

Salvador Vallejo

By MYRTLE M. MCKITTRICK

PARTICIPATING as captain of a company of soldiers in the original (1769) Serra expedition was Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, who, five years later, was named military commander of the province of Alta California. In September 1774, he was joined by a new recruit from Jalisco, Mexico, bearing the name of Ignacio Vicente Ferrer Vallejo.¹ The arrival of this youth marked the beginning of a family history that has been linked with the history of California for 175 years. He had been schooled for the priesthood but had rebelled at the last moment; in fact, he had bolted through the sacristy door to escape, with the aid of friends, to the port of Compostela where he remained in hiding until the chance came to exchange his fugitive status for a military career in an obscure outpost of Spain's new-world empire.²

Although he was already twenty-six years of age when he reached California, Ignacio Vallejo seems to have been in no hurry to assume family responsibilities, for in 1776, in San Luis Obispo, he chose as his wife María Antonia Lugo on the day of her birth and was content to wait until 1790 when she would be of marriageable age—and he would be forty-two. Their home was established in Monterey.³

Most famous of the children of Ignacio and María Antonia Vallejo was Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, who early won a place of prominence in California history as director of colonization, and as defender of the northern frontier when the Russian settlement north of San Francisco Bay threatened the security of Spanish California. His older brother, José de Jesús, was well known among the residents of San Jose; as *comisionado* of the Mission San Jose, he is frequently mentioned in contemporary chronicles. But it is with their younger brother, Salvador, that we are concerned in this paper. As may happen to younger brothers, Salvador's contribution to California's development has not always been recognized, because he lived somewhat in the shadow of his more illustrious brother. It was in keeping with the normal Spanish tradition that he should do so; older sons were expected to exercise at least a measure of dominance.

José Manuel Salvador Vallejo was born January 1, 1814, in the little capital city of Monterey in the province of Upper California. He was the eleventh of thirteen children and was named for his maternal grandfather, Francisco Salvador Lugo, as well as for his uncle, his mother's brother Salvador, who was killed, when but a lad, by falling from his horse. When Salvador was four, there occurred the attack (Nov. 20-27, 1818) upon Monterey by Hypolyte de Bouchard, a former pirate from Buenos Aires, whose operations were part of the campaigns for independence from Spain launched by Simón

Bolívar in South America. California was known to be loyal to Spain, and hence a fair target for attack—practically, it might be remarked, on the Valjeos' doorstep.⁴

Of his boyhood, Salvador tells that he learned to read and write in a private school with an enrollment of about sixty boys. It was taught by José Peña and Manuel Toca, who, though far from scholars in the modern sense, achieved considerable success, according to Salvador, if judged by the ultimate accomplishment of many of their students. He also took music lessons from a talented Indian named Cantor, and as long as he lived he liked to sing the ancient ballads which Cantor had taught him.⁵ The following paragraph gives an idea of the training of a young caballero. It was written by Salvador's niece, Guadalupe Vallejo, daughter of José de Jesús Vallejo.

An educated young gentleman was well skilled in many arts and handicrafts. He could ride, of course, as well as the best cowboy of the Southwest, and with more grace; and he could throw the lasso so expertly that I have never heard of any American who was able to equal it. He could also make soap, pottery, and bricks, burn lime, tan hides, cut out and put together a pair of shoes, make candles, roll cigars, and do a great number of things that belong to different trades.⁶

At one time or another, Salvador made use of this training. He seems to have inherited, too, many of his father's qualities of ruggedness and strong will, and he was competent and honorable. His school days over, Salvador turned to farming, taking over the management of lands belonging to his father; but he soon gave up this pursuit to enter the army as aide-de-camp to his brother, Mariano, who was now an officer in the Mexican army.⁷ At the age of twenty, Salvador received his first recorded assignment from Mariano. The latter had married Francisca, the daughter of Joaquín Carrillo and María Ignacia López de Carrillo, in San Diego, and had left her in the south when he was abruptly transferred by Gov. José María Echeandia to San Francisco, the northernmost outpost of Alta California. Unable, himself, to make the long trip back to San Diego, to escort his wife north, Mariano dispatched his brother, Salvador. This delighted Salvador, who, on some unrecorded date, had met Francisca's sister, María de la Luz. And so, early in the spring of 1833, Francisca, riding an easy-paced burro, was escorted by her brother-in-law and his twenty young troopers, in their blue and scarlet uniforms, from mission to mission along the Camino Real.⁸ Having delivered her safely to her husband, Salvador appears to have remained in the north.

Gov. José Figueroa, worried over the intentions of the Russians at Fort Ross, sought to develop the area north of San Francisco Bay in order to reinforce Mexico's claim to it. He sent, as his emissary to Fort Ross, Mariano G. Vallejo, then commanding the San Francisco presidio, that he might see at first hand the Russian settlements.⁹ Figueroa authorized him to establish pueblos near Santa Rosa and Petaluma, and appointed him administrator at Mission San Francisco Solano, which had been secularized in 1834. The dis-

charge of these duties brought Mariano into contact with the north-bay Indians, resulting in an alliance with the powerful Suisu-ns (considered by Vallejo as superior to other California tribes), but alienating the Satiyomis, who lived west of the Suisu-ns in the Santa Rosa-Mendocino regions.

As a result of this alliance, it was necessary to launch an early campaign against the hostile Satiyomis. After a successful preliminary encounter, Salvador Vallejo, although "badly bruised" in the first phase of the battle, pursued the enemy northward to the borders of present-day Mendocino County, where the Satiyomis rejected a proffered peace. Mariano recognized the critical nature of his forces' situation. They were far from their home base, and were dependent for supplies upon their untested allies, the Suisu-ns. He therefore dispatched a messenger, brother of Chief Solano of the Suisu-ns, to Governor Figueroa, who came in person with a body of troops to reinforce the provincial army and seal the victory.¹⁰

In June 1835, Mariano Vallejo launched a new enterprise. With a measure of pomp, calculated to strengthen his alliance with the Suisu-ns, attract support from wavering tribes, and impress the still-hostile Satiyomis, he chose as center of operations Mission San Francisco Solano, which was situated within the Suisun sphere of influence, and whose buildings could afford shelter for his family and for the soldiers and colonists who were to accompany him.¹¹

The first mention of Salvador in connection with the new settlement was in the Indian campaign of the late fall of 1835. Indian hostility had been a major factor in the failure of earlier colonization plans, and when scouts informed Mariano Vallejo that bands of Yolos from the north were raiding the newly established ranchos and stealing cattle, he organized, with the aid of Salvador, an expedition to put an end to these depredations. The force was composed of sixty Spanish Californians, twenty-two foreigners, and 200 Indian auxiliaries under Chief Solano. The campaign was successful, Solano and his Indians fighting with hardihood alongside the Vallejo forces. But peace was far from established on the northern frontier.¹² Again it was the Satiyomis, who had come to be known as "Guapos" ("braves"), that caused the trouble. And again, the two Vallejo brothers shared honors in the campaign which was fought in the rough terrain of the geyser region and which culminated in the treaty of June 7, 1836.¹³ But succeeding events proved that pledges of peace given by Satiyomis were flimsy affairs.

Between campaigns, Salvador found time to think of personal matters. Details of his courtship of María de la Luz Carrillo have not been recorded, but we can believe that the wedding and María's arrival in Sonoma must have been the occasion for festivities. Mariano and Salvador, having chosen two sisters as their wives, were closely bound together. Even more closely were they bound by the lonely and dangerous outpost they had chosen as their home.

