

supplied, with a pacified country behind me and the coast towns garrisoned by the fleet. And again this was proved by subsequent events.

Landing on the coast in the country of an enemy who could easily sweep out of reach horses and cattle was not the way to intercept a leader at the head of a well-mounted body of cavalry, operating among his own friends and people, and familiar with every pass and trail.

We were ready to embark. My camp was always in a state of readiness, and it needed but a few hours to prepare. The emigrants, who composed the greater part of my force, were accustomed to the use of arms, strong men seasoned to hardship, roughened to field life by the exposure of their overland journey, and full of the courage and energy which brought them to make it, and which were now roused into a generous excitement by the call made upon them to serve their country.

The men of my exploring party had been trained every man to his horse and his rifle, until the use of both had become an instinct, will and hand and eye going together. As my reader by this time knows, if he has had the patience to go with me in the preceding journeys, many of them had had experience of uncommon bodily hardship and times of danger, all of which they had gone through with cheerful obedience and splendid resolution. In the sudden emergencies which sometimes came, every one of them knew what to do and every one might be relied on to do it. Living an uncontrolled life, ranging prairies and mountains subject to no will but their own, it was a great sacrifice for these border chiefs to lay aside their habits of independence and subordinate their knowledge and experience to the contrarieties of discipline. But once undertaken they did it thoroughly.

Coming back one day from the State Department, where the urgent business on which he had been sent had been met by fresh delay, Carson said: "They are princes here in their big houses, but out on the plains *we* are the princes. What would their lives be worth without *us* there?" And when the battalion was being organized and they were told by me that Commodore Stockton "felt authorized to pay them ten dollars a month," they simply laughed at the value set upon their services, but said they would give them, all the same, and leave it to the Government to pay what it could afford.

We were now about to change from the nature of the work in which we had been engaged together. And in parting from that I gratify myself and do some justice to them by recording the fidelity and courage with which they had done their part.

The appearance of the men when we entered Monterey merited the encomiums given them by the American and the English officers, Lieutenants Minor and Walpole. The only trace of uniform worn by them were sailor shirts of blue or white, with low falling collars of the contrasting color, bear-

ing a star in the broad points. These, through the kindness of Captain Montgomery, I had obtained for some of the men from the *Portsmouth's* stores to supply the damage from the wear and tear of travel. Except the tall man in buckskins of whom Mr. Walpole speaks, few or none wore such clothes. He was probably a new-comer and not a Western-frontier man. Many years before, when solitary trappers spent their hardy lives in remote mountain districts where all the necessities, or if it is better to call them so, the luxuries, of life were difficult to procure, they wore buckskin clothes made from the skins which they dressed themselves or traded from the Indians. But that was long ago. In later years, when trading posts were established within easier reach, cloth, which was warmer for the winter, and lighter stuffs for the summer, were always worn by hunters and trappers. "Bill Williams" even, whom I had with me as guide for a time and who had spent the greater part of his life and until he had become an old man trapping alone among the mountains, never wore buckskin; and he was the most careless and slovenly of all the mountain men. Of course, as these men are exposed to all weathers, their clothes are frequently wet, and buckskin shrinks and dries very hard. A buckskin dress in these days, so far as my knowledge goes, is worn only by amateurs or in order to produce some scenic effect; a pair of leggings, perhaps, but nothing more in the country where the real work is done or the real hunter lives.

On the 25th of July we embarked on the *Cyane*. My men were all greatly pleased at the novelty of a voyage in a man-of-war, which they anticipated would be very pleasant now when the regular northwest wind belonging to the season was blowing, and there was no prospect of storms. But like many prospective enjoyments this one proved to be all in the anticipation. By the time we had been a few hours at sea we were all very low in our minds; and there was none of the expected enjoyment in the sparkling waves and the refreshing breeze, and the sail along the mountainous shore as the ship rolled her way down the coast. Carson was among those who were badly worsted by this enemy to landsmen, and many were the vows made to the winds that never again would they put trust in the fair-weather promises of the ocean. But all was forgotten when at the end of three days the ship entered the land-locked bay of San Diego, where the still waters reflected the quiet of the town. Here no enemy was found. On the contrary, we were received on the footing of friends by Don Juan Bandini, the chief citizen of the place, and by Don Santiago Arguello, the Captain of the Port.

Señor Bandini was a native of Spain; of slight and thin person, sarcastic and cynical of speech, often the shape in which a keen intelligence, morbid



because without outlet, expresses itself. He realized for himself and his interesting family the isolation to which the slumber of this remote place condemned them. He knew that from our regular force no acts of violence would take place, and that we owed it to ourselves to prevent disturbances and maintain good order. And he was glad of the relief from the monotony of the place, and so, immediately, a friendly intercourse was established, which was aidful to us. One of Don Juan's daughters was married to Don Abel Stearns, whose residence was at Los Angeles, the seat of the Governors-General of California, and distant about a hundred and forty miles from San Diego. In sounding the chief men of the South concerning the mooted change in the sovereignty of the Department, Don Abel would naturally have conferred with him as the most influential personage, in whom also he could have the fullest confidence. From himself and his family I received the social attentions and kindly aid which, in our condition, was not only very agreeable but extremely valuable. We were entirely ignorant of the surrounding country, and consequently, where best and most quickly to obtain horses to mount my command, and beef cattle for its subsistence. These were the first necessity, but very difficult to procure. The large ranchos in this part of Southern California were few and distant; there were not enough horses at hand to mount a party to send after animals to distant places through an enemy's country. In the midst of these difficulties, the aid which Bandini and Arguello were willing to give was most fortunate.

