California was breaking off by reason of distance; the now increasing American emigration was sure to seek its better climate. Oregon was still in dispute; nothing was settled except the fact of a disputed boundary; and the chance of a rupture with Great Britain lent also its contingencies.

Mexico, at war with the United States, would inevitably favor English protection for California. English citizens were claiming payment for loans and indemnity for losses. Our relations with England were already clouded, and in the event of war with Mexico, if not anticipated by us, an English fleet would certainly take possession of the Bay of San Francisco.

For use in such a contingency the only available force was our squadron in the North Pacific, and the measures for carrying out the design of the President fell to the Navy Department. During the year such precautionary measures as were practicable were taken, especially by the vigilant Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Bancroft, whose orders continuously evince comprehending foresight and insistance. Imbued with the philosophy of history, his mind was alive to the bearing of the actual conditions, and he knew how sometimes skill and sometimes bold action determine the advantages of a political situation; and in this his great desire was to secure for the United States the important one that hung in the balance. In the government at Washington he was the active principle, having the activity of brain and keen perception that the occasion demanded. With him Mr. Benton had friendly personal relations of long standing.

As affairs resolved themselves, California stood out as the chief subject in the impending war; and with Mr. Benton and other governing men at Washington it became a firm resolve to hold it for the United States. To them it seemed reasonably sure that California would eventually fall to England or to the United States and that the eventuality was near. This was talked over fully during the time of preparation for the third expedition, and the contingencies anticipated and weighed. The relations between the three countries made a chief subject of interest about which our thoughts settled as the probability of war grew into certainty. For me, no distinct course or definite instruction could be laid down, but the probabilities were made known to me as well as what to do when they became facts. The distance was too great for timely communication; but failing this I was given discretion to act. The instructions early sent, and repeatedly insisted upon, to the officer commanding our Pacific squadron, gave specific orders to be strictly followed in the event of war. But these frequent discussions among the men who controlled the action of the Government, gave to me the advantage of knowing more thoroughly what were its present wishes, and its intentions in the event of war. And so it came that as soon as war was sure between Mexico and ourselves, Lieutenant Gillespie was

despatched with instructions ; and with letters which, if intercepted when crossing Mexico, would convey no meaning to others while to me they would be clear. Plans and expressions relating to the future home in California were known by me to be intended as relating to its occupation by the United States.

Mrs. Frémont was to have accompanied me to the frontier, but the dangerous illness of Mrs. Benton kept her at home. I went off with only Jacob and Chinook, who had been recalled from Philadelphia, and was glad to go back to his people.

The Quaker family had been interested in him and careful to give him such rudiments of practical knowledge as he might be able to put to good use. But he was about twenty years old when he left the Columbia with me; intelligent, with set character formed among the habits of Indian life, as ineradicable from Indian manhood as his love of free range from a wild horse. How far his brief education was likely to influence his life was made strikingly clear to us when on the evening he reached Washington he exhibited the parting gifts which he had received from his friends. Among these was a large Bible which had been made attractive in his eyes by its ornamentation. "Chinook been a Quaker all winter," he said; and opening this at the blank leaves for "Family Record"—"Here," he added, with the short Indian laugh of pleasure, "Chinook put here name all wife, and all horse."

The knowledge which his eyes had taken in would be useful among his people. He was the son of a chief, and the stories he could tell of his life among the whites would add to his importance; and the kind treatment he had received would dispose himself and them to be friendly to the Americans.

The Indian boys who had spent a happy winter in Kentucky met me at Saint Louis, bringing with them Sacramento, aggressively well.

On the frontier I formed a camp where my party was quickly organized. For this expedition ampler means had been provided, and in view of uncertain conditions the force suitably increased. In addition to the usual outfit of arms I had procured about a dozen rifles, the best that could be found; with the object of setting them up as prizes for the best marksmen, to be shot for during the journey. Many of my old men joined me. And I had again Godey.

