

of Santa Fe alone, it is estimated, that, if the movement is prompt and efficient, at least fifteen millions in specie and gold dust will be captured."

While thus waiting, I give the incidents which befell General Kearny's column before it passed beyond this valley and communications; the news of which has closely followed me.

The march was continued, October 4th, down the river. The succor of Pulvidera was too late to save a large amount of stock which the Navajos drove off; and the General then published *permission* to the people to retaliate, and make war upon the Navajos.

On the 5th the column reached Socorro;—where the guides had proposed to leave the river; but after much discussion, they changed their mind.

On the 6th they marched thirteen miles. This day Kit Carson with fifteen men,—an express from California—was met; he had an important mail for Washington.

The great news was a revolution or subjugation of California under the auspices of Commodore Stockton and Captain Fremont.

Six of Carson's party were Delawares; he start-

ed with fifty riding animals; the most of them had been ridden down and abandoned; others swapped, two for one, with Apaches, who proved friendly; he came by the Gila. No news of the invasion of New Mexico had been received in California.

General Kearny determined to take Carson to guide him by the route he had just passed over. Carson resisted very firmly, at first; he had pledged himself to deliver his mail in Washington. The General finally prevailed,—taking upon himself every responsibility,—especially the prompt and safe delivery of the dispatches.

Did the General stop to think what it was he demanded? A man had just ridden eight hundred miles over a desert,—a wilderness,—where he could meet no human being save a few savages likely to seek his destruction; (he rode ninety miles without halting, over a jornada of sand!) he had arrived at the verge of society, and *near the residence of his family!* He is required to turn right back, and for another year of absence! That was no common sacrifice to duty.

General Kearny then decided to take only two small troops of dragoons, as an escort, and also two

mountain howitzers, sending back Major Sumner with four troops to remain in the territory. He then marched three days, with wagons, with eight picked mules to the wagon; but a day and a half without a road satisfied him; he sent for pack saddles, and gave up the wagons. October 14th, he once more resumed his march, and, next day being about two hundred and thirty miles below Santa Fè, he left the river, turned westward, toward the copper mines on the Gila, and wrote to Colonel Cooke, assigning to him the task of opening a wagon road to the Pacific.

Colonel Doniphan, in obedience to orders, leaving Colonel Price at Santa Fè, marched October 26th, against the Navajos. He directed one column of two hundred men under Major Gilpin up the Chama River. It went as far as the mountains dividing the waters of the Del Norte from those of the Colorado, thence down the San Juan, and by Red Lake to the valley of the Little Colorado.

With the remaining portion of the regiment he left the Rio Grande at Albuquerque, and passed up the valley of the Puerco, or Pecos of the West, almost to its source; in three parties he visited their whole country, and collected the most of the

tribe at Bear Spring (Ojo del Oso) and made a treaty. The marches were over mountains, and generally in snow. The regiment was concentrated at Socorro, December 12th.

COLONEL DONIPHAN'S CAPTURE OF CHIHUAHUA
—A BRIEF EPISODE.

The march for Chihuahua was begun on the 14th by three hundred men, followed on the 16th and 18th by the rest of the regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell of Price's second regiment with ninety men.

This march in its beginning encountered the celebrated Jornada del Muerto of ninety miles, destitute of water and fuel. It is across a bend of the Rio Grande, and is cut off from that river by mountainous ground.

On Christmas day, at a spot called Bracito, when the regiment after its usual march, had picketed their horses, and were gathering fuel, the advance guard reported the rapid approach of the enemy in large force. Line was formed on foot, when a *black flag* was received with an insolent demand. Colonel Doniphan restrained his men from shooting the bearer down. The enemy's line, nearly half cavalry,

and including a howitzer, opened fire at four hundred yards, and still advanced, and had fired three rounds, before fire was returned within effective range. Victory seems to have been decided by a charge of Captain Reid with twenty cavalry which he had managed to mount, and another charge by a dismounted company which captured the howitzer. The enemy fled, with loss of forty-three killed and one hundred and fifty wounded; our loss seven wounded, who all recovered.

