

California Preparations to Meet the Walla Walla Invasion, 1846

By JOHN ADAM HUSSEY *and* GEORGE WALCOTT AMES, JR.

AT SUNSET one evening early in September 1846, Mrs. William B. Ide and her family of children were terrified at the appearance before the door of their lonely cabin in the upper Sacramento Valley of a band of fierce-looking Indians from the north. Her husband and her two eldest sons were away from home, and Mrs. Ide had no choice but to parley with the savages. Through an interpreter, a chief asked the family if they "belonged to Captain Sutter."

"No," replied Sarah, Ide's only daughter, "we belong to our father."

To questions regarding Sutter's fighting forces and his wealth Sarah answered as best she could. Finally, after minutely examining the firearms in the cabin and consulting among themselves in their own language, the Indians mounted their ponies and rode off into the woods, singing as they went.

The family's fears were somewhat allayed when James Meadows, their neighbor from across the Sacramento River, arrived with assurances that the Indians meant no harm. A woman living near him, said Meadows, could understand the visitors' language and had learned from them that they were Oregon Indians coming to get satisfaction for the death of their chief's son. He had been killed at New Helvetia the previous year during a cattle-trading expedition, and his tribesmen held John A. Sutter responsible. The chief, in particular, was determined "to have one of Sutter's men to shoot," or at least a compensation of horses or cattle, and was fully prepared to enforce his claim.

Meadows remained at the Ide house that night. The next morning he set out down the river to take his information to settlers living some seven miles below, about on the site of the present Tehama.¹

Arrival of the Indians in California was not entirely unexpected. Reports had come down from Oregon by immigrants and letters from the Indian agent that Chief Yellow Serpent and his Walla Wallas were determined to avenge the chief's son, Elijah, who had been murdered by Grove Cook.² Thus the settlers in the Sacramento Valley were fully prepared to believe the worst when Yellow Serpent and his men appeared before their isolated homes. One settler asked the chief whether or not there were more warriors yet to come. On being informed in sign language that nine men had been left wounded on the trail, he jumped to the conclusion that nine hundred additional armed savages were advancing from the north.³

As the alarm flew from ranch to ranch by mounted messengers, the reports became more and more exaggerated. The most prevalent version seems to have been that the Walla Wallas, a thousand strong, were planning to assault Sutter's Fort from motives of vengeance, and if thwarted in this action they would drive off all the cattle belonging to the settlers in the Sacramento Valley.⁴ At Peter Lassen's ranch on Deer Creek the residents fully expected to be attacked and prepared to resist, only to find that they had exhausted their supply of bullets. "Fortunately for us," one of them later reported, "the Walla Walla's [*sic*] moved on & left us unmolested."⁵

From Deer Creek, Daniel Sill, a veteran trapper and a settler on the Lassen rancho, slipped away on his fleetest horse; he rode "as if the fiend were at his heels" to warn the people at Sutter's Fort of their danger.⁶ He arrived on September 8, and from him or other sources it was learned that by that date Chief Yellow Serpent and his "advance guard" of reportedly two hundred warriors had already reached Feather River, only twenty miles from the fort.⁷

These reports caused genuine consternation at Sutter's New Helvetia, or Fort Sacramento as the place had been officially designated by the United States Naval authorities when California was occupied in July. The garrison, consisting of about thirty white men and a few of Sutter's trained Indians, was believed to be entirely inadequate to withstand an attack by a thousand well-armed, straight-shooting Walla Wallas.⁸ Edward M. Kern, the young Philadelphia artist whose appointment in June as commander of the fort by Frémont had been approved by Commodore Stockton, acted promptly to improve his position.⁹

Couriers were immediately dispatched to spread the alarm among all the settlers in the vicinity. Recently arrived immigrants and older residents alike volunteered their services. Sutter's dilapidated pieces of artillery were put in order, and, in the words of one observer, all inside the walls "were busily employed in preparing for the expected combat."¹⁰ Indian scouts were sent out to discover the actual number and position of the invaders. Finally, messengers carrying urgent appeals for reinforcements started for Sonoma and the United States Sloop of War *Portsmouth* anchored in San Francisco Bay.