The animals I had left on pasture were in fine condition; hardened by the previous journey and thoroughly rested they were well fitted to endure a campaign. From the Delaware nation twelve men had been chosen to go with me. These were known to be good hunters and brave men and two of them were chiefs, Swanok and Sagundai. Mr. Preuss was not with me this time; but was now in assured employment and preferred in his comfortable home to rest from the hardships of the last journey. In his place Mr. Edward M. Kern, of Philadelphia, went with me as topographer. He was besides an accomplished artist; his skill in sketching from nature and in accurately drawing and coloring birds and plants made him a valuable accession to the expedition. Lieutenants Abert and Peck had been attached to my command, and also with me were Mr. James McDowell, a nephew of Mrs. Benton, and Mr. Theodore Talbot, whose health had been restored by the previous journey.

It was getting late in the year. The principal objects of the expedition lay in and beyond the Rocky Mountains, and for these reasons no time could be given to examinations of the prairie region. The line of travel was directed chiefly to pass over such country as would afford good camping-grounds; where water and grass, and wood and abundant game would best contribute to maintain the health of the men and the strength of the animals. Along the route we met the usual prairie incidents of Indians and large game, which furnished always wholesome excitement. In those days these broke pleasantly in upon the silence and uniformity of the prairie and made a good school for the men. On the high plains we encountered a Cheyenne village which was out on a hunt. The men came to meet us on the plain, riding abreast and their drums sounding. They were in all their bravery, and the formidable line was imposing, and looked threatening to those of our people who were without experience in an Indian country. Men, tried and fearless in accustomed dangers, are often at the first encounter nervous in those that are unfamiliar. But the Cheyennes were friendly, and we on our side were too strong for any exhibition of hostility or rudeness; and so we gave the usual present in exchange for friendly conduct and good wishes.

We had lost an animal which in the night had strayed off from the band, and early on the march next morning Basil, with a companion, had been sent out to look for it. He did not get in at night nor in the morning. I therefore remained encamped and with a small party went in turn to look for him. After a search of an hour or two we discovered them halted, and apparently scanning the horizon around, in some uncertainty where to look for us. We were down in a swale in the ground about three hundred yards away, and so out of sight that we had not been seen. We thought to try them, and quickly throwing off the greater part of our clothes we raised an Indian yell and charged. But there was no hesitation with them. They were off their horses in an instant and their levelled pieces brought us to an abrupt halt and a hearty laugh which we all enjoyed in having found them safe and well.

Returning to camp our first experiment suggested another. The camp lay in a sort of broad gully below the level of the prairie. It was midday

and the people were careless and more occupied by getting the dinner than with Indians. Riding quietly down to the hollow which gave an easy approach we charged them with the usual yell. Our charge gave them a good lesson, though it lasted but a moment. It was like charging into a beehive; there were so many men in the camp ready with their rifles that it was very unsafe to keep up our Indian character beyond the moment of the charge. Still, like all excitements, it stirred the blood pleasantly for the moment.

On the second of August we reached Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas River. This was our real point of departure. It was desirable to make a survey of the prairie region to the southward, embracing the Canadian and other rivers. I accordingly formed a detached party, in charge of which I placed Lieutenants Abert and Peck, Lieutenant Abert being in chief command. Including these officers, the command consisted of thirty-three men, and I had the good fortune to secure my friend Mr. Fitzpatrick for their guide. I had endeavored to obtain the services of an Indian who knew well the country, and was a man of great influence, especially among the Camanches, but no offer that I could make him would induce him to go. It happened that the Fort was well provisioned, and from its supplies we were able to furnish the party with a good outfit. This consisted principally of coffee and sugar for two months, several boxes of macaroni, and a quantity of rice, together with four fanegas of Mexican flour. In addition they took with them eight steers brought up on the prairie and therefore easy to drive. They were furnished with four large circular tents, and as the face of the country which was covered by the projected survey was not much broken, four wagons were added for their outfit and camp equipage. This outfit may appear luxurious for the prairie, but provisions go fast where thirty healthy men taking just the right quantity of exercise are to be fed three times a day.

