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War in California, 1846–1848

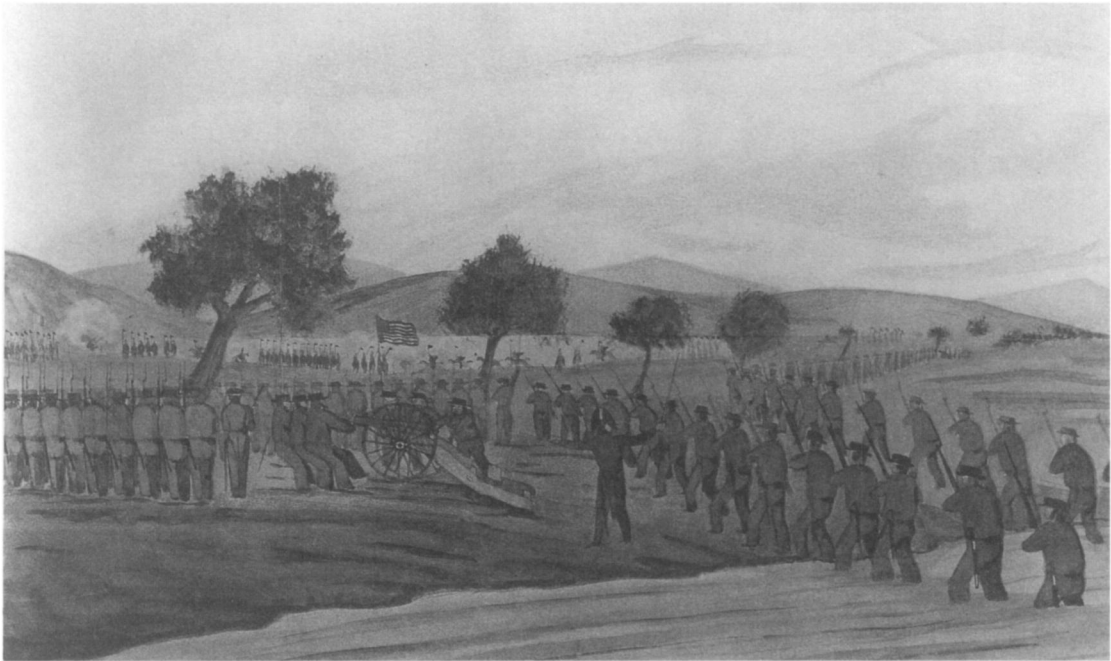
Lisbeth Haas

INTRODUCTION

The most recent and thorough account of the Mexican–American War in California has been written by Neil Harlow in his book *California Conquered*, published in 1982. Harlow provides the background to war and carries the story of American conquest through 1850, when California was admitted to the Union. Harlow’s book offers the first complete story of the war since Hubert Bancroft’s large and substantive history was published in 1886.¹ Like Bancroft, Harlow relies on a wealth of primary sources. Though Harlow focuses his story around the American military leaders who led the conquest of the territory, he also discusses the Californios’ role in the war, and takes their resistance to the American occupation seriously.

Nevertheless, historians in general have yet to produce a literature that investigates in a sustained manner the strategies Californio leaders and citizens developed to thwart the American takeover and that examines their goals and objectives in waging a resistance that lasted for six months and enabled them to reoccupy for a time Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. In most war accounts, Californios are invisible, or their involvement and commitment, ideas, and intentions are dismissed. With the exception of Harlow and a few others, historians have poorly portrayed Californios guerrilla-type tactics of war that involved surprise attack and quick retreat, or they have argued that Californios were too politically divided to effectively resist.²

Yet it took hundreds of troops under Stockton, Frémont, Kearny, Gillespie, and Mervine to reestablish American control of southern California from late September 1846 to early January 1847. The story behind this has remained relatively unexplored in part because few historians, including Harlow, have used Spanish language sources in writing their histories. Moreover, a frequently quoted Californio source gives the impression that Californios were indifferent to the American occupation and cession of land. That source is a mistranslation that has María de las An-



United States troops cross the San Gabriel River on the afternoon of January 8, 1847, in a watercolor by William Meyers, a gunner on the U.S.S. *Dale*. The Americans, commanded by Commodore Robert Stockton and General Stephen Kearny, quickly vanquished the Californios and then advanced on Los Angeles for the final engagement of the war. Though the *Dale* was in Mexican waters at the time of the battle, Meyers was not on the scene, and as in his other depictions of military engagements in California, he relied on eyewitness accounts in composing his watercolors. *Courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.*

gustias de la Guerra saying “the conquest of California did not bother the Californians, least of all the women.” If accurately translated, her statement should read “the taking of the country did not please the Californios at all, and least of all the women.”³ Genaro Padilla is the only author to offer a detailed account of Californios’ reflections on the war, the daily resistance waged by women and men, and their changing perceptions of American society and political structure. This he did by examining almost one hundred narrative histories spoken or written by Californios during the 1870s.

If Californios are rarely at the center of war accounts, native peoples in California, who were still the vast majority of the population, are entirely absent, unless their presence is simply noted without being studied. One has to look at primary sources, or comb accounts of Indian history, in order to situate the war’s effect on California Indians. We know that some joined the American battalions as scouts, a few worked

for and others worked against Californios. The majority remained neutral, intent upon not becoming involved in a war between two nations interested in acquiring Indian land and labor. We know little of Indian peoples' experiences during the war except that the presence of ever larger numbers of settlers and soldiers meant that their conditions of life grew worse, their autonomy was sharply reduced, and their interactions with settler society became ever more heavily policed.⁴

Much of what we do know has been written as biography or is contained in the diaries, letters, autobiographies, and testimonies of the war's participants. The largest number of historical accounts and biographies document the lives and actions of American participants, many of whom also wrote vivid first-hand accounts of their experiences.⁵ Published works on and by Californios are far less extensive, but a few have begun to be published and others are available in manuscript form.⁶ These recent historical works, combined with primary accounts, make it possible now to begin to develop a more complete portrait of the war as a military, political, and social event that dynamically shaped the new state and the lives of its Mexican, American, and Indian populations.

THE WAR AT A GLIMPSE

War between the United States and Mexico, the immediate causes for which stemmed from the United States' annexation of Texas, was declared on May 13, 1846, and it ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on June 30, 1848. But pre-ludes to the war in California began as early as 1842. These heightened the Californios' sense of caution against an American government and American immigrants who proved capable of, if not intent upon, defying the political sovereignty of their territory. When the war with Mexico was announced in California by U.S. naval officer Commodore John Drake Sloat on July 7, 1846, Californio forces had already been fighting against Americans to retake the Sonoma area from a group of settlers instigated by U.S. Army officer John C. Frémont, who had illegally imprisoned Californio officials, seized governmental and private property, occupied Sonoma and its surroundings, and declared California the "Bear Flag Republic," independent of Mexico. After Sloat's announcement of war, these settlers were brought into the United States Army as the California Battalion under Frémont.

