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**EXPEDITIONS TO THE INTERIOR
OF CALIFORNIA**

CENTRAL VALLEY, 1820-1840

BY

S. F. COOK

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INTRODUCTION

In a previous study (Cook 1960), the documentary sources for the Spanish expeditions to the interior valley of California have been reproduced in the form of translations from 1776 to approximately the year 1820. The present article represents a compilation of the same type of records for the period 1820 to 1840.

In this period the character of the written accounts changes. The primary feature of the earlier epoch was the elaborately organized clerico-military expedition which undertook exploration together with disciplinary action against fugitive neophytes and which was described carefully in formal reports. The later years see numerous raids on a large or a small scale penetrating the valley. Some had, some had not, official sanction, but few left complete records. We must therefore depend upon a host of scattered items, brief reports, letters, and even reminiscences from years long after the event. To organize this material for presentation is difficult and there are few major documents.

To form nuclei around which the subject matter may be arranged, it is necessary to utilize topics of interest rather than single documents.

Five topics are thus selected, and are intended to cover with reasonable thoroughness the life of the natives of the San Joaquin Valley during the two decades 1820 to 1840. First we look at the repercussions of the abortive uprising at Purisima Mission in 1824. Second we follow the interesting trading operations carried on by the Mojave and Colorado River tribes through the valley with the coast tribes. Third is an account of the bloody campaigns waged against the tribes on the Mokelumne and Stanislaus rivers by Sanchez and Vallejo. Fourth is a compendium of minor raids and campaigns conducted by soldiers and civilians against the interior natives. Finally there is presented a series of personal accounts, diaries, and recollections, depicting the personal aspects of the struggle between the white man and the red.

I. THE PURISIMA REBELLION

On Sunday, February 21, 1824, the neophytes at Santa Ynez and Purisima Missions, without previous warning, revolted, destroyed property and inflicted several casualties. The rebellion, generated by no ascertainable good cause, was speedily crushed through the agency of presidial troops and civilian militia, and retribution was meted out to the offenders. The details can be read in H. H. Bancroft (History of California, Vol. II, pp. 528 ff.) and elsewhere.

On Monday, February 22, the revolt spread to the mission at Santa Barbara where the alarmed and excited neophytes took up arms under a leader known as Andrés. The troops under Captain de la Guerra intervened and after a rather sanguinary skirmish order was restored. However the majority of the Christian Indians, now thoroughly frightened, gave way to panic and in a body deserted their homes at the mission and took to the hills behind the town. They were speeded on their way by the soldiers, who massacred every Indian they could find.

The fugitives remained in the hills nearly a week refusing to return, despite the earnest exhortations of the local missionaries. Finally they proceeded across the mountains and settled down among the heathen villages surrounding Buenavista Lake, southwest of Bakersfield.

It became necessary to recapture the fugitives, not only to restore Christians to their proper mission environment, but also to liquidate the serious threat of a general Indian revolt spearheaded by the southern valley tribes. Two expeditions were sent out and it is with these that we are here directly concerned.

The first was under the command of Lieutenant Fabregat and went out in April. There was poor discipline, atrocities were committed, and little was accomplished. In May Governor Argüello organized a well-managed expedition under command of Captain Pablo de la Portilla, who, with the aid of Father President Sarría persuaded most of the fugitives to return.

The documents here presented relate principally to these two expeditions. The Portilla report is the official record of the second. There is no formal account of the first. We derive most of our information concerning it from incidental comment in contemporary correspondence and later recollection. It will usually be clear from the context to which expedition reference is being made.

EXPEDITION OF NARCISO FABREGAT, APRIL 1824

Fray Juan Cabot to Governor Argüello
February 28, 1824

(Archbishop's Arch. Vol. IV:139)

[Misplaced pages: bound with Vol. III, part 2 and Vol. IV, part 1.]

Those whom I sent to Taché to warn the heathen Indians not to join with the rebels have returned from their mission. They say that the Purisima Indians sent two sacks of beads to persuade all the villages to join them in annihilating the soldiers. However

Taché and Telamé refused to receive anything; the Notontos took the presents but did not go. On the other hand the people of Bubal and Suntaché not only took the presents but week before last some of them from each village started out for La Purisima. It is probable that they did not arrive, for on the way they must have received word of the rout of the Purisima Indians.

Luis Antonio Argüello to Captain de la Guerra
Monterey, May 5, 1824

José de la Guerra y Noriega: "Documentos para la historia de California" (cited hereafter as De la Guerra Documents) Vol. IV:156-158)

With your letter of April 20 I have received the original of the letter sent to you on the 13th of the same month by Infantry Lieutenant Narciso Fabregat from San Francisco Ranch of San Fernando Mission. It concerns the events of 11th of that month with respect to the war party which Fabregat sent under command of Master Sergeant Carlos Carrillo in pursuit of a gang of rebel Indians. Having overtaken some other malefactors they recaptured 13 horses and killed four of the rebels, with the sole casualty of three auxiliary patriots wounded, two of them rather seriously. . . .

Meanwhile you will give thanks in my name to the above mentioned Lieut. Fabregat, and all the sergeants, corporals, soldiers and patriots who operated under his orders in the campaign.

Fray Antonio Ripoll to Father President Vicente

Francisco de Sarría
Santa Barbara, May 5, 1824
(Archbishop's Arch., Vol. IV:97-114)

[This document is a discursive account of the revolt and the subsequent expeditions. Much is personal polemic. Only those portions are presented here which describe (1) the movements of the Indians after the revolt was suppressed and (2) the Fabregat expedition.

He describes the Santa Barbara Indians, who did not participate in the rebellion, but who were thoroughly terrified.]

All the Indians moved out, leaving closed houses, furnishings, food, clothing, etc. They climbed up the dam creek [arroyo de la presa] among cliffs and gorges until they reached a spot where they felt themselves to be safe, but all within some three leagues or less. . . . (p. 102)

More than a week the wandering rebels stayed in a gorge in the nearby mountains, sending and receiving messages. I called them [to come back] but they answered me that they were afraid, that they did not believe they would be pardoned. . . . (p. 104)

. . . and thereupon they pulled out without delay for the tulares, suffering hunger and a thousand labors in the mountains, carrying the old and infirm, and leaving all my efforts frustrated.

It was resolved, finally, to send the expedition of

85 men to the tulares, under command of Narciso Fabregat, Lieutenant of Mazatlan. They arrived at dawn of the fifth day of their journey. A little previously, near San Emigdio, they met three Indians on horseback, one of whom was carrying another behind him. They chased the Indians but could not reach them. They caught only the one being carried behind the saddle, for his companion cast him loose. He is said to be from San Fernando. He was tied up and followed along with the party. After a while, because it appeared to the commander of the expedition that a man was lacking to guard the poor, bound prisoner, he ordered the latter to be killed with spears. . . . After the Indian had been killed, there arose such a wind and dust storm that they could scarcely see the mountains and could hardly operate at all. They had to get out of there and run without stopping till eleven o'clock that night. The Indians came very near capturing the cannon, ammunition and provisions and shortly thereafter occurred the misfortune whereby six Indians wounded three soldiers who were coming from the town with horses. This happened near the ranch of San Fernando, and one of the soldiers, Francisco Dominguez, died. . . . (pp. 104-105)

INTERROGATORIO, SANTA BARBARA, JUNE 1824

Interrogatorio

Santa Barbara, June 1, 1824

(De la Guerra Docs., Vol. VII:142-150)

[This is an unusual document because it gives an account by Indians of life among their countrymen who were being pursued by the Mexicans. It gives a glimpse of the valley expeditions from the native point of view.]

Interrogatory¹ put to Indians Zenen of Mission Purisima, Pelagio of San Fernando, Alberto of San Gabriel, and Leopoldo of Santa Barbara concerning what they saw in the tulares with respect to the Christians of the last mission who revolted on the morning of February 22, 1824. Also the statement of the Indian of this mission named Fernando Huilidiaset. Made by Second Lieutenant of this Presidio José Joaquín Maitorena, by order of the Commandant José de la Guerra y Noriega.

* * * * *

The Indian Senen having been caused to appear was asked: what did he observe in the tulares; how did the Christian Indians occupy themselves by day, and by night; was he there before or after the expedition; did they pray; did each of the married men live with his woman; did he know about the Russian; did he know about or hear about who killed Feliz and Daniel, and how; did they have any liquor, wine or spirits.

To this he answered: that what he saw in the tulares was that Indians worked in the daytime digging ditches across the trails by which horses could cross to the village; that he was in the tulares after the expedition had been there; that he did not see anyone pray; that the married and single men lived all mixed up and did what they wished with all the women, regardless of their status; that the Christian Indians

say the members of the expedition killed the Russian; that also the same Indians said Feliz and Daniel were killed by a cowboy from this mission, called Ciriaco, a man named Cristobal who was servant to the late Moraga, and other Christians, whereas no heathen Indian was present; that he had not seen them drinking anything, for they had drunk up everything on the way.

* * * * *

Pelagio declared, having been asked the same questions: that when he was in the tulares he saw the Christians doing nothing but sit in the sweat-baths day and night, except that in the day they played cards and the game called Estacoy,² at which they were betting considerable money; that the same day the attack was made the chief of the Pelones³ arrived, accompanied by many wild Indians, having previously sent a message to Andrés calling on him to fight against the troops; that he, the witness, suspected that they, the heathen, wanted to kill him and his companion so he fled to his mission; that he saw no one praying; that the married and single men, Christians and heathen, were living intermingled and were doing whatever they wished; that at the end of the day he himself saw the Russian alive; that he heard or knew of nothing concerning the death of Feliz and Daniel, nor did he see anything to drink except two barrels of water.

* * * * *

To the same question replied the Indian Alberto: that when he fled from San Gabriel he went to the tulares where he was sick for two days during which time he noticed that the Indians spent the whole day playing cards and estacoy and that they were betting much money; that having observed several Christians coming to the tulares with guns he got out of there and went to the village of the Pelones. While with them there arrived a message sent by Andrés inviting them to come and fight the troops. But only half of them offered themselves. The remainder refused and retreated higher into the hills, the witness with them. Having separated from them the witness went on to the Sierra of Quipaquis;⁴ that the Indian Andrés,⁵ as soon as he left here [Santa Barbara] and before he arrived in the valley, indeed while he was on the road, conspired with the wild Indians of the tulares to make war, sending them presents and being received by them; that during the time he was with them in the tulares he did not once see them pray; that when the Christians got to the valley they exchanged their women with those of the heathen without distinction of married or unmarried for they were all mixed up with one another; that he also saw the Russian arrive with the Christians; that in so far as concerns the decease of Feliz and Daniel he only heard it said that they died at San Emigdio; that he had noticed no liquor; that when he had reached the Sierra of Quipaquis Pelagio also arrived and joined him in going to present themselves at San Fernando; that they were caught and bound by cowboys at Rancho San Francisco.

* * * * *

The Indian Leopoldo stated, in answer to the same questions: that after the Indians of this mission [Santa Barbara] had gone to the hills another Indian of the mission, named Acursio, persuaded him to go and

¹For notes see p. 204.

join the others; that having thus departed he met them above Rancho de los Prietos and as soon as he got there, by order of Andrés, they took away from him his blanket, hat, jacket and wrapping cloth; that when he complained about this to Andrés the latter told him to shut his mouth; that, accompanied by a heathen friend of his, who was there among those whom Andrés had gathered together, he set out for the tulares; that three days after the witness got there Andrés and all the remaining people arrived and intermingled with the wild Indians; that on the following day he observed that they brought in cattle, slaughtered 25 steers and divided them among heathen and Christians; that he, having realized that they wished to kill him because he had arrived ahead of the rest, stayed with them four days and then took off for the rancho of San Fernando where the cowboys seized him and took him to the mission; that during the four days while he was in the tulares he observed the Christians playing cards all the day and most of the night and betting money of which they had a great deal; that the Christians exchanged their women with the heathen, and vice versa, likewise the unmarried girls were all interchanged; that while he was on his way to the tulares, before reaching San Emigdio he came upon Ciriaco, Cristobal and Juan Pipa, the first two of whom were carrying guns, and who, in passing, said they were going to meet the people [coming from Santa Barbara]; that later in the tulares Cristobal told the witness that he, Ciriaco, Juan Pipa, Fulgencio, Coguit and Ilono had killed Feliz and Daniel; he and Ciriaco had been the first, he had fired a shot at Feliz which missed him, then Ciriaco gave him a stab with a spear from which he died, and the others killed Daniel; that he did not see anyone pray, or even tell their beads; that with regard to liquor he saw one barrel which had been finished, but when he reached Rancho de los Prietos he saw two barrels of wine on which most of the people had become intoxicated, and which had been brought from San Marcos.

* * * * *

The Indian Fernando Huiliaset stated: that he does not know what motives prompted the Christian Indians to revolt nor who were their leaders because the witness arrived Sunday evening at this mission from San Buenaventura and already there were no people left; that the following day he went to the dam where the Indians were located to find his wife, and from there he went with them as far as Rancho de los Prietos in search of his household goods which they had taken away with them, and having recovered his property he returned with his wife to the mission; that from the site of the dam Andrés sent a message to the wild Indians of the tulares conveying presents in return for which they should come and help him to attack the mission, kill the Indians who had not followed him, and if they could to do the same at the Presidio; but that since few heathen Indians came Andrés did not dare to carry out his plan; that those whom Andrés sent as messengers, to wit Hilarion, José and Luis Catala, carried orders to kill Feliz and Daniel; that he is convinced they are the ones who committed the murders; that the Indians while at the place called los Prietos entertained themselves during the day playing cards with money of which they had a great deal; that they also had wine which they had carried from San Marcos and because they were getting drunk and wanted

to quarrel Juan Pablo poured it out on the ground; that also he noticed the married couples consorting with one another, but no one knew who was married and who was not for they were all mixed up; that this is all he observed during the time when he was with them.

Argüello to Minister of War and Navy
Monterey, June 11, 1824
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. I] 46:220)

[A portion of the manuscript.]

. . . for in truth, Your Excellency, the local terrain which they [the Indians] occupy consists of a swamp, or tule marsh, boggy and impenetrable to our cavalry, hence to the infantry and artillery as well. As soon as they experience any hostility from our troops they have recourse to retreat into this swamp or marsh into which it is literally impossible for the troops to penetrate. This is an obstacle which seems to me of no small importance in undertaking to subdue them by force without exposing the soldiers to the risk of being victims of their fury, for since the Indians are practically natives of these swamps, they traverse them with as much ease as those other Israelites walked across the Red Sea. To besiege them, and to make them yield from hunger is also very difficult, because their favorite food consists of fish, plant growth, tule roots and various fresh water shell fish such as clams, which these lakes and swamps produce in great abundance. . . .

EXPEDITION OF PABLO DE LA PORTILLA
 JUNE 1824

Pablo de la Portilla: Report of the expedition to the tulares in pursuit of the rebel mission Indians
Santa Barbara, June 27, 1824
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. I] 27:41-51)

Report of the expedition which, at the order of the Military and Political Supreme Chief of this province, was undertaken by Capt. Pablo de la Portilla, for the purpose of subjugating and restoring to their mission the neophytes of Santa Barbara who had fled to the tulares as a result of the events at their mission on Feb. 22 of this year 1824.

June 2. Today I set forth from the Presidio of Santa Barbara toward Mission San Buenaventura accompanied by 30 men of the Mazatlan Squadron under the command of Lieut. Juan Maria Ibarra and 24 soldiers of the Presidial companies under Cader Domingo Carrillo of San Diego with a caliber-4 cannon plus munitions and artillerymen from the militia to serve it. I had already arranged that the Northern Division, at San Miguel, composed of 50 men of both arms, with a cannon of the same caliber, under the command of Lieut. Antonio del Valle of the San Blas Infantry, should take its departure the same day in the direction of the tulares and with orders to join us at the place called San Emigdio, 5 or 6 leagues from the lake. Accompanying my division were Rev. Father Fray Vicente de Sarría, President of these Missions (who had come down from Monterey for this purpose) and Rev. Father Ripoll, minister of Santa Barbara mission.

June 5. We left San Buenaventura and following the valley of the Santa Clara River we reached the place

called Camulos, situated on its bank. It is a sheep ranch belonging to Mission San Fernando, and is 15 leagues from San Buenaventura.⁶

June 6. We resumed our march along this river as far as the place called San Xavier, a ranch of San Fernando, a distance of about 3 leagues. From this point, leaving the river, we directed our steps to the northeast. Following a canyon and broken hills we climbed a rather steep ridge named by the Father President San Norberto and under the crest of which we camped for the night at a little spot which we called Espiritu Santo because this was the first day of Pentecost. We estimated that the distance traveled this day was about 8 leagues.

June 7. We left Espiritu Santo and traversed rough hills, then a rocky gorge with considerable water called the Tinoco, as far as the place known as Los Alamos, a distance of perhaps 8 leagues. We continued through a plain, passed by the Salinas de Cortes, and entered Grapevine Canyon in the middle of which we made camp. We called this place Santa Teresa de Jesus. It abounds in pasturage, with land and water for crops and is fit for the establishment of a ranch or even a mission. It is 6 leagues distant from Los Alamos.⁷

June 8. We continued our march through the canyon mentioned, crossing and recrossing the stream which runs through it, as far as the exit to the plain, a distance of about 3 leagues. From this point we could see Lake Misjamin about 6 leagues to the north.⁸ The vanguard spotted an Indian on horseback. I did not wish to pursue him, however, for in this way we might encourage confidence on the part of the fugitives. We traveled along the plain, and leaving the lake on the right hand, we went toward the place called San Emigdio, a ranch of Santa Barbara Mission, where we met the division of Lieut. Estudillo who had arrived the previous day without incident. San Emigdio is 9 leagues from the exit of Grapevine Canyon and 5 or 6 from the lake, as I have stated.⁹

June 9. This day I decided to rest the whole division and sent a messenger to the tulares proposing to the fugitives that they delegate some of their principal men to come in the afternoon and have an interview with me. I emphasized the nature of my commission and exhorted them to put away all fear. They answered me that the people had all assembled and were favorably disposed, but since it was afternoon they would not come to talk with me. However since I had said that I was coming to the tulares the following day, we could talk there with mutual satisfaction. I agreed to their request, in order to allay their suspicion concerning the coming of the expedition.

June 10. I set out with the combined force, toward the place, called Mitochea,¹⁰ at which the Indians were located. The road was flat and the land quite poor, with no grass. A little before arriving at the lake I received word that the people had all assembled to present themselves to me. Indeed I found them outside the tule swamp, armed and accompanied by several heathen from the nearby villages. Having observed that they had hoisted a white flag (which according to previous arrangement was the signal that they would receive me peacefully) I halted the troops at a gun-shot distant and went toward them in company with the Reverend Fathers. Seeing my intention some of them came to greet me, among them one named Jaime who had some authority among the Indians. I delivered to him the pardon which I brought them from the Governor.

He said they would accept it and that they were ready to return to their mission; but they were obliged to call attention to the reasons which had led to their uprising as well as to their apprehension lest, if they surrendered their weapons, they would be treated like the Indians of Purisima. I realized immediately that they were possessed by great fear and so I undertook to relieve their feelings, using whatever methods were dictated by good judgment. In the afternoon I succeeded, when there was another conference with the chiefs. It was agreed that on the following day all the people would come out of the swamps, hand over their weapons, and join with us. Consequently I established the camp at the edge of the marsh, while the horses grazed on the green tule in the vicinity.

June 11. In compliance with the agreement of the previous day all the people came out from the lake. The pardon having been read at their request and explained in their language, was received with general satisfaction on their part. One of the Indians forthwith took up his white flag and I took another of the same color. We waved them together in the air as a sign of peace. I also ordered two cannon to be fired as a pledge of my word and the others answered with gun shots. With the completion of this ceremony the families made ready to cross over and just when the work was beginning, unfortunately there arrived at the place where they were gathered a heathen Indian and a neophyte of San Miguel who told them that many troops were on their way from Monterey to chastise them and that they should not trust the pardon. This news caused a great uproar and cost me much labor in convincing them that the troops of whom the wild Indian spoke consisted of the division of del Valle which was already with me. In spite of this I could not prevent many families from escaping to the heathen villages, although most of them brought their belongings and joined us.

June 12. We stayed in the same place. Several more families continued to cross the lake and built their little huts alongside the encampment.

June 13. This day was solemnized by singing Mass for it was the Sunday of the Holy Trinity. Several Indians brought to my attention the fact that the alcaldes had lost their authority during their absence and new ones should be appointed so that not only might they search for those still missing but also maintain good order among those returning to the mission. I acceded to their request and appointed Lazaro Huilamuit, Juan Pablo Aguilar and Andres Seugmatase. Subsequently they handed over their fire-arms, swords and machetes, but having pointed out that they had heard that the heathen Indians intended to attack and rob them on the road, they begged me to return their weapons for defense until they arrived at the mission. I found their request reasonable and granted it.

The same morning I sent out Lieut. Ibarra with 25 soldiers, the alcaldes and some vaqueros to scout the lake, bring back the horses stolen by the wild Indians, and collect the Christians who had been scared away the previous day and who, I felt, would be found in this vicinity. The party set out on foot, crossed the lake up to their hips in water, and reached the village of Mitochea, which is on an island where the Indians were hiding on our arrival. They went northward along the edge of the lake for about 3 leagues until they reached the village of Tulali where they found 50 armed men.¹¹ The lieutenant prepared to fight them

but they slacked their bows and surrendered. They were heathen of this village and had among them 18 Santa Barbara Indians. Fifteen of the latter were brought back to camp. The three others, with seven from the missions of San Diego, San Miguel and San Luis escaped into the swamp. The chief, on being reproached for the warlike attitude in which he was observed, for he had been notified in advance of the purpose which brought the party, answered that he had no intention of offending the troops. However three Indians from San Diego, who had arrived the previous day had stirred up the whole community. They proclaimed that they had known from San Diego that the Commander of the expedition was certainly going to deceive the Indians and kill them. This was the reason for taking away their weapons. After gathering together these people Ibarra began to retire by the same route. His party brought back 20 horses which they encountered on their journey.

June 14. I caused two parties of armed men to set out with the purpose of picking up those who were still missing. Both crossed the lake opposite the camp. One, under the command of Alcalde Lazaro went northward to the previously mentioned village of Tulali where 4 men were found and brought back to camp. The other, in charge of the forementioned Jaime, went eastward, and reached the village of Julala, 6 leagues distant. The inhabitants were armed and among them were 16 Santa Barbara Indians and their families. He [Jaime] succeeded in pacifying the former and on the following day returned to camp with the latter, having fulfilled my instructions excellently.

June 15. This day the division of del Valle began to retire. I remained to prepare for departure the following day and started some of the families toward the mission.

June 16. I began my retreat together with the rest of the people, having ordered Alcalde Andrés and 6 others to remain at Mitochea so as to round up 40 or 50 persons who were still missing and make certain that they returned to their mission. We traveled across the plain some 4 leagues and entered a canyon called Santiago at the mouth of which is found the village of Malapica, at present uninhabited.¹² Here we camped for the night at the mouth of this canyon, which is about 4 leagues long.

June 17. I decided to rest at this place both to wait for those families to catch up who had fallen behind and to give the horses a chance to recover.

June 18. We continued our march through extensive hills and a few small plains. At a distance of 3 leagues we crossed a stream called the Cuyam, and following through a sort of wide valley we reached Camup, 2 leagues distant from Cuyam. At this spot is found a spring which flows from the foot of a big cave which we call Corpus. We followed along the edge of a dry wash and at two leagues we climbed a sharp ridge whose summit is the crest of the mountains. From this point we began to descend and camped for the night at the place called Casitec (or by us San Pablo) one league distant. On this day's journey many people tired out, particularly old persons and women with children. For this reason I had Alcalde Lazaro stay behind to collect the stragglers and follow slowly with them toward the mission.

June 19. We left San Pablo, descending along the stream called Seguaya until we arrived at the old village of that name (which we called San Gervasio), having gone some 6 leagues. Here we spent the rest

of the day so as to rest the horses and let the weary ones catch up.

June 20. Rested at San Gervasio.

June 21. We went on down the creek about two leagues as far as its confluence with the Santa Ynez River. Then we continued down the latter 3 leagues and arrived at the place Cienegas, a sheep ranch of Santa Barbara, which we named Trinidad, where we spent the rest of the day.

June 22. We resumed our march, climbing the mountains by a rugged trail and in an hour were at the summit whence we descended by as bad a trail, or worse to the place called San Roque, one and a half leagues from Santa Barbara Mission. In the afternoon we continued the march and arrived at the mission with most of the people united.¹³ I went on to the Presidio with my division. Following this day the straggling families have successively arrived and at present there are missing only those who remained in the tulares. But I believe that as a matter of fact the above-mentioned Alcalde in charge will bring them back. The day after our arrival the designated weapons were handed over by those who came with the division. Those coming subsequently are being checked.

[This is a copy of the original.]

Monterey, June 27, 1824

Pablo de la Portilla to Luis Antonio Argüello

Santa Barbara, June 27, 1824

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. I] 27:51-52)

Reports having arrived with his company from the tulares with no special incident. He says that although the Indians met them with weapons, by means of the prudent methods he adopted he persuaded them to return to their mission in peace. When he gave them the official pardon they entered into the agreement. On the march back he left them their weapons for their defense on the road. They have been turning in the latter a few at a time and when all have been recovered he will give a complete accounting. The three swords which the Fathers took from the mission he gave to the three officers of the expedition, and the remainder of the arms are on deposit at his orders. Finally he says all the people are reunited, except those who remained in the tulares; he commends all the military personnel who accompanied him for having conducted themselves in a military manner and with valor and zeal.

Pablo de la Portilla to Luis Antonio Argüello

Santa Barbara, June 28, 1824

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. I] 27:54)

He reports that the families that remained behind are arriving daily by twos and threes, for some of the people are very old, some infirm and some have died. Those which stay behind will be noted; some of them give as a reason that they are gathering seeds in the countryside, because the mission has no provisions.

The weapons have been turned over to Captain José Noriega; . . .

Count of the people remaining in the mountains and the valley: Married men, 43; widowers, 27; bachelors of 12 years or above, 28. Married women, 41; widows, 14; spinsters, 10. Men, 98; women, 65. Total, 163.

There are in the mission 345 adults, in the island, 10, in the mountains and valley 453. [See note.]

[Note: There is a discrepancy here between the totals of 163 and 453 neophytes who were fugitives. The second figure is probably nearer the truth. Clearly the reports that all the neophytes who ran away during the rebellion had returned were over-optimistic. The normal population of Santa Barbara Mission at this time was at least 1,000 persons.]

Francisco Maria Ruiz

San Diego, December 31, 1825

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military. t. LVII] 18:156)

[The following description refers to the Portilla expedition of 1824. The quotation marks are from the transcript.]

Cadet Domingo Carrillo, by permission of Captain Pablo de la Portilla "made an exploration into the deep interior of Buenavista Lake, with 10 soldiers, at the expense of traveling a long distance by foot on land and by swimming and by boats on the water. The result was, first, knowledge of the interior of the lake, which had not been explored, and, second, the recovery of firearms, some horses and some fugitive neophytes."

REMINISCENCES OF RAFAEL GONZALES AND ANTONIO MARIA OSIO

José Rafael Gonzales: "Experiences de un Soldado de California" (pp. 23-25)

[This is an excerpt from a handwritten manuscript which contains the reminiscences of a former Spanish and Mexican citizen of California. The passage given here deals with the Purísima revolt and subsequent expeditions, the latter from the point of view of an eyewitness.]

After the campaign had been concluded [the revolt and its suppression] it was noted that numerous Indians from Santa Ynez and Purísima, with all those of Santa Barbara had fled to the tulares. An expedition went out, composed of a mixture of cavalry, Mazatlan infantry and citizens of the town of Los Angeles, in search of the fugitives who were with the heathen of the tulares. That expedition was commanded by Lieutenant Narciso Fabregat. It had a combat with the Indians but was unable to subdue them because of very bad weather—very strong winds and excessive dust. The expedition retreated to Santa Barbara. A short time later another force went out, of which I was a member. We were accompanied by Father Commissioner Prefect Sarría and Father Antonio Ripoll, minister of Santa Barbara mission.

We arrived at the tulares. We stayed a certain distance from the swamps for some 2 or 3 days. In this place we were encamped when one morning between 6 and 7 o'clock there arrived two Indians, commissioners or envoys from their people, with white flags for a conference. One of the Indians was named Jaime, the

other Francisco; both were neophytes of Santa Barbara and very hispanicized.¹⁴ They stopped about half way between the tule swamp and our camp, and from here went out to interview them the two missionaries and Captain de la Portilla who had come from San Diego to command the expedition. The conference lasted three days.

With the expedition were three other officers; Lieutenant Juan Maria Ibarra of the Mazatlan Company, Lieutenant Antonio Valle of the San Blas Infantry and Santa Barbara Second Lieutenant Domingo Carrillo.

Ibarra was a dark-complexioned man who had the reputation of being brave and energetic—he wore his cloak and his sword out there just as he was used to doing in town. On the third day of the conference (according to what Lieutenant Domingo Carrillo told me) the following incident occurred: Captain de la Portilla had inadequate words wherewith to express himself fluently—they say he was a very taciturn man. Ibarra kept walking around the conference and finally he went up to those conferring, the two Indians, the priests and Captain Portilla. Being a rough and profane man he burst out: "Carrajos!"¹⁵ For three days I have been standing here in the heat and the cold—if they don't surrender today, before dawn tomorrow I will start shooting them." However that very afternoon the Indians began to come over to our side. They were conquered by the good words of Father Sarría and Father Ripoll. Father Sarría said to them: "Come along, come along, for we have to sing the Corpus tomorrow." (During the revolt the Indians had taken away with them all the musicians.) That afternoon a great number of the mission rebels came over to us; on the following day the Indians put together an arbor for the function of the Corpus which was celebrated right there in the camp.¹⁶ Only one or two days thereafter all the Indians had come in and we all went back to Santa Barbara.

Antonio Maria Osio: "Historia de California" (p. 85)

[This is a somewhat flowery and inaccurate statement made by a contemporary, writing many years after the event and relying upon hearsay evidence.]

When the expedition arrived at the tulares the Commander wished first to explore a conciliatory approach in order to attract the Indians, but the latter had determined not to return to the missions and so expressed themselves. However the high regard entertained for the Reverend Father Fray Vicente Sarría by all inhabitants of California, together with the veneration of his many virtues, made it possible that by his persuasion alone the Indians should be unburdened of the fear which possessed them. With his influence and with assurance from the Commandant that past events would be forgotten there were achieved the return of the Indians and subsequent peace.

[There are other accounts of this expedition by old-timers who wrote for Bancroft, such as Doña Angustias de la Guerra Ord ("Occurencias en California," p. 14) or José del Carmen Lugo ("Vida de un Ranchero," p. 7). However, these are second-hand statements containing no new information. Hence they need not be presented here.]

II. TRADING THROUGH THE SOUTHERN VALLEY

Several papers have been published describing an active prehistoric trade in sea shells and other commodities between the coast south of Santa Barbara and the Southwest (Brand, 1938; Rogers, 1941; Colton, 1941; Heizer, 1941; Tower, 1945). There is agreement that one main route went west to the Gila River from San Diego and another from the Santa Barbara-Los Angeles area to southern Nevada and northern Arizona. The exact pathways are not clear but it seems probable that the northern branch of the latter route ran from the Santa Barbara Channel up the Santa Clara Valley, south of the Tehachapi and down the Mojave River toward Las Vegas and Needles. I can find no clear evidence that the Colorado River or Southwestern tribes habitually entered the San Joaquin Valley. Nevertheless during the colonial period their representatives apparently were showing up frequently at San Fernando and San Luis Obispo.

The earliest official recognition of such trade is in 1800 when a party of Colorado Basin Indians penetrated as far north as San Miguel. From 1800 to 1819 this activity continued briskly and involved all the missions from Los Angeles north to northern San Luis Obispo County. Evidently the opportunity for profitable barter was enhanced by the organization of the local Indians under the mission system.

Farther south friction and hostility developed between the Mexican colonists and the Yuma or Mojave. North of Los Angeles no serious trouble occurred until 1819 when a fight took place at San Buenaventura, as a result of which two white men and several Indians were killed. This incident is described at length in some of the documents which follow, although not all the accounts are included since to do so would involve unnecessary repetition of rather unimportant detail. Furthermore considerable documentary material is omitted on the ground that it relates not particularly to the Central Valley but rather to southern California and the Colorado Basin. As such it is beyond the scope of the present work.

After the San Buenaventura episode, which is clearly referable to trading activities, intercourse between the Mojave and the coastal and valley Indians was maintained only on a very small scale. At the same time a new commercial contact, if it can be called such, was being developed. The growing wealth of the coastal missions attracted the attention of the more adventurous elements in the New Mexican settlements along the Rio Grande. Representatives of this group—whether Mexican or strictly Indian is hard to say—began to enter the coastal strip. Their purpose was ostensibly commerce but in reality it was stock raiding. To run off the mission and civilian horses was much more profitable than to barter blankets for beads. At any rate, these horse thieves became a pest in southern California. The reason for noticing their activities here is that they consorted closely with two groups of California Indians, the mission neophytes and the local tribes of the southern San Joaquin Valley. The former were in turn bullied and debauched with liquor. The latter provided a base of operations. In 1833 severe losses were inflicted upon the livestock of the central missions from San Luis Obispo nearly

to Monterey. The events accompanying this episode throw light upon the unsettled conditions in the valley and the Los Angeles area at the time.

Up to 1845 the depredations of the New Mexican traders and horse thieves continued on a large scale, but the documents concerned relate specifically to southern California rather than the Central Valley. The excerpts given here are sufficient to illustrate the influence exerted upon the natives near and north of the Tehachapi Mountains.

CORRESPONDENCE AND REPORTS CONCERNING THE COLORADO RIVER INDIANS

Ignacio Pacheco to Hermenegildo Sal
San Miguel, July 2, 1800

(Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Sacramento, t. V] 54:464)

He relates that he received word from a heathen Indian, chief of the village near the tulares, that 25 heathen arrived there from the Colorado River, as is to be supposed from the many presents they gave of blankets and shirts of deer or antelope skin.¹ This man said he had come to the mission to bring these presents and show them to the corporal and the Father in order to convince them that he spoke the truth. He also said that they were going to come to missions San Luis and San Miguel within a month to ask the Father why he beat the Christians and made them work so much; also that they were going to send the Christians back to their native country and the Fathers and soldiers to theirs. He [Pacheco] is forwarding the blanket brought by the wild Indian, which cost him four pounds of beads. The shirt the Indian would not sell, although he was made good offers.

Hermenegildo Sal to Sergeant Gabriel Moraga
Monterey, July 4, 1800

(Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Sacramento, t. V] 54:465)

[Order to investigate the 25 wild Indians from the Colorado River. Not translated.]

Report of Gabriel Moraga
San Miguel, July 11, 1800

(Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Sacramento, t. V] 54:466-467)

[Report of the inquiry made of the Fathers of San Miguel and Corporal Ignacio Pacheco, concerning the Colorado River Indians.]

1. Received word from the Fathers that they had known from the mission Indians [the arrival of the Colorado River Indian] when they went to the village of Chacanes in April. This they confirmed in June.

2. The latter [the mission Indians] said that the Indian Tomanca, he who brought the blanket and shirt from the tulares, said that those of Chugualcama² informed him of the arrival of 26 Indians "from between east and south." They brought blankets and shirts

¹For notes see pp. 204-205.

of deer or antelope skin as presents and threatened the missions of San Luis and San Miguel with the annihilation of the priests and soldiers and the restoration of the land to the Indians.

3. Having been summoned, the Indian who brought the blanket said it had been given to him by Chigualchic, chief of the village of Chugualcama, 14 leagues from the mission.

4. There were 26 wild Indians. They came on foot and presented blankets and shirts.

5. Their arms were bows and arrows. They stated that they were coming within two months to deport the Fathers, soldiers and neophytes to their own countries, for they did not approve of chastising the latter.

6. The direction from which they came is that mentioned above, and they stayed four days in the village concerned.

7. Only those of the village Chugualcama understood their language.

8. The Indian said that the distance from Mission San Miguel to the village where the 26 strangers were staying was 14 leagues. He specified the places [along the route].

