Two days later, Vallejo reported that Lieutenant Don Dámaso A. Rodriguez had stated that for several months the troops had had nothing but corn to eat. At other times he had been able to help, but now he did not have the means, so he appealed to the commander for aid. Should aid fail to arrive, Vallejo said he would not be responsible for what might happen.⁵⁵

In spite of all of Vallejo's appeals, no aid came, and what he feared might happen soon occurred. The troops finally grew weary of going naked, eating only corn, and going without pay. Early in October, there was a minor revolt at San Francisco, aided by the guard of Mission Santa Clara. These soldiers attempted to get rid of Vallejo, their commander, by irregular and unmilitary methods, though no force was used. They complained and accused him of ill-treating them and of failing to provide them with food and clothing. Vallejo was furious at this turn of events, and wrote to Governor Figueroa indignantly demanding the infliction of severest penalties upon the offenders. Figueroa had the soldiers tried, but the court merely ordered that eight of the men should be transferred to other presidios.⁵⁶

To the difficulties that he was having with the soldiers was added still another burden upon Vallejo and his wife. Their first-born took sick, and

about the middle of September, 1833, the infant Andronico Vallejo died, and was buried in the cemetery of Mission San Francisco de Asis. The young couple were heartbroken and grieved over their great loss, but soon other problems arose to demand their attention.

While he was having his troubles with the supplies, Vallejo was also worried about the fancied Russian advance into the interior. This was indicated in a circular which he issued to the corporals of the guards at Missions San Rafael and Sonoma. He admonished them to permit no one to travel to or from Fort Ross into the interior without passports issued by the Commandant General, or at least by the authorities in San Francisco. He scolded them for their negligence in not demanding such passports in the past, and warned them that if they disregarded his order he would proceed against them to the full extent of the military regulations.⁵⁷

With the worry about the Russians still on his mind, Vallejo hastened his preparations for establishing small settlements at Petaluma and Santa Rosa. On October 3, 1833, ten heads of families, which included some fifty persons, agreed to settle at those unoccupied places. When Father José de Jesus Maria Gutierrez, of Mission Sonoma, heard of the project, he sent a few men to build a hut and to place a band of horses on the land in order to establish a claim to the section as a mission ranch. When the settlers arrived at Petaluma, they found the site of their prospective town already occupied. Unable to settle there, most of the families returned to San Francisco, but a few settlers remained and planted crops at Petaluma. Vallejo himself had ten bushels of wheat sown on his own account. The mission representatives also stayed, and the respective claims were left to be settled in the future by the Governor. The families then moved to Santa Rosa. But Father Gutierrez again forestalled them. He sent two neophytes with some hogs as the nucleus of a mission ranch, to establish his claim. From there also, the settlers were forced to withdraw before January 8, 1834.⁵⁸

Early in 1834, Vallejo returned to San Francisco, where he stayed for some weeks attending to routine duties and preparing to move to the north side of the Bay permanently. On May 1, 1834, Governor Figueroa convened the legislature, and in his speech he mentioned the plan for the proposed establishing of a fort at Santa Rosa.⁵⁹ Then on May 14, he sentenced a criminal to serve out his term of punishment at the new establishment of Santa Rosa.⁶⁰ Early in June, Figueroa submitted his grant of the Petaluma ranch to Vallejo, for the approval of the territorial legislature. This was passed without opposition, and that act put an end to the claim of Mission Solano to the property.⁶¹ It was on a later grant by Governor Micheltorena, however, that Vallejo based his claim to his Petaluma ranch, which was confirmed by the U. S. Land Commission.

While Vallejo was at San Francisco arranging to transfer his company to Sonoma, a second son was born, on April 28, 1834. Since Don Guadalupe had

been very fond of his first baby, he named the second child also Andronico. Proud that he had another son, Vallejo was ready to set out to face the adventures that were to meet him on the northern frontier.

In August of that year, General Figueroa made an inspection tour to the northern frontier, and at that time ordered Vallejo to found towns at Petaluma and Santa Rosa to care for the colonists then on the way from Mexico. While thus engaged, Vallejo had some trouble with the Satiyome Indians under Chief Sucarra, and a bloody battle took place. The Indians were defeated, with very heavy losses in killed and captured, but Vallejo also lost a number of soldiers. Don Mariano then called on General Figueroa for aid, and when the latter arrived the Indians were forced to sign a treaty.⁶² From evidence on hand it would seem that the details of the battle were greatly exaggerated. Figueroa's trip took him to Fort Ross, and on his way back he left a small force on the frontier. He returned to Monterey on September 12, 1834, in time to receive the colonists of the Híjar-*Padrés* enterprise, and to begin the experiment of secularizing the missions.

On July 15, 1833, Governor Figueroa had issued his provisional regulations for the emancipation of the Indians. This was a long document giving detailed instructions.⁶³ About a year later, just before his visit to Fort Ross, Governor Figueroa, on August 9, 1834, published his provisional regulations for the secularization of the missions. Under them, civil commissioners were to be appointed to administer the mission properties.⁶⁴

It was under this law, that Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was appointed by Figueroa as administrator to secularize Mission San Francisco Solano, in October, 1834. While he was thus engaged, Vallejo took some Indians from Mission Sonoma to a place near Mark West Creek, where they began to build rude houses for the town of Santa Anna y Farias, where the colonists were to settle.⁶⁵ This was a little more than five miles from the present city of Santa Rosa. And at the same time, on October 19, the territorial electors met at Monterey and chose José Antonio Carrillo as deputy to the Mexican Congress for the term 1835-36, and Mariano G. Vallejo as alternate.

With Mariano Vallejo permanently established at Mission Solano, the two main threads of this narrative now come together for the first time. From this point forward they are one and inseparable.

CHAPTER V

THE MISSION AND THE PUEBLO

IN OCTOBER, 1834, the Spanish settlement of Sonoma consisted of the mission church and the quadrangle of the Mission San Francisco Solano, the barracks for the garrison, several houses for the families of retired soldiers, and the rows of straw huts that composed the Indian village.

At this time Father Lorenzo Quijas, formerly stationed at Mission San



SALVADOR VALLEJO

(Younger Brother of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo)

From a photograph in the possession of Mrs. Charles D. McGettigan.

Francisco de Asis, was in charge of this establishment. He had been transferred early in March, 1834, to replace Father José de Jesus Maria Gutierrez who had been sent to Mission San Antonio.¹

Early in the summer of 1834, Governor Figueroa had received official notice that the Híjar-Padrés colony was on the way to California. On receiving the news the Governor decided that the colonists should settle on the northern frontier; thus it was with the double purpose of secularizing the Mission and building a new town that Vallejo was sent there. Don Guadalupe took with him several families and his youngest brother Salvador, a youth of twenty years, who for the first time was to experience the rigors of Indian warfare and frontier life. At that time Don Salvador had no official position, but he went to give his brother whatever aid he might accord, and brought back with him as majordomo, to take charge of the Mission, Don Guadalupe Antonio Ortega.²

The secularization of Mission Solano began at once, with Ortega in full charge, aided by Salvador Vallejo in an unofficial capacity. Don Guadalupe busied himself with the affairs of the colony and exercised only supervisory control over mission affairs. Trouble soon began, and for a time Vallejo had his hands full. There were numerous difficulties connected with the building of a village, and secularization did not proceed with any degree of smoothness. Ortega and Don Salvador soon quarreled with Father Quijas over the management of the property, and over the former's conduct towards the Indians. These quarrels grew in intensity until the summer of 1835, when they finally came to a head.³

The arrival of the colony in September, 1834, only served to complicate matters for both Governor Figueroa and Vallejo. It happened that its director, José Maria Híjar, had been appointed civil governor of California by President Valentin Gomez Farias. Furthermore, Assistant Director José Maria Padrés was to replace General Figueroa as military commander of California, Governor Figueroa having asked to be relieved some time before because of ill health. To aid in promoting the interests of the colony, its leaders and other prominent men in Mexico had formed a commercial company known as the *Compañía Cosmopolitana*, which was to engage in exporting California products. The Secretary of War, General Anaya, was president of this concern, and Juan Bandini, California's congressman, was its vice-president.⁴

Under Bandini's leadership the Mexican Congress passed a bill on August 17, 1833, providing for the immediate secularization of the missions. Another bill passed on November 26, 1833, virtually turned all mission properties over to the colony, to be used in furthering that scheme.⁵

After almost a year of preparations, the colony, some 250 strong, set out from Mexico City in April, 1834, and after numerous adventures arrived at the port of San Blas on July 23, 1834.⁶ There, half of the members boarded

the brig *Natalia* and the remainder were loaded on the *Morelos*, formerly the old *San Carlos*; and on August 1, 1834, both vessels set sail for California. The *Natalia* with Híjar, Bandini, and half of the colonists, because of illness among the passengers, put into San Diego, where they landed on September 1, 1834. The *Morelos*, with Padrés and the other settlers, entered Monterey on September 25, where the newcomers received a hearty welcome.⁷

Soon Híjar and Padrés presented their credentials to Governor Figueroa, only to find that while they were at sea General Santa Anna had become President and had sent an overland message to Figueroa ordering him not to surrender his offices, or the mission properties. Though greatly disappointed, the directors of the colony nevertheless presented their claims to the missions in October, 1834. Figueroa, however, turned the matter over to the territorial legislature, which after prolonged discussions refused to honor the claims.⁸ There followed a long and bitter controversy between the California authorities and the directors of colonization, over the rights to the missions. This continued until December, when Híjar and Padrés finally gave up the claims.⁹

Meanwhile the colonists who had landed at San Diego began to scatter throughout the south, and only a few finally arrived at Monterey. During the winter, the remainder of the colonists, under Padrés' leadership, were transported in small groups to Mission Solano, where Vallejo set men to work constructing buildings and other shelters in which to house them. But for the time being they were quartered in the Mission. By March, 1835, most of them were fairly comfortably housed, but their supplies had begun to run low, and the other missions which were supposed to provide goods were slow in sending them. Governor Figueroa was appealed to, but he had no food to send. He suggested that the colony should be abandoned and that each colonist should be allowed to settle where he pleased.¹⁰

The directors protested against such a policy as being opposed to the views of the Mexican Government. Then, seeing that protests were useless, they attempted to organize the colonists into an armed body with which they hoped to take over by force the territorial government. Rumors of the plotting reached the Governor, who on March 4, 1835, wrote to Vallejo:

If by some chance you should discover some project or revolutionary attempts, you will proceed to institute an investigation to ascertain the truth of the matter, and if some proof should result, after taking all the precautions which you may think necessary, you shall effect the arrest of the authors, against whom proceedings will be continued until they are convicted.¹¹

From then on Vallejo spent much of his time watching the conspirators. The colonists were bitterly disappointed because their enterprise had failed, and many blamed Figueroa for it. Naturally Híjar and Padrés did nothing to dispel that resentment, but did their best to fan it into a flame of discontent. To accomplish this, Padrés daily harangued the colonists at Sonoma upon the wrongs inflicted upon them by the Governor. He also had concealed

a stand of two hundred rifles and ammunition, which he had brought from Mexico, and with which he intended to arm the colonists.¹² While this was taking place in Sonoma, other plots were being hatched in Los Angeles, of which Figueroa was informed on March 13, while at San Juan Bautista. From there he sent the following order to Vallejo:

Under separate cover of this date, I notify you of the occurrences at Los Angeles. This act leaves no doubt of the radical claims of the enemies of peace, and gives sufficient excuse to proceed against them. In that case I advise you immediately to confiscate the arms that Señor Padrés has concealed, all the rifles that may be distributed among the colonists there, and also six boxes of war munitions which he has. I rely on your prudence to act in this matter with all the energy and cunning that is necessary to assure the outcome and avoid mishaps, but let it be done at once.¹³

This order was rushed post haste to Sonoma, along with another one for the arrest of Francisco Verduzco and Romualdo Lara, both of whom were to be embarked aboard the frigate *Rosa* then in San Francisco Bay. Vallejo watched the colonists until they were about ready to strike and then suddenly fell upon them. On March 18, he reported to Figueroa:

In conformity with your orders issued on the 13th instant from San Juan Bautista, and which were received in Sonoma at 4:00 A. M. on the 14th, I began my operations, getting ready and observing the movements of the leaders of the colony. I remained there until the 16th at 4:00 P. M., but as their activities allowed me no more time, I surprised them, first arresting Messrs. Verduzco, Lara, and many others, because it was necessary to act instantly. I gathered two bundles of rifles which Señor Padrés had, and all the others in possession of the colonists, three boxes of ammunition, and several bandoliers; all of which are kept under guard until your further orders.

That same hour I ordered the departure of Verduzco and Lara for this port, and I delivered them to the frigate *Rosa* yesterday evening. Now at 11:00 A. M. I shall return to Sonoma to finish all that I am to do, and then I shall give you a detailed account of what occurred.¹⁴

Two days later, March 20, Vallejo received a report from one of his subordinates, certifying that the arms of the colonists had been collected without resistance, and that two groups of colonists had departed for other sections of the territory.¹⁵

When Figueroa received Vallejo's report of March 18, he sent him further orders on March 21, expressing satisfaction over Verduzco and Lara's arrest, and asking what had been done about Híjar and Padrés. He stated that those two should also be arrested and placed aboard the *Rosa*, where they were to be kept under guard until they could be transported to San Blas.¹⁶

On March 26, Vallejo communicated the order to Híjar, who at once protested against such a procedure as an invasion of his inalienable rights and privileges. Nevertheless, he submitted to General Figueroa's orders and with Padrés went aboard the *Rosa*.¹⁷ The vessel sailed from San Francisco at the end of March, with the four leaders of the plot and their families aboard. Some time in April they were transferred at Santa Barbara to the *Loriot*, which landed them in Mexico in May.¹⁸

On April 15, 1835, Vallejo sent the Governor a report of the revolutionary activities. According to his account, the arrival in Sonoma of Híjar, Verduzco,

and Lara had caused considerable excitement among the colonists, because they stated openly that they were going to surprise the garrison. Vallejo heard them planning to capture him and his troops. The conspirators gathered at 11 :00 p. m. at the house of Padrés, among them being Verduzco, Lara, Padrés, Estrada, Pazos, Santa Maria, and Aguilar. They had a long discussion as to the ways and means of capturing the guard. This they were to do by gathering behind the church. Being thus forewarned, Vallejo prepared his men and watched the plotters for nine days, until March 14, when Figueroa's orders were received. The arrival of a ship at that time occasioned much surprise and caused the rebels to act. On the 16th, the arms were distributed and they were ready to strike, but before they could do so, Vallejo surprised and disarmed them. At the time of the capture, Padrés' wife remarked to her husband, "I am glad that they got the drop on you for being so slow, perhaps you will be quiet now."¹⁹

After the deportation of the leaders, the remainder of the colonists scattered throughout California and settled down to a peaceful life. With that worry off his mind, Vallejo turned to other things. His next problem was the completion of the secularization of the Mission, which had been going on since October, 1834, under the supervision of Sergeant Ortega, aided by Salvador Vallejo. During those six months, while Vallejo's attention had been occupied with affairs of the colony, a heated controversy had been in progress between Antonio Ortega and Father Lorenzo Quijas. The quarrel had begun even before the Friar had transferred the Mission properties. Sergeant Antonio Ortega was an uneducated, rude, coarse, unprincipled man who knew no restraints in his vulgarity and lewdness. Salvador Vallejo was at that time a rather bold, impudent youth, struck with a sense of his own importance, who although he held no official position, nevertheless liked to display his authority. Father Quijas, on the other hand, was an educated and conscientious man, well along in years, who did not like to be dictated to, especially by those who had no authority to do so.

The Friar had not even turned over the properties before Ortega and Salvador began to order the Indians and laborers not to obey the priest. Then they took a small launch which Father Quijas had, and would not let him use it unless he begged Ortega for it. Neither was he permitted to have the horses and colts which the Governor had granted him for his use, in spite of the fact that they were given in part payment for his allowance. Later, Quijas requested four cows on his allowance, and one cow a week for slaughter. He also wished the yard to his house fenced off. All these requests were denied him, however. The quarrel continued from month to month, especially over the matter of living quarters. Most of the rooms were closed up, the Friar's apartments were reduced in size, and his reception room was used as a hallway. All this so nettled the poor Missionary that he finally protested, whereupon Salvador Vallejo reproached him with great boldness and impudence,

even threatening to strike the Father. Quijas, however, remembering his sacred calling, disdained to make a reply.

All of the preceding complaints were mere trifles, however, compared to the main one which Quijas made to his superior, Father Garcia Diego. As time had gone by, Ortega had grown bolder and more immoral, giving full play to his lust, until Father Quijas could endure it no longer. He wrote to Father Garcia Diego the details of all the annoyances he had suffered, and then added:

Yet all this is as nothing, and I have not complained; but I am bound to do so by reason of the many and abominable deeds of Ortega who in an unbridled and barefaced manner has given free rein to the infamous vice of lust. He spares neither young girls, married women nor widows, neither heathen nor Christian, as is affirmed by the majority of the inhabitants of San Solano, soldiers as well as civilians and neophytes, but especially by Sergeant Pablo Pacheco, Ignacio Azevedo, Nicolas Higuera, a number of carpenters, shoemakers, and other neophytes, men as well as women, who have told me personally and even related it to Father Perez. Sergeant Pacheco, among many other things concerning Ortega, stated that the latter had boasted of having made the rounds of all the women in San Solano, and that he expected not to miss a single one. Don Ignacio Azevedo relates similar happenings, and adds that he hides from no one, which is believable.²⁰

Father Quijas then went on to give case after case, naming the women who had been raped by Ortega and those who had witnessed the acts. The Friar also told how he had heard Ortega telling a group of soldiers and neophytes that adultery was no sin, and also teaching the neophytes all of his profanity. By July, 1835, Father Quijas had become so discouraged over the state of affairs at Sonoma that he withdrew to Mission San Rafael and refused to return to Mission Solano unless Ortega was removed as majordomo. It was from the former station that he penned this terrible condemnation of conditions in Sonoma.²¹

Upon receipt of this letter, Prefect Garcia Diego forwarded it to Governor Figueroa, with a demand that some action should be taken to punish such a fiend. The letter found Figueroa on his deathbed, so Sergeant Ortega went unpunished. José Castro, who became acting governor, had other and more pressing problems demanding his attention. Consequently Father Quijas did not return to Sonoma, and thereafter that Mission had no resident missionary.²²

Meanwhile, during the preceding months, the division of the mission properties among the Indians had been going on. Each head of a family or adult single Indian received a certain quota of livestock, farming implements, and a few acres of land if he wanted it. As a general rule, the Indians returned to their rancherias when they were dismissed from the Mission, taking their movable property with them. Soon, however, the ex-neophytes found themselves in difficulties with the pagan Indians and, in order to save their livestock, most of them asked Don Guadalupe to take care of it for them on a share basis. In this way, Vallejo, who already had some stock of his own,

was enabled to increase his herds very rapidly by the addition of most of the stock formerly belonging to Mission Solano. Since the Indians made no use of the land given to them, Vallejo also was able to acquire that by grants made to him by Governors Figueroa, Alvarado, and Micheltorena. Thus by 1840, augmented by the increase of animals received from the stock owned by the Indians, Vallejo's herds numbered thousands of cattle and sheep, and hundreds of horses, mules, and other animals.²³

At the time that secularization had begun in 1834, the population of Mission Solano numbered 760 Indians. It had decreased to 650 by the end of that year. During the year 1835, because of deaths and departures, it decreased to 550. From then on the population continued to dwindle, until by 1840 less than 100 Indians lived in the vicinity of the Mission. On the other hand, the mission stock increased more rapidly as the people diminished. At the beginning of 1831 there were 2,729 head of large stock which by 1837 had increased to 6,015. Horses and mules multiplied during the same period from 729 to 1,164, and sheep from 4,000 to 7,114. The average production of grain of all kinds for those years was 2,750 bushels.²⁴

Besides the troubles of colonization and of secularization, Vallejo found other pressing matters thrust upon him. Up to the summer of 1835, Sonoma had been a mission and a frontier military post. But with white families settling there it became necessary to incorporate it into a municipality. To that end Mariano Vallejo was given the grandiloquent title of Military Commander and Director of Colonization on the Northern Frontier. On June 24, 1835, Governor Figueroa sent him two letters, one of general instructions, and the other defining his powers for founding the town. In the first, the objectives set down were: to create a town to prevent Russian penetration; to induce families from all over the territory to settle at Sonoma; and to authorize Vallejo to make land grants to the new settlers, to be confirmed later by the Government. The expenses of establishing the colony were to be assumed by the Territorial Government. Figueroa charged Vallejo to follow a prudent and economical course, to keep an exact account of all expenses and to report frequently to the Government. Then he added a bit of flattery, stating that Vallejo was the only officer whom the Government felt it could entrust with so great an enterprise and have it carried to a successful conclusion.²⁵ In a second part marked "very confidential" the Governor said:

The topographic position of that frontier north of San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento River may make the colonization somewhat difficult; but this government is confident that, for the national honor and your own personal interests in the social order, you will not allow an opportunity to escape which will cause you to deserve the reward to which all men aspire: Posthumous Fame. Finally the territorial government recognizes and is aware of all that you have reported upon the dangers to which that frontier is exposed from our northern neighbors, and for that very reason it recommends, that you manage to keep a preponderance of Mexican population to that of foreigners who, in view of the colonization, may solicit lands in that section of the territory which the Supreme Government entrusts to you. For that reason it charges

you again to issue titles only to those who prove that they deserve them, holding ever present the importance of the Port of Bodega and Cape Mendocino, which points are of such value for the preservation of the national integrity.

The Government omits to recommend the secrecy which this note deserves, and which you must not disclose except in the last extreme, and it is confident that you will work diligently for an object so sacred to the country where you were born. It has a guarantee in the prudence, patriotism and good faith of which you have given so many proofs, offering to recommend them anew to the Supreme Government.²⁶

In the second letter Vallejo was told how he was to go about founding the town. The land was to be divided into squares, with streets and a plaza according to a regular plan. Each block was to be divided into four lots, each a hundred varas in extent, so that the owners might have sufficient space for a kitchen garden.

The village was to have its usual area of municipal lands. Within that area the citizens might be granted lots from 150 to 200 varas in extent, to be tilled subject to the laws and regulations on the subject, but the municipality was to possess the legal title to such land at all times. The settlement was to be started at the foot of a hill, on the top of which the fortification was to be erected, to protect the inhabitants from the incursions of the savages and other dangers. Finally the document defined the boundaries of the municipality in general terms. Vallejo was again offered the thanks of the Government for his efforts in founding the new city.²⁷

On receiving these instructions, Vallejo hurried to the San Francisco Presidio to prepare to move his company to Sonoma. Up to that time only part of the troops had been taken to Sonoma and Vallejo's family was still living in the San Francisco station. Don Guadalupe was very anxious to make the transfer of the garrison and families, because as early as May 3, 1834, he had reported to the Governor that the Presidio buildings were in ruins and Fort San Joaquin was practically destroyed. He had also asked aid to save the war material.²⁸ Later that same year he suggested that the Presidio buildings should be sold to soldiers on pay accounts or to civilians in exchange for livestock for the government ranch.²⁹ Figueroa was favorably impressed with the idea and authorized him to dispose of them, with the exception of the barracks. Soon after, Vallejo had to attend to colonization affairs in Sonoma and nothing more was done about the Presidio.³⁰

A year later Vallejo returned to complete the abandonment of the old San Francisco Presidio. The last days of June were occupied in getting some thirty soldiers of his company and their families ready to move. His next problem was to find a means of transporting them across the Bay. There were no ferry boats, and other ships were not often available; but San Francisco Bay did boast of a couple of small schooners, or perhaps they were scows, which had been built at Bodega for Captain William A. Richardson. The Captain had arrived June 25, from a trip in southern California, and was to found the town of Yerba Buena at the request of Governor Figueroa.

Vallejo appealed to Richardson for the use of his vessels, and the latter gladly rented them for the purpose of transporting the troops. Captain Richardson also went to Sonoma with the party, to assist Vallejo in laying out the town.³¹

The expedition sailed early in July, and, according to Vallejo, was on the way fourteen days, because of their ignorance of contrary tides and winds. A number of incidents took place on the voyage. Several days after leaving the Presidio the boats were stranded in the mud off Point Novato in San Pablo Bay. There they were attacked by hostile Indians from the shore. After the savages had been repulsed with heavy losses, the vessels were floated and the voyage continued. Their next stop was near Lakeville, and there Vallejo and his party were met by some three thousand Indian warriors with whom Don Guadalupe made treaties. After several days of negotiations, the party again sailed on, this time up Sonoma Creek, where they landed at Pulpula, now Pope's Landing. There they were met by some ten thousand Indians, who held a great celebration in honor of Vallejo's arrival. The natives, who were under Chief Solano, danced, feasted, and made speeches for eight days. At the end of that time, having made more treaties with the Indians, Vallejo, weary of dancing and celebrations, turned to the task of founding the town of Sonoma.³² It must be remembered that Vallejo wrote his recollections of early events on which this portion of the story of his life and the history of Sonoma are based, some forty years after their occurrence. To this fact may be attributed many minor errors and some exaggerations.

With the abandonment of the Presidio, Vallejo definitely left San Francisco and the life of his boyhood and youth behind him. He was now entering into a new epoch of his life: his work on the northern frontier, which was destined to occupy the remainder of his days. As the first step in founding the town, he and Richardson laid out a grand plaza, two hundred varas square. Opposite the plaza on the east stood the small mission church. With the plaza as the starting point they laid out the streets. Vallejo erected barracks across the street from the plaza on the north, and west of the church. The blocks were divided into lots which were granted to the families who came to settle the town. Vallejo also built a house near the barracks for his own family. By the end of the summer of 1835 the new village of Sonoma had become a reality.³³

Hardly had Vallejo installed his wife and child in their new home on the north side of the plaza, than Mrs. Vallejo again went into confinement. It was on the morning of August 4, 1835, that the third child was born. This time it was a girl, whom the family named Epifania Gertrudis. Being the first girl born to them, she became a great favorite with her father. Shortly after her birth the new baby was christened by Father Quijas at Mission Solano, the old Missionary coming from Mission San Rafael for the occasion, despite the recent quarrels with Vallejo.

While engaged in all his other activities on the frontier from 1834 onward,

Vallejo was forced to find time to conduct numerous Indian campaigns. His first one was in October, 1834, while he was trying to build the village of Santa Anna y Farias. A Cainamero Indian stole a beautiful stallion from Vallejo and took refuge among the Satiyomis in the Santa Rosa hills. Vallejo sent an interpreter to the tribe demanding the return of his horse, and the surrender of the thief. The Satiyomis, instead of replying, bound the messenger with fine thongs and left him where the soldiers would discover him the next morning. At dawn the unfortunate fellow was found, his body swollen and cut by the strings. It took him two months to recover from his injuries. Such an indignity called for punishment, so preparations were made for a campaign against Succara, chief of the Satiyomis. This crafty warrior, however, planned to ambush Vallejo's army in a deep ravine. When the troops approached the spot, they were met by showers of spears and arrows. A pitched battle ensued, which continued for three hours and during which six soldiers were slain and some thirty of Solano's Indians who had been helping Vallejo were captured and hanged by the Satiyomis. Vallejo's army finally emerged victorious, taking about three hundred prisoners, including men, women, and children. The savages fled, followed by Salvador Vallejo and Chief Solano with a large number of friendly Indians, who pursued them into the mountains of what is now Mendocino County. There Succara made another stand, and after another bloody battle Vallejo's troops again were victorious. Vallejo then offered terms of peace, but they were rejected and his messengers were mistreated. Bad weather interrupted further military measures, and the troops were withdrawn with some difficulty as the savages harassed the rearguard. Nevertheless, after that campaign, the hostile natives realized that the white men could not be resisted successfully for very long, and were peaceful for many months thereafter.³⁴

During the autumn of 1835, following the founding of Sonoma, Vallejo, aided by Chief Solano and some other Indians, made a campaign into the upper Sacramento Valley to punish and reduce a tribe of rebellious Yolos. After sharp skirmishes, the savages sued for peace, and once again Vallejo triumphed.³⁵

Lieutenant Vallejo had just returned to Sonoma from this campaign, when he received a short note from Captain Agustin V. Zamorano, dated September 29, 1835, stating that Governor José Figueroa had died that afternoon at 5:45, and requesting all officers able to do so to attend the funeral. Figueroa's death was a sad blow to Don Guadalupe, because the former had befriended him almost from the day he arrived in California. Whether Vallejo went to Monterey or not is not definitely known, though he later wrote a description of the three-day ceremony. But since he could not have received the message before October 1, it would have been impossible for him to have arrived until October 3, which was too late for him to have witnessed the event.³⁶

During the remainder of the year 1835, Vallejo was busy with the numerous affairs of the frontier and Sonoma. In fact he was so pressed for time that on December 15, 1835, he resigned his position as commissioner of secularization for the Mission, with a consequent loss of salary. Antonio Ortega was then advanced to acting administrator at 500 pesos a year, and he continued to serve in that capacity until sometime in 1837.⁸⁷

The year 1836 opened peacefully at Sonoma, but during January the Satiyomis began to steal horses from the settlers. Daniel, a chief of the Cainameros, was sent by Vallejo to stop the thefts. Before long some of the stolen animals were recaptured, but a few days later this led to an attack upon the friendly Indians by the Satiyomis, near Santa Rosa. Taken by surprise, Daniel's men suffered heavy losses, including some twenty killed, a large number of wounded, and one captured. When the news reached Vallejo, he began preparations for an expedition against the savages. But it was a very wet year, so it was not until April 1 that the weather permitted him to set out. At the head of an army of fifty soldiers and a large company of Indian allies he marched into the mountains and found the enemy entrenched in a strong position. The weather was threatening. Vallejo divided his forces, attacked from both flanks, and succeeded in dislodging the Indians, sending them fleeing to their rancherias with heavy losses. He, however, did not lose a man.

A few days after the April campaign, Vallejo was called upon to suppress the Indian slave trade which had sprung up that year. Early in 1836, Joaquin, Antonio, and Victor Castro had gone to the region of Santa Rosa to trade with the Indians. It soon developed that besides bartering with the Indians, they had also carried off men to work at San Pablo, and had bought some children who had been taken from their parents by force. Complaints from numerous Indians reached Vallejo, so he sent Sergeant Antonio Peña to arrest the Castros. They were caught with a little Indian girl in their possession, and thus were unable to deny their guilt. Vallejo had them imprisoned and later sent them to Monterey for punishment. His prompt action in this case earned him the good will of several Indian tribes.⁸⁸

While Vallejo was thus engaged, there arrived in Santa Barbara, on April 19, 1836, Colonel Don Mariano Chico, who had been named as governor of California. Soon after he took office, Governor Chico sent orders to all the post commanders to report to him at Monterey and to give an account of their management.

He wrote to Vallejo on May 4, 1836, ordering him to proceed to Monterey at the earliest possible moment to discuss important matters; and to bring with him all the soldiers who could be spared from the garrison defending the frontier.⁸⁹ Vallejo received the message on May 12, but as he was occupied with pressing affairs he did not even acknowledge its receipt. This lack of promptness, inexcusable in a good soldier such as Don Guadalupe prided

himself to be, caused Chico to send him two other orders on May 17. The contents of both were practically the same. One said:

Lieutenant Don Mariano G. Vallejo,

Monterey, May 17, 1836.

My dear sir:

On the 4th of the month, I officially notified you that I had some official business to discuss with you, for which purpose I ordered you to set out for this place with what troops were available after you had covered all points under your command. I suppose that the delay in your departure has been due to the lack of some small vessel which could transport my message to the other side of the bay, and for the same reason today I repeat the same order to you, and I advise the commander at San Francisco to furnish a means of conveying the missive which I inclose for you; to the end that your departure may not be delayed any longer, and which I charge you to carry out at the earliest possible time. I am your attentive servant who kisses your hand.

MARIANO CHICO.⁴⁰

According to Vallejo's history, he set out for Monterey with two aids as soon as he received the first order. But on arriving at San José he was met by Eulojio Célis and Fred Becher, who warned him not to continue his journey unprepared, because Governor Chico was a cold-blooded, fierce, brutal, hypocritical, insolent, centralist who had arrested a number of the most prominent southerners. On hearing all this, Vallejo rushed back to Sonoma where he gathered a force of twenty-two soldiers, ten civilians, and fourteen Indians all of whom he armed. With this force at his back, Don Guadalupe again set out for Monterey.⁴¹ There is every reason to believe that Vallejo made only one start for the capital, since documents signed by him at various dates prior to May 20, definitely establish him in Sonoma up to that date.

Leaving his post probably about May 21, Vallejo and the soldiers crossed to San Francisco and continued on to Monterey by way of San José and Watsonville. According to him, at these places along the way, he enlisted the aid of friends and his brother José Jesus to go to his rescue in case Governor Chico should place him under arrest. He and his company arrived in Monterey at eleven o'clock on the morning of May 26, and were admitted into the Presidio at once by the corporal of the guard. Don Guadalupe then lined up his men before the Governor's house and knocked at the door. To his surprise it was opened by an old man in a morning gown, green cap, and slippers, who inquired Vallejo's name. Vallejo then asked for the Commandant General but received no reply. Seeing the look of disgust on the Lieutenant's face, the older man retired and returned shortly dressed in the full uniform of his rank and announced himself as the Governor.⁴² Again Vallejo's details must be in error. Chico at the time was about forty-five years old. He was an early riser, a hard worker and extremely energetic, so it is highly improbable that he would have been lounging about in a dressing gown at eleven o'clock in the morning.

Colonel Chico stepped out and inspected Vallejo's troops, asking the soldiers and Indians numerous questions about life on the northern frontier. The two officers then entered the house and held a long discussion concerning

many topics. Vallejo gave many excuses for his long delay in arriving and explained the difficulties of getting across the Bay. He also gave a full report on his Indian policy. At the end of this protracted interview, Chico expressed satisfaction over the manner in which affairs were being conducted, and praised the young officer's conduct and frank attitude. The Governor then invited Vallejo to drink a glass of California wine and rang a little bell on his desk. Immediately a beautiful young woman appeared named Doña Cruz, the Governor's alleged niece, but in reality his mistress, whom he asked to bring the wine. In a short while she reappeared bearing on a silver tray glasses and a bottle of the best California wine. While Vallejo drank his wine, he took in every detail of this beautiful creature whose sparkling eyes beamed on him and pierced him to the innermost recesses of his heart, almost causing him to forget his own young and lovely wife.

As Vallejo was departing, Chico clasped his hand and told him that he could visit in Monterey as long as he liked. Great was the surprise of Vallejo's friends, who were waiting for him outside the Presidio gates, to see him emerge safe and free. It seems that they had expected that Vallejo would be arrested and had assembled to help him. His reappearance made them conclude that his soldiers and boldness of bearing had cowed the Governor, and word went round the town that Guadalupe had tamed the "Bear," as Chico was called.⁴³

This, of course, must be set down as an idle boast on Vallejo's part, for from his own accounts one would infer that Governor Chico was a mild, reasonable, gentlemanly person, very much interested in the young officer's work and the problems of the frontier. As for the troops Vallejo had been ordered to bring, Chico wished to send them south under Colonel Gutierrez to quell a vigilante disturbance in Los Angeles.

When Vallejo joined his friends, he, Juan Alvarado, José Castro, Gabriel de la Torre, Alcalde Ramon Estrada, and several others, gathered at the home of his brother-in-law, Captain John Cooper, where they proceeded to plot a revolution. The plan was drawn up along with a written agreement, of which each conspirator kept a copy. A few days later Vallejo returned to Sonoma.⁴⁴

From his own story, it would seem that Vallejo was not a very trustworthy officer, if he entered into plots against his superiors without the slightest provocation, whenever he had a chance. He also was not so tough as he imagined himself to be. Vallejo prided himself in being a rabid federalist, but during the interview with Chico, the Governor asked him to take the oath to the new Mexican Constitution of 1836, which was extremely centralist. This he did willingly, without the slightest protest, according to Chico's confidential report to the Minister of War. In this same document the Governor expressed his candid opinion of Vallejo as follows:

Along the northern frontier some eighty ranchers have been assembled, whom Vallejo and Castro have offered to arm in order to curb, so they express it, the despotism of

the government. Vallejo is daring, has natural talent that is quite marked, does not drink, and enjoys a prestige in that section greater than in the rest of the territory, though he does not lack it elsewhere. Were there four other men like him, I would be unable to maintain order, as he is not to be trusted, but fortunately there are none, and they are intimidated by my energy and veritable blustering, which serve as my arms.⁴⁵

The preceding paragraph goes to show that Vallejo had not pulled the wool over the Governor's eyes. Chico saw Vallejo only during his visit to Monterey in May, but he was able to form an opinion of his character.

On his return to Sonoma early in June, 1836, Vallejo continued his work of developing the town and the northern frontier. To that end Don Guadalupe had attracted to that section a number of pioneer families who were aiding him in his work. By the middle of 1836, among the settlers, were the families of Julio, Joaquin, and Ramon Carrillo; Rafael Garcia; Ignacio and Pablo Pacheco; Nazario and Francisco Berryessa; Felipe and Lazaro Peña; Manuel Vaca; Domingo Suenz; Gregorio Briones; Juan Miranda; Marcos and Cayetano Juarez; Bartolo Bojorques; Francisco Duarte; Fernando Felix; Rosalino Olivera; George Yount; John Wilson; Mark West; James Black; and Timothy Murphy. Not all these people lived in the town, but those that did not were in the vicinity within a radius of a few miles.⁴⁶

During June all was peaceful north of the Bay, and Vallejo entered into treaties with a number of the neighboring tribes. The terms of these treaties were similar, and, being interesting, one is given here:

Article 1. There shall be friendship between the commander of Sonoma and the tribes of the Guapos, Guilitoy, Ansactoy, Liguaitoy, Achistoy, Chorsuptoy, etc., whose principal chiefs are Cottro, Osemeiali, and Lilac on the North, and Moti and Peti on the East.

Article 2. The parties of the first part shall settle in the district of the warm springs, about three leagues distant from this place, in a clear spot which is not malarial and which satisfies the commandant, who shall come out to choose the spot, first consulting the chiefs.

Article 3. Fugitives and other Christians who desire to take refuge in their villages shall be handed over when demanded by the commandant.

Article 4. The fields shall not be burned in time of drought on any pretext whatever, but if this is done by other tribes the contracting parties shall not be held responsible, but they shall do all in their power to prevent it.

Article 5. The villages of the Cainamero tribe shall be respected in the same manner on the condition that both tribes, that is, the Cainamero and Guapos, shall keep on their own land without trespassing on the land specified, on pain of suffering just reprisals from the offended party.

These treaties were sent to Governor Chico at San Gabriel who approved them and made a formal acceptance on his return to Monterey early in July.