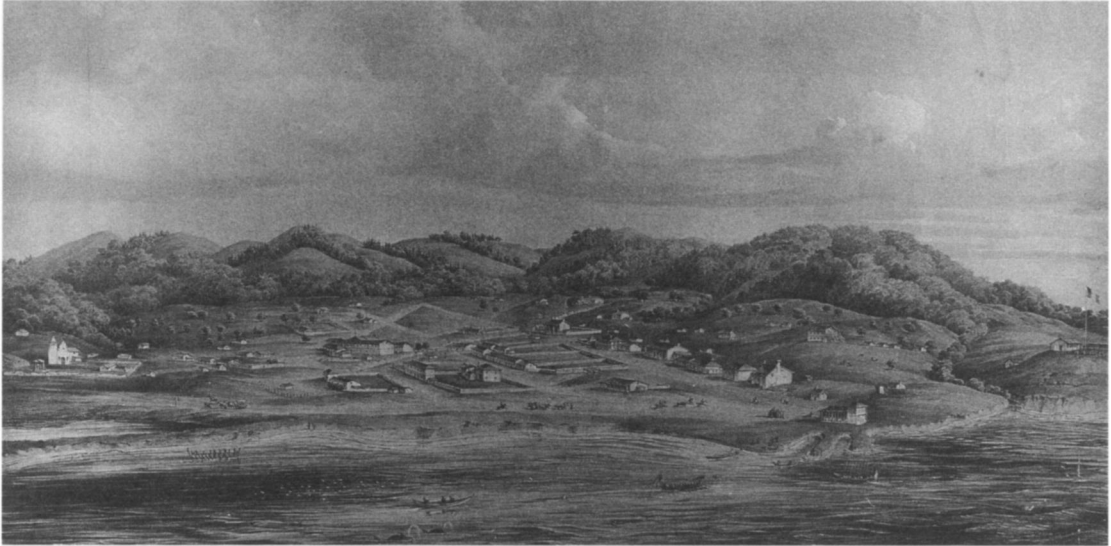
The U.S. Navy forces and the California Battalion took Monterey and San Francisco, and the Californio forces moved south to join with others to protect the capital of Los Angeles. The Americans followed them, occupying every presidio and pueblo to San Diego as they went. After Los Angeles fell to the American forces in mid-August 1846, Californios regrouped themselves under a new command. They retook the whole of southern California by the end of September, and engaged in battles and skirmishes to maintain the south through early January 1847.

Californio forces were always outnumbered and militarily overpowered by American volunteers, soldiers, sailors, and their superior weapons. The Pacific Squadron, the land army under Frémont, and the U.S. Army under Stephen Kearny, who arrived in December 1846, presented a formidable enemy that ultimately prevailed. Californios signed the Treaty of Cahuenga on January 13, 1847, in which they pledged to put down their arms and were, in turn, promised the full exercise of their civil liberties and property rights while the territory was occupied by the United States. Seven American military officers governed California from its occupation in July 1846 to its admission as a state in 1850. They were instructed to respect and adhere to Mexican law when it did not conflict with American objectives. Land speculation and continuous immigration into the territory during the occupation hinted at the momentous changes that would occur after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded California, Arizona, New Mexico, parts of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, and an enlarged area of Texas to the United States. At the war's end Mexico's national territory had been reduced by half, and the conditions of life for Californios and Native Americans within the ceded territories were drastically transformed. Having established this chronology of the war and its aftermath, let me turn to a more detailed discussion of the preludes to war.

PRELUDE TO WAR AND THE BEAR FLAG REPUBLIC

On October 19, 1842, Commodore Thomas Jones sailed into Monterey harbor, seized Mexican ships anchored there, and sent Captain James Armstrong into Monterey with a summons for the governor to surrender, declaring the intention of the United States to occupy Lower and Upper California (the latter embraced the present states of California, Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado). Jones commanded the U.S. Pacific Squadron. If war between the United States and Mexico were declared, he was under orders to seize and hold every port in California from San Francisco to San Diego. Jones received word that war with Mexico was imminent. He anticipated a conflict with British fleets when he arrived in Monterey Bay, since it was also rumored that Mexico had ceded California to Great Britain in partial repayment of British loans. Instead of encountering hostilities, the Pacific Squadron took the population of Monterey by complete surprise. The pueblo was not equipped to defend itself. With 29 soldiers and 25 others who could bear arms, Californio forces were no match to the 160 men Jones would march ashore. Nor were the eleven cannons protecting the Monterey presidio able to defend the pueblo against Jones's eighty cannons.

That same night, former Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado sent a commission of Californios to Jones's ship to discuss the terms of surrender. The treaty they drew up ceded control of the district of Monterey, an area extending from San Juan Bautista



Monterey in 1842 as depicted by the lithographer Charles Gildemeister, working from an original drawing by an unidentified artist. Commissioned by the prominent American trader Thomas O. Larkin, the print shows the sweep of the town from the old presidial chapel, *far left*, to the custom house. That October, when Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones sailed in and demanded that Mexican authorities surrender the California capital, Larkin served as interpreter. *Courtesy Oakland Museum of California; gift of Mrs. Emil Hagstrom.*

to San Luis Obispo. Though Jones had demanded possession of both Californias, the surrendered land was enough to enable his forces to occupy the presidio and pueblo of Monterey. After signing the treaty the following morning, Jones's men went ashore. Marching six abreast to the tunes of "Yankee Doodle" and "The Star-Spangled Banner," they took over the presidio as Californio soldiers evacuated the fort.⁷ Jones read a proclamation to the citizens of Monterey in which he announced that they could exercise their full civil liberties, and would be protected by the "stars and stripes . . . henceforth and forever."⁸ All the while, of course, Jones lacked any official information about whether the two countries were indeed at war.

While the Californios capitulated militarily instead of risking a battle in which they had no chance, Alvarado sent word for help to California's recently appointed Governor Manuel Micheltorena in Los Angeles. Micheltorena immediately began to organize a resistance to the American forces. He urged all Californios to drive their cattle to the interior and take up arms to defend their territory. He ordered the military officers in each presidio to similarly encourage citizens to prepare for conflict. Micheltorena also requested troops from Mexico to defend the territory. The governor was two hours into his march north to Monterey when he received an

official apology from Commodore Jones, who declared he had made a mistake and withdrawn his forces. The occupation had lasted less than two days. On October 21, 1842, Jones's secretary had found correspondence in Monterey that confirmed Mexico was neither at war with the United States nor intended to give California to England.

Jones was temporarily recalled for this unwarranted aggression. He would, however, return to Alta California as commodore of the Pacific Fleet at the end of the war. His willingness to risk his position to secure California for the United States was acknowledged with appreciation by a government that had attempted to acquire California, Texas, and New Mexico through diplomatic channels as early as 1822.⁹ Commodore Jones's instructions to occupy California in the case of war was consistent with U.S. policy as defined in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which declared the United States' intentions of keeping all European powers from gaining new colonies or politically intervening in the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The doctrine was frequently invoked in official discussions about California. In late October 1845, for example, President Polk stated in a cabinet meeting, and recorded in his diary that, "the people of the United States would not willingly permit California to pass into the possession of any new colony planted by Great Britain or any foreign monarchy."¹⁰ Senator Thomas Hart Benton, an expansionist and the father-in-law of John C. Frémont, added that it was his opinion that American settlers on the Sacramento River would ultimately hold California for the United States.