9. The corporal at the mission has been ordered to keep a close watch, to put two men in charge of the horses and have three animals saddled day and night in case of emergency.

10. After returning to the mission he found the fathers to be of the opinion that three trustworthy Christian Indians should go to the tulares to gather reliable information. They will be sent within 10 or 12 days and the result will be communicated.

Report of Gabriel Moraga (continued)

San Miguel, July 22, 1800

(Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Sacramento, t. V] 54:468-469)

[Information obtained from the Indians who went to the tulares.]

1. Having returned on the 21st from Santa Barbara he [Moraga] called today (the 22nd) on those who had gone to the tulares. They said:

2. That they arrived at the village to which the Yuma Indians³ had come and asked the chief if it were true that they had come to threaten war on Missions San Miguel and San Luis as the heathen Indian Tomanca had reported.

3. The chief replied, considerably incensed against Tomanca, that in truth they were here, where they came every year,⁴ to exchange blankets and shirts for beads. There had been no more than eleven of them. There had been no threats and the missions had not been discussed at all.

4. He [Moraga] said that he would go to the mission and talk with the Fathers and the corporal so that they would not believe the heathen [Tomanca] who brought the reports.

5. He said that if the heathen Tomanca shows up he will punish him or kill him so he will not tell any more lies.

6. This is all he has learned from the Indians.

Governor to the Commandant of Santa Barbara

San Vicente, September 24, 1805

(Calif. Arch. [Prov. Records, t. XI] 26:108)

. . . [concerning the] escape of two Indians out of the 42 from the tulares who arrived at San Fernando

for the purpose of trading; their movements must be watched; they are to be suspected since they are coming armed.

Governor to Commandant of Santa Barbara

San Antonio, September 12, 1807

(Calif. Arch. [Prov. Records, t. XI] 26:121)

. . . he approves of having sent to San Fernando one corporal and 2 soldiers to order the withdrawal of 27 heathen from the Colorado River who had arrived there.

Governor to Commandant of Santa Barbara

Monterey, June 21, 1808

(Calif. Arch. [Prov. Records, t. XI] 26:128)

. . . he approves the order that the corporal of the guard at San Fernando should not admit 5 Indians who came from the Colorado.

Governor to Commandant of Santa Barbara

Monterey, August 18, 1808

(Calif. Arch. [Prov. Records, t. XI] 26:128)

It is noted that when the 7 Indians, said to be from the Colorado, escaped from the stocks in which they were confined they were pursued by Sergeant Palomares with a party and one of them died from the beating which they received. He [the Governor] does not approve of the cruel conduct of Palomares with Indians already subdued. . . .

Governor to Commandant of Santa Barbara

Monterey, August 26, 1808

(Calif. Arch. [Prov. Records, t. XI] 26:129)

He approves of increasing the guard at San Fernando because 48 Indians have arrived there of the tulares and the Pelones for the purpose of carrying on trade.⁵

Governor to Lieut. de la Guerra (in Santa Barbara)

Monterey, May 14, 1816

(Calif. Arch. [Prov. Records, t. XI] 26:35)

Let him prevent the Indians, who came from the Colorado, from bartering cloth and dyes,⁶ and if they return let him punish them.

UPRISING AT MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA, 1819

Fray Narciso Duran [probably] to Governor Sola

San Buenaventura, June 3, 1819

(Archbishop's Arch., Vol. III [2]: 85-88 [n. s.])

[The second paragraph of his confidential letter.]

With regret I am going to communicate to you that which I suppose has already been reported to you by the Captain. I want to speak of the terrible event of the most solemn day of Pentecost, on which, after the sermon and after singing the credo, suddenly everyone ran weeping and wailing out of the church leaving only the white women and a rather small portion of the neophytes. The reason was that they heard what was going on at the guard house. What happened was that Saturday, on the eve of the ceremony mentioned, 21 heathen Amajavas from the Colorado arrived, and on their way

to my quarters to salute me they were stopped by the corporal, who forced them to go to the guard house. I knew nothing of this, being occupied with my devotions, but after prayers the corporal who was holding these visitors in the guard house told me about it. The majordomo Miguel Pico was present, and with no small emphasis I made clear the great risk they were taking with so little discipline in the guard house and the heathen in such numbers. Indeed I talked to them at length to make them understand with what care they should operate, and now I know I was talking from a prophetic heart. On the following morning they insisted again on seeing the Father, but they were not permitted to do so. During mass it is said that one of them wanted to leave the guard house and the sentinel gave him a slap and sent someone to notify the corporal. When the latter arrived with his son-in-law Felipe Rodriguez he ordered fetters to be brought for the Indian. At this point the Indians simply lost their patience. O! Holy God! what a stroke of foolishness and rashness! Your own sagacity will not fail to realize this in all its depth, and that the circumstances and lack of physical force demanded a different procedure.

Well, they caught the corporal and killed him. They did the same to Mariano Cota, a retired soldier, who tried to defend the gun rack. They took the weapons, after having killed him, sallied forth from the guard house, and arrayed themselves between the last houses and barns and the outside of the corrals. Here began a fight with the neophytes and a few white men, during which were killed Nicolas Factor, a neophyte of this mission, and ten of the Amajabas, who kept up the struggle to the end. Finally our neophytes drove off the others, at the risk of their lives, to the relief and security of all. When all this reached the attention of the Captain he dispatched Sergeant Anastasio [Carrillo] with 14 men. It was some time before quiet was restored even though they came promptly. He [Sergeant Carrillo] left here three men, and with the others plus two cowboys of the mission followed the tracks of the malefactors. He had the good luck to catch four, one of them with a spear, the only weapon they had at hand. They are still here because they returned completely exhausted.

Certificate by José de la Guerra y Noriega
Santa Barbara, April 18, 1821
(De la Guerra Docs., Vol. III:158-161)

I certify that corporal Rufino Leyba, of this company under my command, served in it 25 years, 11 months and 13 days, from 17 June 1793 when he enlisted, to 30 May 1819 when he died at the hands of the Colorado Indians in Mission San Buenaventura where he was in charge of the garrison.

Since Corporal Rufino was in command of the post designated when they killed him and since of the soldiers under his orders scarcely any were present at his death and that of the retired soldier Mariano Cota who accompanied him in misfortune, it follows that what I can say and to which I can certify with truth is that he died at the hands of the savages. In this everyone is agreed. But concerning the causes which gave birth to this regrettable tragedy I have heard conflicting reports. What I have been able to determine is that on 29 May the malefactors arrived at this place to the number of 20 to 22 on pretext of trading. Having forbidden them to intrude themselves

into the town, or village of the [neophyte] Indians the corporal arranged to put them up in the guard house as prisoners until the next day when they were to start back whence they came. This decision, which can not have pleased them must have given rise to their disorderly conduct, such that in the morning of the 30th (Pentecost day), there remaining only the sentinel at the guard house because the others had gone to the only mass at the mission, the Indians began on various pretexts to demand their freedom without much regard to the sentinel. This action, and some other movements which the soldier did not like, made him apprehensive and before doing anything else he told a small boy who happened to be passing near the guard house to call the corporal. However the messenger, instead of calling the corporal, called the retired soldier Mariano Cota, who, having been informed by the sentry of the restlessness of the Indians, struck some of them. Finally, seeing that they did not become quiet he caused the corporal to be notified who came immediately. But when he, the corporal, tried to put the chief of the savages in irons, the latter, certainly filled with anger, spoke to his followers in their language. They instantly hit the corporal from behind and gave him such a heavy blow on the head as to practically knock him unconscious. Although in his pain he tried to defend himself, he finally yielded up his spirit as a result of the multitude of blows and wounds suffered from his opponents. This is all I can say, according to information received, together with the opinion that the affair was managed by the corporal and also by the retired soldier with too little foresight and too much heat.

Father José Señan to José de la Guerra
San Buenaventura, June 1, 1819
(De la Guerra Docs., Vol. V:74-76)

[Another account, by Father Señan. It adds no significant new material.]

Certificate by José de la Guerra
Santa Barbara, April 18, 1821
(De la Guerra Docs., Vol. VII:103-105)

[A certificate of death for Mariano Cota. The account duplicates that for the death of the corporal, already given.]

Governor Sola to De la Guerra
San Carlos, June 2, 1819
(Calif. Arch. [Provincial State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. XLIX] 17:219)

Acknowledges receipt of his letter of 30 May, of another from Father José Señan of the same date relating the disaster which occurred at San Buenaventura on the same day during mass.

Some Colorado Indians arrived at the mission the 29th and the 30th killed Rufino Leyba, Mariano Cota, and neophyte Nicolas.

The Governor says that those Indians came only to do their bartering and have social relations with the neophytes of these missions. It is necessary not to allow them to stay there but to conduct them to the presidio and send them off with the warning that they are not to return.

He approves of the sortie of Sergeant Anastasio Carrillo with 12 infantrymen, two artillerymen, the

2-pounder mortar, and ammunition, in an attempt to capture the culprits.

Governor Sola to De la Guerra

San Carlos, June 6, 1819

(Calif. Arch. [Provincial State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. XLIX] 17:220)

. . . Orders that the 4 prisoners taken by Sergeant Anastasio Carrillo be maintained at the Presidio of Santa Barbara well guarded until a Spanish ship arrives which can take them out of this province.

Governor Sola to De la Guerra

San Carlos, June 21, 1819

(Calif. Arch. [Provincial State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. XLIX] 17:221)

. . . He approves that the 4 Indians be put at hard labor. He asks information if the other 6, who ran away with these from San Buenaventura, were killed or wounded. The first communication from de la Guerra said that "of the 21 which there were, 11 were killed, and 10 escaped." Father Señan in his letter of the 3rd inst. said that 10 were killed. . . .

José Maria Estudillo to Governor Sola

San Diego, March 24, 1821

(Calif. Arch. [Provincial State Papers, t. XX] 13:290-291)

[Interrogatory⁷ given to the four Amajaba Indians captured by Sergeant Anastasio Carrillo . . . etc.]

Declaration of Indian Mactajacuapacha

1. Question by interpreter: What is the name of the chief and the village from which they came.

Answer: He said that the chief is called Cagueay-paya and the village Abajachime, and the nation Amajabas, on the banks of the Colorado River and on both sides.

2. Question: Let him tell the number, more or less, of the Indians in his village.

Answer: He said that it is considerable, that he does not know how many there might be, but the nation is divided into 16 villages, each one with its chief, the number of each of which is considerable; but he can not say exactly how large.

3. Question: Let him say how many days would be the distance from this mission of San Buenaventura to his village, by horse and on foot.

Answer: He said that for the first [horseback] it would take fourteen days, and for the second, fifteen—and this would refer to those who rode hard from departure to arrival at this mission. The trip is very bad, because the land is arid, as well as difficult, and is very hard going.

4. Question: For what purpose did they come to San Buenaventura and how many set out together to come here.

Answer: He said that the reason why his fellow-countrymen came was to barter beads and old blankets with the Christian Indians as on other occasions they have done both here and at San Fernando. They were coming not only there but also to the Presidio [at Santa Barbara] because they liked this territory very much. The same persons arrived as departed from their country and they reached this mission without anyone's having fallen behind. No arms were carried.

[The remaining questions deal first with the actual attack at the guard house. This aspect is covered by the other accounts rendered. The final questions concern affairs at home along the Colorado River. The answers are of much interest for the ethnography of the Mojave in their own habitat. They have, however, no bearing on either trade or events in the Central Valley. They are therefore omitted here.]

Declaration of Indian Tactucuvira

1. Question: As above.

Answer: He said that he was called Tactucuvira, his chief Nipocasco and his village Tapsu, higher up than the previous village, on the near bank of the Colorado. The general name is Amajabas.

2. Question: As above.

Answer: He said that it [the number of people] is great and for this reason he can not say exactly how many. The nation is quite large and includes several villages, each with its chief.

3. Question: As above.

Answer: He said that by horse it would take fourteen days and on foot sixteen. The land they crossed is not very bad but is quite arid and half of it is difficult or is very hard going. There are not more than four water holes, which they opened up, and these had little water and dried out immediately.

4. Question: As above.

Answer: He said they came to trade in the mission with the Christian Indians, and receive beads, light rope and frezadas in return for red ochre, and tirutas.⁸ They left home with twenty persons, with no weapons, and the same individuals arrived at the mission.

[The remaining questions were as for the first witness.]

[The document is truncated. A portion of the testimony of the third witness is given but the answers almost exactly duplicate those of the first two witnesses.]

José Maria Estudillo to Governor Sola

San Diego, March 24, 1821

(Calif. Arch. [Provincial State Papers, t. XX] 13:290-291)

The provision is very wise to wall the missions of San Fernando and San Gabriel so as to ward off the attacks of the savage Indians and also to prevent all trade and communication between the heathen of the tularas and the tribes of the Colorado. These Colorado Indians have never penetrated further than the villages of Buenavista Lake where he [Estudillo] has seen them come to sell or trade their blankets, which they call tirutas, and cotton sheets⁹ for beads and blankets of local production.

José Ramon Antonio Valdes: Memorias (pp. 10-13)¹⁰

I forgot to say that on May 29, 1819 I was at this mission of San Buenaventura in order to hear the Mass of the Holy Ghost on the morning of the 30th, for I was working temporarily at the neighboring Rancho del Conejo belonging to Don José de Jesus Rodríguez. That day there arrived some 21 Amajahuas, Indians from the region of the Colorado River, to sell their heavy, very well-woven blankets which we called here tirutas. They were not armed, as I saw very well, and I am convinced that they did not harbor

hostile intentions. The corporal provided them with fire, as was always the custom, so that they might warm themselves a little and so that they might stay where they were to sleep. The corporal wanted to prevent them from going to the village to bother the mission Indians or cause other damage. And indeed the Amajahuas slept there at the guard house that night under the oversight of the sentry.

On the following morning a white soldier, named Luciano Feliz belonging to the same garrison, asked them for a tiruta but they replied that they could not give him one because the blankets were for sale. There the matter rested for some time until we were all at Mass. Then the Indians became disturbed because Luciano Feliz, as a soldier of the guard, insisted that they had to give him a blanket, and went so far as to try to take one away from them. At this they became extremely angry and took away from him the blanket he had seized. At this juncture word reached the corporal, who was in church. He and Mariano Cota (a retired soldier who was on temporary duty) set out to see what was going on with the Indians and what caused them to riot. When the corporal perceived that the infuriated Indians were breaking into the guard house he went up to them to pacify them—and Luciano Feliz, the cause of all the trouble, cleared out and took off for Santa Barbara. Corporal Leyva, seeing that he could not quiet the Indians drew his sword to subdue them by force. Thereupon one of the Indians struck him a blow on the head with a club while another seized his sword and stuck him through with it from side to side.

Mariano Cota who was inside the guard room, having gone there to protect the weapons rack, was fighting with most or all of the Indians. With a lance he kept warding off the attack of the latter for they were coming at him from all sides. He fought like a hero but finally succumbed to the thrusts of the spears.

When we arrived Corporal Leyva and Mariano Cota were already dead, as well as a mission Indian named Nicolas who had come to help the guard. One of the Amajabas shot him in the breast with a gun and he fell dead.

Having done this the Amajabas gathered up the lances and ran for the corral at the corner of the mission houses where they made a stand. The other soldiers, Miguel Cordero and Nicolas Ruiz, who had been at Mass, sallied out to fight with the Indians who had already assumed a warlike attitude, jumping and screaming. Behind the soldiers came forth the mission Indians who had been in the church. They seized their spears and began to fight the Amajabas. The result was that they killed two or three of the Amajabas—the remainder ran away. In their flight two or three more were killed. Two of these jumped into the ocean; one of these drowned while the other came out of the water and was killed. The rest succeeded in escaping. It took some time, in spite of the fact that news of the event reached Santa Barbara very quickly, for people to come and pursue them, and furthermore the exact route of their departure was not known. So they escaped. In all five Amajabas died in the skirmish.

The whole trouble resulted from the unfair act of Luciano Feliz who tried to take by force what did not belong to him. Feliz is now dead [*i.e.*, in 1878] and God will have forgiven him. As a witness to the affair I must say that the Indians conducted themselves well, giving no ground for complaint up to the time when Luciano tried to make them give him the blanket.

The dead were buried: The Christians in the ceme-

tery. The heathen were dragged out by the mission neophytes and thrown in some barranca to fatten the coyotes.

José Rafael Gonzalez: "Experiencias de un Soldado de California" (pp. 3-5)

[Gonzalez was one of the soldiers who arrived from Santa Barbara. His account is sketchy and principally second hand. It adds little new information and is not worth presenting in full.]

INCURSIONS OF THE NEW MEXICANS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS

[After the San Buenaventura episode in 1819 the Mojave and Yuma no longer are noticed in the official correspondence or in the recollection of old Californians. By 1830, however a new group of troublemakers appears on the scene, the "Nuevo Mexicanos" or the "Chaguanosos" from the Rio Grande Basin. These adventurers, horse thieves, and traders directed their attention principally to the Los Angeles and San Diego areas but at times, particularly in 1832-1833, they carried their depredations as far north as the upper San Joaquin Valley. That they constituted a serious factor in the lives of both mission and wild Indians is shown by the letters given immediately below.]

Governor Victoria to Commanders at Santa Barbara and San Diego

Monterey, March 10, 1831
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. IX] 49:6)

According to information reaching me it has happened again that various persons among those who have been in the habit of coming to this territory from New Mexico are establishing trade relations with the wild Indians, Christian fugitives and actually some of the mission neophytes. They get together in the mountains or the tulares with the result that the latter [the Indians] rob the missions and ranches of horses to sell to the former [the New Mexicans], who then take the animals to their own country by various routes. I now suspect that such disorders will be resumed by those reported to be in the vicinity of San Gabriel and Los Angeles, judging by the repeated thefts of horses during recent days at mission Soledad. You should adopt measures to avoid similar disturbances in the area under your command and do so in the most effective manner possible.

[In early 1833 occurred an incident which shows clearly the involvement of the valley tribes, although most of the action described took place principally in Los Angeles and San Bernardino counties. Accounts of several phases of this affair are given below.]

Fray Vicente Pasqual Oliva to Governor Figueroa

San Gabriel, February 17, 1833
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXXVI] 19:422)

The introduction of articles of commerce into this territory by natives of New Mexico has caused extensive robberies, both open and concealed. They sell, they trade, they induce the Indians to steal animals to

sell and hitherto they have been tolerated. Now a party of citizens has gone out in pursuit of some who are known to have stolen 52 mules, 3 droves of mares, 3 burros, and 2 horses. They could not catch these persons but they caught others who were also carrying off stolen stock, the latter belonging to Mission San Luis Obispo. In addition they caught the leader of the first band, called Pando. They brought him a prisoner to the town; they let him out on bail, and the said Pando absconded. If Your Excellency does not find some remedy in these matters the missions will be left without property, as is already happening.

Fray Vicente Pasqual Oliva to Fray Luis Taboada
San Gabriel, February 17, 1833

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXXVI] 19:424)

Tells him that Antonio Avila with other citizens of Los Angeles set out in pursuit of New Mexican robbers who were carrying off mules and horses from San Gabriel. The latter were not caught but others were who were running off more than 100 animals from Father Taboada's mission. The robbers are in prison.

José Antonio Carrillo to the Governor
Los Angeles, February 18, 1833

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, Benicia. Military, t. LXXVI] 19:420)

On 31 January, ultimo, I received information that certain citizens of New Mexico were en route to this territory bringing a considerable number of horses and mules. My predecessor [in office] had not bothered with the formality of scouting them carefully at the time of their departure. For this reason, and on account of a strong suspicion which I had entertained at the same time that there was something crooked about this party, I arranged for five citizens of this town to intercept them in order to determine the facts of the matter. And indeed, after traveling 60 leagues from this town¹¹ they managed to sight them and examine their party. They [the citizens] came upon 200 animals, most of them mules [taken] without sale by their owners, or more correctly, stolen. The person in charge of the citizens immediately undertook to bring back with him the chief, called Juan de Jesus Villapando. He ordered the remainder, who were divided into separate groups, not to move from the spot until the law should decide their disposition. Actually he brought him [Villapando] to this town and I began to carry out the initial procedures for determining his offense. Immediately I ordered 15 citizens under command of the First Regidor of this Ayuntamiento¹² to gather up the booty and the others, who were conducting it [i.e., the stolen animals and the thieves]. However the latter, afraid that their crime was already known, kept on their march without respect to the order of the officer. As far as concerns Villapando, 10 days later he escaped from the prison in which he was confined, and in spite of all the inquiries which have been made it has not been possible to secure either his apprehension nor the direction in which he traveled.

The regidor with his party traveled about 100 leagues to the east without achieving his objective. He encountered only casually a few individuals, but these were of the same company and were driving a great

number of mules, horses, etc., all from Mission San Luis Obispo. They had come through the mountains of that mission with the purpose, certainly, of joining the first group.¹³ They [the animals] were brought to this town, as well as all the stolen livestock. I am maintaining them in safety, awaiting the decision of Your Excellency, and am beginning the formulation of the appropriate report. . . .

Antonio Ignacio Avila to Fray Luis Taboada.¹⁴
Los Angeles, February 18, 1833

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXXVI] 19:426-427)

Tells him that he went out the first time with 4 men, paid by him, in search of the horses of which he had been robbed. He arrived at the place where the New Mexicans were holding the livestock among which he found 75 mules, 30 mares, 9 saddle horses and 2 colts belonging to the mission of San Luis Obispo.

From this place he brought back the chief of the party, named Jesus Pando. After delivering the latter, and making a full report to the authorities, he decided to make another sortie. He went out the second time with people paid by the town of Los Angeles and some at their own expense. He went to the previous spot and found that the New Mexicans had absconded. The party kept on further and caught up with a few persons who made armed resistance. However they were captured and brought to Los Angeles with all the horses they had with them. The men are well guarded and the animals of San Luis Obispo will be at the disposition of Father Taboada as soon as authorized by the Jefe Politico. Meanwhile he is keeping the animals, maintaining them at the expense of the mission, but he wants to get rid of them as soon as possible in order to go in search of his own stock.

The prisoners have stated that they took these horses from San Luis by way of Santa Margarita to the tulares. Accused of carrying them off without buying them the prisoners replied that the purchase had been arranged by a certain Salazar, and under its terms they could dispose of all the horses they had. Lucas, the corporal, and Coronado had actually made the sale, assuring them that "if anyone were to complain about that transaction to the Father himself they could show him the bill of sale."¹⁵

He has permission from the alcalde to make another sortie and will carry it out if he can get enough men to go with him, for the prisoners say that out there are many horses, and he is concerned to recapture his own.

This same Salazar mentioned above is carrying off a drove of mules from San Luis Obispo. He would have followed in pursuit of them but the people who accompanied him refused to go any further.

Alcalde Carrillo to Governor Figueroa
Los Angeles, February 18, 1833

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXXVI] 19:436)

He says that in the valley of the tulares there is a gathering of individuals from New Mexico, associated with wild Indians of the locality, whose purpose is to steal all the horses and mules that they can. The Town Council [Ayuntamiento] and citizens of Los Angeles wish to send out an expedition of citizens, the latter to be "under the orders and directions which may be imposed by the Governor."

Alcalde Carrillo to Governor Figueroa

Los Angeles, February 18, 1833

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military t. LXXVI] 19:436)

Tells him that he needs the statements of Lucas and Coronado, neophytes of San Luis Obispo, in the prosecution of the New Mexican prisoners, and requests that they be sent to Los Angeles.¹⁶

Fray Juan Cabot to Governor Figueroa

Mission San Miguel, February 24, 1833

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXXVI] 19:417-418)

He says that since the New Mexicans have entered this Province to sell their woolens and buy horses and mules the mission has suffered a great loss in horses and 108 mules are missing. There is reason to suspect that they have been taken to New Mexico.

Toward the end of 1832 several of them passed by Rancho de la Asuncion, and from a single herd four colts and a mule were missing. A few days afterward others went by and took away a mule with a false bill of sale.

At the beginning of this year others came down, and distrusting them, the Father ordered an alcalde¹⁷ to accompany them beyond the jurisdiction but when he met them they had already seized two horses. After taking these out of the jurisdiction they returned 1-1/2 leagues to retrieve half a barrel of wine and three serapes which they had sold to the cowboys on their up-trip. Furthermore they took 2 mules and 4 saddle horses, and when the majordomo went to Monterey a few days ago, between San Antonio and La Soledad he took away from another two more mules.

These gentlemen know very well that they are not allowed to buy from the Indians, for in their circumstances their goods are community property, as would be the case among members of a family.

Those persons called traders never go up or come down without spirits and wine with which they make the Indians intoxicated, causing much trouble to the missionaries. The same individual from whom the

majordomo took the two mules some days ago got the herdsman of the horses drunk. The horse threw the herdsman who broke two ribs and suffered other damage. Several Indians who were working the wheat crop also got drunk.

He asks that some remedy be sought for these evils, which have become intolerable.

February 26, 1833 [also other letters]

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXXVI] 19:418)

[The Governor authorizes an expedition to suppress the New Mexican raiders.]

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXXVI] 19: 434, 435)

[The Governor of California writes, protesting, to the Governor of New Mexico. Nothing came of either the expedition or the protest.]

Juan Avila: "Notas Californias" (pp. 9-10)

[This is a very brief account by the son of Antonio Ignacio Avila. He personally delivered the recovered stock to the mission of San Luis Obispo. No new facts are presented.]

Comandante Sola to commanders of garrisons

Santa Barbara, April 3, 1834

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXXXVIII] 20:495)

Various individuals of the New Mexican party which came to this territory under the command of Don José Antonio Aveita have branched off to enter the tulares, on the pretext that they wished to follow the road to the town of San José. ". . . and as these persons are the ones primarily responsible for inducing the wild Indians to steal they should be prevented from reaching that point [i.e., San José] for they have no real business. They should be made to go to the town of Los Angeles and join the above-mentioned Aveita. . . ."

III. SANCHEZ, VALLEJO, ESTANISLAO

The northern valley Yokuts, and the peoples of the delta had been subjugated and missionized by the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century. By 1820 the Bolbones, the Julpunes, the Passassimas and the Taulamnes disappear from the records. The zone of active contact between the Ibero-Californians and the native inhabitants of the interior moves eastward, beyond the San Joaquin River and the delta to the lower courses of the lateral affluents, a region inhabited by the Plains Miwok, the northern Sierra Miwok, and possibly some residual Yokuts. Their homes extended along the Cosumnes, the Mokelumne, the Stanislaus, and the Tuolumne rivers from the Central Valley axis into the lower foothills.

By 1820 the character of Spanish—or as it now was, Mexican—penetration of the interior had changed. There was no pretense of conversion or exploration. The motive was purely military. This shift of emphasis was due to several factors, two of which were of outstanding significance. First, the number of absconding neophytes from the northern missions had grown to sensational proportions. These Indians carried their mission experience and knowledge of the white man's psychology and technical skills with them to the still unconquered tribes. Second, the wild natives of the interior had by now acquired the horse. As a result their mobility and their power on the military offensive was enormously increased.

The native groups mentioned above took full advantage of these changes. They not only formed a hard core of resistance to further encroachment upon their territory, but also they began to mount a counteroffensive which carried them into the home region of the whites in the coast ranges. A threat developed not only to the prestige but also to the property and lives of the white settlers, a threat that had to be liquidated by force of arms. Thus arose a real Indian war, which culminated in solid, pitched battles. Numerous and varying accounts of these events are given in the documents translated below.

The struggle, as it has come down to us in the records, passed through three crises. The first occurred in 1819 when Sergeant José Sanchez pursued horse thieves to their villages on the Mokelumne River. The second arose in 1826 when Sanchez again conducted a punitive expedition, this time to the Cosumnes River. The third and critical phase was in 1829 when both Sanchez and General—then Alférez (Ensign)—Vallejo, on the one hand, and the Indian leader Estanislao, on the other, fought each other to a standstill along the Stanislaus River.

José Antonio Sanchez was a typical Spanish-Mexican Indian fighter. He was born in Sinaloa about 1775 and is first known in California as a soldier of the San Francisco Company in 1791. He was a sergeant in 1806 and Alférez in 1827. After participating in some twenty Indian campaigns he retired in 1836 and died in 1843. Bancroft (*History of California*, Vol. V, p. 710) thus characterizes him: "He was a good man, of known honesty and valor, but very ignorant and unfit for promotion." Bancroft may have been somewhat hypercritical, for Sanchez rose during his career from private to the commissioned ranks. Nevertheless it is clear

from the record that in 1829 Sanchez' ability was not equal to the emergency, however competent he may have been for routine operations.

Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo needs no extended biographical sketch. Born in 1807 at Monterey, he lived a long and active life in California (died 1890). Of good family and assured social status he rose phenomenally in the military service to enjoy the rank of General. He was prominent in politics, and was highly regarded by the Americans subsequent to 1848. One of his earliest military experiences, and no doubt his most bitterly contested action, was the campaign of 1829.

Estanislao rates no mention in the "Pioneer Register" in Bancroft's *History* or other compilations of early Californian dignitaries, perhaps because he was not a pioneer, perhaps because an aboriginal inhabitant was not worth mentioning in company with the distinguished riffraff who flooded the state in the mid-nineteenth century. George H. Tinkham, in his *History of Stanislaus County* (p. 33) devotes somewhat under a page to the man for whom the county is named.

In type, although possibly not in stature, Estanislao belongs with King Philip, Tecumseh, Pontiac, and Geronimo, as an outstanding Indian chief who fought the white man with persistence and daring. Like many another champion of a lost people he was, depending upon the point of view, a patriot to be venerated or a bandit to be execrated. To the ethnographer and the historian he is of interest as by far the most able military and political leader produced by the red man in California.

Apart from accounts of his participation in the campaign of 1829 we have very little information concerning the life of Estanislao. He was a neophyte at Mission San José and a member or son of a member of one of the Miwok tribelets, perhaps the Lakisamni, who then were living on the Stanislaus River. Whether he was born in the mission, or was converted in his youth is uncertain, despite the assertion of Bojorges (see below) that he was mission born. Nor would the fact be easy to determine, even from the baptism book of San José because Estanislao (i.e., Stanislaus) is a saint's name used commonly by the missionaries.

He first comes into official prominence in 1828 as the chief conspirator among the fugitive neophytes and among the recalcitrant wild Indians of the Sierra foothills. During 1829 he is recognized as the commander-in-chief of the rebels and as such he measures strength with the California military establishment. Subsequent to this date he drops from sight, to reappear only briefly in 1836. In that year he is named by a group of San José citizens who petitioned the town council (Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. IV] 29:124, August 21, 1836), and the council forwarded the petition to the Governor (Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Missions and Colonization, t. II:53:286], September 7, 1836). The citizens criticized the local missionaries severely for harboring known Indian criminals. They stated: ". . . the same applies to another Indian, named Estanislao, of Mission San José. This man escaped, managed to stir up a large portion of the wild Indians with whom he harrassed this settlement, and was defeated by

soldiers and citizens. On account of him there were six deaths among the latter and many among the Indians who perished. After all this blood had been shed this turncoat presented himself to the Padre at the mission and was pardoned. The Father paid no attention to the fact that the Indian is a criminal. . . ."

Similar sentiments were conveyed by the town council to the Governor, with a request for exemplary punishment. However nothing was done, and it is entirely probable that Estanislao, who was certainly alive in 1836, passed the remainder of his days at the mission against which he had fought so fiercely (see Galindo, *Apuntes* . . . , p. 24).

The only personal description of which we have knowledge is that given by Bojorges in his manuscript of recollections (1877). He writes (pp. 21-22):

He was a man of about six feet in height, of skin more pale than bronze, of slender figure, with a head of heavy hair and a heavy beard on his face. Of 33 to 40 years of age, he was born and raised in Mission San José and was employed as a vaquero, or breaker of mules. . . .

Is there a hint that in the veins of Estanislao may have run a drop of white blood?

TRoubles ON THE LOWER MOKELUMNE RIVER

We now present the documents, beginning with those concerning the troubles of 1819 on the lower Mokelumne River. In that year Sergeant José Sanchez made a heavy attack on one of the villages of this group, and, if Father Duran is to be believed, inflicted such heavy losses that no further difficulty arose for several years.

Fray Narciso Duran to Governor Sola

San José, June 2, 1819

(Archbishop's Arch. Vol. III [2]:83-85 [n. s.])

I find myself under the necessity of bringing to the attention of Your Excellency a request for a favor. This seems to me of the greatest importance to the general good of many persons and the particular good of this mission. It is known that a large portion of the horses stolen from the ranches and towns, as well as Mission San Juan, are in the possession of two or three villages due east of this mission [San José]. There are about 100 animals, particularly in the village called Muquelemes, where it is said there are 60 horses. This village, which I mentioned in the report with which I had the honor to present you on 23 May 1817, is quite formidable, for they say that it contains more people than in this mission,¹ and although the Indians usually exaggerate, one must not fail to accord this rumor due consideration.

Furthermore this same village is so impudent as to give shelter to numerous Christian fugitives who are their friends and neighbors. We do not dare to demand their return, for the heathen are very refractory and according to the account of our Indians are disposed to fight and try to kill the Christians, the soldiers, the priests and others who may go there. It is said to be the common refrain of the wild Indians that they are still unbeaten, for they have many bows,

arrows and horses. I suppose there is some exaggeration, but I do not entirely reject the story.

[Father Duran asks for an expedition of 12 men to instill respect into this village.]

Fray Narciso Duran to Governor Sola

San José, October 28, 1819

(Archbishop's Arch. Vol. III [2]:105-106 [n. s.])

I am notifying Your Excellency with reference to the previously discussed campaign which you were pleased to order at my request against the village called Muquelemne. Its purpose was to impress those people with proper respect so that in the future they will not venture to interfere with the operations required for the welfare of this mission, namely to recapture the horses raided from our neighboring ranches. The expedition has already been carried out under command of Sergeant Sanchez. It has accomplished completely its two primary objectives, for I can state with great satisfaction that the aforementioned village has been thoroughly impressed, and that 49 head of horses belonging to various owners have been rescued. As a result of this the entire mission is in a state of perfect submission and tranquility, and I hope in the Lord that for a long time we shall have nothing else in these parts.

These benefits have been bought only at a certain price, for the heathen at that village, confident, and acquiring skill and courage through their numbers, did not bother to offer explanations, but immediately seized their weapons and in the ensuing fight killed a neophyte auxiliary of this mission named Ignacio and wounded 3 or 4 soldiers. For this reason the latter opened fire and caused considerable damage. Although there is no exact information the report has come to the Commandant from some prisoners that there were 27 killed and 20 wounded. Not a soul was brought back to the mission. This had been my request to the Commandant and to Sergeant Sanchez for I am aware that this business is not yet finished [no está todavía aquella miez sazónada] and furthermore there are many other villages nearer than this one and even tougher.

Governor to Captain Luis Arguello

Monterey, November 2, 1819

(Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Sacramento, t. II] 54:244)

He will bring to the attention of the Viceroy the good success of the campaign against the village of the Moquelemes.

EXPEDITION TO THE COSUMNES

After the passage of seven years new trouble arose, this time on the Cosumnes. Little attention was paid to the incident by the Californian civil or military officials. Indeed the only mention of any consequence which I have found consists of two short notices. These are translated immediately below, and date from November and December of 1826. However it happened that during these months a British naval officer and explorer, F. W. Beechey, was visiting San Francisco. In the subsequent narrative of his voyage he included a quite long and circumstantial account of the affair.

¹For notes see pp. 205-206.

This account is worth reproducing in full and is quoted below. The report on the Cosumnes campaign written by Sanchez (and translated by Beechey) is not available in the original. Furthermore Beechey's own comment is of interest. It shows Californian-Indian relations from the point of view of an intelligent but not too friendly stranger and the reader should be aware of the prejudice of the British sailor against all things Catholic or Spanish. Nevertheless the facts as stated appear substantially to represent the truth and the over-all picture is a reasonably faithful reflection of the local scene.

José Bernal to Commandant of San Francisco
San José, November 3, 1826
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. I] 27:136)

Relates that, having gone out the previous day with a party to make a cruise in the launch, we learned on the way that the Indian Alcaesmundo had run away to the village where the wild Indians had killed the 21 Christians. This news comes from one of those who escaped from the battle. He hopes to get much more information because the people are very excited. . . .