Mr. Hatcher, who was a good hunter, was to accompany them as far as Bent's Post on the Canadian.

On the 12th Mr. Fitzpatrick took leave of me and joined the party. On the same day Lieutenant Abert changed his encampment preparatory to making his start, and on the 14th the two officers came to take leave of me.

It is well to say here that on the journey to Bent's Fort I had been much prepossessed in their favor. They had shown themselves well qualified for such an expedition which as of course was entirely new to them. In this journey they had given evidence of the prudence and good judgment which enabled them to carry through successfully the expedition entrusted to their care.

The next day I sent Lieutenant Abert his instructions, which were to survey the Canadian from its source to its junction with the Arkansas, taking in his way the Purgatory River, and the heads of the Washita; and on the 16th he commenced his journey down the Arkansas.

With Lieutenant Abert also went Mr. James McDowell, who decided to avail himself of this survey to return for the reason that his work would not be carried into the winter, while my journey to the Pacific was expected to be of long duration.

From the Fort I sent an express to Carson at a rancho, or stock farm, which with his friend Richard Owens he had established on the Cimarron, a tributary to the Arkansas River. But he had promised that in the event I should need him, he would join me. And I knew that he would not fail to come. My messenger found him busy starting the congenial work of making up a stock ranch. There was no time to be lost, and he did not hesitate. He sold everything at a sacrifice, farm and cattle ; and not only came himself but brought his friend Owens to join the party. This was like Carson, prompt, self-sacrificing, and true. I received them both with great satisfaction.

That Owens was a good man it is enough to say that he and Carson were friends. Cool, brave, and of good judgment ; a good hunter and good shot ; experienced in mountain life ; he was an acquisition, and proved valuable throughout the campaign.

Godey had proved himself during the preceding journey, which had brought out his distinguishing qualities of resolute and aggressive courage. Quick in deciding and prompt in acting he had also the French *élan* and their gayety of courage.

"*Gai, gai, avançons nous.*"

I mention him here because the three men come fitly together, and because of the peculiar qualities which gave them in the highest degree efficiency for the service in which they were engaged.

The three, under Napoleon, might have become Marshals, chosen as he chose men. Carson, of great courage; quick and complete perception, taking in at a glance the advantages as well as the chances for defeat; Godey, insensible to danger, of perfect coolness and stubborn resolution; Owens, equal in courage to the others, and in coolness equal to Godey, had the *coup-d'œil* of a chess-player, covering the whole field with a glance that sees the best move. His dark-hazel eye was the marked feature of his face, large and flat and far-sighted.

Godey was a Creole Frenchman of Saint Louis, of medium height with black eyes and silky curling black hair which was his pride. In all situations he had that care of his person which good looks encourage. Once when with us in Washington, he was at a concert; immediately behind him sat the wife of the French Minister, Madame Pageot, who, with the lady by her, was admiring his hair, which was really beautiful, "but," she said, "*C'est une perruque.*" They were speaking unguardedly in French.

Godey had no idea of having his hair disparaged and with the prompt coolness with which he would have repelled any other indignity turned instantly to say, "*Pardon, Madame, c'est bien a moi.*" The ladies were silenced as suddenly as the touch on a tree trunk silences a katydid.

On the 16th of August I left Bent's Fort with a well-appointed compact party of sixty; mostly experienced and self-reliant men, equal to any emergency likely to occur and willing to meet it.

On the 20th of August we encamped on the Arkansas at the mouth of the *Fontaine qui Bouit* River. I had with me good instruments for astronomical observations, among them a portable transit instrument. This I set up, and established here one of the four principal positions on which depend the longitudes of the region embraced in the expeditions. The longitude was determined by moon culminations and the latitude by sextant observations of Polaris and stars in the south.