The first real home of Salvador and María de Carrillo Vallejo was a large adobe on the west side of the plaza in Sonoma. From the red leather-covered chest that she had brought with her, María took religious prints and intricate embroideries to relieve the bareness of the walls. As prosperity came to the Vallejos, imported furniture and objects of art were added, so that visitors frequently commented in surprise. In 1846, Edwin Bryant referred to the air of comfort he found in the home of the general: "The parlor was furnished with handsome chairs, sofas, mirrors, and tables of mahogany frame work and a fine piano, the first I have seen in the country. Several paintings and some superior engravings ornamented the walls."¹⁴ Some items, still in the possession of the descendants of Salvador and María, indicate that their home was likewise furnished with a degree of luxury uncommon on the west coast.

During the next few years, Salvador lived a busy life, assuming more and more responsibility in military matters, as Mariano, now comandante general of California, became engrossed in civic and political affairs. Errands for Mariano took the younger brother sometimes to Fort Ross, to Monterey, or to Santa Barbara, as for example, his leadership of the body of troops sent from Sonoma in March 1838, to the aid of Alvarado in his conflict with Carlos Carrillo for the governorship.¹⁵

In 1836, Salvador and Ramón Carrillo led a small party up into the Clear Lake country; they were, in fact, the first white men to explore that region.¹⁶ Periodically it was necessary to subdue the Satiyomis, who obtained arms by trading beaver and otter skins with the Russians.¹⁷ One of the most bitter of such campaigns occurred when Zampay, chief of the Yolotoys, induced the Satiyomi chieftain, Succara, to cooperate in an effort to destroy Solano as chief of the Suisu-n and thus assume command of the combined Suisu-n and Napajo tribes. Scene of the campaign was the recently-explored Clear Lake region; the leader of the Sonoma troops was Salvador Vallejo, who deferred to the plan of attack suggested by Chief Solano, viz., to send into the camp of the enemy a "fifth column," to persuade them that the Suisu-n Indians were prepared to surrender at the very outset of the battle. The ruse was effective, and Solano succeeded in taking Zampay prisoner by lassoing him "like a cow." Thereafter Succara signed a peace treaty, which he kept only until he was ready to try a new offensive.¹⁸

Salvador seems to have reveled in a soldier's life—the long rides over forested hillsides or valleys, the exercise of ingenuity, the combat, the relief of precarious victory. As for the commissariat, his men were never hungry:

My army hunted for food, not a hard matter in those days for elks, deer, bears, and all sorts of game was then very abundant. We never wanted powder while hunting—we caught deer and elks with ropes. The bear we killed with bowie knives, and at times, we lassoed them while riding on horse back.¹⁹

He attributed the success of his force to the fact that "as a general thing

when engaged in fighting Indians, we did not lose time in either sleeping or drinking."²⁰

In 1838, Salvador went south with a company of soldiers to assist Alvarado, who was having trouble in maintaining his authority as governor. No real fighting occurred, but the resistance was dissipated and Alvarado remained in control. On September 15, 1839, news of his appointment as governor, "en propiedad," reached California from Acapulco; also came news of Mariano's official appointment as colonel.

Occasionally, sharp words passed between the two brothers over questions of military discipline, etc. There is some discrepancy in their reports concerning the management of the secularized Mission San Francisco Solano, of which Salvador had been named administrator in 1839 (although for practical purposes the mission had ceased to exist after 1836). Salvador maintained that he was never put in charge of the property, and turned in his resignation when Governor Alvarado sent an inspector, W. E. P. Hartnell, to study the mission problems.²¹ But Salvador supported his brother in the controversy with Hartnell, and placed the latter on a boat bound for San Francisco, threatening him should he attempt to interfere with affairs at San Rafael and San Francisco Solano.²²

In January 1839, Governor Alvarado appointed Salvador justice of the peace in Sonoma, but Mariano ordered him not to serve in that capacity, stating that the governor had no right to appoint a military officer to a civil position. Mariano, himself, gave Salvador an appointment, namely, as commander of the post and of the infantry company at Sonoma, with no dependence on any other than the comandante general. This order, however, made little if any change in Salvador's status, and was apparently issued to serve notice upon Alvarado that his interference in things military would not be tolerated. At this time, the infantry company was composed of about twenty-five selected Indians, and there were some forty men in the cavalry.²³ Official decrees from Mexico City, confirming appointments, took many months to reach the Sonoma frontier. Salvador's confirmation is written on the stationery of the *Comandancia General de la Alta California*, and is in the form of a circular letter signed by General Vallejo; translated, it reads:

General Staff for Northern California

CIRCULAR

His Excellency the Minister of War and Navy, in a letter dated August 20th of last year and just received by the last mail, informs me as follows: "His Excellency has taken due note of the official letter that Your Excellency signed on April 25th, stressing the necessity that at present exists for the establishment of military headquarters on the Northern frontier, center of which is Sonoma.

"His Excellency herein authorizes Your Excellency to act in that manner establishing such command and appointing to the same an Officer of his complete trust. This communication is therefore sent in reply."

Therefore this General Headquarters has proceeded to appoint for this mission in charge of another military headquarters, Don Salvador Vallejo, appointment which it should be made known in the Special Orders [Orders of the Day].

God and Liberty, Sonoma,
October 1st, 1841

To the Military Commander of the Sonoma Frontier.²⁴

Earlier the same year Capt. Vallejo is said to have aided in the rescue of Princess Helena Gagarin, wife of Baron Alejandro Rotchef, governor of the Russian colony of Ross and Bodega. She had joined an excursion into the interior to place a copper plate on Mount St. Helena, conferring upon it its present name in honor of Saint Helena, patron saint of Empress Helena of Russia. En route back to Ross, the little party found itself surrounded by a band of Indians led by Solano; but the fear of the Russians was alleviated when Salvador, watchful of Russian affairs, rode up to challenge Solano. The chieftain finally consented to postpone action until a messenger could be sent to Mariano Vallejo, who settled the dispute and, with Salvador, conducted the party back to Fort Ross.²⁵ In gratitude, the czar sent to Mariano a handsomely fitted field set in a lined hardwood chest.²⁶

When visitors came to Sonoma, Salvador was usually present for the festivities and for the conferences which were a part of every such visit. During the decade 1839-49, the list of visitors was imposing. First, came Johann Augustus Sutter in July 1839, armed with letters of introduction and a generous land grant from Governor Alvarado. Mariano Vallejo perceived in him a potential rival on the northern frontier; he suggested that Sutter should settle in Sonoma, but the latter wanted elbow room and independence. After the sparring at the conference was over, politics gave way to music and dancing, Salvador showing his versatility by playing on his guitar. In his "Notas Históricas," written when Salvador was an old man, he declares that he was always suspicious of Sutter and frequently warned his brother concerning his activities and intentions. "I am unable to fathom," he wrote, "the masonic bonds that united two persons whose interests and political views were so different."²⁷ But the elder Vallejo was not deceived by Sutter's courtly manner, and in his reports to the Mexican government he was caustic in his criticism of Governor Alvarado for permitting the Swiss to gain a foothold in northern California. Realizing his inability to drive Sutter out, Mariano covered his suspicions with a certain amount of friendliness.