Ignacio Martinez to José Maria Echeandía
San Francisco, December 1, 1826
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. I] 27:167-169)

[This document was confused by Bancroft's transcriber with some other document.]

I have arranged that the 44 prisoners, with all the women, shall remain at Mission San Jose, and the men shall be conveyed to this Presidio.

Excerpts from Beechey's "Voyage to the Pacific"
(Vol. II:23 ff.)
1825

Some of the converted Indians are occasionally stationed in places which are resorted to by the wild tribes for the purpose of offering them flattering accounts of the advantages of the mission, and of persuading them to abandon their barbarous life; while others obtain leave to go into the territory of the Gentiles to visit their friends, and are expected to bring back converts with them when they return. At a particular period of the year, also, when the Indians can be spared from the agricultural concerns of the establishment, many of them are permitted to take the launch of the mission, and make excursions to the Indian territory. All are anxious to go on such occasions, some to visit their friends, some to procure the manufactures of their barbarous countrymen, which, by the by, are often better than their own; and some with the secret determination never to return. On these occasions the padres desire them to induce as many of their unconverted brethren as possible to accompany them back to the mission, of course implying that this is to be done only by persuasions; but the boat being furnished with a cannon and musketry, and in every respect equipped for war, it too often happens that the neophytes, and the gènte de razón, who superintend the direction of the boat, avail themselves of their superiority, with the desire of ingratiating themselves with their masters, and of receiving a reward. There are, besides, repeated acts of aggression which it is necessary to punish, all of which fur-

nish proselytes. Women and children are generally the first objects of capture, as their husbands and parents sometimes voluntarily follow them into captivity. These misunderstandings and captivities keep up a perpetual enmity amongst the tribes, whose thirst for revenge is almost insatiable.

We had an opportunity of witnessing the tragical issue of these holyday excursions of the neophytes of the mission of San José. The launch was armed as usual, and placed under the superintendance of an alcalde of the mission, who, it appears from one statement (for there are several), converted the party of pleasure either into one of attack for the purpose of procuring proselytes, or of revenge upon a particular tribe for some aggression in which they were concerned. They proceeded up the Rio San Joachin until they came to the territory of a particular tribe named Cosemenes, when they disembarked with the gun, and encamped for the night near the village of Los Gentiles, intending to make an attack upon them the next morning; but before they were prepared, the Gentiles, who had been apprised of their intention, and had collected a large body of friends, became the assailants, and pressed so hard upon the party that, notwithstanding they dealt death in every direction with their cannon and musketry, and were inspired with confidence by the contempt in which they held the valour and tactics of their unconverted countrymen, they were overpowered by numbers, and obliged to seek their safety in flight, and to leave the gun in the woods. Some regained the launch and were saved, and others found their way overland to the mission; but thirty-four of their party never returned to tell their tale.

There were other accounts of this unfortunate affair; one of which accused the padre of authorising the attack; and another stated that it was made in self-defense; but that which I have given appeared to be the most probable. That the reverend father should have sanctioned such a proceeding is a supposition so totally at variance with his character, that it will not obtain credit; and the other was in all probability the report of the alcalde to excuse his own conduct. They all agreed, however, in the fatal termination of their excursion, and the neophytes became so enraged at the news of the slaughter of their companions, that it was almost impossible to prevent them from proceeding forthwith to revenge their deaths. The padre was also greatly displeased at the result of the excursion, as the loss of so many Indians to the mission was of the greatest consequence, and the confidence with which the victory would inspire the Indians was equally alarming. He, therefore, joined with the converted Indians in a determination to chastise and strike terror into the victorious tribe, and in concert with the governor planned an expedition against them. The mission furnished money, arms, Indians, and horses, and the presidio provided troops, headed by the alférez, Sanchez, a veteran who had been frequently engaged with the Indians, and was acquainted with every part of the country. The troops carried with them their armour and shields, as a defence against the arrows of the Indians; the armour consisted of a helmet and jerkin made of stout skins, quite impenetrable to an arrow, and the shield might almost vie with that of Ajax in the number of its folds.

The expedition set out on the 19th of November, and we heard nothing of it until the 27th; but two days after the troops had taken the field, some immense columns of smoke rising above the mountains in the

direction of the Cosemenes, bespoke the conflagration of the village of the persecuted Gentiles. And on the day above mentioned, the veteran Sanchez made a triumphant entry into the mission of San José, escorting forty miserable women and children, the gun that had been taken in the first battle, and other trophies of the field. This victory, so glorious, according to the ideas of the conqueror, was achieved with the loss of only one man on the part of the Christians, who was mortally wounded by the bursting of his own gun; but on the part of the enemy it was considerable, as Sanchez the morning after the battle counted forty-one men, women, and children, dead. It is remarkable that none of the prisoners were wounded, and it is greatly to be feared that the Christians, who could scarcely be prevented from revenging the death of their relations upon those who were brought to the mission, glutted their brutal passion on all the wounded who fell into their hands. The despatch which the alferez wrote to his commanding officer on the occasion of this successful termination of his expedition, will convey the best idea of what was executed, and their manner of conducting such an assault.

Translation—"Journal kept by citizen José Antonio Sanchez, ensign of cavalry of the presidio of San Francisco, during the enterprise against the Gentiles, called Cosemenes, for having put to death the neophytes of the mission of San José."—Written with gunpowder on the field of battle!

"On the morning of the 20th the troop commenced its march, and, after stopping to dine at Las Positas, reached the river San Joachin at eleven o'clock at night, when it halted. This day's march was performed without any accident, except that neighbour José Ancha was nearly losing his saddle. The next day the alferez determined to send forward the 'auxiliary neophytes' to construct balsas* for the troop to pass a river that was in advance of them. The troop followed, and all crossed in safety; but among the last of the horses that forded the river was one belonging to soldier Leandro Flores, who lost his bridle, threw his rider, and kicked him in the face and forehead; and as poor Flores could not swim, he was in a fair way of losing his life before he came within sight of the field of battle: assistance was speedily rendered, and he was saved. As Sanchez wished to surprise the enemy, he encamped until dusk, to avoid being seen by the wild Indians, who were traveling the country; several of whom were met and taken prisoners. At five they resumed their march; but neighbour Ghexbano Charboya being taken ill with a pain in his stomach, there was a temporary halt of the army: it however soon set forward again, and arrived at the river of Yachicumé at eleven at night, with only one accident, occasioned by the horse of neighbour Leandro Flores again throwing up his heels and giving him a formidable fall.

"The troop lay in ambush until five o'clock the next evening, and then set out; but here they were distressed by two horses running away; they were however both taken after a short march, which brought them to the river San Francisco, near the rancharia of their enemy the Cosemenes, and where the alferez commanded his troops to prepare for battle, by putting on their cueros, or armour. The 23rd the troop divided, and one division was sent round to intercept the Cosemenes, who had discovered the Christians, and were retreating;

*These are rafts made of rushes, and are the Indian substitute for canoes.

some of whom they made prisoners, and immediately the firing began. It had lasted about an hour, when the musket of soldier José Maria Garnez burst, and inflicted a mortal wound in his forehead; but this misfortune did not hinder the other soldiers from firing. The Gentiles also opened their fire of arrows, and the skirmishing became general. Towards noon a shout was heard in the north quarter, and twenty Gentiles were seen skirmishing with three Christians, two on foot and one on horseback, and presently another shout was heard, and the Christians were seen flying, and the Gentiles in pursuit of them, who had already captured the horse.

"It was now four o'clock and the alferez, seeing that the Gentiles, who were in ambush, received little injury, disposed every thing for the retreat of the troops, and having burnt the rancharia, and seen some dead bodies, he retreated three quarters of a league, and encamped for the night. On the 24th the troops divided into two parties, one charged with booty and prisoners amounting to forty-four souls, mostly women.

"The other party went with the veteran Sanchez to the rancharia, to reconnoitre the dead bodies, of which he counted forty-one men, women, and children. They met with an old woman there, the only one that was left alive, who was in so miserable a state that they showed their compassion by taking no account of her. The alferez then set out in search of the cannon that had been abandoned by the first expedition. The whole of the troop afterwards retreated, and arrived at the mission of San José on the night of the 27th."

This truly ludicrous account of an expedition of such trifling importance might appear to require an apology for its insertion, but it conveys so good an idea of the opposition to be expected by any power which might think proper to land upon the coast of California, that its omission might fairly be considered a neglect.

The prisoners they had captured were immediately enrolled in the list of the mission, except a nice little boy, whose mother was shot while running away with him in her arms, and he was sent to the presidio, and was, I heard, given to the alferez as a reward for his services. The poor little orphan had received a slight wound in his forehead; he wept bitterly at first, and refused to eat, but in time became reconciled to his fate.

* * * * *

CAMPAIGNS ON THE STANISLAUS AND TUOLUMNE RIVERS

We now turn to the campaigns of 1828-1829 and present the documentary material concerning them as far as possible in chronological sequence. The sources consist of some of the official correspondence, a few rather extensive reports written by participants to the military authorities, and two or three accounts written in 1877-1878 for Bancroft by contemporaries.

It is probable that the Sanchez-Vallejo expeditions were preceded by a rather hastily organized entrada commanded by Sergeant Soto. With regard to such a campaign Bancroft (History of California, III, pp. 110-111, footnote 53) says: "Possibly, however, the force of 20 men was sent out in 1828 as planned accomplishing nothing. Osio, Hist. Cal., MS, 126-130, describes such an expedition under Sergeant Soto, during which there was a fight; while Bojorges, Recuerdos, MS, 14-17, says it was under Corp. Pacheco and returned

without a fight, as did the second expedition according to Osio. In any case it is evident that both writers confound this entrada more or less with later ones."

I take issue with Bancroft. From the letter of Duran to Martinez (Archbishop's Arch. V [1]:202 and 204 [n. s.]) and the letter of Martinez to Echeandía it is evident that the expedition was authorized. The details given with regard to casualties by Osio, Bojorges, and Galindo make it clear that all three authors had the same expedition in mind, although Bojorges ascribes the command to Pacheco, and Galindo thought it was Berreyesa. All three authors, furthermore state that the next expedition was that of Sanchez.

Details of all the campaigns are hopelessly confused. Deliberate distortion, failure of memory, and honest error are bound to render several accounts variable. To attempt complete reconciliation would involve a major waste of effort since the minutiae of the campaigns are of very secondary importance. What is important is the general picture of the desperate and effective struggle of the lowly California Indian against a vastly superior military machine.

The broad outline of the campaign is manifest. In early May, Sanchez was sent out with a strong force, including an artillery piece, to subdue the combined wild Indians and escaped neophytes encamped on the Stanislaus River near the foothills. He miscalculated the strength of his enemy and his discipline was poor. The Indians were ensconced in an area of dense underbrush along the river, a terrain which they utilized brilliantly by constructing a highly fortified trench system. Sanchez tried conventional assault tactics and was repulsed with considerable loss.

Later in the month, now with full knowledge of the Indian defensive ability, Vallejo and Sanchez made another attempt, accompanied by the entire armed force of northern California. This time Vallejo approached carefully and so deployed his troops as to subject the Indians to a sustained concentrated musketry and artillery fire. He also started a conflagration in the brush so as to dislodge the enemy by the smoke and heat. After a fierce resistance the natives were dislodged and forced to evacuate their fortifications. The really decisive factor of course was gunpowder. With a moderate numerical advantage the Indians were able to bring to bear no more than arrows against a foe equipped with guns. The remarkable feature was the bitter defense they offered even in the face of almost certain defeat.

Driven out of their primary position on the Stanislaus, the Indians retreated for another stand on the Tuolumne River. Another engagement was fought under circumstances similar to those governing the initial battle. Again superior fire powder prevailed and the natives fled to the mountains.

The losses for the Californians were inconsiderable, but for the Indians relatively severe. Perhaps a couple of dozen Indian corpses were found, but many more must have been concealed. In addition several score may have been wounded. Nevertheless the Indian tribes were by no means crushed. They returned repeatedly during the following fifteen years to raid and harass the coastal ranches.

I present first the letters of Duran and Martinez in 1828, then the cursive accounts of Osio, Bojorges, and Galindo. Following these are certain official letters and the formal reports on the Sanchez and Vallejo expeditions. Finally come a few letters dealing with the aftermath. Rather than try to segregate the expeditions

in the manuscripts of Osio, Bojorges, and Galindo, I have thought it better to present each of these accounts entire.

Fray Narciso Duran to Ignacio Martinez
San José, November 9, 1828
(Archbishop's Arch. Vol. V [1]:202-203 [n. s.])

He reports that the neophytes of the mission have returned from their vacation² with the exception of those from the village called Lacquisamnes.³ The latter have declared themselves in rebellion and have stated publicly and without reserve "that they have no fear of the soldiers because they, the soldiers, are few in number, are very young, and do not shoot well." "They add (says the Father) that those from Santa Clara, from Santa Cruz and even some from San Juan intend to unite at this village with a considerable number of horses." Everything depends upon capturing dead or alive a certain Estanislao from this mission and a person from Santa Clara called Cipriano. . . . In view of the fact that the rainy season is approaching he requests the help of 10 soldiers under command of Sergeant Soto, if it can be done conveniently, to go out on a combined expedition from the two missions, this one and Santa Clara. . . .

Ignacio Martinez to Governor Echeandía
San Francisco, November 20, 1829 (1828)
(Archbishop's Arch. Vol. V [1]:204 [n. s.])

I have arranged that a party of 20 men go out. . . .

Fray Narciso Duran to Ignacio Martinez
San José, March 1, 1829
(Archbishop's Arch. Vol. V [1]:186 [n. s.])

Today the disagreeable news arrived that certain old fishermen⁴ were on the San Joaquin River, and were joined by the cowboy Macario with a companion, all with the purpose of catching a few fish. They were attacked by 7 of the Indian rebels on horseback, with the renowned Estanislao at their head, and Macario was relieved of the horses, his saddle, harness and clothing. An even more lamentable circumstance was that the companion, named Benigno went over to the enemy. The latter, when they let Macario loose, gave him a message for me that now they are really going to become active, and soon they will try to fall upon the ranches and gardens. . . .

Antonio Maria Osio: "Historia de California" (pp. 126-138)

In [the year] 1829 on account of the unwise measures adopted by the Government to prohibit the customary chastisement of the Indians the alcaldes behaved with considerable insolence and at the same time were uttering subversive statements.

As a result of this it transpired that the alcalde Estanislao with all his tribe departed from Mission San José in order to go and fortify their village, a locality which finally was given his name. Immediately the Reverend Father Narciso Duran notified the Commandant of the Presidio of San Francisco of this event, begging him that troops should go out in sufficient strength to bring back the fugitives. Indeed Sergeant Antonio Soto was selected, together with fifteen men who could equip themselves quickly. This sergeant, being one of the old-timers, merited the confidence of

his superiors, and although he had the advantage of knowing the language of the Indians, suffered from the disadvantage of being too rash for his soldiers, a fault which entailed tragic consequences.

On his march from San Francisco he had to pass very close to mission San José, where the Father held ready the necessary provisions for the expedition. As a result no delay was encountered in following the march to the point of his objective.

The village was located in the middle of a willow thicket. These bushes, interlaced one with the other by the great quantity of runners and stems of grapevines, made the area inaccessible even to the rays of the sun, not to speak of affording entry for fighting. When the soldiers approached the war cry resounded through the entire forest, and a few Indians came out to the edge with the sole object of directing at the soldiers such obscene language as they possessed. Especially were these insults aimed at the sergeant since they knew he understood what was said in their language. At the beginning he endured this because he wanted to try to get a conference with Estanislao. However the latter flatly refused to talk to him while at the same time he urged his followers to scream at the sergeant to their utmost in order to enrage him and cause him to enter the thicket. When he heard his name called together with the epithet of coward, and the taunt that he would come on in if he were a man, he could no longer contain himself. He spoke to the six soldiers in whom he had the greatest confidence and they all dismounted. He ordered a corporal with the remaining soldiers and the other horses saddled, to circle the thicket and continue until they reached a high tree which was conspicuous to them on the opposite side. Here he would meet them after he had made a passage through the middle. He had the good fortune to cross in good shape and reach the designated tree, but the soldiers who were going around were impeded by the extensive swamps which they encountered and had to return to the point where they had left the sergeant. The latter also made his return at the same time but was lacking two men. Furthermore the four who got back had been hit by five or six arrows in the face and head while the sergeant was wounded in the right eye. They had been under compulsion to get out fast, without attempting to disrupt the defense, because of the barbed flints that were sticking into them.

The Indians knew very well that their darts would have no effect if directed against the bodies of the soldiers because they could not penetrate the leather jackets which protected them. So, using the advantage of the very thick underbrush, their knowledge of the ground, and their invisibility at even six yards, they made certain of their shots. Despite the fact that several of the Indians were killed, it was useless for the soldiers to remain in action, for the wounded required quick treatment. Immediately the party set out with them, traveling with much effort because of the great pain which the wounded suffered, until they reached the town of San José. Here after a few days the sergeant died, but the soldiers were successfully cured.

At this time the Indians accomplished their first triumph over our troops and they solemnized it with great celebrations and dances, putting on exhibit the corpses of the soldiers who had been killed so that the neighboring tribes, who had been invited, might admire their great valor and bravery.

The commander of the Presidio of San Francisco, desirous of chastising the rebellious Indians, determined to organize a second expedition. However he was confronted with many difficulties in equipping some of his soldiers who had no horses, or even harnesses. For this reason there was delay in the departure of forty men under the command of Alférez José Sanchez. The latter, with the experience of having grown old in this type of service, was very prudent, at the same time brave, and for this reason it was expected that his expedition would yield good results. This man, in his preparations for the march took one precaution which was very effective. In the leather jackets which were used in the field none had ever had a collar. At this time, after so many years, he ordered one put on, and the result is described in the sequel.

On arriving at the Stanislaus (river) he noticed that in all the woods there reigned a profound silence, as if nothing lived there. Nevertheless he took the precaution of starting fires at numerous points; but this was impossible because of lack of dry wood to get the fires started. While these preparations were being made the Indians began to show themselves, watching from afar the movements of the troops, and especially those working with the fires. The latter were of greatest concern to them for they feared that the fire would destroy a parapet which they wished to keep concealed.

The ensign was undecided whether he could enter the thicket and reconnoitre it without exposing anyone to being killed or wounded. Finally he went in until he encountered a stockade of thick, strong timbers, within which the Indians could resist effectively, and did resist without being damaged. For this reason he [Sanchez] believed it prudent to retreat, while setting fires in all directions. He had the good luck to get out without harm, for the only damage inflicted on him was a blow from a spear in the neck which would have been fatal if it had not struck the collar of the leather jacket. At this point he ordered the return march to Mission San José, on the arrival at which place he sent the necessary message to his commander informing the latter of what he had seen and done. He pointed out that he had followed instructions by returning without committing an action which, in order to win, would have cost the lives of eight or ten men.

The result of all this was that the commanders of the Presidios of San Francisco and Monterey agreed to organize an expedition which would produce the desired results. From the latter point [Monterey] about one hundred men set out, between cavalry, infantry and artillery. United, at Mission San José, with those from San Francisco, some citizens of the town of San José, and auxiliary Indians who were ancient enemies of Estanislao's villages, they formed an imposing body in which confidence might be placed. At their head marched Ensign Guadalupe Vallejo.

When they arrived at their destination the Indians already had word that they were coming to attack. Therefore the Indians had prepared themselves well and were anxious to try out their courage against a larger number of troops than in the previous engagements. Moreover they expected to obtain good results from their method of fortification which consisted of primary, secondary and tertiary stockades, quite well designed to protect them from the carbine fire of the cavalry. Even though they were dislodged from these the operation could not be accomplished without the loss of several men at each stockade, and at the end

the enemy would reach a labyrinth of wide and deep trenches, communicating with each other, where as a last resort the defenders had resolved to die fighting.

The troops having been placed in formation, according to the plan of attack penetrated the woods to within a gunshot of the stockade, behind which the owners were waiting. They began casting darts. But the first discharge of the cannon, fired at them to open a breach, caused a lot of heavy splinters to fly out which killed several Indians. The second had the same effect and consequently the Indians were suddenly disillusioned. They found that the palisades mentioned were of no value for defense against artillery, for even though the shot did no damage, the splinters which were driven out of the logs of the stockade were lethal. As a result they lost confidence in the second and third stockades and abandoned those in order to go and wait in the trenches. When the troops arrived there, having passed through the stockades, and without knowing against what they should be on guard, it fell to the lot of a poor old man among the civilian auxiliaries⁵ to be the first to approach the opening into a trench covered with vines and branches. From the latter a spear darted forth which penetrated his side and he fell to die immediately.

The death of that old man was mourned by everyone, and to punish the aggressors more severely the order was passed along to give them no quarter. Among the Californians one hears often the adage "There is no wedge better than one of the wood to be split"⁶ and on this day the proverb was well tested, for the Indian auxiliaries anxious to avenge old grudges awaited only a favorable moment to throw themselves upon Estanislao and his men. When a good opportunity presented itself to kill and destroy they burst out like starving hounds and instantly began an atrocious massacre. The woods were burning. They dragged the hidden enemy out of the underground passageways, and finally destroyed everything, but Estanislao eluded them. In place of the latter they captured another Indian, whom, tightly bound, they presented to Señor Vallejo with an infinity of accusations of robbery and murder. They begged permission to execute him. This being granted one of them untied a piece of dirty rag which the victim had used for a loin cloth and blindfolded him. This operation completed, the executioner took rapidly two steps backward and shot an arrow with such force that the feather remained visible on the forehead while the remainder had perforated the skull. The unfortunate victim fell dead at a stroke.

The trenches they had dug for battle served them as graves. Some, known to be specially evil were hung by the neck to the highest trees with strips of grapevine, as an example to others, and in particular to those who escaped from that village.

Señor Vallejo, having accomplished the purpose of his expedition ordered retirement to Mission San José. As soon as he arrived he received notice that the Father had Estanislao hidden in one of the rooms of his house.⁷ He rendered a report of all that had happened and then resumed his march to Monterey. Estanislao was pardoned by Señor [Governor] Echeandia at the request of Rev. Father Fray Narciso Duran.⁸

[The remainder of the account has no bearing on the Indian situation and is omitted.]

Juan Bojorques: "Recuerdos sobre la historia de California" (pp. 14-21)

[Bojorques' account is badly confused. On page 12 of his memoirs he describes a "Campaña contra los Indios del Rio Estanislao," which he says was under Corporal Francisco Soto, but he adds that a number of American beaver hunters were involved—contrary to the evidence of all other writers. Furthermore the events described in no way coincide with those related by Osio for the Soto expedition.

On page 14 and following Bojorques gives an account of an expedition in April 1827 (no official records indicate an expedition at this date), which he says was commanded by Corporal Pablo Pacheco. It is very probable that this is really the Soto campaign, ascribed to the wrong commander. Pacheco may well have commanded some other party of which Bojorques was a member, or the date may have been 1828, instead of 1827.

On pages 17 and following the Sanchez and Vallejo campaigns are described, recognizably, although the order of presentation is reversed.

The first campaign mentioned (said to have been under Soto) is here omitted since it clearly is of later date and has no place in the present context.]

Another campaign against Estanislao under the orders of Corporal Pablo Pacheco.—We set out in the month of April, 1827 from the Presidio of San Francisco, to the number of 40 soldiers under Corporal Pablo Pacheco, in the direction of the Stanislaus River. The reason was that Chief Estanislao had refused obedience to the Fathers at San Jose, Fray Narciso Duran and Fray Buenaventura (I forget his name⁹), and further for the reason that this chief had seduced a large number of Indians of Missions San Jose, Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista.

After five days of travel we arrived at the river mentioned where we encountered the Indians camped on a high bluff along a wide bend of the river where there was a thicket of oak, willow and wild grape vines. This encampment had only two very narrow entrances within which the Indians together with many horses were gathered. Along the riverbank they had a strong palisade of split stakes and behind these a trench which was dug to the depth of their shoulders and from which they made a powerful defense. Corporal Pacheco immediately ordered an interpreter, who accompanied us from Mission San Jose, to tell him [i.e., Estanislao] to surrender the Christian Indians whom he had there. To this Estanislao replied that he would surrender no one, that if we were men we would come in and take them. He added many evil words and insults in Spanish and discharged a large number of arrows at our troops.

The latter retired, after firing a volley, for we were afraid the Indians would cut off our retreat from the underbrush, and camped a short distance away from the thicket. One soldier who had gone to reconnoitre the bastion received a glancing shot by an arrow the feather of which wounded his face. After the soldiers were reunited Corporal Pacheco took council with them concerning what to do. He told them he was ashamed to go back to San Francisco and report having accomplished nothing because the place where the Indians were located was inaccessible and because

the river was too high to permit crossing to the other bank. But the soldiers, seeing that in fact nothing could be done, unanimously decided to return to the Presidio. Captain Argüello, after being informed of the position held by the hostile Indians, was forced to say absolutely nothing.

Corporal Pacheco suffered the ridicule of his comrades—the other corporals and some of the soldiers—who laughed at him because on his first campaign he was impotent against the enemy.

A matter of two months after these events, at the orders of Captain Luis Antonio Argüello, Ensign José Sanchez left San Francisco for San Jose to join Ensign Mariano G. Vallejo, who arrived in charge of the Monterey company. The two forces amounted to about 200 soldiers, and, after joining the Alcalde Alvarez who came as auxiliary with some white civilians and Indians, may have totaled 250 men. They all set out together from San José Mission, equipped with guns and a small mortar which was carried by a mule, together with ammunition and provisions.

After four days' travel they came within view of Estanislao's camp. Intending to penetrate immediately the forest to which I have referred, they opened fire with the cannon and with carbines and the Indians defended themselves with their bows and arrows. Very quickly the Indians hit four of the auxiliary citizens, leaving one of them wounded so severely that he afterward died at his home in the town of San Jose. Of the Indians no one knew if any had been killed or wounded for no one reached their encampment. The Monterey soldiers dared the San Francisco soldiers to go in and bring out the Indians and their captain with their bare hands. However in the end neither one group nor the other did anything to the enemy, and indeed they rapidly retreated to the point from which they had started.

It is to be noted that the author of these reminiscences [i. e., Bojorques] did not go on this campaign because he was still convalescing from an arrow wound in his face, close to the left eye. However, all that he has dictated is from information furnished by his comrades with whom he talked on various occasions as well as from conversations with the civilians who went as auxiliaries from San Jose under command of Alcalde Don Juan Alvarez.¹⁰

Even before this campaign the company of San Francisco had gone out alone, under command of Ensign Don José Sanchez, with 40 soldiers and 40 Indian auxiliaries from Mission San José. This campaign was more unfortunate than the previous ones for the Ensign lost three soldiers. One of these was captured alive by the Indians who held him until after the troops had departed. Then Estanislao summoned the Indians of other villages so that they might witness the manner of his death. They hung him up by one foot to a branch of an oak tree and all began to shoot arrows into him. This poor soldier was called Andrés Mesa. After he was dead they took him down and burned him. Another soldier was killed by a bullet by his own comrades who were firing at the Indians on the other bank. This soldier's name was Ignacio Pacheco. The third soldier, called Antonio Soto, eventually died in San Jose as the result of an arrow which struck his left eye and passed almost through his brain.

On this campaign seven other soldiers were wounded, among them the author of these recollections. In this condition we all sadly retreated, going very slowly, so as to take care of the injured ones.

I forgot to mention that when we were just leaving

the thicket where we were fighting the Indians of Estanislao, Ensign Sanchez noticed that four soldiers were missing. Thereupon he ordered us to go back into the woods and see if we could find them. We found two of them on the way, badly wounded. One was carrying the other who was saying: "Don't leave me, comrade." They were threatening the Indians with their guns which were empty because the Indians were pressing so closely there was no chance to load them. They were helped by their shields and leather jackets, without which they would have been killed. When the troops found these two men in the woods they charged the Indians who gave way. Taking advantage of the respite two of their friends put them on horses and thus brought them out of danger. One of these soldiers was Manuel Peña and the other Lorenzo Pacheco.

Ensign Sanchez insisted on rescuing the two who still remained, of whom one was Manuel Peña, the other Ignacio Pacheco. However the soldiers would not obey, saying to the Ensign that if they went back into the brush more men would be lost. So he ordered retreat to be sounded on the drum. When we were entirely clear of the woods Estanislao with several Indians came out into the open and fired one shot at the soldiers with a gun captured from their own comrades. He threw his hat in the air, yelling in Spanish a multitude of obscene insults and mentioning some of the soldiers by name.

Ensign Sanchez conducted a careful and well organized retreat. When we arrived at the Presidio we never knew what story he told Captain Argüello. When we reached San Jose on our march to San Francisco news of our defeat had already reached there. The bells were tolled and there were many demonstrations of great sorrow.

José E. Galindo: Apuntes para la historia de California
(MS, Bancroft Library, 1877. Pp. 22-26)

A portion of the Indians of Mission San José had revolted and had gone to the San Joaquin Valley, at the river known as that of the Laquisimes. There they fortified themselves in the interior of a dense wood where they kept hidden the horses and other animals which they had stolen. An expedition of troops went out against them from San Francisco but not having been able to accomplish anything had to return. They had made a penetration into the thicket with the sad consequence of two dead plus two men wounded whom they were able to rescue. The one who had the good fortune to perform this fine service was Sergeant José de los Reyes Berreyesa (the same who was murdered in 1846 by those of the Bear Flag Party¹¹). He, when the expedition was leaving the thicket and it was noticed that four men were missing, went back in again in search of them. He located only the two who were seriously wounded and whom I mentioned previously. There were also others wounded in this combat. The Indians had a palisade, trenches and other defenses such that it was very difficult to attack them there.

After this expedition returned to San Francisco, another and larger one was gradually organized, composed of troops from Monterey and San Francisco, and I believe some Indian auxiliaries plus various civilian volunteers. I remember among the latter an old man named Tomas Espinosa.

The Monterey troop was commanded by Ensign Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and that from San Francisco by Brevet Ensign José Sanchez. Vallejo, as the higher

ranking officer held the supreme command, but, as he was a novice, and Sanchez was a veteran soldier with wide experience in Indian fighting, it was agreed that the latter should be in charge. Among the Monterey contingent came several men of proven valor such as Corporal José Maria Villa, Trinidad Espinosa, Salvador Espinosa, Nicolas Alviso and others whose names I no longer remember.

The expedition set out for the place mentioned, where the Indian insurgents were fortified.

Ensign Sanchez developed the plan of campaign. He divided the forces into three sections so as to attack at three different points. The attack was made. It was necessary to set the brush on fire, because of its denseness, in order to get at the place where the Indians were entrenched. After a battle in which a great number of Indians perished, the survivors abandoned the trenches and fled to the Sierra Nevada. Their chief, whose Christian name was Estanislao, fell into the hands of our troops and was taken with several other prisoners to San Francisco or Monterey—I do not remember which. What I do know is that they all were pardoned by the Governor and sent back to their mission. Estanislao died there of a natural death years after.

In the action against the Indians Don Tomas Espinosa was mortally wounded. He was taken to Mission San José and died either there or prior to his arrival. In any case he was buried there. There were several others wounded among the bravest of the troops but fortunately it was not necessary to mourn the death of any of them.

[This paragraph describes the cowardly behavior of two soldiers and is badly presented by the transcriber.]

I have forgotten to describe how Don Tomas Espinosa was wounded. He hurled himself on the palisade in spite of the pleas of his nephews. In a trench an Indian was concealed, whom he had not seen. The Indian fired an arrow which struck under his jacket and wounded him in the bladder.

There was also a corporal of the San Francisco company who received a mortal wound in the following manner. In the act of aiming his gun at an Indian, the latter fired an arrow along the barrel of the gun which entered his left eye and injured his brain. Soto died at San José.

Some of the rebel Christians returned voluntarily to their mission after the Father Ministers had secured for them the Governor's pardon.

Governor Echeandia to the Commandant of San Francisco San Diego, May 6, 1829
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. VII] 48:150)

He orders that an expedition composed of the largest possible force of troops and San Jose militia under command of Ensign José Sanchez be directed against the Indians and recover the neophytes who are being sheltered by them. These Indians, in bands, are committing depredations on the Christians, with murder and robbery. He is arranging for them also to take with them a 3-pounder cannon.

José Sanchez: "Diario de la espedición en persecución de los Indios sublebados . . ."

May 1. I left the Presidio with one corporal and eight soldiers of calvalry plus one corporal and two soldiers of artillery together with two arrobas of powder and 1,000 musket bullets. This day we traveled as far as Mission Santa Clara where we arrived at 8 o'clock in the evening and passed the rest of the night without incident.

May 2. I set out with the same troops for Mission San José. I had designated those who were to join me at that mission after the party from Mission Santa Cruz had arrived and after they had requested the aid of the alcalde [of San Jose] and the corporal of the militia. We were all to unite at Mission San José in three days to begin the expedition. We reached the mission at about 11:30 A.M. and immediately began to make cartridges.

May 3. Today Corporal Lazaro Piña and two artillerymen finished the cartridges. The party was joined by the Corporal of the Guard of Santa Clara with six soldiers of the guard, and two from Santa Cruz, seven militiamen and five civilians. Of these the five civilians and one militiaman went home because they had no horses for transport, leaving only six militiamen.

May 4. I marched with 25 cavalrymen, one corporal and two veteran artillerymen, six militiamen and 70 Indian auxiliaries as far as the place called the Pocitas del Valle where six beef were slaughtered for the troops and Indians. We passed the night without incident.

May 5. At dawn I arranged for a corporal and 8 men to go to the ford over the San Joaquin River to see if any of the rebel Indians appeared, to watch, and if so to catch them in order that no word of our arrival might be given. At about 9:00 A.M. I started with the rest of the troops and traveled until 7:00 P.M. so as to reach the lower shore of Laguna del Blanco¹² which is just below the ford of the San Joaquin River. There we were met by those who had gone on ahead, and passed the night without incident.

May 6. In the morning the same corporal with 8 men and auxiliary Indians set out for the ford in order to construct the rafts and watch if anyone came to spy. At about 8:00 A.M. I started out with the party and at about 10:00 o'clock we began to cross. Having finished the crossing we stayed there the rest of the day so as not to be observed by anyone who might be wandering about. At 6:00 P.M. we began to march and traveled all night till dawn.

May 7. A little before dawn, when the guide said we were getting close, I arranged to send out four of the auxiliaries to scout, and seeing that it was nearly daylight I resumed the march. After going a short distance I met the scouts who said that the rebels were to be found in this locality. Therefore I immediately had three divisions formed, one to stay and guard the horses and other supplies. The second was to go in search of the ford across the Stanislaus River for the latter runs through the thicket¹³ where the rebels are located. The third having dismounted, I placed myself at its head and entered the underbrush until we came upon three fences and a straw hut. Passing by the latter we encountered the river, which blocked further progress. There we were when we heard a yell on the other bank of the river and some gun shots. On this account I decided to retire by the same path or direction to find the horses which had been left about three quarters of a league behind us. From this point we pushed upstream in search of a ford which we found after about a league. Then, coming back downstream about a quarter of a league we met our comrades, who were skirmishing with the rebels, but with the latter always hidden in the brush. I quickly ordered that the little cannon be set up. To those [Indians] who were close to the riverbanks I addressed a few remarks, but they showed no respect and on the contrary hurled threats at us. So I ordered the cannon to be fired at them. On the first shot a wheel broke.

After two more shots and on the word of the corporal of artillery that the piece was useless, I ordered that it be dismounted and that fire be given with the carbines alone. However, perceiving that little if any damage was being done to the enemy, that the day was passing and that the troops were hungry I ordered a retirement and camped about a couple of thousand yards from the Indian village.

Here came the chieftain Estanislao out of the brush talking to the Christians [i.e., auxiliary mission Indians] on the other side of the river. Seeing that he was coming to talk I went to the edge of the brush, saying to him that if he would go with me nothing would happen to him. While I was talking to Estanislao another Indian named Sabulon appeared and took a shot at me with a gun. Immediately they disappeared and returned no more. We stayed there the rest of the day and all night without any trouble.