The enemy were about twelve hundred strong; five hundred cavalry, the rest infantry, including several hundred El Paso militia; our force was five hundred—Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson with a part of the regiment arriving on the ground after the action. Colonel Doniphan gave credit "for the most essential service in forming the line and during the engagement" to Captain Thompson, First dragoons, "acting his aid and adviser."

December 27th.—He entered El Paso, and learning that General Wool was not in possession of Chihuahua, he sent to Santa Fe for one of the batteries of volunteer artillery; and waiting its arrival remained at El Paso until February 8th.

He then resumed his march for Chihuahua; with nine hundred and twenty-four effective men, and three hundred and fifteen heavy traders' wagons accompanied his march.

February 28th.—At the Pass of the Sacramento, fifteen miles from Chihuahua, the enemy was discovered in great force strongly posted, fortified by entrenchments, and well supplied with artillery. After an effective cannonade by the battery, Colonel Doniphan advanced to the attack, with seven companies dismounted in line, and three mounted. The decisive action of the battle was a charge by the two twelve-pound howitzers supported by three troops of cavalry, and followed up by the dismounted line and the rest of the artillery; the howitzers "unlimbered within fifty yards of the redoubts of the enemy," who were attacked by *sabre in their entrenchments*.

The enemy were finally put to flight with a loss of about six hundred men, and all their artillery, ten pieces; our strength was "nine hundred and forty effective men." Our loss nine killed and wounded.

Next day, March 1st, the army took formal possession of the capital of Chihuahua.

Colonel Doniphan had been ordered by General

Kearny to report to General Wool. At Chihuahua he provided for the safety of American citizens and their very large caravan property, and then determined to encounter all the risks of another great march; and, accordingly, with little or no loss, reached Monterey, where he reported to General Taylor.*

The Mormon battalion arrived at Santa Fe October 12th, and next day, Lieutenant Colonel Cooke assumed command. It had been commanded by Lieutenant A. J. Smith,† first dragoons, in its long march from Fort Leavenworth.

* I suspect that in this great venture they encountered, as a milder incident of war, most danger from the fire of the feminine eyes of the simple inhabitants; (but were they "ready" in their boasted "rags and roughness" for the courts of Venus?)

The advance on General Taylor's line of invasion had been wisely abandoned for a far shorter one to the heart and capital of Mexico; and the regiment was ordered home for discharge. It marched to Matamoras, carrying with them, nine hundred miles from Chihuahua, their ten captured cannon; there it embarked for New Orleans, St. Louis and Liberty, Missouri; making a grand circuit which counted miles by the thousand, and throwing a coloring of romantic adventure over the realities of its services; its share in the conquest of far-distant New Mexico—its pursuit of the Navajos beyond the snow-clad mountains of San Juan, and the pacification of that powerful tribe—its battles, and the great victory of Sacramento.

It received an ovation in Saint Louis, and a rejoicing welcome amid its homes in extreme western Missouri.—Not a fatted calf, but a half tamed buffalo cow, belonging to the author, was a contribution to a barbecue given for their entertainment.

† As Smith is not a very distinctive name, it may be interesting to mention that this one, now of Saint Louis, became a very distinguished Major General.

Every thing conspired to discourage the extraordinary undertaking of marching this battalion eleven hundred miles, for the much greater part through an unknown wilderness without road or trail, and with a wagon train.

It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old,—some feeble, and some too young; it was embarrassed by many women; it was undisciplined; it was much worn by travelling on foot, and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois; their clothing was very scant;—there was no money to pay them,—or clothing to issue; their mules were utterly broken down; the Quartermaster department was without funds, and its credit bad; and mules were scarce. Those procured were very inferior, and were deteriorating every hour for lack of forage or grazing. So every preparation must be pushed,—hurried. A small party with families, had been sent from Arkansas crossing up the river, to winter at a small settlement close to the mountains, called Pueblo. The battalion was now inspected, and eighty-six men found inefficient, were ordered, under two officers, with nearly all the women, to go to the same point; five wives of officers were reluctantly allowed to

accompany the march, but furnished their own transportation.

By special arrangement and consent, the battalion was paid in checks,—not very available at Santa Fe.

With every effort the Quartermaster could only undertake to furnish rations for sixty days; and in fact full rations of only flour, sugar, coffee and salt; salt pork only for thirty days, and soap for twenty. To venture without pack saddles would be grossly imprudent, and so that burden was added.