Kern's message reached Sonoma just as its commanding officer, Lieutenant Joseph Warren Revere, United States Navy, was returning from an inspection tour in the vicinity of Clear Lake. The news was joyously received by the lieutenant and his command of about fifty mounted settlers. "The prospect of an engagement with a strong force of warlike savages, at a time when we were threatened with a most tedious tranquillity, was extremely welcome and cheering, especially in view of the fact that the enemy were the aggressors," he later recollected.¹¹

Without delay, messengers were sent out to raise the entire population of Revere's district—Californians, Americans, foreigners, and Indians alike. But

the lieutenant did not wait for this levy *en masse* to be organized. Leaving instructions for the recruits to report themselves "with all convenient speed" at Sutter's Fort and sending word of his activities to his superior officer, Commander Montgomery, he departed with his company of mounted riflemen for the scene of action.¹²

Commander John Berrien Montgomery of the *Portsmouth*, who was in charge of the Northern Military District, received Kern's express at Yerba Buena on September 10. The news found the commander in rather an awkward position for making an extensive campaign. From Commodore Stockton, acting governor of California, had come orders for the *Portsmouth* to be prepared to leave Yerba Buena at a moment's notice. Having placed a garrison at Los Angeles and having driven Comandante General José Castro from the province, Stockton believed that the conquest of California was complete. He was preparing to take his squadron to the west coast of Mexico. For some weeks past, however, the area north of San Francisco Bay had been disturbed by rumors of mysterious movements among the native Californians, and Montgomery seems to have feared that any great reduction of his forces might leave the immediate vicinity exposed to a sudden attack. The commander of the *Portsmouth* was also extremely suspicious of English designs upon California and felt certain that in the event of hostilities over Oregon, British men-of-war would attempt to surprise the defenses of San Francisco.¹³

Much as he hated to weaken the strength of his ship, Montgomery felt that the Walla Wallas presented a major threat to the security of his district, and his response was quick and decisive. Not knowing that Lieutenant Revere had already anticipated such orders, Montgomery directed that officer to proceed at once with all his effective force to the relief of Fort Sacramento.¹⁴ To replace Revere at Sonoma, to keep open communications between that place and New Helvetia, and to be in general command of all operations against the invaders, Montgomery chose Lieutenant John Stoney Missroon, first officer of the *Portsmouth*. Missroon was to remain at Sonoma with a guard composed of all the marines who could be spared from the ship and such residents as should "be furnished by General Vallejo during the absence of the proper garrison ordered on other service." In the event of an advance by the Walla Wallas toward Sonoma, Missroon was to give immediate notice in order that Montgomery might, if necessary, proceed to the rescue with all the force of the *Portsmouth*. "Should the Indians claim redress for the injury done them by the recent government," Montgomery directed, "make known their complaints to me."¹⁵

Upon the first news of the invasion, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, military commander of the northern frontier under the Mexican regime and but lately returned to his home in Sonoma after his confinement in Sutter's Fort by the Bear Flag party, volunteered his services in raising a body of

native Californians to assist in the defense of the country. Although Montgomery distrusted many of the Californians, he had a great deal of respect for General Vallejo and accepted the offer at once. Vallejo was requested to collect as many of his countrymen as possible and to report to Missroom for arms and assignment to duty.¹⁶

For further reinforcement of New Helvetia, Montgomery had another force at his disposal. Purser James H. Watmough of the *Portsmouth* had in August been appointed commander of the garrison at San José. When news of the Walla Walla invasion reached Yerba Buena on September 10, Watmough had been absent from his post about ten days engaged on an expedition into the San Joaquin Valley to punish some Indian horse thieves. Joined with him on this service was Purser Daingerfield Fauntleroy of the *Savannah*, who commanded the garrison at San Juan Bautista. The combined troops of the two pursers amounted to about seventy well-armed and mounted men.¹⁷