May 8. As soon as it became daylight I ordered the troops to form and to divide into 6 groups. The first group, of six men, were to take care of the horses and other supplies. Three groups were to enter the thicket, each being composed of a corporal and six soldiers. They were thoroughly instructed that no one should become separated from his group. When they were in the interior of the brush the three groups should keep together, and if one got ahead it should wait for the others, so that they might advance with an even front on the enemy. This was to ensure that they would not fire at each other and would progress in formation. The auxiliaries were to follow them to prevent the enemy from harassing them from the rear. The other two groups were to proceed along the edges of the thicket to prevent the enemy from escaping by the flanks when they were attacked in the interior. All the men were advised that they should obey the corporals who led them, and in this way maintain the best possible order.

When the troops were ready to enter the forest I placed myself at their head. When we reached about 80 yards from the village I ordered a halt in order to see if bloodshed might be avoided. I tried everything possible to make them [the Indians] understand, through the interpreter, that the troops were going to penetrate the brush, that those who wished to escape being killed should come with me and they would not be killed, that they knew they were Christians and ought to be at their mission. To all the arguments I made Estanislao answered that he was not to blame for what he was doing, that those who had advised him were responsible, that he had to defend himself and that he would not hesitate to die in the underbrush. Then I asked if there were not present some heathen chiefs and if so I would like to talk to any who would come out. Soon one of them came to the edge of the village. He could see that the troops were about to enter and that if he did not wish to suffer harm he had better desert the Christians. These were the ones I was seeking, in order to return them to their missions, and if he helped them then I would punish him. This one now talked with other chiefs and twelve of them came forth. In conversation with me they said that they were not interfering in anything but that they were afraid of Estanislao and Cipriano. I told them not to be afraid but to come out and return to their own villages. However since the Christians were also talking to them, they put more faith in the word of the Christians and went back to join them.¹⁴

Because of all this it seemed to me necessary to

complete the penetration by the troop,¹⁵ and therefore at 8:00 o'clock I ordered the attack as previously planned. The groups entered at definite points so as to capture those who fled. After about three hours of skirmishing an Indian auxiliary came to tell me that four of the soldiers in one of the groups had been cut off. Immediately I went into the underbrush where I heard firing to hunt for them and the first whom I met were Corporal José Berreyesa and Corporal of artillery Lazaro Piña whom I ordered also to seek the four missing men. They said that the four missing men were fighting the Indians all by themselves. They went after the men but came out with only two, who were almost dead. One of them, Manuel Piña, related that the Indians had killed Ignacio Pacheco.¹⁶

At this point, when I was considering and arranging for a new entry, with some of the auxiliaries, in search of the two men, the militiaman Dolores Pacheco came to me saying that [it would be foolish] to expose our people only in order to bring out two dead bodies, that the troops were exhausted and out of ammunition, that the auxiliaries who were missing had been seen on the other bank of the river toward the place where we had been encamped. For these reasons I gave instructions to retire to the encampment. After arriving there Corporal Lazaro Piña described the circumstances under which the four soldiers had become detached from his group.¹⁷

All this tale was told at the camp. I next investigated the ammunition and checked the weapons and found that very few remained, for six carbines were broken and one musket blown up. There were eight men of the troops wounded, three of them seriously and eleven of the Indian auxiliaries. We had not observed more than eight enemy dead, for it was impossible to see them in such thick brush. Because of all this I decided to retreat to Mission San José, both on account of lack of munitions and because it was impossible to attempt another entry under the disadvantageous circumstances I have set forth. I broke camp at about 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon. We took the three wounded men, each in the saddle with another man, for they were unable to ride alone. Traveling until 7:00 o'clock, we covered about four leagues and stopped at a pool of water close to the Stanislaus River where we passed the night quietly.

May 9. We started at about 8:00 o'clock in the morning and reached the ford of the San Joaquin at approximately 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon.¹⁸ We immediately put the horses across followed by the rest [of the people] and continued as far as Laguna del Blanco, which is a little below the ford and in the territory of Mission San José. Here we passed a quiet night.

May 10. We left at 7:00 o'clock in the morning and reached Mission San José at 6:30 in the afternoon.

José Sanchez to Ignacio Martinez
San José, May 10, 1829
(Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Missions and Colonization, t. II] 53:16-21)

I have just arrived at 7:00 o'clock in the afternoon at this Mission of San José on my return from the

campaign which you entrusted to my command. Its purpose was to make a surprise attack on the Christian Indian rebels of Santa Clara and San José, who in alliance with the heathen Indians have built fortifications in an impenetrable forest along the Stanislaus River. Since a detailed description would be very extensive I shall not delay giving a report of the events and results of this campaign, or operation, for your information.

We approached the river [Stanislaus] at 7:00 o'clock in the morning of the 7th of this month where the Christian conspirators were located. We had heard before our arrival that they were all prepared to attack us. This we confirmed immediately for we saw them entrenched in the woods. In consideration of this fact I ordered the mortar to be brought forward, while keeping the troops in good formation, and directed that the piece open fire. Unfortunately at the first shot the gun carriage broke, but in spite of this two more shots were fired. However since I concluded that the piece was useless I thereupon ordered fire with the carbines. I maintained this action for a considerable period of time without the enemy ceasing to reply with a multitude of arrows as well as with fire arms. According to rumor the latter were loaded with nothing but powder. They did no damage, and afterward I learned that the Indians had no bullets. However the fierceness of the sun to which we were exposed forced the troops to abandon the interior of the woods and I retired about a thousand yards from the furious mob [of Indians] in the shelter of the woods from which they stubbornly refused to retreat. I camped with all the troops with no more trouble than was caused by the excessive heat, the fatigue of the day's efforts, and the broken gun carriage, one of the wheels of which was broken as I have said. Now there approached, always protected by the underbrush, one of the insurgent Christian chiefs, called Estanislao, to talk with the Indian auxiliaries who accompanied us on this journey. On seeing him I went toward him and called to him. Before reaching him, however another Indian arrived, and, hidden by the same underbrush fired a shot at me. Then they left and thereafter we passed a night through which not a sound could be heard.

On the following day, the 8th, as soon as it was daylight the troops were formed and divided into six groups of six men each with their corporal. They were given what appeared to me appropriate instructions. One squad was to guard the horses and supplies, three were to enter the woods. The remaining two were to guard the right and left flanks and at the same time prevent the rebels from working around the sides to the rear while the attack was being made in the interior of the thicket. This was all contingent upon the enemy's not yielding to the arguments with which I first intended to present them. Having taken all the necessary precautions demanded by the situation, I went out with only the interpreter for the specified purpose of pleading with the rebels that they should repent and surrender. But my exhortation had no effect. Only Estanislao, the principal chief whom I have already mentioned, answered me, saying: "that he was not guilty because he had been advised that they should defend themselves, and consequently they would die there." Thereupon I talked to the heathen chiefs trying to make them understand that the troops were ready to enter the thicket and that they could obviate the damage which would be done to them if they were obstinate, by deserting the Christians. I was unsuccessful,

for they continued to adhere to the cause of the Christians.

In view of all this I ordered an immediate advance by the troops into the woods. They fired as they went and when we were already committed to the engagement, and the contest was going favorably for us, everything went wrong through the rashness of four soldiers. Taking no precautions they separated themselves from the squad under command of Corporal Lazaro Piña. In spite of the fact that the latter tried to stop them they did not obey and plunged into the underbrush to go and drink water from the river. Without doubt they were caught there unaware by the enemy with the consequence that two of them were left on the spot badly wounded. They were rescued by Corporal Piña with only the two remaining soldiers. At the same time that they had joined the group under Corporal José Berreyesa an Indian auxiliary arrived with the report that four soldiers were isolated and in danger. Immediately I ordered Corporals Berreyesa and Piña to proceed with their party in search of these soldiers. When they had done this they returned with only two of them. Both had been hit and were badly wounded. One had lost his weapons and the other, although he still retained them could not use them for lack of ammunition. Meanwhile the enemy was on them trying to finish them off. At this juncture the party I mentioned arrived and in their presence those trying to kill the men fled. Forming a screen against arrows the party brought out the wounded on their shoulders.

These two, who were among the four who detached themselves from the squad of Corporal Piña, then stated that their other two companions had remained dead in the hands of the enemy. This the Indian auxiliaries confirmed, adding that the enemy removed the clothing from the corpses and threw them in the river which flows through the middle of the thicket. I was convinced that it was impossible to bring out the corpses, first because all the ammunition had been used up, and second because it was already late and the troops were fatigued from fighting on foot in the impenetrable brush in the extreme heat. We had two soldiers dead and eight wounded, one mortally. The weapons were almost entirely useless: three muskets lost, two with their bandoliers. So I decided to withdraw. I retired with the soldiers and the Indian auxiliaries to the place where we had camped the previous day and where the horses were kept. I wanted the soldiers to have some rest so that I might continue the retreat. All this was done. Of the enemy several were killed, although we could not determine the number because the brush could not be penetrated.

Finally I would be remiss in my duty if I neglected to commend this small contingent of troops who operated under my command for their valorous conduct in the face of all the dangers of the terrain and other advantages possessed by those savages. So I beg that you will give them your highest consideration as a whole, and in particular Corporal Antonio Soto, and soldiers Manuel Piña and Lorenzo Pacheco who were severely wounded in the face of the enemy.

I communicate all this to you for your information.

Ignacio Martinez to M. G. Vallejo

San Francisco, May 16, 1829

(M. G. Vallejo, "Documentos para la Historia de California" [cited as Vallejo Documents], Vol. I, No. 174)

The Indian rebels from Missions San José and Santa Clara have gathered together at the rivers, resolved to

die rather than surrender. They are extremely insolent, committing murders and stealing horses, stripping bare the unwary, seducing the other Christians to accompany them in their evil and diabolical schemes, openly insulting our troops and ridiculing them and their weapons. They are relying upon the manpower of the wild Indians, on the terrain and positions which they are occupying (according to the reports which I have received from Ensign Don José Sanchez), and on the losses which we have suffered. In view of the reinforcements consisting of the three units which the military commander at Monterey has supplied me, and since we now can count on a sufficient number of troops plus the two pieces of artillery, you will proceed to these rivers with all the troops under your orders as commander in chief. The second in command will be Ensign Don José Sanchez. The objective will be to administer a total defeat to the Christian rebels and to the wild Indians who are aiding them, leaving them completely crushed. Finally you and Don José Sanchez will operate in everything according to your best judgment and will retaliate in full for all damage inflicted.

Governor Echeandía to the Commandante of San Francisco San Diego, June 3, 1829
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. VII] 48:173)

He deplores the misfortunes encountered by the expedition of Ensign Sanchez and requests more particulars of the action as well as the report and special letter of Ensign Sanchez.

Mariano G. Vallejo to Commandant of the Port of San Francisco
San José, June 4, 1829
(Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Missions and Colonization, t. II] 53:12-16)

Following your instructions of May 16 I arranged my march in pursuit of the rebel Christian Indians from Santa Clara and San José Missions. I left San José on the 26th, with 107 men armed with a field piece and ammunition for it plus 3500 musket cartridges. On the 29th I camped opposite the woods where the Indians were congregated. After we had surrounded part of the thicket and they had spied us they began to shoot arrows. We could not tell from whence the arrows came, for this thicket cannot be penetrated by armed men unless by pushing bodily through the brambles a step at a time. Immediately I decided to set the place on fire. By so doing we succeeded in burning part of it so that the Indians had to escape at the borders [of the woods]. Although the latter were hidden from the troops besieging the woods they were seen from the opposite bank where other troops and the field gun were located, and some were killed. The field gun fired that day seven rounds of solid shot and nine of grapeshot.

At 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon I ordered Ensign Don José Sanchez to attack the position with 25 men, well organized and armed. After two and one half hours of continuous bombardment they retired, for it was now late and the brush was still burning. This valiant officer [Sanchez] was obliged to pass through the flames which surrounded him and both he and the troops who accompanied him manifested the highest skill, valor, discipline and military competence.

On the following day at 9:00 o'clock I went myself into the thicket with 27 well-armed soldiers. Having entered and while reconnoitering we found two buried corpses. In most of the pits and trenches was found blood from the wounded and traces where the occupants had fled. They had been favored by the darkness of night and had escaped by means of the river, which flows in two channels through the woods, without the besieging troops being able to see them.

A search of the rest of the thicket was made in order to see if any Indians were still hidden there, but no one could be discovered. The dense underbrush was now mostly exposed to view. It had innumerable well dug ditches communicating internally with each other such that the troops could inflict no damage on the defenders without a frontal attack of the type which was actually made. The Indian rebels were also favored by the darkness which filled the excavations even in the daytime. They were able this day to wound cavalry corporals José Maria Villa and Salvador Espinosa of Monterey together with the civilian Nicolas, all of whom fought with spirit among the pits and trenches.

This same night I marched in pursuit of the rebels and at 4:00 o'clock on the following morning caught up with some of them. But a different group united with other Christians so as to make a total of 40 warriors, not counting the women. These we attacked with 37 well-armed men and the field gun. The soldiers penetrated the underbrush with much labor, for in order to get in the field gun it was necessary to hack out a sizeable trail using as many as twenty-five axes. The cavalrymen had to dismount and go ahead, firing and driving back the enemy, so that the artillery and infantry could operate. The enemy was thus thrown back on a system of pits and trenches constructed even better than in the preceding thicket.¹⁹ We managed to emplace the field piece within 10 yards of the trenches and fired 31 rounds of grapeshot in four hours of continuous fighting. At this time, the artillery ammunition and that for the soldiers' muskets being exhausted, it was decided to break off the action. When the men saw that they would have to retire while more ammunition was brought up, some of them jumped into the trenches with their daggers and killed several Indians. When the stores arrived and it was discovered that there were no more than twenty rounds left we fired them and retreated. Furthermore the brush was blazing and it was feared that some one might be burned. Camp was pitched nearby.

During the night the Indians tried to escape but they were all killed except a few who got away and three women who were captured. The remainder were found the next day while we were exploring the brush. There were also three women who had been killed by bullets.

The next day the small remaining amount of food was exhausted, as were the munitions, for which reasons I found it necessary to return to this mission and await your further orders. A little more than half a league downstream we found seven corpses of Indians killed in the night battle. We took from the rebels 18 horses belonging to different owners in the town and in the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara. We returned with no further casualties than 11 soldiers and 2 Indian auxiliaries wounded, none of them, I believe, seriously.

Joaquin Piña: "Diario de la expedicion al Valle de San José al mando del Alférez de caballeria Co. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo"
1829

May 19-25 inclusive. [This portion of the report is here omitted since it concerns only the trip from Monterey to Mission San Jose and the details of military preparations.]

May 26. We set out from Mission San José at 9:00 o'clock in the morning in the direction of the valley. There was a force of 104 men plus more than 50 auxiliaries from among the neophytes of Santa Clara and San José missions, together with a 3-pounder artillery piece and the respective munitions and supplies. We arrived at the place called Las Positas del Valle. Here the artilleryman José Maria Perez cut off his left thumb leading along some horses by hand while their riders were coming up with the cannon on foot. So that he might be taken care of the Commander ordered that he go back the next day to San Jose with the majordomo of that mission. Some civilians and the Indian auxiliaries brought in from the range eleven steers to be slaughtered for the troops. No other incident occurred.

May 27. We left this place for the San Joaquin River, intending to cross it the following day. On the way 57 steers were caught for the use of the whole company. That night 17 of these cattle escaped. However the Indian auxiliaries caught fish for the troops. No other incident occurred.

May 28. We set out from this place toward the ford of the river where we arrived at 8:07 in the morning. Here we met the Indian auxiliaries with eleven boats²⁰ which the Commander of the party had ordered constructed in anticipation of the crossing by the troops. We began to ferry over the people, the saddles and the baggage. The cannon was dismounted from its carriage so that the commander might take it in his boat. The only mishap was the drowning of two horses while crossing. When we had reached the opposite bank we remounted the cannon on its carriage, reloaded the ammunition and again took up our journey. Toward the south a smoke was observed in the oak forest.²¹ No importance was attached to this. At 5:04 o'clock in the afternoon we reached the place called La Poza. There we camped for the night with no event of consequence save noticing that a tree was on fire at the spot where we had seen the smoke in the afternoon.

May 29. We left this locality at 6:30 A. M. in the direction of the place named for the Laquisimes, where the rebels were situated. At about 9:07 o'clock the vanguard observed that the rebels were leading horses toward the forest where they were hidden, and by pursuing them succeeded in capturing 14 horses.

Since the artillery piece lagged behind, the commander ordered that it be dismounted at the ford of the river²² near the village and that the crossing of the gorge be put in condition for the cannon to cross without difficulty. This was done. We headed toward the site where the village had been on the previous occasion [i. e., the Sanchez expedition] but no one was encountered and merely yelling could be detected in the interior of the thicket. However at the foot of an oak tree we came upon the charred bones of the two soldiers whom the enemy had killed in former action. The oak tree showed by strands of wild grape vine wound around one of its branches that the victims had been hung up and burned. The few osseous remains

which were found were gathered together so as to carry them back for Christian burial.

Not having observed any Indians at all outside the forest [monte] a reconnaissance was made. The Commander then ordered the forest to be assaulted and set on fire. In view of the great outburst of screams and curses which followed, and the arrows which they shot at us, the above-mentioned gentleman ordered us to commence firing the cannon and the small arms with the primary object of discovering from whence came the arrows, for it was not possible to see where the Indians were in the dense underbrush. Having thus invested the forest by the right flank, it was ordered at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon that the civilians and the dismounted cavalry should enter the forest and that the cannon should return to the bank of the Rio Pescadero.²³ The latter point was known to be able to dominate the area where the rebels were located. The firing was performed with every precaution, with only the most necessary shots and at the average rate at which the piece could operate.

At this hour [i. e., 3:00 P. M.] Corporal Reyes sent a message by a cavalryman to the effect that the Indians in his locality had been observed to be trying to flee. For this reason Corporal Nicolas Alvizu and eight men were sent as reinforcement, together with those who had been held as a reserve for defense. Corporal Espinosa was placed in the center, between Corporal Reyes and Corporal Alvizu. The infantry was deployed across the entire river bottom of the Pescadero. The Indian auxiliaries were disposed on the left flank of the village. We were everywhere sustaining the fire of the enemy until four o'clock. At this time a general advance was ordered in an attempt to penetrate the position. No shot was to be fired until contact with the first palisade. When the advance had reached a distance of ten paces the Indians, who had hidden in ambush, began to shoot arrows and the first to be wounded was Corporal Nicolas Alvizu. A short while afterward they wounded Corporal José Maria Villa and Salvador Espinosa, of the same rank. The first was wounded in the head, the second near the left shoulder and the third in the right hip, all of them by arrows. When it was seen that the Indians were attempting to surround the troops who had penetrated the interior of the thicket, a retirement in good order was effected. Every man succeeded in recovering his horse, the horses having been left outside the woods under the protection of only four men who had been left to take care of them. Indeed, had not the retreat been accomplished just at this time the result might have been that the Indians would have made off with all the horses and equipment of the troops, for the latter had been out of touch for an hour and it was already beginning to get dark.

It was ordered at the same time that all the troops, civilians and Indian auxiliaries, together with the field piece, should reunite, fall back, and camp on the right flank of the village. This junction was accomplished between seven and half past seven in the evening. The most advanced troops had maintained a heavy fire more than an hour and the infantry had sustained a light fire. The cannon meanwhile had been discharged five times with solid shot and eleven with grapeshot.

This same afternoon, at 5:00 o'clock, a heathen Indian from the village of the Tagualames was captured. He was carrying seeds for the relief of the Indians with whom we were fighting. He was secured at the ammunition park until information could be obtained

from him by means of the interpreter whom we had with us. He declared that he had brought the seeds for some of his relations, and that he had come to join the rebels. He said that when he had departed from the village of the Tagualames he had left all the people playing games, for they did not know the troops had arrived. The Commander decided that he should be held under guard at the artillery park, with his hands tied, and lashed by both feet to the big wheels of the gun carriage. Also this day, in the village, were found the shoes of the late Ignacio Pacheco.

May 30. At dawn the Commander ordered handles to be put on as many axes as possible, for clearing the brush, and likewise ordered the infantry and artillery to prepare to enter the forest. This was done at 6:00 o'clock in the morning, and after the troops had replenished their ammunition, the march was commenced in very good order. Taking all proper precautions we traveled about a league and a half, so as to place ourselves in a good location to dismount. The men and the field piece having taken up their positions in good order we penetrated without opposition as far as the first palisade. When the Commander at this point realized that there was no indication of Indians he ordered that those who were about to dismount should not do so, that the cannon should be withdrawn to the place where we had camped the previous day, and that the artillery, infantry and Indian auxiliaries should gather up the horses which had been left at the entrance to the forest. Meanwhile he would push ahead on foot with Adjutant Don José Sanchez and the rest of the troops to reach the remaining stockades and to scout the entire forest.

Immediately this gentleman commenced his march and succeeded in making a general reconnaissance, finding only the traces of the flight made by the Indians during the previous night. They also came upon vestiges of blood and numerous broken arrows from which they recognized that some of the enemy had been wounded, also they observed the trenches which had been constructed for defense, and that some of these were freshly caved in. From this fact and from the traces of blood in the vicinity they deduced that several of the enemy had been buried. They noted the great damage inflicted by both cannon balls and musket bullets. Among the pits which they found were several, excavated at the upper levels, which connected with from one to three others. Here also was a great deal of blood, a sign that in some of the trenches Indians had been killed or wounded.

From here, the reconnaissance completed, the Commander followed through the interior of the forest until he came out at the ford over the Rio Pescadero. At this ford he encountered a line of poles which, it was decided, constituted a trap for the fish on which the Indians lived. After the troops crossed they stopped to rest in the shade of the trees in the meadow along the river. At about 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon they marched to join the others at the place where we had camped.

The artillery, infantry and Indian auxiliaries, as soon as we had assembled the horses which the other soldiers had left at the edge of the forest, went on to the place where we were camped, for so had ordered the chief. At six o'clock in the afternoon the Commander decided, that, in view of the flight of the Indians, the camp should be broken and we should continue our march. We traveled three leagues, and in the meadow of the Rio de los Laguisimes²⁴ we halted

at half past seven in the evening, for at this spot enough forage and water was found for the horses. Here the ammunition was unloaded and the provisions. At about 8:00 o'clock the Commander ordered that immediately all the cavalymen and several civilians should prepare to go and fall upon the Indians who were to be found at the village of the Tagualames. Only the artillery and infantry, a few civilians and the soldiers guarding the horses were to remain in camp, these being under command of Infantry Sergeant Pedro del Castillo. At 10:00 o'clock in the evening the Commander, accompanied by Adjutant José Sanchez and the cavalry marched as far as a dry wash where the Commander ordered that the troops be rested until the time of attack on the village.

May 31. At 3:00 o'clock in the morning the Commander ordered the troops to mount and continue the march, and at four o'clock they arrived at the above-mentioned village. Here, even though they kept strict silence, the Indians noticed that they were coming close and immediately began to give cries of alarm. On descending to the site of the village the troops encountered a stockade which, it was apparent, the Indians were just beginning to construct. Now the chief took the following measures. He ordered that immediately a corporal and ten men should watch the edge of the thicket²⁵ and prevent the enemy from escaping. These men went to the right, while five others were sent to the left flank, along the river. The remainder of the troops began to set fire to the two sides with the result that the Indians retreated to the center of the forest. During this interval the Commander sent a civilian and the guide whom we had with us with a message that the cannon, infantry, ammunition, supplies and remaining troops in charge of the horses, all should come up and join the others at the place where he was now located. This was done with the greatest celerity.

At 8:04 o'clock in the morning of the 31st we set out and at about 11:30 o'clock we arrived at the point where the chief was staying. He ordered the field piece to go into the forest with the troops in pursuit of the rebels. When the gun arrived in position, through the Indian captured on the 30th and through the interpreter, the Indians were admonished to come out from the interior of the thicket and no harm would be done to them. But it was noticed that the Indian captive, instead of encouraging them to surrender, was making signs that they should retreat far into the brush, and was saying that they should not come out because they would be killed and that the artillery and the *cholos*²⁶ were coming on behind him. No one responded except one Indian, quite Spanish,²⁷ called Matias. He went over to where the troops were located, begging them for mercy. He declared that the Indian prisoner was a heathen and that the latter had discouraged all the others from giving up. The prisoner consequently was immediately shot.²⁸

At 1:07 P. M. the chief ordered that the Indian Matias should accompany the troops as guide and enter the forest. When the artillery, infantry, cavalry, civilians and Indian auxiliaries had been set in motion and had just reached the edge of the forest Matias was told to speak to his compatriots and say to them that the troops were about to close in on them and that they should come out. Their reply was that they would not do this, they would prefer to die on the spot. Therefore a musketry volley was fired at them which they immediately answered by yells and insults to the troops. As a result all the troops including the artillery began

to dismount and advance. The advance continued until it reached the center of the woods, where the Indians had built their trenches. At this point the intensity of the firing increased, for the enemy were established in a position very advantageous for impeding our advance. Furthermore the dismounted Indian auxiliaries, whom we had brought with us, became frightened both because of the fury of the attack by arrows made upon us by our opponents, and because of the thunder of the cannon. As a result we could not make them move any further on foot. The active engagement lasted an hour and a quarter, after which we paused for a matter of an hour and a half. During this interval an Indian was killed who was recognized by Matias as the one who had yelled the most insults at the troops. During the combat 25 musket volleys had been fired.

It was now observed that to the rear and on both flanks the entire woods were on fire. It was humanly impossible to advance directly ahead, for the dense thicket would not permit, and the conflagration surrounded us in the other directions. Consequently the commander ordered us to retire in good order so as to succeed in saving the cannon and its ammunition. This we managed to do in spite of emerging nearly roasted in the tremendous blaze of the underbrush. We pulled out from the fortification until we felt we were safe from the fire, which was pressing upon us. Hearing some noise inside the forest we fired two musket shots. These were followed by complete silence. One would not have believed so many Indians could still be inside the woods.

Immediately the commander ordered the cavalry to surround the village completely to prevent escape and the infantry to occupy that section of the woods known not to be on fire. This was done forthwith. In the evening not only the cavalry and civilians but also the artillery were placed on the alert to prevent the escape of the survivors. Indeed at about 11:00 P.M. some of the rebels tried to get away along the river, but those guarding the area managed to kill some of them. The others stayed in the water [and got away] because the troops could not lose sight of their primary objective.²⁹

June 1. About 7:00 o'clock in the morning three women were captured, among them one quite hispanized, called Agustina. She related in detail how on the previous day many Indians had been killed and that there were five of the dead on the steep slope from the river bank to the woods. The Commander ordered that the three women stay under guard in company with the Indian Matias at the ammunition park. The previous afternoon an Indian woman had been killed who had been found at the edge of the forest and who had been about to escape.

At 9:00 o'clock in the morning of June 1 the chief ordered the cavalry, infantry, civilians and Indian auxiliaries to go and scout the woods and endeavor to catch all the survivors. Matias and the Indian woman Agustina were taken as guides, having been warned not to deceive the chief, but to conduct the troops to the place which the enemy had fortified the day before. This was accomplished without expending a single shot, and they reached the trenches dug by the rebels. In these they found two dead Indians, another nearby, and several others through the brush. Close to the river the wild grape vines were seen to stir. A scout was made and three old Indian women were encountered. They were immediately pulled out of the bushes and shot on the spot.³⁰

The Indian auxiliaries, in a thicket to the right of the forest, managed to find a Christian Indian from Santa Clara. After capture he confessed that he had been the one who had burned the bodies of the two dead soldiers who had been killed on the previous expedition under Don José Sanchez. On learning this the Indian auxiliaries came out of the woods and began to beg the Commander for permission to kill the prisoner by arrows with their own hands. They were given this permission. So the Indian auxiliaries formed a semi-circle, placed him in the middle, and four of them began to shoot arrows at him. But no matter how hard they tried they could not kill him [literally: no matter how much he wanted to be finished off, he was not able to succeed]. Finally seeing that he did not die a cavalry soldier shot him in the head with his carbine, and only then did he die. Seventy-three arrows were counted in his body. From here they took him to an oak tree and hung him up.

After reaching the middle of the forest, inspecting the trenches, and finding no more than has been mentioned, the civilian who was conducting the bound captive Indian Matias shot him down and left him dead. The auxiliaries, together with some of the soldiers pulled his body out of the brush and hung it to a big oak tree. On it also were hanged four other men and four women.³¹ They wanted to hang the woman Agustina and her two female companions but the chief would not permit their execution. Instead he placed them under guard so that they should not be harmed and should be taken back to their mission.

The previous day, during the skirmish, soldiers Rafael Contreras, Juan Gonzales and Gil Rodriguez were wounded by arrows, as were civilians Tomas Espinosa (seriously), Meliton Soto and José Pico. At about 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day [i. e., June 1] the commander ordered the division to take up its march in such a direction as to bring it to San José. Hence we marched until 7:45 o'clock in the evening when we arrived at the margin of a river in the middle of the valley where we found water and forage sufficient for the horses. At about 12:30 A.M. I awoke and saw that in the interior of the woods close to the place where we were camped, a fire was burning and was about to reach us. Therefore, despite the late hour, I immediately went and reported to the adjutant Don José Sanchez. He ordered me, if the fire came any closer, to have the field gun and ammunition moved to a place which I felt the fire would not threaten. At about 2:00 o'clock in the morning of June 2, I observed that the fire was again approaching and the wind was blowing it toward us. I immediately had the gun and ammunition moved to a spot, two hundred yards distant, which seemed to me safe. There we passed the rest of the night with no further incident.

[The document for the days June 2 to 13 inclusive describes the return journey first to San José and then (for Piña's artillery group) to Monterey. The account deals exclusively with difficulties with the gun, matters of discipline and other minor military affairs. There is no further reference to the Indians, wild or captured, or to the events of the previous days. The remainder of the diary is therefore omitted as having no significant bearing on the expedition.]

Ignacio Martinez to M. G. Vallejo
 San Francisco, June 5, 1829
 (Vallejo Documents, Vol. I, No. 175)

I have just received at 6:00 P. M. the report which you sent me concerning the attack made by you on the Christian Indian rebels of San José and Santa Clara missions. I rejoice exceedingly that this scum has been chastised and I congratulate you, your second in command, and all your troops, that you have well upheld the honor of our nation's arms.

Just as I have been gratified in this manner by your message, I have felt regret that due to lack of munitions and supplies you did not inflict a complete rout upon those rebellious and insolent Christians. For this reason I counsel you to maintain your troops in their present position until, meanwhile, you can come to this Presidio in order to confer upon what has to be done to expurgate the infection which may remain in the high country back of the rivers.

Governor Echeandía to Commandant of Monterey
 San Diego, June 9, 1829
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. VII] 48:179)

I have received the letter sent to me by Ensign Don Mariano G. Vallejo relative to the expedition which he conducted to the tulares. I am surprized that you did not send me a copy of the orders which you gave the Ensign mentioned. . . . neither he nor you in your report said anything about distributing prisoners to private individuals, as I have since been led to understand. . . .

Governor Echeandía to the Commandant at San Francisco
 San Diego, August 7, 1829
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. VII] 48:214-215)

It has come to my attention that among the events which occurred during the recent campaign prosecuted by Ensign Don Guadalupe Vallejo against the malefactors of the departments of Monterey and San Francisco was the following. Three men and an equal number of women having been captured, or encountered, at a long distance from the field of battle, were shot, stabbed with spears and arrows, and finally choked to death. Three other women who were caught after the battle were going to be sacrificed like the others and escaped solely because of the many entreaties on the part of Christians from Santa Clara. As eyewitnesses may be mentioned the soldiers of that company: Nicolas Berreyesa, Ignacio Romero, Gabriel Alviso, Pedro Mesa, and two others.

He [the governor] asks that these acts be investigated with the greatest care and speed, and that he be informed. . . .

Governor Echeandía to Commandant at Monterey
 San Diego, October 23, 1829
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. VII] 48:241)

I understand that on the expeditions made recently among the wild Indians by the troops of your garrison and that of San Francisco a harvest of children was secured who, without my knowledge, were distributed throughout your neighborhood and I do not know in what other localities. Therefore I strongly urge you to identify each and every one of these children. Acting in collaboration with the Reverend Father Prefect let them be assembled at San Carlos or Soledad mission. Those who have been Christianized and who have blood relatives who will claim them shall go as neophytes to the mission or missions nearest their villages. Those who have not been Christianized shall be returned to their relatives, or in case the latter do not appear, they shall remain in San Carlos or Soledad and learn the catechism unless there are private individuals who will adopt them formally as their children. If so they shall be delivered to these persons, according to governmental orders. Notice is likewise given that any who have been Christianized but who have no relatives, or whose relatives give consent, may also be allocated to private persons to be adopted as stated above.

Ignacio Martinez. Report of the Fiscal³²
 San Francisco, October 31, 1829
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers. Benicia. Military, t. LXX] 19:13)

A party went out under command of Ensign Guadalupe Vallejo in pursuit of Christian Indians of San Jose and Santa Clara. Those of the party hanged and killed two old, defenseless Indian men and three women. The Fiscal says that according to the statements it appears that one Indian was shot (not killed by spears or arrows). The only guilty person is the Monterey soldier Joaquin Alvarado who killed the old woman, an act which he should not have committed, "for although it may be in the course of warfare, it is not permitted to anyone to commit such a deed, the female sex being concerned." He says that the soldier "might be given the sentence of five years additional service on the frontier of Baja California."

José Berreyesa
 San José, July 15, 1830
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. II] 27:316)

. . . that Estanislao, the leader of the Christian rebels last year and now pardoned, is to be found in the tulares by permission of the Father, and has 100 horses. . . .

IV. MINOR EXPEDITIONS, 1825 to 1840

Just prior to the campaigns of Sanchez and Vallejo against the Moquelumnes three expeditions had been sent out, of which we still have the reports. These, one by Pico at New Year's of 1826 and two by Rodriguez in the spring of 1828, bring to an end an era. They were probably the last formal, official entradas into the valley, the results of which were submitted to the governing authorities in the form of a diario, or daily log of events. Thereafter the penetration of the San Joaquin region, whether officially sanctioned or not, was carried out on a completely informal basis, the outcome of campaigns being conveyed by brief letter, word of mouth, or probably in many instances not at all.

The three reports of Pico and Rodriguez follow herewith.

PICO'S EXPEDITION TO THE SAN JOAQUIN AND KINGS RIVERS, 1825-26

[Report composed by Sergeant José Dolores Pico, of the expedition which he made as arranged by Citizen and Commander José Estudillo, and carried out from December 27, 1825 to January 31, 1826.]

Dec. 27, 1825. On this day I set out from the Presidio [of Monterey] and went six leagues to the Rancho de la Nación, without incident. I took with me two corporals and twenty-seven soldiers.

Dec. 28. I did not march this day because it was necessary to assemble the horses. This was accomplished.

Dec. 29. I left the Rancho at about 6:00 P. M. and went five leagues, as far as the place called La Natividad, without incident.

Dec. 30. I left this place at 3:00 P. M. going north to the valley of the Usaimas,¹ for I had to go to the Mission of San Juan Bautista to get the guides, who were three neophytes of that mission. At 9:00 P. M. I rejoined the main party, they having come about nine leagues. On the same evening we were met by Corp. Manuel Butron with a sixteen-year-old son of his and also by Corp. Angel Castro, of the same class,² with arms and horses. No other news.

Dec. 31. I continued in the same direction to the place called San Luis Gonzaga. We traveled 11 leagues and nothing happened.

Jan. 1, 1826. The rosary was recited in the morning. Then I arranged to send two guides on ahead to scout whether there were any fishermen in the swamps and lakes and get accurate information. Having done this, and having started out at 3:00 P. M., I followed my route to the east and penetrated into the interior of the tule swamps to the point where we were to remain and meet them. But we were unsuccessful, because the night was dark and there were several sloughs across which no passage could be found. We scouted as much as we could and halted at 11:00 o'clock in the evening. Nothing else happened. We traveled about 9 leagues.

¹For numbered notes see pp. 206-209.