Salvador had played his guitar for the entertainment of Sutter. He demonstrated other accomplishments in January 1842, upon the visit of Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s affairs in North America. Salvador served as personal guide to conduct the English official and his party on a tour of the region, and later arranged an exhibit of horsemanship. Sir George found the performance distressing in its cruelty but

astonishing in the skill which the horsemen displayed. He concludes his narrative with these comments:

... But with all their dexterity and experience, the riders often meet with serious and even fatal accidents, by being thrown from their horses. Don Salvador himself had had his full share of this kind of thing. He had broken two ribs and fractured both thighs, the one in two places, and the other in three, so that he had now very little left in reserve but his neck.²⁸

Salvador paid a high price for his daredevil courage, for his injuries had a crippling effect upon him in his later life; yet, considering the almost total lack of medical and surgical facilities, it seems a miracle that he could have survived at all.

All of the great powers were alert to the developing situation in California. The visit of M. Eugène Duflôt de Mofras, an attache of the French legation in Mexico, represented that nation's desire for enlightenment, first hand. He irked Salvador with what he called de Mofras' insipid questions and arrogant manner. So he resolved to play a joke on him. The Frenchman asked Salvador if it would be possible to procure a few pounds of vanilla for his collection of herbs. There was no vanilla in California, but Salvador replied: "There is no vanilla in Sonoma, but any quantity may be gathered in the Mission of Santa Rosa." A few years later, de Mofras published a book in Paris describing his travels in California, and described his visit to the mission at Santa Rosa—a mission that never existed, except, as Salvador concludes, "in the fertile brains of the volatile Frenchman."²⁹

Another visitor during this period was the American, Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, who is remembered chiefly for his premature "capture" of Monterey and his subsequent apologetic withdrawal when he learned that war did not, as yet, exist between the United States and Mexico. In December 1842, the commodore paid a visit to Sonoma. When his party lost its way, they were picked up by a company of soldiers, brought to Sonoma, and lodged in the guard house. Mariano Vallejo was immediately advised that an armed party of foreigners had been arrested; but his apprehension lest the expected invasion had started gave way to chagrin when he found his guests in the calabozo (jail). To quell any suspicion of unfriendliness, he proceeded to outdo himself in hospitality and found that he genuinely liked the commodore. A feature of the entertainment was a trip to the military camp at Huichica where Salvador was training Indians for a new foray against the perpetually troublesome Satiyomis. Some 1400 Indians were gathered there at dinner when the visitors arrived, and the commodore was surprised to note the large number of Indian women present. He asked Capt. Salvador Vallejo if the Indian women took part in the battles; to which the captain replied: "Those women do not fight against the Satiyomi Indians; but if it were the case of battling Yankees, they would take part in the front rank and would know how to give a good account of themselves."

Years later Mariano Vallejo met Commodore Jones. He inquired if Salvador was still alive and asked whether the Indian women had distinguished themselves in fighting the Yankees.³⁰

Mariano Vallejo is said to have liked his role as "Autocrat of Sonoma," as he was called during the long period when he had almost absolute sway over the northern frontier. But he was well aware of the changes taking place. He appreciated the strategic and material importance of California; he was well aware of the sparring among the major powers to gain control of the rich territory, and was discouraged by the futility of his efforts to arouse the Mexican government to any decisive action. Mariano Vallejo liked the Americans whom he had come to know, and he became convinced that the combination of American political ideals and the enterprising character of the people would spell prosperity for California and security for his own little empire. To Salvador Vallejo the presence of the Americans seemed to be a threat to the way of life he knew and loved, a reaction which certainly needs no apology.

Among the visitors to Sonoma in 1843 was Dr. G. M. Sandels, a Swedish scientist. He painted a sordid picture of an Indian raid, conducted by Captain Vallejo, and of the treatment of the prisoners whom he saw huddled together in pathetic acceptance of their fate. Nor did he enjoy the night-long celebration staged by the Indians who had participated on the winning side during the raid.³¹ A casual visitor like Sandels, unacquainted with the background of the country, could not take into account all of the facts of the situation. The Indians south of San Francisco Bay were less warlike than the north-bay Indians. Sonoma was still a frontier outpost, sanctioned by the government but left in large measure to shift for itself in the matter of defense. The small guard, maintained often at the Vallejos' personal expense, could never have guaranteed its survival nor afforded protection to the women and children of the little settlement. The Suisun alliance saved Sonoma, and the Suisun loyalty was no doubt strengthened by the Vallejo policy of allowing these warlike Indians to fight under their own chieftains in their own way.

In discussing the relationships which existed between the Spanish and the Indians in northern California, Salvador had this to say:

They tilled our soil, pastured our cattle, sheared our sheep, cut our lumber, built our houses, paddled our boats, made tiles for our houses, ground our grain, killed our cattle, dressed their hides for the market, and made our unburnt bricks; while the Indian women made most excellent servants, took good care of our children, and made every one of our meals. And be it said in justice to them, that though not learned in the culinary art as taught by Italian and French books, they made very palatable and savory dishes. And these people we considered as members of our families. We loved them and they loved us. Our intercourse was always pleasant. The Indians knew that our superior education gave us a right to command and rule over them; and we, guided by the teachings of the good missionaries, and counseled by our forlorn position, while made it very plain that

in case of a general uprising of the Indians we could not cope with them, always did our best to strengthen the bonds of friendship which bound the two races together.³²

The campaign referred to by Dr. Sandels seems to have been but another chapter in the long war with the Satiyomis and their allied tribes. When Capt. Salvador Vallejo had his force of 70 Californians and 200 auxiliary Indians at Huichica ready for action, he led an expedition north into Mendocino County, leaving Sonoma on March 5, 1843. The enemy staged a tactical withdrawal and eventually took refuge on an island off the Mendocino coast. On March 13, Salvador wrote his brother an account of a battle which had taken place the preceding evening. Twelve soldiers and thirty auxiliaries had reached the island by means of tule rafts; they demanded the surrender of the enemy, and, when they refused, Salvador's force attacked and according to the report 170 Indians were killed.³³ Stormy weather, including some snow, prevented further attacks by either side; on March 27, Salvador ordered his forces to evacuate their position and return home because their supplies were running short.

These campaigns caused severe criticism of Captain Vallejo in San Francisco and elsewhere in California because of the number of Indians killed. The governor wrote to Mariano Vallejo requesting a thorough investigation, but it appears that the latter ignored the request. Vallejo did not wish to encourage Alvarado to interfere in matters that came under his, Vallejo's, jurisdiction. Bancroft expresses the view that the reports of Indian deaths were exaggerated, because, he says, Mariano would never have tolerated so great an outrage.³⁴ Bancroft also had high praise for Mariano's Indian policy.³⁵ Although Salvador may have been unrestrained in battle ("barbarous" is the word his critics used), he nevertheless conducted his campaigns with remarkably small loss in killed and wounded among his own forces. And it may be assumed that the severity of these campaigns broke the will of the Satiyomis to go on resisting the white man. More and more foreigners were finding their way into the territory, and their increasing strength also contributed to the fact that Indian unrest tapered off in 1843 and ceased to be a serious threat.

In 1844, Salvador Vallejo was given the title of "Capitán de Defensores" and was expected to reorganize and strengthen the presidial company as part of the governor's plan to build up provincial defenses. Not long afterwards, Mariano saw fit to dissolve the company, to avoid involvement in another civil war. Thenceforth Salvador turned his attention to pursuits of peace.

An episode in his life during the preceding year (1843) has been variously treated elsewhere, viz., his affair with Edward Turner Bale, an English surgeon, who had resided for some time in Monterey, and, upon receiving a grant of land in 1843, had moved to Sonoma, where Mariano Vallejo, at the

suggestion of Salvador, appointed him doctor-in-chief of California troops. His wife was María Ignacia Soberanes, daughter of Salvador's eldest sister, María Isadora. The doctor was said to have been a morose Britisher, jealous of his wife, and never able to understand the affectionate and demonstrative manner of the Spanish Californians in their family relations.³⁶ No new interpretation of the flare-up between Bale and Salvador is attempted here because nothing heretofore uncovered has been found in the personal papers available to the present writer.