With peace apparently firmly established in his domain, Vallejo took time out for a little recreation, on July 1, 1836. At the same time that Vallejo was founding Sonoma, Captain William A. Richardson was also establishing the town of Yerba Buena. A little more than a year after it was laid out, the new city boasted two houses. One belonged to Captain Richardson, the other to Jacob P. Leese, who was about to become a brother-in-law to M. G. Vallejo. It was to celebrate the erection of the second house that Don Guadalupe, his

wife and children, along with other prominent Californians and officers from ships in the Bay, were invited to Yerba Buena by Leese. The affair was also to commemorate the independence of the United States. The Vallejos came from Sonoma by water aboard one of Richardson's boats, sent up by Leese for the occasion. On the morning of July 4, some sixty invited guests, a number of servants, and Indians gathered at the partially completed building. The place was decorated with flowers and bunting bearing the national colors of Mexico and the United States. The flags of the two countries were raised, and thus for the first time the American flag floated over the future city of San Francisco. During the course of the day a great banquet was served under a long canopy. At this time Vallejo delivered an oration on George Washington which was received with great acclaim by the audience. That evening there was a ball that lasted throughout the night. A picnic at Rincon followed. On the 6th, all the guests returned to their homes. Thereafter, every year up to 1841, when Leese moved his home to Sonoma, there was a Fourth of July celebration in Yerba Buena which was attended by as many of the members of the original party as could be present.⁴⁷

Hardly had Vallejo returned from Leese's party, than a new Indian war broke out. At this time, one Chief Zampay of the Yoloitoy tribe began a campaign to gain power over neighboring tribes and to drive the white people from that region. Vallejo at once prepared for an attack; and the first battle of this war which lasted, off and on, for over a year, was fought in the country southwest of the spot now known as The Geysers, in Sonoma County. This fight was with the Satiyomis and was won by Vallejo's troops but at the expense of great hardships and the loss of men and animals. Vallejo paid the cost of the expedition out of his own resources, and was aided by Solano and his Suisun Indians, who rendered valiant service. Salvador Vallejo also distinguished himself.⁴⁸

Don Guadalupe repaid Solano by showing him honors in every possible way, so as to strengthen the latter's power among his Indians. One of his methods was to present Solano with a guard of honor of forty-four Suisun and Napajo Indians under Sergeant Sabas Fernandez, all bedecked in full uniforms, consisting of a cape, a short jacket, linen cloak, regulation shirt, trousers, cap, shoes, knapsack, blankets, and saddlebags. Chief Solano was given a fine horse with silver-mounted trappings, a silver watch, and fancy riding boots. The presentation was made at a full-dress parade, after which Solano made a speech to his men asking them to capture Zampay in payment for Vallejo's kindness. In the battles of the following year this guard did fine service, losing only two of its members.⁴⁹

While Vallejo was in the midst of this campaign in July, he received a message from Governor Chico ordering him to Monterey at once with all the troops he could muster. After his return from southern California early in July, Chico had gotten into difficulties with the citizens of Monterey, and,

fearing an armed uprising, had called all his forces to the capital in order to overawe the conspirators. Unfortunately, none of them obeyed at once, and by the end of the month the people forced Chico to return to Mexico. Vallejo at that moment was unable to obey the order, for he could not leave Sonoma undefended in the face of attacks by hostile Indians. He also did not wish to obey the orders, since he was paying the cost of the campaign and his troops were mainly a private army. Therefore, he neglected to reply to Chico, and by the time he had defeated the Indians, the Governor was on the way to Mexico.⁵⁰

On Chico's departure, the senior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolas Gutierrez, assumed the political and military commands of the territory. For the remainder of the summer, California was at peace, and Vallejo was left free to continue his work and Indian campaigns on the frontier. It was while thus engaged, late in October, 1836, that events took place in Monterey which opened a new era in his life.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. C. L. Gutherie, General Vallejo's Home, California Historical Landmark Series, No. 4, MS, p. 7.
2. L. Lothrop, "The Noblest Roman," *Touring Topics*, XXIII (Feb., 1931), 37-38.
3. Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 583-84.
4. Calif. Arch., Legislative Records, MS, I, 47-80; Departmental Records, MS, V, 67, 71, 75, 82, 87; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 36; give full details of these affairs.
5. Calif. Arch., Legis. Rec., MS, I, 47-104; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 37; give details of proceedings of legislative meetings.
6. J. B. Alvarado, *Historia de California*, MS, II, 118-21; F. Tuthill, *History of California*, p. 123; Alvarado stated that during the legislative session of 1827-29, Echeandia so directed the assembly that it approved all of his suggestions almost without question.
7. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 40-41.
8. G. Tays, *Revolutionary California*, MS, pp. 72-73, 81-83, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Calif., 1932; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 39, 56-65; give full details of quarrels.
9. M. G. Vallejo, *Historia de California*, MS, II, 83-86.
10. Gov. Echeandia to Com. of Monterey, San Diego, Oct. 18, 1828, Calif. Arch., Dept. Rec., MS, VI, 113.
11. Calif. Arch., Dept. State Papers, Sacramento, MS, X, 36-38; Dept. Rec., MS, VI, 36; M. G. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 159; A. M. Osio, *Historia de California*, MS, pp. 123-25; give details of the mutiny and trial.
12. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 67-69.
13. F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, 1825-1828*, II, 24-31, gives diary of expedition by Sanchez.
14. Ens. J. Sanchez, *Campaña contra Estanislao y sus Indios sublevados*, San José, May 10, 1829, MS, Calif. Arch., Bancroft Library; Calif. Arch., Dept. Rec., MS, VII, 149; Gov. Echeandia to Lt. Martinez, order to send Sanchez against Indians, Dept. Rec., MS, VII, 20; Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, 129-30.
15. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XX, 280, gives a meager account of the first two military actions led by Vallejo against the Indians. Calif. Arch., Dept. Rec., MS, VII, 20, gives more details of his second expedition into the Tulares.
16. Lt. I. Martinez to M. G. Vallejo, S. F., May 16, 1829, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, No. 174.
17. G. Tays, *Revolutionary California*, MS, pp. 133-38; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 109-14; Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, pp. 133-38; all give good accounts of this campaign.

18. M. G. Vallejo, report to Martinez, San José, June 4, 1829, *Campaña contra Estanislao*, MS, Bancroft Lib.; Lt. Martinez to M. G. Vallejo, S. F., June 5, 1829 Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, No. 175.
19. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 114.
20. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 87-96; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 148-59; Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, pp. 125-51; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-85; all give details of the revolt.
21. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 758-59.
22. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 97-105.
23. Vallejo, *ibid.*, 96-100, gives many details, some of which are absolutely fanciful. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 98-100.
24. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 583-84.
25. M. G. Vallejo, petition to President of Mexico, Monterey, Oct. 15, 1830, in Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 186. At that time Vallejo had just passed his 22d birthday on July 7.
26. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 216. Gov. Echeandia, summons to legislature, Monterey, Jan. 29, 1831, Calif. Arch., Dept. Rec., MS, IX, 88; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 186-87.
27. G. L. Harding, *Don Agustin V. Zamorano*, pp. 51-52.
28. G. Tays, Revolutionary California, MS, pp. 110-11.
29. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III 189-93, gives details of the trial. Dept. State Rec., Benicia, Military, MS, LXXIII, 8-11, gives record of second case. J. de la Guerra, *Doc. para la Hist. de Cal.*, MS, V, 102, gives notice of execution. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 140-47; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 165-72; give pathetic accounts of Rubio's death, and claim he was innocent.
30. Vallejo, Osio, Ortega, Castro, petition to Gov. Victoria, S. F., Sept. 11, 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 237.
31. Vallejo, Ortega, Osio, Castro, memorial to Min. of Relations, S. F., Sept. 18, 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 238.
32. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 701.
33. Vallejo, Osio, Ortega, Castro, memorial, to Min. of Relations, S. F., Nov., 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Calif.*, MS, I, 241.
34. G. Tays, Revolutionary California, MS, pp. 123-57, gives full details of the conspiracy and revolt, with correspondence.
35. J. M. Echeandia to M. G. Vallejo, et al., Los Angeles, Dec. 9, 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 245; XXX, 2760.
36. M. G. Vallejo to Echeandia, S. F., Dec. 19, 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 248.
37. Tays, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-94; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 216-17; give details of the meeting of the legislature.
38. Minutes of Legislative Session, Los Angeles, Jan. 12-18, 1832, Los Angeles Archives, MS, IV, 46-47.
39. Tays, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-211, gives full details of all legislative activities and the controversy. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-19, gives summary of events.
40. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 188. It is hardly possible that the wedding could have taken place only four days after permission arrived. According to church rules and Mexican law the wedding bans had to be published for three successive Sundays before the ceremony could take place. Either the wedding took place about March 16, or the permission was received about February 20.
41. Vallejo, *ibid.*, p. 190.
42. *Ibid.*, II, 186-95; Vallejo gives a detailed account of the wedding, Echeandia's orders, his reactions and feelings at the separation from his wife, the latter part of which is only fancy, as he and his wife were together for several weeks after the wedding.
43. Proceedings of San Diego Military Council, San Diego, Mar. 7, 8-13, 1832, MS, in *Legajo 52-6-6-7, Archivo General de Guerra y Marina*, Mexico; transcript in Bancroft Library.

44. Proceedings of Cal. Leg., San Diego, Mar. 19-22, San Luis Rey, Mar. 26, 1832, in *Legis. Rec.*, MS, I, 211-22.
45. M. G. Vallejo to Domingo Carrillo, San Gabriel, Apr. 25, 1832, MS, No. 22a, *Legajo* 52-6-6-10, *Arch. Gen. de G. y M.*, Mexico.
46. Proceedings of Cal. Leg., San Diego, May 15, 1832, *Legis. Rec.*, MS, I, 351-52.
47. Proceedings of Cal. Leg., Los Angeles, Dec. 30, 31, 1832, *Legis. Rec.*, MS, I, 222-30.
48. Vallejo, *Hist. of Cal.*, MS, II, 200-3, gives an account of the affair. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 245.
49. Bancroft, *ibid.*, p. 246.
50. M. G. Vallejo to Gen. J. Figueroa, confidential report, S. F., May 6, 1833, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 140.
- 50a. For particulars regarding the Russian occupation of California see *The Russians in California*, California Historical Society Special Publication No. 7, reprinted from California Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3, September, 1933.
51. *Ibid.*; Vallejo makes a long report about the treatment accorded the pagans by the two northern missions. But it would seem that his account of Indian hostility is greatly exaggerated, and mostly not in accordance with facts.
52. M. G. Vallejo to Gen. Figueroa, S. F., May 31, 1833, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, No. 47.
53. *Ibid.*, No. 28.
54. M. G. Vallejo to R. Gomez, S. F., Sept. 9, 1833, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, No. 99.
55. M. G. Vallejo to Com. of S. F., Sept. 11, 1833, *ibid.*, No. 101.
56. Proceedings of court martial, S. F., Oct., 1833, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, Nos. 119, 178, 195.
57. M. G. Vallejo, circular to corporals, S. F., Aug. 10, 1833, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, No. 80.
58. M. G. Vallejo to Gen. Figueroa, S. F., Oct. 3, 1833, State Papers, Missions and Colonization, MS, II, 316-17; *ibid.*, Petaluma, Jan. 8, 1834, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, No. 211; *ibid.*, Santa Rosa, Jan. 13, 1834, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, No. 118. It is in this letter that the name Santa Rosa seems to have been applied to that region for the first time.
59. Gov. J. Figueroa, Address to Legis., Monterey, May 1, 1834, *Legis. Rec.*, MS, II, No. 48.
60. Gov. J. Figueroa, Monterey, May 19, 1834, Dept. St. Pap. Benicia, Mil., MS, LXXVIII, 23.
61. Gov. J. Figueroa, Grant of Petaluma to Vallejo, Monterey, June, 1834, *Legis. Rec.*, MS, II, 118-22.
62. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 256-57.
63. Gov. J. Figueroa, *Previsiones provisionales para la emancipacion de Indios reducidos*, Monterey, July 15, 1833, MS, Bancroft Library; also, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 328-30.
64. Gov. J. Figueroa, *Reglamento provisional para la secularizacion de las misiones*, Aug. 9, 1834, St. Pap. Missions and Colonization, MS, II, 253-63; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 342-44.
65. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 256-57, 279.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, III, 254-58, 279.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 354, 719-20.
3. Z. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, III, 380-89.
4. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 259-64.
5. M. G. Vallejo, *Documentos para la historia de California*, MS, II, 165; Superior Government State Papers, MS, IX, 1; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 336-37.
6. J. B. Alvarado, *Historia de California*, MS, II, 223-30; A. M. Osio, *Historia de California*, MS, 224-30.

7. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 256-66
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-78.
9. Documents dealing with the controversy are found in State Papers, Missions and Colonization, MS, II, 285-86, 290-91, 270-73, 209-10, 211, 279, 283-92.
10. Figueroa-Hijar correspondence, March 1-4, 1835, Departmental State Papers, MS IV, 8-9; Figueroa *Manifiesto*, 117-28, Bancroft Library; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 14-16; *ibid.*, XXIII, 5; State Papers, Miss., MS, VII, 72-74. VX
11. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, S. F., March 4, 1835, Vallejo *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, No. 13.
12. J. Figueroa, *Manifiesto al Gobierno Mexicano*, Bancroft Library, 22-130.
13. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo San Juan Bautista, March 13, 1835, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, No. 18.
14. M. G. Vallejo to J. Figueroa, S. F., March 18, 1835, *ibid.*, No. 25.
15. Anonymous to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, March 21, 1835, *ibid.*, No. 24.
16. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, March 21, 1835, *ibid.*, No. 24.
17. J. M. Hijar to M. G. Vallejo, S. F., March 27, 1835, *ibid.*, No. 26.
18. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 285-89.
19. M. G. Vallejo to J. Figueroa, Sonoma, April 15, 1835, *op. cit.*, No. 28.
20. Fr. L. Quijas to Fr. Garcia Diego, San Rafael, Aug. 2, 1835, State Papers, Missions and Colonization, MS, II, 571-76; Z. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 581-89.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Fr. Garcia Diego to J. Figueroa, Sta. Clara, Aug. 12, 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 571-72.
23. T. Gregory, *History of Sonoma County*, pp. 28-29.
24. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 717-20.
25. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, June 24, 1835, Dept. State Papers Miss. and Colon. MS, II, 406-8.
26. *Ibid.*
27. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, June 24, 1835, T. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.
28. M. G. Vallejo to J. Figueroa, S. F., May 3, 1834, Departmental State Papers, Benicia, Military, MS, LXXVIII, 5-6.
29. M. G. Vallejo to J. Figueroa, S. F., July, 1834, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 129.
30. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Aug., 1834, *ibid.*, XXXI, 133.
31. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 11-22.
32. *Ibid.* Vallejo gave the date as June, 1834, which is one year too early. He also said that he had 80 cavalrymen, when there were less than 30 men at the Presidio in 1835. Why hostile Indians should suddenly appear at a spot where the natives had been at peace for ten years, and under mission rule much longer, and at a place where Vallejo had been only few days before, he did not explain. Also why thousands of Indians should suddenly come to make treaties with him, when there were only a few hundred peaceful mission Indians, and when he had been living among them for over a year, is another mystery left unsolved. Other details are equally fantastic, and must be considered as only imaginary.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.
35. M. G. Vallejo, "Report on County Names," in *Journal of the Senate of the State of California*, First Session, 1849-50, p. 532.
36. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 55-59.
37. M. G. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 47; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 720.
38. M. L. Lothrop, "The Indian Campaigns of Gen. M. G. Vallejo," in *Quarterly of Society of California Pioneers*, IX, No. 3, Sept., 1932, pp. 181-82.
39. Chico to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, May 4, 1836, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 200.
40. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1836, pp. 205, 206.
41. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 83ff.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-93.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.
45. M. Chico to Min. of War, Confidential Report, Monterey, July 22, 1836, Legajo 52-8-7-1, MS, *Archivo General de Guerra y Marina*, Mexico.
46. T. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
47. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, pp. 23, 27-30; M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 122-23. Celeste G. Murphy, *The People of the Pueblo*, p. 51.
48. M. L. Lothrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-87.
49. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 124-26.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

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(See also page 288.)

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

and

SONOMA

A Biography and a History

By GEORGE TAYS

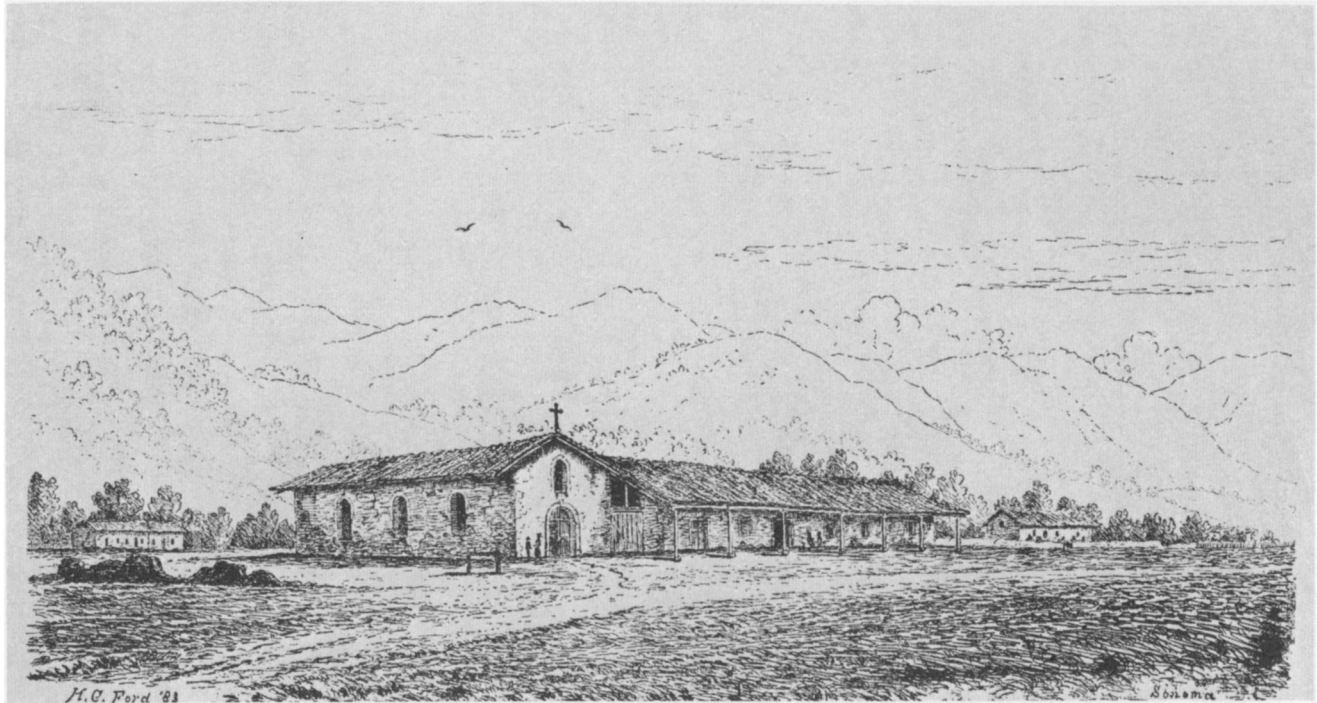
CHAPTER VI

POLITICS, PROMOTION AND POWER

WHEN Nicolas Gutierrez arrived in Monterey from Los Angeles on September 6, 1836, to assume the governorship, he found that town at peace. Politically all went well on the surface until the end of October, when a revolutionary storm suddenly broke.

From all accounts, the California politicians, Alvarado, Castro, Estrada, and the members of the territorial legislature, wanted to get rid of the new Governor. To do so they plotted and used every available pretext as an excuse for insurrection. When Juan B. Alvarado and the customs collector, Angel Ramirez, engaged in a controversy with the Governor over the jurisdiction of the customs guards, such a situation was created. During this quarrel Gutierrez threatened Alvarado with arrest, and the latter fled to the Salinas Valley. From there he went to San José and enlisted the aid of José Castro and others in starting a revolution. Leaving his friends to carry on the recruiting of an army, Alvarado continued on to Sonoma, to lay his plan before his young uncle, Mariano G. Vallejo, and if possible to gain his support.

Alvarado arrived in Sonoma about October 24, much to Vallejo's surprise, for he himself had just returned from Monterey five days before, whither he had gone to confer with Alvarado and Gabriel de la Torre. At that conference, Vallejo had pledged himself to lead a force of two hundred fully armed and equipped men. But in those five days he had not been able to complete his preparations, for the civilians of Sonoma and San José who were to make up most of his army could not get ready for a campaign on such short notice; most of them were poor, and had to provide their families with the necessities of life before setting out, which was not an easy task. Vallejo was busy with Indian affairs. When Alvarado arrived, he was about to set out for Napa, where the Napajos were holding a great feast in honor of Chief Solano. Alvarado accompanied him and on the way gave Vallejo a detailed account of what had taken place at Monterey and elsewhere. Don Guadalupe learned that Don Juan Alvarez and José Castro with their com-



MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO AT SONOMA

**From an etching made in 1883 by Henry Chapman Ford, in the Melville
Schweitzer Memorial Collection, California Historical Society.**

pany were ready to march as soon as he should give the word. This so pleased Vallejo that he provided Alvarado with money and a sizeable escort and sent him back to San José to rouse the people and there await his coming; all of which instructions Alvarado promised to carry out.¹

Upon his arrival at San José, about October 31, he found José Castro with some thirty men ready to march on Monterey. Evidently Don Juan Bautista forgot or ignored Vallejo's instructions; for the following day, November 1, he and Castro set out with the army for the capital. On the way they were joined by other recruits, including Isaac Graham and his twenty-five American riflemen. They entered Monterey on the night of November 3, with about one hundred men, and received the surrender of the Presidio on November 5.

Alvarado's letter to Vallejo, dated November 7, would make it seem that Alvarado had received a very definite impression that Vallejo hesitated to co-operate in the revolution. He said in part:

When I left you at Napa . . . I returned with the feeling of not having been able to obtain your support in attaining an object of public benefit and I was greatly troubled. . . . We named the expedition thus: "Vanguard of the Division of Operations," giving assurances that you were bringing up the rear with the remainder of the forces, and that you were the commander-in-chief of the army. It was necessary for us to employ this ruse because only with that hope would a multitude of people join us resolved to die. But we would say that you had been delayed because your troops were in campaign, and that you had sent word to us that we were to attack Monterey. . . . Up to now the inhabitants are still awaiting your arrival, and upon it depends whether we attain with great honor an enterprise that is praised on all sides. . . .²

This letter makes it plain that Vallejo had not promised to co-operate, as he claimed later.

As soon as Gutierrez surrendered, José Castro became acting commandant general and governor. On November 6, he convened the Legislature as a constituent congress and issued a proclamation congratulating the people. The following day, November 7, in another printed proclamation he declared California independent of Mexico. The territory was erected into a free and sovereign state. The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion was declared the state religion. A constitution was provided for; M. G. Vallejo was appointed commandant general; and the municipalities of California were given due notice of all acts.³

Copies of the two proclamations were sent to Vallejo along with Alvarado's letter. To Don Guadalupe it was a great and doubtless very gratifying surprise to find himself suddenly elevated to the supreme military command of California. He was still a young man, but twenty-eight, and one of the junior lieutenants in the territory, when suddenly he found himself the commandant general of the army in California. Although he had expressed himself as unwilling to risk taking part in the revolution, and though he now professed his unworthiness to occupy that high post, nevertheless, like any

other ambitious young man would have done, when greatness was thrust upon him, he accepted it.

When Vallejo received the news, he prepared at once for the journey to Monterey. He put his frontier affairs in order, left his brother Salvador in command of the troops and, obeying the summons of the Legislature, set out for the capital with a small force. There he arrived late in November, and on the 29th, took the oath of allegiance to the new government, assumed the office of commandant general, and issued a grandiloquent proclamation to the people, which began:

Fellow-citizens: The sovereign legislative assembly of the free state of Alta California calls me to its aid, and I obey its supreme dictates, putting myself at the head of the brave men who surround me, and accepting the commandancy general for the public welfare, whose slave alone I am. . . .⁴

Once again Vallejo had disregarded his oath of loyalty to the Mexican Government. Then in order that other officers might not complain that a mere lieutenant was the commander-in-chief, the Constituent Congress promoted Vallejo to be a colonel of cavalry, dating his commission as of December 11, 1836. Its decree follows:

No. 2.

Citizen José Castro, President of the Congress.

Congress has decreed:

1. Citizen Mariano G. Vallejo is granted the rank of colonel of the troops to which he belongs.
2. The governor of the state will issue the necessary order, in accordance with the preceding provision.
3. This decree will be communicated to the governor of the state for his knowledge and approval. It is ordered printed, published, and circulated for its accomplishment. Given at the State House, Monterey, November 29, 1836.

JOSÉ CASTRO

President.

JUAN B. ALVARADO

Secretary.⁵

On December 7, the California Congress issued two decrees, appointing Juan B. Alvarado as provisional governor, and giving him the rank of colonel of the state militia. Two days later Castro adjourned the Congress and Alvarado took office on December 10. Thus at the end of 1836, the two youths, Vallejo and Alvarado, aged twenty-eight and twenty-seven, respectively, uncle and nephew, were found serving as military and civil rulers of their native state.

About Christmas time, Alvarado went to southern California to put down opposition to his government, leaving Colonel Vallejo in control of affairs in Monterey. Hardly was Alvarado out of sight when Vallejo was recalled to Sonoma to suppress an Indian uprising. He turned over his authority to José Castro, who had recently been commissioned lieutenant colonel of militia by Alvarado.⁶

No sooner had Vallejo departed for Monterey than Zampay went on the warpath north of Sonoma. In the course of his raids, several of Vallejo's

friendly chiefs were slain, and Zampay appeared at Napa with about five hundred warriors. On receiving this news, Vallejo sent orders to his brother Salvador and Solano II⁷ to prepare an expedition of about one hundred men. Late in December, Don Guadalupe returned to Sonoma and took charge of the campaign. His plan was to send a division, commanded by Don Salvador and Chief Solano, to help the Napajos fight Zampay, while he would lead a second force against the Satiyomis, who had been stealing horses and killing friendly Indians.

Chief Solano disapproved strongly of rushing the campaign against Zampay, whom he described as being very clever and having an excellent spy system which precluded any attempt at surprise, and urged that it was necessary to match his cleverness with greater astuteness. When he received a complete report of Zampay's forces and movements, Vallejo postponed the campaign until spring, and in the meantime he and his allies perfected their plans and gathered supplies. But when the spring of 1837 arrived, still other difficulties of a political nature arose, which prevented Vallejo from launching the campaign until midsummer.⁸

When Don Guadalupe returned from Monterey around Christmas time, he found his wife once more awaiting the arrival of the stork. On January 5, 1837, a baby girl was born. Later she was baptized at Mission Solano, with all the ceremony usual to the Roman Catholic Church, and given the name of Adelayda Rosario.

About this time, Vallejo brought the Zamorano printing press from Monterey to Sonoma, where he set it up for his own use, and where it remained until 1842.⁹

During the early part of 1837, other affairs at Sonoma needed attention. The Mission for over a year had been under the administration of Antonio Ortega, who had become involved in further scandals; this time, concerning his accounts. He was removed and Pablo Ayala succeeded him as administrator, serving until 1839. When Ayala assumed control, little was left of the Mission properties except the buildings themselves, a few animals, some small tracts of land, and perhaps not more than two hundred Indians, who lived in the neighborhood. Another matter was the appointment of Nicolás Higuera as deputy alcalde for the northern frontier by the Alcalde of San Francisco; but Vallejo refused to recognize any civil authority in his jurisdiction, and in this the Governor sustained him. At that time also, Vallejo commissioned his brother Salvador, who until then had held no official rank, as captain of cavalry, and made him military commander of the post. As Sonoma had become quite a village, Vallejo urged the state government to employ a competent surveyor to put settlers into formal possession of lots which he had granted to them. He also recommended various precautions to be taken against persons desiring grants merely for speculative purposes.¹⁰

Although the Commandant General was very busy at Sonoma during the

early part of 1837, his stay there was of short duration. Reports reached him that Alvarado was meeting with opposition in Los Angeles and other southern communities, and that his own presence was needed at the capital.

The news of the successful revolution in Monterey was a great surprise to all of the politically-minded Californians in the south. No sooner did they hear of Vallejo's connection with it, than they began to write to him expressing their personal opinions. Antonio M. Osio wrote on November 26, 1836, expressing his disapproval of the revolt, which had shocked him, and stating that he did not see how Vallejo could allow himself to be involved in it. On December 1 word came from Carlos A. Carrillo that he was overjoyed at the news, and offering his services in the south. Juan Bandini wrote on December 3, expressing himself as in a frenzy of grief over the matter and condemning the insurrection most vehemently. Pio Pico stated that he was unable to believe that Vallejo was implicated in such an affair. These few of the many letters written indicate how sentiment was divided. By December 23, however, opinion in the south had begun to shift very decidedly against the Monterey government. Carlos Carrillo wrote to Vallejo on that date giving him a detailed account of affairs and advising him to visit the south immediately in order to save the revolution.¹¹ It was this letter which convinced Alvarado that he must go south. The Governor had poor luck in his efforts to secure co-operation from the southerners, and it was this lack of success which brought Vallejo from Sonoma to Monterey in February, 1837.

One of the first problems which confronted Vallejo in his new office was the reorganization of the territorial defense. To accomplish this, presidial companies had to be recruited to full strength, the presidios rebuilt, supplies and war munitions assembled, and a territorial militia organized. To this task he set himself during January, 1837. On January 6, he sent fifty cans of powder to Monterey, and the following day he dispatched instructions to the presidial commanders concerning the recruiting of young men. During the month, some sixty youths came to Sonoma to learn military discipline and drill under Lieutenant Sabas Fernandez; while Salvador Vallejo journeyed to Fort Ross to buy arms and clothing. Three companies of eighty men each were formed at San Francisco, San José, and San Juan, and one of thirty men at Sonoma. By the end of January Vallejo's military plans were well under way.¹²

But in the south, Alvarado was meeting much political opposition; therefore Vallejo found it imperative to move his headquarters to Monterey, where he could be more in touch with the situation. Leaving Don Salvador in command at Sonoma, he took fifty men and set out for the capital.

When Castro went to Santa Barbara, he left Ramon Estrada with twelve men to garrison the capital. This situation gave rise to plots whereby certain troublemakers hoped to seize the town. Vallejo investigated the matter

and caused the arrest of Rafael Gonzalez, Francisco Pacheco, Juan Quintero, and eight convicts at San Juan. Gonzalez and the convicts were then sent to Sonoma for safekeeping. At Monterey another plot was brewing under the leadership of the ex-Friar Angel Ramirez and Captain Francisco Figueroa, brother of the former Governor. But Vallejo's presence dampened their spirits for the time being, and when Alvarado returned from Santa Barbara with affairs well in hand in the south, the General went back to Sonoma.¹³

Rumors spread that a large army of Mexicans was invading California from Sonora. On March 27, 1837, the Commandant General issued orders to all post commanders to concentrate their forces at Monterey. With fifty men he hastened south; but when he arrived at Santa Clara, on April 4, he discovered that it was a false alarm, and returned the troops to their respective stations. While engaged in these activities, Vallejo had Lieutenant Antonio M. Pico arrested and sent to Sonoma, which seems to have been the prison for all political offenders. It was claimed that this officer had attempted to incite a revolt among the militia at San José and San Francisco.¹⁴

By the middle of April, California was apparently at peace, and the busy Commandant was again at Sonoma. He began preparations for the campaign against Zampay and was about ready to set out when he received word that a new revolt had broken out in San Diego against Alvarado. Once again his expedition was postponed.

On June 1, Alvarado sent Vallejo details of the San Diego revolt and reported that Mexico was organizing an army to be sent to California. From Santa Clara the Governor, on June 6, wrote again to Vallejo, giving further information. He said that Castro's men were poorly armed, and that Vallejo should aid them with equipment; he also asked permission to send Salvador Vallejo, stationed temporarily at Santa Clara, south with a company. In closing he urged Vallejo to hasten to Santa Clara for a conference. Don Guadalupe replied on June 7, that he was ordering Salvador back to Sonoma so that he himself might go to Santa Clara, pointing out that the northern frontier could not be left without a commander. The following day he issued orders to Ensign Prado Mesa to place his troops at the Governor's disposal, and to Captain Sanchez at San Francisco to hold his force ready for action. When Don Salvador reached Sonoma, Vallejo set out for Santa Clara, arriving there on June 13.¹⁵

The General's interview with the Governor lasted from the 13th to the 18th, during which he informed him that he did not feel disposed to deprive the frontier of its protectors in order to defend more populous regions that were able to take care of themselves. He also lectured Alvarado on a number of other matters that did not meet with his approval. Then he suggested that henceforth when enemies were caught with arms in hand, their properties should be confiscated, to be used in paying for the campaigns. Finally he promised to send Captains Francisco Sanchez and Salvador Vallejo to

serve with the Governor in the south. Alvarado returned to Monterey and Vallejo to Sonoma to oversee the preparations for the campaign against Zampay. A few days later, Alvarado again appealed for aid, but as usual Vallejo was busy with preparations for his Indian campaign. However, on June 25, he issued orders to his officers south of the Bay to mass their troops at Monterey.¹⁶

With Alvarado in Santa Barbara and Vallejo in Sonoma, Monterey was left very much to itself. Evidently Vallejo's orders to mass troops there were not carried out promptly, for when in response to Alvarado's call for aid, Captain Villa, commander of Monterey, departed with most of his garrison, he left Jesus Pico in charge with only a handful of men. This created a situation made to order for the discontented Mexicans who had been plotting earlier in the year.

Captain Villa was hardly out of sight when, at 5:00 P. M. on July 1, Monterey was attacked by an insurgent band of thirty men led by Captain Figueroa, Juan N. Ayala, and Sergeant Santiago Aguilar, former director of the printing press; while Surgeon Alva, Angel Ramirez, and Cosme Peña tried to get recruits among the ranchos of the surrounding country. At the time of the attack, the post commander, Jesus Pico, was absent. The rebels seized the fort and all arms without resistance from the squad of men present, and held the town until July 3. The defenders sent a messenger to overtake and recall Captain Villa, and another one to Sonoma begging Vallejo to hasten to Monterey. Meanwhile, Pico raised a few volunteers in the interior and, aided by Graham and some of his riflemen, besieged the rebels in the fort.

The rebels had planned to attack on July 3, and Figueroa had counted on Ramirez and his volunteers; but the plan having leaked out, he was forced to advance on the 1st. Then when he saw how quickly the opposition was gathering its forces, Figueroa became thoroughly frightened and sent word to Ramirez to hasten. But the latter fled to Santa Clara instead and left him to his fate. Figueroa then offered to surrender if Vallejo would protect the lives of his men. Before the General's favorable reply could arrive, Figueroa was forced to surrender and Captain Villa put him and his officers in irons.

Don Guadalupe received the news early on July 3, and immediately set out from Sonoma. Later in the day he stopped at Petaluma, where he had built a large manor house, and gathered some soldiers stationed there. After writing further instructions to the commanders at San Francisco and Monterey, he continued his march. While still at San Rafael, on July 6, he heard that the capital had been retaken. From there he hastened to Santa Clara, where he arrested Ramirez, Alva, and several others. Several days later he released the soldiers and placed the leaders in the custody of his brother, Captain José Jesus Vallejo, at his ranch near Watsonville. He then went to the capital to protect the other prisoners and calm the spirit of vengeance

among the people of Monterey who wanted to hang the rebels. About July 14, Ramirez, Alva, Figueroa, Peña, Ayala, Aguilar, Manuel Crespo, and José Maria Maldonado were sent to Sonoma in irons. Vallejo then returned to Sonoma to take care of his involuntary guests.¹⁷

At Sonoma, the prisoners were locked in jail, but after a few days Vallejo had the irons removed and lodged the men in a big room in his house, where he placed his library at their disposal and assigned several servants to attend them. There he kept them, feeding and clothing them at his own expense until they were released sometime in September, 1837. When his former prisoners departed, they expressed their gratitude for his fine treatment by writing a poem, which Vallejo treasured for the remainder of his life.¹⁸

In July, 1837, Vallejo finally started his campaign against Zampay and the Yoloitoy Indians. The expedition was led by Don Salvador, assisted by Solano. Their instructions were to use special care to treat the tribes through which they passed with the greatest consideration, that their friendship might be won. The expedition was sent with the expectation that Chief Moti would hand Zampay over as he had promised. Solano, however, set no store by that, and unknown to Don Salvador, arranged with his men to capture Zampay alive. The campaign was conducted in the mountains about Clear Lake, where after many hardships and dangers, in which their pack animals were lost, Zampay was finally lassoed by a soldier, Manuel Cantua, and the expedition returned in triumph with its captive.