Jan. 2. At dawn I went out to reconnoitre and to see if I could find the guides, going always in an easterly direction. At a distance of six leagues, on the San Joaquin River, I came upon a village at which the previous day some heathen Indians had arrived. With them were five Christians from San Juan Bautista. Of these we caught two by surprise, very bad individuals,^a who had been fugitives already for a long time. The name of one was Rustico, who had been running loose now about two years; the other was called Canuto and he had been a fugitive for four years. Now the guides, who had come a day earlier, as I have stated, were holding in their possession the Christians who were at the river because they were sick³ together with other casuals who had joined them. There were also some fourteen other Indians whom the Rev. Father Fray Felipe Arroyo [de la Cuesta] had sent out about a week previously to hunt out these sick people.^b Finally, at about 9:00 o'clock in the evening, forty more heathen and Christians came in. There were sixteen heathen men with twenty-three women and children. The rest of the forty are Christians.⁴ We went six leagues this day, with no other events worth mentioning.

Jan. 3. I decided to send back [the prisoners] to the Mission of San Juan Bautista in charge of an alcalde whom I had with me, and in whom I had confidence, together with the fourteen who had come in search of the Christians.⁵ I handed the prisoners over to the alcalde, together with a letter to Father Felipe Arroyo in which I told him that the 16 heathen gandules⁶ should be turned over to the corporal in command of the guard together with the two Christians who had so long been fugitives.

It was found that the invalid Christians had two horses. On being asked where they had obtained them, they answered that a man from Santa Cruz had brought the horses and had left them there. It was known that this man from Santa Cruz had gone to the Sierra Nevada. One of the horses had been treated very badly and was starved so I left him there at this place. The other was picked up by the alcalde in charge of the prisoners and was taken to Mission San Juan Bautista.

Having concluded this business, I left the river and went toward the Sierra Nevada, where I had received information a certain Feliz, neophyte of Soledad Mission, and another from San Juan had gone to the village of the Jollimas.⁷ We set out at about 11:00 o'clock in the morning and, traveling in an easterly direction, reached a place called Monte Redondo, which we explored. We arrived at 10:00 o'clock at night, having gone 11 leagues, without incident.

Jan. 4. At about 11:00 o'clock in the morning I resumed the march toward the north, and continued until 9:00 o'clock in the evening. We reached a stream called

^aCanuto, Rustico. [Note.—The footnotes to this manuscript, here designated by letters, are marginal notes in the original, in the same handwriting as the text. They were undoubtedly written by José Estudillo. See note e.]

^bThe Father had [sent out this party] already many days before the departure of the troops and because the party was sent out the Indians all had advance notice. For this reason many expeditions, or even most of them, fail.

San Joaquin and Santa Ana from which the village of the Jollimas was reconnoitred, the village being about two leagues distant from the stream. However during this interval came the news that the horses had stampered, carrying off three saddles with all their weapons attached, and three soldiers were trampled by the horses. No serious harm was done, for the horses were recovered at 1:00 o'clock in the morning and only three guns and three saddles were missing. This day we traveled 8 leagues with no other occurrences than have been mentioned.

Jan. 5. At about 4:00 o'clock in the morning I decided to make an attack on the village. Previously I detached five men with orders to hunt for the guns which these individuals had lost the previous day. I arranged to leave them at the same spot where I had made camp the preceding night, advising them that they should look for saddles and other equipment as well as guns, and after finding them should bring them back. I then marched to attack the village mentioned above. I executed the assault and took by surprise as many as possible. However none of the malefactors who were being hunted was caught, because the houses of the village were buried deeply in the forest and were close to a stream. The latter formed an obstacle which could not be overcome, both because the passage was very difficult, and because no one could be found who would give us a true statement of where it could be forded. All that was accomplished in this place was to capture forty natives, big and little,⁶ and one Christian from San Juan Bautista. This man had been married to a heathen woman for about four years and, since the latter had a very small daughter, I was obliged to leave her behind.

Having made all arrangements and having gathered everything together, I returned to the camp where I had spent the previous night. There [the soldiers] turned over to me the three guns and everything else we had lost, together with a horse carrying the brand of San Antonio. I observed in the vicinity of this village that there were a great many almost fresh bones and hides of horses which the Indians had slaughtered. This day we went about five leagues, with no other events than those recorded.

Jan. 6. After the rosary was recited I liberated all the women and all the children, apart from the adult men.⁸ I warned them well that if they were found again doing evil, such as having dead horses in their possession, they would be taken to a strange country and never see their own land again. All this I told my woman prisoners so that they would understand everything and would pass on the admonition to fugitives. This left me with six heathen men, and the Christian runaway.

Immediately I resumed my march to the east, along the margin of the Sierra Nevada, looking for the villages of the Pichicaches and the Guimilchis.⁹ However during the day it was impossible to reach the place where I was intending to stay on account of a heavy rain which came upon us. All day, with the greatest exertion we were able to travel only 8 leagues. There were no other events of interest.

Jan. 7. We did not go out at all on account of the heavy rain, and nothing else happened.

Jan. 8. At dawn the river had risen so high that we were cut off and could not get over it and the branches of the river were so swollen that I did not dare to risk a crossing, particularly since I was told that the waters would soon recede. I took the precaution of having tule rushes brought in so as to construct rafts. This was done in spite of the fact that the horse of one soldier engaged on the task became exhausted. I arranged that the rafts should be built the next day. Nothing else happened.

Jan. 9. The rafts were constructed and the horses ferried across. Nothing else.

Jan. 10. At about 11:00 o'clock in the morning I resumed the march toward the east because I had received word that on Kings River horses had been seen near the village of Gueches.¹⁰ We arrived at an arroyo near that river at 10:00 o'clock in the evening and halted there. Today one of the Mission San Juan horses gave out. We went 11 leagues with no other incident.

Jan. 11. I left this place at 6:00 o'clock in the morning and continued the march southward toward Kings River. The village was found and overrun but all the people were not there. We got 10 Christians, old and young, from Soledad Mission.⁴ We asked them for information about the other villages and they replied that these villages were farther ahead. We also were told in this village that a horse had recently been eaten. When accused of this the villagers denied it and blamed another village. They were warned that if they were found to commit a similar offense on another occasion they would be severely punished. After I had thus admonished them I took my prisoners and continued toward the other villages which I did not reach until the next day. We went 11 leagues with no other incident.

Jan. 12. I left at 6:00 o'clock in the morning and reached the rest of the villages. But nothing could be done because they were on the other side of the river, and although we investigated thoroughly how to get across we could not do so because the river was very high. We called to the heathen on the other side of the river and with the greatest effort we managed to get only the chief to come over. He stated that he had come only with great reluctance because he had never before seen any soldiers, but had only heard them talked about. I succeeded in winning his confidence and asked him if he had Christians in his village, to which he answered no. I asked if he had any horses and he said no. To this I could only reply that his own companions had told me that they had two horses. This argument he answered by saying that although it was true that there had been two horses, the latter had not belonged to his village but to some heathen at the village of Cauya. These individuals, on learning of our arrival, took flight and left the horses in their village. Whereupon I immediately put on a very serious air and brought to light the fact that the two Christians had actually brought the horses to the village of Cauya.

On getting this information I checked to see if I could get across the river but I could not because the high water prevented me. Nevertheless I went ahead, taking a guide from among these people, and started on to attack the village of the Guimilches, for they were already awaiting us. As soon as we had entered our road several heathen appeared and among them two Christians from San Luis Obispo, called Ventura

⁶They were warned and freed, having been taken to a native chief. [But see more detail concerning this matter in the account for Jan. 6.]

⁴The women and their children were left at their mission, and the five adult Indians were sent to the Presidio.

and Miguel. The captain, mentioned above, had not spoken of these individuals because he did not know of them.

This day I succeeded in reaching the village of the Guimilches, and because they had already said they were expecting me I stopped at a distance of a quarter of a league. I ordered the chiefs informed that no one should move except the Christians, and that the latter should remain quiet. In case they tried to get away they should be prevented from doing so. This objective was completely unattainable. After arriving at the village the chiefs were able to secure for me, by dark, only those people, heathen and Chinese, who were to be found in the village. I decided to retire a quarter of a league, and here six chiefs of the heathen presented themselves to me. They brought with them only sixty souls, children and old men. Today we had no other misfortune than the failure of one mule, which was left near the village. We traveled eleven leagues upstream, toward the Sierra Nevada.

Jan. 13. The chiefs came, but brought no Christians, or even their families, as had been promised. They said that they had been able to find no one, and all that they had done was to stir up two, or even three, other villages, the Notontos, the Euchamines and also the Chouchomines.¹¹ They all came to see me at the camp and I asked them what they wanted. They answered that they had come simply to see me. I asked them if there were any Christians at their villages or if they had any horses, they replied in the negative. I asked them about the Tachi¹² and they said the latter had fled into the tule swamps. Finally they all left, the Guimilches in their company, with the avowed purpose of getting together the Christians. At about 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon they brought me three Christians, from Mission Soledad, and those were all whom I was able to get.

The Guimilches all vanished and I was not able to find any during the whole afternoon.

Corporal Licenciado Manuel Butron, who was in everything very alert, noticed that by sunset not a single heathen was visible and enquired about these Indians of the guides and interpreters. The latter said that all the heathen had gone to hide themselves. Furthermore, a chief of the Hoyima, whom we had with us as guide, had told one of the interpreters, that in the sweathouse that same night he had heard these heathen talking to each other. Some were saying that now it would be seen who were the brave among the soldiers, and others answered, yes, now we would see. On being told these things I realized that all these wild Indians were against us.

Another Indian who was there with the rest in the sweathouse that night, told me he had seen the mule which we had been forced to leave near the village. He had seen that the people were quarrelling, some wanted its hide, some its head, until, in the melée they were trying to get even its shoulder blades. Considering these matters, and in view of our being camped in a dense oak grove surrounded by a gully which I realized could cause not only the troops but the horses in my charge a good deal of embarrassment, I immediately made disposition to retire about three quarters of a league. The place I had in mind was a very favorable position. On this day's march we suffered the loss of five animals, and since it was getting dark I was not able to order a search for them. There were no other untoward incidents. This day we traveled 13 leagues.¹³

Jan. 14. Very early I ordered all the soldiers to saddle their horses and went to the village¹⁴ in order to attack it and to hunt for the animals which were missing on the previous day. I could not find them. I immediately scattered all the troops over the entire area with orders that if they came upon any wild Indian they were to bring him in, and if he showed fight they were to open fire on him. This was done. According to what the soldiers told me they killed seven Indians and caught six alive, among them a chief. The animals did not appear.

The captives were asked what they knew about the horses but they had no information. They said that the Notontos had carried them off but when the Notontos were questioned they said they had taken nothing but that the Guimilches^e were those who had done it.

The soldiers brought me word of finding the tracks of horses, but the latter went into a muddy swamp, filled with brush and tules. Thereupon I went to see myself and found there was no possibility of catching the horses. This same day I started to retreat toward the west taking with me my prisoners. I could not go any farther forward because the rivers were very high and the horses were getting exhausted and the provisions were giving out. While rounding up the horses to leave this place one horse escaped and was not pursued because the plains were so vast. The animal was permanently lost. This day we traveled seven leagues.¹⁶

Jan. 15. I followed a westerly course and traveled 8 leagues. I could not cover more distance because several horses were getting exhausted. No incident.

Jan. 16. In the same direction I continued my march and went about 7 leagues to a place called La Junta. Here I had to stop, for two reasons. The first was that three more horses gave out and the second was that the slough was so swollen that we had to cross it on rafts. This occupied the day, with no other misfortune.

Jan. 17. We stayed in this place all day so as to rest the horses and recover the three animals which had collapsed the previous day, at the same time I detached Corporals Licenciado Manuel Butron and Angelo Castro^f with three of the guides whom I had taken from Mission San Juan Bautista. No other incidents.

Jan. 18. Corporal Salvador Espinoza with ten soldiers set out with 22 Indian prisoners, Christians and heathen, old and young, and at the same time convoyed the exhausted horses, toward San Juan Bautista. At the same time I set out with 18 soldiers and one corporal toward the south in search of the village of Tache. We went as far as the place called Las Animas and it was necessary to chase and kill a deer because the supplies were so low. Today we went 9 leagues with no other events.

Jan. 19. We followed the same direction and traveled about 9 leagues until we got into the tule swamps near the village of the Taches. No incident.¹⁷

*The Guimilches are enemies of the Notontos and have always been treated badly by the troops. The Notontos were also our opponents, but since the year 1819, in which I went on an expedition, and treated them with kindness and consideration, they have retained their friendship for our troops until the present day.

[Signed] Estudillo

[rubric]¹⁵

¹⁴They went back to the Presidio [of Monterey] by crossing the mountains [i. e., the Coast Ranges].

Jan. 20. We reached the bank of the Kings River where we found the Indians of the village of Tache. But they were all on the other side of the river and all armed, both Christian and heathen. The Christians belong to Mission Soledad. I talked to these Indians and called for the chief but he would not come. They said they would not come over to where I was because they were afraid and because they already knew how we had killed seven of the heathen Guimilches. Finally I tried as best I could to get to an island¹⁸ in Lake Bubal [*i. e.*, Lake Tulare] but it was impossible to do it because the stream which we had to cross was exceedingly deep, and there were many swamps impassable for the horses.

Through an interpreter I again requested that the chief be called in a loud voice—for he was remaining some 200 paces distant from me—and he replied that he did not want to come near. They would not come to us, all this because they were afraid we would kill them. The soldiers who were with me were rushing to jump in and swim the river but I would not permit them because the current was so treacherous. It was now nearly 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon and we would have had to push through water and swamp for a league and a half in order to reach their village. So I retreated, following the path toward the village of Bubal.¹⁹ We traveled till 9:00 o'clock at night and covered 9 leagues.

Jan. 21. We continued our course to the east, going 9 leagues uneventfully.

Jan. 22. We left at 5:00 o'clock in the morning, following in the direction of the village of Bubal and at about 10:00 o'clock we arrived where it was located in an isolated spot in the interior of the tule swamps. This village must be almost a league from the lake shore where we stopped. But from 3 leagues away we could see all the Indians because the land is so flat. When we dismounted at the edge of the lake they came out to receive us with much joy, cheering and giving signs of affection for the soldiers. I saw many Christians who were here on vacation. They presented me with the papers and passports which the Father at Mission San Miguel had given them.

Shortly after my arrival the chief of the village of Bubal came and said that the soldiers should come and get something to eat. He arranged that Corporal Brigido, with six soldiers for greater security, should go. They were ferried on rafts and had no trouble. They had a good passage, were received with much pleasure, and were presented with pinole and ducks. The corporal returned with the chief to where I was stationed. I asked the chief about his other colleague who was well known to the troops and was called Gabriel by the Christians. The chief said that he [Gabriel] had gone on a trip to Buenavista.

This Chief offered to supply us with everything and assured us that his village would never oppose the soldiers. On the other hand all his people were ready to give assistance to the troops, if the latter would go and fight the Taches. They offered to go themselves and help drag them [the Tachi] out of the tule swamps in the lake because they knew very well where the Taches lived. After concluding my business with them I retired at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon toward the west as far as the place called Los Alamos which we reached about 11:00 o'clock in the evening. This day and night we traveled about 12 leagues.

Jan. 23. We passed the day at Los Alamos so as to rest the horses and recover seven horses of Mission San Miguel.

Jan. 24. We went nine leagues this day without incident to the place called La Estrella.

Jan. 25. I arrived with no trouble at Mission San Miguel having turned over the seven horses to the cowboys who lived at La Estrella.

[Jan. 26 to Jan. 31, inclusive. Routine journey back to the Presidio of Monterey, unnecessary to present here in detail.]

EXPEDITIONS OF SEBASTIAN RODRIGUEZ TO THE SAN JOAQUIN RIVER AND BUENAVISTA LAKE

Sebastian Rodriguez: "Diario"

[Report written by . . . Sergeant Sebastian Rodriguez of the Campaign authorized on April 17, 1828.]

April 20. After Mass I loaded the provisions and set out at 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon. I slept at Santa Ana.

April 21. I left Santa Ana and slept in the arroyo known as Quiensabe.

April 22. I left Quiensabe, rested at the place called Panochita, and left there at 6:00 o'clock in the afternoon going toward the San Joaquin River. At about 1:00 o'clock in the morning Corporal Simeon Castro came upon a herd of mares, part of those stolen by the Indians, and among them were three animals wounded by arrows. The herd was gathered in, they being the property of Anselmo Romero, but we could not get to the river because of the miry Santa Rita Slough which is about half a league this side of the river. We stopped at about 3:00 o'clock in the morning.²⁰

April 23. As soon as it was daylight a passage over the slough was searched for, and completed with some difficulty, for one of the loads fell in the mud. I reached the river at about 10:00 o'clock in the morning and found it at high water. Three rafts were assembled and during the day we got across with no more misfortune than the overturning of one raft with my saddle, baggage and weapons. All my property with that of several soldiers got soaked but nothing was lost because the Indians were all ready with the horses on the opposite bank. Here we slept the night.

April 24. I set out at about 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon, heading for the place called Monte Redondo,²¹ but I did not arrive until dawn of the 25th because the guides got lost. This day [*i. e.*, the 25th] I set out for the place called El Potrero, which I reached at about 11:00 o'clock at night. I established myself there until the soldier Norberto Garcia should return, whom I had sent out with four men to scout the village of the Joyimas, where the horses were eaten.

This Garcia got back about 2:00 o'clock in the morning [of the 26th]. I immediately started out, leaving Corporal José Avila with four soldiers and four Indian auxiliaries to guard the horses and baggage. At about one eighth of a league before reaching the village I ordered Corporal Simeon Castro with 10 soldiers and 15 Indian auxiliaries to cross to the north side of the river,²² while I remained on the south side. However only five men on horseback, with Corporal Castro were able to get across because it was extremely muddy. We continued to approach the village which was between the two channels of the river in a willow thicket very difficult to penetrate. The party which was on the south side, before reaching the village, bogged down in some

very miry tule swamps. Corporal Simeon got as close as 60 yards, more or less, from the village when the neighing of a horse gave the alarm to the heathen. They instantly seized their weapons and fired several arrows. Seeing this, Corporal Simeon opened fire and killed two Indians. The party on the south entered the village, part on foot, part on horseback, killed 3 Indians, and captured 8 men and 7 women together with some boys and girls, the total being 26 souls. We found 27 horses, of the herd belonging to the Soberanes,²³ the flesh of which the Indians had been eating for three days, after the animals had been killed with arrows. In the brush there may have been 60 to 80 more horses.²⁴

Shortly a heathen chief told us about the village of Guche, whose people came to the Joyimas to eat horses, and also about another village higher up the river where they ate horses. Thereupon I ordered Corporal Simeon Castro to go and look at these villages while I stayed to look after the prisoners and soldier José Bermudes [and another soldier] both of whom were soaked to the waist. Corporal Simeon found no people at the first village; only one horse which ran into the hills. Then the Corporal went to the other village and found no people, only the remains of horses. The tracks of the people went into the mountains.

As soon as everyone had rejoined me I had all the horse meat burned, not leaving the Indians as much as a quarter to eat. Then, after those who were wet had dried out, I retired and made camp at about 1:00 o'clock in the afternoon. The meat at the other two villages was not burned. The dead horses may have amounted to 100. These three villages are all part of the tribe of Joyimas, and when horses are brought in they are divided up among the Indians who caught them, to be eaten at leisure. We captured a Christian woman from Soledad and another from San Juan who had a small boy likewise Christian.

April 27. I started out at about 1:00 o'clock in the morning [of the 27th] toward the mountains in pursuit of those who had fled. I went about 8 leagues into the mountains to the place where they are accustomed to camp when they run away. When we found nobody, the guide, who was actually one of the prisoners, told me that the Indians must be still behind us. So I went back, as the guide told me, and came upon two women, whom we caught. They gave us the information where the rest of the people were. The soldiers whose horses were least tired went out and captured 5 men, 19 women and 13 boys and girls. I lost the interpreter and 5 Christian auxiliaries. When I arrived at the village where the dead men were, I came upon 8 men including 2 chiefs who came out fighting and captured one chief, a Christian from San Juan and 3 women. Of those who got away seven encountered our troops while we were leaving the mountains. They were captured, among them a Christian from San Juan and two of the horse thieves, heathen, one named Selli, and the other Salmi.²⁵ As soon as we had all reunited I retired to the camp, which we reached at about 7:00 o'clock in the evening.

April 28. Everyone rested.

April 29. At about 2:00 o'clock in the morning I set out for the village called Teuche and did not find the inhabitants for they had already fled the previous day.²⁶ I followed their tracks about 7 leagues into the mountains and in a very rocky place I came upon 2 Christian men, one Christian woman, all three from San Juan Mission, one heathen man, five women and

two children. In all there were eleven. I then returned to the camp, reaching it at about 7:00 o'clock in the evening.

All these villages are stirred up by a Christian Indian from Mission San Juan, who came to tell them that the soldiers were on their way. This man arrived the day before I did, and after just being able to notify the Joyimas, immediately made a circuit through the north giving his warning everywhere that horses are eaten. The heathen Indians stated that this Christian is called Delfino.

April 30. I ordered Corporal Simeon with 17 soldiers and 16 Indian auxiliaries to go to the village of Chausila to see if they could catch either Christians or heathen, for these people are also horse eaters.²⁷ I went with the prisoners toward the place called La Posa de Blas to see if I could catch some deer for the prisoners to eat. My provisions were being exhausted, for with prisoners and nonprisoners we had a total of 142 souls. In the afternoon some antelope were caught and I slaughtered a colt and with these the prisoners were supplied.

May 1. At 8:00 o'clock in the morning Corporal Simeon rejoined us. He had not encountered a single Indian in the Chausila country. They had all run to the mountains. The corporal lost one horse which became exhausted.

May 2. I set out for the San Joaquin River which I found much more flooded, and when I went through the tule swamps, with much water and deep mud, several loads fell off.

May 3. After Mass I began to cross [the river] on rafts and finished about 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon. We went on to sleep at the end of Santa Rita Slough. On May 4 we rested there so that the soldiers might hunt deer to feed the people whom we had with us. On May 5 I went on to sleep at the place called La Panochita. Here I ordered soldiers to go round up some cattle so that we might have some supper. They caught two bulls and a calf. We went on to sleep at the place called the Corral de Joaquin Soto.

May 6. I set out at about 5:00 o'clock in the morning and reached San Juan Mission about 6:00 o'clock in the afternoon. I brought in 52 horses taken from the village called Joyima, and, between Christians and heathen 85 souls.

Signed.

Sebastian Rodriguez

Sebastian Rodriguez: Report . . . in which he went out on an expedition to the tulares in the direction of San Miguel.

1828

May 26. This day I left the mission mentioned, in the direction of the tulares, and slept in the place called Agua Dulce.

May 27. I left this place and slept in La Panza.

May 28. I left La Panza²⁸ and at dawn of the 29th reached Buenavista Lake. In the village called Tulamé I found that all the people had gone into the swamps on account of the word they had received from a neophyte of Mission San Miguel. After I had stayed an hour in the remains of the village, the chief arrived in a boat and I had him disembark. I asked him about his people and he said they had run away in fright, because they had been told the soldiers were coming to kill them. The soldiers Gabriel de la Torre and Juan Butron requested permission to go into the swamps

and bring out the Indians. I gave them permission. They went ahead, with some others, and brought out the few persons who were there.

As soon as they had left I questioned the chief about the horses which he had at his dwelling, because I had seen numerous signs of them. He said they had gone eastward and at about three o'clock I saw two [Indians] at the other side of the lake running on horseback. Immediately I ordered a chief of the village of Tache, who had come with me as an aide from San Miguel, to catch the two fellows on horseback. He jumped into the water, swimming with his arrows over his head, caught the two and brought them to me. They were from the same village where I then was. The soldiers asked permission to go to the other side of the lake and catch the horses, which had been left behind. I told them to go. Instantly five of them put on their leather jackets, put their cartridge belts around their necks and went on horseback with their guns in their hands. They caught the two horses which had been seen and another in addition.

As soon as they had returned I asked the chief where were the six Christians supposed to be in his village. He replied that they had all gone into the swamps. Thereupon I took him prisoner with all his people, although the latter were few in number, until such time as he surrendered the Christians.

Among the prisoners was a young lad who said that in the mountains of Santa Barbara was a village which possessed horses and saddles although there were but few people. He offered to go and point it out to us. So as soon as night fell I set out with 15 men, leaving Corporal Brigido with 8 soldiers to guard the horses and equipment, and at dawn of May 30th, arrived at the village and captured everyone.

As soon as I told them to come out of their houses the chief handed me a document from the Father Minister of La Purisima which said that he had authorized the chief to recover horses belonging to that mission. Immediately I ordered 4 soldiers and 2 Indians to assemble these horses. They brought 20 animals; 5 mules, 3 mares and 12 horses of different owners. They had 8 saddles and 3 cow hides. I asked the chief where they had got the saddles and hides and he said that Patricio, the alcalde of the said mission [Purisima] had provided them so that they might catch deer and take the deer hides to the mission. I asked him about the cow hides and he said they had been taken from the mission, but it was not to be credited that cattle escaping from Mission San Miguel should reach the Mountains of Santa Barbara near which this village is located.²⁹

I took away the horses, saddles and all other equipment for riding, and at about 8:00 o'clock in the morning retired to Rancho San Emigdio [May 30].³⁰ There I encountered a heathen Indian named Francisco and some old women, who were cultivating their garden. This man gave me 4 horses and said that he had turned over 50 to Sergeant Salazar who had been authorized by the Commandant of Santa Barbara. He said he would go and show me a village where there were a lot of horses, a village called Carrizo.³¹ There they turned over to me 7 horses and informed me that the previous day Pastor Migueleño³² had passed by with his companions and had told them about the soldiers. I pursued him all that night and until 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon of the next day [May 31] but could not catch him because he got into the Mountains of San Fernando. I retreated to the point where my

horses had been left, and arrived at about 1:00 o'clock in the morning [June 1]. Corporal Brijido told me that the chief of Buenavista had brought him the 4 Christians.

At dawn of the 2nd of June I ordered the chief to bring me two Christians who were still lacking. On doing so I would free him with all his people. This was accomplished the next day at about 10:00 o'clock in the morning [June 3]. The same day the chief of the village Yaulamene brought me twelve horses³³ because he knew the soldiers were hunting for livestock; I inquired of him concerning Christians at his home and he said there were some. I told him to bring them to me but he said he could not, but that if soldiers went to the other side of the lake he would surrender them. I ordered corporals Villa and Rodriguez with 14 soldiers to cross to the other side of the lake, having previously held as prisoners six men whom the chief had brought with him. In the crossing three horses were drowned, belonging to the soldiers Fernando Feliz, Vitorino Martinez, and Francisco Soto. When the soldiers arrived at the village of Yaulamene the chief brought out the Christians.

At about 11:00 o'clock in the morning of June 4 the corporals returned to the point where I was located. I immediately set free the heathen Indians. On June 5, after saying the Rosary I set out for the village of Bubal, and arrived on June 6 at about 11:00 A.M. After I had been there an hour or an hour and a half I told the chief that he should present to me all his people and he should surrender 16 Christians who were in his village. He said everyone had gone into the tule swamps. I seized and bound nine heathen Indians and told the chief that I would not let them go until he yielded up the Christians. I also said I would capture eleven more who were on leave from the mission of San Miguel and take them all to the Presidio. That afternoon they brought me two Christians.

I could not remain later than June 8 because the horses were dying of thirst, some of the soldiers having fed their horses noxious fodder. On June 8 I left Bubal and slept among the cottonwoods at a place called Nido de Aura. On June 9 I left there at about 5:00 o'clock in the morning and arrived at San Miguel at about 6:00 o'clock in the afternoon. On the trip from Buenavista to Bubal 10 horses got away, of those which I had recovered in the tule swamps. I therefore handed over to Father Fray Juan Cabot 47 animals from missions San Luis, Purisima, Santa Barbara, Buenaventura, San Fernando and San Gabriel. All the Indians, 31 heathen and Christian, I took to the Presidio.

Signed at Monterey, 22 June, 1828.

MINOR SKIRMISHES BETWEEN COLONISTS AND NATIVES

Presented next is a series of relatively brief excerpts from official correspondence, each of which relates to an isolated incident but which in the aggregate gives a forceful impression of the confused raiding, sniping, and bushwhacking that went on between 1825 and 1840. These records give only a glimpse of what must have amounted to continuous minor warfare between the Hispano-Mexican colonists on the coast and the natives of the interior.

The correspondence is arranged chronologically and any comment deemed necessary is contained in the notes.

Ignacio Martinez to Alcalde of San José
 Santa Clara, April 26, 1829
 (Archives of San José, Miscellaneous Documents,
 Vol. VI:16-17)

He asks that the citizens help him to go against the Indian horse thieves (the neophytes of mission San José, gathered along the rivers) next Sunday, under command of the officer designated by the alcalde. He says that "it is with great insolence that the chieftain Estanislao is insulting the troops as well as private parties in daring language. Such offenses can no longer be regarded with indifference."³⁴

Governor Echeandía to Commandant of San Francisco
 San Diego, May 6, 1829
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. VII] 48:150)

Orders that he shall direct an expedition composed of the strongest possible force of troops and militia of San José, under command of Ensign José Sanchez, against the Indians. They shall recover the neophytes who have been protected by the wild Indians and who have been molesting the Christians, killing and robbing them. A three-pounder cannon shall also be taken along.

Governor Echeandía to the Minister of War
 San Diego, May 22, 1829
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. VII] 48:19)

On April 22 the Commandant of Monterey sent out Ensign M. G. Vallejo with 22 soldiers and 13 civilians to pursue the Indian horse thieves of the village Joyima. On the campaign 40 men and 8 women died. The party returned without other incident on last March 7 [clearly means May 7].³⁵

Fernandez del Campo
 Monterey, November 2, 1829
 (Archives of Monterey County, Miscellaneous Documents,
 pp. 211-212 [n. s.])

He transcribes the letter of the Comandante General to the effect that he knew that in the recent campaigns of troops sent out against the heathen Indians, several [Indians] were brought back and were distributed. He indicates where they are to be found and that they shall be returned to missions San Carlos and Soledad, as agreed with the Father Prefect, so that from these missions they may be handed out to private parties, returned to their relatives, or sent wherever required.³⁶

Fernandez to the Alcalde
 Monterey, November 3, 1829
 (Archives of Monterey County, Miscellaneous Documents,
 p. 212 [n. s.])

He requested the Comandant of this Port to furnish 6 or 8 soldiers to pursue artillerymen [deserters] and peasants who have run away to commit depredations and robberies which are reported from the village of Tapé.³⁷

José Berreyesa
 San José, July 15, 1830
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. IX] 32: 314)

The alcalde Francisco Jimenez says that, having been sent out by the Father in search of fugitive Christians

he went first to the Junisumnes, and not having found them because they had gone to join the Ochejamnes to fight, and protect the Christians, he went on immediately to the Cosomes. The latter received him well, as did the Sigousamenes and the Ilamenes, all of whom lived close by.³⁸ These three villages together formed an army of 450 heathen auxiliaries against the Ochejamenes. The alcalde went in the direction of the latter in order to demand of them the fugitive Christians. As soon as he arrived they told their allies to retire and he approached to talk to them. But they began to give their usual war cries. He argued with them and asked that their chief Huyumegepa come out and talk with him. Soon the chief came out, presented himself, and said that here were the Christians who were sought after, but they would not be given up, because here they were treated very well while at the mission they were given very little.³⁹ With his men he retired to the plain and the battle broke loose. Eleven of his people [the alcalde's] were wounded, 5 Christians and 6 heathen, but with slight wounds.

Having received word from the wild Indians that the Americans were in the Sierra Nevada foothills he quickly went to them and when he arrived he told them that he had been badly handled by the wild Indians who were very rough. He asked for a paper testifying that he had spoken to them. But the leader of the Americans told him to go once more against the Ochejamenes and he sent eleven Americans to accompany him. This leader stayed in camp because he was quite sick. When they arrived they began to fire and, seeing this, the Americans put aside their horses and also began to fire. This lasted about three hours, more or less. The wild Indians fled the field, abandoning their houses which were burned because the Indians set fire to them. The enemy lost 3 killed and 19 wounded of whom some died. Among the latter was a Christian rebel.

Having retired with the Americans, they took their departure the following day and went with the Cosomes who accompanied them as far as the boats which would take them back to the mission.

They found out from the Cosomes that the Moquelames had 50 horses and also they saw about 30 wild Indians chasing deer on horseback. The principal chief, called Timay has more than 100 horses. Estanislao, the Christian chief who rebelled last year and was pardoned, is now in the tularas by permission of the Father and has 100 horses. Actually there is not a village which does not have horses.⁴⁰

Francisco Alvizu to Alcalde of Monterey
 Soledad, March 13, 1831
 (Archives of Monterey, Miscellaneous Documents,
 p. 239 [n. s.])

Some Indians stole horses. He ordered the alcalde and some cowboys to chase them. They caught them, recovered the horses, and killed the chief, known as "El Tacuache."

José Sanchez to Governor Figueroa
 San Francisco, March 24, 1833
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. III] 28:103)

States that the Corporal of the guard at San Francisco Solano informs him that on the 20th 6 strangers of a beaver-trapping company arrived there requesting passage to San Francisco de Asis.

Fray J. de J. M. Gutierrez to Governor Figueroa
San Francisco Solano, April 7, 1833
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. III] 28:112)

Communicates that there are to be found at Suysun some 40 strangers, Anglo-Americans, Englishmen and Frenchmen who say they are trappers. He begs that the Governor give orders that they withdraw from his mission because they are objectionable. They have appropriated horses that did not belong to them; they have presented evil ideas against the white men to the Indians and have persuaded them to steal horses and cattle, giving them trinkets and old clothes in exchange for animals.⁴¹

Fray J. de J. M. Gutierrez to Governor Figueroa
San Francisco Solano, April 26, 1833
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. III] 28:116)

Informs him of the bad conduct of three foreign citizens residing at the mission of Solano who are to be classed as obstreperous, envious and anti-catholic. For these reasons he begs Figueroa to make them live at Monterey for there, under the watchful eye of the authorities, they will refrain from bad behavior.

Governor Figueroa to Minister of War and Navy
Monterey, April 12, 1833
(Calif. Arch. [State Papers, Missions and Colonization, t. II] 53:215)

Furthermore the British and Americans, established on the Columbia River, make frequent incursions into this country on the pretext of trapping beaver and other quadrupeds. Scattering over various regions they identify themselves with the wild natives, following the same kind of life. They live in a wandering fashion with them and in this way become familiar and gain their confidence. From this has come rapidly one positive evil, namely that, influenced by these adventurers, the natives have dedicated themselves with the greatest determination to the stealing of horses from all the missions and towns of this territory. The object is to trade the animals for intoxicating liquors and other frivolities.

José Figueroa to Alcalde Constitucional de San José
Santa Barbara, April 12, 1833
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San José, t. IV] 45:119)

The occurrence with the four heathen Indians is recorded. Whenever there are expeditions of this type it is necessary that the participants shall not kill wild Indians without first making certain that they are the ones who have committed the robberies.

The Alcalde of Sna Jose to the Political Chief of the Territory
San José, November 10, 1833
(Archives of San José, Miscellaneous Documents, Vol. V:27-28)

He states that on this date Regidor Sebastian Peralta arrived with a company of civilians saying that in the course of their expedition they recovered 58 animals of those stolen by the Indians.

On the first day of the month they encountered the Company of Joachim Young on this side of the river, toward San Gabriel. Of the animals which he [Young]

had with him he gave up 27. However Peralta could not induce Young to give up those stolen from the missions of San Fernando, San Gabriel, Santa Barbara, San Miguel and others belonging to civilians, for Young said they had been legally acquired.

Afterward Peralta retired as far as the village of the Moquelames where the Indians put up a resistance. He killed 22 of them, seizing 12 animals, and capturing 2 Christians of San José. On the San Joaquin River they encountered the Company of Frenchmen who were traveling toward Monterey, while trapping beaver. They [Peralta] took away from them three stolen animals.

Jose Figueroa to the Alcalde of San Jose
Monterey, November 18, 1833
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San José, t. V] 45:138)

The Governor notes the robberies of horses instigated by the Americans who under the guise of trappers, insinuate themselves among the wild Indians. He will recommend to the military commander at San Francisco to send out an expedition every month to those points where it is believed that stolen horses are kept. For this purpose the citizenry should contribute horses to mount the troops.