Severing California from Mexico and annexing it to the United States was one of the main objectives of the Polk administration, and it appears that the United States government provided covert leadership to organize American immigrants in California to revolt and declare an independent republic, as Americans had done in Texas.¹¹ Certainly the immigrants who arrived in California after 1841 were likely prospects for this action. Unlike earlier immigrants who learned Spanish, adopted Catholicism, established close ties with the population, and sought the status of naturalized citizen or legal residence, later immigrants most often remained illegal settlers who resided on the margins of California's social and political life. Many of them believed themselves superior to the Californio and Indian populations, expressing their right to the land in conjunction with their notions of white racial superiority. As Reginald Horsman argues, "by 1850 the emphasis was on the American Anglo-Saxons as a separate, innately superior people who were destined to bring good government, commercial prosperity" and Christianity to less civilized peoples.¹²

Californios had long fought to create and protect their political autonomy in territorial affairs and would not allow either Mexico or the United States to erode their sovereignty without significant resistance.¹³ Even those who sympathized with the United States's republican system and democratic ideals would express a strong sense of having been deceived by Americans whose race ideas were pervasively ex-

pressed against them during the war and occupation. Though Californios had a history of conflict over power between the northern and southern parts of the territory, they had joined forces in November 1844 against Governor Micheltorena and the Mexican soldiers who arrived under his command to protect California, but were known for pillaging instead. After ejecting Micheltorena from the territory in February 1845, prominent figures among the rebels assumed authority over the government. In a spirit of compromise between north and south, Pío Pico from Los Angeles became governor, and General José Castro from the vicinity of Monterey became military commander of the territory. But political antagonisms between Californios had not abated. When war broke out with the United States, Pico was rumored to be planning an attack against Castro. War caused them to again join their forces instead. Indian peoples in California made strategic use of these tensions to increase their raids against Californio ranches and pueblos, and were successful in keeping Californio society from expanding beyond the coastal area. Drawing on long-standing enmity between Indian peoples and Californios, the United States would benefit by making a few, limited alliances with Indians during the war.

The U.S. government was confident that California would become part of the United States at some future date, and began to send expeditions to explore the region during the 1840s. In the summer preceding the war, Captain John C. Frémont of the Topographical Corps led a large group of frontiersmen and a few scientists through Mexican territory, including parts of the present states of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and California, allegedly to determine, among other things, a route for a railroad to the Pacific, terminating either in California or in the Oregon Country.¹⁴ Frémont, who had led a previous expedition through northern California and was familiar with American settlements there, reached California at the end of December.

Frémont arrived during a period of extreme tension between Mexico and the United States, and between Californios and the American settlers. The U.S. Congress had voted to annex Texas that December. Months earlier, during the late summer of 1845, Governor Pico had already sent out a call for Californios to prepare to defend themselves against the United States. Californios and the Mexican government feared the dangers posed by the hundreds of American immigrants who had taken up residence along the Sacramento River and north of San Francisco Bay. Orders arrived from Mexico City to stop American immigration into California. In an attempt to eliminate Sutter's Fort as a gathering point for foreigners, Mexico sent envoy Andrés Castillero with instructions to purchase it for the Mexican government. In early November 1845, General Castro and Castillero went to the fort to persuade John Sutter to sell, but he rejected the offer. While there, Castro attempted to establish amicable relations with the immigrants. He told them they could stay in the territory if they obeyed its laws, settled only in Sonoma or New Helvetia (the territory surrounding Sutter's Fort), and applied within three



Probably painted in San Francisco in 1852, William S. Jewett's romantic portrait of John C. Frémont conveys the popular contemporary image of the young Army officer—dashing, bold, defiant, courageous. Frémont helped focus national attention on California through his writings and, later, played an important role in the conquest of the province. *Courtesy National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.*

months for a permit to reside in the territory on the condition that they leave if their permits were denied.

Frémont arrived among these immigrants near Sacramento in the middle of January 1846, and proceeded south to Monterey. He stayed in Monterey with the American counsel and merchant Thomas O. Larkin, from whom he purchased supplies. Larkin and Frémont both asked General Castro to give Frémont permission to stay in California to rest his men and animals before proceeding to Oregon. Castro qualified his consent by stating that the Americans needed to remain in the valley of the San Joaquin River, far away from Mexican pueblos and ranchos along the coast. In defiance of this order, Frémont and sixty armed men traveled in and camped near the settlements at San José, Santa Cruz, and Salinas Valley. As they traveled, the Californios' accusations against them mounted.¹⁵

Upon receiving these reports of aggression and the persistent, unauthorized presence of armed Americans, José Castro ordered Frémont to leave the province immediately. Frémont's response was belligerent. He camped his men on a small plateau between the Salinas and the San Joaquin valleys overlooking the principal

road to Monterey and the pueblo of San Juan Bautista. Raising the American flag, he invited conflict. As Castro prepared to remove them by force, Frémont abandoned camp on the night of March 9, 1846, and headed for the Sacramento Valley, where he found American settlers fearful that they would be expelled from the territory and convinced that Castro had encouraged bands of Yokuts and Miwok Indians to attack them.¹⁶

Frémont meandered toward Oregon in late April, but five days before war was declared between the United States and Mexico (on May 13, 1846), he received an urgent and confidential message from a courier that sent him back to California. By May 29, Frémont had established a camp north of Sutter's Fort, which became the center of activity for the Americans who organized the Bear Flag incident. On June 10, eleven of these men left Frémont's camp to take some 170 horses from Castro's soldiers, who were driving them to join forces Castro was massing in Santa Clara. The Americans were perhaps responding to their fears that Castro was organizing a military campaign to force them to leave the territory. Perhaps they were inspired to act by Frémont's insistence that they could, indeed, establish an independent republic. Their illegal seizure of government horses was the first act of the Bear Flag incident. Having seized the horses, they decided also to take the military garrison at Sonoma. With twenty men and a body of recruits that grew as they rode, they headed to the garrison.

General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was awakened by these men and informed that he was under arrest. Aware that he did not have troops at the garrison or other means to restrain the men and defend his family and the town, Vallejo surrendered and invited three negotiators into his home. As he formulated the articles of capitulation, his captors drank the brandy Vallejo offered. The articles contained three paragraphs, one of which Vallejo wrote in Spanish. This paragraph emphasized that Vallejo's motive for peaceful capitulation was to protect the lives of his family members, and the lives and interests of all the inhabitants under his jurisdiction. For literary critic Genaro Padilla, this paragraph symbolized Vallejo's resistance "within a confined, and dangerous, rhetorical space."¹⁷ Prohibited by the articles from taking up arms for or against the invaders, General Vallejo should have remained free. But he and a captain, a colonel, and Vallejo's son-in-law were taken prisoner, and would remain locked up in extremely harsh conditions for the next few months. In the days that followed, the mayor of Sonoma and other prominent Californios were similarly jailed.