General Vallejo insisted on trying Zampay and executing him at once, as a protection to the inhabitants of the frontier; but Solano begged as a special favor that his life be saved. Vallejo finally yielded, though quite mystified, because Solano as a rule did not object to harsh punishment. The latter explained that Zampay dead was useless, while living he could serve as a hostage. If he was spared, Zampay would be indebted to them for saving his life. Zampay was then put in Solano's custody. The savage chief, once the terror of the frontier, became a peaceful citizen, a farmer and rancher, who at his death at an advanced age left his family considerable wealth. As a reward for his services, Solano received a grant of four leagues of land on the west side of the Sacramento Valley.¹⁹

On the same day that Zampay was captured, Vallejo received envoys from Succara, the Satiyomi chief. They came to beg a hearing and to make offers of a truce. Vallejo was suspicious of his old enemies, but was willing to make peace terms. A time and place for a meeting was set and the number of warriors Succara might bring was carefully stipulated. The meeting was held at the rancho of Nicolas Carriga, and after two days of discussion a treaty of eleven articles was drawn up, which was signed by Tucumin Succara and the three hostages with their crosses, Vallejo signing in like manner as a courtesy. Then the document was signed by Chief Solano I, Captain John B. Cooper, Captain Salvador Vallejo, and George Yount as witnesses.²⁰

There followed the usual presentation of gifts by both parties: tobacco, beads, blankets, and colored kerchiefs from Vallejo; fishing nets, feather cloaks, dried fish, and deer skins from Succara. Vallejo passed on his gifts to Solano and his allies. Three days were devoted to dancing and feasting, with two more days of bull fighting and other sports. The truce did not last very long, however, because within a month Succara organized another campaign against the white people. This time he made use of the Cainamero Indians who were supposed to be loyal to Vallejo. Salvador Vallejo was away, Cayetano Juarez was ill, so an officer named Piña led the troops. His force was small, and his Indians turned traitors during the first skirmish. The campaign had to be abandoned, and no punishment was administered to the treaty breakers for some months.²¹

While Vallejo was thus occupied in Sonoma, much had transpired in southern California. Late in June, 1837, Alvarado with his army at Santa Barbara was about to come to grips with Captain Portilla and his army of the San Diego party, then at Mission San Fernando. Just at that point, Captain Andrés Castellero, who had been exiled with Governor Gutierrez, returned as commissioner from the Mexican Government to settle the civil war. In the negotiations that followed, Governor Alvarado and his followers took an oath of allegiance to Mexico which ended their revolution, and Portilla agreed to disband his forces, thus ending his political party.²²

By this settlement Alvarado was left temporarily secure in his position as ad interim governor; but Vallejo no longer had any foundation for his office or authority. The post of commandant general now belonged to the senior officer in active service in the territory, by military regulations. This was Captain Pablo de la Portilla, the leader of the San Diego party. On July 13, 1837, soon after taking the oath, Alvarado wrote to Vallejo in regard to the military command, as Portilla had already asked the Governor about it. Alvarado, trying to be diplomatic about the matter, said:

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

Continuing, Alvarado suggested that they might do well to send Castellero as commissioner to Mexico, where his brother's influence might help them to save their jobs.²³

A few days later, July 17, Alvarado again wrote to Vallejo:

I have said nothing concerning the military command because I have not wished the question taken up by the legislature. Portilla and Zamorano desire the post, so it is time that you, acting in that capacity, should issue the necessary invitation to Noriega. He has turned into a friend against our enemies, and according to what he told me yesterday, he has no confidence in a single officer other than you. Your proclaiming of Noriega, who is on our side, without any reservations on your part, will leave Portilla and Zamorano fooled. . . .²⁴

Vallejo did not take kindly to these suggestions that he should relinquish his office. He delayed his decision as long as he could. Meanwhile, Portilla waited and wrote to Alvarado to find out what was being done about the military command. Finally on August 1, 1837, Vallejo wrote directly to Portilla giving an account of how he had received the command. Now that the circumstances had altered, he proposed that all the officers should assemble at a conference in Monterey on August 30, 1837, where they would decide which officer was to become commandant general. If Portilla was unable to be present he was to notify him in writing, naming his choice for the post. To this proposal Portilla replied immediately that there was no need for a conference, because the military regulations were very explicit. The law stated that the command should be vested in the senior officer in the territory. In this case it was Captain Portilla.²⁵ The controversy ended at this point, because most of the officers refused to attend the conference, and Vallejo would not relinquish the office unless they assembled and voted, in the hope that they would select him. The meeting was not held, and Vallejo continued to serve as commandant general.

Meanwhile, on August 25, 1837, Captain Castellero sailed for Mexico as Alvarado's commissioner, to induce the Government to recognize Alvarado and Vallejo in their respective offices. When he arrived there, he found that the Mexican Government, on June 6, 1837, had appointed Don Carlos A. Carrillo as governor of California. Nevertheless he continued his efforts on behalf of Alvarado's party. In a report to the Government on conditions in California, he gave a character sketch of each of the leading Californians. Writing of Vallejo he said:

Don Guadalupe Vallejo, lieutenant of the company of the northern Frontier, who was the commandant general of the revolutionists, is active, of stern mien, and maintains the troops in rigorous discipline; he is an enemy of popular government, and has his influence only in the northern part of California where he has always lived. A military decoration might be sufficient to keep him in favor of the Government.²⁶

In Sonoma in August, Vallejo finding that the other officers did not want him as commander, threatened to resign, basing his action on the ground that he did not care to swear allegiance to the centralist constitution of Mexico. "Such oaths," said he, "have become bywords in the whole country." With his example before them, the San Francisco company, officers and men, refused to take the oath when ordered to do so by Alvarado. They protested to Vallejo that they had once sworn to die in defense of federalism, and asked to be discharged from the service rather than change their political faith. There the matter seems to have rested, but perhaps they were induced to take the oath before the end of the year.²⁷

About October 20, 1837, the unexpected news reached Los Angeles that Don Carlos Carrillo had been appointed governor of California. Great was the consternation of Alvarado and Vallejo on receiving the report, for it placed them in a very uncomfortable position. At the end of October, Don

Carlos addressed friendly, modest letters to Vallejo and Alvarado, announcing his appointment and expressing his hope for the aid of his good friends, but making no formal demand for the transfer of the offices. On October 31, Governor Alvarado issued a proclamation making known the unofficial news received, stating that he would surrender the office to Carrillo as soon as he received official confirmation. Vallejo remained silent, but both were playing for time and hoping that Castillero might yet save the day for them in Mexico.²⁸

November, 1837, passed. There was still no official news from Mexico, and no move was made on the part of either Vallejo or Alvarado to leave office. Don Carlos began to grow impatient and wax indignant at the long delay. But Vallejo at Sonoma and Alvarado at Santa Barbara maintained a discreet silence. Finally Don Carlos could wait no longer. On December 6, 1837, at 9:00 A. M., amidst a great celebration which lasted several days, surrounded by city officials and friends, he took the oath of office at Los Angeles. California now had two governors and one commandant general: a situation that could only result in civil war.

During December, Alvarado moved to Monterey, and Carrillo began to write threatening letters to him and to Vallejo, telling what he would do if they failed to give up their offices. On December 25, 1837, when all should have been peace and good will in California, there was nothing but discord and strife. On that day Vallejo wrote to Alvarado, assuring him that his policy of waiting for orders from Mexico was correct, advising him not to be frightened by braggadocio, and stating that were it not for the fact that the *California's* arrival was expected at an early date, he (Vallejo) would not hesitate to march his army south in Alvarado's support. These were brave words, but one may well doubt whether he would have made them good if he had been put to the test. To José Carrillo, brother of Don Carlos, he wrote that his boasting and threats at Santa Barbara had aroused not fear but indignation. He rebuked Don José for his action and advised prudence, saying that the southerners should wait until the *California* arrived with dispatches; then the commands would be legally and gladly surrendered. He adopted a milder tone in his letter to Don Carlos, appealing to his good sense and patriotism and begging him not to plunge the country into unnecessary civil war by ignoring the rights of Alvarado, who he had himself aided to put in power. Alvarado could not yield at the moment, neither could Don Carlos hope to succeed without northern support. Why not then assure himself of that support by showing a conciliatory spirit and consent to a slight delay, or to a conference.²⁹

Vallejo's friendly efforts brought no peace, but instead they occasioned a torrent of words from the southerners, that had they been water would have inundated all of California to the mountain tops. During all of January, 1838, Vallejo busied himself at Sonoma with his personal affairs and

Indian troubles, while the political controversy between the Alvarado and Carrillo parties waxed hotter and hotter, and the rift between them grew wider and wider. By early March, the two factions were ready to come to blows, Alvarado holding the territory from Santa Barbara north, and Carrillo the country south of San Buenaventura, with a neutral strip some twenty miles wide between them. With the events of the civil war we have no concern, except as they affected Vallejo's movements, so we shall pass them by unnoticed.

During the middle of January, Alvarado submitted a plan to Vallejo, which Castro had evolved, for a sudden attack on Los Angeles and the capture of Don Carlos and twenty others, who would be sent to Sonoma as prisoners. Don Guadalupe at once disapproved of such a proposal. No doubt he considered that he would have to keep the prisoners at his own expense.³⁰

Another matter which kept the General close to Sonoma during January and February, 1838, was the expectancy of the birth of another child. Finally on February 12, 1838, a baby girl was welcomed into the family. This was Natalia, the fifth child to gladden the hearts of her parents and numerous relatives.

While February passed peacefully at Sonoma, Vallejo was unworried by political activities in the south or serious Indian troubles on the frontier. Mission affairs, at this time under Pablo Ayala, were also running smoothly, and only the frequent, obnoxious letters from the Carrillos annoyed the Commandant General. Then in the midst of all this calm, late in March, came a flurry of excitement, when a request for aid arrived from Alvarado at Santa Clara. The Carrillos had sent Captain Juan Castañeda with about one hundred and fifty men to attack Santa Barbara. Alvarado rushed José Castro with fifteen soldiers to reinforce Villa's garrison there, and called on Vallejo for aid. The General sent Captain Salvador Vallejo with all available men to join the Governor, who was already on the way south to support Castro. On March 24, 1838, Vallejo sent orders to other northern commanders to prepare their troops for a campaign. Don Guadalupe, however, remained at Sonoma bewailing the fact that, though he was anxious to lead the campaign in person, an injury to his leg prevented him from going.³¹

Throughout March and April he nursed his leg and attended to his personal affairs in Sonoma, while the war raged in all its wordy fury in southern California. At the end of April, he received a dispatch from Alvarado at Las Flores, sent on April 23. The Governor reported that after three days of siege, Don Carlos had finally signed a treaty, and that: "Pending the arrangements stated in Art. 5, Lieutenant M. G. Vallejo will be recognized as Commandant General of Alta California."³²

After the signing of the treaty, Alvarado returned to Santa Barbara and

sent his troops north. But no sooner was that done, than the Carrillos, aided by Pio Pico and Juan Bandini, began to plot to overthrow the Governor. He in turn decided to nip the conspiracy in the bud. He sent Captain Villa with twenty-five men to Los Angeles on May 20, to arrest the plotters. Two days later, Carlos and José Carrillo, Pio Pico, Gil Ibarra, Narciso Botello, Ignacio Palomares, José Maria Ramirez, Andrés Pico, Ignacio del Valle, and Roberto Pardo were at Santa Barbara as prisoners. Alvarado released Don Carlos Carrillo on parole, and Pio Pico was put in jail at Santa Barbara because he was ill, but the other eight were sent to Sonoma on May 22. They arrived on June 3, and until the end of September Vallejo had to entertain a group of unwelcome guests at his own expense.³³

Toward the end of May, 1838, an epidemic of smallpox broke out among the Indians around Sonoma. It is said that the disease was brought from Fort Ross by Corporal Ignacio Miramontes. During May and June, Vallejo notified all authorities south of the Bay to take preventive measures. Thousands of the Indians of the northern frontier and a number of white people died from the plague during the following two years. Several of the political prisoners were also stricken, but recovered. Fortunately the disease did not spread south of the Bay.

Other troubles also faced Don Guadalupe during the spring and summer of 1838. Two of these were the practice of horse stealing and that of burning grain fields, indulged in by various Indian tribes in spite of the smallpox epidemic. Every year expeditions had to be sent out to punish the thieves and firebugs. In March, 1838, a party of allied Indians made an expedition against the Moquelumnes who had stolen horses and were noted for their grain burning. The Sonoma party recovered some of the horses, but that did not stop the practice. In August of that year, a party of fifty horse thieves from the Moquelumnes again crossed the Sacramento River and appeared at Vallejo's Soscol rancho with a band of tame horses. Their aim was to stampede the horses at Sonoma. Vallejo sent a party of soldiers and allied Indians to attack them. During the battle, thirty-five of the thieves were killed and the rest surrendered. The chief of the robbers, named Cumuchí, was tried at Sonoma for his crimes and executed.³⁴ In spite of the severest punishment, the tribes of the Sacramento Valley, who had a special liking for horse-meat, continued to steal horses throughout the last years of Mexican rule.

Vallejo was faced with still another problem: the Indian slave trade. During the summer of 1838, certain of the Indian tribes complained to the General that numbers of their children were being taken and sold south of the Bay. On investigation, it was found that Chief Solano was one of the traders. An example had to be made of Solano, but the question was whether that would cause a general uprising of the Indians. After much deliberation, Vallejo armed all the white men, an extra supply of powder was brought

from Fort Ross, and the barracks were stocked with food. When all preparations were completed, on October 6, Vallejo ordered Solano arrested and issued a printed circular stating his reasons. Solano was brought before a military court and accused of his crime and then locked in the guardhouse. Soon Sonoma was filled with sullen Indians demanding Solano's release. Vallejo stood firm and ordered his men to fire on any one who started trouble. He took Solano into his office and pointed out to him the enormity of his crime. Solano was soon convinced that he had done his people and Vallejo a great wrong, and was willing to make amends. He went before his tribesmen and confessed his guilt, then he disclosed the names of his confederates and the persons to whom the children were sold. Later, when all the children were restored to their homes, Solano was freed, and the guilty traders were punished.³⁵

During this troublous summer of 1838, Vallejo found time to hold long interviews with his prisoners from the south, the results of which gave Governor Alvarado great concern. Vallejo gave ear to the persuasive and convincing eloquence of Don José A. Carrillo and came to believe in the genuineness of Don Carlos' appointment. In letters to Alvarado of August 10-11, 1838, he urged the Governor to recognize Don Carlos, or at least to hold a convention at Santa Clara, where such recognition might be discussed. Of his own failure and unwillingness to give up his command he said nothing. But he pointed out to Alvarado that sooner or later he would have to yield his office, since Carrillo's title was valid; and since there was no hope that sectional troubles would end, it was best to yield while they were at the full tide of success. This would be flattering to their pride, make a good impression in Mexico, and avoid dissensions in California. Another more practical advantage to be gained was that it would enable Alvarado and his followers to control public affairs for a time, since Don Carlos would establish his government in the north, and thus would remain in their power until the matter was finally settled.³⁶

Don José Carrillo had promised also that the presidial companies would be reorganized. It was this that convinced the General. Alvarado, however, would not listen to such an ignominious surrender, especially since he had had very recent experience with the undependability of promises made by the Carrillos. He thereupon sent Vallejo a flat refusal, and chided him for his disaffection, which was doing the country much harm. Several days later, on August 13, the *Catalina* arrived in Monterey with letters from Castellero, stating that his mission had been successful and that Alvarado and his party had nothing to fear. There was now no further thought of giving up the offices to Carrillo before Castellero's return, and the Santa Clara convention was forgotten. On August 17, and 19, respectively, Vallejo and Alvarado issued announcements of the good news received from

Mexico.³⁷ Suddenly, on September 1, for some unknown reason, Vallejo issued a printed circular asking to be relieved of the military command, so that he might attend to his private affairs and those of the town of Sonoma. No attention was paid to his request. But a few days later the political prisoners were released, and on their way south they spread the report that Vallejo was in sympathy with the Carrillos. The General at once issued a denial, stating that his views had not changed, and that he would resign sooner than be false to his friends.³⁸

Still another matter which had taken some of Vallejo's time was the question of the custom-house. In August, 1837, he had written to Alvarado concerning commercial reforms. He proposed a plan to exclude all foreign vessels from the coasting trade, and to transfer the custom-house from Monterey to San Francisco Bay. He argued that in that way California traders could own their own coasting vessels and stop smuggling, thus increasing the Government's revenues. He advocated the transfer of the custom-house because of the natural advantages of the northern harbor, the number of wealthy establishments adjacent to it, and because it would help to build up the northern frontier. Vallejo's views were sound, even though they were colored by his own interests in increasing the value of his Sonoma properties. But naturally the plan did not meet with favor at Monterey, and the Governor vetoed it. Vallejo brought up the matter during the following year, but since he received no encouragement, it was dropped.³⁹

With the arrival of the news from Mexico that Castillero had been successful and was on the way back to California with important documents, the territory became peaceful once more. The Carrillos and other southerners ceased to conspire for the time being, while Alvarado and Vallejo sat down to wait for whatever the future might bring them.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

THE LONG expected arrival of the *California* with Commissioner Castillero aboard finally materialized. The schooner anchored at Santa Barbara on November 15, 1838. Captain Castillero, in ill health, landed and sent messages at once to Alvarado at Los Angeles and Vallejo at Sonoma, stating that he had documents confirming them in their positions, and requesting a personal conference at their earliest convenience.

The documents which most concerned Alvarado were a decree of amnesty for all political acts and opinions in the past and an order to Carrillo stating that the senior member of the Territorial Legislature (that is Alvarado) was to act as provisional governor. There were a number of documents which concerned Vallejo. The first was a commission as captain of the San Francisco presidial company. The second was the appointment of the new

captain as commandant general, in consideration for his distinguished services. Finally there were personal letters for both Alvarado and Vallejo from President Bustamante, in which he expressed his high esteem for them and confidence in their patriotism and ability to conduct the affairs of California in the future.¹ Don Andrés Castillero had indeed served his masters well. Disloyalty to the Mexican Government certainly had been highly rewarded. In the eyes of southern Californians it was the basest kind of ingratitude for the Government to reward rebels while loyal southerners received not even thanks.

As soon as Vallejo and Alvarado received their official confirmations they announced the good tidings to the people in printed proclamations. At the same time they wrote private letters to each other and to their friends congratulating themselves on the happy outcome of their revolution.² The remainder of the year passed quietly except that the Carrillos went to San Diego and there began to plot to get rid of Alvarado and Vallejo. When rumors of this reached the Governor, he sent Colonel Castro with twenty-five men post-haste southward to arrest the conspirators. Castro reached San Diego on Christmas Eve. The plotters were in the midst of their revels, making merry with wine and song at the home of Don Juan Bandini, on the east side of the old plaza. At midnight, the party was surprised to find Castro's men surrounding the place. Don José and Carlos Carrillo, Andrés and Pio Pico, Joaquin Ortega, and others were arrested, and the following day Castro set out for Santa Barbara, where he arrived in triumph about January 1, 1839.³

At the beginning of the year 1839, a great change came over Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Heretofore, although holding the office of commander-in-chief, for the previous two years, he had taken no active part in the campaigns of the revolution, and but a small part in the actual administration and exercise of the authority of his office. In character he was of a haughty, aristocratic disposition, and as a military officer he was reserved and a strict disciplinarian who was wont to assume a dictatorial attitude whenever the opportunity presented itself. Yet during the years from 1836 to 1838, he had been mild and unassuming. That perhaps may have been because he owed his appointment to his friends Alvarado and Castro and therefore did not wish to take any steps that might offend them or interfere with their actions. But now that he had a mandate from the Mexican Government as commander-in-chief of California's military forces and a commission as captain in the regular army, he was no longer beholden to his boyhood companions. Instantly his manner changed. He became the austere, dominating, dictatorial officer, who brooked no opposition and assumed full control of his office.

Don Guadalupe was just thirty and a half years old. And like many

young men who are suddenly elevated to positions of great responsibility and importance, the power and authority of office went to his head. Soon he became arbitrary, conceited, overbearing, and very unpopular; which did not enhance his reputation as an officer and a gentleman.

As 1839 opened, the Commandant General, armed with his new authority, condescended to leave the seat of his baronial holdings in the north and descended to Santa Barbara, there to assume his share of the post-revolution burdens of state. The first public business after his arrival was the exchange of congratulations with the Governor. The next matter to demand the General's attention was that of disposing of the San Diego revolutionists captured by Castro. When they arrived, Alvarado allowed Don Carlos Carrillo the freedom of the town under parole. The other prisoners, Don José Carrillo, the two Picos, Covarrubias, Joaquin Ortega, and others were turned over to Vallejo, that he might take whatever action he saw fit. The General felt that these conspirators should be made to confess their evil intentions. The prisoners, however, refused to incriminate themselves or to be intimidated, and the Commandant sat himself down to think. Soon a bright idea struck him. He would send all of them out to sea, and there a good dose of the terrors of seasickness might loosen their tongues, and true repentance might enter their souls. He gave orders to place the prisoners aboard vessels lying at anchor in the roadstead. The captains were instructed to cruise up and down the coast and to allow no communication between the prisoners or with persons on shore. José Antonio Carrillo was confined alone aboard the *Leonidas*; the others were placed in the care of Captain Robbins on the schooner *California*. After a sea trip which lasted four or five days, the prisoners on the *California*, not being good sailors, were ready to beg for mercy. They were landed and released on January 19. Don José, who had made several trips to Mexico by water, was not so easily cowed. When he was returned to land, he aroused Vallejo's wrath by publicly stating that his solitary confinement was due to fear that he would implicate the General himself in his plots against the Government. Having set off that blast, back to the ship's brig he went, to brood over his statements for many more days in solitude. Finally he was released.⁴

With the problem of the prisoners settled, the General began to feel the thrill of power. He turned his energies toward matters which did not coincide with his ideas of military discipline. At Sonoma, among the soldiers and Indians paid from his own pocket, Vallejo had been wont to put on the airs of a tyrant and to enforce the strictest discipline. At Santa Barbara conditions were different. Most of the army was composed of volunteer officers and men, who received little or no pay for their services. Governor Alvarado and Colonel Castro never had been soldiers. They knew little of military discipline and had not attempted to enforce what little they knew.

There was a spirit of intimacy between these leaders, their officers, and the men, in which they called each other by their first names. Captain Vallejo proposed to change all that. Alvarado had no objection to the experiment, but had doubts that it would succeed in an army whose members were not regularly paid. The new regulations were put into effect at once. Within a few days the guard-house was crowded with soldiers guilty of all kinds of infractions. With nearly every officer in the post under arrest, there was scarcely anyone left to carry out orders. One day an officer and a civilian in private conversation ventured to criticise the acts of the Commandant. Their remarks reached his ears. The officer was arrested and legal action was brought against the citizen. Even Colonel Castro was placed under arrest, because he had not arrested the others. When practically no one was left to carry on the military work, Vallejo ordered old Captain José de la Guerra, who had been retired for years, to take command of the post. Don José declined on the grounds of age and ill health. Thereupon, the arbitrary Don Guadalupe ordered the former officer under arrest, informing him that it was his duty simply to obey orders. Such highhanded procedure was ill-advised, to say the least, for De la Guerra had been the ranking officer in California before Vallejo was born, and had given most of his life to the service of the territory. At his age, to be treated thus by a conceited young officer, whom luck had suddenly thrust into a position of power, was the height of indignity. Don José's family appealed to Captain Castellero, who had literally gotten Vallejo his job, and asked him to see the General about releasing the old man. The Captain promptly undertook the mission, but the General snubbed him for his pains.

The climax of Vallejo's preposterous course was reached soon after.⁵ Naturally such a situation could not continue. When everybody was under arrest, except the Governor and himself, Vallejo suddenly realized that he was making an ass of himself. He was forced to relent and set every one free. This event was signalized by a grand party held at Captain de la Guerra's house, where all shook hands, made peace, and received the General's capitulation. He had to admit that in an army of unpaid relatives and friends, rigid Spanish discipline could not be maintained.⁶

After failing in his attempt to bend every one to his will, the General turned his attention to restoring the old presidial companies to full strength. He believed that the country's permanent safety and prosperity depended on it. All the companies, except that of San Francisco which he kept at Sonoma at his expense, had ceased to exist by this time. Governor Alvarado was not enthusiastic about the scheme. He knew that he could barely get enough money to support the few men already under arms; nevertheless, he ordered the municipalities to help the General in his efforts to recruit men. Vallejo also wrote to the Minister of War urging his reorganization

plan and asking for money, arms, and chaplains, but only received authority to reorganize the companies and to retain the civil militia in the service. There was no immediate need of it, however, and since there was no money with which to pay the troops, the men were allowed to go home. Realizing that he could accomplish little else in Santa Barbara, Vallejo returned north early in March and established his headquarters at Sonoma.⁷

From there he continued to urge his military reorganization plan. Furthermore, he laid special emphasis on securing the northern frontier from foreign aggression. On May 10, 1839, he wrote several letters to the Minister of War, in which he described his past efforts and success in colonizing the region north of the Bay. In one of these he said that the San Francisco company was reduced to a third of its former strength, and that he paid most of its expenses out of his own pocket. In a second letter he told how he had founded the town in order to stop the advances of the Russians, English, and Americans who wished to possess themselves of the country, and that after many trials and the overcoming of innumerable obstacles, he had finally accomplished the task entrusted to him. Twenty-five families were already settled at Sonoma, he stated, and many more were about to come. He also told of his plan for new posts near those of the Russians, and for the establishment of a ranch three leagues from the Port of Bodega, adding: "I can assure Your Excellency that in a few years, if the Supreme Government extends its protecting hand over this precious part of the Department, the Russians and Americans will no longer have aims of possessing themselves of the frontier with impunity."

In closing he pointed out that the settlers suffered many privations, and that they all turned to him as the founder, to satisfy all their needs, which, as far as he was able, he had supplied out of his personal resources. It was because his means were being drained very rapidly that he was forced to appeal to the President for aid. He therefore begged the Minister to place the matter before the President, and also requested that vessels touching at Sonoma should be granted the privilege of trading duty free for ten years. This would give a new impulse to the town which, he had no doubt, soon would be the protector of all the Department.⁸

In a third letter he stressed the great obstacles he encountered in trying to reorganize the presidial companies, because of lack of officers and especially of captains. In order to put the companies in the best possible order, he recommended that Ensign Don Ignacio del Valle, of the Monterey Company, be made lieutenant of the Santa Barbara company. As first ensign of the Santa Barbara company he named Second Ensign Don Roberto Pardo of the same company, and as second ensign in the same, he promoted Sergeant José Lugo.

In a personal letter to President Bustamante of May 10, he told of his

efforts to reorganize the companies. He pointed out that San Francisco Bay and the northern frontier were of utmost importance to the nation. It was absolutely necessary to omit no measures to protect them. Since all the foreign nations had designs on them, he was establishing posts close to Fort Ross, a Russian post, with whose Governor he was on the best of terms. He had the savages well in hand, but it was necessary to be distrustful of them and to have a respectable force ready at all times to inspire them with fear.

The military reorganization was prevented largely because the General found it difficult to obtain recruits for the regular companies. A few men enlisted, but they were of a vagabond class whom the municipal authorities were glad to get rid of and whom Vallejo did not want as soldiers. Furthermore, difficulties between the Governor and the General began when the former discharged militia officers without the Commandant's consent, and also interfered in other military matters. The chief bone of contention, however, was the matter of finances. There was a quarrel over the distribution of revenues, for the army believed it was not getting its share. Moreover, in the opinion of its officers, each company believed it was being defrauded. Finally, the people in the south and at Sonoma accused the politicians at Monterey of spending the public monies almost exclusively for the benefit of local interests and personal friends.⁹

Rumors had been started by Vallejo's enemies that he was misappropriating army funds. In an effort to refute these accusations, he wrote to Captain José de la Guerra at Santa Barbara on May 25, 1839, giving a detailed report of the use he had made of 10,000 pesos which he had received as the army's share of customs duties: The San Francisco company with 60 men had received 2,000 pesos; Monterey, with 30 men, 1,500 pesos; Santa Barbara, with only 15 men, 1,000 pesos, and San Diego, 500 pesos. The staff and unattached officers had been paid 1,000 pesos; 1,300 pesos had gone for war material; a medicine chest had cost 250 pesos; the Santa Barbara artillery had been given 200 pesos; while the Captain of the Port and other officers at San Francisco had received 350 pesos. To Ensign Ignacio del Valle he had paid 100 pesos. The remaining 1,800 pesos had been used in small sums for the relief of retired soldiers.¹⁰

Amidst all the trouble and worry about accusations and plots, one cheerful note entered Vallejo's life during the summer of 1839. The almost yearly event was about to take place. The General was anxiously hoping that it would be a boy. The last three children had been girls and it was only right that the one to come should be a boy. He now gave himself up to the task of choosing a name, should the baby be a man child. Back to his ancient history he went and, after much thoughtful consideration, again decided on a classical name. June 10, 1839, dawned, and with it came the birth of the much-wished-for boy. Don Guadalupe gave his new son the name of Plutarco,

after the great Greek philosopher, scholar, and writer. The General was very fond of classical names and bestowed them on his sons, no doubt with the hope that they might thus be endowed with the same attributes of mind and character as the great men whose names they bore.

During this summer rumors spread throughout the north that plots were brewing in the south, and that a hostile expedition was approaching from Sonora. Much alarm was felt or feigned at Monterey, and Alvarado as well as others wrote to Vallejo asking him to send troops to quell the revolts and repel the invasion. Don Guadalupe did not seem to share in the alarm and refused to furnish the Governor with troops, until he had definite information. He wrote that his troops would always be ready to support the law but not its abuse. Naturally, this refusal did not strengthen the friendship between the Governor and the General.¹¹

On September 15, 1839, while the controversy was still raging, the schooner *California* arrived at Santa Barbara from Mexico. During the spring it had taken Captain Castellero to Mexico as the newly elected congressman from California. No sooner had he arrived at the capital, than he became active on behalf of his two friends, Alvarado and Vallejo. When the vessel returned it brought dispatches dated August 6 and 7, containing good news for the California leaders. For Alvarado it brought the announcement of his appointment as proprietary governor. To Don Guadalupe it brought a promotion from the rank of captain to that of colonel of the defenders of the Fatherland. The Minister of War wrote approving all of Vallejo's measures on the frontier, and the military reorganization, and sent commissions for several officers, promising additional aid in the future, which, however, never arrived. From President Bustamante, the General received a personal letter congratulating him on his efforts and thanking him for his services. All of these documents were duly announced to the public several days later.¹²

While these political events were taking place in 1839, mission and pueblo affairs at Sonoma were still causing trouble. Since the summer of 1837, when Ortega was removed as administrator of the Mission, Pablo Ayala had held this post. Then on May 7, 1839, Alvarado appointed Salvador Vallejo as administrator of Mission Sonoma. But for some unknown reason he was not placed in possession of the properties, and he was still unable to assume the office in September. When William Hartnell, the mission inspector, arrived at Sonoma on his first tour, Don Salvador presented his case and then resigned his office. General Vallejo was consulted, but he seemed to be opposed to letting Salvador take charge of the Mission. Because all the property had been distributed to the Indians, he wanted Hartnell to take possession and administer what was left of the Mission. Hartnell, however, refused to do so when he saw the condition of the estate and the muddle in

which he found the accounts. Ayala was left to manage the little that was left of the Mission under Vallejo's direction.¹³

In so far as the town and post of Sonoma were concerned, Salvador Vallejo was commander of the troops throughout the year 1839. Ensign Prado Mesa and Ensign Lázaro Piña acted as commanders in his absence. Don Salvador was also captain of the infantry company organized the year before. This organization was composed of twenty-five selected Indians, who had been given Spanish names. They were armed with muskets, and their pay amounted to 4,400 pesos a year. The cavalry company was recruited to the strength of forty men during 1839. At that time both Colonel and Captain Vallejo wrote to Mexico urging that it was necessary to increase the company. They also complained that the authorities at Monterey neglected to supply the necessary money. According to the General, his armament at Sonoma consisted of ten guns, nine of them of brass ranging in caliber from 2½- to 8-pounders and that six of these, with all their appurtenances, had been bought by him from his own income.¹⁴

During January, 1839, Salvador Vallejo was appointed justice of the peace at Sonoma, but did not take the oath of office until May. Meanwhile during February and March the townspeople refused to vote at an election, on the plea that they were subject only to military authority. At this time Don Salvador was serving also as alcalde. Then in June his brother ordered him not to serve as justice, even though he already had taken the oath. Don Guadalupe claimed that Governor Alvarado had no power to appoint a military officer to a civil position. Of course Vallejo was not consistent, but this was only another manifestation of the quarrel then beginning between the General and the Governor.¹⁵

Another matter that took the General's attention during the year 1838-39, was a project of founding a new line of four or five frontier missions to the east and north of Sonoma. The first one which he particularly wanted to found was to be at Santa Rosa. Vallejo wrote to the Zacatecan friars who were in charge of the nine northern missions asking them to undertake the task. On March 19, 1839, Father Quijas replied, stating that he would be willing to undertake the founding of a mission at Santa Rosa if Father Prefect Gonzalez would consent. It seems strange that a man who was such an outspoken opponent of the missionaries, their methods, and institutions should have appealed to them for aid in such an undertaking. But no doubt by that time Don Guadalupe realized that it was the most effective and cheapest method of civilizing the savage Indians. He had tried to do it by means of fire and sword for five years, to a great extent at his own expense, and found the cost too great. Father Quijas, though he had very little love for Vallejo, nevertheless was willing to lay aside all personal differences and once more enter the wilderness in search of a harvest of pagan souls. Un-

fortunately, by this time there were not enough missionaries left to care for the existing missions and towns, and none could be had in Mexico, so Father Gonzalez had to withhold his consent for the undertaking. Seeing that he could get no action from that quarter, Vallejo on May 14, 1839, appealed to Governor Alvarado for aid in carrying on the project. He urged upon the Governor the importance of a mission at Santa Rosa, as a means of civilizing the northern Indians and opening the upper Russian River Valley and Clear Lake country to settlers at small expense. The Governor, who was not very warm in support of any measure that Vallejo might suggest, turned a deaf ear to his appeals. Thus a splendid opportunity to carry on the extension of civilizing influences to the northern savages was lost in the confusion of opposing interests which followed the outbreak of the quarrel between the two Californian leaders. Years later in his history, Vallejo wrote a general account about a project to found a line of missions in the San Joaquin Valley. But to what extent it had aroused official interest does not appear.¹⁶

For the remainder of the year General Vallejo was at Sonoma engaged in the affairs and controversies which will be taken up in later chapters. Don Salvador continued to serve as commander of the post, and from November, 1839, for several subsequent months was engaged in campaigns against horse thieves and marauding bands of savages. It was during the latter half of 1839 that Sonoma was visited by Johann August Sutter, who was later to play so large a part in the development of the northern frontier. But the question of greatest moment for Vallejo for the next two years was his quarrel with Alvarado.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 161-63.
2. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 262. A full translation of this letter is found in *Cal. Hist. Soc., Quarterly*, XV, No. 4, Dec., 1936, 341-42.
3. Cal. Legis., proclamation to people, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XXXII, 41. A full translation is given in H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 470-71.
4. M. G. Vallejo, proclamation, Monterey, Nov. 29, 1836; the full text is translated in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 473.
5. J. Castro, *Decreto de la Diputacion*, No. 2, Monterey, Nov. 29, 1836, in *Legajo 52-6-9-2*, MS, *Arch. Gen. de Guerra y Marina*, Mexico. The commission is found in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 11.
6. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 474-77.
7. Solano the Second was Chief Solano's younger brother. Both had been christened Francisco Solano upon their conversion to Christianity, and the younger had been given the designation of II. The latter was also a chief of the Suisuns and commanded the tribe whenever his brother was absent, and often went with Salvador Vallejo on his campaigns, in command of the Indian allies. In this instance, Chief Solano was absent on another matter, so Vallejo sent the orders to Solano II.
8. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 226-38.
9. See "A Census of California Spanish Imprints, 1833-1845," by George L. Harding,

in California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XII, 133 (also reprinted in pamphlet form). The proclamations by M. G. Vallejo in the Templeton Crocker Collection, California Historical Society, printed on this press, are dated January 7, 1837; January 24, 1837; February 20, 1837; July 20, 1833 [1837]; September 1, 1838; and June 10, 1839.

10. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 125, 133; *ibid.*, IV, 99; Bancroft, *op cit.*, pp. 720-23.

11. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 270-78.

12. *Ibid.*, 243-45; *ibid.*, IV, 52, 55, 57.

13. *Ibid.*, IV, 56-57, 216, 341, 17, 59, 65, 64, 75, 86, 40, 208, 212, 81, 84, are only some of the documents dealing with Vallejo's actions between January and March. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 670.

14. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, IV, 85-89, 92-93, 234, are letters and orders from Vallejo dealing with the affair.

15. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, June 1, Santa Clara, June 6; Vallejo to Alvarado, Sonoma, June 7, 8, 1837, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 242, 243, 102, 246-47.

16. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 282-85; M. G. Vallejo to military commanders, Sonoma, June 25, 1837, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 251, 254-56.

17. *Ibid.*, IV, 266, 264-65, 272, 268, 273, 275, 274, 279, 278, 259, 292, 304, 307, all are letters dealing with the subject.

18. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 292-97.

19. *Ibid.*, 299-304.

20. The treaty provided that the truce should last one year, during which time Vallejo was to deliver eight steers and two cows weekly to Chief Succara; Succara was to furnish two bears large enough to fight bulls, every new moon; Succara was to give his brother and two sons as hostages, who, during good behavior, were to be "treated like Russian officers"; Succara agreed to surrender fugitive Indians of his tribe who committed theft or murder; not more than thirty Satiyomi warriors were to come to Sonoma at a time, but as many as a hundred of their wives might come, provided they carried no concealed weapons; Vallejo was to send no armed expedition into the Satiyomi country without permission from their leaders; the Satiyomis promised to deliver all captive children of the neighboring tribes taken during the past three years; Vallejo was to give Succara a saddle horse with harness; and Chief Succara and General Vallejo pledged mutual responsibility for damages inflicted by their followers upon the other contracting party. *Ibid.*, 299-304.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Full details of this controversy and its settlement are given in "Captain Andres Castillero, Diplomat," by George Tays, in Cal. Hist. Soc., *Quarterly*, XIV, No. 3, Sept., 1935, 230-66.

23. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Santa Barbara, July 12, 1837, *ibid.*, 247-48.

24. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Santa Barbara, July 17, 1837, *ibid.*, 248.

25. M. G. Vallejo to P. Portilla, Sonoma, Aug. 1, 1837, *ibid.*, 250-51.

26. A. Castillero, report to Mex. Gov., Mexico, Oct. 21, 1837, *ibid.*, 255.

27. J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 181-83; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 294, 305.

28. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 535-37.

29. M. G. Vallejo, to J. B. Alvarado, J. Carrillo and C. Carrillo, Sonoma, Dec. 26, 1837, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 368, 367, 365.

30. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Jan. 19, 1838, *ibid.*, V, 22.

31. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, San Juan, March 18, 1838; also M. G. Vallejo to Lts. Sanchez and Martinez, Capt. Vallejo, Sonoma, Mar. 24, 1838, *ibid.*, V, 47, 53-54, 55-58, 60, 62.

32. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Las Flores, April 23, 1838, in *ibid.*, V, 77; also *Tratado de las Flores entre Alvarado y Carrillo*, 23 de Abril, 1838, MS, translated in Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 562.

33. Full details of the civil war are to be found in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 478-578; also George Tays, *Revolutionary California*, MS, 648-745.

34. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 21, 65, 124.
 35. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 329-38; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 194; *ibid.*, XXXII, 156; Dept. St. Pap., Los Angeles, MS, X, 23, all give accounts of the affair.
 36. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, confidential letters, Sonoma, Aug. 10, 11, 1838, MS, Bancroft Library; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 76-79.
 37. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 137, 144, 145, 147, 97, 177.
 38. M. G. Vallejo, announcement of resignation, Sonoma, Sept. 1, 1838, Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 258. Also M. G. Vallejo, proclamation, Sonoma, Sept., 1838, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 287; *ibid.*, V, 213, 260, 229.
 39. M. G. Vallejo, circular, Sonoma, Aug. 17, 1837, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XXXII, 108; Dept. St. Pap. San Jose, MS, V, 107-18; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 342-57, give a discussion of the question.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. A. Castellero to M. G. Vallejo and J. B. Alvarado, Santa Barbara, Nov. 17, 1838, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 251; *ibid.*, XXXII, 168; *ibid.*, V, 110, 225, 268; *ibid.*, MS, I, 12, 13; Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 126, 127; *ibid.*, XI, 109, 110; St. Pap. Miss. and Colon., II, 287; Leg. Rec., MS, III, 92; Mont. Arch., MS, II, 13; are some of the documents bearing on the subject.
 2. M. G. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 245-46, 248, 251, 258, 263-65, 268; Dept. St. Pap. Los Angeles, MS, X, 21-23; Los Angeles Arch., MS, V, 28-29.
 3. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 278; J. M. Estudillo, *Datos de Calif.*, MS, 24-26; Pio Pico, *Historia de California*, MS, 71-76.
 4. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 1, 2; *ibid.*, VI, 13-15, 160; St. Pap. Miss. and Colon., MS, II, 389; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 392-400; Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 50-54, 117-19; Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, 71-76; Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 244.
 5. Vallejo (in his *Hist. Cal.*, III, 392-418) himself gives an account of a visit from Father President Narciso Durán, who had come to plead for Captain José de la Guerra, during which Vallejo exhibited much lack of courtesy and consideration toward the elderly Prelate, whom he heartily disliked.
 6. Vallejo, *ibid.*; Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 59; *ibid.*, IV, 116-19; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VI, 174-79.
 7. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 3; *ibid.*, VI, 33, 165, 175, 183, 217-24, 228, 269, 334-35, 437, 465, 487; *ibid.*, 10, 15; Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 242; San Diego Arch., MS, pp. 219, 221; all deal with the subject.
 8. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, May 10, 1839, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VII, 26-29, 37.
 9. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, May 10, 19, 1839, in *ibid.*, VII, 43, 117, 138, 156, 167, 185, 316; *ibid.*, VIII, 274, 318.
 10. M. G. Vallejo to J. de la Guerra, Sonoma, May 25, 1839, in *ibid.*, VII, 70, 140, 144, 146-47, 310, 313-14, 358, 388, 406; *ibid.*, VIII, 17, 22, 69-70, 86, 133, 137, 233, 252.
 11. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 140-44; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VII, 310, 321; *ibid.*, VIII, 58, 67, 76, 88.
 12. *Ibid.*, I, 14-15; *ibid.*, VIII, 11, 149; Dept. St. Pap. Los Angeles, MS, XI, 12-13; Dept. St. Pap., Monterey, MS, IV, 16-17; Savage, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 308, 310, 312, 314-15; *ibid.*, VIII, 157, 165.
 13. Dept. Rec., MS, X, 10; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VII, 16; *ibid.*, VIII, 85, 89; Pio Pico, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 9; W. E. P. Hartnell, *Diary*, MS, pp. 93-98.
 14. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VI, 218, 344-46; *ibid.*, VII, 26-28, 37; *ibid.*, VIII, 86; *ibid.*, XXV, 63; Soberanes, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, pp. 158-65.
 15. Monterey Arch., MS, IX, 10; Dept. St. Pap., MS, XVII, 57; *ibid.*, Benicia, *Pre-ferences y Juzgados*, MS, III, 26-29; *ibid.*, Monterey, MS, IV, 96; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 398.
 16. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 48; Fernandez, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS, pp. 88-90; Fr. Quijas to M. G. Vallejo, San Rafael, Mar. 19, 1839, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VI, 325; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, May 14, 1839, *ibid.*, VI, 65; Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 255; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 62-70; Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 151-53.

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

and

SONOMA

A Biography and a History

By GEORGE TAYS

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL VERSUS GOVERNOR

VALLEJO and Alvarado had been bosom friends from their infancy, and as they grew to manhood they had shared each other's secrets and had become political allies. But when, as commandant and governor, they found themselves securely in their respective offices, a number of misunderstandings developed which lasted as long as their control of public affairs and which finally brought about their removal from office.

In order to succeed in his revolutionary activities in 1836, Alvarado had been obliged to obtain Vallejo's co-operation and had flattered him by bestowing upon him the commandancy general as a reward. While Vallejo did not take an active part in the revolt, he did give it his cordial and effective support, which saved it from failure. Though he stayed in the north, his moral support aided the campaigns in the south.

While Don Guadalupe did not approve of all of Alvarado's acts during the first two years, he did not obstruct his policies. In the summer of 1838, however, José Carrillo influenced Vallejo to support his brother, Carlos Carrillo, in his claims to the governorship. That hurt Alvarado's feelings, and later embarrassed Vallejo and damaged his reputation. There was no public display of ill feeling between them, but subordinates found it advantageous to stir them up to such a state of mind that a quarrel became inevitable.

Differences between them began early in 1839, when a reorganization of the territorial government was deemed necessary and the enlargement of the military branch seemed all important to Vallejo. He wanted first to enlarge presidial companies and rebuild the forts. His plans were so extensive and costly that Alvarado withdrew his support and soon regarded Vallejo's efforts as attempts to interfere in the affairs of state.

The General wrote to the Governor urging the establishment of a military post at Santa Rosa, but he found that not only was his recommendation disregarded but Alvarado had discharged some officers without his consent, in his effort to reduce expenses.¹ Much incensed, Vallejo wrote to Alvarado on May 19, 1839:



COMMANDER CHARLES WILKES, U.S.N.

Who Visited Vallejo at Sonoma in 1840

From Vol. 1 of *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-42*,
by Charles Wilkes, Philadelphia, 1850. Courtesy of the Society
of California Pioneers.

The Commandancy General, in addressing this official note to Your Excellency, which is proper since you are a colonel in the militia, flatters itself that its high military rank should merit it more consideration, but notices with surprise cold indifference instead. Mr. Governor, it is very gratifying and very flattering to possess power, but nevertheless you should not ignore the physical force which supports you. The military arm has always upheld you with dignity, and without it no government has existed either before or now. All governments have owed their support to its laws and the skill of the leaders in the art of war.²

He followed with further arguments for the reinstatement of his officers, all of which Alvarado ignored.

The Governor was greatly troubled by office-seekers. He also suffered from ill health, and from nervous exhaustion due to excessive drinking, and at such times delegated his authority to his secretary, Manuel Jimeno Casarin, as acting governor. José Castro also took a hand in state matters. Neither Casarin nor Castro was well disposed towards Vallejo. Furthermore, José Ábrego, the treasurer, always favored the civil officials at Monterey in the distribution of funds, rather than Vallejo and his officers. The friction between General and Governor consequently increased. Much correspondence was exchanged, full of charges and recriminations (mostly untrue) in regard to the money spent by both branches of government. Alvarado's southern enemies took advantage of his differences with Vallejo and made his position doubly difficult. Surrounded by these adverse influences, both men found it impossible to obtain an impartial distribution of funds or to conduct a wise administration of the public interests.³

Undoubtedly, Vallejo's motives regarding the welfare of his country were honest. He spent his time and money for the advancement of his military reforms and the development of the frontier. He believed that Alvarado was neglecting his duties, and was deeply hurt by the latter's actions, which seemed to indicate that his aid was no longer needed to crush those opposed to the Governor. The Monterey faction felt that Vallejo should attend to his frontier; that when needed he should willingly assist with his army, but that he should never interfere with the operation of the government.

On August 14, 1839, Alvarado asked Vallejo for troops to quell a disorder in the south. Vallejo refused and wished to know the nature of the danger, pointing out that he would readily support the law, but not its abuse.⁴ Unable to obtain the troops, Jimeno wrote Vallejo that they were no longer needed. The General then attempted a reconciliation with Castro and Jimeno, but met with a cool reception. In August, Vallejo invited Castro to Sonoma for an interview; but Castro refused, suggesting San Juan as a meeting place. Later that same day, fearing that he might be classed as insubordinate, Castro wrote again, saying that he would go to Sonoma as soon as his health permitted.⁵

José de Jesus Vallejo, some time after, wrote the General that Alvarado had refused overtures of conciliation due to Castro's influence. He also reported

many suspicious activities. Prado Mesa likewise wrote, telling of the great discontent in San José over injustices done by the civil government and advising the General that it was time to bring the officials to their senses.⁶

On September 8, Vallejo requested an interview with the acting Governor, either at Santa Clara or San José, to discuss matters of great importance. Jimeno refused on the absurd pretext that he was not allowed to leave the capital without the Mexican President's permission.⁷ In October, José A. Carrillo complained to Vallejo that he was being persecuted by the Monterey officials, and that he would have to sell his properties and leave California, as he was under constant suspicion and his private affairs were not safe.⁸ These complaints convinced Vallejo that he should take action.

At this time, Chief Solano decided to accept an invitation extended to him by Alvarado in 1836, to visit Monterey, and proposed to take a large body of Indians with him. Vallejo, seeing that this visit might frighten the Monterey authorities, enthusiastically gave his permission. Wild rumors spread throughout the territory that Solano would invade the capital with two thousand braves. Vallejo was immediately bombarded with protesting letters from friends as far south as Los Angeles, begging him not to allow the trip, even for the purpose of frightening Alvarado. He thereupon promised to ask Solano not to take over a thousand men,⁹ which, of course, was sheer nonsense, for it was never intended to send even a hundred. In the end, only thirty-one men made up the party which, with Vallejo, called on the Governor.¹⁰

At Monterey, Vallejo had an interview with Jimeno on October 30, 1839, but since no agreement was reached, he resolved to go home to attend to his own affairs, hoping that the Lord might save California from the ruin he foresaw.¹¹

After returning to Sonoma, Vallejo decided to go to Mexico to report California's needs and condition to the President. On December 1, 1839, he had his successor chosen by vote among the officers, but when the time came to relinquish his command, he changed his mind and sent Captain Juan Castañeda to Mexico in his place. Castañeda, after some difficulty in raising funds, finally sailed late in December, 1839. He took with him a letter from Vallejo to Congressman Castillero, asking him to aid his military reforms.¹²

Vallejo had always desired to go to Mexico. He now requested leave from the President, for he was confident that if he did go he could get his plans adopted. Alvarado disapproved of the General's proposed trip. During 1840, their quarrel waxed hotter, and they accused each other of jurisdictional interference. The General wanted full power for the military, while Alvarado claimed that the military should be subordinate to the civil authority. Meanwhile their friends widened the breach by presenting new causes for disagreement, thus stopping all progress in California.

In March, 1840, the Governor wrote to Mexico that California was at peace and that Castañeda's false reports should not be heeded. A month later Vallejo received a severe blow when the President denied his leave on the ground that there was no other competent officer to relieve him on the frontier—a subtle bit of flattery. The President also sent word that Castañeda would soon return with the needed military supplies.¹³

Greatly disappointed, Vallejo vented his wrath on Alvarado by badgering William Hartnell, his mission inspector, who had been appointed on January 19, 1839.¹⁴ Vallejo had taken possession of the properties of Mission San Rafael several years previous, so when Hartnell arrived to inspect them in April, 1840, the General resented it. He thought the Governor was sticking his nose into his private affairs, while Alvarado countered that Vallejo did not want the property distributed.¹⁵ When Hartnell arrived to examine the accounts the Administrator placed every obstacle in his way.¹⁶ On hearing that Hartnell was at San Rafael, Vallejo hurried there, only to find that the Inspector had already left. Wrathfully he pursued the unsuspecting Hartnell to Yerba Buena, where he arrested him and took him back to Sonoma as a warning not to interfere with affairs of the northern frontier.

Don Guadalupe's action was high-handed, reprehensible, and outside of his jurisdiction and legal authority. However, he took the position that as commander and director of colonization, he had full control of Indian affairs north of the Bay. Alvarado refused to accept this argument and protested vigorously, but when Hartnell was released, he dropped the matter. The ill feeling continued, however, and each new incident added fuel to the flames.¹⁷

During 1840, Vallejo accused Treasurer Abrego of distributing the funds unequally between the civil and military departments. He demanded an exact accounting of the money, but denied the Governor the right to audit military expenditures. On the other hand, Abrego took delight in seeing Alvarado interfere with the "Autocrat of Sonoma." The Treasurer demanded that the General should produce his commission as commandant general, or receive only a captain's pay. Vallejo refused, partly to snub Abrego, but mainly because his title was only that of military commander.¹⁸ When Alvarado refused to call on Vallejo when the latter came to Monterey in March, 1840, the General chided him for making a public display of their dissension.¹⁹ Then when Vallejo went home, on April 1, 1840, Alvarado convoked the Legislature in extra session. He reported that "certain men," meaning Vallejo, Pico, and J. A. Carrillo, were plotting to overthrow the government by insurrection. He accused Vallejo of spreading false rumors of disaster; of assembling troops at Sonoma against the government; of refusing to aid the authorities against wild Indians; and of working against him in Mexico in order to secure both offices for himself. To Alvarado, the General must have appeared like a giant, sinister spider, sitting at the center of a great web in Sonoma,

from whence its radial lines reached out in all directions and upon which he ran out from time to time to capture some insect in the form of a civil officer.²⁰

Alvarado asked for authority to spend money for arms to defend the country, and since the legislators present were Alvarado's friends, they gave him full power to deal with Vallejo, "who was only military commander," should he persist in neglecting his duties with sinister intentions.²⁰ In spite of this, Alvarado's only action was to form a company of militia and assemble some arms at Monterey. Vallejo made no reply to the Governor's charges, but continued to complain about affairs until September, 1840. To his brother, José de Jesus Vallejo, he wrote that he would never forgive those who were causing the approaching catastrophe; he hoped to die because his efforts were so fruitless, but wished that the crisis would come soon so that the officials who thought they could save the country, might be taught a lesson. Though bitter at being continually slighted, he proposed to remain at his post until his resignation was accepted. In April he wrote to Mexico that because his authority was no longer respected he submitted his resignation. Until September, however, he continued to quarrel with Alvarado over law enforcement.²¹

While the General and Governor were quarreling in 1840, another problem rose to confront them. The Governor had used Isaac Graham and his men in the revolution of 1836, but recently they had so annoyed him by their familiarity that he sought to get rid of them. Early in the year, he heard that Graham and his foreigners were planning to make a second Texas out of California. This was just the opportunity for which the Governor had been looking.²²

The plot was discovered April 4, 1840; the Legislature was convened; and on the 5th, Alvarado notified Vallejo and asked him for aid.²³ Castro was ordered to arrest all foreigners from San Francisco to Monterey. Vallejo co-operated fully: issued orders, forwarded arms, watched the trappers on the Sacramento, and placed the bark *Joven Guipuzcoana* at the Government's service to take the prisoners to Mexico. On his way down to Monterey he arrested a number of foreigners at Yerba Buena, among them William Heath Davis, Nathan Spear, John Marsh, and William Shea. They were released, however, several days later.²⁴ At Monterey, Vallejo took charge of deporting the prisoners, but when they were safely at sea, he returned to Sonoma and renewed his feud with the Governor.

On January 1, 1840, Vallejo wrote to Mexico that the civil government was in unskilled hands and that attempts were being made to destroy the military branch. To offset this, he recommended reorganization of presidial companies, a more just distribution of funds, and the establishment of a postal system, because public and private mail was being tampered with at Monterey.²⁵ He advised President Bustamante that he no longer had influence with Alvarado, who did nothing but increase expenses. He asked that a commission be sent

to California to study its needs and requested permission to visit Mexico to make a personal report, recommending aged Captain Don José de la Guerra as the only officer competent to take his place during his absence.²⁶

Vallejo's opponents angrily accused him of trying to humiliate them so that he might become Governor, and charged that he was allying himself with foreigners.²⁷ Captain Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., confirmed these views when he wrote: "Zonoma is to be the capital of this country, provided the general has power and lives long enough to build it up. An idea has got abroad that he is looking to the gubernatorial chair, and to be placed there by the same force that has raised Alvarado and himself to the posts they now occupy."²⁸ In January, 1841, Vallejo wrote to Henry Virmond that his enemies believed that he was attempting to seize the governorship, and might succeed, but he had no such desires.²⁹

It was at this time that he began to foresee that California might not long remain under Mexican rule. He saw in the increasing immigration that another Texas episode was in the making and continually warned his government of the imminence of the danger and of the only means to avert it. He believed it best that the change should not find any of his family in control of the territory. That, at least, would save the family name from disgrace.

During the summer of 1841, Vallejo tried a reconciliation with Alvarado. He wrote, regretting their estrangement because "no men were ever united by so many ties from infancy to manhood" as they, and stating that he hoped to resign and thereby remove all grounds for rivalry. José de Jesus Vallejo also tried to bring them together but failed. Invitations were then exchanged between the General and Alvarado, for the latter to visit Sonoma and for the former to meet him at Santa Clara, but each had some excuse and nothing came of these negotiations.³⁰

On July 19, 1841, the *Bolina* arrived in Monterey from Mexico, bringing reports that a new commandant general had been appointed who was bringing an army of five hundred men to California, and Alvarado passed on these rumors to Vallejo.³¹

During October, Vallejo received despatches, dated in April, in which the President assured him that necessary reforms would be promptly put into effect. Alvarado was urged to show due respect for the General, and both were asked mutually to co-operate.³²

José Castro returned from Mexico on October 16, 1841, with oral instructions from Bustamante to reconcile the two leaders, since he feared a crisis impended and Vallejo's co-operation was essential. He attempted the task at once, but was met by accusations from Vallejo of double-dealing while in Mexico. These Castro denied, asserting his undying friendship and cursing the men who had kept his two closest friends at loggerheads. He asked Vallejo to meet him at Monterey or San José, urging him to forget personal differ-

ences for the country's good. Alvarado soon after wrote to Vallejo expressing willingness to reduce the number of officials, to reorganize the army and to consult with him about affairs, if policy could be reconciled with duty.³³

Vallejo refused to meet Castro at Monterey, but a meeting was held at Mission San José on November 10, the discussions continuing until the 18th. The conclusion was reached that if the country was to be saved from foreign invasion, national aid was imperative. Castro was to go to Mexico as Vallejo's commissioner to obtain aid and to ascertain the trend of political conditions. Perhaps Alvarado and Castro had planned that Vallejo would send the latter, thus aiding the Governor's interests. On November 13, Vallejo and Castro were alarmed and shocked to learn that fifteen immigrants from the Bartleson-Childs party had appeared in the Pueblo of San José, bringing letters of security from Dr. Marsh.³⁴ This so aroused Vallejo that he wrote to Alvarado on November 17:

If the country had ever found itself free for one instant from the urgent necessity of procuring means for defence against the ambitious aims of the adventurers who beset it, and also of the savage Indians and thieves who devastate it; if I had failed on one single occasion to call Your Excellency's attention to the insecurity in which we live; and finally, if the long series of almost daily disasters, which we have cause to lament, were not sufficient to prove it an all too costly experience when we failed to organize a permanent military corps which is urgently needed for the safety of our country, in inviolability of our rights, the preservation of our properties, and the security of our families; I would remain silent. But since that is not the case, I should say that the time has now arrived when we must hasten all our efforts, and work with an uninterrupted activity to place ourselves in readiness against the many calamities that surround us all at once. But our unfortunate country has always found itself in the same situation, and all that I might be able to say on this matter would be only the repetition of that which I have constantly made known to Your Excellency. Nevertheless, the actual circumstances, perhaps, demand more urgently than ever effective means for security.

The ministerial note of May 18, last, addressed to this commandancy general and to Your Excellency, states the audacious pretensions and shameless proposals of the North Americans regarding our unfortunate Department. Proposals brazenly published in the dailies of the United States, and copied with just indignation by our own agents so that they may be inserted in those of the Mexican Republic. Those newspapers have reached Your Excellency's hands, and no doubt they made you shudder with horror at seeing such great boldness.

Well, the individuals from Missouri to whom those newspapers and the said note refer, have already arrived, and are here among many others from the same place. All come armed and none have passports either from our agents or from their own government. What should have been done with them is known; but could it have been done? Who could be sure that on being sent back they will not make use of their arms, seeing the state of defencelessness in which we find ourselves? There is no doubt that in that case, in spite of their number, we could arm the people and subdue them, but then who would chastise the Indians who would probably take advantage of the absence of the inhabitants to fall upon the towns? Thus it is that, reconciling my duty in every possible way with the circumstances, I made them appear before me and produce a surety who will answer for their conduct, while in person or by proxy they ask Your Excellency for the necessary permission, if you are pleased to grant it, but on the precise condition

that in case they agree to settle here, they shall have to return to Missouri, from where they will request the legal documents for their admission. They promised to do so, but if they do not do it, how can we demand it of them? This is the disadvantageous position in which we find ourselves because we have no force with which to back our orders.³⁵

By its tone, Vallejo's letter leaves little doubt that he was not then a partizan of American immigration or annexation. The next day he wrote to Treasurer Ábrego, that Castro was leaving for Mexico at once on very important business, therefore, should give him 1,500 pesos for traveling expenses.³⁶

Vallejo returned to Sonoma where, on November 30, he received a letter from Alvarado saying that he had ordered Captain J. B. R. Cooper to get the *California* ready to sail immediately for Acapulco, to take Castro with despatches from both of them, and to ascertain the political situation, since it was rumored that General Santa Anna had overthrown President Bustamante. Alvarado regretted the arrival of immigrants and said that necessary steps should be taken to prevent more from entering.³⁷ This letter would make it appear that Alvarado was ready to forget past quarrels.

On December 6, the Governor suddenly changed his mind and wrote to Castro not to go to Mexico. He said that a party of New Mexico trappers had arrived in Los Angeles and his services might be needed in case of trouble. Alvarado was sure that even if Mexico sent troops it would be six months before they would arrive. Perhaps he hoped that the new ruler of Mexico would ignore Vallejo's commissioner.³⁸

When Vallejo learned that Castro was not to go to Mexico, he decided to send Victor Prudon and a package of seven letters, dated December 11, 12, and 14, 1841. He also gave Prudon a set of instructions with fifteen articles, telling him how, when, and where he was to go and what to do when he arrived. Only six days were to be spent in Mexico.³⁹ In his despatches, Vallejo frankly pictured conditions in California:

Most Excellent Sir: On the return of Captain Don José Castro to this Department, I had a number of conferences with him; and I had decided that he should return to that Capital in company with Captain of Militia and Secretary of the Commandancy General, Don Victor Prudon, to place in Your Excellency's hands an exact report of the state in which this country finds itself, that is so promising, but which can accomplish nothing; for its happiness is conditional, and its misery positive. Its geographic location, the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, the amenity of its fields, the safety of its ports, among which that of San Francisco deserves to rank among the principal ones of the world, its navigable rivers and inlets, etc., guarantee it a state of prosperity which it is not permitted to attain due to its lack of population. From that lack of population results its lack of defence, and from this, its insecurity. Thus it is that daily throughout the whole extent of the Department, with the exception of this frontier, where I maintain a military force of forty men at my own expense, there are Indian raids which ravish the fields with impunity, and destroy the only effective wealth of the country, the cattle and horses. The otter and beaver which abounded in California, have been exterminated, the first by the Russians, and the latter by the Columbians [trappers from the Columbia River] who still continue to trap them to the point of extinguishing the species, as the Russians have done with the otter. And we have to

endure all those ills because we cannot prevent them, since we have no troops. All that we have suffered and shall endure, if we do not avert the tempest which is presaged for us by the thick clouds that darken our political horizon, is derived from one and the same source; it comes from one single cause: all of it we should attribute to the *lack of troops*.

This has been, Your Excellency, the motive which inspired me with the idea of addressing to you, by the aforementioned commissioners the various notes which they shall have the honor to place in Your Excellency's hands, all of them relative to the exigencies of the country, with the hope that Your Excellency's zeal and acknowledged patriotism will be exerted to contribute towards the salvation of this valuable portion of Mexican Territory. The commissioners will be able to satisfy Your Excellency about all of which you may judge opportune to inform yourself.

On the 9th of November, last, while at Mission San José, during a conference with Don José Castro, I received word of the arrival at the town of San José of a party of thirty-three foreigners from Missouri. I had them appear before me to demand their passports, and I was told that they had none, because they did not deem them necessary, since they did not use them in their country. I took a list of their names and the object of their journey. I asked them to return to their country and to get the required documents, and I gave them provisional papers so that they might travel in safety to Monterey, to see the governor and get the necessary permission from him to travel in the country. I gave the governor an account of everything, but do not know the results. I took what seemed to me the only way to reconcile justice with the present circumstances, since we find ourselves forced to accept them as we cannot prevent them from entering, and all because we lack troops. This party numbers thirty-three but it is said that a larger one is on the way.

The total population of California does not exceed 6,000 souls, and of these two-thirds must be counted as women and children, leaving scarcely 2,000 men. But we cannot count on the 15,000 Indians in the towns and missions because they inspire more fear than confidence. Thus we have this lamentable situation in a country worthy of a better fate. And if the invasion which is taking place from all sides is carried out, all I can guarantee is that the Californians will die; I can not dare to assure you that California will be saved. This people, loyal to their flag, will follow the same course and fate. They will be replaced by or dominated by another race at least. Those others will probably conserve their great past, raising their flag to wave in the breeze. Thus also the noble people of California will preserve their noble attitude of free men while a drop of blood remains in their veins, and will bite the dust before kissing the enemy's hand.

Have the kindness to excuse this burst of feeling in a soldier who laments not having arms, when he sees the treasure being stolen. I regret to bother Your Excellency's patriotic zeal, but I must be a truthful steward when speaking of the national interests. The danger seems closer than the help, and it is urgent, and it is with the hope of getting it that I have the honor of addressing Your Excellency.⁴⁰

Vallejo was voicing his sincere opinions. Had he really been anxious for American annexation as he claimed later, he could have remained silent about the danger. Instead, he sent a list of the names of the Missouri immigrants, the original of Sutter's well-known letter to Leese threatening to call for French aid, and other long letters reporting the needs of the territory.⁴¹

Because of the defencelessness of the country, the disorganized state of all of the administrative branches, the scarcity of revenues to meet the salaries of the many unnecessary employes, the almost continuous violation of the public trust, the inefficient and inadequate mail service, and the difficulty in

maintaining unity and agreement between the Governor and the Commanding General of the Department, Vallejo petitioned the Minister of War for :

1. A ruler in whom civil and military authority would be united and who would be free from ties of kinship which might prevent him from governing the country impartially.

2. A force of at least 200 men, with its corresponding officers, "all secure in their salaries."

3. The dismissal of superfluous treasury employes and the transfer of the administration of the custom-house to the treasurer.

4. The establishment of a post office department.

5. The rebuilding of the fort at San Francisco (the only remnant of any defence left in the country) and the erection there of a government house, barracks, jails, custom-house and wharf.

6. A large colony of Mexicans composed principally of artisans and farmers, since California's "present population forms a number of only four digits, its lands and fertile, fruitful estates are fit for the cultivation of plants from all climates, particularly tobacco, the olive, cotton, hemp, etc."

He also asked that the customs laws be enforced. If this were done the foreign vessels would have to consign their goods to a resident of the Department, and the natives could then carry on the coastwise trade, pack-train business, etc. California was importing wines of all classes, brandy from Catalonia, tobacco from Virginia, olive oil from Marseilles, cloth from Boston, confectionary goods of all kinds, and even the most common articles of furniture such as brooms, from the Sandwich Islands. By prohibiting the importation of brandy, wines and olive oil, "our vineyards and olive orchards would have greater value and a greater number of producers. Furthermore, the liquors being of the scarcer kinds and consequently more expensive, it would be an obstacle to drunkenness . . . If there were no English boots, nor American blankets, we might be able to sell Californian shoes and robes."⁴²

Prudon arrived in Monterey on January 1, 1842. The *California* was waiting for him and ready to sail at a moment's notice for Acapulco, but obstacles were placed in Prudon's way, Alvarado putting him off with silly excuses, while waiting for Castro to arrive for a conference. The Governor expressed fear that since President Bustamante had been overthrown they no longer had a friend in Mexico and the *California* might be seized at Acapulco. He also stated that the treasury could not pay the expenses of the commissioner, and his officials joined him in that opinion. Prudon became convinced that there was a plot to prevent his departure, or at least to defeat his mission, so he wrote to Vallejo, warning him of the intrigues of his pretended friends and his foes, and telling him that there was a conspiracy to intercept all his correspondence and to slander him in Mexico. He feared that Alvarado's henchmen might take his despatches, and even his (Prudon's) life. He had

been unable to collect the expense money from the treasury, and he was sure that Castro was deceiving the General. Prudon further believed that the *California* would sail by way of the Sandwich Islands, and that Alvarado would send an agent accredited to Santa Anna, in order to compromise Vallejo.⁴³

Early in January, Abrego informed Vallejo that there was no money with which to cash his order for 1,500 pesos. Then on January 9 and 10, Abrego offered Prudon 500 pesos in coin and 1,000 pesos in merchandise, which Don Victor might peddle for his money. Prudon was forced to accept.⁴⁴ Vallejo had foreseen that difficulty and had provided Prudon with a draft for 8,000 pesos, drawn on Don Francisco A. Barrios in Mexico. Of that money, whatever was not used for expenses was to be invested in powder and other munitions.⁴⁵

Vallejo received letters from the south warning him that the "Blue Shirts" were plotting to overthrow him, even if they had to kill him. Roberto Prado wrote from Santa Barbara, on January 2, 1842, that Pio Pico, Carlos Carrillo and others were plotting to annex California to England.⁴⁶

In later years Vallejo claimed that Alvarado had planned to send the *California*, bearing his agents to President Santa Anna, before Prudon could get his money. The Governor and his party, believing Vallejo's despatches were for Bustamante, decided to allow Prudon to go on the *California*, hoping that Vallejo would be discredited, but he outwitted them by sending Prudon some blank paper with his signature, on which the latter copied them, addressing them to the new officials. He also wrote a decoy letter, which fell into Alvarado's hands, to throw them off the scent.⁴⁷ The original despatches, now in the Mexican Archives, are addressed simply to the "Minister of War."

Alvarado years later admitted that he tried to prevent Prudon from reaching Mexico by refusing him the money, but that Vallejo had circumvented him.⁴⁸

Alvarado's commissioners were Administrator of Customs Manuel Castañares, recently arrived from Mexico, and Francisco Rivera. They carried a number of letters from Alvarado to the Minister of Foreign Relations, in which he discussed immigration and accused Vallejo of failing to co-operate with him in stopping American adventurers from entering the territory. He also exposed the General's weakness and cowardice in dealing with the foreigners who had arrived in San José. He claimed that civil officials had disarmed them pending the adoption of effective measures, but that Vallejo had restored their arms, given them passports, and had thus tied his hands. He pointed out that the situation in California was not as bad as Vallejo described it. True, he and the General had some slight misunderstandings. The Indian situation was not alarming, for they could be subdued by volunteer troops. The Russians had withdrawn from Fort Ross, and he had reserved all

rights to the land for the Government. It was his intention to place a garrison there to protect the frontier against encroachments, but Vallejo had failed to co-operate with him in this respect.

He said that there were ambitious schemes abroad in California which menaced the safety of Mexican territory, and urged the Government to send a force of at least 150 or 200 men, or that he should be given authority to raise troops. If troops and resources were sent, he was confident that he could defend California with honor.⁴⁹

It is evident that Alvarado sent his commissioners simply to prevent the success of Vallejo's plan to have the two branches combined under one person. There is no evidence that Vallejo wanted the governorship, or that Alvarado wished to have the General removed. There is also no proof that Alvarado had submitted his resignation. Vallejo had sent his resignation, but Alvarado's has not as yet been discovered in the archives.

Abrego wrote to Vallejo in mid-January that the commissioners were ready to sail, and assured him that there were no revolutionary plots at Monterey, except those which might exist in the minds of men deep in their cups.⁵⁰

The *California* finally sailed from Monterey on January 20, 1842, and landed the envoys at Acapulco on February 14. Hastening to Mexico City, they arrived on March 2, only to find that early in February, Brigadier General Don Manuel Micheltorena had been appointed governor of California. It was a hard blow to learn that all their plots and intrigues had been for naught.

They did achieve something, however. President Santa Anna confirmed Prudon as captain and promoted Vallejo to a lieutenant colonelcy of the regular army. Manuel Castañares was reappointed to the custom-house, and Alvarado was commissioned colonel of militia. The four principal persons concerned having been given some sort of compensation to soften their disappointment, the commissioners returned to California in company with the new Governor.⁵¹

Castañares arrived too late to help Alvarado. Vallejo's resignation was accepted, the two commands were combined, and troops were sent to California. Micheltorena was appointed January 22, 1842, and the Californian authorities were notified on February 22.⁵²

After months of delay Governor Micheltorena left Mexico, with 350 men, the expedition reaching San Diego on August 25, 1842, in wretched condition. On September 3, the Governor notified Vallejo and Alvarado of his appointment, and asked to be placed in possession of his offices. Vallejo wrote all subordinate officers of the change on September 19, and surrendered his office apparently without bitterness or regrets. A few days later, October 6, Micheltorena appointed him commander of the northern line from Sonoma to Mission Santa Inés.⁵³

To Alvarado the arrival of the new Governor was a bitter disappointment. He had expected a change, but had not bargained for what he got. Not wishing to suffer humiliation before his southern enemies, he pleaded illness and refused to go south to give up his office, but appointed his secretary, Jimeno, as acting governor, who performed this duty for him.⁵⁴ This took place on December 31, 1842, at 4:00 P. M., and was followed by two days of feasting, dancing, speeches, fireworks, and general amusement.⁵⁵

Micheltorena's arrival definitely ended the political feud between Alvarado and Vallejo. The former Governor returned to private life, from which he never emerged. The former General took his post at Sonoma and there he remained attending to his personal affairs.

Thus, by their lack of good judgment, the promptings of stubborn pride, and ambitions which would not allow them to co-operate with one another, were the two most brilliant and active Californians removed from their high offices, where they could have been of the greatest service to their native land.

CHAPTER IX

THE RUSSIANS, SUTTER AND VALLEJO

WHILE Vallejo was engaged in his controversy with Governor Alvarado, other problems demanded and received his attentions, the most important and urgent of which was the abandonment of Fort Ross by the Russians.

In 1830, Baron F. Von Wrangell, Governor of Russian America, became convinced that the Russian posts in California would not pay their expenses unless their land holdings could be extended to the northern shores of San Francisco Bay and into the Sacramento Valley. For the next five years he was busy working out a plan to achieve his ends, which included the making of a commercial treaty with Mexico, the buying or obtaining the required land by grant, the recognition of Mexican independence from Spain, and the recognition by Mexico of certain fundamental rights of the Russians in California. The Russian Government approved some of the terms and granted Wrangell permission to go to Mexico to negotiate the treaty. The Baron resigned his governorship and early in 1836 arrived in Mexico City. The Mexican Government, however, since his own government had not given him diplomatic rank, refused to treat with him.¹

Failure of Wrangell's plan left the Russians no motives for remaining in California, and it was decided to abandon Fort Ross and Bodega. By 1838 the otter were practically exterminated, while politically and strategically the Russians had no advantage; therefore, permission was asked to sell the properties and retire to Alaska. This was sanctioned by the Imperial Government on April 15, 1839.²

Manager Alexander Rotchef, of Fort Ross, received instructions to abandon the posts late in 1839, and early in 1840 sent the first shipload of thirty

persons and cargo to Sitka. In April, 1840, Governor Ivan Kuprianof tried to sell the posts to Sir James Douglas of Hudson's Bay Company for \$30,000. This included the buildings, animals, other properties, but not the land. Douglas discussed the matter with John McLoughlin in Oregon, but nothing came of it. Perhaps the British company decided not to buy, in order not to displease the Californians, and to avoid protests from the United States. The British Government, as early as 1835, had requested that the United States insist that the Russians move their settlements north of 54° 40', in accordance with the treaty of 1824. In compliance with this request by the United States Ross was abandoned.³

In November, 1840, the Russians notified Governor Alvarado of their intentions and proposed a sale of their possessions to the Californian Government. Alvarado immediately asked the Mexican government for instructions. In a note to Alvarado, November 23, 1840, Kuprianof stated that their withdrawal was at the insistence of England and the United States.⁴

Meanwhile a controversy arose between Vallejo and Alexander Rotchef over the arrival at Bodega of the American ship *Lausanne*. Josiah Spalding, the captain, put into Bodega, considering it a free Russian port, and landed some passengers. He also hoped to trade without paying port charges or duties. Up to that time the Russians had not allowed such operations. Rotchef informed Spalding that he must not trade, or go by land to San Francisco, and then departed for San Francisco and Monterey, leaving the *Lausanne* at Bodega.

Spalding, however, decided to go to San Francisco by land and hired Edward McIntosh to take him. Four of the passengers desiring to remain in California visited Sonoma, to ask Vallejo for passports. The General was both surprised and alarmed at the arrival of these armed foreigners and to learn that Bodega was virtually abandoned, with a foreign vessel anchored there. He rushed Ensign Lazaro Piña with soldiers to Bodega, instructing him to return all passengers aboard the ship and to warn the captain not to trade lest he be treated as a smuggler. The vessel was to sail to Monterey, and Piña was to watch the Russians and Americans at Bodega to prevent all traffic. Later Vallejo instructed Piña to collect dues on the *Lausanne* at the rate of 1.50 pesos a ton.⁵

When Spalding returned to Bodega, together with several men without passports, Piña ordered all to go to Sonoma. There Vallejo held them several days while he tried to collect dues from the Captain. Spalding refused, claiming that Bodega was a free port, but later he offered to pay if the lawful authorities ordered it. He was allowed to return to Bodega, and Piña was instructed to inform Rotchef that Bodega belonged to Mexico and that the Russians were only tolerated; that it was not a free port, and that foreigners must not enter in defiance of the law.⁶

During this controversy Rotchef returned to Bodega. He was incensed to find Mexican soldiers there, and became angrier when he read a translation of Vallejo's orders to Piña. He ordered the Russian flag raised and defied the Californians to haul it down, offering his protection to the passengers of the *Lausanne*, several of whom had accompanied him to Fort Ross. Piña did not resist, but reported all this to Vallejo, whereupon the General wrote Rotchef concerning the matter and sent a letter to be forwarded to the Governor at Sitka. Rotchef refused to receive the letters, stating that he would have nothing to do with a man who had insulted him so grievously. Vallejo, vexed, issued an order forbidding the Russians to travel in California without permission. The *Lausanne* sailed on July 26, 1840, leaving behind a heated controversy and half a dozen foreigners who later went to the Sacramento Valley. Vallejo ordered Piña not to interfere, but to warn Rotchef that he would be held responsible for the entry of the foreigners.⁷

Rotchef indignantly reported to his Governor that Vallejo had sent soldiers to Bodega to arrest and take him to Sonoma. He had received this impression through an error of the translator, who had changed the meaning of a phrase.⁸ Vallejo actually had no intention of arresting Rotchef.