In hope of intercepting this force before its return, Montgomery sent an express into the San Joaquin Valley in search of Watmough. "Wherever this shall meet you," the purser was instructed, "... you are directed immediately to proceed to Fort Sacramento." Although Fauntleroy was not under his direct command, Montgomery felt justified under the circumstances in ordering that officer to accompany Watmough should the receipt of the order find the companies still united. Watmough was enjoined to take every precaution against falling into an ambush and was directed, should he find the fort too closely invested by the enemy, not to attempt to force his way in but to retire to a secure position and await reinforcements from Monterey.¹⁸

To obtain still more troops, Montgomery sent another express southward, this one to Captain William Mervine, commander of the United States Ship *Savannah* anchored in the harbor of Monterey and also commander of the Central Military District of California. After sketching the general situation and the measures he had taken to meet it, Montgomery wrote:

I hear that some of Major Fremonts troops have arrived at Monterey in which case I would respectfully suggest the importance of sending them forthwith to the Sacramento as in the event of hostilities [*sic*] having commenced the Fort will be closely invested & neither of my small detachments approaching from opposite directions with no facilities for uniting without much delay will be able to reach it, hence you will perceive the course best to be pursued in your circumstances.¹⁹

Montgomery next informed Kern of the measures which had been taken for the relief of New Helvetia, warning him that the forces already under way would not be able to break through if the fort were surrounded. "Therefore," he encouraged, "hold out as you certainly have the means of maintaining yourself against an Indian force as long as your provisions last."²⁰ The plan was now complete, and Montgomery awaited news of the execution of his orders.

From Sonoma the reports were gratifying. Lieutenant Missroon reached that town by September 11. He immediately set to work. Captain Salvador Vallejo, the General's brother and also a former prisoner of the Bear Flag party, volunteered to raise and superintend a body of Indian scouts to watch the approaches to Sonoma from the Sacramento Valley. Missroon gratefully accepted the offer and granted Salvador and his men permission to bear arms for the duration of the emergency.²¹

On the night of the eleventh, Salvador had guards stationed at Las Trancas in Napa Valley and perhaps at other places. By the twelfth, outposts were established at vantage points stretching from Suisun and Soscol on the south to the region of Putah Creek on the north.²² Aided by a number of the neighboring rancheros, Salvador supervised the pickets, visiting as many of them as possible each night.²³ He later claimed that his scouts extended their operations as far as the vicinity of Sutter's Fort itself.²⁴ Missroon reported on the thirteenth that "S. Vallejo has already covered a space of 50 leagues with his Indian spies, & promises me six hours notice of their approach—by this time, it is believed that these observations extend to the very camp of the Walla Wallas." In a letter written the following day Montgomery enthusiastically praised the "zeal & activity" of General Vallejo, his brother, and Victor Prudon which had created these "extraordinary facilities" for obtaining prompt intelligence of the Indian movements.²⁵

Other phases of Missroon's work were likewise carried forward with success. The men raised in the district by General Vallejo were organized and sent forward in small parties to reinforce Revere at New Helvetia. Nineteen native Californians left on one day under the command of Moses Carson, brother of the famous Kit Carson. With them went eight well-armed Indians who had accompanied Carson to Sonoma from Bodega.²⁶ Through purchase and by means of requisitions on the *Portsmouth*, supplies and munitions also were collected, some of which were dispatched to satisfy the wants of Revere.²⁷ In addition, Missroon fortified the entrance to the *Cuartel* or barracks at Sonoma so effectively, "as to leave no doubt of his ability to repel an attack should one be made upon that post."²⁸

In spite of winning Montgomery's approval, Lieutenant Missroon was not happy in his command at Sonoma. He was in ill-health and also was irked because Revere, a junior officer, was at the point of probable danger. Montgomery, short of officers, promised him relief as soon as practicable and attempted to cheer him with assurances that his services at Sonoma were "most important to the public interests."²⁹