After the Indian fighting slackened, Salvador tried his hand at trapping sea otter off the Marin coast. He was associated in this venture with Juan B. Alvarado, José Castro, Ramón Estrada, and Joaquín Ortega in the "California Fishing Company," which was duly licensed by the Mexican government. The work was performed by eighteen "cayucos" (small boats made from the skins of sea lions), manned by Kodiak Indians from Fort Ross and directed by Salvador, who went after their prey in the mornings when the sea was calm, as the "cayucos" were almost unmanageable in rough weather. It was rough work, but while the sea lions and sea otter were plentiful, the enterprise paid handsome profits to the members of the company.³⁷ Salvador also engaged in the making of grinding and mill stones which he procured from a small hill between the sites of present-day Vallejo and Benicia. To reach the place, he made use of a large whale boat which he had purchased from two Scottish merchants.³⁸

The slowing down of activities in and around Sonoma now gave Salvador the opportunity he had anticipated of moving his family to Napa Valley, which he knew well from his Indian campaigns. He had already (1838) applied for and received the Napa Rancho, which bordered the Napa River. The next year Salvador received a gift from Governor Alvarado; it was not in Napa Valley, and he placed such slight value upon it that he abandoned his share to Jacob Leese, who had married his sister, Rosalia. The land given by the governor to the two men included what is now known as Telegraph Hill in San Francisco! Perhaps it was just as well that Salvador turned over his share to Leese, for the latter had trouble with squatters and lost the property.

In 1840, Salvador had applied for a grant in southern Lake County. There seems to be some doubt that the grant was actually made in compliance with the law. Salvador and his brother Juan Antonio built a cabin in the vicinity of Kelseyville; they stationed a mayordomo there and for a number of years ran cattle in the region, but the uncertainty of the title seems to have prevented him from improving the land permanently.³⁹ Meanwhile he continued to add to his holdings in the lower Napa Valley. In 1841, he received the Llajome grant of one and one-half leagues and in 1844, fourteen leagues in the Lupyomi grant, also in the Napa Valley, and an additional two leagues granted jointly to Salvador and his brother Juan Antonio. Lieut. Joseph

Warner Revere observed in his *Tour of Duty in California* (New York & Boston, 1849):

... Don Salvador Vallejo is the largest proprietor, owning two adjoining estates, which make together six square leagues, a snug little farm of thirty thousand acres of the best land in the world. The climate is a perpetual summer, and the atmosphere is not obscured by the "neblina" (fogs), which prevail nearer the sea. In the rainy season ('twere treason against nature to call it winter) the rushing and picturesque cataracts descend from the Sierras on either side, over beds dry at all other times of the year, swelling the river Napa to its fullest dimensions. The exquisite views which abound in every direction, the complete seclusion of the spot, bounded at the broader end by the waters of the bay, and at every other point by jagged mountain crags, realize the ideal of a "Happy Valley."⁴⁰

This was the setting which Salvador Vallejo chose for the establishment of his home. Sonoma Valley was Mariano's homeland, the seat of his branch of the family, and a heritage for his children. It was Salvador's idea that his own family should have a similar heritage, and it seemed to him appropriate that the two brothers should hold the two parallel valleys, both sloping southward to the waters of the bay and separated by a densely wooded ridge. The Petaluma Valley west of Sonoma was already held by Mariano and was the center of his agricultural activities. To the north, occupying the site of present-day Santa Rosa, had come the Carrillos from San Diego, the parents of María de la Luz and Francisca de Vallejo. There Salvador had designed and supervised the construction of the massive Carrillo adobe, where his mother-in-law lived for many years.

On the west bank of the Napa River near what was first called Trancas Ford, but later called Trancas Bridge, Salvador built his home, which he called "Las Trancas," meaning "as far as the tide flows." It was large, with thick adobe walls that kept it cool in summer and warm in winter. The living-room was floored, half with gray stone, half with hewn planks. He also built a second adobe, possibly as a warehouse or as quarters for his workers. It is thought to have been situated some distance north of his home, perhaps in the vicinity of the present-day schoolhouse which is known as the Salvador School. Neither of these adobes is standing today. But across the river on the Llagome grant, he built a long, rambling adobe, which served jointly as stables and as living quarters for his mayordomo. This has been restored and converted into a residence on the Longwood Ranch. It commands a view of the river, the valley farm lands, and the timbered hills to the west.

Salvador was not the first resident in the Napa country. Further up the slopes southward from Mount Saint Helena, George Yount, Dr. Bale, and Cayetano Juárez (who was known as the Duke of Tulucay) were already established on their respective grants. It was still wild land. When a beef was slaughtered at the Trancas, the carcass was hung on the wide verandah, an Indian standing guard by day and keeping a fire burning at night lest it be stolen by a brown bear. During his entire adult life, Salvador engaged in

farming enterprises, although most of the time he relied upon mayordomos and vaqueros to manage his lands for him. Like all the great rancheros of the 1840's, he counted his riches largely in livestock. According to William Heath Davis, he was said to own at one time five to six thousand cattle and 2000 horses.⁴¹ When Lieut. Charles Wilkes visited California as head of a scientific expedition sent out by the United States in 1841, he entertained on shipboard the two Vallejo brothers, and noted in his record of the visit: "Salvador Vallejo is engaged in agricultural pursuits and particularly in cattle raising which under the government has the special privilege of supplying the vessels which he does at prices which insure a special profit."⁴²

Salvador also raised wheat. Juan Antonio Sánchez, one of his laborers, has left an account of his experiences at the Napa Rancho:

When I discovered that all my capital was gone—acting on that resolve, I started for Napa where I obtained good situation on a farm owned by Salvador Vallejo, a very good man, open-hearted, and always ready to make free with his "peones." The epoch of my arrival in Napa, Salvador employed about seventy persons, some engaged in raising wheat, and other kind of vegetables, others attended to the cattle and horses of which he possessed a great many.

We tilled the soil by yoking oxen to the "arado" [plow], an old-fashioned contrivance which would not answer nowadays, but was quite sufficient for the early days of California. The grain produced on the estate was shipped to San Francisco. Some was sent by barges, and some in the steamer Guadalupe. Our grain before being sent to market was placed in sacks imported from Europe. I remained two years on the estate. At the time I resided on the Napa estate, Salvador had a wife and five children who lived with him.⁴³

Two Americans, William Baldrige and Joseph Chiles, wanted to buy a portion of his land on the Napa River as a site for a mill, but Salvador refused to sell. They then offered to erect a fine flour mill, Salvador to have an interest in it in exchange for the site; but again he refused, saying that the mill would frighten his cattle. Bancroft, in his narration of the incident, concludes by remarking, "Sage Salvador! He had all he wanted; how could the mill add to his happiness?"⁴⁴ However, in his "Pioneer Register," Bancroft says that he has in his possession a contract, signed in 1847, providing that the same Baldrige should build a saw mill for Salvador Vallejo.⁴⁵ In addition to his agricultural activities, Salvador operated a soap factory at Napa for several years, which is said to have brought him several thousand dollars a year.⁴⁶

Describing their family life and responsibilities, Salvador wrote:

We taught our sons to be good farmers and artisans, and our girls to be good wives in every branch of their business. And though many of the rich men of the country had from twenty to sixty Indian servants whom they dressed and fed, yet our wives and daughters superintended the cooking, and every other operation performed in the house. The result of this training was cleanliness, good living, and economy.⁴⁷

Salvador was prosperous. He had diversified interests that seemed to guarantee a safe future for himself and his family. And he was generous to the

stream of overland immigrants who were reaching the central and northern valleys of California in various stages of destitution. According to Nicholas Carriger, one of a party which had just arrived from across the plains and were camped on Sonoma Creek,

Captain Salvador Vallejo came to us in his undress uniform led by three stalwart Indians, one groaning under a heavy load of flour, one carrying a basket of sugar, and the other holding a basket of chocolate; the Captain by means of one interpreter asked us if we were in need of any one of the articles his servants carried, and expressed his willingness and readiness to serve us to the full extent of his ability. On taking a farewell from us, "Nearby, I have 1000 cows. If any of you wish fresh meat, go and kill as many animals as you need for your daily support." Captain Salvador Vallejo observed the same conduct toward every other emigrant camped in the vicinity of Sonoma.⁴⁸

Another immigrant had this to say:

... on arriving here, friends of mine who settled in 1846 in Sonoma told me that the two brothers Vallejo had been very kind to the American immigrants; they always gave beef and other things freely to anyone in want; since I have settled here definitely, I have heard many persons paying due tribute to the kind disposition of the two representatives of California's ancient rulers.⁴⁹

But the times were troubled. After Micheltorena was expelled by the revolution of 1845, no effective departmental government existed and local authorities were powerless to halt the influx of foreigners. The Russians had withdrawn, but Sutter had purchased their holdings and was showing more and more independence. The Californians discussed the relative advantages of a French, British, or an American protectorate. Mariano Vallejo was known to have espoused the American cause, but many were disturbed by the actions of a young American army officer, Capt. John Charles Frémont, and his band of so-called "explorers." There was unrest, too, among the newly arrived frontiersmen, who took seriously the rumors of the action being planned by the Californians against them. The entire province was electrified when the news came of the theft of Francisco Arce's horses, followed by the capture of Sonoma and the arrest and imprisonment at Sacramento of the Vallejo brothers, Victor Prudon (Mariano's secretary), and the Vallejos' brother-in-law, Jacob Leese. The Bear Flag Revolt, secretly encouraged at first but later openly championed by Frémont, was but the premature forerunner of the official American conquest of California which resulted from the War with Mexico.

At Sutter's Fort, where the prisoners were taken under orders from Frémont, the party was locked up in a room without bed or blankets. Salvador described their experience thus:

I did not feel the situation on my own account, for I was used to "rough it" as Mark Twain calls the life of the mountaineer. But my heart grieved for my brother. I went back to the days in which the house of General Vallejo was the rendezvous of every foreigner that visited California. I thought of the many English, Americans, French, and Russian officers that had received kind treatment at his hands. And when the light of day allowed me to see him lying on the damp floor without coverings or even a pillow on

which to rest his head, I cursed the days in which our house dispensed hospitality to a race of men deaf to the call of gratitude, so perfect strangers to good breeding.⁵⁰

Bancroft expressed almost identical sentiments in his discussion of the imprisonment. He calls it a "gross and inexcusable outrage."⁵¹

One of the worst features of their confinement was the suspense the prisoners were under in not knowing what had happened to their families. After ten days, Julio Carrillo, brother of Francisca and María de la Luz, arrived to bring them word of the events that had been taking place. From time to time, their wives succeeded in sending them gifts of food and money, but Salvador states that his jailers almost invariably appropriated the pinole and money which his wife managed to send him.⁵² By order of Captain Frémont, the Vallejo brothers and their associates were held at Sutter's Fort for two months, despite the fact that the Stars and Stripes had been raised at Monterey, San Francisco, Sonoma, and even at Sutter's Fort itself. It was not until August that the brothers were released under Commodore Stockton's orders.

Salvador described his release and return home as follows:

My feelings on the occasion cannot be described nor defined. Suffice it to say that a cloud of thoughts like water rushing through an artesian well recently bored, overpowered my brains, and after riding less than one mile, I began to feel feverish, and being unable to sit any longer on the saddle, I dismounted and having sought the reviving shade of a friendly tree I threw myself on the ground, where on my bended knees I thanked the Almighty Creator for having spared my life and restored me to wife, children, brothers, sisters, friends, and freedom. . . . After having rested a few hours on the road I again mounted my horse and in the course of two days I reached Napa. There I found my desolate wife and four young children in a state bordering on distraction; my property scattered to the four winds, for whatever they could not carry away they had taken good care to destroy. . . .⁵³

Salvador filed claim for damages in the amount of \$53,100, but this claim was scaled down to an eventual \$11,700, which was paid by the U.S. government for losses it agreed he had sustained.⁵⁴

In September 1846, he was back in Sonoma, where he stayed for a time at Mariano's. But it irked him to be compelled to live under a roof not his own while his residence on the plaza was occupied by a contingent of U.S. soldiers. Accordingly, he took matters into his own hands, telling the story in these words:

One fine morning by means of a ladder, I entered my bed chamber through a window which had incautiously been left open, and once inside, I threw out of the window every article belonging to the intruders, who apprised of my proceedings placed around sentinels in front of each door of my dwelling, and in this manner they kept me a close prisoner during nineteen days.⁵⁵

While he was thus imprisoned, something happened which made the Americans turn for aid to General Vallejo. In the summer of 1844, a party of Indians from Oregon had arrived at Sutter's Fort. They were headed by Elijah, son of Chief Yellow Serpent, who became involved in a quarrel and

was killed. Two years later, in September 1846, it was reported that the Walla Walla Indians were coming in force to avenge the murder of the chief's son. The Americans turned to Mariano Vallejo for aid in defending themselves in this emergency, but he was beyond the age for active campaigning. Consequently, he secured Salvador's release and sent him on his way. It turned out to be nothing more than a pleasant excursion, for Chief Yellow Serpent arrived at Sutter's Fort with only a small party of unarmed warriors, accompanied by their women and children, and bent on hunting, fishing, and trade, and to visit the grave of Elijah, whom they asked to have avenged.⁵⁶

In October 1846, Salvador again requested permission to occupy his Sonoma house, but was advised by Lieutenant Revere that the Americans could not be disturbed or removed; he could use the rest of his house if he wished to, or repair it for residence.

Just when Mariano Vallejo could begin to hope that his confidence in the Americans would be realized, gold was discovered. If there had been uncertainty before, it rapidly degenerated into chaos. The new government had not been established; the machinery had not been set up for carrying out the treaty of peace with Mexico with respect to the property rights of the Californians, which were absolutely guaranteed by that treaty. Without warning, the country was inundated with a flood of gold-seeking immigrants from every country of the world.

For a time, Salvador capitalized upon the situation by outfitting miners bound for the American River; but, for the most part, he continued to rely on the products of the soil for his income. He was under constant pressure to sell his land; this he was loath to do. However, he did sell several tracts of the Napa Rancho, keeping the river front property (about 700 acres) for his own.⁵⁷ In 1850, he leased for ten years the Rancho de Giacomo, agreeing to pay to Clement Auguste Basignano and Manuel Espindola for the use of the land eight tame oxen, wild steers (not above twenty head), two tame cows, four tame horses, ten wild horses, four ploughs of the country, one American wagon, and fifty hens; he further agreed to sow the first year barley, wheat, corn, and potatoes, in specified quantities, to repair ditches, and as the lease states:

Also, he shall furnish during the whole time of the lease six Indians, men or women to work at the planting of the crops and during all the time of seed planting but in case of much difficulty or impossibility to furnish said Indians by reason that they diminish or disappear a great deal, then Don Salvador shall be free of said promise by the said impossibility to accomplish it.⁵⁸

The lease reflects the increasing uncertainty of the times. Salvador could no longer agree unequivocally to furnish six Indians a year.