During the next four months the quarrel waxed hot. Governor Kuprianof resigned and came to San Francisco to settle the affair. His successor, Governor Etholin, wrote to Rotchef that he was sending a small reenforcement to Fort Ross and expected no further trouble from Vallejo.⁹

Kuprianof arrived in San Francisco in October and remained a month investigating the *Lausanne* affair. He attempted to pacify Vallejo and Rotchef, saying that there was no reason for quarreling since Fort Ross was to be abandoned. Vallejo replied with a concise account of the events of July. Kuprianof invited Vallejo to San Francisco for a conference, hinting that there might be grave consequences if he refused. The General courteously invited Kuprianof or his agent to Sonoma, because his duties prevented him from leaving. He again defended his actions, explaining that the country was alarmed because of the Graham affair that had occurred earlier in the year. He could not see how serious consequences would follow the performing of his duty. Vallejo again explained Mexico's claim to Bodega, offering aid in investigating the affair, and expressing hope that Rotchef would be reprimanded. He also pointed out that there was a difference between his original orders and the translation and suggested that the altered passage might be the chief cause of the trouble.¹⁰

Kuprianof did not go to Sonoma, but sent Peter Kostromitinof to examine the original Spanish instructions. He stated that he had full confidence in the Russian translator and would answer for him any time, any place, and for everything. He took Vallejo to task for meddling in Russian affairs at Bodega, claimed full Russian ownership for the two posts, and demanded a full

explanation and the promise that it would not happen again. If it did, dire action would follow.

Kostromitinof and Vallejo conferred at length and examined the documents in question, after which the Russian expressed himself as satisfied that the translator had made an error. He returned to San Francisco with a letter from Vallejo to Kuprianof. In it the General once more reviewed the entire affair, demanding amends for the unjust criticism of his conduct. He hoped that Kuprianof would consider the matter closed, but was doomed to disappointment. Kuprianof probably thought that Vallejo feared the Russians, so he wrote a longer and more intemperate letter than the others, in which he repeated the old arguments, maintained that there was no error in the translation, demanded the original Spanish document, and expressed doubt of the truth of Vallejo's statements. Vallejo's reply, though forceful and sarcastic, was dignified and in good taste. Toward the end of November, Kostromitinof and Vallejo exchanged notes expressing their confidence in each other, and regretting that Kuprianof was continuing the quarrel. In his reply, Vallejo covered the same ground carefully, denied all accusations, refused to send the documents, and made it clear that there would be no more discussion of the matter.¹¹

During this squall in a washtub, both Rotchef and Kuprianof were in the wrong, while Vallejo pursued a very judicious course. In the end he won a signal victory by his moderation and patience. By early 1841, Rotchef was again on good terms with him.

When Alvarado, in November, 1840, learned that the Russians were to abandon Fort Ross, he at once notified Vallejo and the Mexican Government. The General also reported to the Government, sending copies of the entire *Lausanne* affair, and implied that the abandonment of Fort Ross was largely due to his actions.¹²

When the Russians asked concerning their rights to sell their buildings and livestock to private parties, Vallejo replied that the Nation had first rights. Alvarado made the same reply, and in order that there should be no future question of sovereignty, asked the Mexican Government to supply a garrison to give him authority to establish a colony in the abandoned posts. To Henry Virmond, Vallejo wrote on January 14, 1841, claiming that the abandonment had resulted from his victory over Kuprianof.¹³

When Alvarado, lacking authority, refused to buy the properties, the Russians turned to Vallejo, to whom, on February 16, 1841, Kostromitinof offered the properties for 30,000 pesos, payable either in silver coin or in warrants of the Hudson's Bay Company or half in warrants and the remainder in products of the country at current prices, delivered at Yerba Buena. The General said he would consider the offer, but first he would have to negotiate with the Company for the warrants. Since that might require several months, he promised a reply in July or August.¹⁴

While Vallejo made arrangements with the Hudson's Bay Company, Kostromitinof entered into secret dealings with Sutter. He, however, was interested only in the livestock and would not consider the land, buildings and other goods. Unable to make a quick sale, Kostromitinof went to Sitka early in 1841, to confer with the Governor of the Russian colonies.¹⁵

Later that spring, Alvarado received instructions from Mexico to take immediate possession of the abandoned territory. He was to ask the Legislature for aid and to require the foreign inhabitants there to take an oath of allegiance to Mexico. The new citizens were to be treated with kindness, to win their loyalty, and he was asked to submit a complete report about the lives, customs, and activities of the inhabitants.¹⁶

Kostromitinof returned from Sitka on July 15, 1841, with instructions, and soon went to Sonoma, where between July 19 and 27 a contract of sale was drawn up and also a detailed inventory of the properties.

The contract gave Vallejo the right to all property, for which he was to pay the stated price in three years from 1841, in Hudson's Bay Company warrants, with option to pay half in products at current prices. In case of failure, he was to pay the expenses of the voyage from Sitka to San Francisco. The vessels were to enter duty free, but were not to trade. The property was to serve as a guarantee, until full payment was made. In case of war in which Russia and Mexico were involved, payments would be postponed. The contract was to be approved by the Government.¹⁷

The agreement was concluded, and by July 25 Kostromitinof was back at Fort Ross. From Yerba Buena, Rotchef wrote to Sutter on the 26th that the Russian Governor had rejected his offer, because he wanted only the livestock, and that they had found a buyer for all the properties. A day later, Vallejo reported to Alvarado that Kostromitinof had visited him with a contract for the sale of the posts and the ranches. He rejoiced that California's northern boundary would again be Cape Mendocino. He had been ill in bed when the Russian arrived, but the sight of the contract was such good medicine that he was able to get up and walk. Vallejo invited the Governor to Sonoma to discuss imperative problems. Sonoma, he said, would now become an important place, which was gratifying after all his efforts to build up the town and frontier. He requested Alvarado to reply at once, as the Russians were waiting to send his answer to Sitka, and he, to conclude a matter so important to California.¹⁸

Alvarado replied on July 29, declining the General's invitation, but professing to be as anxious to get rid of the Russians as was Vallejo. Nevertheless, it was his opinion, after consulting the Government, that Vallejo could not enter into the deal either on behalf of the Government or as an individual.¹⁹

Don Guadalupe, greatly discouraged, wrote to Kostromitinof that the deal was off. The Russian refused to believe it and insisted on the bargain, but

Vallejo said he could buy only the stock. A new contract was then drawn up for the immediate sale of the animals, for which he was to pay 9,000 pesos, half in warrants and the remainder in products, though he might pay any part or the whole in coin.²⁰

While these negotiations were in progress, Sutter wrote to Antonio Suñol at San José, complaining about the way the Russians had passed up his offer in order to deal with someone else, especially Vallejo who had insulted their flag. He said that nobody but a Russian would act thus, and he would rather not have dealings with them.²¹

On August 11, Vallejo reported his new deal to Alvarado, and said that Kostromitinof was going to Monterey to see him, as he refused to believe that Mexico opposed the sale of the other properties, and that he wanted to see the official instructions himself before he took no for an answer.

Kostromitinof, after conferring with the Governor and looking at the documents, wrote to Vallejo that he saw no obstacle to prevent the transaction, and asked Vallejo whether he wished to buy or not. To which Vallejo replied that, though the sale was not prohibited, it was also not authorized; therefore it could not be done. He said that the Governor refused to consent to the sale and that the Government was only awaiting the evacuation to take possession.²²

When Vallejo failed to buy, the properties were offered to Jacob P. Leese. He offered 20,000 pesos, on terms of 5,000 pesos down and 5,000 pesos annually for three years. Kostromitinof also approached Sutter again and, finding him willing to bid, turned down Leese's offer.²³

Sutter wrote to Antonio Suñol on September 1, 1841, saying that the Russians, failing to sell to Vallejo, had approached him again, and that this time he intended to be more exacting. On September 4, Rotchef went to New Helvetia and invited Sutter to Fort Ross to see Kostromitinof. Sutter accepted. After an inspection of the properties he was given a banquet. The dinner must have been good, because he agreed to buy the establishments for 30,000 pesos.²⁴

The contract was drawn up and the parties went to San Francisco, where it was signed before Justice of the Peace Francisco Guerrero, on December 13, 1841, J. J. Vioget and Jacob P. Leese acting as witnesses. By the contract Sutter bound himself to pay the 30,000 pesos within four years from 1842; 5,000 pesos worth of products yearly for two years; 10,000 pesos in goods the third year; and the last year 10,000 pesos in coin. The remaining articles of the contract were like those offered Vallejo.²⁵

When Sutter returned to New Helvetia, he notified Vallejo of the purchase and asked the General to allow the men he was sending by land to Fort Ross, to load the movable effects on a boat, to pass the frontier without interference.²⁶ On December 8, 1841, Sutter again wrote to Vallejo, sending him

three letters of security for three immigrants recently arrived from Missouri without passports. He asked the General to send him the passports, adding a postscript: "I am very much obliged to you for the help and the good advice that you were kind enough to give my men when they passed by Sonoma with the animals, and if I can serve you in anything please use freely."

On December 12, 1841, Rotchef, as commander of Fort Ross, deeded to Sutter the land along the coast from Cape Mendocino to Point Reyes, extending inland three Spanish leagues. This he had no right to do, but Sutter accepted the deed anyway.

That same day Vallejo reported details of the sale to the Mexican Government and notified it that the Russian posts would be abandoned. He asked instructions for the annexation of the territory as he feared that the British might take it. The Hudson's Bay Company had already acquired a house and lot in San Francisco and wanted to build in other towns. Alvarado had made a grant to Mr. Jean B. D. McKay, of that company, near Sutter's grant, for the founding of a colony. These transactions made him fear that if the Government did not act promptly, that part of California might be in jeopardy.²⁷

Kostromitnof reported the Sutter sale to Governor Alvarado on December 19, 1841, and stated that his company wished to reserve the right to reclaim the property in case Sutter failed to pay in full.²⁸

Early in January, 1842, Rotchef and his men sailed for Sitka aboard the *Constantine*, and Sutter placed Robert Ridley in charge of the posts. Several months later John Bidwell replaced him, and later in 1843 William Benitz replaced Bidwell.

After the Russians departed, Alvarado and Vallejo accused Sutter of dishonest actions toward them in making the purchase. Their attitude was unwarranted; they had had the first chance to buy and had refused it. For a while after the purchase, Vallejo was not very friendly toward Sutter. Perhaps he had hoped to acquire the Russian properties for a very small sum, or for nothing, if no buyer appeared, and was vexed with himself and with the Swiss adventurer who had spoiled his plans.²⁹

Vallejo's enmity increased when Sutter began to make pointed threats against the Territorial Government. Governor Alvarado had given the Hudson's Bay Company permission to trap in the Sacramento Valley. This displeased Sutter so much that he threatened to overthrow Mexican authority in Northern California. He purposed to enlist the aid of trappers, and sent his agent, Octave Custot, to arouse their sympathies. Quite alarmed, Vallejo wrote to Sir George Simpson. Sir George assured him that Hudson's Bay men would not be allowed to take part in Sutter's revolutionary plots, and on the same day sent orders to that effect to his chief trapper, Francis Ermatinger.³⁰

From the beginning, Don Guadalupe understood the danger to Mexico

inherent in such an establishment as New Helvetia. He was not blind to a matter that was evident to all foreigners. Therefore, in accordance with his duty as a Mexican officer, he frankly reported his views to the Government. In January, 1842, he informed it that Sutter styled himself Governor of New Helvetia, exercised arbitrary and despotic powers, waged wars against the Indians, forced them to work, shot them without trial or governmental approval, and received foreigners, no matter from where or how they came, not even reporting their arrival. In proof of Sutter's revolutionary attitude, Vallejo sent the original of a letter from Sutter to Leese, dated November 8, 1841, in which Sutter had given warning that if people tried to do him injury, he would call for a French frigate to do him justice.⁸¹ He continued:

It is too late now to drive me out the country, the first step they do against me is that I will make a declaration of Independence and proclaim California for a Republic independent of Mexico. I am strong now, one of my best friends a German gentleman came from the Columbia River with plenty people, an other party is close by from Missouri . . . I am strong enough to hold me till the couriers go to the Waillamet for raise about 60 or 70 good men, an other party I would dispatch to the mountains and call the hunters and Shawnees and Delawares with which I am very well acquainted, the same party have to go to Missouri and raise about 200 or 300 men more. That is my intention, Sir, if they let me not alone. If they will give me satisfaction and pay the expenses what I had to do for my security here, I will be a faithful Mexican; but when this rascle of Castro should come here a very warm and harty welcome is prepared for him. 10 guns have well mounted for protect the fortress and two field pieces. I have also about fifty faithful Indians which shot their musquet very quik. The wole day and night we are under arms, and you know that foreigners are very expensive, and for this trouble I will be paid when a French frigate come here. I wish you to tell the commandant general that I wish to be his friend, and that I am very much obliged to him for his kindness when my people passed Sonoma. If he would join us in such a case I would like it very much. But all is out question so long they let me alone and trouble me not, but I want security from the government for that.⁸²

It is evident that Sutter had no loyalty for his adopted nation or for California's government which had treated him so generously and entrusted him with an office. Probably he would not have hesitated to raise the standard of revolt in behalf of France or of any other nation that would help his personal interests. But it is unlikely that he had any definite plan or intention of a political conspiracy at that time. All the loud threats were probably due to his being harassed by his creditors, and because he considered the Californians his inferiors, wherefore he tried to bully them. That being the case, for the next four years he and Vallejo eyed each other with growing suspicions, but kept out of each other's way. Vallejo, however, continued, until the Americans took the territory, to report to Mexico his opinions about Sutter's activities, and urged without avail that something should be done to remove that menace to California's peace and safety.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, May 14, 1839, in Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 255.
2. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1839, 255-56.
3. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 579-607.
4. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Sept. 8, 1839, Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 278-80; M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 25-28.
5. Manuel Jimeno to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Sept. 26, 1839; J. Castro to M. G. Vallejo, San Juan, Aug. 10, 1839, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VIII, 33, 35, 179.
6. J. J. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo, San José, Sept. 4, 1839; Prado Mesa to M. G. Vallejo, San José, Sept. 6, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 77, 78.
7. M. G. Vallejo to M. Jimeno, Sonoma, Sept. 8, 1839; M. Jimeno to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Sept. 24, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 84, 171.
8. J. A. Carrillo to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, Oct. 9, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 199.
9. P. de la Guerra to M. G. Vallejo, Santa Barbara, Sept. 3, 1839; Salvador Vallejo to P. de la Guerra, Sonoma, Oct. 2, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 73, 192.
10. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Oct. 16, 1839, Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 282.
11. M. G. Vallejo to M. Jimeno, Monterey, Oct. 29, 1839, Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 283; M. Jimeno to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Oct. 30, Nov. 1, 1839; M. G. Vallejo to M. Jimeno, Monterey, Oct. 31, 1839, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VIII, 236, 241, 247.
12. M. G. Vallejo to M. Jimeno, Sonoma, Nov. 17, 18, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 295, 306; J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Nov. 25, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 316; M. G. Vallejo to President A. Bustamante, Sonoma, Dec. 1, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 333; M. G. Vallejo to A. Castellero, Sonoma, Dec. 1, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 334.
13. J. B. Alvarado to Min. of Interior, Monterey, Mar. 10, 1840, in Dept. Rec., MS, XI, 65-66; A. Castellero to M. G. Vallejo, Mexico, Apr. 21, 1840, and Min. of War to M. G. Vallejo, Mexico, Apr. 23, 24, 1840, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IX, 115, 116, 118.
14. J. B. Alvarado appointment of W. E. P. Hartnell, Monterey, Jan. 19, 1839, in Dept. Rec., MS, X, 2, 8, 11. These documents give the commission as well as the duties and salary of office.
15. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Jan. 22, 1840, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IX, 25.
16. W. E. P. Hartnell to J. B. Alvarado, San Francisco, May 14, 1840, Dept. St. Pap., Missions, MS, XI, 15-17.
17. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Apr. 4, 1840, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IX, 96; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Apr. 9, 1840, *ibid.*, IX, 106.
18. J. Ábrego to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Apr., 1839, to Mar. 22, 1842, Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, MS, III, 140-57; M. G. Vallejo to J. Ábrego, Sonoma, Feb. 1 to July 28, 1840, Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Mil., MS, LXXXVIII, 31-34; J. Ábrego to J. B. Alvarado, Monterey, July 17, June 7, 1839; Feb. 20, 1840, *ibid.*, Benicia, Com. and Treas., MS, IV, 15-16, 48-49; correspondence between J. Ábrego and M. G. Vallejo, Monterey and Sonoma, Jan. 2-10, Mar. 16, July 13, 1840, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IX, 6, 14, 31, 144, 176, 202, 213.
19. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Monterey, Mar. 16, 1840, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IX, 72.
20. Minutes of extra session, Cal. Legis., Monterey, Apr. 1, 1840, in Legis. Rec., MS, III, 75-78. This gives all of Alvarado's accusations.
21. M. G. Vallejo to J. J. Vallejo, Sonoma, Apr. 15, 1840, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XXXIII, 57; M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, Apr. 25, 1840, *ibid.*, IX, 124-25; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Sept. 1, 1840, *ibid.*, IX, 241.
22. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 1-41; George Tays, *Revolutionary California*, MS, pp. 463-75; T. H. Hittell, *History of California*, II, 265-77, and other histories of California, give all details.
23. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Apr. 5, 1840, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XIV, 52; also Dept. St. Pap., MS., VIII, 139-40.

24. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, pp. 46-53; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 4-21.
25. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, Jan. 1, 1841, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, X, 4-6, 9-11.
26. M. G. Vallejo to President A. Bustamante, Sonoma, Jan. 15, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 46.
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32. Gen. Almonte to M. G. Vallejo, Mexico, Apr. 6, 15, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 98-104; Min. of Relations to J. B. Alvarado, Mexico, Apr. 12, 1841, Sup. Gov. St. Pap., MS, XVI, 19; also Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 137.
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34. Dr. J. Marsh to Cal. authorities, letters of surety for immigrants, San José, Nov. 13, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 340.
35. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, San José, Nov. 17, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 349.
36. M. G. Vallejo to J. Ábrego, San José, Nov. 18, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 353.
37. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Alisal, Nov. 30, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 369.
38. J. B. Alvarado to J. Castro, Monterey, Dec. 6, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 373.
39. M. G. Vallejo, instructions to commissioners, Sonoma, Dec. 10, 1841, *ibid.*, XIV, 28.
40. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, Dec. 11, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 384; also, Nos. 60, 61, Legajo, 53-5-7, MS, *Archivo General de Guerra y Marina*, Mexico.
41. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, Dec. 11, 12, 13, 14, 1841, Legajo 53-5-7, MS, *Archivo General de Guerra y Marina*, Mexico.
42. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, Dec. 14, 1841, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, X, 385.
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44. J. Ábrego to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Jan. 2, 1842; J. Ábrego to V. Prudon, Monterey, Jan. 9, 10, 1842, *ibid.*, XI, 6, 19, 20, 27.
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46. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 242-43; R. Prado to M. G. Vallejo, Santa Barbara, Jan. 2, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 7.
47. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 259-66.
48. J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 193-203.
49. J. B. Alvarado to Sec. of Relations, Monterey, Jan. 11, 1842, in Dept. Rec., MS, XIII, 6-15.
50. J. B. Alvarado to Min. of War, Monterey, Jan. 13, 1842, *ibid.*, XIII, 15; V. Prudon to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Jan. 15, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 27; J. Ábrego to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Jan. 17, 1842, *ibid.*, XI, 29.
51. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 285; dates of commissions, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 209; *ibid.*, I, 16; *ibid.*, XXXIII, 277; *ibid.*, XI, 215-16.
52. Gen. Valencia to M. Micheltorena, Mexico, Jan. 24, 1842, Savage, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 2-3; Min. of War to M. G. Vallejo, Mexico, Feb. 22, 1842, *ibid.*, III, 6; Gen. Santa Anna, and Min. of War to M. Micheltorena, Mexico, Jan. 25, 1842; Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, MS, I, 7.
53. M. G. Vallejo, general order to subordinates, Sonoma, Sept. 19, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 255-58; M. Micheltorena to Vallejo, Los Angeles, Oct. 6, 1842, Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, MS, II, 35-36.

54. J. B. Alvarado, Proclamation, Monterey, Sept. 24, 1842, Dept. St. Pap., Los Angeles, MS, X, 30.

55. For full details of Micheltorena's appointment, voyage and arrival in California, see Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 283-97, and other histories of California.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 158-89, gives full details and sources on this question.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.
3. Sir J. Douglas, Journal, MS, p. 16; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
4. I. Kuprianof to J. B. Alvarado, San Francisco, Nov. 23, 1840, Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, MS, II, 34-35; M. Jimeno to Min. of Int., Monterey, Dec. 10, 1840, Dept. Rec., MS, XI, 69-70.
5. M. G. Vallejo, instructions to L. Piña, Sonoma, July 19, 23, 1840; M. G. Vallejo to Capt. J. Spalding, Sonoma, July 19, 1840, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IX, 183, 184, 191.
6. Capt. J. Spalding, statement, Sonoma, July 24, 1840; M. G. Vallejo to L. Piña, Sonoma, July 24, 1840, *ibid.*, IX, 193-97.
7. M. G. Vallejo to L. Piña, Sonoma, July 24, 25, 1840, *ibid.*, IX, 195, 198-99; M. G. Vallejo to P. Kostromitinof, Sonoma, Nov. 4, 1840, *ibid.*, IX, 304.
8. M. G. Vallejo, instructions to L. Piña, Sonoma, July 19, 1840, *ibid.*, IX, 183.
9. Gov. Etholin to A. Rotchef, Sitka, Sept. 9, 1840, Russian American Material, MS, I (in Bancroft Library).
10. P. Kostromitinof to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Nov. 2, 1840; M. G. Vallejo to P. Kostromitinof, Sonoma, Nov. 4, 1840; I. Kuprianof to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Nov. 6, 1840; M. G. Vallejo to I. Kuprianof, Sonoma, Nov. 10, 1840, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, IX, 300, 304, 305, 308.
11. I. Kuprianof to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Nov. 13, 21, 1840; M. G. Vallejo to I. Kuprianof, Sonoma, Nov. 16, 25, 1840; P. Kostromitinof to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Nov. 22, 1840; M. G. Vallejo to P. Kostromitinof, Sonoma, Nov. 25, 1840, *ibid.*, IX, 313, 316, 320, 321, 322, 328.
12. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, Jan. 1, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 2-3.
13. *Ibid.*, M. G. Vallejo to H. Virmond, Sonoma, Jan. 14, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 42.
14. P. Kostromitinof to M. G. Vallejo, Yerba Buena, Feb. 16, 1841; M. G. Vallejo to P. Kostromitinof, Sonoma, Feb. 19, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 60, 62.
15. A. Rotchef to J. A. Sutter, Yerba Buena, July 26, 1841, Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 178.
16. President A. Bustamante to J. B. Alvarado, Mexico, Mar. 14, 1841, Sup. Gov. St. Pap., Decrees and Dispatches, MS, XVI, 16-18.
17. P. Kostromitinof to M. G. Vallejo, Bodega, July 17, 1841; Contract for Russian properties, no date, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, X, 205, 229.
18. A. Rotchef to J. A. Sutter, Yerba Buena, July 26, 1841, Cal. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly*, XII, 66, Sept., 1933; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, July 27, 1841, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, X, 227.
19. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, July 29, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 236.
20. P. Kostromitinof to M. G. Vallejo, contract for stock, *ibid.*, X, 228.
21. J. A. Sutter to A. Suñol, New Helvetia, Aug. 10, 1841, Sutter-Suñol Correspondence, MS (in California State Library).
22. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Aug. 11, 1841, in Vallejo, *op. cit.*, IX, 249; J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Aug. 14, 1841; P. Kostromitinof to M. G. Vallejo, Chlebnikoff ranch, Aug. 27, 1841; M. G. Vallejo to P. Kostromitinof, Sonoma, Aug. 28, 1841, *ibid.*, X, 231, 232, 246.
23. J. S. Hittell, *Hist. of San Francisco*, p. 89.
24. J. A. Sutter to A. Suñol, New Helvetia, Sept. 1, 1841, Sutter-Suñol Correspondence, MS; J. A. Sutter, Diary, MS, p. 3.
25. P. Kostromitinof vs. J. A. Sutter, contract for sale of Ross and Bodega, San Francisco, Dec. 13, 1841, Manuel Castro, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 57-59.

26. J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Sept. 19, 1841, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, X, 282.

27. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, Dec. 12, 1841, Bolton, Mexican Transcripts, MS, No. 69 (in Bancroft Library).

28. P. Kostromitinof to J. B. Alvarado, San Francisco, Dec. 19, 1841, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XXXIII, 251.

29. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 122-39; J. B. Alvarado to Mex. Gov., Monterey, 1842, Dept. Rec., MS, XIII, 9-10; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 229-35.

30. Sir G. Simpson to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Jan. 12, 1842, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XI, 22; Sir G. Simpson to F. Ermatinger, San Francisco, Jan. 12, 1842, *ibid.*, X, 36; M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 111-16, gives a full account of the matter.

31. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, Jan. 21, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 4.

32. J. A. Sutter to J. P. Leese, New Helvetia, Nov. 8, 1841, original letter in Legajo 53-5-7, MS, No. 67, *Archivo General de Guerra y Marina*, Mexico; Copy in Vallejo, *op. cit.*, MS, X, 332.



GENERAL MARIANO G. VALLEJO AT THE AGE OF 70

Reproduced from a photograph in the possession of
Mrs. Francisca V. McGettigan, his granddaughter.

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

and

SONOMA

A Biography and a History

By GEORGE TAYS

CHAPTER X

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS AT SONOMA AND EVENTS FROM 1839 TO 1843

WHILE Vallejo was quarreling with Governor Alvarado and dealing with the Russians and with Sutter, Sonoma slowly developed into a small village which attracted a number of distinguished foreign visitors, among the first of whom was Johann August Sutter, who arrived in July, 1839. Vallejo offered him some fine land to induce him to settle there, which Sutter refused. Salvador Vallejo was so astonished at this that he exclaimed, "My God! What does this man want anyway?" Sutter did not want land in a settled area. He wanted to be alone in the wilds, near navigable water, where he could be in full control of affairs. Such a place he later found at the junction of the Sacramento and American rivers, where he founded the settlement of New Helvetia.¹

Concerning the visit to Sonoma in December, 1839, of Thomas Shaw, of the ship *Monsoon*, with William H. Davis and Jacob P. Leese, Vallejo's brother-in-law, Davis wrote:

We were very cordially received, handsomely entertained at dinner, and invited to pass the night, which we did. On retiring we were shown to our several apartments; I found an elegant bed with beautifully trimmed and embroidered sheets and coverlid and pillows; but on getting into it I discovered there were no blankets, an oversight of the servant, and as the whole house had retired I could not arouse anybody to secure them, lay there shivering and shaking through the night, wishing there were a little less elegance and a little more comfort.²

In January, 1841, Chief Factor James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company came to California to establish a post in San Francisco, to buy cattle and sheep to send back to Oregon, and to get permission to trap in the central valley. He did not visit Sonoma, but did correspond with Vallejo.³

During the late summer of 1841, Sonoma was visited by Lieutenant Cadwalader Ringgold, U.S.N., and several officers of the Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition, who arrived in San Francisco on August 14, 1841.

According to Captain Wilkes, Vallejo was not overscrupulous in demanding duties from vessels entering San Francisco Bay; a statement that shows how little Wilkes knew about California politics. Probably Vallejo would have liked to have collected duties, but the Monterey *politicos* never gave him

a chance. He was entirely dependent on those officials for any money from that source. Wilkes also accused Vallejo of showing a striking disregard for the lives, property, and liberty both of Indians and civilized people and stated that the General had quite a reputation for hunting Indians.⁴ Wilkes, however, had no personal contact with Vallejo, since he never visited Sonoma.

The young French diplomatic agent, Eugène Duflot de Mofras, arrived in California in May, 1841, and early in June visited Sonoma. He remained several days and then went on to Fort Ross, where he arrived on June 11.

Visitor and host seem to have shared a mutual dislike. Vallejo considered Mofras an intelligent, highly educated man, who could be a gentleman if he chose. He intimated, however, that Mofras was a drunkard—conceited, arrogant, and inclined to look down upon and despise Californians. Mofras, in his book, was not complimentary to Vallejo, though he was neither severe nor abusive. He noted that at the time of his visit, the population of Sonoma was about 150 persons, of whom some twenty were foreigners.⁶

On December 30, 1841, Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, arrived in San Francisco from Oregon aboard the *Cowlitz*. On January 3, 1842, he visited Sonoma in company with John McLoughlin and James A. Forbes, where they were received with an artillery salute and the hoisting of colors.⁷ Simpson thus described the scene:

Through a gateway and a courtyard, we ascended a half-finished flight of steps to the principal room of the General's house, being of fifty feet in length, and of other dimensions in proportion. Besides being disfigured by the doors of chambers, to which it appeared to be a passage, this apartment was very indifferently furnished, the only tolerable articles on the bare floor being some gaudy chairs from Woahoo [Oahu], such as the native islanders themselves often make. This was California all over,—the richest and most influential individual in a professedly civilized settlement obliged to borrow the means of sitting from savages, who had never seen a white man till two years after San Francisco was colonized by the Spaniards. . . .⁸

Salvador Vallejo and Jacob P. Leese welcomed the guests who a few minutes later were courteously received by the General in his bedroom, where he was confined because of an injury to his hip which he had suffered while roping cattle. The visitors spent a half hour with him and then breakfasted. Señora Vallejo had the place of honor, followed by her sister, the wife of Captain Fitch; next came a sister-in-law, wife of Captain J. B. R. Cooper, followed by another sister-in-law, Mrs. Leese, with an unmarried sister and Mrs. Cooper's daughter. Of this gathering Sir George Simpson wrote:

It won't be the General's fault, if the English race does not multiply in California; so far as names went, we might have supposed ourselves to be in London or in Boston.

In front of Mr. Leese, who sat at the head of the table as master of the ceremonies, was placed an array of five dishes, two kinds of stewed beef, rice, fowls, and beans. As all the cooking is done in outhouses,—for the dwellings, by reason of the mildness of the climate, have no chimneys or fireplaces,—the dishes were by no means too hot when put on the table, while, by being served out in succession to a party of about twenty people, they became each colder than the other, before they reached their destinations. It was

some consolation to know that the heat must once have been there, for every thing had literally been seethed into chips, the beans or *frixoles* in particular having been first boiled, and lastly fried with an intermediate stewing, to break the suddenness of the transition. Then every mouthful was poisoned with the everlasting compound of pepper and garlick; and this repast, be it observed, was quite an aristocratic specimen of the kind, for elsewhere we more than once saw, in one and the same dish, beef, and tongue, and pumpkin, and garlick, and potatoes in their jackets, and cabbage, and onions, and tomatà, and pepper, and Heaven knows what besides,—this last indefinite ingredient being something more than a mere figure of speech, considering that all the cookery, as one may infer from the expenditure of so much labour, is the work of native drudges, unwashed and uncombed. When to the foregoing sketch are added bad tea and worse wine, the reader has picked up a perfect idea of Californian breakfast, Californian dinner, and Californian supper, and is quite able to estimate the sacrifice which a naturalized John Bull makes for the pleasures of matrimony and the comforts of Roman Catholicism. . . .¹⁰

General Vallego is a good-looking man of about forty-five years of age [really only thirty-four at that time], who has risen in the world by his own talent and energy. His father, who was one of the most respectable men in California, died about ten years ago in Monterey, leaving to a large family of sons and daughters little other inheritance than a degree of intelligence and steadiness almost unknown in the country.¹¹

The guests inspected Vallejo's buildings and premises which occupied an entire block of almost six hundred feet facing the plaza on its north side. At the east end of the block was the two-story adobe barracks, 110 feet long and 50 feet wide. The eastern half of the barracks contained a large assembly hall 52 feet long and 45 feet wide; and along the front of the second story was a five-foot balcony extending the full length of the building. A high adobe wall about 25 feet long, with a wide gate, connected the western end of the barracks with the eastern end of the General's home. Vallejo's mansion was also a two-story adobe, in the form of an L. The main wing, about 130 feet long, faced south and, like the barracks, had a balcony along the front. The other wing projected from the west end toward the north, and was about 100 feet long, both wings being 50 feet wide. At the western corner formed by the intersection of the wings, rose a square tower four stories high. It was about 15 feet square, and around each of the three upper stories was a narrow balcony used by the sentries on guard. Another high adobe wall, 150 feet long, in which was a wide gate, connected the west side of the tower with the east end of Salvador Vallejo's home, which stood at the western end of the block. Don Salvador's house was also a two-story adobe, about 100 feet long, with a balcony along its front. Back of the homes lay spacious gardens, surrounded by a wall, fences, stables, and barns.

Across the street, east of the barracks, stood the church and mission buildings of San Francisco Solano. Along the block fronting on the east side of the plaza, rose the Sonoma jail, the home of Lieutenant Prado Mesa and those of several private individuals, all of adobe. On the western side of the plaza were the two-story adobe homes of Jacob P. Leese, Victor Prudon, and Captain Henry D. Fitch, while scattered among the other blocks were the houses of the

remaining citizens of Sonoma. These few buildings formed the village of Sonoma in 1842.

Sir George Simpson was amused by the number of officers commanding the thirteen soldiers of the Sonoma garrison. He also remarked on the variety of type and color of their uniforms. Each man's clothing was as individual as if he belonged to a different regiment. One was blue, another was buff, and a third one red, etc. :

The only articles common to the whole of this baker's dozen are an enormous sword, a pair of nascent moustaches, deer-skin boots, and that everlasting *serape*, or blanket, with a hole in the middle of it, for the head. This troop the General turns to useful account, being clearly of the opinion that idleness is the very rust of discipline; he makes them catch his cattle, and, in short, discharge the duty of servants-of-all-work—an example highly worthy of the imitation of all military autocrats. The system, however, has led to two or three revolts. On one occasion, a regiment of native infantry, being an awkward squad of fifteen Indians, having conspired against the General, were shot for their pains; and more recently the Californian soldiers, disdainful to drive bullocks, were cashiered on the spot, and replaced by new levies. Besides the garrison, the General possesses several field-pieces and carronades, which, however, are, by reason of the low state of the ammunition, rather ornamental than useful.¹²

Vallejo had a small vineyard about 100 yards square behind the house, which in 1842 was five years old. That year it produced 250 gallons of wine and 280 gallons of brandy. He also had peach and pear trees, three years old and fifteen to twenty feet tall, which then bore fruit.

At dinner General Vallejo appeared, wrapped in his cloak, and his mother, an agreeable woman of sixty, also was present. The meal was almost a counterpart of the breakfast. The same Mr. Leese presided over the same stew, the same beans, and the same pepper and garlic, with the same dead and alive temperature in every morsel. There was but one difference: the guests had a better appetite. The meal was served by one miserable bare-legged Indian servant, dressed in a shirt. When dinner was over, the ladies retired and the men went for a walk. Shortly after, they reassembled for tea, when several young ladies from the town joined them. Dancing of the fandango, the cotillon, and the waltz followed to the tune of guitars played by Don Salvador and one of the troopers. Sir George added: "The scene was rather peculiar for a ball-room, both gentlemen and ladies, when not on active service, smoking furiously, with fully more, in some cases, than the usual accompaniments."¹³

Among the guests was a fierce-looking paunchy little man, enveloped in an immense cloak. He was Lieutenant Prado Mesa, Commander of the Presidio of San Francisco, an Indian fighter of note, who was always getting into private quarrels with almost fatal consequences. Vallejo told his guests about several of them. At a religious festival in 1840, Mesa had intervened in a spat between Francisco Guerrero and his mistress, whereupon the latter stabbed Mesa in the stomach. At another festival, just about dawn, one of Mesa's numerous enemies went up to him and, drawing his knife, said: "What, here it's daylight, and no one stabbed yet!" He made a pass at the fat man with

his deadly blade, and it required all of Vallejo's powerful influence to nip a very promising murder in the bud.

Vallejo's family was growing in number as well as in years. After Plutarco's birth in June, 1839, eighteen months elapsed before Doña Francisca gave birth to the next child. When on a cold wintry morning, February 5, 1841, the new baby arrived, the General was reading from the works of Plato and so upon the infant he bestowed the name of one of the world's greatest thinkers.

All went well in the Vallejo household until the summer of 1841, when Plutarco, the other little Greek thinker, was stricken by an illness at the tender age of two years and one month to which he succumbed on July 11.

While Don Guadalupe's family was increasing, Sonoma's population was also growing. By 1841, a goodly number of foreigners had settled there, and some twenty-three large land grants had been made. Among the recipients were Victor Prudon, James Scott, Edward M. McIntosh, Edward Bale, James Dawson, Captain Stephen Smith, Jasper O'Farrell, Captain Henry D. Fitch, Captain John B. Cooper, and Jacob P. Leese; the last three being brothers-in-law of General Vallejo, Fitch having married Mrs. Vallejo's sister, Josefa Carrillo, while Cooper and Leese were the husbands of Encarnacion and Rosalia Vallejo, respectively. These grants, comprising 400,143 acres, were scattered throughout the northern frontier. By 1841, that frontier, and especially Sonoma, had passed from the wild and barbaric stage and had become, more or less, settled territory.

When General Micheltorena took command of the Territory, Vallejo was left without any particular command; so in order to save his dignity and soothe his feelings, the Governor, on October 6, 1842, appointed him commander of the northern line from Sonoma to Mission Santa Inés. Vallejo accepted the appointment gratefully,¹⁴ and on October 15, 1842, wrote to the new Governor that Sutter was intriguing on the Sacramento:

At this moment I have just been informed that on the Sacramento River there has been an uprising of the native tribes, that there also are being assembled from different places a considerable number of foreigners, some of them with well-known bad tendencies, and it is to be feared that they may intend to pervert the peace; for it has come to be known, I do not know in what way, that the director of the colony on the Sacramento will soon find himself greatly compromised with the government, because of his former conduct and his marked tendency to conspire; he is now invoking his great prestige with the agents of the Hudson's Bay and its numerous hunters. (I believe that this is an exaggeration on Captain Sutter's part, for Ermatinger and the rest of the important men in the company have assured me that they would help me or deport him in case I should think it compatible with the national decorum; of course I did not accept their offer, 1st, because I have twice the force I need to dominate the situation; 2nd, because I do not want Sutter and his friends to lose the money which they have invested in the Sacramento, and I would rather make known to the government that it should establish its proposed colony there), now threatening each day to send a call for French warships which they assure us only await his summons in order to take possession of California. I am aware that the Supreme Government is well informed of all the steps taken by our guest and will soon proceed against him and his accomplices.