"The defensive position in which your foresight & efforts has placed the Quartel with the native services you have been so instrumental in calling into operation in view of the present emergency are matters of consequence," the commander wrote, "the latter especially in its tendency to unite the different classes of residents, between whom there has existed a feeling of

suspicion & distrust in one common bond of confidence & friendship which cannot fail to promote peace good government & happiness hereafter."³⁰

In the south, however, Montgomery's pleas did not bring such happy results. His appeal to Captain Mervine reached Monterey late in the night of September 11. Mervine, like Montgomery, had received orders from Stockton to be ready to go to sea at a moment's warning and thus did not deem it prudent to weaken his force by dispatching any of his ship's company to the relief of New Helvetia.

Fortunately other troops were available for the service. Captains Granville P. Swift and Henry L. Ford, with a detachment of about forty men of Companies B and D, California Battalion, had arrived in Monterey a short time since from southern California. They had come overland to reconnoitre and operate against any organized resistance which might have been set up by Californian forces after the latter's dispersal at Los Angeles. Captain Swift had been sent to San Juan with a few of his men to relieve all persons belonging to the *Savannah's* complement while Ford prepared to return southward to rejoin Frémont's command. Ford was still at Monterey when Montgomery's news arrived from the north.³¹

Mervine acted with characteristic swiftness. Ford was ordered to move at once to San Juan, where he was to unite his detachment with that of Swift and proceed "with all possible expedition" to Fort Sacramento. "Should you meet with the Forces of Capt D. Fauntleroy, returning from his expedition on the San Joaquin," the instructions continued, "he is hereby ordered to join you, and proceed to the threatened district."³²

On the twelfth, Ford's company was supplied with clothing and all the rifle ammunition which could be obtained in Monterey and was started on its way to San Juan, where it arrived on the evening of the next day. Here Ford found Purser Fauntleroy, who had separated from Watmough while still in the San Joaquin Valley. Since his men and horses were "worn down with fatigue and hunger," Fauntleroy felt it absolutely necessary to rest a day or two "for his men to wash and mend their clothes" before proceeding to the Sacramento.³³ Besides, Fauntleroy was not at all pleased by the fact that Mervine's instructions seemed to require him to serve under the command of the volunteer officers. Instead of moving forward, therefore, the purser wrote to Mervine for further instructions, requesting more troops and begging to be put in charge of the expedition since he was "the oldest officer."³⁴

At the same time, Ford and Swift's men put their heads together and decided that they had already discharged the duties for which they had been enlisted by Frémont. They positively refused to obey Mervine's orders until new terms of service were arranged. This decision was conveyed to Mervine in a joint letter from the two volunteer captains.³⁵

When Mervine learned, on the morning of the fourteenth, that his instruc-

tions had not been obeyed, his anger was violent enough to be apparent in his written replies of the same date. "You say that you 'construed the order to mean, I shall forthwith repair to said place,' " he said to Fauntleroy, and added scathingly, "You Sir construed it right, and why then did you not obey it?" He continued as follows:

You will, on receipt of this, without a moments loss of time, proceed with every man under your command, except the Marine Guard and Vaqueros, and all of Captains Ford and Swifts men, who have patriotism enough to serve their country, and I may add, their own firesides, in this time of need, to Sutters Fort. . . .³⁶

At San José, Montgomery's dispositions likewise received a setback. On or about September 14, Purser Watmough returned to that place with his horses so completely worn out that it was impossible for him to conduct his party overland to New Helvetia. Montgomery informed Kern of this situation but promised to send the men by water if necessity required it.³⁷