But his troubles were only beginning. He had filed claim for his lands in compliance with the new land law. Delays were interminable, and while he waited for the land commission and the courts to act, the squatters moved in

and settled upon his property. There was no one to evict them. To use his own words:

At the time the Americans entered this country in quest of plunder I possessed sixteen leagues [about 50,000 acres] of the best land in Napa Valley, my title was perfect, having been given to me by Governor J. B. Alvarado for services rendered, for money advanced the government, for food and soap supplied to the soldiers of the Republic. My title was perfect and no man born of woman would have dared to dispute it before the courts of the State. But when the large immigration began to pour into the country like water from a newly opened spring, the immigrants, many of whom were too lazy to work, too poor to purchase, and too proud to beg, did not hesitate to take forcible possession of my lands. In this manner they actually stole from me twelve leagues of land, a great many of them under fence.⁵⁹

And again, he forcefully declares:

In one word: The lawsuits of California against American squatters were tried by squatter juries, summoned by squatter Sheriffs. And the law was interpreted by squatter Judges, always interested in the final decision of the cases tried before them.⁶⁰

In December 1853, the Sonoma *Bulletin* published the following notice of sale:

By virtue of an execution and order of sale issued out of the district court of the 7th judicial district in and for Napa County, State of California, and to me directed and dated the 28th day of November, A. D. 1853, Allen Thomas H. Ward obtaining a judgment against Salvador Vallejo for the sum of five hundred and thirteen and seventy-six one-hundredths dollars, with interest at the rate of four per cent per month from the 21st day of May, 1853, with accruing costs and two dollars for execution,

Know, therefore, that according as directed by said execution, I have levied upon and taken into possession as the property of the said Salvador Vallejo the following described personal estate, to-wit:

One mahogany dining table, three Japan stands, one Chinese card table, two mahogany tables, folding leaves; one pine table, folding leaves; one dining table, painted white, one red table, sixteen chairs, wooded and cane seats, one high post bedstead, one writing desk, one pistol case, one mahogany dressing case, one Chinese ornament, two drinking glasses, one box with glass top, two looking glasses, mahogany frames; one dozen gilt frames, two crayon drawings in frames, one engraving in frame, two pairs of brass branch lamps, glass tops; one French clock, one pair glass vases, two pair cloth table covers, one cloth table cover, one green tea tray, one feather fan, one matting sofa, one box silver epaulets, one lot of books and slates, one razor strop and razors, one lot of books, one pistol, one lot of dry goods, one lot of sundries, one carpet, one lot of matting, and three bottles of brandied peaches.

Which property will by me be sold at public auction to the highest bidder for cash on Saturday, the tenth day of December, A. D., 1853, between the hours of nine in the forenoon and four o'clock in the afternoon, at the late residence of Salvador Vallejo in the city of Sonoma to satisfy the said execution.

ISRAEL BROCKMAN, Sheriff, Sonoma County⁶¹

The possibility is that these possessions were left in Sonoma when Salvador moved to Napa and that he allowed them to be disposed of in this manner, to meet a judgment he could not otherwise take care of.

The same year, a memorandum in the general's handwriting mentioned the fact that the roof blew off Salvador's house, and noted that, "I lent him

\$4,000 in gold even without his asking for it.”⁶² Also referred to are other financial transactions involving his brother and disappointing to Mariano. Salvador hoped to recoup his fortunes from the land he still managed to hold in the Napa Valley, but his grain crop was lost through recurrent fires, declared to have been incendiary. In despair he sold most of his remaining property and deposited the money in San Francisco banks. He looked forward to a life of peace—free from the toil of the farmer and the dangers of the soldier. But the three banks failed, and he found himself in desperate straits. Mariano wrote to him, asking him to bring his family to Sonoma because family circumstances had become “most rueful and their condition isolated and miserable.” He attributed the unfortunate situation to the changed society and the times, and expressed the wish that they could all be happy and free from worries, suggesting that they make an effort to buy up property in and around Sonoma as a kind of gathering place for the family.

Salvador’s reply to Mariano’s suggestion is curt and reflects his wounded pride. While he professes cordial and friendly feelings for Mariano, he leaves no doubt that he is not willing to sacrifice his independence and the opportunity to rear his family in his own way and in accordance with the changed conditions. He states that he has suffered great losses in the last three years, and now prefers to live in retirement with his family, causing no inconvenience to anyone.⁶³ These frank letters, which have never been published, point up the previously mentioned contrast between the two brothers. The general welcomed the Americans in wholehearted hospitality; he entered actively into the politics of the new state, and he became the most prominent and popular of the Spanish Californians. Even when adversity came to Mariano and he found that he too had lost his lands, he accepted his situation without bitterness, convinced that the change was better for California, even though the Spanish Californians had suffered much as a result.

Salvador, on the other hand, became bitter, but his pride saved him—pride in María, who refused to remember the ugly things of the past, and who taught her children: “Let only the good live on. Time rights all things”; pride in his sons and daughters, pride in the role he had played in his homeland. He did not damn the Yankees indiscriminately. He did not like Frémont, nor Sutter, nor the Bear Flag men; but many professional historians, having the advantage of perspective, have taken exception to these same men. Salvador liked Stockton and Montgomery and Kearny, and Yount, Carriger, and Boggs, whose metal he was quick to appreciate. He retired with his family to the portion of the original Napa Rancho still in his possession, and there, at Las Trancas, he planned to spend, as he says, “a few years of a quiet life, mostly engaged in educating my children, and fishing and hunting.”⁶⁴ Mariano Vallejo may have had the happier, more magnanimous philosophy, but Salvador seems to have derived a hard satisfaction from his own policy of pleasant seclusion and highly selective fraternization.

When the Civil War broke out, Salvador enlisted to help save the Union. He could be pardoned if, on the side, he indulged in a little pleasant anticipation at the thought that he might have a chance to strike some legitimate blows at the Pike County Missourians and Kentuckians, whose prototypes had swindled him out of his lands. Probably also he was a little bored with the quiet life. In 1863 he was commissioned a major by Gov. Leland Stanford and was stationed at the San Francisco presidio. As major he organized the 1st battalion of native cavalry, composed, Bancroft says, "chiefly of young natives, and numbered 476 members, uniformed like U. S. cavalry, well mounted, and good riders." No California troops, however, saw active duty in the battle areas of the Civil War. Maj. Salvador Vallejo and his battalion were sent east as far as Arizona, and there they "fought out" the war in dull, if necessary, assignments. Chaffing under his disappointment, Salvador resigned in 1865 and returned home.⁶⁵ During the succeeding years, he continued to keep busy with personal affairs. He still assisted his brother, making trips to collect money or to arrange to sell some horses or produce, or to settle matters in connection with the estates of other members of the family.

Only casual mention has been made up to this point of the children of Salvador and his wife María de la Luz. The record is incomplete, but should be included with as much detail as is known. There were three sons: Ignacio Loyola, born February 9, 1849, in Sonoma; Platón C., who moved to Los Angeles to make his home; and Manuel (also called Avril). And four daughters are mentioned: María Ynez Telecillia, who married William Edward Rose Frisby; Ana, who married Lemuel Kincaid; Zarela Margarita, the wife of John Harry Priestly Gedge; and Antonia, wife of Enrique Vallejo, the adopted son of General Vallejo, and who died at the birth of her twin daughters.