That same Sunday morning the Americans occupied Sonoma and made a flag with a bear and a star, hoisted it at the fort, and brought together citizens from the pueblo and vicinity to proclaim the Bear Flag Republic of Independent California.¹⁸ In a crude formulation of their position, they told the citizenry, "as enemies we will kill and destroy you! but as friends we will share with you all the blessings of lib-



The guidon carried by the American frontiersmen who in June 1846, following their capture of Sonoma, proclaimed the Republic of California. Joseph Warren Revere of the U.S. Navy secured the guidon the following month, when American forces occupied the town, and later presented it to the Society of California Pioneers. Along with the original Bear Flag, it was destroyed in the fire of 1906. *Courtesy California State Library.*

erty.”¹⁹ The Bear Flaggers took horses from Vallejo and others, and “borrowed” flour, meat, and other goods from the storerooms of many citizens without offering compensation.

In a letter to Thomas Larkin, the United States consul in Monterey, Governor Pío Pico protested this act, stating that a “great number (multitude) of North American foreigners have invaded the frontier, encamping in the Plaza of Sonoma. . . . Personal rights have been attacked, well-established social contracts broken, the sacred soil of another nation profaned and, in short, the leader of the multitude of foreigners, William B. Ide, by insulting libel, urged them to a separation from the Mexican Union.”²⁰ Rosalía Vallejo de Leese elaborated on the event. Frémont, she stated, arrived some days after this incident. On June 20, on hearing that Californios under Captain Padilla were approaching Sonoma to rescue the citizens, he forced her to write Padilla to stop him. Stating that he would “burn our houses with us inside of them if I refused to address Padilla in the manner he wishes me to do,” Vallejo de Leese acquiesced. “In the family way,” she explained, “I had no right to endanger the life of my unborn baby.” She decried their thieving and aggressive manner in Sonoma, and closed her account by describing her means of resistance, which was to keep the memory of the incident alive, and to refuse to learn English. “Those hated men inspired me with such a large dose of hate against their race,” she passionately recalled, “that though twenty-eight years have elapsed since that time,

I have not yet forgotten the insults they heaped upon me, and not being desirous of coming in contact with them, I have abstained from learning their language."²¹ While significant for the war, the incident was perhaps even more important for creating great resentment and bitterness against the Americans on the part of Californios.

THE WAR

Californios under Castro engaged in skirmishes against the Bear Flaggers immediately, and the citizens of Sonoma began a quiet, but sustained, resistance that spread throughout the territory once the war was announced and the formal occupation of California began.²² As Juan Bautista Alvarado explained about the political and judicial authorities who fled to the hills and organized the resistance, we "loved our country most dearly because we had only been able by dint of immense sacrifice to maintain it at the level of contemporary civilization."²³ Alvarado, like almost all of the Californio elite, spoke favorably of the American constitution and democratic government, but he, like many others, was not willing to accept an occupation that was unconditional and beyond Californio power to control.

This resistance gathered momentum when American forces planted their flag and declared possession of California, which happened in early July, under the command of Commodore Sloat, naval commander of the Pacific Squadron. Upon hearing of the early battles of the war, he carried out his long-standing instructions to seize California before another power did, a policy that had similarly motivated Commodore Jones almost five years earlier. On July 2, 1846, Sloat sailed into Monterey and learned of the Bear Flag incident from United States Navy Commander John Montgomery, who had pledged the government's neutrality. On July 7, 1846, Sloat raised the American flag and sent word to General Castro and Governor Pío Pico to surrender. He sent Commander Montgomery to occupy San Francisco Bay and the town of Yerba Buena, and enlisted 350 men who had been acting under the auspices of the Bear Flag Republic into the California Battalion under Frémont.²⁴ The would-be republic dissolved with the American occupation.

With the northern part of the state secured by Sloat and Montgomery, and the impending arrival of Commodore Stockton, who sailed into Monterey Bay on July 15 to take over the leadership of the Pacific fleet in California from Sloat, General Castro began a retreat southward to join his forces with those of Governor Pico. On July 16, Governor Pico issued orders in Santa Barbara that all citizens of the territory, whether native-born or naturalized, take up arms. He sent for ammunition from Baja California. Acting under orders from Pico, Abel Stearns, a southern California ranchero, threatened to fine rancheros who did not join the defense. Pico's force of 100 men joined Castro's 160 men, and they marched to Los Angeles to pro-

tect the capital. Their former inter-regional tensions "turned to nearly unanimous animosity toward the common enemy."²⁵

Leaving behind enough men to secure their hold on the north, the American forces followed Castro south. Frémont arrived at San Diego harbor in late July. Town officials refused his request to hoist the American flag, so Frémont's men raised it themselves, and a contingent of forty-eight Americans remained in San Diego after Frémont began his march north to Los Angeles. Stockton sailed from Monterey on August 1. He stopped in Santa Barbara to raise the American flag and leave a small occupation force, and anchored at San Pedro on August 6. Though General Castro sent word to Stockton that they should not fight but discuss the terms of a truce instead, Stockton refused anything short of Californios' declaring the territory independent of Mexico and under American protection. Castro and Pico had already rejected this alternative.

On August 9, as Stockton was marching towards Los Angeles, Castro, then camped outside of the city with his men, composed a mournful farewell to Californios and went south to Sonora, where he would ceaselessly petition the Mexican government for arms and soldiers to retake California. That same evening, Pico similarly wrote a proclamation of farewell that emphasized California's inadequate defense. He stayed in hiding on Teodosio Yorba's rancho south of Los Angeles until September 7 when he escaped to Baja California. From there, he also endlessly petitioned the Mexican government for money, arms, and troops to restore California to Mexico.²⁶

An advance American contingent arrived in Los Angeles on August 11 to find the streets deserted and government buildings ransacked of their documents and furniture by government officials who had fled with the Californio troops to the hills surrounding the city. Stockton marched into Los Angeles two days later. With Castro and Pico gone and the major ports occupied by American troops, he decreed that both Californias belonged to the United States and proclaimed himself commander-in-chief and governor. In the days that followed, Californio troops were rounded up in northern and southern California and then released on parole after they promised not take up arms again for the duration of the war. Government was to be conducted through the same institutions and laws as during the Mexican period, and Stockton declared that the citizens of California should meet and elect their officials. But the military occupation stood in the way of the smooth operation of elective government. The city had a curfew, soldiers searched and seized goods in private homes, and citizens' freedom of association was limited.²⁷ With these conditions in place, the troops under Stockton and Frémont returned to Monterey and Sonoma, respectively, and left Archibald Hamilton Gillespie in charge of Los Angeles.