Meanwhile, having taken what measures he could to protect his district from immediate attack by the Walla Wallas, Montgomery started to formulate a policy for the peaceful settlement of the Indians' grievances. From the first, Montgomery was determined to treat the Walla Wallas fairly and to see that their claims, if just, received satisfaction. On September 12, Revere was instructed to show a "proper regard" for any proposals made by the Indians if they should prove willing to treat for redress instead of investing the fort at once. As a preliminary to any negotiation, however, the Walla Wallas were to be required to retire to a distance of fifty miles from New Helvetia and to remain there until the wishes of Commodore Stockton concerning the matter could be determined.³⁸ If the Indians did not first submit a statement of their grievances, Revere was directed to send, as soon as his forces were collected, some "suitable, responsible person" to inform the Oregon chiefs of the change of government and to ascertain their motives in coming to California. Montgomery gave it as his opinion that the Indians had been grievously injured by certain individuals of the country. However, he believed the chiefs would be "readily brought to acquiesce in the course which the Commander in Chief shall deem it just & expedient to pursue in the premises."³⁹ The commander's desire to see justice done is shown by the fact that, even before he knew definitely whether or not the invaders were determined on hostilities, he ordered the arrest of Grove Cook, the man who had shot Yellow Serpent's son in 1845. The decree was countermanded, however, when Cook assured him that he had already been tried for the crime.⁴⁰

Prospects for a peaceful settlement of the difficulties began to improve as soon as reports from Lieutenant Revere arrived. He had reached New Helvetia with his company by September 12, finding preparations still under way for an energetic defense and a considerable body of settlers already assembled.⁴¹ He promptly informed Montgomery that without any further

additions to his garrison he could hold the place against an Indian attack. The Walla Walla, he reported, had made no demonstrations of hostility on their march southward. They had conversed with various settlers and with a scout from the fort in a very friendly manner, saying to the latter that they had come to demand the unconditional surrender of Grove Cook and the payment of a debt due to them by Captain Sutter.⁴²

By the morning of the thirteenth it was generally understood at New Helvetia that the reported "advance party" of hostile Walla Walla was in reality a small band of forty or fifty men, women and children whose "disposition was entirely pacific." So much had the alarm abated that some of the emigrant volunteers departed for San Francisco.⁴³

Revere, however, seems still to have believed that a larger band of warriors was yet to come, for he continued to organize his little army, whose weapons ranged from the rifles of the Americans and the lances and *reatas* of the Californians to the bows and arrows of the Indians. When his arrangements were complete, he held a formal inspection before taking up the march against the savage foe. "It was extremely gratifying to review such a gallant body of men," he later recollected; "I flattered myself that if we came across the enemy we should give a good account of ourselves." The troop was just about to mount when the lieutenant was "surprised and confounded" by the arrival of Yellow Serpent himself and several other Walla Walla chiefs.

A parley was held, and Revere learned that the Indians numbered but forty warriors, with their women and children. They had come, the old chief solemnly declared, principally to hunt and to trade for cattle. But also, he wanted to visit the grave of his son and to see justice done for that as yet unavenged murder. "It must be plain to you," he concluded, "that we did not set out on a hostile expedition against your countrymen."

In reply, Revere expressed gratification at hearing of the chief's peaceful intentions and promised to consider his demands. "If I think it right to interfere at all," the lieutenant said, "I will make the case known to the civil authorities, who will do what is right." He then gave the Indians permission to proceed with their trade.⁴⁴

Disappointed as he was at the turn of events, Revere was nevertheless inclined to believe the chief and dismissed a portion of his volunteers. Many of the settlers, however, suspected that some sort of treachery lurked behind Yellow Serpent's peaceful words. As a precautionary measure, Revere sent a scouting party of "old Indian hunters" to the headwaters of the Sacramento.⁴⁵

Before these scouts returned, the lieutenant decided to go on an expedition up the valley himself. He believed the country safe enough, but thought the occasion "favorable for making a demonstration of our strength to overawe the local Indians, who were sometimes disposed to be troublesome." Accompanied by Kern and a sizeable force, Revere marched as far as the Marysville

Buttes and camped in their vicinity. At this place his "old Indian hunters" rejoined him, reporting that no sign of any additional Walla Wallas could be found and that the rumors of a large-scale invasion had been entirely false.