Of the grandchildren, the following are the offspring of Mr. and Mrs. William Edward Rose Frisby, those preceded by an asterisk being deceased: *William Augustus Frisby, *Owen Richard Frisby, Uriah Levi Frisby, who resides in Napa; *Adela Isidora Frisby (Mrs. John Gantner); *Delphina Natalia Frisby (Mrs. Yerby, and later Mrs. Hinton); Bertha Ophelia Frisby (Mrs. Martin Burnell); Romualdo Pacheco Frisby; Viola Zarela Frisby (Mrs. Horace T. Holmes); Edna Hazel Frisby (Mrs. Archibald Burnell). The children of Mr. and Mrs. Lemuel Kincaid were Eugene and Levi. Mr. and Mrs. Gedge had four daughters: Luz (Mrs. William King), Georgina (Mrs. J. Burke), Antonia (Mrs. H. Wyman), and Ino (Mrs. H. Knopf). The twin daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Enrique Vallejo were named Anita and Camilla.

Ignacio, Salvador's eldest son, inherited Las Trancas and was a prominent resident of Napa for many years. He tried to claim back payment of a pension due as a result of his father's Civil War service, which his mother during her lifetime had not attempted to collect.⁶⁶ A pension for Salvador

himself had been sought by his friend, Nicholas Carriger, when he learned that \$200 per month had been granted to Sutter by the state legislature. Carriger proposed that if pensions were in order, no one was more worthy than Salvador Vallejo. He cited three reasons for this belief: Salvador's kindness to immigrants when they arrived; the fact that when news of the sufferings of the Donner party reached Sonoma, he was among the first to start to their assistance; Salvador's ready response at the time of the Yellow Serpent scare. Carriger closed his appeal with these words:

I dare say that if the invasion had actually taken place, he would have done his duty. I say so advisedly. I have heard many a man refer in glowing terms to the deeds of bravery of Salvador Vallejo and not one man has ever uttered a word to his discredit. I really believe that if a pension were given to Major Salvador Vallejo, the bestowing of it would only be an act of justice imperatively called for by the sense of gratitude.⁶⁷

Late in life, Salvador was induced to dictate his reminiscences, known as "Notas Históricas," for Hubert Howe Bancroft. They are rambling, lack chronological order, and need to be read in conjunction with a carefully documented history to avoid the mistakes which Salvador made. They have been freely used in this study, not to establish the factual record, but rather to let the reader feel the impact of his personality and words. Bancroft's agent in the transaction was Enrique Cerruti. He had come to Sonoma in 1873, hoping to acquire for his employer the voluminous body of documents built up over the years by Mariano Vallejo. While Cerruti was attempting to persuade the latter to donate the "Vallejo Documents" to Bancroft, he made the acquaintance of Salvador, who was living in Mariano's house in a room that, according to Cerruti,

... no pen can describe with any probability of making a true and reliable description. The major's room may be called a library because it contains a good many books. But again, it cannot be called a library because libraries are supposed to contain only books, while the major's room contains weapons, modern and ancient, carpenter's implements, watch maker's tools, wine, and I must not forget the famous tin cup in which the gallant major serves the delicious nectar to his visitors.

I told the major that everybody expressed surprise at being made to drink out of a worn-out tin cup. The answer I received is as follows: "About 39 years ago, I left Sonoma at the head of a body of troops for the purpose of capturing the noted Indian murderer, Zampay. While traveling, the horse that packed my rough earthen ware fell down a precipice; of course he got killed and his load was forever lost to me. When supper time arrived, we had plenty of fresh meat, deer meat, and ducks; we roasted it and after sprinkling a little salt over it, we ate it, but feeling thirsty, I cursed my ill luck and of course my officers and soldiers were not slow in following my example. In this emergency, my orderly, Manuel Cantua, came toward me holding in his hand the identical tin pan in which I serve wine to my visitors. I assure you that if a vision from Heaven had vouchsafed me eternal years of eternal bliss, I would not have felt happier. I incontinently snatched it from his hand, dipped it in a brook running close by, then passed it around to officers and men and when everybody had imbibed satisfactorily, I fastened the blessed cup around the holster of my pistol, used it throughout the campaign, and on my return to Sonoma, hung it over the chimney corner of my dwelling. I have preserved it till this day and I hope that the blessed cup will be buried with me in my coffin."⁶⁸

Cerruti also relates that he obtained a large quantity of documents from Mariano who insisted that he copy them, not allowing a single one to leave his own hands. Cerruti had other things to do and Bancroft provided secretaries in San Francisco for work of this kind, so he called upon Salvador to help him. At Cerruti's request, Salvador expressed the whole package across the bay. "I regretted very much to be compelled to trouble the major," Cerruti wrote, "but as the General had strictly forbidden me to allow the papers to leave my hands, I had no resource left except intrigue through his brother, who being much beloved by the General, could do as he pleased with anything belonging to the family."⁶⁹ This incident indicates the relationship which Cerruti observed existed between the polished, courtly general and his stalwart, rugged brother.

The injuries Salvador received during his long career as soldier, horseman, swordsman, and farmer, took their toll. Later in life he walked with difficulty, though he did his best to stand erect so as not to lose his military bearing, and he refused to have his picture taken. Of his earlier years he wrote:

I cannot refrain from styling as happy days the good old time in which men, women and children untrammelled by etiquette, were free to roam at will through hills and plains, over meadows and ravines with no critic's eyes to fear, no scandal mongers to dread, no loquacious servants to bribe, and no money required when journeying from Sonoma to San Diego, or *vice versa*. Those were indeed happy days, but alas, gone never again to return. I abstain from repining, for it is useless for mankind to protest against the decree of a wise providence, whose deep mysteries we mortals are not allowed to fathom or interpret.⁷⁰

Why he spent so much of the last twelve years of his life at his brother's home in Sonoma is uncertain. Possibly Las Trancas was closely associated with his disasters, while Sonoma became more and more the symbol of personal achievement. Wherever he turned in the Napa Valley, he saw interlopers living on his land. The policy of comparative seclusion he had adopted had not brought him many friends in Napa. Early American histories of the county scarcely mention his name. But in Sonoma, the Vallejo family name was on everybody's lips; and no one knew better than Mariano the part Salvador had played—that his daring and reckless campaigning had pacified the north-bay frontier; that the pitiful military power provided by Mexico was rendered an effective force largely by his courage and leadership.

Death came to Salvador in his brother's Sonoma house, early in the morning of February 17, 1876. He was sixty-two. Flags in the little city flew at half-mast. The last rites of the church were administered by Father Luis who came across the hills from Napa for the final service. Obituary notices in the press recalled Salvador's gallantry and generosity.

That the brothers maintained a business-like relationship in their mutual affairs is shown by a memorandum in the handwriting of M. G. Vallejo in the collection of manuscript material at the Vallejo museum in Sonoma:⁷¹

CHARGES AGAINST THE ESTATE OF DON SALVADOR VALLEJO
AS PER AGREEMENT

Salvador Vallejo a/ M. G. Vallejo

For five thousand loaned for the rebuilding of his home	\$5,000.00
For twelve years of maintenance, that is, room and board, washing and ironing at \$20 pesos per month or \$240 per year	2,880.00
For payment to Dr. Wells, on his last illness	40.00
For payment to Dr. Van Geldern on his last illness	20.00
For the coffin for his burial	20.00
For digging the grave	5.00
Funeral carriage from Vallejo	20.00
For clothing for twelve years	500.00
	<hr/>
M. G. V.	\$8,485.00

L. M. March 17, 1876

Salvador's wife survived him for nearly eighteen years. She had property in her own right, and her grandson, Uriah Frisby, states that after Salvador's death she purchased land near Coombsville; that at her death her children's inheritance was considerable. Both Salvador and María are buried in Tulucay Cemetery on the outskirts of the city of Napa.