Since this may be transcendental, I make it known to you. I regret infinitely to trouble you, who are so recently arrived, but it is necessary and indispensable, considering the small force that is found here; quite sufficient for ordinary cases, but altogether inadequate in case the Indians from the San Joaquin, united with those from the Sacramento and the trappers from Missouri, should attack me on one side; and the Satiyomis should attack me on the other; to which is added the lack of resources upon which I may depend, and the isolation of the frontier and the lack of contact with the other places of the country.¹⁵

A few days after Vallejo sent this warning, he was greatly surprised to hear that on October 19, 1842, Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones had entered Monterey Bay with two American naval vessels, and that on the morning of October 20, he had taken possession of the town.¹⁶ That same day at 7:00 P. M., David Spence wrote to Vallejo that Monterey had been captured by the naval forces of the United States. The message was relayed from Santa Clara to Sonoma by an old Indian, Manuel Marcelo, who had been one of Vallejo's soldiers years before. Marcelo reached Sonoma late on October 22, exhausted by his ride and scarcely able to speak. From a red bandanna about his forehead he produced the crumpled letter.

The news caused Vallejo considerable uneasiness. To Salvador Vallejo and Chief Solano, then training a force of Indians at Huichica for an Indian campaign, he sent a call and ordered all military commanders in Northern California to assemble their forces at San Francisco with all haste, where he would join them.¹⁷ He also issued a bombastic proclamation calling upon the people to reject such allurements as had been held out in Jones's proclamation of October 19, and to take up arms for their country.

Vallejo was about to start for San Francisco, when another message came from Captain Mariano Silva, stating that Commodore Jones had returned Monterey to him with all the necessary apologies and salutes. This message was followed by one from Alvarado, giving the same news and enclosing Jones's letter to him.¹⁸ Alvarado wrote again on October 30, 1842, forwarding Vallejo some letters from Governor Micheltorena, and giving him the news up to then. So far all was quiet, he reported, and Jones was putting himself out to give a thousand satisfactions for the violence he had committed without orders, but his conduct had inspired only distrust.¹⁹ In later years Vallejo said that Captain Silva's report on the restoration of Monterey convinced him that their poor country was at the mercy of the first adventurer who might wish to capture its ports.²⁰

Upon hearing the news of Jones's occupation of Monterey while at San Fernando, Micheltorena also wrote Vallejo that it was impossible to defend Monterey but urged him to incite the people to patriotism, especially those who could bear arms.

On November 19, 1842, Vallejo told Micheltorena that the Sonoma garrison consisted of a small troop of cavalry and a picket of artillery. The garrison on the frontier was having a very difficult time to subsist because the treasury

contributed nothing for their maintenance; therefore, he had been forced to provide the necessities and pay the expenses out of his own income. He urged Micheltorena to relieve him of that financial burden and responsibility by providing funds and supplies with which to pay and feed the troops, otherwise he would be forced to discharge them from the service since he could no longer bear the financial burden.²¹

Micheltorena answered Vallejo on December 2, 1842, saying that he was satisfied with his reasons for not joining him in the south and for remaining in Sonoma, and that he should stay there to watch in case of war. The Governor had previously offended Vallejo by addressing him as lieutenant-colonel when he should have addressed him as colonel of volunteers. In this letter he used the correct title. This tickled Vallejo's vanity, and he could not pass up such a good opportunity to boast:

I believe that the improvement in his correspondence with me was due to the fact that His Excellency had already awakened to the reality of the situation and had convinced himself that the Sonoma frontier was the Egypt of the Californians and that M. G. Vallejo was the arbiter of their destinies. Meanwhile, on my part, I was doing everything in my power to leave General Micheltorena convinced that in our country there were men who knew how to uphold with decorum the dignity of republican citizens.²²

Sailing from Monterey, Commodore Jones arrived at San Francisco on December 14. While there he wrote to Vallejo, expressing a desire to visit Sonoma with some members of his staff. Vallejo was flattered to receive so distinguished a guest and sent him directions for the trip. On the day of their arrival, Vallejo dispatched soldiers and servants with horses to the Sonoma Creek landing to convey his guests to the town, but the American arrived by a different route. Jones assured Vallejo that the change was entirely accidental, due to their unfamiliarity with the sloughs and inlets of the Bay, but Leese told him later he had heard that the Americans had changed their route in order to explore more of the country, as the United States might take the territory. Vallejo, however, preferred to believe what Jones told him.

Failing to recognize Sonoma Creek, Commodore Jones and his officers entered Huichica Creek, and landed near the Huichica hills about 5:00 P. M. As they were making their way toward Sonoma they were discovered by Lieutenant Ramon Carrillo and a picket of militia, who took them as prisoners to the Indian encampment at Huichica Ranch, where Salvador Vallejo and Chief Solano were stationed. These two ordered horses and, taking personal command of the guard, conveyed the prisoners to Sonoma, where they were locked in the garrison flagroom.

About midnight an orderly aroused Colonel Vallejo to report that Solano had arrived from Huichica with a number of prisoners in strange uniforms. Alarmed at the news, Vallejo dressed hurriedly, afraid that some land expedition had entered the country with hostile intent. He buckled on his best sword and followed by his aides, Lieutenant Colonel Prudon and Lieutenant Sabas

Fernandez, hastened to the barracks. There he discovered Commodore Jones, who asked if this was the reception he had prepared for his guests. Vallejo offered his hand and made profuse apologies. Taking the Commodore's arm, he escorted the party to his home, where a fine breakfast was set before them at 2:00 A. M. After they had eaten, they were shown to their rooms and slept until seven o'clock. At eight, Vallejo paraded his troops, hoisted the colors, and fired a thirteen-gun salute in honor of the Commodore, which greatly pleased him. Jones jestingly said that if Micheltorena had been present he would have received a twenty-one gun salute, because, judging from the correspondence, the Governor considered him the ruler of the United States.

Vallejo and Jones discussed Micheltorena's character at some length. Don Guadalupe was convinced that the Commodore had judged the Governor's character aright, and said he could not help blushing when Jones referred to the Governor's pompous proclamation.

Vallejo took his guests to inspect the camp at Huichica where 1,400 Suisun Indians were assembled under his brother Salvador and Chief Solano, for training in the use of hand- and fire-arms. They arrived to find the army eating instead of drilling, and Jones was surprised to discover that there were more women than men present. Turning to Don Salvador, he asked whether the women also fought in the battles. Salvador, who was in a bad humor, replied: "Those women do not fight against the Satiyomis; but if it were a case of battling the Yankees, they would take part in the front rank, and would know how to give a good account of themselves."

Vallejo was indignant at his brother's rudeness and lost no time in giving him to understand that Commodore Jones was his friend and that he was to be treated as such.

While the Americans were conversing with Don Salvador, Ramon Carrillo approached. Jones recognized him, extended his hand pleasantly, congratulated him and then offered him a gold penknife in token of his gratitude for the manner in which he had been treated when a prisoner. Don Ramon, without understanding the words, recognized the meaning and accepted the present.

That evening, from the balcony of Vallejo's home, the American officers watched an Indian dance presented in the plaza. The following day Vallejo staged a rodeo, and another Indian dance in the evening. And the third day, Christmas, there were foot races between ten chosen Suisun and ten Cainamero Indians. To the winner Vallejo gave a beautiful hunting rifle, to which Commodore Jones added a ten-dollar gold coin. That day the guests departed, Vallejo escorting them to the boat landing.

Shortly afterward, Vallejo received a courteous letter from the Commodore thanking him, on behalf of his officers and himself, for the fine hospitality received in Sonoma. The friendly terms in which his illustrious guest had couched the note made Vallejo blush for he remembered Salvador's insult. Don Guadalupe later wrote:

Any man unless he were a warrior would have trembled at hearing those words uttered by the mouth of Salvador Vallejo, a military chieftain whom all the Indians of the north looked upon with profound respect, but he [Jones] was not even frightened, because he was aware of the manner in which I watched over the safety of my guests, and he knew that while I was alive no one would be allowed to take advantage of the state of isolation in which he found himself.²³

Several days after Jones's visit to Sonoma, Vallejo repaid the call aboard the *Cyane*, anchored at Sausalito. He was received with a thirteen-gun salute as he stepped on deck, and three days later, when he departed, another thirteen-gun salute was fired.

Vallejo had a great regard for Commodore Jones. He never missed an opportunity to extol his virtues as an officer, a diplomat, and as a man. He said that during the three days Jones spent in Sonoma, he behaved in such a manner that upon departing he left a void in the hearts of their small community.²⁴

With the arrival of Governor Micheltorena in Monterey in August, 1843, Vallejo relinquished most of his military duties south of the Bay, occupying himself mainly with the management of his estates.

There was one matter which had been sadly neglected during the previous four years, that demanded Vallejo's attention early in 1843: the stealing of horses by the Indians on the frontier. Furthermore, these raiders often carried away Indian girls from the settlements and sold them to the Indians of the Sierra. The situation had become so bad by 1840, that even Sutter appealed to Vallejo for help. During the months from November, 1839, to February, 1840, General Vallejo had sent his brother José de Jesus Vallejo, Lieutenant José Martinez and Ensign Prado Mesa, to the southern San Joaquin Valley to capture the thieves and rescue stolen women and property. He had also sent Captains José Sanchez and Salvador Vallejo to the northern end of the valley for the same purpose. Those expeditions achieved some success, rescuing a number of girls and capturing fourteen thieves, among them the notorious bandit Chief Califa. During this campaign Salvador was wounded, and he became so angry that he was restrained with difficulty from executing all the prisoners on the spot.²⁵

In the spring of 1843, Vallejo sent out the final expedition against the Satiyomies and other northern tribes. On March 5, 1843, Salvador Vallejo and Chief Solano I marched out from their camp at Huichica with an army of seventy cavalymen and two hundred Indians. They campaigned for three weeks in the region of Clear Lake and the present Mendocino County, going as far as Mendocino Bay and having a number of battles with the Indians. In the fiercest engagement, which took place on March 12, 1843, on an island called Moth, some 130 savages were slain. The exact location of the island is uncertain, as Salvador placed it off the coast south of Fort Bragg, but Bancroft believed it was in Clear Lake. Thereafter, until they returned to Sonoma on the 27th, they were constantly retreating, harassed by the Indians of the

Mottiyomi, Chilyomi, Holiyomi, Hayomi, Clustinomayomi, Paquenjilayomi, Scioyomi, Supuyomi, and Tulyomi tribes. On the return of the troops, reports of the massacre spread throughout the territory. Indignant demands were made for a public investigation. The inquiry was ordered, and it was rumored that Vallejo would lose his command. The investigation was made but it resulted in nothing. Don Guadalupe had intended to renew the campaign, but when he heard that he might be relieved he decided to keep his troops at home to defend his property in case his successor wanted to occupy the barracks. Vallejo naturally regarded all buildings and equipment at Sonoma as his own private property, for out of his own pocket he had paid all expenses on the frontier for nine years.²⁶

Vallejo also had sentimental reason for remaining at home during the spring of 1843. Señora Vallejo was about to present the master of Sonoma with another child. The expected event took place on April 29, 1843, when Doña Francisca gave birth to a boy, the fifth male child, and the eighth member of the family. Since this was the eighth child and he himself had been the eighth in his family, the infant was baptized Guadalupe Vallejo.

Horse-stealing and Indian raids did not stop immediately after the March campaign of 1843. In fact it was hinted that the raiders were aided in their activities and in finding a market for the stolen animals, by no less a person than Sutter. The evidence was so strong that Vallejo wrote the master of New Helvetia on July 26, 1843:

Since the frequent desertions of the Indians of this district to yours are a fatal and all-powerful example for others, and inasmuch as this office has definite information that several deserters are at present in hiding in your settlement with stolen horses and goods, I have ordered Lieutenant-colonel Victor Prudon to set out to capture them. He will act under the instructions you have on the subject. I strongly recommend to you for the future, not to continue to protect fugitives of any kind who present themselves in that district, but rather that you secure them to this office with the horses and other property that they may have.²⁷

This condition lasted throughout the year 1843, but by the following year a marked change took place. The American immigrants who began to arrive and settle in greater numbers in the Sacramento Valley did not like Indians. Consequently the natives soon left the valley to live in the forests and mountains. From then on, Indians played a very small part in the life and development of Sonoma.

That the northern frontier had been comparatively peaceful from 1835 on, was of course due mainly to M. G. Vallejo's Indian policy. Of it Bancroft wrote:

General Vallejo's Indian policy must be regarded as excellent and effective when compared with any other policy ever followed in California. True, his wealth, his untrammelled power, and other circumstances contributed much to his success; and he could by no means have done as well if placed in command at San Diego; yet he must be accredited besides with having managed wisely. Closely allied with Solano, the Suisun chieftain, having always—except when asked to render some distasteful military service

to his political associates in the south—at his disposal a goodly number of soldiers and citizens, he made treaties with the gentile tribes, insisted on their being liberally and justly treated when at peace, and punished them severely for any manifestation of hostility. Doubtless the Indians were wronged often enough in individual cases by Vallejo's subordinates; some of whom, and notably his brother Salvador, were with difficulty controlled; but such reports have been greatly exaggerated, and acts of glaring injustice were comparatively rare.

Vallejo's elder brother José de Jesus Vallejo made the following statement concerning the General's policy:

In the course of those nine years he went on more than a hundred campaigns against the heathen savages; and finally if one takes into consideration the fact that the secularization of the missions San Rafael and San Francisco Solano might have caused a general uprising of the Cainamero Indians . . . and many other tribes directly or indirectly allied with them, who would have liked the property of the ex-missions, as many of you as read these lines will see that my brother had reason and to spare in opposing the interference of civil authorities who had little or no knowledge of the situation.

Thomas O. Larkin added this tribute to Vallejo:

His part of California is the most free from robbery or insubordination, with more safety of life and property than any other section of California.²⁸

CHAPTER XI

VALLEJO AND OVERLAND IMMIGRANTS

THE ARRIVAL of American overland immigrants in the Sacramento Valley created a perplexing problem for the Mexican authorities in the early 1840's, especially for Vallejo. While he liked Americans individually (he had three American brothers-in-law, and all but one of his children married foreigners), he feared and did not trust them collectively. He was sure that within a few years, if prompt measures were not taken, the Americans would possess themselves of the country; an outcome he was determined to prevent if possible. When Americans began to arrive in ever-increasing numbers after 1841, he became thoroughly convinced that in this immigration lay the greatest danger to Mexican sovereignty.

Leading newspapers of the United States stated openly that the movement was a step toward the inevitable acquisition of California. Mexican diplomats in the United States sent reports and clippings to Mexico, and as a result the Mexican Government published notices throughout the United States that any person going to California without Mexican consent and a proper passport, did so at his peril. In May, Minister of War Almonte wrote to Vallejo and Alvarado, inclosing clippings and copies of the instructions sent to the United States, that no foreign immigrants lacking legal passports should be permitted to remain in the country, and that even old settlers must leave unless they procured the documents required by law.¹ But the people of California were well disposed toward foreigners, and the authorities treated them much more leniently than the spirit of the laws permitted. There was very

little change from that policy even after the strict orders arrived from Mexico and notwithstanding the danger of American encroachment.

Vallejo was torn between his duty and the fear of the seizure of California on the one hand, and his desire to see California prosper through an increase in population and the development of its natural resources on the other. There was little he could do, except to write long reports to Mexico expressing his misgivings and asking for a large force with which to carry out the orders from the Government. Meanwhile he treated the newcomers with kindness and waited with resignation for the approaching conquest.

Upon the arrival of the Bartleson immigrant party in November, 1841, fifteen of them were arrested as a formality by Sub-prefect Suñol at San José and lodged in the calaboose. All claimed total ignorance of any passport requirements, and on Vallejo's instruction they were treated with kindness and brought before him at Mission San José. He found that they had been lured to California by letters from John Marsh, then living north of Mount Diablo, and at whose ranch the remainder of the company were stopping. Vallejo wrote to Marsh on November 11, 1841, ordering him to appear at San José to give an account of his conduct. When Marsh arrived, Vallejo decided to grant the visitors temporary passports until they could take the proper steps to legalize their residence. He also induced several well-known citizens to become the immigrants' bondsmen, and Marsh himself gave Vallejo a letter of security for fifteen members of the party. In later years all stated that the Californians had treated them with great consideration. Vallejo took great pains to explain the laws under which he was forced to act, and he even sent five of the immigrants to Sonoma to settle there.²

About the same time that the Bartleson party arrived in San José, another party of twenty-five immigrants arrived in Los Angeles from New Mexico. In fact, so concerned was Alvarado over the coming of this William Workman-John Rowland party that he requested José Castro not to go to Mexico as Vallejo's commissioner, because he might be needed at home for some emergency.

When Micheltorena took over the government in 1842, he found the treasury empty. Unable to pay his troops or officials, he had to beg and borrow from the wealthy ranchers and merchants of the territory. One of the hardest hit was Vallejo. During the early months of 1843, Micheltorena repeatedly appealed to him for supplies and just as often was told by Vallejo that he had none and that he found it impossible to continue to support the garrison at Sonoma at his own expense. Vallejo also asked to be relieved from command of the northern line, for he hoped thus to save himself the responsibility and expense of maintaining his own troops, of feeding the Governor's army, and of dealing with incoming foreigners. Micheltorena, however, insisted that Vallejo should continue at his post.³

In February, 1843, Vallejo heard rumors that the Governor doubted that

he supported the Sonoma troops, and that he might be removed from his command. He accordingly wrote several sharp letters to Micheltorena, sending proof of his expenditures and again offering his resignation. In answer the Governor assured him of his high regard, denied that he had doubted his word, and asked Vallejo not to deprive the country of his valuable services. This flattery placated Vallejo, and in recognition of his claims for about 11,000 pesos of supplies furnished the Government, he received the grant of the Soscol ranch situated in the lower Napa Valley, which included the site of the present city of Vallejo. In return, Vallejo sent the *California* to San Pedro in June, loaded with provisions for the Governor's army, with a certain sum of money, which was just what Micheltorena wanted.⁴

Micheltorena marched his rag-tag army to Monterey, where he established his capital on August 13, 1843. No sooner had he arrived than rumors of a revolutionary plot were heard throughout the north. On August 14, Vallejo announced the discovery of a plot and ordered some documents seized from Juan Padilla, at San José. There were other discoveries elsewhere, but nothing came of it. Vallejo did not attend the Governor's reception, but sent his brother Salvador on September 4, with letters explaining the situation on the frontier and inviting Micheltorena to Sonoma.⁵ His Excellency, however, was too busy trying to make financial ends meet, to be interested in pleasure trips. To solve the difficult problem he called an economic conference to meet at Monterey early in October. Vallejo went to the capital and on October 9 met with sixteen other officials to discuss ways and means. The Governor presided and explained the object of the meeting. Vallejo was chosen secretary, and with six others was appointed as a committee to report in four days on a plan to reduce expenses. By lowering the salaries of all civil officials the civil budget was reduced by 34,350 pesos, and by cutting officers' pay a saving of some 10,000 pesos in the military budget was effected. When the conference adjourned, governmental expenses had been cut almost in half.⁶

During the spring of 1843, Vallejo was involved in a controversy with the Church over the payments of tithes. Bishop Francisco Garcia Diego, appointed late in 1841, had established his episcopal see at Santa Barbara. He soon discovered that money from the Pious Fund and from Mexico was not forthcoming and that he had to rely upon local tithes, payment of which was supposed to be voluntary. By 1843, many persons, especially those in Northern California, refused to pay the *diezimo* or tenth, demanded of them. Vallejo flatly refused to pay and entered into a verbal and written controversy with Father Mercado, the collector, over the matter. He declared that for years he had supported the church at Sonoma; that he would contribute still more liberally for the purpose of establishing new missions on the frontier; but that he would never recognize the right of the bishop to tax him a tenth of his property, to be spent on impractical and profitless episcopal schemes. The heads of the church were angered by Vallejo's response and there was talk

of excommunication, but there the matter ended. This threat was held over the heads of others not so well situated, with good results, although some followed Vallejo's example and refused to pay. José Sanchez of San Francisco was refused the rites of the Church on his death-bed because of his refusal to pay tithes, and for a time his body was not given Christian burial on that account.⁷

The stream of American immigration into California, though somewhat diminished by the efforts of the Mexican minister Almonte in Washington, who was publishing the fact that they were not welcome in California, nevertheless continued to trickle in. But notwithstanding the decrees of the Mexican Government,⁸ all foreigners were welcomed in California and treated with uniform kindness by the people and authorities, and the latter readily granted lands to the newcomers and made it easy for them to settle. Occasional rumors spread, nevertheless, that all Americans were to be expelled, which caused much concern among the more timid immigrants.

In spite of all his kindness to foreigners, Vallejo continued to express his fears of them. On May 19, 1843, he wrote to the Governor that there was a constant tendency on the part of Americans to raise questions against the country's authorities. They always ignored the Mexican side of the case, revived questions already settled, presented accusations against the Supreme Government, and made absurd demands. However, he always treated them frankly and hospitably, and more leniently than natives.⁹

During the summer of 1843, Vallejo had a considerable controversy with Sutter over the former's jurisdiction in the Sacramento Valley. Sutter was inclined to consider Vallejo as interfering in his private affairs, while Don Guadalupe thought that the Captain was prone to protect deserters and horse-thieves. After considerable correspondence with Sutter, Vallejo wrote to Micheltorena enquiring as to just what authority and jurisdiction Sutter had. The reply was that he had been invested with local civil authority. All this came about because Sutter had given passports to the members of the Hastings party recently arrived from Oregon.¹⁰

The year 1844 had just begun, and only ten months had elapsed since the birth of the baby Guadalupe, when the Vallejo family made preparations to welcome another member. The birth of the new child took place on February 23, 1844. The fourth daughter was named Jovita Francisca, the second name for her mother.

The older girls and boys were growing up and their education had to be considered. Captain Stephen Smith on one of his voyages bought three pianos in Baltimore and brought them to California in March, 1843. These three were the first pianos introduced into California. One was sold to José Abrego in Monterey, another to Eulogio Célis in San Pedro, and the third to M. G. Vallejo who shipped it to Sonoma. It was upon this instrument that his children were to receive their musical training.¹¹

Early in the spring of 1844, Micheltorena, still hard-pressed for money, sent Manuel Castañares, custom-house administrator, to plead with Vallejo for a loan. Vallejo was inclined to refuse, but finally advanced 2,000 pesos in gold coin. For this loan Micheltorena gave him, in June, 1844, a grant of some 35,000 acres of land, lying northeast of his Petaluma ranch and including a large portion of the upper Petaluma Valley.¹²

During the summer of 1844, Micheltorena learned from Mexico that the United States and Texas had signed a treaty of annexation. The news was published by the Governor in July, and steps were taken to place California on a war footing. All citizens between the ages of fifteen and sixty years, including naturalized foreigners, were enlisted in two regiments of militia. The second regiment with headquarters at Sonoma, was commanded by M. G. Vallejo. About 1,000 men were enrolled, but by September the danger had passed.¹³

About this time the Kelsey party of thirty-six immigrants arrived at Sutter's Fort from Oregon. Among its members who settled in and about Sonoma were Henry Fowler, William Fowler, William Hargrave, Andrew Kelsey, Benjamin Kelsey, David Kelsey, Samuel Kelsey, and Granville P. Swift.

Soon after the Kelsey party arrived, Dr. Edward Turner Bale, who had lived at Sonoma for some years, tried to murder Salvador Vallejo. Dr. Bale was married to a niece of Salvador Vallejo and lived with the latter's family. One day in June the Doctor was caught spreading rumors which cast doubt on Don Salvador's veracity. Salvador had him publicly flogged and Bale left Sonoma for a time. Several weeks later, as Salvador was walking across the plaza with Don Cayetano Suarez, they were suddenly attacked from behind by Bale. The Doctor had ridden into town a short time before in company with fourteen American friends, fully armed and intending to kill Salvador. As Bale rode up to his intended victim he fired two shots, one of which grazed Don Salvador's neck and the other wounded Suarez in the left jaw, but before Bale could shoot again, a number of spectators rushed to the aid of the wounded men. Bale and his companions, noting the angry temper of the assembling crowd, fled across the plaza to the home of Jacob P. Leese, the alcalde, and sought protection.

When Chief Solano heard of the attempted murder, he assembled some fifty of his bravest Indians and demanded the criminal. They broke down the door, rushed upstairs and dragged Bale outside, tied him hand and foot, and started for an oak tree known as the "punishment tree," where they proposed to hang him. Don Guadalupe stopped the proceedings and demanded the surrender of the prisoner to him for proper legal punishment. Solano and his Indians gave up Bale on Vallejo's promise that he would be punished.

The case was reported to the Governor at once. Victor Prudon was appointed prosecutor, a trial was held and Bale was found guilty, but some days later the Governor ordered Vallejo to set him free. Don Guadalupe protested,

but Micheltorena said that he feared trouble with Britain, and so Vallejo had Bale liberated, and asked Salvador to escort the Doctor to Huichica. Salvador did so, and on parting told Bale that he was free but that some day he would avenge the attempted crime. Whereupon Bale knelt and asked his uncle-in-law's forgiveness. The two then embraced and the incident was closed.

Another group of immigrants arrived in November and December, 1844: some sixty-five men, women and children, led by Elisha Stevens, came from the East over Yuba Pass. Sutter gave them the necessary passports and entered into correspondence with Vallejo, who was somewhat worried over the situation.¹⁴

On November 14 and 15, a revolt broke out against the Governor in the Salinas Valley, during which all army horses were driven away. One hundred of those horses had been bought from Vallejo in September at 50 pesos each.¹⁵ The revolt spread, and José Castro and Juan B. Alvarado became its leaders. Earlier, Alvarado had visited Sonoma, probably to sound Vallejo's views, but returned without definite results.

On November 18, Vallejo heard of the uprising and wrote to the Governor that in his belief the only ill-feeling of the Californians was directed against the convict troops, and suggested that both he and the country would benefit if they were sent back to Mexico. Vallejo promised to defend the Governor in his authority if he were threatened after the departure of the troops.¹⁶ On the 20th of November Alvarado wrote to Vallejo, giving him a detailed account of the revolt and begging him to support it in person or else send Salvador with horses and supplies. Don Guadalupe dispatched Salvador to interview Alvarado. There were fourteen points on which he wanted data by which to plot his course in accordance with honor, duty, and patriotism.¹⁷

Vallejo was in a difficult position. He was torn between his duty as a Mexican officer to support his superior and the call of his friends and relatives to aid them in ridding California of a band of criminals. If he did not support the Governor he would be considered a traitor. As a native Californian he could not fight against his family and his friends. He finally decided to remain neutral, giving the following reasons for his actions: first, he believed that if Micheltorena found himself without support he would resign to avert a civil war; second, if he (Vallejo) left Sonoma to engage in a campaign against the rebels, he would necessarily leave his family unprotected and in want, because the Governor did not have money enough to provide rations for his troops. Furthermore, he probably would have had to shoulder all the expenses of the campaign. Finally, since the Governor's troops were composed of convicts, he did not consider it proper to support a party which countenanced such wicked men. Therefore, on November 28, 1844, he discharged his Sonoma forces to avoid obeying orders to send reinforcements. To Micheltorena he wrote that same day that he had disbanded his troops because he could sup-

port them no longer. The men were left free to gain a living as best they could.¹⁸ Some of them no doubt joined the rebels.

Notwithstanding his resolution of neutrality, Vallejo retained his military commission and post. It never seems to have occurred to him that so long as he did not resign his office he could not be neutral. If he really had wanted to be neutral, the honorable course for him to have followed would have been to resign from the army and retire as a private citizen.

Early in December, after Castro and Alvarado had signed a treaty with Micheltorena, fearing that the Governor would not keep its terms, they asked Vallejo to meet them at San Pablo. At this conference they gave Vallejo a detailed account of the revolt and he told them that he would join the revolution on condition that he be given supreme command of the rebel army, and that the fight would not end until the convict troops had been driven from California. Castro replied that all they wanted was his advice, a guarantee of a refuge under certain conditions, and a letter written by him to Micheltorena, which they would dictate; this last to be delivered by James A. Forbes who was in league with them. Vallejo refused, and returned to Sonoma more convinced than ever that he should remain neutral. However, he did write to the Governor, but not in the vein his friends had anticipated. He reported the condition of affairs and urged Micheltorena to observe the treaty and to prevent the foreigners from interfering in domestic matters.¹⁹

Vallejo, perhaps, was one of the few important Californians who from an impersonal motive was concerned about the participation of the foreigners in the revolution. Micheltorena wanted them on his side in order to strengthen his forces so that he might win. Alvarado and Castro, though fearing them from previous experience, nevertheless were willing to enlist them if they could be had, since it meant winning the revolution. Vallejo, on his part, feared them on either side, because he realized that once in advantageous positions it might not be easy to break the foreigners' hold on the government. He therefore urged Micheltorena, Alvarado and Castro not to enlist foreigners in their ranks, and he particularly took exception to Sutter's activities in forming a foreign legion to serve in the Governor's army. Among the old time foreigners of Monterey, such as Larkin, Spence, Spear, and others, there was considerable opposition to foreign participation in the revolt or on behalf of the government. Therefore, they directed their energies to opposing Sutter's plans and to persuading their friends and the new arrivals not to meddle in quarrels that did not concern them.²⁰

It happened that when the order came from Mexico to repel American invasion in the summer of 1844, a company of militia was to be formed at New Helvetia under Captain Sutter. He soon notified Micheltorena that the company was ready to defend the Fatherland. In October, Sutter and Bidwell went to Monterey. At San José, Forbes told them of the revolt then being planned; of this they warned the Governor. Micheltorena then made a con-

tract with Sutter by which he was to grant Sutter more land for assistance rendered when called upon. Sutter returned home by water and at once began to prepare for a campaign. Meanwhile, Micheltorena sent all Americans assurances of his friendship. From San José, Alvarado and Castro also sent Sutter friendly messages.²¹

Early in December, Sutter sent a call to all foreigners in the north asking them to join in aiding the Governor. Vallejo heard of it and on December 13 wrote to Sutter. He said that in view of Sutter's letter to foreigners, it was his duty to point out that the country was at peace, and that rebellion existed only in Sutter's fevered imagination. The Governor had agreed to return his "Pretorian Guard" to Mexico and everything was settled satisfactorily. Therefore, Sutter must not presume to break the agreement and the peace by his activities, working from a false premise.²²

Sutter replied to Vallejo on December 17, saying that he had sent Wyman and Coon to San Rafael to notify all foreigners and citizens favoring the Government, to assemble at Sutter's Fort, so as to march from there under Vallejo's command to protect the Governor. He wrote to Jaspas O'Farrell that in case the men had no horses he should give them some from the government ranch. But since O'Farrell would not deliver horses without Vallejo's order, he begged the latter to issue the order. He also said that the horses belonging to Vallejo and other individuals, taken by mistake by his men, had been returned to Vallejo's soldiers. Since his men had no horses, Vallejo could do him a great favor by giving him a hundred horses from the many he possessed. In return, Sutter offered him the use of his vessel and his men any time Vallejo called for their service. Besides offering the services of his soldiers to Vallejo, Sutter gave him information of the companies of foreign immigrants who had arrived and those who were still on the way. One of these companies, led by Captain Hastings and consisting of sixty wagons, was due very soon.²³

Sutter wrote to Vallejo again on the 17th, in reply to a letter from the latter of December 15, in which he had sent Sutter a copy of the treaty of Santa Teresa. With the treaty went an admonition that there was no trouble, and if there were, he (Vallejo) would be the first to go to the Governor's aid. Sutter replied that he was grateful for being saved from making an unnecessary expedition; nevertheless, he had information that Castro and Alvarado were plotting trouble, and that they wanted to deport the Governor. He wanted to know why Castro continued to assemble men at San José and suggested that Vallejo was ignorant of the plots Castro and Alvarado had formed. As he himself was thoroughly convinced, he proposed to march to protect the peace and the Governor. He closed by offering Vallejo the services of his forces.²⁴

On December 18, 1844, Vallejo forcefully remonstrated with Sutter about the legality and advisability of marching his foreign troops to Monterey.

He asked him to ponder over the consequences of his act, which might compromise the Governor, the Californians, and also the foreigners also. It might also happen that the results would be very different from what he expected. He might bring upon himself the curses of the natives, or bring suffering to the foreigners. Furthermore, the strangers had no right to intervene in a domestic matter between the government and the people. What right had they to decide for the Californians? Such meddling would do more to cause trouble than to bring peace. Vallejo was sure there was no plot, and he ignored Sutter's reasons for saying so. Sutter's object might be laudable in itself, but his foreign troops would only encourage the Governor falsely. It might lead him to arbitrary acts, and it would be very repugnant to see the Governor at the head of a band of foreigners devastating the towns. As a friend, Vallejo did not like to see Sutter compromised thus. He said that Sutter had complicated the matter and unthinkingly had branded as rebels a multitude of citizens who were complaining in good faith to have the government right their wrongs. Vallejo decided to close the correspondence on the subject; but if Sutter really wanted to aid Micheltorena, he should send him money and all other supplies so that the Governor might break his solemn word. He added that the foreigners had been scandalously protected since the arrival of Governor Micheltorena, even against the wishes of the National Government, so the foreigners had no complaints to make. The Governor had violated the law by granting land to non-citizens, and the time would come when he would have to answer for it to the Supreme Government. Vallejo declined with thanks Sutter's offer of his armed forces, saying that though he had none of his own, nevertheless he had never wanted any foreigner to help him against his government, and much less against the Californians who were his friends. If he ever used such a force he would be a traitor to his beliefs, his government, his countrymen, and would deserve the reproaches which he had mentioned. If Sutter was bound to Micheltorena, in arming foreigners against the country in which he lived and sought his fortunes, he would do well to think it over well, because the responsibilities of it were bound to overtake him sometime.²⁵

This appeal did not reach the foreigners as a class, upon many of whom its arguments and force would have made an impression. It had no effect whatever on Sutter, who went on with his preparations. He sent his agents all over the northern frontier in quest of supplies and horses. On December 22, he sent a party of twenty Americans to Vallejo's Soscol ranch to take the government horses, which Antonio Rico had removed from there several days before. They attacked the ranch, which was undefended, shot a cow and ate it, then took all of Vallejo's horses which happened to be in the vicinity and drove them to New Helvetia. Vallejo became indignant at this theft, and decided to punish the foreigners. He called a meeting at Sonoma at which Alcalde Leese was present. Vallejo asked him to aid him with some men in order to protect

the common security and recover the stolen property. Leese replied that he had no more men for that purpose.²⁶

Evidently Vallejo and Leese were not getting along very well at that time, for it seems strange that Leese would not help his brother-in-law. He relented the next day, however, and in a short note to Vallejo, offered to go to Sacramento to take Vallejo's letter to Sutter with an inventory of the horses and saddles taken, and to demand their return.²⁷ Leese went to New Helvetia but there fell under Sutter's influence and returned empty handed, much to Vallejo's disgust.

That Vallejo did not trust Leese is evident by what he wrote at the time he went to San Pablo to meet Castro and Alvarado, for he cut the meeting short in order to return to Sonoma. He said: "I was ready to return to Sonoma where my presence was urgently needed in order to counteract the aims of certain emissaries who had crossed the bay in a launch owned by my brother-in-law Jacob P. Leese, who was somewhat compromised with Captain John A. Sutter."²⁸

Sutter paid no attention to Vallejo's protests and sent his men to get horses at Petaluma, threatening even to attack Sonoma, and talking freely about capturing Castro and Alvarado dead or alive. While thus engaged, and at the very time he was sending the party to raid Soscol ranch, on December 21, he wrote Vallejo another letter. He said that the foreigners were friendly and harmless, that there was no need to worry about them, and that there was no occasion for him to use the very strong expressions against them that Vallejo had used. Some of the foreigners felt insulted over such statements and complained of Vallejo's actions and law enforcement.²⁹ Vallejo received it at the time he heard about the raid on his property, and replied rather angrily in the letter that Leese took to New Helvetia on December 24.³⁰

In this controversy of words with Sutter, Vallejo had every law and right on his side. There was not the slightest reason why foreign non-citizens should take part in California's political controversies which in no way concerned them. Their only reason for so doing was that they wanted to make trouble, and Vallejo was justified in fearing and resenting their intrusion. After the 24th, Vallejo did not write again to Sutter, but remained quietly at Sonoma watching the operations of the new revolution which broke out against Micheltorena early in January, 1845. There was some alarm felt at Sonoma soon after Sutter and Micheltorena set out for the south. A rumor spread that Sutter had detached a part of his force to return and ravish the northern frontier. Vallejo for some reason gave credit to the report, and busied himself in preparations for defense until he received a letter from A. M. Osio at Yerba Buena saying that there was no truth in the rumor.³¹

On February 5, 1845, Mrs. Vallejo gave birth to a baby boy. This time Don Guadalupe chose a strange name for the new son, who was baptized Uladislao E. Vallejo, and who was the tenth child in the family.

Although Vallejo took no part in the revolt, after Micheltorena was defeated, Castro as general and Pio Pico as governor decided to retain Vallejo as commander of the northern lines from Sonoma to Santa Inés. Thus he was still on the winning side. In fact, he was so well thought of by the revolutionary party that the legislative assembly selected Vallejo as one of the five candidates from which the National Government should select a governor for California. The list of candidates in order of preference, drawn up on June 27, 1845, was: Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, M. G. Vallejo, José de la Guerra, and Antonio M. Osio. Pio Pico was selected.³²

During 1845, Vallejo brought a suit against the Government for 5,600 pesos, which were due him as a military officer, and for over 6,000 pesos for goods and other supplies advanced. Of these amounts he collected only a small part.³³

If Vallejo's concern over the number of immigrants of 1844 was great, his worries grew immeasurably greater when the number of arrivals tripled in 1845. The first of the groups to come was one from Oregon with forty-three members, including one woman and three children, led by Green McMahon and James Clyman.

The second company was the Swasey-Todd company of some thirteen young men with a pack-train which crossed the Sierra and arrived at New Helvetia on September 27, 1845. The third party of the year, consisting of fifteen men, was led by William Sublette, who reached Sutter's Fort on October 5, 1845. Three weeks later John Grigsby and William B. Ide came with the fourth and much larger group, which traveled in wagons and numbered some fifty men, with as many more women and children. Some twenty members of this party settled in and around Sonoma in November.

The 10th of December saw the arrival of Captain John C. Frémont and his company. This exploring party, semi-military in form, crossed the Sierra with some sixty members, and because of the prominent part it was to play in Californian affairs was the most important group yet to reach California.

The sixth and last 1845 immigrant party was that of Langsford W. Hastings. This small group of only ten men arrived at Sutter's Fort on December 25. Besides these overland immigrants, a number of newcomers had arrived by sea. All told, the year 1845 brought some 420 foreigners to California, most of them American.³⁴ These men were to end an era in California history in which Vallejo had grown rich and powerful. They were the heralds of a new epoch, during which Don Guadalupe's power was to wane, his wealth was to diminish, and he was to pass away almost forgotten.