This news had a most depressing effect on Revere's recruits, many of whom had hoped to the last for a clash with Yellow Serpent's warriors. Now that this pleasure was denied them, a few wished to find solace in exterminating a *rancheria* or two of the nearby native Indians. Curbing such desires, Revere moved his company southward to the Walla Walla camp, located in the bend, "just where the Feather river falls into the Sacramento." Here they were courteously received by Yellow Serpent, and if there was any remaining fear of the Walla Wallas it was promptly dispelled, for practically every Indian in the camp was ill with the ague.⁴⁶

Fort Sacramento was reached by September 22, and Revere's command, reduced to its normal strength once more, was sent on to Sonoma, while the men who had volunteered for the emergency returned to their homes. There was no longer any need for a large force at New Helvetia since the security of that post had been assured on September 16, when Revere had authorized Kern to enlist thirty Indians as an additional garrison.⁴⁷

Lieutenant Revere did not accompany his troops on their homeward journey. A fall from a horse incapacitated him for about a week at New Helvetia and then, after starting, an attack of ague seized him in Napa Valley and still further delayed his return to duty.⁴⁸ He had, however, promptly reported the results of his expedition; and the welcome news that there was absolutely nothing to fear from the Walla Wallas rapidly circulated throughout the area north of San Francisco Bay.⁴⁹

On September 23, General Vallejo informed Montgomery of the dismissal of the Californians who had been serving under his command.⁵⁰ The next day Montgomery ordered the withdrawal of the marines from Sonoma,⁵¹ and on the twenty-fifth Salvador Vallejo was relieved of his command with the "thanks of the United States" and requested to recall and disperse his force of scouts.⁵² The Walla Walla War, as some people later chose to call it, was over; and more than one participant in the episode credited the prompt action of Commander Montgomery and his officers with preventing bloodshed.⁵³

NOTES

1. [Simeon Ide], *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of William B. Ide* . . . [Claremont, N. H., 1880], pp. 80-82. Much of the material upon which this article is based was gathered while the writers held Native Sons of the Golden West Fellowships in Pacific Coast History.

2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), V, 300-1. For more information on Chief Yellow Serpent and his mission see the article by Robert Fleming Heizer in this issue of this QUARTERLY.

3. Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California* . . . (New York and Boston, 1849), pp. 159-60.

4. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* . . . (3rd ed., Philadelphia, 1849 [1848]), p. 273.
5. William Isaac Tustin, "Recollections of Early Days in California" (MS in Bancroft Library), p. 9.
6. Revere, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
7. John Berrien Montgomery to William Mervine, Yerba Buena, September 10, 1846, John Berrien Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846" (MS in Office of Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.); Montgomery to Edward M. Kern, Yerba Buena, September 10, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
- Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 273, says that the news of the Walla Wallas reached the fort by "some couriers" on the ninth, but the fact that Kern's appeal for help was dated the eighth would appear to fix the date on the earlier day.
8. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-74.
9. For further information on the Fort Sutter garrison and its commander see *ibid.*, p. 267; and "The Fort Sutter Papers" (original MSS in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino). Typed transcripts of these records kept by Edward M. Kern were bound with printed commentaries by Seymour Dunbar and issued in an edition of twenty copies by Edward Eberstadt, New York, in 1921. The manuscripts referred to here are Nos. 10, 27, and 63, of the volume of transcripts.
10. Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
11. Revere, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 152; Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 12, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
13. Montgomery to Kern, Yerba Buena, August 10, 1846, and same to same, Yerba Buena, August 26, 1846, "Fort Sutter Papers," Nos. 62, 63; Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 1, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846"; Montgomery to Stockton, Yerba Buena, September 25, 1846, John Berrien Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846" (MS in Office of Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.)
14. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 10, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
15. Montgomery to Missroon, Yerba Buena, September 10, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
16. Montgomery to M. G. Vallejo, "Anchorage off Yerba Buena," September 10, 1846, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, "Documentos para la historia de California" (MSS in Bancroft Library), XII, No. 237.
17. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 12, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
18. Montgomery to Watmough, Yerba Buena, September 10, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
19. Montgomery to Mervine, Yerba Buena, September 10, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
20. Montgomery to Kern, Yerba Buena, September 10, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
21. Missroon to S. Vallejo, Sonoma, September 11, 1846, Vallejo, "Documentos," XII, No. 238.
22. S. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo, Las Trancas [September 12?, 1846], and same to same, "Portezuelo de Toluca," September 13, 1846, Vallejo, "Documentos," XII, Nos. 234-a, 240.