NOTES

(Unless otherwise noted, MSS and other documentary materials, referred to here, are in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.)

1. Luis Quierez y Prado, "Year of 1806, Information concerning the Legitimacy and Purity of Ancestry of Don Ignacio Vicente Ferrer Vallejo" (original MS in Bancroft Library; copy in Vallejo Gantner Collection, San Francisco), p. 6; *see also* Helen S. Giffen, "The Life of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, The Portrait of a Man in his Times," *Pony Express Courier*, Jan. 1939; and the present writer's [*M. G.*] *Vallejo, Son of California* (Portland, Ore., 1944), *passim*.

2. Giffen, as above.

3. Charles Howard Shinn, "Pioneer Spanish Families," *Century Magazine*, XIX, n.s. (Jan. 1891), 380-81.

4. Mariano Vallejo, "Historia de California" (MS), I, 182-204; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), II, 225 ff; Charles E. Chapman, *History of California, the Spanish Period* (New York, 1925), pp. 442-46.

5. Salvador Vallejo, "Notas Históricas," Vallejo Gantner Collection (original MS in Bancroft Library), pp. 1 and 99. Notice of the opening of Hartnell's School was dated Dec. 10, 1833. Susanna Bryant Dakin, *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford, 1949), pp. 175-76.

6. Guadalupe Vallejo, "Ranch and Mission Days in Alta California," *Century Magazine*, XIX, n.s. (Dec. 1890), 183.

7. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

8. Platón Vallejo, "Memoirs of the Vallejos," *San Francisco Bulletin*, Jan. 27-Feb. 14, 1914, No. III.

9. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 161-62.

10. Marian Lydia Lothrop, "Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Defender of the Northern Frontier of California" (MS: Ph.D. dissertation, U.C., 1926), pp. 128-31.

11. José Figueroa to Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Monterey, June 24, 1835, in "State Papers, Missions and Colonization" (MS), II, 406-408. (See translation in *California Star*, San Francisco, March 13, 1847). Mariano Vallejo, as in note 4 above, II, 11-22; and George Tays, "Sonoma and Vallejo," this *QUARTERLY*, XVI (Sept. 1937), 242-44.
12. Charles E. Brown, "Autobiographical Statement" (MS).
13. Mariano Vallejo, "Documentos" (MS), III, pp. 104, 105, 119, 193; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 71; Marian Lydia Lothrop, "Indian Campaigns of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo," *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, IX (Sept. 1932), 181-82.
14. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California, Being the Journal of a Tour in the Year 1846-7* (New York: D. Appleton, 1848), p. 336.
15. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 552.
16. Mildred B. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California, Counties of the Coast Range* (Stanford, 1937), p. 146.
17. Julio Carrillo, "Statement" (MS).
18. Mariano Vallejo, as in note 4 above, III, 231, 299; Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp 44-50.
19. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
21. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 720, note.
22. Lothrop, as in note 10 above, pp. 83-87.
23. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 722, note.
24. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, circular letter, Oct. 1, 1841 (MS, Vallejo Gantner Collection).
25. Nellie V. Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 123; E. O. Essig, "The Russian Settlement at Ross," *The Russians in California* (Calif. Hist. Soc., *Spec. Publ.*, No. 7, 1933), pp. 8-10; Platón Vallejo, *op. cit.*, No. V.
26. This field set has been lent by Mrs. Francisca McGettigan, granddaughter of Gen. M. G. Vallejo, to the Women's Auxiliary of the Society of California Pioneers, and is on display in Pioneer Hall, San Francisco.
27. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
28. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Around the World, 1841-42* (London, 1847), I, 299-304.
29. Mariano Vallejo, as in note 4 above, IV, 244-59; Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.
30. Mariano Vallejo, *op. cit.*, IV, 325-45; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 298-329; Tays, as in note 11 above, XVII (June 1938), 147-49; Lothrop, as in note 10 above, pp. 174-77.
31. G. M. Sandels, "The King's Orphan Manuscript," *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, III (June 30, 1926), 77-78.
32. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
33. Salvador Vallejo to Mariano Vallejo, Mendocino, March 13, 1843, "Documentos," as in note 13 above, XI, 342.
34. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 363; V, 759, Salvador Vallejo "... recklessly brave, and often inhumanly cruel in his Ind. warfare ... hospitable to early immigrants, though hostile to Americans. . . ."; Lothrop, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
35. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 70-71.
36. Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 284; Tays, *op. cit.*, XVII, 155-56; Sanchez, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
37. Salvador Vallejo, "Notas Históricas," *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 3. The Scottish merchants are not named.
39. Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
40. Joseph Warren Revere, *Tour of Duty in California* (New York & Boston, 1849), p. 91.
41. William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 29.

42. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838-1842* (Philadelphia, 1844), V, 209.
43. Enrique Cerruti, "Ramblings in California" (MS), pp. 51-52.
44. H. H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco 1888), p. 452.
45. Bancroft, *History of California*, *op. cit.*, II, 707.
46. Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, *op. cit.*, p. 349.
47. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
48. Nicholas Carriger, "Autobiography" (MS, in "California Pioneers," No. 6).
49. David Burris, "Statement" (MS, in "California Pioneers," No. 13).
50. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
51. Bancroft, *History of California*, *op. cit.*, V, 123-24.
52. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 72 and 78.
54. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 467.
55. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.
56. Bancroft, *loc. cit.*; Julian Dana, *Sutter of California* (New York, 1936), pp. 240-43; Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-81.
57. Madie Brown, curator of the Vallejo museum at Sonoma, writes that there are many deeds on file in the court house at Santa Rosa attesting to the sale of Napa Valley lands by Salvador Vallejo, many of which were made to members of the Bear Flag party. She feels that Salvador Vallejo was not always as shrewd as he might have been, recounting one transaction in which he sold a lot in Sonoma for \$100 in the morning; in the afternoon of the same day, the purchaser resold it for \$250. When Salvador sold his land, however, he did not lose it to the squatters.
58. Original lease in the Vallejo Gantner Collection.
59. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
61. Notice of sale, Sonoma *Bulletin*, Dec. 1853, cited by Celeste G. Murphy, *People of the Pueblo, or the Story of Sonoma* (Sonoma, California, 1935), pp. 205-206.
62. Original MS in the Vallejo Gantner Collection.
63. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo to Salvador Vallejo, Sonoma [1855]; and Salvador Vallejo to Mariano, Napa, October [?], 1855 (original MSS in the Vallejo Gantner Collection).
64. Salvador Vallejo, "Notas Históricas," *op. cit.*, p. 97.
65. Cerruti, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25; Felipe Fierro, "The Late Salvador Vallejo," *Alta California*, Feb. 20, 1876.
66. Ignacio Vallejo to U.S. war department, Napa, Dec. 29, 1897 (original MS in the Vallejo Gantner Collection).
67. Cerruti, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.
70. Salvador Vallejo, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
71. Mariano G. Vallejo, memorandum (original MS at Vallejo State Park and Museum, Sonoma; copy in Vallejo Gantner Collection).