José Figueroa: Order and decree concerning robbers of horses and other livestock
Monterey, November 18, 1833
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San José, t. V] 45:134-137)

José Figueroa, Brigadier General of the United States of Mexico, Inspector General and highest Political Chief of Upper California:

Being so serious and so scandalous the damage caused frequently by horse and cattle thieves throughout the entire territory, and it being desirable to cut out the roots of this regrettable evil, which in addition to devastating the country is demoralizing our customs and promoting indolence, I have circulated to the military commanders the following order:

In order to prevent the frequent theft of horses by the heathen Indians and remove the causes which are responsible, I have arranged that from every presidio a military expedition shall set out each month and scout those places where the robbers shelter themselves and hide their stolen animals. The missions and the citizens of each area shall assist in this by providing the necessary mounts for the troops. To this end you will take the necessary measures. The monthly expedition will take place at a time which you consider most suitable and will be under the command of an officer, sergeant, or corporal. The commander shall carry the instructions which I may give you, together with the following:

1. All the horses encountered which have not been sold or disposed of through any other procedure which demonstrate their legal acquisition, shall be repossessed from any party and shall be returned to their owners.

2. All the trappers who shall be met shall be informed, if they are foreigners, that they are enjoined from hunting and shall immediately remove themselves; if they are Mexicans or naturalized citizens they can not hunt without previously obtaining a permit and pass from this government.

3. All infractions will be severely punished. All the livestock found in the tulares and the desert will be regarded as stolen and their possessors will be treated as thieves, they being also responsible for any damage

done by wild Indians whom they may incite to evil.

4. Commerce is free and subject to the rules laid down by law. It should be transacted in civilized towns, but under no circumstances among the heathen Indians for they can not possess property of any sort. Whoever is found carrying on this clandestine trade will be regarded as a smuggler whose effects will be impounded and who will be brought before a judge of competent jurisdiction who will attach the goods if there is occasion for so doing.

5. Any trapper who disregards these regulations and who is encountered in the wilderness will be regarded as a smuggler. His effects will be impounded and he will be brought before a court of competence which will confiscate his goods if occasion requires.

6. The natives shall be treated with gentleness and charity. They shall be caused to realize that it is a delinquency to steal cattle. They shall be told that those who persist in this course will be taken by force to the presidios for punishment, that they all are under obligation to inform concerning the thieves, it being understood that if they do not do so they will be punished as accessories, and that if they behave themselves well they will always be treated with consideration and friendliness.

All this I communicate to you so that you may take due notice thereof and act energetically and efficiently in the matter.

Furthermore I direct likewise not only the alcaldes but also the military commanders, the private owners of ranchos and haciendas and their agents to pursue all cattle thieves and capture them when they encounter them in the act or upon proof of crime. They shall be put at the disposition of competent magistrates who under the law and with the greatest possible expedition will try the cases and pronounce sentence so that the guilty parties may suffer an exemplary chastisement and the offended public may be satisfied. . . .⁴²

José Figueroa to Alcalde of San José

Monterey, November 22, 1833

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San Jose, t. V] 45:138)

He has arranged for a military expedition to go out every month in pursuit of horses stolen by the wild Indians. This expedition may be joined by all the citizens who volunteer, and by those designated by the Ayuntamiento.

José Figueroa to Alcalde of San José

Monterey, January 8, 1834

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San Jose, t. IV] 45:144)

He has arranged for an expedition, under the command of an officer, in search of stolen horses. He invites those citizens who wish to join the expedition to be ready for the order to depart.

Vallejo to Governor Figueroa

San Francisco, January 8, 1834

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. III] 28:143)

Proposes that the governor arrange an expedition against the Indians of the valley of the tulares composed of 200 men.

Governor Figueroa to Vallejo

Monterey, January 21, 1834

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. III] 28:143)

He answers that he will determine the measures to be taken regarding the expedition which is proposed against the Indians who are fortified in the tulares.

José Figueroa to Alcalde of San José

Monterey, January 21, 1834

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San Jose, t. IV] 45:145)

The reasons are recorded why the citizens did not go out with the military expedition. It has come to my attention that the last party of citizens who went out on a campaign brought back some prisoners. Let me be notified as to the destination of these prisoners. It is also rumored that in these expeditions made by civilians abuses and mistreatment have been inflicted on the heathen Indians. The civilians should not go out again by themselves but only if accompanied by soldiers.⁴³

José Figueroa to Alcalde of San José

Monterey, January 26, 1834

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San José, t. IV] 45:145)

It is noted concerning the fugitive Indians, apprehended by the party of civilians who went to the tulares. These Indians shall continue for only one month at forced labor, after which they shall be returned to their respective missions.

José Figueroa to the Alcalde of San José

Santa Barbara, March 26, 1834

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San José, t. IV] 45:147)

That the inhabitants shall pursue the natives who come to steal horses, whenever it is required, but care shall be taken that the parties shall be commanded by a responsible man, humane and of strong character, so that public morality shall not be offended.

Figueroa to the Alcalde of San José

Monterey, January 24, 1835

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San José, t. IV] 45:166)

He has been informed that on the last expedition which the citizens of this town made to the tulares they committed various atrocities against the heathen Indians without distinguishing between the innocent and the guilty. In addition to stealing their ornaments and personal effects they took away seven small boys to serve them and act as slaves, without informing this government of the occurrences.

In order to eliminate such extreme abuses I have prohibited these civilians from entering the tulares. They shall pursue only veritable thieves when they are stealing livestock. However the necessity having been made clear to me of pursuing the latter into the interior to their actual villages, I have permitted this to be done with the proviso that those who are defenseless shall not be molested, nor shall weapons be used against those who offer no resistance. At the moment these provisions have been violated, and in order that the offenses shall not be repeated I adjure you, under your responsibility, to see that Indians are pursued only when they come to rob and that no other expedition is undertaken without permission of this government. Those Indians mentioned who were brought in shall be gathered together and placed at the disposition of the Father Minister of Santa Clara so that they may be educated there or returned to their parents as may seem appropriate.

David Spence to J. J. Vallejo

Monterey, March 12, 1835

(Archives of Monterey County, Miscellaneous Documents, p. 491)

The Ayuntamiento having resolved to make an expedition to the tulares against Indian cattle thieves, you have been designated commander of this expedition. You have the power to pursue also any Mexicans and Anglo-Americans who may be involved in this type of robbery.

Francisco Arucho to Vallejo

Valle de San Leandro, August 20, 1837

(Vallejo Documents, Vol. IV, No. 300)

I have the honor to communicate to you that on the 15th of this month the Indians stole horses from the owners of this ranch, taking something more than 100 animals. I chased them as far as the banks of the San Joaquin River, being aided by 5 men, all of them civilians. We were able to recover only 30 of the animals, large and small.

José de Jesus Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo

San José, August 21, 1837

(Vallejo Documents, Vol. IV, No. 31)

He says that on the 19th of this month arrived an expedition which he had sent out consisting of seventy-five armed men. It had been in pursuit of eleven natives under his jurisdiction who had absconded for no more reason than that they had become exasperated with the alcaldes who governed them. The ringleaders are Paisco and Nilo. The alcaldes who went out with a troop in pursuit were Borbon and Estanislao. According to what they told me, on catching the fugitives they killed two and badly wounded Nilo, one of the ringleaders. Up to his neck in the water, running around in the swamps, he sank and did not reappear. It was believed that he drowned among the tule roots, and such was his unfortunate finish. In the village of the Moquelames there was a considerable gathering of heathen Indians, but no one knows why. It is however learned that in two villages they murdered their chiefs.

According to this account, because of the number killed by this expedition, these people [the Indians] are considerably frightened; I am not urging the people to go on another expedition.

Ignacio Martinez to M. G. Vallejo

San Francisco, September 9, 1837

(Vallejo Documents, Vol. IV, No. 312. [Vol. IV, part 4 of the photocopies, pages 644-648])⁴⁴

On the 15th of the past month I received word from the rancho San Pablo⁴⁵ that two Indian cowboys had arrived at the house. They said that they came to see a relative of theirs and requested a pass (which was not given them) and they went off to the slaughter house. The following day when they were looked for they had already disappeared. About the same time Victor Castro came to see me personally, saying that one of the Indians working for him had told him that the two cowboys had told them that the purpose of their visit was to steal horses from the ranchos of San Pablo and of Merced. Therefore I immediately arranged for my people to go out from the borders of my ranch.⁴⁶

Having encountered three Indians on horseback at the Cañada de Bartolo, they chased them and José managed to take away one of their horses; the others escaped. Vicente pursued one of them and drove him over the cliff at the strait [of Carquinez] forcing him into the water. He shot at him with his pistol, the bullets striking near him and he went under. He thought he had wounded the Indian but the latter came up swimming for the other bank, laughing at him and making obscene gestures at him.

Afterwards they scouted as far as Cañada del Hambre where Olvera seized a group of horses which had been assembled for the purpose of getting together horses broken for riding. On reaching the Arroyo de la Hambre they also found a dead heifer, signs of horses, and a place for washing.

As a result of these events I asked help from the alcalde, communicating to him the news of what had happened so that the livestock might be looked after. Actually the previous day (the 14th of August) the Indians had run off more than 100 animals from the Peraltas and the Mission of San José. On the pursuit several [horses] were found exhausted, about thirty all together.

José Martinez to M. G. Vallejo

Rancho de la Merced, March 28, 1838

(Vallejo Documents, Vol. V, No. 62. [Part 1 of photocopy.])

I have in hand your letter of the 22nd which ordered me, immediately upon receipt, to proceed with 18 men of Contra Costa to Santa Clara where I would find Don Francisco Sanchez. As soon as I received these orders through Don Salvador Vallejo I turned over to him the horses and the rest of the equipment requested, and I ordered up four civilians. But they replied that they could not go because they were alone in their ranches and the horse thieves molest them a great deal. I could find no one in the other ranches because everyone had gone out with the party of 40 men who had started out from the town of Alvarado, in command of Don José Noriega, in pursuit of the robbers.

The reason why I have not been able to go myself, is because I have trouble in my chest, on account of the blow given me by a horse the night the Indians fell upon us, taking a herd of wild horses and a herd of tame horses which we later recovered.

The Comandante General [M. G. Vallejo] to Simeon

Castro and Feliciano Soberanes

San Francisco [?], August 6, 1838

(Vallejo Documents, Vol. V, No. 129)

He has received the two letters and looks with grief upon the horrible events which transpired in that jurisdiction and were brought about by Indian robbers. He has noted that, according to the letters, the riflemen have offered to liquidate this destructive plague if paid two pesos per day. Let them be offered this in the name of the Governor, provided that they carry out their obligation and capture if possible the ringleaders so as to make examples of them. The small forces which he has at his disposition are covering several points which they can not abandon. Nevertheless he is assembling such arms as he can and a reliable boat will take them to Santa Clara together with the necessary ammunition. Let Ensign Mesa take care of this equipment with which he should arm several civilians. He concludes by saying that it is not credible that the Indians should threaten to attack Monterey.

José de Jesus Vallejo
 San José, August 16, 1838
 (Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, Missions, t.X] 51:264)

Scarcely had he received [the letter] from the governor, than he obtained word according to the natives, that for some time numerous warriors had been running away at the instigation of a man named Ambrosio, of the village of the Moquelemnes, whom they recognized as chief. On the 14th he had notice of the arrival at the Rancho de los Borregos of this Ambrosio with his people and that they killed one person and wounded several others. He went out to help at this place and, having succeeded in capturing the above mentioned Ambrosio, ordered him shot. Father José de Jesus Gonzalez did not want to receive his confession without permission of the Father President. The latter gave his permission and Ambrosio died with benefit of clergy.

J. J. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo
 San José, October 11, 1838
 (Vallejo Documents, Vol. V, No. 201)

On the 7th of this month an expedition went out, promoted by me, consisting of twenty armed men and sixty Indians in whom I have great confidence. They went in pursuit of horse thieves. The results I shall transmit to you immediately, with all the details of the expedition.

José Castro to M. G. Vallejo
 Monterey, May 14, 1839
 (Vallejo Documents, Vol. VII, No. 74D)

On this date His Excellency the Governor states to me the following:

It has come to the attention of this Government that the heathen Indians are preparing to carry out the attacks to which they are accustomed against the ranches and missions, robbing, killing and doing damage which can not be tolerated. For this reason the inhabitants of the first district are in a continual turmoil and it is incumbent upon me to secure their safety and take measures to preserve good order. To this end I need you in person to lead an expedition. . . .⁴⁷

Juez Noriega to Prefect of the first district
 San José, May 29, 1839
 (Archives of Monterey, Miscellaneous Documents,
 p. 325 [n. s.]

He advises that the 20 volunteers of the town are ready who are to march to the tulares under orders of Captain Antonio Buelna. Sixteen citizens voluntarily contributed 13 guns, 2 pistols, 1 lance, 26 horses, 1 mule, and 1 saddle for the campaign.

Captain S. Estrada to Prefect of first district
 San Juan de Castro, July 7, 1839
 (Archives of Monterey County, Miscellaneous Documents,
 pp. 326-327 [n. s.]

He says that on the 3rd he went out to La Junta. There he met Captain Antonio Buelna, Ensign Clemente Espinosa, Administrator of San Miguel Inocente Garcia, the united forces amounting to more than 80 men.

They reached Kings River in order to call for help from the inhabitants of the region. They succeeded in

surprising two Indian villages, Cayhohuis and Picachis.⁴⁸ They were not considered criminals, but no one came out with good will; they did not take up arms, but ran away. Of the prisoners taken only one was known to be a thief. He and the rest, to the number of 77, mostly women and children are placed in charge of the Prefect.

He made another penetration of the mountains, going a considerable distance in without result. On his orders Captain Buelna scouted all along the Sierra with the same outcome. He wanted to make a further reconnaissance but he could not "on account of the insubordination which began to appear among the majority of those whom he commanded." For this reason he retired. Nevertheless he succeeded in "having instilled into the Indians a terror and panic which caused them to retreat to the other side of the mountains.

Prado Mesa to M. G. Vallejo
 San José, August 1, 1839
 (Vallejo Documents, Vol. VIII, No. 115)

I inform you that on the 28th of July, I being on leave in Santa Clara at about one o'clock in the morning, the Indian robbers fell upon the wheat harvest of the mission, killing one and wounding three. Immediately the administrator was informed and I set out on the march with those citizens whom I could gather at that hour. I caught the fugitives in the Blue Mountains and attacked them with the citizens and a few Indian auxiliaries, on foot from this mission. We killed one and wounded the principal thief. Two got away severely wounded. I am communicating this for your information.

J. J. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo
 San José, December 10, 1839
 (Vallejo Documents, Vol. VIII, No. 368)

Ensign Don Juan P. Mesa went at the head of fifteen men in pursuit of Indian criminals who stole a herd of horses of considerable size on the 2nd of this month. On the 8th, at 10:00 o'clock in the evening there arrived here the soldier Antonio Bernal with the news that the previous day at 10:00 o'clock in the evening, the said Bernal who was tending the horses with Domingo Altamirano, was surprised by the criminals. He fortunately was able to reach this point.

Immediately I asked help from the Justice of the Peace of Alvarado and he sent me fifteen armed men, in charge of Francisco Palomares. I armed fifty-five Indians of this establishment from among those in whom I had the greatest confidence, and ordered them to assist the Ensign [Mesa]. On the 9th at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon they left this place. At 12:00 o'clock that night I received from the man who was in charge the sad news which I am forwarding to you.

Governor Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo
 Monterey, December 13, 1839
 (Vallejo Documents, Vol. VIII, No. 375)

Yesterday I was informed by a special dispatch from the administrator of San José of the unfortunate occurrence to the person of Ensign Prado Mesa, who, with six other men, was wounded by the malevolent Indians of the tulares. Also the death of three farmers who accompanied him with a party in pursuit of horse thieves.

Manuel Jimeno to the Justice of San José

Monterey, December 13, 1839

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, San José, t. V] 45:247)

He refers to an unfortunate occurrence which happened to the party in command of Ensign Prado Mesa, which was in pursuit of Indian robbers. He says that today Ensign Rafael Pinto with 15 soldiers is going to the Mission of San Jose in order to protect the people and the ranchers of that area.

Manuel Jimeno to Prefect of First District

Monterey, December 15, 1839

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, Monterey, t. IV] 43:245)

[The same message as the preceeding. Ensign Pinto goes to San José with 15 soldiers.]

J. J. Vallejo to M. G. Vallejo

San José, January 15, 1840

(Vallejo Documents, Vol. IX, No. 20)

On the 6th of this month the Indians killed Señor Felipe Briones in the Borbones Hills. He was going in pursuit of his horses, accompanied by the brave José Martinez and the drummer Barcenás. When the Indians charged they left Briones alone and in their flight threw away their guns. Lieut. Martinez asked me for help and I ordered out a force to bring in the dead man and hunt for the weapons. The latter were found and they brought back the deceased who was buried on the 9th. He had six spear wounds. In the stampede of both the Indians and the civilians, neither did the Indians get away with the horses nor did the civilians know how to defend their position. . . .

Juan B. Alvarado, Constitutional Governor

San Juan de Castro, July 4, 1840

(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, Monterey, t. IV] 43:172-177)

The desire to prevent in any way the continual robberies committed in the country by the Indian barbarians and other criminals in the first district of this Department, causing the ruin of ranch owners and threatening the lives of defenseless families, has obliged the government to organize a force of 20 men, who, divided into two groups, shall constantly remain at those points where these deeds are most frequently committed. They are subject to the following provisions:

Article 1. The commander of the first group shall guard the line from the place called La Panocha to that called Las Garzas, and shall base on the town of San Juan.⁴⁹

Article 2. The second group shall guard from the place mentioned, Los Garzas, to Mission San José, and shall base on the town of San José.

Article 3. At the middle of every month the commanders of each of these groups shall present themselves with the forces which they command to the political authorities at the places mentioned. This is in order to give an account of their operations and receive the orders which will be transmitted to them by means of these authorities.

Article 4. The commanders shall assist all private property and ranch owners who shall request their protection. They shall pursue the thieves and other criminals of the countryside, apprehending them and bringing them before the appropriate authorities, to

whom they shall give all information with reference to the offenses which have been committed.

Article 5. The commanders shall apprehend directly any Indians, wild or Christian, whom they may encounter in flagrante delicto, involving any of the offenses mentioned. They shall do the same with persons of any other class whom they may come upon in the same circumstances.

Article 6. They shall not permit any one of the natives mentioned to pass the lines which are under their care, without presenting a passport from the respective authority stating the purpose of the trip and the number of days which have been allotted.

Article 7. During the time when the lines are being run there shall be no halt at any Rancho for more than two days, time to be spent in rest and acquiring provisions for continuation of the task. If there is detention by any of the property owners who are threatened by the enemy, notice shall be sent to the authorities at the central point. The same shall be done in case of delay due to the necessity of pursuing robbers.

Article 8. At the end of every month both Commanders with their forces shall meet at the place called Las Garzas, so as to communicate orders which each one may have received. In order to operate harmoniously a single command shall be formed, or if working separately, word shall be sent back and forth as necessary with reference to the property to be protected.

Article 9. The owners of Ranchos which are on the route should be solicited for assistance with provisions needed for the maintenance of the forces commanded.

Article 10. By means of the respective authorities the Governor shall be informed of all the measures considered necessary, so as to avoid difficulty, and the said authorities shall immediately give an account to the Governor of any notable occurrences which may be communicated to them.

Article 11. In case of failure of compliance with the above articles the commanders will be responsible to the Governor and the citizens and will be subject to such penalties as the Governor may impose. If there is failure to take proper care to maintain a perpetual vigilance, and thus jeopardize the security of the line in his charge, or there is any act of insubordination or disorderliness on the part of any of the subalterns, the commander shall report to the proper authorities in order that the merited penalty for his offense may be applied.

Article 12. The Governor, through the treasury, will supply monthly the sum of 254 pesos for the payment of this force. This subsistence is for the period of three months, after which time the results will be evaluated in the light of experience and these dispositions will be altered accordingly.

Article 13. The political authorities of San Juan and San José will immediately proceed to nominate the individuals who should undertake this task and the Government will provide them with the arms and munitions necessary for their defense.⁵⁰

The Prefect to the Justice of the Peace at San José

San Juan de Castro, September 21, 1840

(Archives of Monterey County, Miscellaneous Documents, p. 503)

In agreement with the Governor he has arranged that the citizen auxiliaries of the first and second parties shall march to the tulares, forming a single

company to chase the Indian horse thieves. If Buelna, commander of the second party, does not arrive in time to join the first party, Ramon Amesquita will command both. They will meet on the 1st [of October] at the entrance to Las Garzas.

Manuel Jimeno to Prefect of First District
Monterey, September 23, 1840
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, Monterey, t. IV] 43:250)

He says that the Governor, in response to the call for help of citizen Antonio German to pursue Indian horse thieves, orders a force to march against these Indians, catch them, and take away the stolen horses.

Ramon Amesquita to the Governor
San Juan de Castro, November 16, 1840
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, t. V] 30:32)

In the sortie which he carried out in search of villages, with 8 white men and 16 Indians he managed to catch 9 women, one of whom had a baby, plus several men.

One village asked voluntarily to go to the mission. Permission was granted.⁵¹

Casarin to the Manager of Mission San José
Monterey, December 29, 1840
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. IX] 49:256-260)

He is authorized to fit out an expedition against the Indian barbarians, proceeding to select the Indians of the establishment whom he needs, arming them, and paying them at the conclusion of the campaign.

Manuel Jimeno to Prefect of First District
Monterey, January 24, 1841
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, Monterey, t. IV] 43:256)

He mentions, "an expedition against the Indian barbarians being carried out by Auxiliary Captain Santiago Estrada."

. . . to Secretary of Communications
San Juan de Castro, January 24, 1841
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, Monterey, t. IV] 43:256)

He advises that the Indians of the mission of San Juan were attacked by wild Indians, who lost one killed and the others fled.

Jimeno to Prefect of first district
Monterey, January 24, 1841
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. Rec., t. XII] 49:285)

In consequence of the encounter of the Indian Julian with the heathen Indians, the Governor orders his representative in charge of San José to supply 20 bows with arrows. He arranges that Captain S. Estrada shall go out with a force which he shall command in place of Mariano Castro.

The Prefect to the Secretary of Communications
San Juan de Castro, February 3, 1841
(Calif. Arch. [Dept. State Papers, Monterey, t. IV] 43:258)

He reports the departure of Captain Santiago Estrada, Ensign Joaquin de la Torre, 10 soldiers, 14 Indians from the tularas, and 5 from this place in pursuit of the barbarous horse thieves.

[Several other documents record the departure of this expedition: see Departmental Records, Vol. XII: 289 (n. s.); Departmental State Papers, Monterey, Vol. IV:257 (n. s.).]⁵²

The Alcalde to the Prefect
San José, March 18, 1841
(Archives of San José, Miscellaneous Documents, Vol. III:45)

He says that Señor Mariano Castro has reported to him that he [Castro] was at the establishment on the Sacramento River. He saw the personnel of the Columbia River Company sell forty horses to Captain Sutter. These horses are among those which the wild Indians stole from this jurisdiction. He reports this for such action as may be taken.⁵³

The Alcalde to the Prefect
San José, March 18, 1841
(Archives of San José, Miscellaneous Documents, Vol. III:45)

He says that Don Antonio Suñol claims the quantity of 187 pesos which he loaned for the help of the citizens of the second party which went out under command of Don Antonio Buelna in pursuit of Indian horse thieves. He presents this in order that the loan may be repaid.

Salvio Pacheco to the justice of the peace
San José, August 19, 1842
(Archives of San José, Miscellaneous Documents, Vol. IV:9)

He accuses of stealing the stock of his ranch, according to evidence which he will produce, the Companies which are beaver hunting along the edge of the swamps of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, together with the pilots sent by Señor Sutter to San Francisco.

* * * * *

We stop here. The valley Indians were fighting the Mexican Californios to a standstill, making their lives intolerable with incessant raids upon ranches and missions. What would have been the outcome no one can tell, for a third element was already making its weight felt, the Anglo-Americans who were now, by 1841, pouring in a never-ending stream onto the Pacific Coast. Both Indians and native Californians were submerged and obliterated by the flood, and the fate of the Indian came to be determined by the new invaders.

V. PERSONAL DOCUMENTS

The documents presented hitherto are formal and official. They were written at the time of the events concerned and were intended to inform higher authority or to argue a case. The language has been censored, the ideas organized in a coherent manner. This is the type of documentary material which exists for every historical period and which constitutes the backbone of our knowledge.

There is another type of literature, however—that which is produced by the participants in events, either at the time or long afterward. No personal gain or loss is at stake. Anything may be said with impunity. The ethnographic and historical value of such writing is that it gives a picture of what really happened. The day-to-day personal give-and-take is set forth in unembellished terms. We see what was happening behind the screen of the stilted official correspondence, and we get an idea of the naked struggle for possession of the frontier. We find out how the aboriginal inhabitants behaved under pressure, and we see the fight for existence which they faced.

All this is not very pleasant. There are no passages of military rhetoric, but merely the earthy language of ranchers, soldiers, and Indians. There is vulgarity, obscenity, and unspeakable cruelty. Good taste is offended. Yet if we are to assess properly the racial conflict of the 1830's and 1840's we are entitled to know just what was going on, and there is no better way to learn this than through the written recollections of participants.

It is unfortunate that no native Indian was able to record his memories. Informants of the early ethnographers, such as Kroeber and Merriam, gave second-hand, highly expurgated versions, in diluted language, of dynamic events. We have therefore only the accounts of the white men (of course highly biased), and relatively few of those.

From the recollections dictated to Hubert Howe Bancroft's assistants by old-timers in 1877-1878 I have selected four. These seem to me the most extensive and valuable of the score or more which might be cited. They are crude, rough, and at times vicious. If they are offensive, remember that here are the pioneers and the heroes who are apotheosized in cinema and television today. This was what was going on in the California Arcadia of the mid-nineteenth century.

I add the following biographical information concerning the four persons whose recollections are here quoted.

Juan Bernal. (See Bancroft, History of California, Vol. II, p. 718.) Date of birth unknown, perhaps 1810, since he was 67 when he gave his reminiscences to Bancroft. Bancroft knows little about him. Thomas Savage, who wrote down the memoirs, says in his introduction that he saw Bernal at San Jose, in May, 1877. He was in very reduced circumstances. "He is an old man of very lively disposition, much of a dandy—illiterate to the extreme of not being able to read or write. He showed himself well disposed to furnish all he knew, but it was quite difficult to get it out of him, owing to his giddy, rambling way. Nevertheless with perseverance and by persuasion I managed to obtain from him what appears in this volume. . . ."

José María Amador. (See Bancroft, History of California, Vol. II, pp. 585-586, footnote 3.) Born in San Francisco 1794; died in Gilroy 1883. He was a soldier from 1810 to 1827. Bancroft says: "He is proud of his experiences as an Indian fighter, boasts of many acts of barbarous cruelty, shows the scars of many wounds, and declares he received for his service nothing but scanty rations and an occasional garment.

"In 1877, poor, crippled with paralysis, residing with his youngest daughter . . . near Watsonville, he dictated to Mr. Savage . . . his recollections of early times. . . . The author's memory is still unimpaired . . . though as might naturally be expected the old soldier draws the long bow in relating adventures of Indian warfare, and is very inaccurate in his dates."

Inocente Garcia. (See Bancroft, History of California, Vol. III, pp. 752-753.) Born in Los Angeles 1791; still alive in 1885. He was active politically prior to 1845 and was at one time administrator of Mission San Miguel. Bancroft says: "In '78 he was living at San Luis [Obispo] in poverty, strong in body and mind, though 88 years old, and of good repute." Thomas Savage, in his introduction to the memoirs, writes: "The old man bears a good name for veracity among those who have known him well during many years and even though reduced to such poverty as to rely for the support of himself, wife and a couple of orphan children in their charge, mostly on the assistance of such as feel pity for the wretched condition of an aged man who at one time was in affluent circumstances."

José Francisco Palomares. (See Bancroft, History of California, Vol. IV, p. 766.) Born in Santa Barbara 1808. A resident of San José. He held various local public offices. Bancroft and Savage are both very sparing in their comment. Bancroft says: "In '77 at San José he gave me a long Memoria of his adventures chiefly as an Indian fighter—all of them strictly true as is to be hoped." Savage in his introduction to the Memoria says: "Palomares is an old man, not in good pecuniary circumstances. . . . How much faith to put on his statements, I am unable to say, as I could learn nothing for or against his character." It is clear that neither Bancroft nor Savage entertained a high regard for Palomares, either as a person or a narrator. The content of the Memoria shows him to have been of undoubted psychopathic tendencies.

Juan Bernal: "Memoria" (pp. 11-23)
1848: Pursuit of Indian horse thieves.¹

In April of 1848 we went to a round-up; about 20 persons between laborers, cowboys and owners, to Rancho de la Laguna belonging to Juan Alvarez. Robert Livermore went with us, commissioned by Sutter to accept 1,000 head of cattle which we were to turn over to him. We were busy with the rodeo when, at Ojo de la Coche on the road to Monterey, we came upon the tracks of numerous horses, and found also three animals killed by arrows. When the rodeo was finished and we were all reunited we resolved to pursue the Indians who had made off with part of the horses.

¹For notes see pp. 209-211.

To this end some of us were commissioned to look for weapons among the nearby ranches; others were to kill a steer and cook meat for food; the rest were to prepare everything else needed for the expedition.

When those looking for weapons returned they had old muskets, swords, rifles, knives and some even had clubs. As soon as the food was ready, 16 of us, mounted and armed set out on the trail of the Indians. As I remember the names they were as follows: Pedro Chaboya, Antonio Maria Pico, Demesio Berreyesa, Mariano Hernandez, Agustin Bernal, Bruno Bernal, Robert Livermore, Juan Pablo Bernal (the narrator), José Higuera, José Bernal, Cornelio Hernandez, Isidro Higuera.²

José Bernal, nicknamed El Cacalote (the crow) was the one who followed the trail. Crossing gullies, climbing slopes, crossing streams, climbing cliffs, we finally arrived at a place near the peak of San Luis Gonzaga, near a lake to be found between high hills.³ On the road four of the company were designated to rest the animals. They went back and only those whom I have mentioned reached the lake.

José Bernal, a man very experienced in following tracks, was the one who found them first. There were nine Indians. Some were bathing in the pond, others were cooking horse meat, and the rest were combing wool. Bernal, taking care that the Indians did not discover him, returned to the place where we were coming up behind, and told us where the Indians were. Then we went into conference on the matter of attacking them so that not one would escape. It was unanimously resolved, at the suggestion of Chaboya, that we surround them and cut off every means of escape. This was accomplished in complete silence so that the Indians would not suspect the stratagem. Then José de Jesus Bernal, as had been determined beforehand, went to explore the camp of the enemy. Naked, crawling like a snake among the tulares, at the edge of the lake, he reached a place where he could observe the movements of the Indians without their detecting him.

Soon he returned in the same silent way, telling us in a very low voice that we might attack, and that the Indians were very careless. This was carried out by those of us near the lake, and where they could most easily escape, so as to cut off their line of retreat. When they saw that we were falling upon them they ran to find their weapons. Those who were swimming hurried to get out and armed themselves as best they might naked. Then they began to dance their war dances, jumping hither and yon making horrible gestures and contortions, threatening with their bows as if to fire and giving such yells as if three thousand of them were assembled there. One of them screamed "Now these pieces of dung are going to die."

On seeing all this José Higuera, who was on a little hill, took out his pistols, and showing them to the Indians, said in their language: "Now all you fellows are going to die because we have a lot of pistols and powder and bullets to kill you." Such was the terror with which the Indians were imbued by these words that each one tried to escape by the most direct route, but we had them surrounded and it was a matter of fighting man to man.

Some of the comrades prepared their lassoes. Bruno Bernal, my brother, chased an Indian with his lasso, and on descending a hill, managed to plant it around his neck. He ran with his victim to where we were, saying: "I caught this rascal, who had only an arrow in his hand to defend himself, and I snagged him with my rope." The body of the Indian was completely

skinned and on looking down from our horses we saw that he was dead.⁴

I came upon one of the enemy and after I had avoided several arrows which he shot at me I managed to land a bullet in his hip, it penetrating from side to side. The Indian fell face down. On seeing this Cornelio Hernandez, who was near me, ran toward the Indian saying "Now I will finish him." But when he got close the Indian jumped up suddenly and discharged an arrow which hit him under his Adam's apple, piercing his throat and remaining in position. The Indian who perhaps had used his last strength in this attack fell backwards, dead. Hernandez, badly wounded as he was, dragged himself to the body, pulled out a service knife which he carried and tried to stick it between the ribs [of the Indian], but it broke. Nevertheless with the piece that was left, he succeeded in making a great gash, and at the same time that he was cutting a path to the heart with his piece of a knife he was repeating as if the corpse could hear him: "I forgive you, brother; I forgive you brother."

I was attending the wounded man when I heard my nephew José Bernal yelling "You! come! here we have three Indians, José Higuera and I." I left Hernandez and ran to where they were. All the company had gathered there, except Hernandez. I said: "The sun is setting and the Indians are getting away." My brother Agustin and Robert Livermore answered: "You are so brave because you have not fought them." But Pedro Chaboya said: "You and the two José's attack from this side, I with Demesio Berreyesa and Mariano Hernandez will attack from the other." This we did. Chaboya fought an Indian hand to hand. The Indian shot arrows with an extraordinary dexterity and very close, in spite of his being advanced in years. Finally Hernandez succeeded in killing him. All his clothing was pierced with arrows but he did not receive even one wound.

On the other side also, bloody combat was raging. The Indians died one by one, harassed relentlessly on all sides by their enemy who were well mounted and who had better weapons. The group whom I last mentioned was busy chasing two Indians of the three whom they had surrounded. They were fleeing in the direction of the lake, into which they threw themselves. One we managed to kill, but the other one eluded us. When we pulled out the body, Demesio Berreyesa cut off his ears and carried them away as a trophy of war. I may note that the body, punctured with spear holes and bullet holes lay on the edge of the lake about 100 yards from where we camped for the night.

Of the nine Indians only one escaped. The rest remained stretched out on the battlefield and we did not bother to bury the corpses. We had Cornelio Hernandez severely wounded in the throat by an arrow, as has been related, and his brother Mariano slightly wounded in the hand. At nightfall we retired to camp, designating some of the company to care for the horses which the Indians had stolen. They amounted to about 160 head, without counting those killed on the road.

Since Cornelio felt very badly when we took him to camp, he wanted to make his will. Antonio Mario Pico offered to write it. Hernandez, with the arrow sticking in his throat could scarcely speak and at times we could not understand what he was saying. The notary wrote with a pencil on an old piece of paper found in one of the saddlebags. The table was the head of a saddle and the light bundles of grass secured for the purpose. The testator, half dead, and in an almost inaudible voice, dictated his will thus: "A hide for a mass

which Father Magin will say. My spurs and saddle to Mariano my brother. To Silberia Pacheco and Carmen Berreyesa (his girl friends) that they shall recommend my soul to God and shall not forget me." (On hearing this everybody burst out laughing in spite of the seriousness of the occasion.) "To Juan Bernal, I charge him that he shall teach his son Francisco the Law of God, so that if he meets with circumstances such as those in which I now am he will know how to pray and not be like me who does not know how because he was never taught."

We were occupied in this matter when we heard a noise like branches breaking. Everyone looked in that direction and saw an Indian coming, step by step, staggering as if drunk. Everyone was scared. Antonio Maria Pico said to Pedro Chaboya: "You go, you are more of a man." The latter replied: "No, you, you are so brave." So we argued a long time, until finally, getting impatient we laid hands on guns to begin shooting. But José Higuera said at this point that he would kill the Indian. So, taking his gun, and using a package of tulle for a shield he went to where the Indian had been seen. Soon he returned roaring with laughter, saying that the one who had scared us was the Indian whose ears had been cut off and who had been left apparently dead at the edge of the pond. He had perhaps arisen with the object of getting himself baptized, but his strength had failed and he had been found really dead.