23. M. G. Vallejo to [Missroon], Sonoma, September 12, 1846, Vallejo, "Documentos," XII, No. 239.
24. Salvador Vallejo, "Notas históricas sobre California" (MS in Bancroft Library), pp. 144-45.
25. Missroon to Revere, Sonoma, September 13, 1846, "Manuscripts, Documents, Letters &c. Relating to the Conquest of California" (usually referred to as "Sloat Manuscripts" or "Sloat Correspondence"; MSS in California Historical Society library); Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 14, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
26. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 14, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
27. Missroon, List of goods bought of J. P. Leese, Sonoma, September 12, 1846, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Vallejo Papers (MSS in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California); Montgomery to Missroon, Yerba Buena, September 12, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846"; Missroon to Revere, Sonoma, September 13, 1846, Sloat Manuscripts.
28. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 14, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
29. Montgomery to Missroon, Yerba Buena, September 12, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
30. Same to same, Yerba Buena, September 14, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
31. Mervine to Daingerfield Fauntleroy, Monterey, September 5, 1846; Mervine to Montgomery, Monterey, September 12, 1846; Mervine to Henry W. Queen, Monterey, September 12, 1846; Mervine to Stockton, September 15, 1846; Mervine to Granville P. Swift, Monterey, September 5, 1846, Mervine, "Letters Sent Book, 1845 to 1847" (MS in Office of Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.); Stockton to Fauntleroy, Los Angeles, August 17, 1846, "California Pioneer Archives" (copied MS in Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California).
32. Mervine to Ford, Monterey, September 12, 1846, Mervine, "Letters Sent Book, 1845-47."
33. Fauntleroy to Mervine, San Juan, September 15, 1846, Mervine, "Letters Received Book, 1845-47" (MS in Office of Naval Records and Library, Washington, D. C.).
34. Same to same, San Juan, September 13, 1846, Mervine, "Letters Received Book, 1845-47."
35. Mervine to Stockton, Monterey, September 15, 1846, Mervine, "Letters Sent Book, 1845-47."
36. Mervine to Fauntleroy, Monterey, September 14, 1846, Mervine, "Letters Sent Book, 1845-47." There is no evidence at hand which indicates that Fauntleroy ever moved towards the Sacramento.
37. Montgomery to Kern, Yerba Buena, September 17, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846"; the copy of this letter in "Fort Sutter Papers," No. 66, is dated September 19, 1846; Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 294.
38. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 12, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
39. Same to same, Yerba Buena, September 14, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
40. Montgomery to George Hyde, Yerba Buena, September 15, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846."
41. Revere, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 274, gives the date of Revere's arrival as

the twelfth, but his dates are not always to be trusted. Revere says his force consisted of 150 whites and 300 Indians, a number which seems exaggerated.

42. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 14, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, October 4, 1844, to September 15, 1846"; Montgomery to Stockton, Yerba Buena, September 15[?], 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846."

43. Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

44. Revere, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-58. The conference took place on or before September 15. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 18, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846."

45. After receiving a report from Revere on the meeting with the Walla Walla chief, Montgomery ordered Revere, on September 18, to keep a strict watch on the Indian camp and to seize the chiefs should it be ascertained that a second party of warriors was approaching. If, on the contrary, it was determined that the chief had spoken the truth, Revere was to give the savages protection against injury or insult "from such as might be disposed to inflict additional wrongs upon this injured tribe." Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 18, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846." It is probable, however, that Revere did not receive this letter before he left on his trip up the valley.

46. Revere, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-62. Revere and "all the men who went to the Walla Walla war" contracted the ague as a result of this visit. Revere to Kern, Sonoma, October 17, 1846, "Fort Sutter Papers," No. 44.