The resulting longitude at this position is 104° 42′ 41″. The latitude 38° 15′ 18″.

On the 26th we encamped at the mouth of the Great Canyon, and next morning leaving the river passed in our way over a bench of the mountain which the trappers believed to be the place where Pike was taken prisoner by the Mexicans. But this side of the river was within our territory. He supposed himself to be on the Arkansas when he was taken prisoner on the Rio del Norte, where he had built a stockade.

Crossing various forks of the river we finally, on September 2d, reached and continued up the main branch, having on our right the naked rock ridge of the mountain, and encamped at night on the head-waters of the Arkansas in Mexican territory; in latitude 39° 20′ 38″, longitude 106° 27′ 15″.

This was pleasant travelling. The weather now was delightful and the country beautiful. Fresh and green, aspen groves and pine woods and clear rushing water, cool streams sparkling over rocky beds.

In a pine grove at the head of the river we came to our delighted surprise upon a small herd of buffalo, which were enjoying themselves in the shade and fresh grass and water. It was now very rare that these animals were found so far west, and this made for us a most pleasant and welcome incident, as it was long now since we had parted from the buffalo. This must have been a stray herd which had found its way into the upper mountains and they had remained for a long time undisturbed. Sometimes in severe winters deer find their way into the highest parts of the wooded mountains, and remain there, keeping fat and sheltered in the aspen groves which furnish them food. Probably this little herd of buffalo had done the same. The Utah Pass was several days' journey to the southeast, and this part of the mountain was out of the way of ordinary travel.

Here along in these mountains was one of the pleasantest grounds in the

journey. Game was plenty; deer and elk. We were some days after on the mountain slopes, where a lovely view extended across a broad valley to the opposite ridges. It was so fine a view that Kern sketched it. In looking over the country I had ridden off a mile or two from the party, keeping along the heights to enjoy the air and views, when I came upon a small band of buffalo, doubtless part of the herd which we had found in the pines at the top of the mountain. The ground was rough, but we had a fine race. I had closed up and was about to fire when the pistol which I held raised went off, and the ball passed so close to my head that I reined up in surprise. My holster pistols were a hair-trigger pair, and old companions which I liked for that, and because they were true as a rifle. "*Sacré bon coup*," Basil said of them once when he saw the head of a quail cut off at long range. This time it was my own head. It is in this way that men have been sometimes lost in the mountains and never found. They lie like the trunk of a fallen tree worn by the snow and rain until the tall, rank grass covers and hides them. My trail would not have been taken in time and it would have been by the merest chance that any hunter would have passed the spot.

One of the Delawares had killed a fat buffalo cow. This singular meeting with the buffalo was our last; and they were probably the last stragglers that ever reached the western slope of the mountains. This was the general opinion of our people, whose experience would be likely to make it correct. The places where I have described them made then the broadest range of the buffalo from east to west, and make a fair exhibit of the abounding animal life of the country.

Passing the night of the 4th on Piny River, an affluent of Grand River, of the Colorado of the Gulf of California, we encamped the next day on the same river at "Williams Fishery," in longitude 106° 44′ 21″, latitude 39° 39′ 12″. We caught here a singular fish, which was called buffalo-fish from a hump on the back, rising straight up immediately behind the head.

Between fishermen and hunters the camp was abundantly supplied in all this part of our journey. These wood-clothed ranges, with their abundant game and healthful air, we have seen described as "impenetrable deserts whose rugged inaccessibility barred all passage, amid whose parched sterility unfortunate travellers were exposed to death from thirst and hunger."

The character of the mountain country has been so fully given in the previous journeys, that it does not need to be longer dwelt upon here. On the 2d of October I encamped on a branch of the Timpanogos River, and on the 10th reached the shore of the lake, and its outlet at the mouth of Hugh's Creek, on the 12th. The geographical features of the country were carefully sketched; and astronomical observations, for which the continued fine weather favored us, were made on the different affluents to the Grand