October 19th the battalion was pushed out, by companies, six miles to Agua Frio; where some grazing might be had.

After dispatching a multitude of last duties, I left town and arrived in camp at sunset. Here I found all huddled in the sandy creek bottom; no grass; many mules without ropes or picket pins: they, and the beeves and oxen were to be herded under rather difficult circumstances. Some fodder had been procured.

The battalion have never been drilled, and, though obedient, have little discipline; they exhibit great heedlessness and ignorance, and some obstinacy.

I have brought road tools and have *determined* to take through my wagons; but the experiment is not a fair one, as the mules are nearly broken down at the outset. The only good ones, about twenty which I bought near Albuquerque, were taken for the express for Fremont's mail,—the General's order requiring "the twenty-one *best* in Santa Fe."

Next day a march of ten miles was made to the last water on the road to the river; an order of regulations for the march was issued; and the ration was lowered to twelve ounces of flour, and three-fourths allowance of sugar and coffee; but that of beef increased one-fifth,—to a pound and a half.

Extracts from Colonel Cooke's official journal will be given; some as specimens of daily doings; some of incidents or other matters of unusual interest,—a few of apparently insuperable obstacles and dangers, necessarily encountered, and overcome,—or endured.

"October 21st.—I ordered a very early reveille and march, to accomplish the twenty-four miles. I got the wagons ready before eight o'clock; having ordered, as a spur, that each company should send off its baggage as soon as ready; and that they should

march in that order. At the last moment I learned that nineteen beeves and fourteen mules were missing. I had ordered that the guard—increased to twenty-seven privates—should guard the animals by night; a corporal and four privates, butchers, should drive the oxen; and a corporal,—on daily duty,—and six of the guard, drive and take care of the extra mules (except during the night). I had broken up yesterday, an old wagon I found here, for the axles, and the spokes, ordered to be made into picket pins. I was, of course, without mounted men to send after the missing cattle. I sent the officer of the day, and every member of the old guard in pursuit, in four parties, with orders to re-assemble here, and none to come on until all the animals were recovered; but this consumed an hour.

They were all recovered. I passed the whole column and reached the Gallisteo at eleven o'clock, and found it was possible to water there. I stopped until all had passed me, directing them to move on down, so that all the animals should be taken from the wagons, and should drink at the same time. I was on the ground an hour and three-quarters before the last wagon passed me. Each com-

pany marches in the rear of its baggage. On this terrible sandy road, down the stream, several oxen fell, and had to be rolled out of the road, they making no motion; the feet of others were bleeding. The last of the command have got into camp at nine P. M.,—several wagons not getting nearer than a mile. I had a little wood brought from the last hill top; there is none here. I had sent forward my interpreter, who only succeeded in buying twenty-four bushels of ears of corn. Lieutenant Smith, assistant-commissary of subsistence, and Lieutenant Stoneman, acting assistant quartermaster, arrived from Santa Fè since dark."

October 23d.—Next day eleven miles were accomplished, to San Bernalli. Many mules failed, and efforts to hire wagons failed, owing to the ill disposition of the citizens of property; and so again to-day. There was rain and wind last night, and I slept under a fallen tent. Many are sick. I determined to purchase mules, if possible. Passed the camp of a major and three companies of Price's regiment, who left Santa Fè, four days before the battalion; the major said, "after a day's march it took him two or three to collect the animals."

The assistant-quartermaster succeeded in exchanging thirty mules, worthless to us, for fifteen good ones, and also in purchasing ten. At Albuquerque I bought twelve fanegas of ears of corn, and crossed the river; making my way through three miles of very bad road. I encamped with comparatively good grass, and near the camp of Captain Burgwin (from General Kearny's column) where he had arrived this afternoon.

Here I purchased of officers eight mules with treasury drafts, and exchanged as many for better public animals, and also obtained twenty oxen. The captain also kindly exchanged two *ponton* wagons for very poor and heavy ones. This may be very important.

It rained again last night. This has been a day of hard and unremitting labor to me.

Next morning Captain Burgwin received a letter from the American traders below, stating General Armijo was marching up to seize their property, and asking protection. A pack of Indian goods, left for me by General Kearny was received from Captain Burgwin.