The Americans returned north with a false sense of victory. In the following month Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Diego, Santa Inés, and San Luis Obispo,

and surrounding lands were retaken by a Californio army composed of both soldiers and civilians. They had gathered together at ranchos outside the cities and beyond easy surveillance, and built a force under José María Flores. Simultaneously, the citizens of Los Angeles banded together under the leadership of Sérbulo Varela and Flores to force Gillespie out of Los Angeles by the end of September. On September 29, Gillespie signed the Articles of Capitulation, which called for an exchange of prisoners and ensured his safe retreat to a ship in San Pedro harbor.²⁸ Flores, Andrés Pico, and José Antonio Carrillo led the resistance. Flores called the departmental assembly into session. On October 26, 1846, they elected Francisco Figueroa as president of the California territory and Flores as commander-in-chief and governor, with Manuel Castro appointed military commander in the north. Flores declared a state of siege and issued a proclamation in early November that required all male citizens between the ages of fifteen and sixty, whether born in California or naturalized, to appear for military duty at the first warning, under penalty of death as a traitor. To fund the war the government rescinded Pío Pico's order to sell the California missions.²⁹

The Californios' tactics of resistance incorporated a broad sector of the population. They moved their cattle and other livestock from the coast so that the American troops would not be able to use the cattle for meat, but left enough for the Californio forces, who traveled without supplies because they could rely on the citizenry. When Stockton withdrew American troops from Sonoma, Yerba Buena, San José, San Juan Bautista, and Monterey to send them south to quell the counterattack, paroled Californios similarly left for the countryside to join the resistance. Women hid Californio soldiers at great risk to their families, pleaded for the lives of their loved ones, and prepared the ground for negotiations that would leave the Californio citizenry able to exercise their civil rights once the hostilities had ended. They engaged in small, but daily, acts of resistance, and criticized Californio leaders José Castro and Pío Pico for leaving the country rather than defending it.³⁰

These acts enabled the outnumbered and overpowered Californio army to maintain its hold for months, even as a concerted American force was preparing a counter-offensive. Gillespie's ship stayed in San Pedro harbor after he was ousted from Los Angeles, and he was soon joined by another American warship on October 6. A battalion of vigilant Californios kept them close to the harbor. On October 14, Stockton and Frémont sailed south from San Francisco to Monterey. Frémont began his overland march to Los Angeles, with a battalion of 430 men. Some had come on his original exploration party or were emigrants who continued to arrive on sailing vessels or via the Overland Trail. Frémont's men generally furnished their own equipment, ammunition, and uniforms, and drove three hundred head of cattle. A company of Indian scouts traveled with them. They included Wallawallah and Delaware Indians from the Columbia River in Oregon territory, and Miwok and

Yokuts from the Sacramento Valley. Part of the company encamped without fires some three miles in advance of the battalion and the rest remained some distance to the rear, according to Fremont, “so that no traveler on the road escaped falling into our hands.”³¹ Frémont’s battalion was formidable, and Californios were largely relegated to skirmish with contingents of the troops when the opportunity arose, such as at the battle of La Natividad, near San Juan Bautista on November 16. Though Californios had inferior weapons, at this encounter they outnumbered the contingent of Americans and suffered fewer casualties.

Stockton sailed to San Pedro harbor and then moved on to San Diego with approximately 750 men. Though his numbers and armaments would have permitted him to retake Los Angeles, the resistance appeared sufficiently strong to make him wait for the reinforcement by Frémont and Kearny’s forces. Though he occupied the center of town, American forces did not control the countryside. From San Diego, Stockton sent men into Baja California for horses, cattle, and sheep, built fortifications, and fended off attacks by Californios. In the meantime, General Stephen Kearny marched overland to California from New Mexico, which he had occupied after the outbreak of the war with Mexico. He brought a relatively small contingent to California, though supporting troops, called the Mormon Battalion, would follow.³²

The biggest battle of the war was fought at San Pascual on December 6 as Kearny’s tired and unprepared troops approached San Diego. Because the gunpowder of most of Kearny’s men was wet, much of this confrontation involved hand-to-hand combat that was favorable to Californios, who were famous for their horsemanship and more equipped with lances and muskets than rifles. Americans suffered significant casualties, with eighteen dead and seventeen wounded. Californios reported eleven injuries and no deaths.

The final battles of the war involved about five hundred Californio forces at the San Gabriel River, outside of Los Angeles, on January 8 and January 9, 1847. They fought against Stockton’s troops, while the battalions of William Mervine, Kearny, and Frémont were marching towards Los Angeles to converge on the city at once. Though the battles of San Gabriel and La Mesa (also known as the Battle of Los Angeles) were fought on two consecutive days, relatively few casualties resulted, with about twelve Americans wounded and three Californios killed.³³

Waging the war was very costly to Californios. The relatively few deaths were deeply felt among the small population that was closely interconnected through family and extended kin relations, and for whom victory remained out of reach. For decades, they had not been able to stem the tide of American immigration, control the California Indian frontier, or secure monetary aid, arms, and soldiers from Mexico, despite the constant appeals of General Castro and former Governor Pío Pico. After the lost battle of Los Angeles, and with doubts growing rapidly among soldiers



The illustrious rancho and Californio patriot Andrés Pico, who on a cold December morning in 1846 led his men to victory at San Pascual, beating the weary dragoons of General Stephen Kearny in one of the bloodiest battles of the war in California. The following month, realizing further resistance was futile, Pico surrendered the country to John C. Frémont in the Treaty of Cahuenga. *Courtesy California Historical Society/Title Insurance and Trust Photo Collection, University of Southern California.*

and the civilian population about the feasibility of continued fighting, Californios sought a truce. General Flores and men among his ranks left for Sonora, as negotiators went to Stockton's camp to determine the conditions for peace.³⁴

The war in California ended with the Treaty of Cahuenga, signed on January 13, 1847. The articles of capitulation provided every citizen with the same rights as United States citizens. Californios were all guaranteed the protection of their life and property and the right to unhindered movement and travel, and the men pledged that they would not take up arms again for the duration of the war with Mexico. They were also guaranteed that they would not have to take an oath of allegiance to the United States until a treaty of peace was signed between the two nations.

Though fighting ended in Upper California, both Californias had been objects of interest to the United States government. Stockton announced as early as August 17, 1846, that the United States had taken possession "of Upper and Lower California" and declared these separate territories under the possession of the United States as a single territory.³⁵ He ordered a military blockade of the Pacific ports of Mexico in August 1846, and the disruption of commerce in the Gulf of California, sending some of his fleet to occupy Baja California. In September 1846, just as the resistance to the American occupation was being organized in Upper California, an American warship landed in the harbor of La Paz, Lower California, seized a number of Mexican vessels, which they put into the service of the United States, and secured a pledge of neutrality from Governor Colonel Francisco Palacios Miranda. The governor had little choice. For two years he had been left without any military or naval

resources. With neutrality secured and a resumption of hostilities in Upper California, Stockton's men went back to Alta California. Only after peace was finally secured in January 1847 did Stockton order his troops to resume the blockade of Mazatlán, and to occupy Baja California.³⁶