Notwithstanding the bitter feeling that existed in Mexico against Americans, the expectations of hostilities, the warlike nature of the orders sent to California and the preparations carried on here, the immigrants from the United States were received with the greatest hospitality and kindness, not only by private individuals but by the government officials as well. On the

other hand, in spite of the fact that most of them entered the country illegally, the foreigners were not backward in proclaiming their disregard and contempt for all Mexican formalities of law and for the people as well. These ignorant Americans circulated among themselves and believed all kinds of stupid rumors that the Californians were going to oppress the foreigners. Led by men who desired an outbreak, the immigrants found it impossible to understand that the Mexicans had any rights in their own country. A common remark among them was, "the Spaniards are becoming troublesome!" whenever they were called on to observe the laws. It was this attitude of ingratitude and disdain that made Vallejo burn with indignation as he penned his long letters of warning to the Mexican Government.

On September 12, 1845, there arrived from Mexico more positive news of impending war, and a direct and very proper order that the entry of Americans from Oregon and Missouri must be stopped. Governor Pico published the order and it was called to the special attention of both Castro and Vallejo, but no attempt was made to enforce it. When General Castro and Andrés Castillero visited Sutter's Fort in November they summoned the immigrants to appear before them. When asked for their passports, they replied they had none because they had set out for Oregon where they were unnecessary. Castro read them the order of July 10, to which they answered that it was impossible at this time to return to Oregon because of the snow. They promised to submit to the laws in all respects if allowed to remain, and to leave in the spring if their petitions to settle were not granted. Castro allowed them to stay on condition that they would assemble at Sonoma under the vigilance of Vallejo, obey the laws, give bonds for good behavior, and apply within three months for permission to remain. They accepted the conditions and many complied within a month. This procedure was repeated at several places from Sonoma to Sutter's Fort.³⁶

During 1845 Sutter gave the authorities considerable trouble by granting large tracts of land in the Valley to foreigners. Vallejo complained bitterly of such actions because it was dangerous to the safety of the territory.³⁷ Castro visited Sutter's Fort with the idea of buying out Sutter's properties as a means of ending the menace of the immigrants. But Sutter wanted 100,000 pesos, which was more than the Government would or could pay. The Russians to whom Sutter still owed 30,000 pesos, offered to sell to Mexico their mortgage on his holdings as a means of getting rid of him. The Government had this plan under consideration in 1846, when the war broke out.³⁸

While these negotiations for Sutter's Fort were in progress, Vallejo wrote to Former President Bustamante, of Mexico, giving what was undoubtedly his sincere personal opinion of the American menace. In it Vallejo complained of Sutter's action in granting immense areas of the most valuable lands to American immigrants and stated that so many of them had settled on the Sacramento River and its tributaries that a large part of it had become known

as the "River of the Americans." He had received repeated instructions from the Minister of War and Marine to fortify that part of the Department, but he had neither money nor soldiers with which to do this.

The emigration of North Americans to California today forms an unbroken line of wagons from the United States clear to this Department, and how can they be turned back without forces and resources? It is necessary, sir, it is indispensable that the Supreme Government should send us both. This has been for some years my incessant supplication. Troops and money! because the first without the second is useless, and only by uniting both can they save us from the imminent danger that surrounds us. I understand *troops* to mean defenders of the public rights and not aggressors against private property.

I see with regret what I predicted to the National Government more than eight years ago gradually coming true. The stream of Americans then was only *considerable*, and today it is *frightful*.³⁹

This seems to be conclusive evidence that at that late date he was not the friend of American annexation he later claimed to be. Had he really desired it, he would not have taken such great pains to dwell upon its dangers every time he wrote official or private letters to Mexico.

During the early part of 1846, Vallejo was at Sonoma. He took no part in the political quarrels between General Castro and Governor Pico. He attended to his own affairs on the frontier and kept a watchful eye on Sutter's activities. On November 10, 1845, Sutter notified Vallejo that Captain Frémont had arrived with a small party and was to pass the winter in California.⁴⁰

Frémont moved into the vicinity of Monterey on March 3, and camped on the Salinas River on March 4. From there he was ordered by General Castro to leave the territory. Frémont refused to do so and fortified himself at the top of Gavilan Peak, from the 6th to the 9th, and there defied the Californians. On March 10, he abandoned his fort and retreated to the San Joaquin Valley.

Great was Vallejo's surprise to receive a note on March 12, from Sub-prefect Francisco Guerrero, of San Francisco, dated March 11, giving the news of Frémont's raising the American flag over his Gavilan fort. On March 14, Guerrero again wrote to Vallejo, notifying him that Frémont had departed. That same day, Vallejo issued a proclamation to the people of California in which he said that Frémont had raised the American flag; therefore he called on all who considered themselves Mexicans to lend their aid against the invaders. Only the aged and children were excepted. Those who failed to accept military service were to be branded as infamous and traitors to the fatherland for closing their eyes to the dangers which menaced the nation.⁴¹

On March 16, 1846, General Castro summoned Vallejo to a military assembly at Monterey. Vallejo arrived at the capital on March 28. After long debates the council decided: first, that Castro must remain in the north, and the towns must be fortified and defended; second, Governor Pico should be invited to Monterey to help save the territory; third, if Pico did not come, General Castro was to act as seemed best and he was to establish his head-

quarters at Santa Clara; fourth, these arrangements were to continue until orders and aid arrived from Mexico.⁴²

It was at a session of this group that Vallejo claimed to have made his famous speech in favor of annexing California to the United States. There has been much speculation as to whether the speech was ever delivered, but on taking all evidence into account it must be concluded with Bancroft, that that particular speech was a child of Vallejo's imagination.⁴³

Sometime after Vallejo returned to Sonoma from Monterey, perhaps in May, he received a letter from Pablo de la Guerra who was an advocate of absolute independence for California. After outlining the situation in the territory, he asked Vallejo which he would support, Castro's idea of a French protectorate, Pico's party in favor of England, or absolute independence. On the margin of this letter Vallejo wrote that he had replied that it was preferable for the Californians to be annexed to the United States rather than to be ruled by lords fifteen thousand miles away.⁴⁴ This seems to be the only instance, in all his vast correspondence, where Vallejo expressed his preference in writing, and here he did so only indirectly.

While Vallejo was peacefully resting at home after his return from Monterey early in May, 1846, General Castro at his headquarters at Santa Clara was busily preparing for his war against Governor Pico and perhaps against an American invasion of Northern California by Frémont or other forces. To do so he needed horses and supplies. Early in June he crossed the Bay to San Rafael, and on June 5, visited Sonoma in company with Lieutenant Francisco Arce, to solicit the needed supplies from Vallejo. At San Rafael, Castro obtained from Timothy Murphy two hundred horses belonging to the Indians, and the Mission San Rafael gave him one hundred more, while from Vallejo he received supplies, and six guns and fourteen rounds of ammunition for each, to arm the six men guarding the horses sent to Santa Clara by way of the Sacramento Valley, under Lieutenant Arce.⁴⁵

In spite of all the military activities going on elsewhere in the territory, Vallejo had not seen fit to reenlist his former soldiers. If he was to remain neutral in the coming civil war, he could not afford to have an army. Much was written in later years about the stronghold at Sonoma, of a fort, of a garrison and stores of arms and ammunition. Those statements, however, were untrue. It is true that there were there some nine small, old brass cannons, mostly unserviceable, and some two hundred muskets, shopworn and out of repair, with a small quantity of ammunition, too old to be of much account. This was Sonoma's military strength on the night of June 13, 1846. The fact is that on that fateful night, Sonoma and the Vallejo household went to sleep with only two aged Indians and an old dog to keep watch over them.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 122-50.

2. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, pp. 87-88.

3. J. Douglas to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Feb. 15, Mar. 1, Mar. 11, 1841, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, X, 57, 77, 81.
4. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, Philadelphia, 1850, V, 196-98.
5. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 244-59.
6. E. Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon*, I, 324-25, 446-47.
7. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World During the Years 1841 and 1842*, I, 307-8.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-9.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 310-12.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 320-21.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
14. M. Micheltoarena to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, Oct. 6, 1842, Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, MS, II, 35-36.
15. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Oct. 15, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 273.
16. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 298-329. This chapter gives full details of the entire episode.
17. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 297-99; M. G. Vallejo, proclamation to people of Sonoma, Sonoma, Oct. 24, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XIV, 35.
18. P. Mesa to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Oct. 22, 1842; Com. Thomas Ap C. Jones, proclamation to Californians, Monterey, Oct. 19, 1842; M. Silva to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Oct. 21, 22, 1842; J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Oct. 23, 1842; Com. T. C. Jones to J. B. Alvarado and M. Silva, Monterey, Oct. 21, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282, 283.
19. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Alisal, Oct. 30, 1842, *ibid.*, XI, 286.
20. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 300-1.
21. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Nov. 6, 19, 1842, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 290, 300, 308; also Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 308-9.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-11.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 343.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 325-45.
25. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XXXIII, 343; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 357-60; Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, MS, III, 31; Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Custom House, V, 10.
26. S. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo, Mendocino, Mar. 13, 1843, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 342; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Apr. 1, 1843, *ibid.*, pp. 354, 361; M. Micheltoarena to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, Apr. 26, 1843, *ibid.*, p. 366; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 361-63; Marion L. Lothrop, "The Indian Campaigns of M. G. Vallejo," in *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, IX, No. 3, Sept., 1932, 192-205.
27. Lothrop, *ibid.*, p. 194.
28. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 70-71; also Lothrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

1. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 271-73; Min. Almonte to M. G. Vallejo, Mexico, May 20, 1841, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, X, 146; Sup. Govt. to J. B. Alvarado, Mexico, May 20, 1841, Sup. Govt. St. Pap., MS, XVI, 20.
2. M. G. Vallejo to J. Marsh, San José, Nov. 11, 1841; M. G. Vallejo to A. Suñol, San José, Nov. 13, 1841; J. Marsh to M. G. Vallejo, San José, Nov. 13, 1841; M. G. Vallejo to I. Alviso, San José, Nov. 17, 1841; T. Brown to M. G. Vallejo, San José, Nov. 18, 1841; J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Dec. 8, 1841; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, X, 335, 339, 340, 350, 355, 375.
3. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XI, 344, 365; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Apr. 1, May 19, 1843, *ibid.*, 355, 377.

4. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Apr. 1, May 19, 1843, *ibid.*, XL, 356, 371; M. Micheltoarena to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, Apr. 25, 1843, *ibid.*, XI, 365; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 350-53.
5. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Sept. 4, 1843, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XI, 445, 446; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Aug. 14, 1843, *ibid.*, 442; J. J. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo, Aug. 19, 1843, *ibid.*, 444.
6. *Junta consultativa y economica en Monterey*, Oct., 1843, MS, Bancroft Library; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 379-82.
7. Fr. F. Mercado to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, Mar. 15, 19, 1843, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 347, 349; M. G. Vallejo to Fr. Mercado, Sonoma, Mar. 18, 19, 1843, *ibid.*, 348, 350; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 70-80.
8. In the hope of stopping entirely the influx of Americans, on July 14, 1843, President Santa Ana issued an order to the governors of California, Chihuahua, Sonora and Sinaloa, prohibiting the citizens of the United States to reside in their departments, but this created such a diplomatic storm that the Mexican Government had to withdraw it. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 380; *Niles' Register*, LXV, 352; Pres. Santa Ana, Decree, Mexico, June 17, 1843, Guerra, *Doc. MS*, I, 35-38; Dept. St. Pap., Benicia, Pref. y Juzg., MS, II, 2; Min. Bocanegra to M. Micheltoarena, Mexico, Oct. 9, 1843, Sup. Govt. St. Pap., MS, 3.
9. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, July 26, 1843, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XI, 373.
10. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, July 26, 1843, *ibid.*, XI, 401, 402; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Oct. 7, 1843, *ibid.*, XI, 462; Dept. St. Pap., MS, V, 118; M. Jimeno to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Dec., 1843, Dept. St. Pap., MS, V, 3; Vallejo, *ibid.*, XI, 472; J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, July 19, 1843, Vallejo, *ibid.*, XI, 426.
11. In the spring of 1846, the Vallejo children started their music lessons under Andrew Hoepfner, an immigrant of 1845. On March, 1846, a contract was drawn up giving Hoepfner about 1,000 acres of land if he would give piano lessons to all of Vallejo's children. E. D. Holden, "California's First Pianos," in *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XIII, 34-37, Mar., 1934.
12. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 385.
13. Min. Tornel to M. Micheltoarena, Mexico, May 11, 1844, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 35; M. Micheltoarena, military regulations for California militia, Monterey, July 16, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 51; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, July 19, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 55; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 406-9.
14. M. G. Vallejo to J. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 24, 1844, Vallejo Doc. MS, 114, Huntington Library.
15. M. Micheltoarena to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Sept. 18, 1844; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Oct. 28, 1844, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, XII, 95.
16. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Nov. 18, 1844, in Bear Flag Papers, MS, p. 3; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 417-18.
17. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, San Pablo, Nov. 20, 1844, in Alvarado, *Carta Relacion*, MS, p. 108; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Nov. 22, 1844, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XIV, 21-22.
18. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 410-11; M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Nov. 28, 1844; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 3.
19. M. G. Vallejo to M. Micheltoarena, Sonoma, Dec., 1844, *ibid.*, XII; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 434-35; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 455-76.
20. Bancroft, *ibid.*, IV, 473-79; J. A. Sutter, Personal Reminiscences, MS, pp. 78-88, Bancroft Library.
21. J. A. Sutter to M. Micheltoarena, New Helvetia, July 23, 1844, Dept. St. Pap., MS, XVII, 84-85; J. A. Sutter, Personal Reminiscences, MS, pp. 78-88; J. Bidwell, California in 1841-48, MS, pp. 119-22; J. A. Sutter, Diary, MS, p. 5.
22. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 13, 1844, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 119. This letter is a copy and does not sound like Vallejo's composition, although the subject matter seems correct.

23. J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Dec. 15, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 122. This is also a copy and may not be authentic.
24. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 17, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 123.
25. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 18, 1844, Guerra, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 44-50; Legislative Records, MS, IV, 302-4; Dept. St. Pap., MS, V, 120.
26. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, Dec. 23, 1844, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 126.
27. J. P. Leese to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, Dec. 24, 1844, *ibid.*, XII, 127.
28. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 435-36.
29. J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Dec. 21, 1844. This letter is not extant, but its contents can be deduced from Vallejo's reply.
30. M. G. Vallejo to J. A. Sutter, Sonoma, Dec. 24, 1844, Vallejo Doc. MS, 114, Huntington Library.
31. M. G. Vallejo, circular to people, Sonoma, Feb. 1, 1845, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 132; A. M. Osio to M. G. Vallejo, Yerba Buena, Feb. 4, 6, 8, 1845, *ibid.*, XII, 134, 136, 137.
32. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 520, 530; Pio Pico, proclamation, Los Angeles, June 27, 1845, Dept. St. Pap., MS, XIII, 30-33.
33. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 561; T. O. Larkin, Official Correspondence, MS, II, 112-16.
34. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 571-88.
35. Min. of Relations to Pio Pico, Mexico, July 10, 1845, in Sup. Govt. St. Pap., MS, XVIII, 8; also Castro, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 152; Pio Pico to J. Castro, Los Angeles, Sept. 18, 1845, Dept. St. Pap., MS, VI, 89; *ibid.*, VIII, 11.
36. J. Castro, *Orden del comandante general sobre permanencia de emigrados de Estados Unidos*, Sonoma, Nov., 1845, MS; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 152, 175; J. Castro to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Nov. 11, 1845, Vallejo, *ibid.*, 150.
37. M. G. Vallejo to A. Bustamante, Sonoma, Nov. 22, 1845, Vallejo, *ibid.*, XII, 157; J. A. Sutter to F. Guerrero, New Helvetia, Nov. 15, 1845, Savage, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 212.
38. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 612-16.
39. M. G. Vallejo to A. Bustamante, Sonoma, Nov. 22, 1845, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 157.
40. J. A. Sutter to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Nov. 10, 1845, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 176.
41. F. Guerra to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Mar. 11, 14, 1846, *ibid.*, XII, 184, 189; M. G. Vallejo to people, Sonoma, Mar. 14, 1846, *ibid.*, XII, 185.
42. Proceedings of military council, Monterey, Mar. 28-Apr. 11, 1846, Cal. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly*, V, 193-95, June, 1926; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 41-45, 59-63.
43. Lieut. Joseph Warren Revere was the only other writer of the time who gives the supposed text of the speech. He was not at the meeting but was told about it by Vallejo some time later. Both Vallejo and Revere claim that speeches were made by other members who were not present. The session was supposed to have taken place in Larkin's house, but Larkin makes no mention of it and the proceedings state that the council met at general headquarters. No one actually present at the meeting makes any mention of speeches in favor of annexation to England and France which were quoted by Vallejo in his history, nor did the foreign consuls, Forbes and Gasquet, who reported the proceedings to their governments, make any mention of them. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 61-87; J. W. Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California*, N. Y. & Boston, 1849, pp. 24-32; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 133-46; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-47, 59-63.
44. P. de la Guerra to M. G. Vallejo, Los Angeles, no date, Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 181.
45. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 110-11; F. Arce to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, June 5, 1846, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, XII, 222.

(To be concluded)

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

and

SONOMA

A Biography and a History

By GEORGE TAYS

CHAPTER XII

THE "BEARS" ARRIVE

ON THE evening of June 13, 1846, a group of thirty-three horsemen assembled in the Napa Valley, and at eleven o'clock set out down the road toward Sonoma. After several miles, Ezekiel Merritt, who had led the enterprise since leaving the Sacramento, halted the cavalcade and ordered all to follow the stock trails that wound among the live-oaks.

At dawn this strange party arrived at the outskirts of Sonoma. They approached cautiously, but finding no one on guard, they rode boldly into the plaza and surrounded Vallejo's house. Several dismounted and with their pistol butts rapped on the great door. This awakened Vallejo from a sound sleep. He listened; then, alarmed and curious, he jumped out of bed and, in his night clothes and with a night-cap on his head, rushed to the window. To the right and left of his door was scattered a group of fierce-looking, armed, mounted men. Some had on flat coon-skin or coyote-skin caps, others wore low-crowned felt hats; still others had red cotton bandanna handkerchiefs tied around their heads. Most of them were garbed in dirty, greasy, buckskin shirts. They were a rough, sinister, ugly-looking group of men.¹

Vallejo realized that his plight was desperate. His wife begged him to flee by the back way, but Vallejo not only regarded that as an unworthy step but refused to abandon his family at such a critical moment. He dressed hurriedly in his uniform and, descending to the ground floor, ordered the great door opened. Immediately the hall was filled with a surging mob of armed men. Raising his voice above the hubbub, Vallejo asked for quiet.

"Gentlemen! What is it that you would have of me, and who is the leader among you?" he demanded.

"We're all leaders here!" was the response; and Vallejo repeated his question.

"Who is the person among you with whom I shall deal?" They pointed to Captain Ezekiel Merritt. Don Guadalupe turned to him and asked with a touch of sarcasm: "Mr. Merritt, to what happy circumstances shall I attribute the visit of so many exalted personages?" The ignorant trapper replied:

"I and the rest of these gentlemen in my company have resolved not to

continue to live any longer under the Mexican Government, whose representatives, Castro and Pico, do not respect the rights of Americans who live in this Department. Castro from time to time has issued proclamations treating us all as highwaymen, and so to put an end to so many insults, we have resolved to declare California independent. Towards you and your family we have no other feeling than regard, but we find ourselves under the necessity of taking you and your family prisoners.”²

At this point, in walked Salvador Vallejo, José de la Rosa, Jacob P. Leese, and Victor Prudon, who, hearing the noise and commotion, had come to find out what was happening. The Americans at once placed the newcomers under arrest and proposed to keep them prisoners until they determined upon Don Guadalupe’s fate. While Vallejo was trying to think of some way to rid himself of his unwelcome visitors, the Canadian, Oliver Beaulieu, went over to his house and brought back a barrel of brandy, which he distributed among Merritt’s company. Soon the liquor made itself felt, and the men forgot the purpose of their undertaking. At this juncture, William Scott, John Sears, Oliver Beaulieu and others began to shout: “Let us loot! Let us loot!” The shouts attracted the attention of Dr. Robert Semple. Wrathfully he stepped to the front door. He threatened: “I shall shoot the first man who through robbery casts a blot upon this expedition, to whose origin I have contributed in carrying forward a political end. As long as there is any life left in me, I shall not permit it to become a looting expedition.”³

Dr. Semple’s harangue was immediately upheld by such worthy men as John Grigsby and Andrew Kelsey. Order having been restored, Vallejo suggested that they enter into some sort of negotiations. Whereupon all the members of the insurgent party withdrew except Semple, Merritt, William Knight, Sam Kelsey, and William Fallon.⁴

Vallejo remarked that there was no necessity to proceed upon an unfriendly basis, for he was greatly interested in what they were attempting to do. He sent a servant for glasses and bottles of his best brandy and wine. Merritt objected, “We cannot waste our time in drinking, we must get along with our work,” but Semple and the others interposed. Under the congenial warmth of the stimulant, captors and prisoners relaxed and sat about the table, with Leese and Knight acting as interpreters. It soon became obvious that though the Americans regarded themselves as a revolutionary party, they had no definite plan of action, nor did they know what they intended to achieve beyond the seizure of government property, arms, and officers. They really had no acknowledged leader, and most of them merely wanted to obtain arms, animals and hostages, thus depriving the enemy of his resources. Finally they were under the impression that they were acting under orders, or at least on the advice of Captain Frémont.⁵

Don Guadalupe suggested to Semple that they might draw up some articles of capitulation. While they were preparing these, several rounds of drinks were served.

An hour went by. Meanwhile under the stimulus of Beaulieu's brandy, the crowd outside became impatient. "Why didn't the committee inside finish its job and bring out the prisoners?" was asked. Someone suggested that they elect a new leader in place of Merritt. A vote was called for. The name of John Grigsby was proposed and he was immediately elected captain by the acclamation of his tipsy companions.

"Go in and see what has happened, John, and then come out and tell us. See if you can't hurry them up."⁶

Within the house, great was his surprise at what he beheld. Captain Merritt, tall, rawboned frontiersman, who, on entering earlier in the morning, had charged on Salvador Vallejo like a mad tiger, ready to tear him limb from limb over an alleged insult of former days, was quiet now.

"Ah! Come in, John," said Merritt. "Sit down and have a drink."

"No! I did not come here for drinking. I am the new captain, and I want you to come out with me now."

"No! No! Come and have just one little drink," was the shouted chorus which drowned out Grigsby's protests. Much against his will he joined the happy party. One drink led to the next, and before long Grigsby also forgot the object of his mission.

Another hour passed; outside, the half-intoxicated crowd was growing more excited and unmanageable. When they had set out from Frémont's camp, all had proceeded smoothly, but now something mysterious was taking place. One by one their men were disappearing into the great house. Something had to be done. They called for Ide, one of the few sober men left, a scholarly, well-educated man. They sent him in, with special instructions to come out again at least.

What a sight greeted his eyes as he entered! He found that Merritt and his party had fallen willing victims to Vallejo's hospitality. On one side of the table sat Salvador Vallejo and Prudon, sober as judges. There also sat General Vallejo, who never drank. And there sat Merritt, his head resting upon his arms as he bowed over the table. There sat Knight, the ferryman of the Sacramento, interpreter for the expedition, with head bowed. Beside him sat the newly-made captain, John Grigsby, who was now too full for utterance. Across the table were William Fallon and Sam Kelsey, both showing the results of conviviality.

In another part of the room sat Leese and Dr. Semple still at work on the articles of capitulation. Tall, gigantic Dr. Semple, 6 feet, 8 inches, in his stocking feet, who sat with his long limbs curled and knotted about the legs of his chair, dentist, printer, usually confident and intelligent, was scarcely able to push his pen along the paper he was signing.⁷

Ide picked up a copy of the capitulation and read it over. One part was in Spanish and stated:

Be it known by these presents, that, having been surprised by a numerous armed force which took me prisoner, as well as the chiefs and officers belonging to the garrison of this post, of which the said force took possession, having found it absolutely defenceless, myself as well as the undersigned officers pledge our word of honor that, being under the guaranties of prisoners of war, we will not take up arms for or against the said armed force, from which we have received the present suggestion, and a signed writ which guarantees our lives, families, and properties, and those of all the residents of this jurisdiction, so long as we make no opposition.

(Signed) M. G. VALLEJO.
SALVADOR VALLEJO⁸

VICTOR PRUDON

Several copies of this were made by Salvador Vallejo and Victor Prudon. The English part, of which several copies were made by Semple, read as follows:

We the undersigned, having resolved to establish a government upon republican principles, in connection with others of our fellow-citizens, and having taken up arms to support it, we have taken three Mexican officers, Gen. M. G. Vallejo, Lieut-col. Victor Prudon, and Capt. Salvador Vallejo, having formed and published to the world no regular plan of government, feel it our duty to say that it is not our intention to take or injure any person who is not found in opposition to the cause, nor will we take or destroy the property of private individuals further than is necessary for our immediate support.

(Signed) EZEKIEL MERRITT.
SAMUEL KELSEY.⁹

WILLIAM FALLON.

Ide went outside to report. With the terms of the capitulation most of the rebels were not satisfied. They demanded that the prisoners be taken to Sutter's Fort. John Grigsby roused himself from his stupor and staggered to the door.

"What were Frémont's orders on this?" he demanded. No one seemed to know.

"We have been treated with indignity by the Californians. We have been ordered out of the country, and we take all orders and grievances into our own hands," was Ide's answer.

Grigsby cried angrily, "I thought we had the United States behind us. I have been deceived. I will not go on; but I will resign and take my family across the Sierra Nevada."

Confusion prevailed. No one seemed to know what to do, and they began to move away in groups.

At this moment Ide took things into his own hands. "Attention, men!" he called. "I want no fresh horse. I am going to stay and not be a coward. I began with honorable motives, and I will stay by them. So must you do or be disgraced. We must carry out our plan or be regarded as thieves and robbers." Ide's sober words gradually brought order. When he had finished they suddenly broke out into a cheer.

"Ide! Ide is our captain!" One of their number went up to Ide and said, "You are our commander. Go on and take the post."¹⁰

After the capitulation was finished and signed, Leese went home, the in-

insurgents went outside, and the Vallejos retired to other chambers. The agreement between the parties was short-lived, however. When Ide read its terms to his men, there was general disagreement as to what should be done with the prisoners. The majority favored sending them to the Sacramento. The leaders stood for their agreement, but it soon became apparent that they would not be allowed to keep their promises. Vallejo was not greatly displeased at the prospect of being sent to New Helvetia. He was assured that the insurgents were acting under Frémont's orders. He had no reason to doubt that as soon as he met Frémont he and his companions would be released on parole.¹¹

When Vallejo heard that he was to go, he sent a verbal message to his intimate friend, Captain John B. Montgomery, commander of the U. S. warship *Portsmouth*, then at Sausalito, by Don José de la Rosa. The messenger left the house unnoticed during the general excitement after Ide came into the conference room. Reaching the ship on the morning of June 15, he informed Captain Montgomery of what had happened at Sonoma, and in General Vallejo's name asked the Captain to use his authority or exert his influence to prevent the commission of acts of violence by the insurgents, since they seemed to be without head or leadership. Vallejo hoped that Montgomery might send an officer or a letter that would have the effect of saving the helpless inhabitants from violence, and anarchy.

Captain Montgomery replied verbally to Vallejo's message. He disavowed the insurrection as being under the authority either of the United States or of himself. The movement was entirely local, he stated, and he would not take part in it. If it was conducted by Americans they were beyond the jurisdiction of the laws and officers of the United States, and they were answerable only to the laws of Mexico and California. He added that this was the first information he had received of such a movement, so in making his disavowal he also did it on behalf of Captain Frémont. If it should lie in his power to prevent violence as an individual he would do so, but not as an officer of the United States Government. He could have nothing to do with either side. However, it was his belief that no violence would be committed on unarmed persons. He assured Vallejo of his sympathy in his difficulties, but he could not possibly interfere in local California politics.¹²

That same evening, however, Captain Montgomery changed his mind, and ordered Lieutenant John S. Missroon to go to Sonoma. In the orders Montgomery explained what had happened there and outlined his reply to Vallejo, but said that the urgent call of humanity made him deem it his duty to endeavor to aid the defenseless people of Sonoma to secure the protection of life and property and other privileges to which they were entitled. Missroon was to call on the leader of the insurgents and in a diplomatic manner tell him of the apprehensive and terror-stricken state of mind of the inhabitants. He was to request in Montgomery's name that the commander extend his pro-

tection over the defenseless families of the prisoners and the people of Sonoma. Missroon was also to visit the Alcalde and reassure him, after which he was to return to report. Early in the morning of June 16, Montgomery added a note instructing Missroon to impress upon the leaders of the revolt that it would be to their future advantage to pursue a kind and benevolent course toward the prisoners as well as toward the defenseless townspeople.¹³

Lieutenant Missroon reached Sonoma on June 16, at sunset, and found twenty-five men as a garrison. He called on Ide, who gave him verbal and written assurances of his intention to maintain order and to respect the persons and property of all inhabitants. He then went to the Alcalde, giving him a written pledge from Ide, called on Mrs. Vallejo and family, assuring them of the safety of the General and themselves, and on the evening of June 17 returned to the *Portsmouth*.¹⁴

Meanwhile, at 11:00 A. M. on June 14, the two Vallejos, Prudon, and Leese as interpreter, guarded by Grigsby, Semple, Merritt, Hargrave, Knight, and four or five others, set out for Sacramento. Vallejo expected to return within five days. He was confident that Frémont would release him and his companions on parole; then the Captain might be induced to move his camp to Sonoma. Semple, Grigsby, and Leese seemed to share the same opinion. On the night of the 14th, they camped at Vaca's ranch, now known as Vacaville. No guards were set out and the prisoners slept on a pile of straw near the camp, along with Leese.

Sometime before dawn of the 15th, a Californian rescue party surrounded the spot. Juan Padilla, the leader, crawled into the camp and informed Vallejo that he had a strong force ready to rescue him. Don Guadalupe refused to permit any such attempt. He thought it unnecessary, for he expected to be free on reaching the Sacramento and he feared retaliation at Sonoma in case they escaped and the guards were harmed.¹⁵

Late that afternoon the prisoners arrived at Frémont's camp on the American River and were taken before that officer. Since there were not enough chairs in his tent to go around, Frémont opened a chest and took out some canvas bags filled with silver coins. These served as seats for several of the prisoners, according to Vallejo. An awkward silence followed, then Don Guadalupe asked Frémont what he intended to do with them. He said he would consult his followers and soon decide. The men met in another tent, where they voted to execute the prisoners. Semple objected, and won back the prisoners' lives. After a time Frémont returned and told Vallejo that since they were not his prisoners, he had to submit to the men's wishes, which were that they should be sent to Sutter's Fort and locked up there. An hour later, they were again on the way and arrived at the Fort at sunset.¹⁶

On the way to the Fort, the prisoners were guarded by some twenty of Frémont's men, Merritt and Carson going in advance to notify Sutter of their coming. When the party arrived, Sutter greeted them and received Frémont's

San Francisco,
13th March 1888.

My dear Mr Vallejo:

I have seen several parties with reference to the Chihuahua lands, but there seems to be no disposition on their part to take action in the matter, so I return you the enclosed papers thinking they may be of some use to you.

I am,

Yours very truly
James G. Fair

LETTER FROM JAMES G. FAIR TO
MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO

From the Melville Schweitzer Memorial Collection,
California Historical Society

R. V.
M. E.

Luisa E. Vallejo
y
Ricardo de Emparan
participan á U. su enlace y se
ofrecen á sus ordenes en
San Diego, de California.
Lachryma Montis.
Sonoma. Agosto 23 de 1882.

INVITATION TO THE WEDDING OF LUISA VALLEJO
AND RICARDÓ DE EMPARAN

Presented to the Society by Mr. Fred M. DeWitt

verbal orders to take charge of them and to keep them inside until further notice. Sutter consented, and took them to a large room on the ground floor, which was almost devoid of furniture except for a few rough benches. When the prisoners entered, Sutter unceremoniously locked the door and left them there to pass the night with only the bare floor on which to sleep, without even a drink of water to quench their thirst, and thinking all night long about the ingratitude of Sutter for whom Vallejo had done so much. Morning came, but no one took heed of the prisoners, and it was 11:00 A. M. before Sutter opened the door and sent an Indian in with a pot of soup and meat, but without plates, knives, forks, or spoons with which to eat it. The prisoners were furious. Then it was that Vallejo regretted that he had not taken the offer of Cayetano Juarez and Padilla to escape two days before. Vallejo considered that June, 1846, was the blackest period of his life.¹⁷

Frémont did not trust Sutter. He was afraid he might sympathize with his brother officers and set them free, so he sent Edward M. Kern with a detachment of some twelve men to the Fort to guard the prisoners. It cannot be denied that the leaders of the rebels at Sonoma were unable to control their rough followers, and were forced to break their contract in the capitulation. But once the prisoners arrived at the Fort, Frémont was under no compulsion to carry on the policy of the "Bears." He did not have to put Vallejo in prison and keep him there, disregarding past pledges and present demands for justice and explanations. He should have had some consideration for Vallejo's rank, as a matter of military courtesy of one officer to another. And to treat them as he did notwithstanding their honorable character and Leese's nationality was a contemptible and inexcusable outrage. Vallejo's pride was deeply wounded, and he considered it the basest sort of ingratitude on the part of Americans whom he had treated so well.

Four days after the prisoners were confined at the Fort, José Noriega and Vicente Peralta happened to pass by on business. These two Californians were at once arrested and forced to join the other unhappy inmates. Then for some weeks Vallejo and his companions were kept closely locked up in rough, inconvenient quarters. They were given coarse food and were not allowed to communicate with their friends or families. What letters were allowed were closely examined and censored by Frémont's men. Not the slightest attention was paid to their appeal for justice, and their guards lost no opportunity to insult them.¹⁸

On June 28, 1846, Victor Prudon wrote to José de la Rosa, saying that they were still in prison and had no hopes of getting out, and were not allowed to communicate with anyone. He asked Rosa to call on his wife Teodosa and tell her not to go out nor to allow the girls out on the street lest they be insulted. She was also to sell nothing, not even sugar, but to nail up the box. She was also to note everything that was taken, especially cows and oxen. Finally, the more she and the family remained indoors the better it would be. Rosa was asked to look after them and the Vallejos.¹⁹

During the latter part of June, still being uncertain about the prisoners, their families persuaded Julio Carrillo, Mrs. Vallejo's brother, to go to Sutter's Fort to get information. Lieutenant Missroon, at Sonoma, gave him a passport to and from the Fort. When Don Julio arrived he was permitted to see the prisoners, but Kern, whom Frémont had placed in charge, refused to allow him to leave and he was forced to join the unwilling ranks of the prisoners. A few days later, July 5, Robert Ridley, port captain of Yerba Buena, who had been captured by Semple at his home on July 2, entered the portals of New Helvetia, to join the hapless company.

Meanwhile, Vallejo and the others had been doing their utmost to find out why they were confined, and to obtain their release. On July 6, 1846, Don Guadalupe wrote to his brother José Jesus that they were not dead as rumored. They believed their imprisonment was only political, so they expected to be released as soon as the permanent change should come. Though their situation was bad, they owed Mr. Sutter their eternal gratitude for the many favors he had showed them. He said that they had been assured that they, their families and properties were to be respected, so they had nothing to fear. He asked Don José to publish the letter, adding in a postscript that Carrillo, Peralta, Noriega, and Ridley were there also.²⁰

Captain Montgomery had been doing what he could to relieve the suffering and the fears of the families in Sonoma. To that end he sent Lieutenant Washington A. Bartlett and Dr. Andrew J. Henderson to Sonoma early in July. The Doctor went to give aid to the sick, including one of the Vallejos. While there, they were guests of Mrs. Vallejo, so on July 6, Bartlett wrote to General Vallejo, briefly outlining the change that had taken place after Frémont took command, and stating that the families in Sonoma were safe and in good health and that Mrs. Vallejo was as cheerful as could be expected. They all hoped for his early return.²¹

As days passed, Vallejo continued to protest and to try to get an interview with Frémont. Naturally this could not be arranged, since the captain was in Sonoma. However, when he returned to Sacramento he was told about it, and on July 9 sent word to Vallejo that on the next day he would grant them an interview. The 10th came and slowly passed away, while the captives waited and waited, but no word came from Frémont. When the day had all but gone, Vallejo, realizing that he had been deceived, wrote to Frémont saying:

Yesterday I had the pleasure of receiving a note from you, by one of your officers, that today we would have an interview with you, the which I have been awaiting anxiously all day long; but since this is already very advanced, I fear that you will no longer have time. As much to calm the uneasiness of the gentlemen who share my prison, as well as for my own satisfaction, I wish that you would let me know whether our imprisonment is now ended, which as you know has been made more severe by an absolute solitary confinement since the 16th of last June.

I do not have to tell you anything regarding the way in which we have been deprived

of our liberty, since you are not ignorant of it; but the national flag of North America which today flies over this fortress leads me to suppose that the change has already taken place, and to expect an advantageous future for this country whose fate cannot be a matter of indifference to me.

Because of all this I flattered myself that today you would have told us of the proclamation which probably has been published on raising the flag, which today changes the future of California, and which can do no less than be of direct influence over us, whose intimate conviction is that the condition of the country can not be any worse than that in which it was before the change.²²

Frémont did not reply. He was busy preparing to leave for Monterey, and on the 12th he departed, leaving Kern in charge of the Fort with instructions not to release the prisoners except on his direct orders.

Meanwhile, Captain Montgomery was trying to obtain their release. He wrote to Commodore Sloat giving a list of all the prisoners and requesting authority for their release, especially that of General Vallejo. Though this was written on July 10, Captain Montgomery received no answer from Sloat, for some unknown reason.