Mr. Stoneman was much disgusted to-day by the

contemptuous refusal of a nabob named Chavis, to sell or exchange mules.

I have ordered pork to be issued every fourth day. I also issued an order of further regulations. I assembled the captains this morning at reveille, and earnestly exhorted them to lend me more efficient assistance in requiring the mules to be properly grazed and fed; or else the expedition must soon fall through. They made excellent promises. I reduced to the ranks a first sergeant for failing to form the company at reveille, and giving the excuse that it was not light enough to call his roll. The mules are now turned loose and herded, while in camp.

"October 26th.—Marched at eight o'clock. Passed several villages. I sent across the river to Otero's store at Valencia, for some pack blankets, for which the assistant quartermaster had an order, and for purchase of mules. Otero, like Chavis—both malcontents—asked unreasonable prices. He had lost, yesterday evening, five or six thousand sheep; two shepherds killed by the Indians. He had been riding all night hiring men to pursue them.

I stopped some time in a settlement of the Luna

family. All the effective males had gone after the Navajos, who had also stolen six thousand six hundred sheep of them yesterday; and as they say, killed two of their shepherds. I wrote for Señora Luna a note to Captain Burgwin. She thought herself and the other women dangerously exposed. But what can Burgwin do with broken down mules, all the best having been selected by General Kearny? I am still sick of a cold; they are very prevalent. We are exposed to black frost nightly, without fuel. The mules are getting sore shoulders. I called up the captains and gave them a lecture on the subject, as to fitting and cleaning collars, shortening harness, etc. and relieving mules, about to become galled; for I have assigned all the mules, giving two extra ones for every team; the march thirteen miles. Saw mother and daughter to-day,—the latter thirteen and married,—as usual here, at that age; both fine looking, with the large liquid eyes of the Señora."

Two days of similar progress, to camp near Sabinal. Rainy and very cold weather, the mountains opposite covered with snow; "scarcely a large *weed* within a mile or two of camp." The roads very heavy from sand.

October 29th.—Marched ten miles to the bottom below La Joya,—where I found my two dragoons, mules and property all safe. Sent Lieutenant Smith to go in advance and purchase three hundred sheep which, with the beeves, will make sixty days' rations from Santa Fè. I have extreme difficulty in having the mules properly cared for; there is great *vis inertiae* in such a command.

Next day, a sand hill reaching the river bank was encountered; two hours, with teams doubled, and twenty men to a wagon, were required to reach its top,—only three or four hundred paces. Reaching Pulvidera, to get grass it was necessary to pass a very large canal; the men worked well with spades and large hoes, furnished by some Mexicans, who worked with them unasked; but it was a difficult job; and a wagon hound was broken.

November 2d.—The battalion has marched twenty seven miles in the last two days; the valley continues much narrowed,—with variegated scenery and woods. Many oxen broke down; and wagons were sent back empty with teams little better.

General Armijo it was learned had been sent South under guard, and wrote to his wife to

lend money freely to our army; and that the enemy were gathering volunteers at El Paso. Captain Burgwin, going to the protection of the caravans, was encamped two miles from the battalion.

The three hundred sheep were brought into camp, but proved to be very poor,—mostly lambs; also the required beeves, very poor. The guides engaged by General Kearny arrived, with very discouraging accounts, and said it was at least ninety days' travel to the Pacific. They were sent forward to decide where to leave the Rio Grande, and make some explorations beyond, returning to meet the battalion there.

"All the vexations and troubles of any other three days of my life have not equalled those of the last twenty-four hours. . . . My attention is constantly on the stretch for the smallest things. I have to order, and then see that it is done."

This day the road we have followed, passed to the east of the river; it being the head of the Jernada del Muerto; the river sweeping off to the south-west in a great bend. Consequently the battalion continued on General Kearny's trail.