The next day we broke camp and returned with the wounded man and the horses. Hernandez was cured by Dr. Guillermo Gulnac and he who made such an unusual will still lives in California [1877] enjoying the best of health.

José Maria Amador: "Memorias sobre la Historia de California" (pp. 15-41 *passim*)

Page 15. "In the year 1818 I went out with Ensign José Antonio Sanchez⁵ on a campaign to the place called Calaveras, a little beyond where the city of Stockton is now located. The expedition was comprised of 25 soldiers and some Christian Indian auxiliaries. There we participated in a bitter fight with the natives. On our side there was one fatality, an Indian auxiliary, and five wounded: José Higuera, Pablo Pacheco, Augustin Bernal, José Maria Gomez, and myself. We killed 50 Indians more or less, captured another 50 and returned with the prisoners to San Francisco.⁶ The action began in a ravine and ended in an oak forest. Those who did not fall into our hands escaped in the brush. There must have been many wounded among them. After firing a rifle volley at them we charged them with our lances and slaughtered them.

The reason why we went on the offensive against them was that they had killed several Christians of San José. The prisoners were put at hard labor—at that time the main quarters of the presidio were being built of adobe, for the previous building was of wood stakes.

Two years afterward (in 1820) we went out on another campaign to a village called the Cosumnes, on account of a robbery committed by these Indians at the town of San José. The expedition, consisting of 25 soldiers, 15 citizens of the town and 50 Christian Indians was commanded by Ensign José Antonio Sanchez.⁷ The citizens were in command of the alcalde Juan Alvarez. We fell on the village at dawn. Here I would like to note that the Indians did not sleep at

night, but after daylight, so that this was the best time to catch them unprepared. We killed 8 or 10 of the natives. The rest went for a big tulle swamp and escaped. We recaptured 70 horses and went back to the presidio without prisoners.⁸ However at the beginning we had taken two chiefs to whom the Ensign ordered that 200 lashes should be given on the spot.⁹ They were liberated with the warning that if they again robbed or took up arms they would pay with their lives.

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Page 25. In 1828 the Indians robbed my ranch and that of the Castros. We went out with 14 men in pursuit of them and when we got to their village they had already eaten most of the horses. We surrounded the village, with a temascal, (the village of the Lilames, upstream from the Moquelumne)¹⁰ and since the natives refused to surrender we set fire to the temascal with them in it. Some of them got out, fleeing the fire, but they were fighting, and wounded three of our companions, citizens of San José (José Noriega, the Spaniard, and Anastasio Mendoza and Anastasio Chabolla). The next day we marched toward the mountains at the edge of a forest. There we had a fight with the Indians and a citizen named José Galindo was wounded (we were all neighbors on this expedition which was commanded by Señor Noriega). Galindo received an arrow wound in his upper left arm, for he could not or did not know how to ward off the arrow with his shield.

I should here note that all the citizens carried leather jackets and shields in addition to their weapons. Nearly all those on the expedition had been soldados de cuera¹¹ and had retained their equipment, or weapons of defense, as well as those of offense. For, although, to be sure, the soldier upon retirement from the service, had the right to sell his equipment, nevertheless he was under obligation to maintain horses and weapons at his own expense. Hence many soldiers, or at least some of them, kept their weapons in their possession, to be sure mostly those who had some affection for their arms.

The combat continued in another village and was a matter of hand-to-hand fighting in an oak forest and in the brush. Agustin Albiso was struggling with an Indian whom he was not able to kill, and I with another. Agustin remained in a gully with his Indian to kill him if possible; I was busy with my Indian at whose chest I fired a shot, but my carbine misfired. He was a bald man whom I could not get hold of by the hair, so I rode into him with my horse, knocking him to the ground. I jumped on top of him, kicking at him with my spurs, pounding him on the head with the butt of my carbine, all without making him give up. The valiant Indian came back, actually lifting me up on his shoulders. I kicked at him with my spurs without making him yield in spite of the blows I continually rained on him. He had almost dragged me off into the brush, and arrows were descending on me like buns on Christmas Eve, when I remembered the knife I carried in my belt. I stabbed him in the stomach, completely tearing out his intestines. Then at last he fell, done for, with me on top of him. Then I retired, walking back to where my horse was secured by the bridle, always warding off the arrows which were being fired at me from all sides. I managed to escape without being wounded and went in search of my companion Agustin Albiso. I found him at the same place where I had left him. He had killed his Indian, breaking his

head and knocking out his brains with a rock. During the fight he had not been able to fire a single shot at the Indian with his carbine.

After this remarkable fight the Indians fled (without our taking any prisoners) we reunited and went to spend the night on the San Joaquin River. In the night José Galindo died. We put his body on a saddle and brought it for burial to San José.

I think it was in the year 1837 (Alvarado was governor) when the Indians came and robbed me of 100 animals at my ranch at San Ramon. I went out in pursuit with 15 men. On the Tuolumne River, at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon we fell upon their village and captured 60 horses. We had to guard them all that night, but at dawn we followed the trail of the Indians up into the mountains, without, however, catching them.

We returned as far as a place called el Barro, in the same mountains, where there was a stone corral and a spring. We arrived there about 4:00 o'clock in the afternoon and scouted for the Indians. We could not find any of them, and spent the night in this place. There were 16 of us, the Ensign, Prado Mesa, with 10 soldiers and 5 of us civilians. We put out a guard of 8 men, four at the camp and four on the horses.

That night between 12:00 and 2:00 o'clock about 200 Indians attacked us, the night being very dark. I was hit by four arrows at once; also hit by arrows were Prado Mesa, the Englishman Robert Livermore, another Englishman whom we knew by the name of Perez Micu, Inocencio Romero, Domingo Altamirano and Desiderio Briones. The guard on the horses ran away and the Indians took them all, leaving only the 12 animals belonging to the guard. I was unconscious more than a quarter of an hour, and when I regained my senses the Ensign asked me how I felt. I told him fairly well, although wounded. He asked me what we should do, whether to stay here, or leave with the horses of the guard. I was opposed to the latter course because I was sure that as soon as each individual found himself on a horse, he would abscond, everyone for himself. The Ensign did not know these people as well as I did. Then the Ensign put it up to me what to do and I replied that he should inspect his soldiers to see if they had enough ammunition. If it was lacking I had a powder flask with 90 rounds and 22 cartridges in my belt. He accepted my suggestion.

Two men carried Desiderio Briones on the barrels of their guns (he was wounded in both knees) down a gully about two miles. They put him at the foot of an oak tree where there was a little pool of water. We gathered acorns for him to eat—for we had nothing else; the Indians had taken all our provisions.¹² However it is to be remarked that the "modern troops"¹³ of Alvarado, Vallejo and Castro, in the stampede due to their terror, abandoned all kinds of equipment.¹⁴ They were very inexperienced people and absolutely without discipline, because their chiefs did not know how to inculcate it.

We traveled the rest of the night toward the San Joaquin River, all on foot. At dawn José Romero called out that our old friends were coming up with the horses to catch us. I told the Ensign to pass his troops in review and order that no one should shoot until he had his gun on the breast of the enemy, for these were Indians who were coming to fall on us. And indeed about 70 were coming on horseback. We went about 500 yards out of the meadow into a thicket of chaparral and concealed ourselves. The Indians arrived where we had been but could not find the trail

where we had left the meadow. Then they went on to the stockade which they kept on the Stanislaus River. We kept on all day, half dead with hunger and thirst, to a place near the San Joaquin River, where we camped for the night completely exhausted and suffering from our wounds.

We started again at dawn and reached the river at 11:00 A.M. We made some rafts made of logs and tied with our belts, on which we crossed the river. Then we camped in a thicket where we passed the rest of the day. A certain Higuera managed to kill a deer there in the brush and we ate it. I was prostrated with my wounds and fatigue and was not able to take a step. Thus I stayed till sunset when they roused me to continue the march. We went that night across the valley toward a place called Buenos Aires. In the middle of the plain we stopped to rest, some from exhaustion, some on account of their wounds. Few were properly shod and some even had no breeches. While we were resting I heard a shot which was fired by people of the town who were coming to help us, for those who had escaped from the attack of the Indians had reached there, saying that we had all perished. In a little while this shot was followed by another, which I immediately answered. The one who had fired the first shot was my son Valentin Amador. The relief party joined us and together we went to Buenos Aires where we spent the night. The following day an Indian doctor took the flints out of me; I was left half dead.

For this operation¹⁵ the Indian used some roots which he brought from the hills. One of them was very long—more than a quarter of a yard—and very red. It was called *yerba de jarazo*.¹⁶ Another root was yellow and of the same size as the other—it is thought to be of the same family, although of different color. The third root was thin and long. The Indian chewed the red one and rubbed it on my wounds. The thin one he gave me to chew, with the order to swallow the juice. This juice made the blood run in streams from the wounds.

The chewed-up root which the Indian put on my wounds made the openings enlarge and then with some wooden forceps he extracted the flints. These operations were so extremely painful that as a result I fainted. The yellow root the Indian used like the red one.

When I recovered consciousness they took me on their shoulders to carry me. Four Indians carried me (who were relieved by four others after a specified distance). They went 12 leagues with me as far as the house on my ranch. There I ordered the Indian bearers to be given a couple of pesos and a good supper each. After 25 days of treatment I recovered my good health. In the meantime Sergeant Nazario Galindo, Francisco Palomares and two others had gone for Briones with a small wagon. They found him alive and brought him back. The same Indian who cured me cured him also, and by the same procedure.

After the 25 days were over Ensign Prado Mesa came to ask me to go and avenge the injury which the Indians had done us. We descended upon the Stanislaus River with 70 men, soldiers and civilians, and 200 Indian auxiliaries. On the hostile Indians, 200 or more between heathen and Christian fugitives, we attempted a strategem. First our Indian auxiliaries were to buy all the arrows of the other party, even if it cost them their shirts to do it. Actually the purchase was completed. Then we invited the wild Indians and their Christian companions to come and have a feast of

pinole and dried meat. They all came over to our side of the river. As soon as they reached our shore the troops, the civilians and the auxiliaries surrounded them and tied them all up. I was second in command of this expedition, the chief was Prado Mesa.¹⁷

We marched with our prisoners to the mountains, in a pouring rain,¹⁸ so as to attack another village. We spent the night in an expanse of brush, all of us surrounding the prisoners on foot, for the latter had made an attempt to escape. We were all stuck in the mud to our knees. At dawn I counted the horses and found 9 animals missing. I went out to hunt for them to the right, or toward the east, and the Ensign went to the left, or toward the west, for the same purpose. There came out to meet me 10 Indian auxiliaries who were Moquelumnes (belonging to our own party) all befeathered and armed for war. They tried to surprise me, but I knew their language, and when they cried out I recognized them.¹⁹ I asked for the name of their leader, who was called Heleno. They came to where I was. I asked them what they wanted. They replied that they wanted justice, that the Christian prisoners should be given up to them to be killed with arrows. I replied that they should return to the woods, that they should approach Ensign Prado Mesa and should demand justice from him. This they did. The Ensign did not have time to draw his pistols and believed himself lost and that he would be killed without mercy. Then the Indian Heleno spoke to him in Spanish and demanded justice. The Ensign and I returned to the camp. We separated 100 Christians. At every half mile or mile we put six of them on their knees to say their prayers, making them understand that they were about to die. Each one was shot with four arrows, two in front and two in the back. Those who refused to die immediately were killed with spears. The Ensign did not want to carry out this execution because he had no desire for it, but I told him that if my own father stood before me I would kill him.²⁰ On the road were killed in this manner the 100 Christians.

We arrived at the camp where the 100 heathen were confined. There, before dark in the pouring rain, I suggested to the Ensign²¹ that he take under his immediate charge the crowd of prisoners, because during the night there might well occur incidents between the auxiliaries and our people. Already a mule had been lost which was carrying a pot full of knives and other implements. This mule stumbled into a field where the horses were parked. This produced an uproar among the horses, alarmed the people, and in the confusion everybody began shooting at each other. The Ensign told me to do what ever I thought best. I answered that I thought all the prisoners should be shot, having previously made Christians of them. They should be told they were going to die and they should be asked if they wanted to be made Christians. I ordered Nazario Galindo to take a bottle of water and I took another. He began at one part of the crowd of captives and I at another. We baptized all the Indians and afterwards they were shot in the back. At the first volley 70 fell dead. I doubled the charge for the 30 who remained and they all fell. One man in the group got loose without having been hit by a bullet. With a single jump he threw himself in the river. More than 40 shots were fired at him without hitting him. Finally when he came out he was wounded but he escaped to his village.²²

In the afternoon of the following day the Indian

auxiliaries forced me to go across the river and capture the village of the 200 Indians [who had been massacred] and take possession of the women and children. They made me swim across the river with them.²³ They pointed out to me the rocks which were in the stream. My gun was tied to my head with a handkerchief; my clothes were carried by an Indian on his head in a similar manner. Having crossed the river they made me go back across it again. It seems that they thought I would be afraid to accompany them in the crossing. They decided that night (it was already dark when I crossed the river) to go to the village, kill the men and bring back all the women and children.²⁴ At dawn of the following day they arrived at my camp with 160 souls, women and children, whom they had brought across the river. Each woman had swum across with her infants in baskets. All the boys and girls of over seven years had swum across themselves like fishes. Then I broke camp with Ensign Prado Mesa and we went to Mission San José where all the women and children whom we brought in were baptized. The Indian auxiliaries told me that they had killed about 24 men in that village, including the man who had escaped wounded across the river when his companions were shot."²⁵

Inocente Garcia: "Hechos historicos" (pp. 74-81 passim)

Some days later, in the middle of May, I received an order from Gov. Alvarado that I should assemble all the fighting men I could and march to join Don Santiago Estrada and Don Antonio Buelna the first of June at the junction of the Kings River and the San Joaquin.²⁶

Before sunset of that day I presented myself well provisioned and prepared, with 300 men, to this Don Santiago Estrada who had been named the supreme commander. My people were from different villages, each one with its chieftain at the head. With them there were only three white men, to wit, I, the majordomo of San Antonio with 20 men, and Anastasio Alvisu who acted as my assistant, he being paid from my private funds.²⁷

We traveled three days up the river, through the hills, to the north.²⁸ I asked the commander what we were going to do, for the chiefs of my Indians wanted to know where they were being taken. Buelna informed me that we were going to fall upon a village belonging to a chief named Domingo. I said to them [Buelna and Estrada] that I should have been told this long ago and that there was no necessity for having maintained such secrecy. I gave them a good going-over. Then I asked permission to talk to my five chiefs and to my deputy, whose name was Lisesh, in their own language. I promised that if they would let me and my Indians go alone, I would catch the enemy, and said that there was no need for Estrada or Buelna or their followers to go along. Estrada and Buelna agreed. I went to spend the night with my Indians.

I discussed the matter with Lisesh, and he, after having consulted with the chiefs, stated to me that they were ready to attack the village of Domingo, provided that the entire enterprise was left in their hands and that they might attack another village of [people from] San Juan which had captured Angel Maria Castro, brother of Simeon Castro. No white people should go other than I and the majordomo of San Antonio, because a man named Valenzuela was very strongly disliked, as was my assistant Anastasio.²⁹

Everything was arranged, and on the following day we marched; I went according to the orders of Lisesh. During the night we arrived near the village of Domingo without being seen or heard. Lisesh made me remain at the place where we first stopped, with 40 Indians and the two white men. He told me he was going to place in position 100 men, under the command of Chief Tachi, who were hidden in a big thicket to the left of the village, and 50 men from the village of Gulmich, farther forward, close to the village [of Domingo]. Chief Telamini and 50 men were ahead of Gulmich.³⁰ Lisesh, with the rest of the force went ahead on the right. All dispositions were affected before dawn.

He [Lisesh] told me not to be afraid, but to go ahead into the village when he gave the war cry. That would be when it was light enough to shoot arrows. I put on my leather jacket and shield; they were good equipment. The jacket had cost me 50 pesos and was seven hides thick. I gave them to Angel Castro with the words that this was my last campaign.

At the proper time Lisesh gave the signal, to this the others responded, except those from Tachi—according to the arrangement of the deputy. The cry was answered, as a signal of defiance by those in the village. The latter came out to fight. When they saw themselves confronted by so many people on all sides, and by me with my force on their flank, they broke for the forest as Lisesh had predicted they would go. However in doing so they encountered Lisesh and his 100 men who showered them with arrows. Lisesh told them to surrender or all be killed. Domingo and his 75 warriors had no alternative but lay down their arms and surrender. No one was killed or wounded. Some of our people, whom we had left behind, followed us, among them Angel Maria Castro, in order to see how our venture turned out, and when they arrived at our camp Domingo and his followers were already captives.

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[A digression occurs here, irrelevant to the context.]

Returning to our campaign against the village of Domingo, Lisesh said to me that he would hand over the prisoners to be sent to Don Santiago Estrada, our commander. He said his people were all going back to their villages so as to incur no more expense. He added that I should insist upon the prisoners being shot because they were great thieves who were feared by him and his people on account of their incessant robberies. Furthermore he warned me that if they were not executed I would never go out again on a campaign.

I sent my Indians to San Miguel, and those of San Antonio to their mission. I, by order of Estrada, accompanied him as far as San Juan, where Don José Castro was. Before reaching there Estrada put me in charge of the company. He stayed there [i. e., San Juan] with all the prisoners and sent all the men to his ranch and all the women to [the mission of] Carmel. Antonio Buelna took the journal. I presented myself to Castro and he told me I might leave whenever I wished. I went to Monterey a few days and then returned, sick with a fever, to San Miguel.

Estrada arrived with his prisoners at his ranch, called Buenavista, where he had his family and worldly goods. These same Indians afterward told me, in the tulares, what then happened.

After arriving at the ranch they threshed the wheat and did other work in which they were all very active. Meanwhile Domingo made plans to recover the women of his village, who had been sent to Carmel. He sent four men to Carmel to tell the women that they should escape from there in the night and should all travel in the direction of [the ranch] Buenavista. The women escaped, and so did Domingo and all his people, taking with them the herds of horses and cattle of Don Santiago Estrada. They cleaned his ranch out of animals, and also the ranches of others. On the way to their homes they killed the brother of the Chief of the Tachi and two Christians from San Miguel who were at the village of Tachi and whom they found there. All this was in punishment for having given help with their capture. In this flight Domingo lost no one, for they were a brave and smart people. All this they told me afterward, and it was confirmed by other white men. This demonstrates that Lisesh was right in begging that these Indians be killed, not only because their village was so remote, but also because they were marauders and very brave fighters.³¹

José Francisco Palomares: "Memoria"
(MS, Bancroft Library, 1877. Excerpts from page 1 and ff.)

At the age of 25 years I married in the town of San José Margarita Pacheco and decided to reside in the town with my wife. The alcalde appointed me the same year Juez de Campo which position I held for 4 years.³² During this time the savages of the San Joaquin River were making their raids on the ranches of the jurisdiction, robbing horses and inflicting damage. The authorities, lacking the necessary resources were afraid to pursue them, and for a long time affairs were in this condition. Finally I, seeing the very frequent robberies which the wild Indians were making resolved to pursue them.³³ So I organized the First Expedition in the following manner.

One day I went to look for my horses, which I had left grazing at the edge of town for greater security, and found that the Indians had taken them, leaving some of the animals dead. Infuriated with such audacity I went immediately to the town and asked help from the alcalde (who at that time was Don Pedro Chabolla) to pursue the Indians. I pointed out to him the serious damage which could be done to us if we did not take rapid and effective counter measures. The alcalde, convinced by my arguments, ordered a meeting of the citizens of the town who were most interested in the matter. When they had assembled he said in my presence that those who wished to follow me should do so, for I was going in chase of the wild Indians who had stolen their horses. When I saw the slight inclination which they displayed, whether it was on account of fear, or because they thought they were too few in number, or because they did not think they themselves would be robbed, I said to the judge that it would be better to designate the number of men whom I might select to form the expedition. However he objected, advancing reasons of little weight.

Completely disgusted with this refusal I left them all there and went to my house where I saddled my horse and followed in the direction taken by the Indians, with the idea of attacking them if their number was not too great. As my only weapon I carried a short sword which the Mexican colonists used as a bayonet. I had not gone far when a retired soldier of the King called Pablo Parra caught up with me, a

very old man who was mounted on a horse also very old and emaciated. I asked him where he was going and he replied with me to chase the Indians, of his own free will and not by order of the alcalde.

Together we followed in the direction taken by the Indians, through a very broken country, now climbing hills, now descending them, now crossing gullies, now sliding down steep banks and now penetrating very thick brush.³⁴ I, being of the opinion that Parra could not keep up to me long on a horse so thin, told him to seize a fat one which was nearby. Actually he caught it but he would not mount it, but rather led it along. I think he preferred to ride his own old horse. Pretty soon I realized that Parra was not a campaigner and I was very exasperated at having taken such a person to accompany me. When it was getting dark we arrived at a gully where we found the tracks of horses. They were more extensive than hitherto, and it seemed as if several parties of thieves had joined each other at this point.

Since I saw that I could not follow them on account of darkness, I decided to halt here, eat and rest. To this end I unsaddled my horse and took out some food from my saddlebags, offering some to Parra. He however, did not wish to take any, stating that he was not hungry. Neither did he want to dismount fearing perhaps that the Indians, who were not very far off might have seen us and might come back and attack us. I was very much occupied in eating my supper when a noise of horses was heard in the direction opposite to that taken by the thieves, and Parra, completely scared, said to me: "There come the Indians." I replied to him how can they come from the other direction and how can those who come wear spurs? Parra seemed to be relieved by this argument. Soon there arrived at a gallop Manuel Peña and Pedro Mesa, two citizens and stockmen of San José. Knowing that I had come in pursuit of the Indians, they had decided to join me in recovering the stolen property.

We all followed the tracks until midnight, and then on account of the darkness and the badness of the trail we decided to stop again and sleep a little. We all dismounted and tied our bridles so as to have them ready for any eventuality. Parra tied his horse (not the old, thin one) to a clump of grass. The night was very cold. Manuel Peña asked my permission to make a light and smoke. I opposed this saying that by the sparks of the flint the savages could detect us. But he insisted so strongly that finally I consented, not without serious misgivings, since Peña did not have any flint. He pulled out a big brush knife and rubbed it against the stone so as to produce bright sparks which flew in all directions and could be seen from a considerable distance in the darkness of the night. But he could not light the tinder. Very angry I said to him: "You had better stop before you cut your finger, damn it!" And I had hardly finished speaking when Peña gave a yell saying that he had cut his finger—and there still was no light. Then the retired veteran Parra claimed that he could make a light with his pistol which was of enormous caliber, and of a very old make of flintlock. I again objected that it would be even more easy for our enemies to discover us on account of the noise of the report but Parra replied that he could do it without noise. I consented to let him do it under these conditions.

Parra removed the powder with which the pistol was charged, leaving only the cap. Then he made a pile of dry grass and as soon as he had prepared this

and aimed, he turned his head and fired. We were in a ravine and the explosion was so loud, in spite of all the precautions which the old soldier had taken, that the concussion deafened us and came back in echo on echo as if the mountains were falling on top of us. At the same time the straw caught fire and gave out a bright light which dissipated the shadows of the night to a great distance.

This brought my patience to an end. Furious with Parra I told him he did not deserve to be a soldier of the King, that he was a stupid brute, that by his nonsense we were betrayed to the Indians, that if they did not attack us, they would escape our pursuit, that he was good for nothing but to discourage our other companions. I concluded by telling him to go to hell. And my anger was increased the more on noticing that his horse, which had been badly tied, had made off with everything including his halter without our having heard him. Then I said to the others: "Let's leave this old fool here and may all the devils of hell fly away with him." Parra suffered all this abuse with meekness, considering himself to blame, and as soon as I had finished he went to hunt his horse and after a little while returned with it.

Since everyone was cold they did not want to put out the fire; indeed on the contrary they stirred it up. Very irritated with this disobedience and fearing that the Indians had eluded us, I retired to sleep, leaving the others in a circle around the fire, and as I was very tired I quickly went to sleep.

At dawn I arose and gave the order to march, which was immediately executed. I impressed on my companions that it was necessary to push the pace if we wanted to catch the thieves, and in fact we went much faster than the previous day and night, although the terrain presented great difficulty. Many times we lost the trail or went astray, but we found it again and pressed on. Finally at a place called Aguage de Cerro Colorado,³⁵ near the San Joaquin River, about 8 leagues from San Jose, in very broken country, we came upon the enemy. They were at the foot of the hill, at the water hole, occupied in having breakfast. There were 18 of them.

Taking care that they should not detect me I returned to where my companions had gone and told them that the Indians were there and that they were convoying about 280 head of horses. I said I was going to occupy a position overlooking them and was going to "make soldiers," that is to say pretend that I had a lot of people with me so that they would be scared and would run off leaving the horses behind. My companions were to come from different directions, managing to make a great uproar when they got near the Indians, shouting to their fellow soldiers as if the latter were coming up from the rear. So we worked it.

For my part I mounted my horse in a thicket on top of a hill which dominated the area where the savages were located and from there I began to yell as if I were commanding an army: "Forty from the rear! fifty attack by the gully! The rest cut off the retreat while we go in by this side!" On hearing this some of the Indians began to run, leaving their weapons behind them, while others, who were braver, seized their weapons and staunchly awaited us. On seeing this I called to my companions to attack without fear. And indeed there developed a bloody fight between heathen and Christians.³⁶ Finally the survivors of the former who could save themselves took flight. Of the original 18 there were 8 stretched out on the field of battle.

The rest escaped, some being wounded. After the action we recovered all the horses, and returned to the town without bothering to bury the bodies of the dead. This was the first expedition I made against the wild horse thieves in the jurisdiction of San José. I do not remember the date, but Señor Gutierrez was governor.³⁷

[I have omitted part of Palomares' account here.]³⁸

Campaign against the heathen of the village Jollima, commanded by a chieftain of the same name.³⁹ Two weeks after the second campaign I had to prepare another expedition against the tribe of the Chief Jollima who had fallen on us with his warriors and had made off with some 60 animals from the nearby ranches. I organized this expedition with 10 well-armed and equipped men. I have forgotten their names, except those of Francisco Altamirano and his brother Rafael who were very brave men and who loved to fight Indians. They always followed me on the campaigns which I undertook against the latter. To reach the village we traveled two days from the town of San Jose: at about 8:00 o'clock in the morning we attacked.

There were about 200 persons in the whole tribe, between warriors, old women, and children. In spite of their large number we soon derived considerable advantage through our superiority in weapons. We managed to recapture the horses and drive the Indians from the village, however not without a strong resistance. After several hours of very bloody combat the heathen fled, leaving 15 dead on the field, one prisoner, a Christian called Pedro, and all the stolen stock. On our part there were more or less seriously wounded Ignacio Acedo, Francisco and Rafael Altamirano, another whose name I forget, and myself.⁴⁰ I received a tremendous blow with an arrow in the middle of my left side, the point of the arrow remaining in the region of my heart. Such was the pain that this wound caused me that I could not move to one side or the other.

At this juncture I remembered that the Indians knew a plant which was very good for all kinds of wounds, and that the one whom we held as prisoner could cure me and my companions. I ordered him called and told him that if he cured us not only would I give him complete freedom but also the best horse which we had with us. He promised that he would do it, but said that first he would have to be permitted to go and hunt for the herb, the "yerba del jarazo." I said to one of those who was not wounded to take his gun, go with the Indian, and if the latter tried to escape to kill him. The Indian, who understood Spanish quite well, laughed at hearing those words and said that never could he return to his people because they would kill him as soon as they found out that he had given medical aid to the white men. Soon they returned, the Indian carrying in his hand the herb which he had mentioned. I wanted him to treat me immediately but he said it would be better to come down out of the hills and camp at a place where there was water. I gave the order to march and step by step we traveled over the road, the wounded afflicted by fever and a violent thirst. When we arrived we all, including myself, begged for water, but our physician claimed that we would die if we took it, and made us, after we had rested a few hours, take a few swallows of boiled corn broth which he prepared himself.

He afterward proceeded to the treatment, beginning with me, who was the chief, and was most badly wounded. For this purpose he had me chew the "yerba del jarazo," and swallow the juice; then he chewed it himself, and placing his mouth on the entrance to the wound expelled the juice to the interior of the latter. Next he began to suck the wound with the object of removing coagulated blood. When he had filled his mouth he spat and began over again, and continued until he considered that he had cleaned out the interior of the wound. Then with great dexterity he extracted the piece of the arrow which was still inside, including the stone head. He had me chew more of the herb and swallow more juice. He washed the wound internally and put a ground-up preparation of the plant on the external opening. In a more or less similar manner he treated the other persons who were wounded.

There we stayed six days, on a rigorous diet. He took care of us and treated us with such skill that at the end of this time I felt well, and, checking with the other wounded, found that they did also. In view of this situation I gave the order to march, and this we did. On leaving I told the Indian that we would keep our word that he should take the horse and go, that his life was pardoned, and that if we ever met him again he would not be harmed. He answered that he would take the horse, but that he could go to no village because everywhere it would be known that he had cured the white men and they would kill him. So he went with us to the mission and there remained. He turned over the horse to me and in spite of our strongest urging he would not take it back.

This Indian served me faithfully for six years sowing and reaping the corn and performing other tasks in the fields, without accepting any other remuneration than the grain which was necessary for his subsistence. When he was offered money he refused it, stating that he was sufficiently rewarded by having had his life saved. Finally, on an expedition made against the celebrated bandit Yoscolo, poor Pedro, who was so faithful, was killed by an arrow through the heart. When they brought his body back to the mission they said he had been killed by Yoscolo's men, but I have good reason to believe that it was one of his own relatives who took advantage of this opportunity to get revenge on him for having treated us for our wounds.⁴¹ It was the custom among the Indians to consider as a traitor anyone who performed any service, even if forced to do so, to their eternal enemies, the white men. The relatives themselves felt most obligated to kill the traitor if opportunity arose.

[I omit here an account of the death of the Indian bandit (or patriot?) Yoscolo at the hands of a party from Santa Clara. This affair does not concern relations with the Indians of the valley.]

Expedition of Sebastian Peralta in pursuit of the Indians of the Sierra Nevada.—General Figueroa, observing that the wild Indians of the Sierra Nevada were making frequent raids on the ranches of this jurisdiction, at San José and elsewhere ordered citizen Sebastian Peralta, of the above-mentioned place, to assemble a force, and go to attack the Indians in their own villages.⁴² Peralta easily got together a group of 17 men, veterans of Indian campaigns, who were ready to fight against the enemies of their property and who would not rest until they exterminated them.

Among them was the author of these recollections.

Nothing notable occurred during the journey of this party from the time of its departure from San José until its arrival at the village of José de Jesus, chief of the tribe on the Tuolumne River.⁴³ He was a Christian Indian, but fled the missions, and since he had excellent qualifications as a leader of the tribe mentioned, was named Chief.

As soon as we arrived our commander Peralta gave the order to attack, but the occupants of the village fled without making the least resistance, perhaps because their chief was not there, or because they thought we had come in very large numbers. They left behind 24 horses which they had stolen. Seeing this, Peralta ordered us to continue the march, as we did, arriving shortly at the Stanislaus River. At that point, there were two tribes or villages of Indians who made frequent raids to rob horses of the white man. One of these was captained by the famous Estanislao (Stanislaus) from whom the river took its name, and the other by his brother Saulon, little less renowned than he himself.⁴⁴ Both villages at this time were devoid of people perhaps because they had hidden themselves after learning by some means of our arrival, or perhaps because the men were away on a campaign and the women, old men, children and sick had concealed themselves as was their custom in similar situations. The one sure thing is that the few Indians who were looking after some stolen horses fled on seeing us. We then secured the latter without difficulty.

From here we went to the village of the Moquelamnes (which today are called Calaveras).⁴⁵ We encountered all the Indians, assembled at a point called "El Zanjón" about three leagues from the settlements of the tribe. Immediately we attacked them on all sides, keeping up a fierce fire which caused them many casualties. As they all tried to flee at the same time, they formed large groups at which we could fire without fear of missing. Finally the chiefs, seeing that we were decimating their men, ordered a truce to be requested by means of an Indian who talked Spanish. They promised that they all would surrender at discretion. Peralta instantly ordered the cease fire and commanded that we should surround the area so that the chiefs should not escape. At the same time we observed that the women, old men and children, came out of the river valley and made a circle, crossing their arms and lowering their eyes in subjection. Some of the women carried in their arms dead or wounded infants and wept in such a manner that we could not help be moved to pity. Others, scarcely able to walk, still came forward pouring blood, but still with their children in their arms.

By order of the commander we tied up the chieftain of these Indians, called Cipriano, and fifteen of the worst offenders in the tribe, together with two Christians of San José who had taken refuge among them. The others were liberated with the promise of complete extermination if they again stole horses or murdered white men. About 30 remained as corpses in the slough, and because those who remained alive did not bother to bury the bodies they stayed there until they were reduced to bones and skulls. For this reason the place was called Calaveras.⁴⁶ About 15 were wounded, of whom it is probable that some died. On our part we suffered no loss. It is certain that we caught them by surprise and that most of them were unarmed, for their bows and arrows had been left at their village. The total number of Indians would reach 130.⁴⁷

Peralta ordered that we escort the prisoners, shackled as they were, to Mission San José. We left the village, putting the heathen Indians in front, tied up like a file of prisoners at the Presidio. During the night we reached the junction of the San Joaquin River and the Stanislaus and there halted. The Chief designated me to watch the captives and since I was very sleepy and tired, I thought of a scheme to keep them secure and prevent their escape, even though I slept. To this end, when all the white men had gone to sleep, I took my rope [reata] and went along tying up all the Indians one by one. Then I secured one end of the rope to one tree and the other end to another tree, in such a way that the Indians were strung like beads, one after the other. It should be noted that the prisoners were already well tied with their hands behind their backs and I had only to make a knot for each one with the cord which bound their hands. The next day I found that their hands were badly inflamed perhaps due to the movements which they had made during the night in an attempt to relieve their cramped position.

Peralta ordered me to conduct them [the Indians] into his presence. This I did. Then he ordered each one to be given a dozen hard lashes. He made them a long speech, warning them to stay quietly in their villages and not go out to steal horses if they did not wish the white men to exterminate them completely. Thereafter he ordered them to be liberated, with the exception of the two Christians whom we took to San José.⁴⁸ When they had disappeared in the woods he arranged for us to return to the town, which we did. Two weeks afterward Chief Cipriano and all his tribe appeared at Mission San José in order to become Christians. A few days later they all received Christian names and from that time forth these Indians, who had been the scourge of the landowners, maintained themselves in peace.⁴⁹ Such was the effect produced by the slaughter of the Calaveras River.

Attack on the Village of the Atalanes, Burning of a sweathouse and violent death of all those who were in it.⁵⁰—The Indians of the tribe Atalanes once fell upon the ranches near the town of San José, carrying off a great number of stolen horses and fleeing in haste to their native haunts. This having been observed by the Alcalde, who was then Ignacio Peralta, he had me brought before him. He ordered me to take nine men, whom he selected, and chase the Indians to their hiding places, and authorized me to exterminate them wherever I encountered them. I do not remember the names of all the soldiers. I can say only that I was accompanied by the intrepid brothers Francisco and Rafael Altamirano, the scourge of the Indians. As soon as we had made the customary preparations, which was quickly, I arranged the departure.

We went all night following the trail of the enemy. We continued the next day and night until midnight of the latter⁵¹ at which hour we were advised by our scouts that we had reached the sweat house of the Indians and that apparently all were asleep. I immediately arranged that, with the greatest silence, the sweat house should be surrounded. I also ordered that no one should move before daylight for it did not seem to me advisable to attack in the dark an enemy who was so well fortified. The Indians perhaps heard us for we heard a voice inside, which probably was the chief, saying in the Atalan language: "No one go out for here we all have to die."

For the space of an hour or more we did not again hear the least noise in the sweat house. Then a soldier called Francisco Rochin, who perhaps had grown irritated at having nothing to do, came to me saying that he would undertake to set fire to the sweat house if he were given permission. I reflected on this, and on considering the orders I carried from the alcalde and that a fire might force the Indians to come out and face us openly, I decided to give Rochin permission, and did so. The latter went off, apparently very happy, and taking a brand from a nearby fire, went to look for a favorable part of the sweat house. Removing with great care, the earthen roof with which it was covered externally he set fire to the dry branches which were underneath. The latter immediately burst into a great blaze which illuminated the entire countryside and by the light of which we could see everything inside.