When the naval occupation of the Baja Peninsula began in July 1847, the invaders did not encounter resistance. And the annexation of Baja California was initially sought in the armistice talks that began in late August 1847. Perhaps in part for that reason, by September a significant resistance had been organized by Captain Manuel Piñeda. Battles, skirmishes, and raids against American troops persisted in Lower California until the end of the war on May 30, 1848, when the United States agreed by treaty to evacuate, rather than to annex, Baja California. Over five hundred residents of that territory were given asylum and United States citizenship for their support of the occupation. These refugees were transported to the United States by retreating American vessels.³⁷ Most of the refugees were from among the landowning and political elite, and had family connections among elite Californios. They were provided with limited compensation by the United States government for their losses as they left the territory. Others continued to claim land in Baja California, as did María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, and would wage long and retracted battles to retain that land in the American period.³⁸

THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded the territories of Alta California and New Mexico to the United States (these territories contained land in the present states of Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado). Together with the loss of Texas, Mexico's national territory was reduced by half at the war's end. In the initial treaty negotiations that began as early as September 1847, Mexico was only willing to cede that part of California that extended from Monterey northward. Its reluctance led the United States to drop its demands for Lower California, though President Polk, in his annual message to Congress in December of 1847, promised never to give either of the Californias back to Mexico. The United States remained firm in its demand for Upper California. Mexico initially sought a compromise by establishing the border two leagues north of the port of San Diego, to retain that valuable harbor on the Pacific, but the United States succeeded in proving that San Diego had been a part of Alta California from the first Spanish exploration of the area. The international boundary was established one marine league south of the southernmost point of the bay of San Diego.³⁹ In compensation, the U.S. paid fifteen million dollars for this land and met other financial obligations to Mexico.⁴⁰

Of the treaty's twenty-three articles, four defined the rights of Mexican citizens and Indian peoples in the territories. Articles 8 and 9 outlined Mexican citizens'

rights of residence, property, and citizenship. Free to continue to live in the ceded territories as either United States or Mexican citizens, their property was to be "inviolably respected" whether or not they assumed citizenship or continued their residence as Mexicans in the United States. If property was sold, the proceeds were free of taxation. All persons had to declare their intent of citizenship within one year or they would be assumed to have elected to become United States citizens. These new citizens, Article 9 reads, "shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States and be admitted, at the proper time (to be judged by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the constitutions."⁴¹

Article 10 guaranteed that "all grants of land made by the Mexican government . . . shall be respected as valid."⁴² The article also enabled citizens to continue the process to clear their titles under terms defined by Mexican law. The most severe consequence of the treaty for Californios was that the president asked the U.S. Senate to strike this article, arguing that property rights were already guaranteed in Article 8 of the treaty. However, one of the first acts of Congress after California was admitted to the Union in 1850, was to pass the California Land Act (1851). Each Spanish and Mexican land grant had to be reviewed and approved by a land court and the U.S. attorney general before legal title could be acknowledged. Rancheros had to submit to the land court a map of their ranchos and all the documents that proved legitimate title. The land had to be surveyed using American techniques of measurement. Litigation over these ranchos took an average of seventeen years. The land court often approved the grants, but the attorney general of the United States just as often sent them back rejected. Many cases went as far as the U.S. Supreme Court. In the meantime, California state law enabled squatters to preempt uncultivated land for which title had not yet been confirmed. If the grant was accepted and patented, the grantee had to pay squatters for the cost of their improvements on the land.

Most titles were ultimately confirmed, but only a handful of ranchero families still possessed their lands when their titles had cleared. In the relatively cash-scarce economy of California, lawyers, land speculators, surveyors, new immigrants with ready cash, and squatters ended up owning or claiming all or portions of almost every rancho in the state. As long as titles were unconfirmed, the new owners held their portions in shares-in-common, but this did not stop the ranchos from being bought and sold on paper one or more times before their titles were secured. Once confirmed, the land was legally divided at a rapid pace. Land speculation had already begun before the war. In commenting on a report about the "laws and precedents" pertinent to land titles, Military Governor Richard Mason observed in early 1850 that "much of what would probably constitute the public domain had been acquired by speculators who would endeavor to dispose of it to settlers at an exorbitant profit."⁴³ Rancheros, U.S.



The Indian Chefo gathers his family about him in a photograph probably taken in the late nineteenth century. When California passed from Mexican to American rule, Indians were accorded even less protection under law than previously, with no right of title to the lands they occupied. Living on the periphery of society, openly hunted down and killed in mining days, their numbers declined precipitously. *Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-30500.*

Army and Navy personnel, and the newest immigrants who arrived for the Gold Rush were speculating in town lots and on rancho lands. Miners and others who arrived for the Gold Rush gained the passage of land laws that favored the squatter, speculator, and farmer, after mounting intense political pressure upon the declaration of statehood.⁴⁴ Some Californios, like José Castro and Antonio María Osio, left California and returned to Mexico. The vast majority remained in the territory, living on ever smaller pieces of rural land, or moving into the old pueblos where it was easier to hold on to a small parcel of land.⁴⁵

California Indians were even less protected by the treaty. While all Indians in Mexico were made citizens by law in 1826, few California Indians had been able to exercise their rights of citizenship during the Mexican period. Interpretations of their rights generally placed them among Indians discussed in Article XI of the treaty. This article begins by stating that “A great part of the territories which, by the present treaty, are to be comprehended for the future within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes.” The treaty map identified the largest area

of ceded land as "*Apacheria*." This reference included from 160,000 to 180,000 Indians.⁴⁶ The article declared the United States responsible for policing and controlling those tribes, and preventing their raids into Mexico, especially protecting the states of Chihuahua, Sonora, and Sinaloa.

The article was written at the request of Mexican negotiators, who felt they needed the provision to get northern states whose populations were sharply against cession of the territory to accept the treaty. This article denies all land rights to Indian peoples who had not exercised their rights of citizenship by stating that "when providing for the removal of the Indians from any portion of the said territories, or for its being settled by citizens of the United States . . . special care shall then be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking homes." Though some California Indian peoples, such as the Tapai and Ipai near San Diego, ultimately won the right to hold dual nationality status because their lands were divided by the border, the great majority of California Indians living within or near Mexican society held their village lands in a usufructory manner (their land rights extended to the use of the land, but did not confer legal title).⁴⁷

A U.S. Senate committee confirmed the federal government's right to declare indigenous lands public domain and to take possession of them "as the absolute and unqualified owners." "The Indian," the committee stated, "had no usufructory or other rights therein which were to be in any manner respected."⁴⁸ Land speculators, squatters, and settlers would also seek Indian lands and state law offered these lands to the speculator, who dispossessed whole villages with impunity.⁴⁹

PUBLIC MEMORY AND HISTORY

Historical accounts and public records of the military and civil resistance to the American occupation by Californios are rare. Few names from Mexican California are known. Likenesses of Pío Pico and Mariano Vallejo, the two most prominent, stand as civic monuments that record a memory of their presence and activity in Mexican California. Towns and cities may also record a name or two of a local Californio, rarely if ever connecting it to political history or a more substantive account of the colonial and Mexican past, the war, and statehood. This absence of representation in public memory contrasts quite sharply to the public monumentalization of Sutter's Fort, the Bear Flag republic, and the figures of Montgomery, Stockton, Frémont, Kearny, Sloat, and Polk. Other American men are remembered locally. Their stories play a part in forging the pioneer and patriotic history that so commonly pushes out other versions of the past in public commemoration.⁵⁰ But the relative absence of Californios and Indians in public memory is also the result of their demographic, political, cultural, and economic losses that began during the occupation in 1846.