47. Revere, *op. cit.*, p. 163; Revere to Kern, Fort Sacramento, September 16, 1846, "Fort Sutter Papers," No. 43; Kern to Montgomery, Fort Sacramento, September 22, 1846, United States Navy Department, Area Files, A-9 (original MSS in Office of Naval Records and Library). Kern preferred the Indians to the white men of the garrison, since the latter were "so little to be depended on."

48. Revere, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

49. Revere's report was dated September 21 and reached Montgomery on the twenty-fourth. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 24, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846."

50. Montgomery to M. G. Vallejo, Yerba Buena, September 25, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846."

51. Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 24, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846."

52. Daniel Clinton Hugenin to S. Vallejo, Sonoma, September 25, 1846, S. Vallejo, "Notas," p. 159. Hugenin, a midshipman, was acting commander at Sonoma on this date, evidently having relieved Missroon. Salvador Vallejo, according to his own statement corroborated by several Californians, received, by means of cleverly "padding" his expense account, \$15,000 from the United States Government for his services against the Walla Wallas. Such may have been the fact, but no official record of payment has yet become common knowledge. Cayetano Juarez, "Narrative of Captain Cayetano Juarez of Napa City" (MS in Bancroft Library), p. 11; Manuel Torres, "Peripecias de la vida Californiana" (MS in Bancroft Library), pp. 77-78; Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, "Historia de California" (MS in Bancroft Library), V, 203-8; S. Vallejo, "Notas," pp. 142-49.

53. M. G. Vallejo to Thomas Oliver Larkin, Sonoma, September 15, 1846, Thomas Oliver Larkin, "Documents for the History of California" (MSS in Bancroft Library), IV, No. 280; Kern to Montgomery, Fort Sacramento, September 22, 1846, Area Files, A-9. On September 15, Commodore Stockton in the U.S.S. *Congress* arrived at Monterey from Southern California, planning to withdraw the naval forces from the northern part

of the territory and to sail for operations in Mexican waters. Hearing, however, of the Walla Walla invasion, he at once ordered the *Savannah* to San Francisco and, after making arrangements for the government of the Central Department of California during the absence of his forces, sailed himself for that port in the *Congress* on September 24. "The Indians must have satisfaction," he had written to Montgomery on the twentieth, but added that if "they are formidable and insolent, they must be taught that is not the way to seek justice at our hands." Both the *Congress* and the *Savannah* reached San Francisco on the afternoon of September 26, and Stockton learned that there was nothing to fear from the Indians. He expressed a desire, however, to see Yellow Serpent, and orders to facilitate the passage of the chief to Yerba Buena were sent to Revere and Kern. But the commander of New Helvetia reported on September 29 that "general sickness" still prevailed at the Indian camp, and the idea of seeing the chief had to be abandoned. U.S.S. *Savannah*, "Log Book, June 29, 1846, to July 18, 1847" (MS in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.); Stockton to Montgomery, Monterey, September 20, 1846, Robert Field Stockton, "Letter Book" (MS in California Historical Society, San Francisco, California), p. 147; Montgomery to Revere, Yerba Buena, September 28, 1846; Montgomery to Kern, Yerba Buena, September 28, 1846; Montgomery to Kern, Yerba Buena, October 2, 1846, Montgomery, "Letter Book, September 16, 1846, to December 7, 1846"; Stockton to Bancroft, San Francisco, October 1, 1846, Robert Field Stockton, "Pacific Squadron Letters, Stockton's Cruise, 1846-47" (MS in Office of Naval Records and Library); Stockton to John Young Mason, Washington, D. C., February 18, 1848, 30th Cong., 2d sess., H. Exec. Doc. 1 (1848), pp. 1037-54. It has been claimed by certain biographers of John C. Frémont that he interviewed the Walla Wallas and persuaded them to remain peaceful, but Frémont did not reach their camp until all prospects of danger had passed. For the authorities on this subject see Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 302, note 13.

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