Men, women and children were there in confusion, watching with wide-open eyes the progress of the devouring element. Every instant the narrow entrance was opened wider by the flames and new and terrible scenes were presented to our view. From one moment to the next one heard more and more cries of terror and screams of pain. We thought that the Indians, driven by the fire, would finally come out. But we were wrong, for we soon perceived that the sweat house was burning on all sides, for the bravest of them were spreading the fire inside by their own hands, using the blazing sticks which fell to the ground. Finally there came a time when such was the smoke, the roar of the flames, the screams and wails of the dying that we could neither see nor hear.

Finally the roof of the sweat house crashed in with a great noise, and I, seeing that there was no more to be done there, gave the order to march. Previously I had gathered up the stolen horses which were found in a big corral, near the site of the fire. We returned to the town without having discharged a single shot or having taken the guns from their cases. We admired the Indians greatly for having preferred being burned alive to surrendering to their enemies.

I can not state exactly the number of victims in this disaster, but I think it would be about 60, of both sexes and all ages. I do not know if any got away but it would have been very difficult to do so. When I related to the alcalde that I had taken 60 animals from the Atalanes and told the manner in which those in the sweat house had died, he made no other comment than to order the horses to be returned to their owners.

Even with such a punishment this tribe did not cease doing damage, on the contrary they were afterward

more vengeful and thieving until the Americans came and exterminated them as they did to many others.

Cruelties of the wild Indians⁵²—One time when we went out from San José to the Sierra in search of a citizen of Santa Cruz named Amaya we found him dead in a place called Blue Mountain. Amaya had set forth with two boys in pursuit of some Indians who had stolen his horses and whom he had encountered at this spot. The boys, having seen that there were many Indians, had deserted Amaya, who was a mature man, and had come to give the news at San José. The Alcalde immediately commissioned us to go and bring back the body of Amaya, or rescue him if the Indians had left him alive.

When we found the corpse we were horrified. Apparently the Indians had tied the unlucky Amaya to a tree and then one after another of the party had shot their arrows into him, beginning with his least sensitive parts, such as his legs, in order to prolong his suffering. Thereafter they had raised their aim gradually higher and higher until they reached his chest, head, eyes and mouth. This was evident because some of the arrow wounds were later than others. There must have been fifty arrows which we pulled from the body: four or five in each eye, six or seven in the mouth, and the others so distributed that not one member remained intact. We took the corpse to Santa Cruz where it was given Christian burial.

The Indians were extremely cruel and vengeful. Never did they spare the white man who fell into their hands, inflicting the most slow and cruel death. Sometimes they tied him by the feet and shot arrows into him one by one until he died in horrible agony. At other times they burned him alive over a slow fire, eating his charred limbs for their greater pleasure. Thus they used a thousand methods, but the most common was that of the arrows.

Some tribes had the custom, when an enemy fell into their hands, either white or Indian, of removing the scalp of the prisoner.⁵³ They placed the latter at the top of a very high pole and danced around it an infernal dance day and night for a week, resting only for brief intervals. The body of the victim suffered other unheard-of torments beyond those described and frequently served as food for the executioners, who ate the limbs, or gave them to the hungry coyotes and the rest of the wild animals. He who possessed a scalp kept it as a trophy, and he who had the most was considered the bravest and most worthy to be given the honor of chief.⁵⁴

NOTES

CHAPTER I (pp. 152-157)

¹The so-called "interrogatorio" was the standard device for obtaining information. It derived from fifteenth-century practice and consisted in setting a series of questions, often heavily biased, which were put to a succession of witnesses. Since the questions were identical the answers were apt to be very similar, particularly if there was general agreement concerning a series of events.

²Estacoy. For a discussion of the numerous gambling and guessing games played by the California natives reference may be made to Kroeber (Handbook, 1925, pp. 538-540 and 846-850). The use of playing cards was clearly an adaptation from Hispano-Mexican culture.

³The Paleuyami: a Yokuts group who, according to Kroeber and other ethnographers, lived on Poso Creek northeast of Buenavista and Kern lakes.

⁴Sierra de Quipauquis: the Tehachapi Mountains, south of the lakes.

⁵Andrés: the ringleader of the dissident faction at Santa Barbara and the chief of the fugitive neophytes.

⁶Journey from Ventura to the lake. The route went from Ventura up the Santa Clara River to above the junction of Piru Creek, then northeast across the hills to the present course of Highway U.S. 99 which was then followed north to Grapevine where the lake can first be seen. The foot of the hills was then followed to San Emigdio. Portilla's leagues are very short, not much over two miles per league.

⁷Santa Teresa was probably in the vicinity of Fort Tejon; the Salinas de Cortez was near Castaic Lake; and Los Alamos must have been along Piru Creek, from 8 to 10 miles farther south.

⁸Lake Misjamin: undoubtedly Kern Lake (see Gifford and Schenck, 1926, p. 24).

⁹San Emigdio Ranch is 15 miles airline from Grapevine village at the mouth of the canyon—or 18 miles by foot around the hills. San Emigdio is 12 miles by line of sight from the south shore of former Buenavista Lake. Portilla is clearly counting the league as 2 miles.

¹⁰Mitochea. This village is not mentioned by Kroeber or Gayton, or by Gifford and Schenck. It must have disappeared entirely by 1850.

¹¹Tulali, or Tulamniu. This village is placed by Gifford and Schenck (1926, map 1) at the southwest corner of the lake. Kroeber (1925, plate 47) puts it at the northwest corner, a more probable location.

¹²According to Gifford and Schenck (1926, p. 24) this

was the village of Hoschiu, on Santiago Creek, south of Maricopa. It was mentioned by Zalvidea in 1806 as having 59 inhabitants.

¹³The return trip was very slow owing to the many women and old people. The route led across the Cuyam Valley, and over the mountains southward directly to Santa Barbara.

¹⁴Muy castellanos: having thoroughly absorbed "Spanish" culture, as transmitted through the Spanish colonies to the northern frontier by means of Mexican priests, soldiers, and ranchers.

¹⁵Carrajo: a rough oath or exclamation not used in polite company but exceedingly common in the colloquial speech of soldiers, miners, and men on their own. It has about the force of "bloody" in British speech, but is an exclamation rather than an adjective. It has no obvious literal meaning known to its users. The remainder of the sentence is quite colloquial and is very freely rendered.

¹⁶This incident, better than a thousand lines of text, demonstrates the cultural adaptation of the converted heathen and first-generation mission Indians to the mission environment.

CHAPTER II (pp. 158-164)

¹Gamuza: the Spanish term for chamois. In the southwest of the United States it probably referred to deer or antelope.

²Chugualcama may be Cholam. In any case the village in question was probably in the Cholam area, for here was the primary pathway to the valley from the San Miguel-San Luis Obispo region. Any travelers from the Mojave or Colorado deserts coming across the southern end of the valley would normally arrive here from the southeast.

³This statement seems to show that the traders were not Mojave but Yuma from the mouth of the Colorado. As a rule the Mojave from higher upstream were designated Amajabas.

⁴Here is reasonably clear evidence that these small trading expeditions from the Colorado had been going on annually for a considerable period.

⁵This item is of interest since it shows beyond doubt that the southern Yokuts (Pelones = Paleuyami) had taken up the activity of trading independently of the Mojave or Yuma. There is very little evidence in the literature of much activity on their part and it must be assumed that they had initiated the activity relatively recently—perhaps as a result of watching the Colorado River Indians. A party of 48 Indians argues a large enterprise.

⁶Mantas y colores. The phrase probably refers to rough cotton yard goods and simple vegetable coloring materials. The context does not indicate whether these were the products of native industry or, more likely, cheap trade goods which had come up from Mexico through Sonora.

⁷See Chapter I, note 1, above. In the present instance the answers of those interrogated were almost identical.

⁸The frezada was the standard Mexican blanket, used by whites and Indians alike. The tiruta (the name is colloquial) was a special type of blanket produced (or at least sold) by the Colorado River tribes. It is described as being heavy and soft of a black color. Note the commodities traded: blankets of two kinds, beads and probably other ornaments, red ochre, and cord or rope. See also in this connection the statement by Estudillo in his letter to Sola of March 24, 1821.

⁹Sabanas de manta. The expression indicates cheap, probably cotton, yard goods. The Manta from pre-conquest times was standard cotton cloth and it is very likely that the expression persisted. If so the question arises as to where the Mojave acquired these goods.

The blankets produced locally (frezadas del pais) may have been of Yokuts manufacture but more likely were introduced from the coastal settlements.

¹⁰This account was dictated to one of Bancroft's workers in 1878. Bancroft considers Valdes to be trustworthy and the account to be the most reliable we possess. There is no doubt that his attitude is judicial and impartial.

¹¹This is a long way, about 150 miles, probably somewhere in the Palm Springs area. Carrillo was an alcalde of Los Angeles and exercised police authority over most of southern California.

¹²One of the officials of the town council (Ayuntamiento).

¹³Evidently a small subordinate party had branched off to the northwest, had stolen stock from San Luis Obispo, and were on their way to join the main body of raiders in the Los Angeles-San Bernardino area when they were intercepted by the regidor.

¹⁴This is an account written by a civilian, Antonio Ignacio Avila to Father Taboada, who was in charge of San Luis Obispo mission. Avila, and his four paid helpers were the five citizens sent out by Jose Antonio Carrillo, and mentioned in the preceding letter.

¹⁵Further details of this operation are given in letters translated below. Salazar was evidently a manager, or go-between. Lucas and Coronado were neophytes of San Luis Mission and probably rounded up the stock to be stolen. There was some type of general meeting or conference on arrangements held in the tularas in which the local valley Indians participated. The latter undoubtedly received a consideration of some kind for the use of their area as a distribution point.

¹⁶These neophytes were subsequently brought to Los Angeles, but there is no record of their testimony.

¹⁷A native neophyte official, with authority (under the missionaries) over the other neophytes.

CHAPTER III (pp. 165-180)

¹San José Mission had about 1500 neophytes on its books at this time. The population of the Mokelumnes probably amounted to an even greater number, perhaps from 3,000 to 4,000. However they were living in not one but several villages scattered along the Mokelumne River from its mouth in the delta to the beginning of the foothills, a distance of some twenty miles. Father Duran is referring to the entire tribal group, not to a single village.

²Pasear. This refers to the missionary custom of permitting neophytes to make excursions to the back country to hunt, fish, gather seeds and acorns, or merely enjoy a brief respite from mission life.

³The Lakisamni: whose home was on the Stanislaus River.

⁴These were mission Indians absent on leave for the purpose of fishing.

⁵Vecino auxiliar. However, he must have been an Indian. Otherwise Osio certainly would have mentioned his name.

⁶A free translation of the proverb No hay cuña como la del propio palo.

⁷This story is probably apochryphal. There is no contemporary evidence for it.

⁸Whether this pardon was technical or virtual is immaterial. There is no doubt that Estanislao lived for several years in the white settlements under the protection of the missionaries.

⁹Fray Buenaventura Sitjar.

¹⁰Another instance of Bojorques' confusion. The final Sanchez-Vallejo campaign, which he purports to describe had no such outcome as is here indicated. It is probable that the events mentioned refer rather to one of the earlier campaigns, or even to the Sanchez campaign described later. With respect to the latter, in which Bojorques was a participant, it is to be noted that his account is disconnected and deals only with isolated incidents.

¹¹The group of Americans who engineered a revolt against the Mexican regime in California.

¹²A lake, now long disappeared, probably just east of Tracy, San Joaquin County.

¹³This is the word monte, which I have translated variously as "forest," "woods," "thicket," "brush," "underbrush," as the sense seemed to dictate. Really it means none of these things. It connotes vegetation, covering an indefinitely great extent, consisting of shrubs, vines, and small to medium trees, packed into an extremely dense growth penetrable only with great difficulty. A good example is the shrubby thorn

forest of southern Sonora and Sinaloa. The existing "chaparral" or "chamise" areas of the California Coast Ranges and Sierra Nevada would be regarded as "monte," as would many thick stands of scrub oak, but not the oak parks of the valleys and grassy slopes, or the redwood and pine forests of the coasts and mountains.

¹⁴This long negotiation was standard practice. There was little expectation (or even intention) of persuading the enemy to surrender. However it constituted legal justification for subsequent resort to force of arms and satisfied the demands of the clergy and civil authorities. The version of Sanchez concerning these conversations is no doubt highly expurgated. Other witnesses, such as Bojorques, emphasize the insults delivered by the Indians. It is probable, human nature being what it is, that both sides contributed liberally to the flow of vituperation.

¹⁵Sanchez here omits many details mentioned in other accounts of the campaign. It is to be suspected, furthermore, that the elaborate description of the order and disposition of the troops was for the purpose of forestalling criticism for the loss of several men.

¹⁶I omit a long and confused account of the death of Ignacio Pacheco. It is evident that the testimony was conflicting and that Sanchez was not sure what had actually happened.

¹⁷This description, which I omit, like the preceding section, is ambiguous and contradictory. It contributes nothing to the picture of the battle. Clearly Sanchez was in a difficult position with his superiors back home and was trying to make the best possible case for himself.

¹⁸Six hours, plus three the previous day, makes nine hours riding time. Even at slow speed in consideration of the wounded, a moderate walk, we can allow three miles per hour. This estimate conforms to the statement of Sanchez that on the 8th they traveled 4 leagues (about 10 miles) in three hours. Hence the battle must have taken place 27 or 28 miles above the mouth of the Stanislaus River. This means somewhere in the valley bottom not far above Oakdale.

¹⁹The Indians retreated during the night from their first positions and took up their defense from another previously prepared set of fortifications. The latter appear to have been in the same general region but in a recognizably different expanse of "monte," probably on the Tuolumne River (see the account of Piña, below).

²⁰Balsas: probably rafts made from tule reeds.

²¹This was apparently the oak park extending to the southeast of the junction of the Stanislaus and San Joaquin rivers.

²²The Stanislaus River.

²³The Rio Pescadero is the Stanislaus River.

²⁴From the context it is clear that the village fortification on the Stanislaus having been captured, the party pursued the enemy elsewhere. After resting until

six o'clock in the afternoon the army resumed its march and traveled three leagues in an hour and a half, and stopped on a river. Here was located the village of the Tagualames. The river was undoubtedly the Tuolumne, which is very close to 10 miles from the Stanislaus. The exact spot cannot be located but is likely to have been not far above Waterford.

²⁵This village, like that on the Stanislaus, was located in a dense expanse of "monte."

²⁶A colloquial term referring to missionized Indians, mestizos, and others of relatively low social status.

²⁷Muy castellano. See Chapter I, note 14..

²⁸An impartial observer would have to concede admiration for the courage of this Indian.

²⁹In other words the troops could not go off chasing fugitives and desert their stations.

³⁰See the subsequent official correspondence regarding these atrocities.

³¹The officers must be held responsible for permitting these acts, especially Vallejo and Sanchez who could have prevented them.

³²Fiscal: a jurist, a kind of assessor, whose job it was to give legal advice to the chief administrator or his council.

CHAPTER IV (pp. 181-193)

¹Hollister Valley, or San Benito Valley.

²Manuel Butron and Angel Castro were both citizens of standing and influence in the territory, much beyond what might be indicated by the rank of corporal. Hence the deferential reference de igual clase.

³This is an enlightening observation and refers to the frequent tendency of missionized, interior natives to return to their old homes when they became seriously ill. It was apparently a semi-instinctive attempt to escape the disease-ridden mission environment. Needless to say, the effort was substantially useless and in fact did more harm than good, since the still intact villages of the interior became themselves infected.

⁴The arithmetic is a little obscure: 16 plus 23 equals 39, leaving 1 Christian.

⁵The sentence clearly implies, but omits to state, that all the Indians captured are to be sent back. An alcalde was an Indian of above average ability and reliability who was given local jurisdiction (in a mission) over his fellow Indians.

⁶The common name applied to recalcitrant Indians —local slang for rascal or bum. It is interesting to note that by 1826 the military commanders of expeditions are no longer making any pretence that they regard unconverted Indians as anything but vermin to be captured or exterminated.

⁷This is the Yokuts tribe Hoyima, shown by Kroeber (*Handbook*, plate 47, page 526) as inhabiting the San Joaquin River between the big bend and the foothills. This is the area in which Pico was then operating.

⁸Here again referred to as gandules.

⁹The Pitkachi originally inhabited the area south of the San Joaquin River, just northwest of Fresno. The Wimilchi were on the lower Kings River and its delta, below Kingsburg. Evidently there had been considerable redistribution of these tribes due to the Spanish incursions from 1800 to 1825.

¹⁰Gueches probably is Gewachiu of Kroeber (*Handbook*, page 484) although the village is shown by Kroeber as being on the San Joaquin and Pico implies that it is on the Kings River. Perhaps the village had recently been moved from the San Joaquin to the Kings River.

¹¹The geography here is obscure. Pico says he was not able to get across the flooded San Joaquin River, yet he traveled eleven leagues toward or along the Sierra Nevada, and reached the Guimilches (Wimilchi). This tribe, according to Kroeber, were along the north bank of the lower Kings River. The Notontos (Nutunutu) were on the south bank of the Kings River, opposite the Wimilchi. The Chukamina were at the edge of the foothills between Reedley and Dunlap. Thus it is probable that Pico did get across the San Joaquin and arrived on the middle Kings River somewhere in the vicinity of Sanger. Moreover we have no certainty that during this disturbed period the principal villages of the Yokuts tribelets were located in the exact areas assigned to them by Kroeber or any other modern ethnographer. In general it seems likely that on January 12 and 13 Pico was somewhere north of the Kings River and east of Fresno. The Euchamines and the Chouchomines were probably both Chukamina.

¹²The home of the Tachi was on the north and north-east shore of Lake Tulare.

¹³Pico's movements on this day are difficult to interpret. In the morning the various chiefs came to see him at his camp. Then they left, only to return, at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon.

Meanwhile Corp. Butron noted the disappearance of the heathen, or wild Indians. In addition rumors reached Pico of suspicious goings-on at night in a sweat-house. This must have referred to the preceding night, that of January 12-13. At this time, now nearly dark, Pico decided to move his camp (which he never says he has broken) three quarters of a league to a more defensible position. And yet, with all this he says they traveled 13 leagues, a very long day's journey. It is probable that Pico confused this day with either the 12th or the 14th, and that not much more than scouting occurred on the 13th.

¹⁴What village? It can not be either that of the Wimilchi or of the Nutunutu, judging by the comments in the second paragraph.

¹⁵This marginal note, with the signature and rubric, was obviously written by José Estudillo. Hence it is probable that the whole manuscript was put down by the latter from Pico's dictation after the expedition returned. This would account for the crude diction

and the many discrepancies in place and time.

¹⁶Pico must have penetrated to the foothills between the Kings and Kaweah rivers, for by slow marches westward it took him five days to reach the north shore of Lake Tulare, where the Tachi had their home.

¹⁷Pico overestimates his distances. He gives a total of 40 leagues traversed from January 14 to 19, inclusive, or about 100 miles. From the Kings River at the Friant Dam to the north shore of the former Lake Tulare, even following the meanders of the river, is not much more than 60 miles.

¹⁸By 1826 the lake people routinely took refuge on low islands. Some of these are known to modern ethnographers (see Gifford and Schenck, 1926).

¹⁹The village of Bubal (Wowol) was moved several times during the years 1800-1850. At this period it was probably near the southern end of the lake. Hence Pico went down the eastern shore to reach it.

²⁰Rodriguez gives no distances in leagues but his route is reasonably clear. From San Juan Bautista he went through the Coast Ranges, descending into the valley by way of Little Panoche, and reaching the river somewhere south of Dos Palos. He made a fast trip: 60-70 miles in about 60 hours.

²¹Monte Redondo—at the edge of the foothills near the main San Joaquin River. Note that the account under the heading "April 24" includes the 24th, 25th, and 26th of April.

²²The party was now in the region where the San Joaquin River, after leaving the foothills, flows roughly from east to west.

²³Settlers in Contra Costa County.

²⁴These figures give some notion of the extent of horse thieving and horse-meat consumption by the wild Indians at this date. The tribelet, or village, of the Hoyima could not have consisted of more than a very few hundred persons.

²⁵The account here is foreshortened and confusing. Evidently, as indicated by the guide, the Rodriguez party overshot the hiding place of the fugitives and had to retrace its steps. On encountering the Indians there must have been a severe skirmish, since Rodriguez states that he lost six Indian allies, and since he refers to the village "donde estaban los muertos." The natives, apart from the captives, must have sustained losses; and indeed the whole community must have been utterly disrupted.

²⁶The Heuchi. Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 484) says of them: "The Heuchi . . . had a large settlement at Ch'ekayu, on Fresno River 4 miles below Madera. They were certainly on the north side of this stream and may have had both its lower banks."

²⁷Comedores de caballada. It is significant that by 1828 all the northern Yokuts and the remnants of the Plains Miwok had turned to horse meat as a staple article of diet. Note that Rodriguez calls them horse eaters, rather than horse thieves. These tribal groups

caused the coastal Californians great trouble during the ensuing decade, but by 1840 the valley people had been driven into the hills or had been exterminated. The Chausila are of course the Yokuts group Chauschila, along the small river now called Chowchilla.

²⁸Here the manuscript ceases to be organized by days but becomes continuous.

²⁹This passage is obscure. Evidently the cow hides claimed by the Indians to have been furnished by Purissima bore the brand of San Miguel. Moreover the connection between cow hides and the hunting of deer is far from clear.

³⁰Rodriguez pays little attention to dates. Hence I have inserted them where appropriate.

³¹Probably at or near the Carrezo Plains, west of Taft and McKittrick.

³²Probably refers to an Indian named Pastor, from San Miguel.

³³The Yauelmani, a Yokuts tribelet located between Buenavista Lake and the Sierra Nevada foothills.

³⁴Here and in the following excerpt we are dealing with correspondence relating to the Sanchez-Vallejo expeditions.

³⁵There is no other record of this expedition which was prosecuted just before the Sanchez-Vallejo campaigns against the Sierra Miwok. The Joyima were lower valley Yokuts. The 40 men and 8 women who died were obviously Indians.

³⁶This letter refers to the Indian children captured by the Sanchez-Vallejo expeditions.

³⁷Here are unauthorized marauders, military and civilian, pillaging the Central Valley.

³⁸The tribes named here are the Unsumne, Ochejamnes, Cosumne, Seguanne, and Ilamne, all Northern Yokuts or Plains Miwok tribelets inhabiting the delta and the lower Cosumnes River.

³⁹Literally: "they were given many used-up arrows."

⁴⁰The participation of the American beaver hunters in this little skirmish is indicative of what must have happened repeatedly. We know from many documents, both Mexican and American that from 1827 or 1828, following the incursions of Jedediah Smith, every summer large parties of English and American and even French trappers passed through the Central Valley. That they should have participated in Indian fighting is almost self-evident. In just what direction their influence (economic and military) was exerted is not clear. Their prejudice was against both the Mexican and the Indian. Probably local circumstances dictated the nature of each contact.

A work of some magnitude could be written concerning the effect of the Americans on the Central Valley prior to 1845, but the subject cannot be treated extensively here.

⁴¹This and the following passages give some notion of the disruptive elements introduced by the advent of

the fur-trappers and hunters. Note also the correspondence in November of 1833.

⁴²This decree probably represents a statement of policy and wishful thinking. In effect it lent official sanction to any and all expeditions which might proceed to the Central Valley, and indeed exculpated in advance any actions committed by military or civilians. In view of the weak condition of the departmental government such a course was probably justified. Needless to say few if any stock thieves were ever brought before a court of justice.

⁴³There is a hint here of the undisciplined atrocities committed by civilians—such as are described in the last section of this monograph. The governor, however, could blame no one but himself, since official sanction was extended to all volunteer citizens by the departmental administration.

⁴⁴The Vallejo Documents in the Bancroft Library were microfilmed during the 1930's and positive prints were bound in a series of volumes corresponding to the originals, except that each original volume is represented by several volumes of the copies. The quality of the work was very poor, and a student interested in a particular document may be well advised to consult the original.

⁴⁵The property of the Peraltas. The subsequent fate of this rancho is a fine commentary on the times, although it has no bearing on the Indian situation. The home property, the ranch house and annexed buildings, persisted into the twentieth century. In the 1930's and 1940's the property was converted into a restaurant and gambling establishment in the real California tradition. It lay exactly across the line from Alameda County in Contra Costa County and the then Contra Costa sheriff's office was amenable to persuasion from the gambling element. About 1955 the property was acquired by Capwell and Co., of Oakland. The old ranch buildings were ruthlessly destroyed and the entire area converted into a super store and a colossal parking lot.

⁴⁶Rancho San Pablo was on the border of the present Albany and El Cerrito; Merced was near the border of Berkeley and Oakland; the property of Martinez covered much of northwestern Contra Costa County (vicinity of Pinole).

⁴⁷The governor continues at length in the same vein asking direct help from M. G. Vallejo. However, Vallejo wrote back on May 26, 1839 (Vallejo Documents, Vol. VIII, Documents Nos. 191-192) declining to lead an expedition, turning the responsibility over to Prado Mesa at San José.

⁴⁸Apparently the Koyeti and Pitcachi. If so, these groups must have been widely displaced. The account states this action to have been on Kings River, yet Kroeber (*Handbook*, 1925, plate 47) shows the Koyeti on Tule River and the Pitcachi on the San Joaquin.

⁴⁹From Panoche Pass, southwest of Mendota, to Garzas Creek, west of Gustine along the Stanislaus-Merced county line.

⁵⁰This is a well-thought-out plan, and it is a clear index to the condition of the region at the time. How-

ever, there is no indication in the records that it was ever carried out. Impromptu private expeditions continued to be the best defense against the raiding Indians of the valley.

⁵¹This must be a pure fabrication. No Indian "village" at this date would seriously request to go to a mission, particularly since, after secularization, the missions were completely disrupted.

⁵²To my knowledge no account exists of what happened to this expedition.

⁵³There is little room to doubt that both British and Americans encouraged stock thievery on the part of the valley Indians. Such a procedure would be quite in conformity with the ethics of this group of adventurers and would be justified on the basis of prejudice against the Spanish-Mexican government of California.

CHAPTER V (pp. 194-203)

¹Although the period of this monograph extends from 1820 only through 1840, the recitation of events occurring eight years later is justified by the similarity of these events to those taking place for at least 30 years previously. The date is a very minor matter in this connotation.

²Twelve names are given. Four must have been forgotten.

³San Luis Gonzaga lies at the eastern foot of Pacheco Pass, west of Los Banos. The peak of San Luis Gonzaga probably refers to the high hills northwest of San Luis Gonzaga itself.

⁴Bruno Bernal was mounted and had dragged the Indian along the ground, caught by the lariat around his neck.

⁵This places the expeditions against the plains Miwok as early as 1818.

⁶The figures for enemy losses given by Amador must be taken with considerable reservation. It is probable that both the dead and the prisoners are greatly exaggerated.

⁷Here, in 1818 and 1820, we have an account of the earlier campaigns of Sanchez, which established his reputation as an Indian fighter.

⁸An indication that the expedition was not very successful.

⁹We may ask at this point whether the average Indian would have preferred 200 lashes or the chance to die in a fair fight.

¹⁰The Ilamni, a group of the plains Miwok. See Kroeber (1925) p. 445.

¹¹Leather-jacketed soldiers. Soldiers armed in the customary manner of the time. They had served their enlistment period in the army, had been discharged, and had settled in the country.

¹²This sounds a little farfetched. Acorns are inedible without careful pretreatment. Nevertheless, the desperate straits in which this party found itself are probably not overdrawn. They had taken a thorough mauling from the Indians.

¹³Tropita moderna. The diminutive of contempt.

¹⁴A very free translation of "capotes, zapotes, etc." I can not place the incident to which Amador refers. Very likely it never was recorded in detail in the official records. Actually the precipitate flight of soldiers and civilians before the Indians was no uncommon phenomenon at this period.

¹⁵The following description of Indian surgery and therapy is of considerable interest. It is a highly practical procedure and does not conform in all respects with the concept of the native shaman as a magician rather than an objective physician.

¹⁶There is no English equivalent for these Spanish terms.

¹⁷These expeditions described by Amador have no counterpart in the official records, as one might expect in view of the heavy casualties and the large number of persons involved. They can not be entirely figments of an old man's imagination, yet they must be somewhat distorted.

¹⁸This is a strange performance. The normal procedure would be to return to the coast with the prisoners rather than court open disaster by going into the mountains. On the whole I think we are dealing with an impromptu, amateur expedition which had no official or military supervision whatever.

¹⁹It is important for the reader to realize that these Indians were members of the party itself; they were Indian auxiliary fighters who had come from the missions. Yet they were Mokolumnes, of the same tribal stock as those whom the party was attacking. Their grievances can be taken as representative of those of all the recently converted mission Indians.

²⁰To the greater credit of Prado Mesa and the greater infamy of José Amador whose name is celebrated in a California county. This whole incident is incomprehensible. One might infer that the Indian auxiliaries threatened mutiny as a whole unless the Christians were murdered. But this is totally at variance with normal Indian behavior. Moreover it was the Christians who were killed and one might expect a violent reaction on the part of the missionaries. I suspect that our friend Amador murdered a number of Christian Indians on his own initiative and concocted this tale of "justice" to cover his tracks.

²¹This assumption of command by Amador is to be taken with considerable reservation. It was Amador, not Prado Mesa, who was talking to posterity through Bancroft's representative.

²²This infamous and sacriligious performance seems almost incredible. Yet it could scarcely have been a pure invention by Amador. The numbers involved were very likely grossly exaggerated.

²³If true, this account implies that the whites, on this expedition, were completely under the control of the auxiliaries, a very peculiar situation to say the least.

²⁴This account is confusing. I read it that the Indian auxiliaries wished to cross the river and capture the village. Amador objecting, he was forced by his own allies to cross and recross the river to demonstrate that he was not afraid to do it. Then later the auxiliaries went across a second time and actually attacked the village, no white men being present. The whole affair makes it abundantly clear that the leaders of the expedition had no disciplinary control whatever.

²⁵There follows (not translated) an account of a controversy between Amador and Jose Jesus Vallejo. The latter sharply criticized Amador for permitting (and abetting) the shooting of 200 Indian prisoners. Then follows a rather long description of the Sanchez-Vallejo campaigns of 1828 which are highly colored by personal bias and rather undependable regarding detail.

²⁶Garcia was at this time administrator of the ex-mission of San Miguel. Incidentally there is no junction of the Kings and San Joaquin rivers. What Garcia means is probably the Kings River delta near the North Shore of Tulare Lake.

²⁷These 300 men were mission Indians, under the direct control of the administrator. Hence these events occurred after 1833, the date of secularization. The heavy dependence upon Indian allies, noted in the narrative of Amador, is again very evident here.

²⁸This statement does not make sense, unless the Kings River is meant.

²⁹This turning over of an entire campaign to irregular mission Indians was completely at variance with Spanish and Mexican policy. The incident needs confirmation from some source other than Garcia's rather dubious account.

³⁰This is a remarkable business, if Garcia's account is true, and it is so circumstantial that it can not be a complete fabrication. Garcia, like most other old-timers of either Mexican or Yankee origin who talked to Bancroft's paid historians in the years 1875-1880, was an unconscionable braggart and on occasion a thorough liar. Nevertheless the roster of valley villages is very accurate. Captain Tachi was of course the chief of the Yokuts tribelet of the same name. Gulmich is equivalent to the tribal name Wimilchi and Captain Telamini is the chief of the tribelet Telamni.

Very noteworthy is the fact that whole villages of the valley Yokuts could be brought in on the Mexican side to attack other Indians.

³¹It would be interesting to know who these Indians were—perhaps foothill Yokuts, perhaps western Mono. At any rate it is clear that they were more than a match for the ranchers and the remnants of the mission Indians of the 1830's.

³²This would make his term of office 1833-1837, since he was born in 1808.

³³Note the inevitable first person singular. These old fellows in their seventies or eighties probably really believed that they alone protected the colony against the Indians of the Central Valley.

³⁴The description fits the rough hills north and north-east of Mt. Hamilton.

³⁵The water hole of Red Mountain. The locality was probably somewhere on the head waters of what is now called Arroyo del Puerto, in western Stanislaus County.

³⁶Palomares evidently here refers to himself and companions as the Christians, the Indians being the heathen [Gentiles].

³⁷An error here. There never was a governor of California named Gutierrez.

³⁸In the account omitted here, Palomares describes in very intimate detail how he captured two Indians and then put out the eyes of one and cut off the genitals of the other, leaving both to perish in the wilderness. Beyond demonstrating that Palomares was a sadistic psychopath the story proves only that the most vicious atrocities were committed in this guerrilla warfare.

³⁹The Yokuts tribelet Hoyima, on the San Joaquin River above the big bend.

⁴⁰This was pretty rough treatment: fifty per cent casualties. If the Indian weapons had been reasonably effective the party of Palomares would have been wiped out.

⁴¹This conclusion is to be doubted. Pedro's relatives lived in the San Joaquin Valley or Sierra foothills. Yoscolo and his band were native to and based their operations on the Santa Cruz mountains. Undoubtedly Palomares is right, however, in thinking that Pedro's relatives and fellow tribesmen would have killed him if they had been able to reach him.

⁴²This expedition occurred undoubtedly between 1830 and 1835.

⁴³This no doubt is the same José de Jesus who was a man of great authority among the Indians of the Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers in the mid-1840's.

⁴⁴I must admit that this is the only reference I have come upon indicating that Estanislao had a brother, to say nothing of his renown. Undoubtedly I have missed many of the sources but I am reasonably sure that he attracted no such attention in the contemporary correspondence as did Estanislao.

⁴⁵There is an error here. The Mokelumne were located on the river of that name, not on the Calaveras, which is some 10 miles south of the Mokelumne River. The Mokelumnes were never called the Calaveras, a name applied only to the river. The point called "El Zanjón" where the attack occurred may well have been along the Calaveras River.

⁴⁶This story is doubtful. However, Calaveras does mean the place of the skulls and the skulls certainly were not those of white men.

⁴⁷He means 130 active men, thus a total of nearly 400 persons. If the figures of Palomares are correct the Mokelumne suffered heavy loss: 30 corpses, 15 wounded, 16 prisoners, or nearly 50 per cent of the total effectives plus an unknown number of women and children. It is clear that the wild tribes could not withstand repeated blows of this sort.

⁴⁸There was evidently a change of plan since it had originally been intended to take all the captives to Mission San José.

⁴⁹I suspect that this happy ending is apochryphal. I know of no other evidence for the voluntary conversion of a whole tribe.

⁵⁰The background of this incident is difficult to assess. The "Atalanes" would seem to be the Acalanes, or the Saclanes who originally lived in Contra Costa County. On one of the expeditions in the late 1790's one of their sweathouses had been burned with many casualties. But Palomares was born in 1808 and could not possibly have been present. Furthermore the Contra Costa County groups had been destroyed or absorbed by the missions long before Palomares came on the scene. He may have been present at the burning of the sweathouse of some Sierra Nevada village and have subsequently confused this affair with the one involving the Acalanes. The story is circumstantial enough to warrant the guess that Palomares par-

ticipated in some such incident, and did not invent it in toto. On the other hand the reliability of the detail must be regarded as low. The account is presented here for whatever it may be worth. If it did not happen it might have happened.

⁵¹A night, a day, the next night till midnight would mean about 30 hours' travel. At three miles an hour this is 90 miles, at four miles an hour (on horseback) 120 miles. Such a distance would have carried the party far beyond the Contra Costa area, into the foothills of the Sierra Nevada.

⁵²Lest the reader become too indignant with the ferocious red men let him remember the atrocities perpetrated by the white men according to Palomares' own account.

⁵³This account of Central California war customs seems to conform in its main outlines with what is known through standard ethnographic sources. Shooting to death with arrows and scalping were probably standard practice and were dictated as much by ritualistic considerations as by specific hatred of the white men.

⁵⁴The Palomares account does not end here, but the sample I have given is thoroughly representative, and little would be gained by presenting the remainder of the document.

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