This near erasure of Californios and California Indians from public memory is re-

inforced in much of the scholarship, which is organized around the American involvement in California to the near exclusion of other groups. In sharp distinction to the numerous biographies of American military men who were involved in the war, biographies of California leaders, and female and male citizens who were highly affected by and involved in the war, have yet to be written. But the material exists to write about the war from Californio perspectives and according to the experiences of individuals and particular groups. Many of those primary sources are recorded in Norman E. Tutorow's annotated bibliography, *The Mexican-American War*. Tutorow lists narratives of Californios, describes the collections at the Bancroft, Huntington, and California State libraries, and at Santa Barbara Mission, and points to the official papers and other documents left by Castro, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, and many other Californio governmental and military officials.⁵¹

These same archives must be searched in systematic ways for material on Indian history. Indian perspectives on the war and occupation must be brought to the fore. How was the war interpreted and responded to by each group? Did it change the nature of Indian-white relations? The territorial dispossession of most Indian societies in California shortly after the war needs to be thoroughly examined and Indian responses carefully studied.

We need to understand, in short, the many sides to this conflict and to investigate it through Spanish as well as English-language documents. This would begin to provide a fuller accounting of the war and its consequences for the entire population of California. We also should push our understanding of American involvement in the war beyond the history of generals, their policies, and military action. We need to understand more fully who these soldiers were on both sides of the battlefield. What were their hopes, their aims and aspirations, and how did these change during the course of the war? What were the goals and aspirations of the citizens who supported either side?⁵² We need to know more about the response of Californios who were for and against the American invasion, and of those foreigners who had settled in California and who fought on the Californio side, or turned their affiliations back to the United States during the war. We need to have new studies of the war that also reexamine the Bear Flag incident to see how and why the men and women who had recently settled in this territory were willing and able to take up arms.

A social history of the occupation and war would begin to explain how people lived through the period and how they were changed by this political event. It would bridge two periods in time, raise and answer new questions about society and politics. The newest studies of wars show them to be important to understanding the formation of patriotic legends and state histories, of gender, ethnic, and race relations, and of the political ideas that pervade post-war society. Future studies of the Mexican-American War should take a broader view that takes into account the various sectors of society and the whole spectrum of persons and relationships that were affected by it.

NOTES

1. Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: War and Peace on the Pacific, 1846-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). Hubert Bancroft, *History of California*, Volume V, 1846-1848 (San Francisco: The History Co., 1886). Few books have been written on the war in California. Most of the literature consists of articles on battles and books on particular individuals. Perhaps the war in California is not well researched because the war with Mexico has been, according to Robert W. Johannsen, virtually forgotten by the nation. See his article "America's Forgotten War," *Wilson Quarterly* (Spring 1996): 96-107.

2. In Sally C. Johns's article "Viva Los Californios! The Battle of San Pasqual," *Journal of San Diego History* (Fall 1973): 1-13, she presents a well-researched essay that provides a vivid portrait of the Californios' resistance. In contrast, see Kenneth Johnson, "The Battle of San Pasqual" *Pacific Historian* 20 (Winter 1977): 368-73; Frank J. Polley, "Americans at the Battle of Cahuenga" *Historical Society of Southern California, Annual Publication* (1894): 47-54; Corinne King Wright, "The Conquest of Los Angeles" *Historical Society of Southern California Publications* (Spring 1919): 18-25.

3. Genaro Padilla, *My History, Not Yours* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 149. María de las Angustias de La Guerra Ord, "Ocurrencias en California," 1878, ms, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The translation is entitled *Occurrences in Hispanic California*, translated and edited by Francis Price and William Ellison (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1956), 59.

4. On neutrality and a brief account of the war years, see George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 61, and James Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), esp. 82-105.

5. Though not exhaustive, the titles below are some of the richest sources of information. See Mary Lee Spence and Donald Jackson, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont: The Bear Flag Revolt and the Court-Martial* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), vol. II; Allan Nevins, ed., *John Charles Frémont: Narratives of Exploration and Adventure* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1956); Simeon Ide, *Who Conquered California? The Conquest of California by the Bear Flag Party, and a Biographical Sketch of the Life of William B. Ide* (Glorieta, N. Mex.: Rio Grande Press, 1967); Philip St. Geo. Cooke, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California: An Historical and Personal Narrative* (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1964); Harlan Hague and David Langum, *Thomas O. Larkin: A Life of Patriotism and Profit in Old California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); George P. Hammond, ed., *The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and Consul in California*, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951-68).

6. Padilla's *My History* was extremely useful, as was Antonio María Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*, translated by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert Senkewicz (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996). Also see Rosalía Vallejo de Leese, "History of the Bear Party," ms, 1874, Bancroft Library; Juan Avila, "Notas Californianas" ms, 1878, Bancroft Library; Juan Bautista Alvarado, "Historia de California, 1876," ms, Bancroft Library.

7. See C. L. Higham, "Songs of the Mexican War: An Interpretation of Sources," *Journal of the West* 28 (July 1989): 16-23.

8. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 9, and see Gene A. Smith, "The War that Wasn't: Thomas ap Catesby Jones's Seizure of Monterey," *California History* LXVI (June 1987): 105-13.

9. See Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963). Seymour V. Conner and Odie B. Faulk focus on the short-term causes for the war in *North America Divided: The Mexican War, 1846-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) and Thomas B. Jones criticizes that perspective, emphasizing the long-term goals of United States foreign policy in his article "Mexican War Scholarship: The Connor-Faulk Assessment" *The Journal of Mexican American History* 5 (1977): 103-24. Also see Wayne Cutler, et al., eds., *Essays on the Mexican War* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1986). For a study of contemporaneous Mexican perspectives on American expansionism, see Gene M. Brack, *Mexico Views Manifest Destiny, 1821-1846: An Essay on the Origins of the Mexican War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975).

10. Allan Nevins, ed., *Polk: The Diary of a President, 1845-1849* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1952), 19 (entry of Friday, 24 October 1845).

11. See John A. Hawgood, "John C. Frémont and the Bear Flag Revolution: A Reappraisal" *Southern California Quarterly* 44 (June 1962): 67-96. Historians have disagreed about how far Polk was willing to go for California. In "California History Textbooks and the Coming of the Civil War: The Need for a Broader Perspective of California History," *Southern California Quarterly* 56 (Summer 1974): 159-74, Ward M. McAfee asks whether Polk deceitfully pushed Mexico into a war to acquire California, or whether, by sending John Slidell to negotiate with Mexico, he was honestly attempting to reach a peaceful settlement. For more on this debate, see Richard R. Stenborg, ed., "President Polk and California: Additional Documents" *Pacific Historical Review* 10 (June 1941): 217-19, and Glenn W. Price, *Origins of the War with Mexico: The Polk-Stockton Intrigue* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), who argue that California was a principal cause for the war, while Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (1919, reprinted Gloucester, Mass., 1963), and Eugene I. McCormac, *James Polk: A Political Biography* (Berkeley, 1922), argue that Polk would have sacrificed California to avoid war if the Texas boundaries were settled.

12. Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 2, and esp. chapters 7 and 8. Robert Walter Johannsen examines the meaning of the war to many Americans in his *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford, 1985). John Edward Weems explores the race ideas and experiences of the common soldier in the Mexican War in his *To Conquer a Peace: The War Between the United States and Mexico* (1974, reprinted College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1988).

13. Before the war Californio political leaders held differing views on their allegiance to Mexico. See Hague and Langum, *Larkin*, 117, and Harlow, *California Conquered*, 89.

14. Merk, *Manifest Destiny*, 77. Adrian George Traas emphasizes the importance of the topographical engineer to expansion; see his book *From the Golden Gate to Mexico City: The U.S. Army Topographical Engineers in the Mexican War, 1846-1848* (Washington, D.C.: United States Army publ., 1993).

15. Hague and Langum, *Larkin*, 120-21. They were accused of attempted rape (see Osio, *The History*, 223), and of horse theft and insulting, belligerent attitudes towards the population (see Harlow, *California Conquered*, 61-73).

16. George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 133.
17. Padilla, *My History*, 56-60.
18. On the whole incident, see Ide, *Who Conquered California?*; Hawgood, "John C. Frémont"; and James L. Brown, *Dissension in Arcady: The Bear Flag Revolt* (Cambell, Calif.: The Academy Press, 1978).
19. Padilla, *My History*, 58.
20. Pío Pico, from Santa Barbara, June 29, 1846, in "Governor Pico's Protest Against the Action of the Bear Flag Party" in *Historical Society of Southern California Publications* 10 (1916): 129-30.
21. Vallejo de Leese, "History of the Bear Party."
22. Osio, *The History*, 230-34.
23. Juan Bautista Alvarado, "History of California," 1876, ms, Bancroft Library, 5: 219-22, and quoted in David Weber, ed., *Foreigners in the Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), 129-30.
24. On the role of the United States Navy in the California war, see Oakah L. Jones, Jr., "The Pacific Squadron and the Conquest of California, 1846-1847," *Journal of the West* (April 1966): 187-202, and on American military action in the war, also see John D. Tanner, Jr., "Campaign for Los Angeles—December 29, 1846, to January 10, 1847" *California Historical Society Quarterly* XLVIII (September 1969): 219-41.
25. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 177, and Harlow, *California Conquered*, 143.
26. See "Pío Pico's Correspondence with the Mexican Government, 1846-1848," *California Historical Society Quarterly* XIII (March 1934): 99-149.
27. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 149-54; Hague and Langum, *Larkin*, 148.
28. Hubert H. Bancroft translates the text of the rebels, entitled *Pronunciamiento de Varela y otros Californios contra los Americanos*, in his *History*, 5:310 n; also see Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers*, 178.
29. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 161-63 and 193-94.
30. See Osio, *The History*, 235-36; Padilla, *My History*, 114-20, 125-30; Spence and Jackson, eds., *The Expeditions*, 236-37.
31. Spence and Jackson, eds., *The Expeditions*, 235.
32. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 172-73.
33. *Ibid.*, 211; Hague and Langum, *Larkin*, 155; Juan Avila, "Notas Californianas," ms, Bancroft Library.
34. See Juan Avila, "Notas Californianas."
35. See Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., *The Mexican War in Baja California: The Memorandum of Captain Henry Halleck* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1977), 18-19.
36. Nunis, ed., *The Mexican War*, 24.
37. *Ibid.*, 26-27, and 60. Also see Kenneth M. Johnson, "Baja California and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," *Journal of the West* (April 1972): 328-47.
38. Ruiz de Burton's book, *The Squatter and the Don* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1992, initially published in 1885), represented her last effort to plead for the land rights of elite Californios.
39. Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 38-40; also see David M. Pletcher's *Diplomacy of Annexation: Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973).

40. Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty*, 179-99.

41. *Ibid.*, 189-90.

42. *Ibid.*, 189-90, and 45-48.

43. Harlow, *California Conquered*, 290; Hague and Langum, *Larkin*, 176-98; and see Beverly E. Bastian, "I Heartily Regret That I Ever Touched a Title in California': Henry Wager Halleck, the Californios, and the Clash of Legal Cultures," *California History* LXXII (Winter 1993/94): 310-23.

44. One of the first and still highly informative studies of this process is presented by Leonard Pitt in *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

45. Osio, *The History*, 247-48. On land loss and its political, social, and cultural ramifications see Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); and, for a recent text that examines Californio and Indian society through Spanish and American conquests, see Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), and the previously cited work of Monroy, *Thrown among Strangers*.

46. Griswold del Castillo, *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*; Oscar Martínez, *Troublesome Border* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 53-79, 57.

47. One person's history that vividly depicts this dilemma is presented in Florence Shippek's, *Delfina Cuero* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1991); and see Shippek's history of land policy in, *Pushed into the Rocks: Southern California Indian Land Tenure, 1769-1986* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987).

48. See Robert Heizer, ed., *Report of Special Federal Concern About the Conditions of California Indians, 1853-1913: Eight Documents* (Socorro, N.Mex.: Ballena Press, 1979), 65.

49. See Rawls, *Indians of California*, parts II and III.

50. See John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), especially 120-37.

51. Norman E. Tutorow, comp. and ed., *Mexican-American War: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 42, 46-47, and John Parish, "California Books and Manuscripts in the Huntington Library," *Huntington Library Bulletin* 7 (April 1935): 36-58, summarize the manuscripts in the Huntington Library related to the Mexican War. Genaro M. Padilla also lists narrative accounts in *My History*, 271-72.

52. A more recent literature brings social history to the study of the Mexican War. On soldiers' experiences and their ideas and attitudes, see James M. McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny: The American Soldier in the Mexican War, 1846-1848* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), and Samuel J. Watson, "Manifest Destiny and Military Professionalism: Junior U.S. Army Officers' Attitudes Toward War with Mexico, 1844-1846," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 99 (April 1996): 466-98. On the cultural history of war photos, as this was the first war with a photographic record, see Martha A. Sandweiss, Rick Stewart, and Ben W. Huseman, *Eyewitness to War: Prints and Daguerreotypes of the Mexican War, 1846-1848* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum/Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press,

1989), and Thomas R. Kailbourn, "The View from the Ojo de Agua: A Daguerreian Relic of Saltillo, Mexico, ca. 1847," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 95 (October 1991): 221-31. On the Irish soldiers who deserted and became heroes in Mexico, see Robert Ryal Miller, *Shamrock and Sword: The Saint Patrick's Battalion in the U.S.-Mexican War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), and Marc Cramer, "The Fighting Irish of Mexico," *Americas* 48 (March-April 1996): 20-27.