Thomas O. Larkin, the American Consul, on July 16 wrote to Vallejo that as soon as the American flag had been raised at Monterey, he had sent word to Mrs. Leese informing the Vallejo family of the whereabouts of the prisoners. He said that Mrs. Vallejo senior, greatly troubled, had written asking him to send some trustworthy person to Sutter's Fort to ascertain their condition. Larkin then hired John Murphy in Vallejo's name, for 100 pesos, to go to Sacramento and return with Vallejo's letter to his mother.²³

Vallejo received Larkin's letter on July 22, and replied by the same messenger the next day. He thanked Larkin for his efforts in their behalf, for which they would be indebted forever, and begged him to ask Sloat for their release.²⁴

Prudon also wrote to Larkin. He complained bitterly of their unjust and prolonged imprisonment, begging Larkin to use his influence to have them liberated, for their situation was most lamentable, and its horrors were augmented by their absolute lack of communication; they were unable to learn what was happening in the world outside, while their families were ignorant of what they were suffering in prison. Prudon added that they were preparing a representation to Commodore Sloat, who was probably unaware of the iniquitous treatment they were receiving.²⁵

Vallejo wrote a long letter to Sloat in which he reviewed their capture and confinement. He said that since June 16 they had been suffering a rigorous imprisonment under special orders not to communicate with anyone. All things sent to them were examined by Kern before being delivered and their private mail was read. They now solicited Sloat's protection, confident that it would not be in vain. Since circumstances had changed, wrote Vallejo, and the United States now presided over the destinies of California, he and his fellow officers were ready to pledge their neutrality and to adhere to any conditions which might be imposed.²⁶

These letters from the prisoners were delivered to Larkin on the morning of July 29. That same evening Larkin wrote to Leese acknowledging their receipt. Commodore Sloat was then some miles out to sea on his way home in the *Levant*, but Larkin took a small boat and sailed out to the warship, and read Vallejo's letter to the Commodore. He then returned and delivered it to Commodore Stockton, who had succeeded Sloat in command. John Murphy was sent hurrying back to Sutter's Fort to inform the prisoners that on July 27 a messenger had been sent to Captain Montgomery with orders for their release. Murphy was instructed to return at once in case the orders had not been complied with. Larkin also sent the Commodore's reply to Vallejo, first to the *Portsmouth* and then direct to New Helvetia. The messenger was to have no other business than to see Don Guadalupe, then to return to Larkin with the results of his mission. Larkin commiserated with the prisoners, as he had supposed that on the raising of the American flag they had been set free. He praised Vallejo's letter to Sloat as well-written, mild, firm and respectful, and fully to the purpose. Stockton replied to Vallejo that night, at Larkin's request, as he was to sail south the next day to be gone twenty-five or thirty days. Larkin said that if things did not go as they should, Murphy was to return to Captain Montgomery, or to Captain Mervine, who was in command at Monterey. It was Larkin's belief that Leese and Vallejo would do well to call on Commodore Stockton soon. He said it was not for him to question the motives of those who had captured them, as he knew nothing about them, and that he had told both Frémont and Gillespie he could not understand their imprisonment and thought they should have been set free at the time. Larkin hoped that the great benefits the prisoners would derive from the increased values of their properties, due to the change of flag, would in part compensate them for their sufferings. He also supposed that in proper time the authors of the act would give their reasons and motives for it.²⁷

With Larkin's letter went Stockton's reply to Vallejo of the same date, which read:

Dear Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d inst. addressed to my predecessor, Commodore Sloat.

I hasten to inform you that one of the first acts of my administration was to order your immediate release from confinement; and I hope that before this reaches you, that you will be at liberty.

I was not aware of the names and rank of the others confined with you. I now send by a courier (notwithstanding I have already sent one today) to Captain Montgomery for the release of your friends as well as yourself.

I have the honor to be with great respect and consideration your obedient and very humble servant

R. F. STOCKTON²⁸

When Captain Montgomery received the Commodore's order on August 3, he at once wrote to Vallejo:

My dear sir:

I have derived a sincere gratification from having it in my power several days since, through the kindness of the commander-in-chief (Commodore Stockton) of forwarding by express to Fort Sacramento an order for your immediate release from confinement which as it separated you from your interesting family, could not have been otherwise than painful, irksome and disturbing to them and to yourself. I have now, sir, the additional satisfaction to say that reposing full confidence in your honor and sincerity I have directed Lieutenant Revere to whom this will introduce you, to mitigate the terms of your parole, by obtaining from you simply a promise of friendship to the United States or of strict neutrality in all differences pending between the existing and former governments of the Department of California, which will leave you fully at large to attend to your business concerns without hindrance or restraint.

J. B. MONTGOMERY.²⁹

Captain Montgomery's order to Lieutenant Revere for Vallejo's liberation, was as follows:

By order of Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who has succeeded to the command of the U. S. Forces in the Pacific Ocean and California, you will please liberate General Don Guadalupe Vallejo and Don Julio Carrillo from confinement to return to their homes on their parole of honor not to take arms, instigate, or directly or indirectly participate in any movement against the authorities of the United States in California; and not to leave their proper district until regularly exchanged, without permission from the officer at Yerba Buena.³⁰

J. B. MONTGOMERY.

Evidently Montgomery had sent a previous order to New Helvetia for Vallejo's release on July 29, which Kern had refused to obey. Lieutenant Revere then took the second order to Sacramento in person and released Vallejo and Carrillo sometime on August 3. The other prisoners, not being mentioned by name, were not freed because Kern refused to do so without an order from Frémont. Left behind in their dungeons when Vallejo was set free, were Prudon, Salvador Vallejo, Leese, Noriega, Peralta, and Ridley. Vallejo was quite ill at the time of his release, and was on the point of exhaustion by the time he arrived home on the 6th. Word of his condition was sent to Captain Montgomery, who at once dispatched Dr. Andrew J. Henderson, assistant surgeon of the *Portsmouth*, to attend him. At the same time he instructed Lieutenant Bartlett to write Vallejo, which he did that same day,³¹ expressing Captain Montgomery's regret that he had not been liberated when the American flag was raised. Evidently Vallejo had written on July 30 complaining that he had not been released on the first order.

As soon as Vallejo arrived in Sonoma he busied himself in trying to obtain the release of his companions. He wrote to them on August 4 telling them that a launch was leaving San Francisco with orders for their release. The launch, however, for some reason was delayed and more letters were exchanged.³²

To prevent further delays in the release of the other prisoners, Captain Montgomery sent Lieutenant Missroon to Sutter's Fort with instructions to parole the prisoners, which he did on August 8, 1846.³³

On August 12, Vallejo expressed his gratitude to Captain Montgomery for having sent Dr. Henderson to attend him during the illness which he had contracted in prison. Due to Dr. Henderson's care he had recovered more quickly than had been expected. He thanked Montgomery for all those particular services which he assured him would never be forgotten.³⁴

As a last soothing gesture to Vallejo's feelings, Captain Montgomery wrote him this short note on September 9:

My dear friend:

The Commander-in-chief is now here and I desire much to have the pleasure of presenting you to him. I have made him acquainted with your friendly zeal and service—which I am persuaded he mightily appreciates—and that he will be pleased to see you.

My boat is at your service and I need not tell you my dear Sir of the pleasure it will afford me to see you here again.

Be pleased to present my respectful regards to Madam Vallejo and family, and believe me your friend.

J. B. MONTGOMERY.³⁵

His release from Sutter's Fort and his return to Sonoma, closed the incident of the "Bear Flag" filibuster as far as Vallejo was concerned.

CHAPTER XIII

AN OPEN-HANDED GENTLEMAN

WHEN VALLEJO returned to his peaceful pursuits as a ranchero, he was on parole and therefore took no part in public affairs. At Sonoma everything was quiet, it being kept so by Lieutenant Joseph W. Revere and the garrison consisting of Company B of the California Battalion, under Captain John Grigsby.

Don Guadalupe accepted Captain Montgomery's invitation to visit him on board the *Portsmouth* and to be presented to Commodore Stockton. On October 1, 1846, he journeyed to Yerba Buena, to greet the Commodore when he arrived to celebrate his triumph after the successful campaign in Los Angeles. Stockton was given a great reception when he landed from his barge on October 5 at what is now Clay Street, between Montgomery and Sansome. William H. Russell delivered a flowery address of welcome. Vallejo as a prominent member of the reception committee took part in the procession which marched up to and around the plaza, returning to Montgomery Street to listen to a speech from Stockton. Among other festivities of that week was a great ball in honor of the Commodore, given at Leidesdorff's residence. After enjoying these social affairs, Vallejo returned to Sonoma, to continue his secluded life.¹

About this time there was a rumor that hostile Walla Walla Indians were invading the Sacramento Valley, to revenge the murder of one of their tribe by an American. Lieutenant Revere at once took his company there, and commissioned Vallejo and his brother Salvador to protect Sonoma and the fron-

tier with a force of Christian Indians.² The Walla Walla incident, however, proved to be a false alarm.

As the New Year opened, the conquest of California appeared to be assured by the victory of Commodore Stockton and General Kearny at Los Angeles, and Vallejo seems to have been released from parole and to have returned to public life. When he appointed Frémont as governor, Commodore Stockton, on January 16, 1847, also appointed a legislative council of seven members: M. G. Vallejo, David Spence, J. B. Alvarado, Thomas O. Larkin, Eliab Grimes, Santiago Argüello, and Juan Bandini. The council was summoned to convene at Los Angeles on March 1. At the time of his appointment, Vallejo was mourning the loss of his three-year-old son, Guadalupe, who had died on January 11, 1847. This was the third son he had lost and his grief was great. Because of his bereavement, Vallejo delayed his departure. When he was ready to go, he found that Stockton and Kearny had become involved in a heated controversy over the question of supremacy of command. In order not to be drawn into this disagreeable quarrel, several of the council members declined to serve, with the result that no meetings were ever held.³

One of the most pressing matters to which Vallejo gave his attention early in March, 1847, was the relief of the snow-bound Donner party. He and Captain Joseph B. Hull, of the United States Navy, organized a public meeting at which a subscription was started. Vallejo opened it by donating several hundred dollars, and within a short time \$1,500 was raised to aid the sufferers.⁴

Nor did this end his public activities, for on April 14, 1847, to quiet hostile Indian depredations that had continued under American rule, General Kearny appointed Vallejo Indian sub-agent for the Sonoma district, which extended from Cache Creek on the east, to Clear Lake on the north, and to the ocean on the west. No person was better qualified to undertake this task than General Vallejo, which he did at a salary of \$750 a year. Sutter received a like appointment for the Sacramento Valley. Vallejo handled the situation promptly and soon restored order. In April, 1848, he offered his resignation, but Governor Mason refused to accept it, and he thus continued to serve until the end of that year.⁵

While he was busy keeping the northern Indians peaceful, Vallejo still had time to engage in a grand scheme for building a new city on the Strait of Carquinez. The General, with Robert Semple as partner, began to develop plans for founding the city which they hoped would rival Yerba Buena and eventually grow to be not only the chief seaport but also the capital of California. On December 22, 1846, Vallejo deeded to Semple an undivided half interest in a tract of five square miles of his Soscol ranch. The deed was recorded at Sonoma and at San Francisco. The town was to be named Francisca, in honor of Vallejo's wife, Doña Francisca Benicia Carrillo Vallejo. By this development, it was Don Mariano's hope to increase the value of his remain-

ing lands. The promoters also hoped to capitalize upon the name Francisca; but the citizens of Yerba Buena checkmated this move by adopting the name San Francisco for their town. This forced Semple to change the name of the town to Benicia, Señora Vallejo's middle name.

During the spring of 1847, Semple took Larkin into the scheme as a partner. On May 18, Semple deeded back his half of the property to Vallejo, who next day reeded it to Semple and Larkin, for a nominal consideration of \$100, reserving only a few town lots for himself.

Early in June, 1847, Semple moved to Benicia to start building a ferry, and took Jasper O'Farrell with him to survey the town site. During the summer, there was much activity at the new city; some lots were sold, lumber for buildings was ordered, and an extensive advertising campaign was begun. By the spring of 1848, over 200 town lots had been sold, some twenty buildings had been erected, and a ferry to the south shore and boat service to San Francisco had been established. Vallejo also had sent some Indians to Benicia to build a house for him.

When the Gold Rush started, the town's future seemed bright indeed. But Larkin, becoming involved in profitable business deals in San Francisco, neglected his interests at Benicia, leaving all in the hands of Semple. Vallejo, too, was busy with affairs at Sonoma. Semple, however, carried on the work industriously and with a faith and enthusiasm in his new city as great as was his disgust at the comparative lukewarmness of his partners. His infant town grew slowly. For a time it seemed that he might be able to establish the capital there, but that soon proved a vain hope. Many believed, however, that opportune cooperation mixed with a little good luck in 1848-49, might have made Benicia a worthy and really formidable rival to San Francisco.⁶

While Vallejo was busy with his numerous enterprises, his family was increasing in number. On November 13, 1847, a son was born to Señora Vallejo, who was given the name of Plutarco. Since the Vallejo's had lost the first Plutarco, they wished to perpetuate the name in the family. However, the infant lived but a few months, dying on February 3, 1848; the eleventh child to be born, and the fourth to die in the family.

Although the discovery of gold on January 24, 1848, at Coloma was supposed to have been a closely guarded secret, Sutter wrote to Vallejo soon after, telling him about it. Before long it had become generally known and the small frontier town of Sonoma with its 260 inhabitants buzzed with excitement. People gathered in the plaza to discuss the momentous news. Vallejo urged caution, and it was decided that Alcalde Boggs should go to Sutter's Fort to learn the truth of the fabulous reports. When he returned some days later with samples of the gold and confirmed the stories, the male population of the town packed up and departed for the diggings, leaving their businesses and families to take care of themselves as best they might.

Soon after the gold discovery, Governor Mason, with his aide, Lieutenant

William T. Sherman, and a party came to Sonoma on his way to visit Sacramento and the gold fields. With their arrival came a new hope that people starting for the diggings from San Francisco would go overland by the north side of the Bay, thus using Sonoma as a base for supplies. Expectations ran high that Sonoma would soon become the metropolis of the northern frontier. For several years that hope persisted, but like Benicia's rosy dreams, nothing came of it. The northern route to the mines proved too roundabout for the impatient gold-seekers, who preferred the more direct water route, or that overland by way of the Contra Costa. Though to one side, Sonoma, the charming village, still nursed hopes for future greatness. With the passing of the first excitement of the gold-rush, Sonoma's inhabitants turned again to more normal pursuits. Political matters, however, were in a state of chaos. The United States Congress had failed to provide California with any definite type of local government or laws. Government of a semi-military order was carried on by the military commanders. Due to the resulting confusion, Vallejo and all the great landholders of California began to experience increasing difficulties in keeping their possessions. The ever-increasing flood of settlers spread everywhere. Many settled on Vallejo's land, some without even asking his permission. It was difficult, in fact almost impossible, to evict these squatters, for there were no definite laws governing the matter, and had there been there was no competent authority to enforce them. Furthermore, a growing public sentiment sanctioned the acts of the trespassers.

Vallejo, who had always been generous with his wealth, was lavish with it in his treatment of the new settlers. He often gave Americans permission to occupy land to be farmed on shares, without demanding a written agreement, later to find that the beneficiaries had taken advantage of his generosity and good nature to defraud him of his property. It was partly to remedy this political chaos that Brigadier General Bennet Riley, who had arrived in California on April 12, 1849, as governor, called for a general election on August 1 to choose delegates to a constitutional convention.

At the August election, thirty-seven delegates were chosen, four of them from the Sonoma district, among whom were M. G. Vallejo, Robert Semple, and Joel P. Walker. The delegates assembled in Colton Hall in Monterey for the first session on September 3, 1849. Robert Semple was elected as chairman of the convention, and Vallejo became the spokesman for the small group of Spanish speaking Californians, consisting of Pedro Sainsevain, José M. Covarrubias, Antonio M. Pico, Jacinto Rodriguez, Pablo de la Guerra, José Antonio Carrillo, Manuel Dominguez, and Miguel de Pedrona. These men, though forced to speak through an interpreter, took a considerable part in the debates and proceedings.

Throughout September, the delegates labored and in the end produced an excellent constitution. The convention finally finished its labors on October 13, 1849. The committee chosen to present the finished document to Governor

Riley was composed of Robert Semple, Johann August Sutter and Mariano G. Vallejo.

Governor Riley forthwith issued a proclamation calling for a general election on November 13, 1849, to ratify the constitution and to choose officials for the new State government. The constitution was approved and the members of the State legislature, with Peter Burnett as governor, met at the new capital, San José,⁷ in December, 1849.

M. G. Vallejo was elected State senator for the Sonoma District. One of the matters acted upon at the first session was the division of the State into counties, and the establishment of their boundaries. Pablo de la Guerra was the chairman of the committee on counties, and Vallejo one of its members. In the course of this work the latter made an interesting report on the derivation of the twenty-seven county names selected.

One of the greatest errors committed by the first legislature was its failure to select a permanent location for the State capital. Instead, the question was left open to election between the towns aspiring to the honor. Monterey, San Jose, Sacramento, and Vallejo made bids for it. General Vallejo here saw another chance to enhance the value of his property. Accordingly he made a splendid offer to the State on condition that his land at the mouth of Napa River be selected as the site. The new town was to be named Eureka. Vallejo offered a tract of 156 acres as a site for public buildings, and \$370,000 within two years for buildings, \$125,000 of which was to be for the capitol. This offer was made on April 3, 1850, and was accepted by act of February 4, 1851. The name of the town, however, was changed to Vallejo. The General began work at once, but difficulties sprang up on all sides. When the legislature opened its third session, on January 5, 1852, only a few rough houses had been built. The \$125,000 capitol was only a two-story building, and there was no place for the legislators to live. After a week of discomforts the legislature adjourned to the more attractive city of Sacramento. In March, 1852, a great flood drove the lawmakers from Sacramento, and the next session of January 5, 1853, began at Vallejo once again. As the place had not improved during the year, the government moved once more, this time to Benicia. Then it was that Don Guadalupe asked to be released from his bond. This request was granted and he sold the Vallejo townsite to Lieutenant-Governor Purdy, for \$30,000, but failing to receive payments, was forced to take back the property. At the expiration of his term as State senator at the end of 1853, Vallejo did not seek reelection.⁸

During the years that the General had spent as an official of the State government, his family had grown. On January 21, 1849, a baby daughter was born into the family, who was named Benicia, for her mother. She was the twelfth child, and the fifth girl. The following year, on December 8, 1850, a boy was born. This son was named Napoleon P. Vallejo. Perhaps the rise of Napoleon III in France influenced the father in the choice of the name.

At the beginning of his last session in the legislature, Vallejo was called back to Sonoma by the illness of his four-year-old daughter, Benicia, who passed away on January 31, 1853. This blow was softened, however, when Señora Vallejo gave birth to another girl baby, on April 30, 1853. This child was named Benicia Ysabel, to take the place of the one just lost.

Meanwhile in 1850, as the family was increasing in number and the older children were growing up into young ladies and gentlemen, Vallejo decided to build a new home and abandon the great adobe building on the Sonoma plaza. He selected a site about a half a mile to the north of the old home, at the base of a hill from which bubbled a spring of clear, fresh, cold water. An Indian legend was connected with this spring, which concerned an Indian maiden who had lost her lover in one of the tribal wars. At the foot of the mountain she had waited in vain for her lost lover, and there had wept out her sorrow. Her tears now bubbled and gushed out from among the rocks. In keeping with this tale, Vallejo named his home site "Lachryma Montis" (tear of the mountain). In this beautiful location, he erected a fine house built upon American lines. He also laid out spacious gardens in which were planted oranges and other fruits, as well as shade trees and flowering shrubs. These were watered by playing fountains fed from an artificial lake on the hillside, into which the spring emptied. In the grounds he also erected a Swiss chalet which had been brought complete from Europe around the Horn. By the time the estate was completed in 1852, it had cost Vallejo more than \$150,000.⁹ Soon after the family moved into the new home, the old house on the plaza was partially destroyed by fire.

By 1851, Vallejo's oldest daughter, Epifania, had blossomed into a beautiful young woman of seventeen. At the time a young United States army officer, Captain John B. Frisbie, was in command of the troops at Sonoma. Belle and soldier met, and on April 3, 1851, a brilliant wedding took place in the old adobe mansion on the plaza, which was attended by all the rural society for miles around.¹⁰

The next wedding to take place was that of Adelayda. She too met a young man to her liking, the younger brother of Captain Frisbie. On July 26, 1853, Adelayda Vallejo, then seventeen, and L. C. Frisbie were married. In the spacious parlor of Lachryma Montis to the tune of the wedding march, played on one of the three first pianos in California, and before a great company of guests, the two young people were united.

Despite these joyous occasions, the General's affairs were not prospering. Squatters were continually encroaching upon his possessions. Some of his land grants had been questioned and he was involved in expensive and long litigations to establish their validity. Furthermore, he had several claims against the Government for damages and loss of property due to the "Bear Flag" revolt and the conquest. One of these claims was for \$117,000 for stock, grain, and other property either borrowed or stolen. In 1854, after years of

litigation, the Claims Commission allowed Vallejo but \$48,700. Another claim pending for years was the one of \$20,600 for rent of his buildings in Sonoma for seven years, from 1846 to 1853. Not until 1856 was \$12,600 paid him on this account.¹¹ The question of his land grants dragged on in the courts for years, and by the time the cases were settled at least half of his once vast holdings had been denied him. Yet, in spite of his heavy losses, Vallejo continued to help the needy settlers who often arrived in California bereft of all resources. Not infrequently those very persons most benefited by his generosity repaid him with the basest kind of ingratitude. The most notorious of these cases was that of James G. Fair. When he arrived in Sonoma in 1852, this young Irishman had nothing but the shirt on his back. However, he attracted Vallejo's attention. With the General's aid he soon became established and was appointed town constable. Later in the decade when the Nevada mines began to open up, Vallejo lent Fair several thousand dollars as a "stake." He gave Vallejo his note for it. Years later Fair had become one of the richest men in the west. Meanwhile, Don Guadalupe had neglected to collect on the note, believing that he could trust his friend. In the sixties, however, finding himself in straightened circumstances, he remembered the thousands of dollars Fair owed him and tried to collect. At that time Fair was worth millions, but nevertheless he refused to honor his note. Needing the money badly, Vallejo took the matter to court, only to discover that it was outlawed. Exasperated by the base ingratitude of the former pauper, he declared that: "the laws were made for scoundrels."¹²

While General Vallejo was constantly harassed by financial and business worries during the 1850's, he was beset by other troubles. Early in March, 1854, his eldest son, Andronico II, then twenty years of age, died. This was a sad blow to the entire family.

In the spring of 1852, at the age of eleven years, Platon was sent via Panama to school at Mount St. Mary's College, Baltimore, Maryland. His record was so brilliant that he remained there until 1859, when he was graduated at the age of eighteen. That same year he entered the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in Columbia University, New York, from which he was graduated first in his class of seventy-two, receiving the faculty prize. The high scholastic honors won by his son were indeed gratifying to Vallejo.¹³

The Vallejo family was noted for the good looks of all its members. Caroline Larkin, daughter of Thomas O. Larkin, while visiting her uncle, Captain J. B. R. Cooper, at Sonoma, wrote to her parents on May 24, 1854:

Dear Papa and Mamma, Uncle Cooper is going away tomorrow. All the Vallejo family are very handsome, I think. The youngest girl who is a year old [Benicia Ysabel] has curls all over her head and large black eyes, with very long eyelashes. Mrs. Vallejo is handsome, I can't tell whether she is kind . . .¹⁴

Little Miss Larkin need not have worried about Señora Vallejo, for she was noted throughout the country for her kindness.

On January 27, 1856, a new addition to the family arrived in the person of an infant daughter who was named Luisa. She was the fifteenth child and seventh daughter. Seventeen months later, the last member of the Vallejo family saw the light of day at *Lachryma Montis*, on May 11, 1857. She was named Maria Ygnacia, and was the eighth girl and the sixteenth child of this large and gifted family. On January 13, 1859, death cast its shadow over the Vallejo mansion once again. This time it was the curly-headed six-year-old Benicia Ysabel who took sick and died.

Early in 1860, Sonoma welcomed the arrival from Hungary of Colonel A. Haraszthy. He was a man gifted in the art of wine making. After convincing the inhabitants that the land and climate were exactly suited for the production of the best of grapes and wine, he returned to Europe in 1861 to study the latest methods of wine production. He returned to Sonoma in 1862 with his two sons, Attila and Arpad, to aid him in the new enterprise. The two young expert champagne makers were elated with the prospects, but they were even more enthusiastic over the beauty of two of the Vallejo girls. Their affection was ardently reciprocated by the young ladies in question, for on June 1, 1863, *Lachryma Montis* was the scene of a splendid double wedding. Natalia Vallejo married Attila Haraszthy, and Jovita became the bride of Arpad Haraszthy. It was the social event of the year in Sonoma.

Shortly thereafter, General Vallejo set out on a trip to the East via Panama. The Civil War was in progress, and his son Platon had joined the Union forces just before graduating from medical school, and was doing medical work at the front. His baptism under fire took place in August, 1862, at the second battle of Bull Run. General Vallejo and Platon had several interviews with President Lincoln, while they were in Washington. At the conclusion of the war, Platon, having received his doctor's degree from Columbia University, soon afterward returned to California, where he at once became surgeon on a Pacific Mail steamer plying between San Francisco and Panama. In 1866, on a return trip, he met the young and beautiful Lilly Poole Wiley, daughter of James Wiley of Syracuse, New York. A year later, on November 14, 1867, the two were married at *Lachryma Montis*.¹⁵

Sonoma was increasing in population and after it was incorporated as a town in 1850, became the county seat. This revived its lost ambitions. For the next five years the town grew and enjoyed a brisk trade in lumber and other products. By 1852, however, a rival town was growing up at Santa Rosa, some miles to the north. The new community, with no Mexican traditions to hold it back, was full of the enterprise of the new American settlers who were building it. By 1854, Santa Rosa began to bid for the county seat. This split the people of the county into two factions, one of which advocated continuing the use of the dilapidated adobe court-house at Sonoma. Santa Rosa went ahead with its plans, refusing to take "No" for an answer. It managed to get the Grand Jury to condemn the Sonoma court-house, and began

building its own. Meanwhile, a delegation from Santa Rosa visited the legislature and engineered a bill giving the voters of Sonoma County the right to vote on the question of changing the county seat. Santa Rosa then held a great barbecue (July, 1854) to which the entire population of the county was invited. Hundreds came from miles around and partook generously of the city's liberal hospitality. In September the vote was taken and Santa Rosa won by a handsome majority. Sonoma, however, refused to give up the county records and prepared to defend them by force, if necessary, while the case was appealed in the courts. But Santa Rosa was not to be denied. Early one Sunday morning a band of hardy Santa Rosans, armed and ready for any eventuality, backed up to the old Sonoma court-house in a light wagon drawn by two stout mules. They picked the lock, kidnapped the county records, loaded them into the wagon, and disappeared up the road in a cloud of dust, before the astonished citizens of Sonoma realized what had happened. It was a blow from which Sonoma never recovered. Even its lumber business soon declined, for the neighboring timber had been depleted, and the industry had centered at Santa Rosa, nearer the source of supply.¹⁶

With the arrival of Colonel A. Haraszthy in Sonoma, in 1860, the town took on a more hopeful outlook. His enthusiasm convinced Sonoma that its destiny lay in the culture of the vine, and to that task the citizens dedicated themselves assiduously. By 1870, with hopes reborn, Sonoma was bidding fair to be the wine center of California, but it lacked modern transportation. Efforts were made to secure a railroad. In 1875, this was partly accomplished when the Sonoma Valley Prismoidal Railway Company built a short single-track, narrow gauge line from Norfolk, on Steamboat Slough, to Sonoma six miles distant, to connect with the San Francisco boats.¹⁷ This was not enough, however, and in 1878 the Sonoma Valley Railway Company took over the line and extended it. In 1888, the Southern Pacific built a branch line from Napa to Sonoma and Santa Rosa and in 1890, the Northwestern Pacific also entered the field, but Sonoma failed to receive full benefit from these facilities, for its citizens short-sightedly refused to grant the companies good rights of way and station facilities in the town.

Nevertheless, the wine industry prospered, and by 1900 Sonoma was known throughout the world. Its hills were honeycombed with underground vaults where millions of gallons of wine and champagne were aging. All went well until 1919 when national prohibition went into effect. Thinking that this reform was here to stay, the people of Sonoma closed their wineries, rooted up their vineyards and prepared to follow other lines of business. Sonoma's dreams and hopes of grandeur had collapsed, and destiny had once more cast the unfortunate town aside. Since repeal, Sonoma has been trying to rekindle its lost hopes and to recapture its past glory as the wine capital of the nation.

Vallejo, like the town he founded, suffered from misfortunes. By 1870 his luck had turned, his fortunes were on the wane and were eventually to end in

total eclipse. Most of his wealth had been lost or stolen and he was living in very reduced circumstances at Lachryma Montis. He was often invited to social functions, however. In this he delighted, for he was a fluent speaker, gifted with a keen wit and a sense of humor. On his frequent trips to San Francisco he often delighted the guests at the Palace Hotel, where he habitually put up, with thrilling tales of the early days in California as he had known them.¹⁸ Guillermo Prieto, a Mexican poet who visited San Francisco with General José M. Iglesias, as a political exile in 1877, wrote of him :

Among our visitors, one who made a most profound impression upon me was General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. General Vallejo is now a man of over 70, but broad shouldered and active as any youth, with not a trace of white in his black hair and stormy whiskers. Laughter comes easily to his lips, and his speech is ready and salty.¹⁹

In the closing years of his life Vallejo could still look at life and laugh despite his losses and his sorrows, and thus it was to the end. He was ever the genial, generous host though his fortunes had shrunk to insignificance, and a mortgage hung over his lovely home. His family had now grown up, but he was always their father and counsellor. On October 2, 1875, his son Napoleon married Miss Martha Brown, at another one of those renowned Lachryma Montis weddings, though perhaps the former splendor was missing. Then on May 5, 1878, his daughter Jovita died, which caused the General much grief for she was his favorite daughter. The following year, on May 12, 1879, his youngest daughter married James H. Cutter at the family home. The last wedding to take place among his children was that of his daughter Luisa, who married Ricardo de Emparan, a Spaniard. This also took place at Lachryma Montis (August 23, 1882). This young lady, the only child of Vallejo living today, was also the only one of the family to marry a person of Spanish blood.

By 1885, General Vallejo had seen his family grow up and the survivors happily married and going their separate ways. Well along in years, he and his wife lived quietly at Lachryma Montis. Time passed slowly as he sat in his rocker on the broad verandas of his home, gazing out over the beautiful valley he had helped to develop. On July 7, 1889, he celebrated his 82nd birthday, and he still seemed hale and hardy. Late in December, however, he began to fail, and at the opening of the new year, he took to his bed. His favorite son, Doctor Platon Vallejo, was in attendance. Slowly his life stream ebbed, and his great and generous heart grew weak. By January 17 all hope for his recovery was gone. As evening fell, the lights burned low in Lachryma Montis; as low as the sinking life within, as low as the hopes in the hearts of his many Sonoma friends who, with voices hushed, awaited the inevitable hour. That night the editor of the Sonoma *Tribune-Index*, H. H. Granice, held up his press to await the outcome, so that his Saturday edition of January 18, 1890, might be the first to proclaim the sorrowful news of the great man's

passing. The editor's daughter Celeste, a girl of twelve, was sent to the home as the reporter to cover the event.

All evening she waited, yet the dying General held on to the last vital spark. The night was cold, and the waiting child grew sleepy, as the silent press stood still, hungry for that bit of news that would send it clattering to work. Weary with watching, she fell asleep. It was almost dawn when she was rudely awakened by a member of the family who told her that the General had breathed his last. Breathlessly she ran back to the pressroom to convey the news.

Outside, the pale light of a waning moon bathed the garden of Lachryma Montis in ghostly splendor, while within, at 4:00 A. M. on Saturday, January 18, 1890, the pulse of the stricken Don was stilled. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, generous and valiant Californian, was dead.²⁰

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII

1. The description of the men, their actions, and of events just prior and subsequent to the taking of Sonoma, are as varied as the number of authors. No two accounts agree, and it is impossible to determine the truth of their statements. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, V, 101-19, is as good an authority to follow as any.

As nearly as can be determined, the thirty-three men who went to Sonoma were: Ezekiel Merritt, William Brown Ide, John Grigsby, Robert Semple, Henry L. Ford, William L. Todd, William Fallon, William Knight, William Hargrave, Samuel Kelsey, Granville P. Swift, Samuel Gibson, William W. Scott, Benjamin Dewell, Thomas Cowie, William B. Elliott, Thomas Knight, Horace Sanders, Henry Bocker, David Hudson, John Sears, J. H. Kelly, C. C. Griffith, Harvey Porterfield, John Scott, Ira Stebbins, Marion Wise, Peter Storm, Henry Fowler, John Gibbs, Andrew Kelsey, Pat McChristian, and Bartlett Vines. Ferguson and Benjamin Kelsey may or may not have been in the party instead of two of the others. *Ibid.*, V, 110. See also M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 114-15; W. Baldrige, "Days of '46," MS, pp. 43-45.

2. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 111-12.

3. *Ibid.*, V, 113.

4. Z. S. Eldredge, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 43-45.

5. *Ibid.*, III, 43-45; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 112-13; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 113-14.

6. T. M. Price, *An Historic Narrative of the Bear Flag Revolution*, pp. 11-12.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13; T. H. Schoonover, *The Life and Times of Gen. J. A. Sutter*, p. 98; Mrs. F. H. Day, "Dr. Robert Semple," in *The Hesperian*, III, 386-90, Oct., 1859; "Capt. John Grigsby," in *Napa Register*, Apr. 6, 13, 1872; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 113-15; H. L. Ford, *Bear Flag*, MS, pp. 7-10; W. B. Ide, *Biographic Sketch*, MS, pp. 123-25; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 113-15; J. P. Leese, *Bear Flag Statement*, MS, pp. 6-12; R. Semple, in *Monterey Californian*, Sept. 5, 1846; W. Baldrige, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 43-45. The scenes in Vallejo's home have been reconstructed from a large number of narratives, some of which were written by participants, but none of which agree in major details. Therefore, the author assumes no responsibility for the accuracy or veracity of the description.

8. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 113.

9. *Ibid.*, V, 114; T. Gregory, *Hist. of Sonoma County*, p. 67.

10. T. M. Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15; W. B. Ide, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-30.

11. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 116-17.

12. Statement of J. de la Rosa to Capt. J. B. Montgomery, aboard U. S. S. *Portsmouth*, Sausalito, June 15, 1846; Reply of Capt. J. B. Montgomery to J. de la Rosa, U. S. S. *Portsmouth*, Sausalito, June 15, 1846; *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, I, 79-81, July, 1922.

13. Capt. J. B. Montgomery to Lt. J. S. Missroon, U. S. S. *Portsmouth*, Sausalito, June 15, 16, 1846; *ibid.*, I, 85-87, July, 1922.
14. Lt. J. S. Missroon to Capt. J. B. Montgomery, U. S. S. *Portsmouth*, Sausalito, June 17, 1846; Lt. J. S. Missroon to Alcalde of Sonoma, Sonoma, June 17, 1846; W. B. Ide, Pledge, Sonoma, June 17, 1846; *ibid.*, I, 87-90, July, 1922.
15. J. P. Leese, Bear Flag Statement, MS. pp. 8-9; J. W. Revere, *A Tour of Duty*, p. 65; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 126-27; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 119-20; T. M. Price, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.
16. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 123-26; J. P. Leese, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-15.
17. Vallejo, *ibid.*, V, 126-28; J. P. Leese, *ibid.*, pp. 15-17.
18. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 122-26.
19. V. Prudon to J. de la Rosa, New Helvetia, June 28, 1846, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XII, 228.
20. M. G. Vallejo to J. J. Vallejo, New Helvetia, July 6, 1846, *ibid.*, XXXIV, 216.
21. Lt. W. A. Bartlett to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, July 6, 1846, *ibid.*, XII, 229.
22. M. G. Vallejo to J. C. Frémont, New Helvetia, July 10, 1846, J. P. Leese, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
23. T. O. Larkin to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, July 16, 1846, *ibid.*, p. 62.
24. M. G. Vallejo to T. O. Larkin, New Helvetia, July 23, 1846, Larkin, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 223.
25. V. Prudon to T. O. Larkin, New Helvetia, July 23, 1846, *ibid.*, IV, 223.
26. M. G. Vallejo to Com. J. D. Sloat, New Helvetia, July 23, 1846, Leese, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-66.
27. T. O. Larkin to J. P. Leese, Monterey, July 29, 1846, Larkin, *op. cit.*, IV, 233.
28. Com. R. F. Stockton to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, July 29, 1846, Leese, *op. cit.*, p. 67. Copy in Letter Book of Stockton Correspondence in Templeton Crocker Collection, California Historical Society.
29. Capt. J. B. Montgomery to M. G. Vallejo, Yerba Buena, Aug. 3, 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 70-71.
30. Capt. J. B. Montgomery to Lt. J. W. Revere, Yerba Buena, Aug. 3, 1846, *ibid.*, p. 73.
31. Lt. W. A. Bartlett to M. G. Vallejo, San Francisco, Aug. 6, 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
32. S. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Aug. 7, 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 76-77; M. G. Vallejo to Capt. J. B. Montgomery, Sonoma, Aug. 8, 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 78-80; S. Vallejo, J. P. Leese, V. Prudon, to M. G. Vallejo, New Helvetia, n. d., 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
33. Lt. J. S. Missroon to S. Vallejo, New Helvetia, Aug. 8, 1846, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, p. 81.
34. M. G. Vallejo to Capt. J. B. Montgomery, Sonoma, Aug. 12, 1846, *ibid.*, p. 81.
35. Capt. J. B. Montgomery to M. G. Vallejo, Yerba Buena, Sept. 9, 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIII

1. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, V, 295-97.
2. *Ibid.*, V, 297-98.
3. *Ibid.*, V, 432-33.
4. *Ibid.*, V, 539.
5. *Ibid.*, V, 568; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 23-24.
6. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 670-73; Vallejo, *op. cit.*, XII, 289, 291; Larkin, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 159, 177, 179, 181, 202, 250, 258, 304, 315, 344, 351-52, 354.
7. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 275-307.

8. *Ibid.*, VI, 308-323, 472-75.
9. Celeste G. Murphy, *The People of the Pueblo*, pp. 208-12.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-9.
11. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 467-68.
12. Celeste G. Murphy, *op. cit.*, 203; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, V.
13. George D. Lyman, "The First Native-born California Physician," in *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, IV, 287, Sept., 1925.
14. Caroline Larkin to T. O. Larkin, Sonoma, May 24, 1854, Larkin, *op. cit.*, IX, 111.
15. Lyman, *op. cit.*, IV, 287-88, Sept., 1925.
16. R. A. Thompson, *Central Sonoma*, pp. 18-33.
17. For an account of the Prismoidal Railway, see *Pony Express Courier*, April, 1938, p. 15.
18. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, pp. 336-37.
19. Guillermo Prieto, *San Francisco in the Seventies*; also, "The Knave," *Oakland Tribune*, Feb. 27, 1938.
20. *Sonoma Tribune*: Index, January 18, 1890, gives death notice; January 25, 1890, gives news of the funeral and obituaries.