On Captain Burgwin's march, near Luna village,

some inhabitants met him at speed, reporting that the Navajos had just robbed them, and taken off a woman (as I apprehended, when I wrote to him). Captain Greer's company, which was much in advance, was sent instantly to the rescue, half his men a-foot. He overtook and re-captured the cattle and sheep, and following on about sixteen miles, the mules of his company exhausted and left, and his men following with long intervals on foot, the Captain, Lieutenant Wilson, Corporal Price and one private (on horses got of the Mexicans), overtook four Navajos; then arose from a ravine fifty others, who surrounded the captain and party. These last killed two Indians outright, and then retreated in good order under a shower of arrows, and were pursued, in their turn, a quarter of a mile, until they fell upon a few of their footmen, and thus came off unwounded.

My camp is in an open grove of the river bottom. We rejoice for once in plenty of fuel and good fires. In every direction are lofty mountains, blue from distance or haze, and capped with snow fields.

In this bottom I saw a flock of many thousand

sheep, probably the last. I sent Lieutenant Smith with \$100 to purchase eighty, to make up for the lambs. I ordered him to give the same price as yesterday, and to *take them*. He got them. I shall use about ten of the oxen for beef. I have hired three Mexicans and put the three hundred and eighty sheep under their exclusive charge. I found that we could improve on the track made by the dragoons.

November 3d.—The camp was visited this morning by Captain Grier and one of our merchants. Reports of the war had been received by way of Chihuahua; “the Americans were in Monterey, but invested by superior force of Mexicans,” etc.

There have been strong suspicions down here, of a conspiracy to rise and throw off the American rule in this territory; connected perhaps at the moment, with the advance of seven hundred men who certainly did march from El Paso north; and there is no doubt they have emissaries above. I learn the last express to Captain Burgwin brought news of a talk in Santa Fè of a rising of the people. As for myself I believe that the priests and some of the millionaires would like to put forward others to

attempt to regain their despotic sway and grinding oppression of the people; but take them all together I think the cowardly barbarians,—too fortunate in having a decent government forced upon them,—are selfish enough to refrain from any risk in the world.

I marched to-day fourteen miles; some bad bluffs of heavy sand were passed. The camp is on a high plain, covered with grama grass, apparently quite dead, but *said* to be nearly as good as grain. For the last forty miles the flat river bottom is perhaps two miles in width, some of it richer than above. There is however, a white efflorescence, rather more frequent here than there, which is said to contain carbonate of potash, and to render the soil unfit for agriculture. This district, entirely unoccupied, has the great advantage over that above, so thickly inhabited, of forests covering perhaps one-fourth of the bottoms, and the mountains also covered with cedar very near. Fear of the Indians has kept it a desert.

We have severe frosts at night, and hot days. I have reduced the ration to nine ounces of flour, and ten of pork.

I met one of the guides, whom Leroux, their chief, sent back, ostensibly to settle upon smoke signals, but really, I suspect because he was of no use. The fellow weighs two hundred pounds, and has been drinking for a week or two; I ordered his discharge.

It took a cow and twelve of the lambs to make out the ration to-night. Dr. Foster, the interpreter, calls a large bush, found here, the mezquit; there is a growth common on the Missouri and Platte prairies, much smaller and more delicate, which I am sure is the same, or nearly allied. I could never hear of a name for it there, although I think old Captain Boone used to call it bastard locust.

The cactus here is ten feet high.

November 9th.—In six days, resting one, the battalion could only make forty miles, in about the same number of hours' work, camping this day at the point where General Kearny struck out from the river toward the copper mines.

This slow progress was over very bad ground, without a road;—deep sand, steep hills and rocks, ten miles together, without river-bottom land; the

men, nearly all of them, laboring in aid of the weak teams to move the wagons.

The country had changed its character and was now rough, surrounded by mountains and characterized by grama grass, cedars, mezquite and other strange growths. Game made its appearance: bears, deer, and beavers; some of these last were trapped by Charboneaux, an active half-breed guide. The weather grew warmer, but with one rain and wind storm.

Mr. Leroux returned; he had left the river where it turned eastward opposite San Diego, and had found a water hole fifteen miles on our course, and seen a prairie stream about thirty miles beyond.

“It has now become evident that we cannot go on so, with any prospect of a successful or safe termination to the expedition. The guides say that most of the mules could not be driven loose to California. I have carefully examined them and found that whole teams seem ready to break down. The three remaining ox teams were to go back about this time, at the latest; twenty-two men are on the sick report; quite a number have been transported in the wagons,