Exploring for horses, we became well acquainted with the general character of this district. Every farm or rancho had its own spring or running stream sufficient for the supply of stock, which hitherto had made the chief object of industry in California. In this neighborhood there are places of extraordinary fertility. Cultivation has always been by irrigation, and the soil seems to require only water to produce vigorously. Among the arid, brush-covered hills south of San Diego we found little valleys converted by a single spring into crowded gardens, where pears, peaches, quinces, pomegranates, grapes, olives, and other fruits grew luxuriantly together, the little stream acting upon them like a principle of life. This southern frontier of Upper California seems eminently adapted to the cultivation of the vine and the olive. A single vine has been known to yield a barrel of wine, and the olive trees are burdened with the weight of fruit.

While we remained between San Diego and Los Angeles during this month, the days were bright and hot, the sky pure and entirely cloudless, and the nights cool and beautifully serene. In this month fruits generally ripen—melons, pears, peaches, prickly-fig (*cactus-tuña*), and others of like kind—and large bunches of ripe grapes are scattered numerous through the vineyards, but do not reach maturity until in September. After the

vintage, grapes are hung up in the houses and so kept for use during the winter. On one of these excursions we came upon a pretty spot where the noon-day heat enticed us into making a halt. It was in garden grounds, not far from the house of the rancho, where the water from a little stream was collected in a basin about fifteen feet across, around which ran a low, cement-covered wall. Fruit trees, among them pomegranates, hung over the basin, making a cool, pleasant place with the water and shade. With a portion of lamb, which we got at the house and cooked ourselves, we had a hearty luncheon after our own fashion, with appetites the better for their late interruption by the sea.

The forced delay at an end, after little more than a week occupied in this way with the aid of Don Juan, the sufficient number of animals were obtained to enable me to move, and on the eighth of the month we moved out on the road to Los Angeles. The marines and about fifty of my men were left in garrison under Lieutenant Minor at the port.

If little gifts nourish friendship a timely one lays a good foundation for it, because it shows a really kind intent behind. Just before leaving the town an uncommonly beautiful sorrel horse, thoroughly trained, was brought me from Señor Bandini. It had been brought up to hand in the family, was accustomed to take a sup of coffee and eat sugar and other horse delicacies; and when brought to me its tail and mane were plaited and tied with green ribbons. It was a gift from the family.

From this time forward I felt safe in relying upon the influence of Don Juan and Don Santiago to support us in the endeavor to obtain quiet possession of the territory, while disturbing the people as little as possible in their customary pursuits, and giving them no unnecessary alarm by our presence. And in this reliance upon his co-operation to this end I authorized Bandini to extend this assurance as far as practicable among the Californians. Coming from him and Arguello these assurances would go far to allay the natural excitement created by our invasion. In this way I acted upon the instructions sent me to "conciliate the people."

The march to Los Angeles was a pleasant one. Necessary food was always to be had, the fine beef of the country being equal to game; good water was frequent, and the animals we rode were accustomed to the grasses of the country, their usual feed, good throughout the year; and they knew how to provide for themselves. This was the dry season when there was no rain, but the face of this country is always beautiful. Its great fertility forces itself on the attention, and at the ranchos there were the grain fields and the green of the vineyards with the cluster of ripening grapes. With the aid of my friends at San Diego I had felt the country well up towards Los Angeles, and had ascertained that General Castro was encamped at the mesa near the city with a force of about five hundred men and ten



pieces of artillery. Commodore Stockton had informed me of his landing at San Pedro with a force of three hundred and sixty men and several pieces of artillery, and that he would move about the 10th on Los Angeles, expecting me to join him upon his march, which was about twenty-eight miles. On my own road I was in constant expectation of an attack from General Castro. Having but one hundred and twenty men I naturally supposed that he would endeavor to intercept my march before I could effect a junction with Stockton. But with the exception of scattered horsemen occasionally seen, and disappearing as quickly, there was no demonstration of any kind, and on the 13th I joined Commodore Stockton outside of the city.

In the afternoon the combined force entered Los Angeles without opposition, our entry having more the effect of a parade of home guards than of an enemy taking possession of a conquered town.

General Castro in the meantime had broken up his camp on the mesa, buried part of his guns, and his force had dispersed over the country; himself, as reported, finding temporary refuge in the mountain which overlooks the San Gabriel plain. Detachments from my command were sent out to scour the country and to capture and bring into Los Angeles any of his officers who might be still within reach, together with any of the leading citizens who under the alarm of unfounded rumors had fled from their homes. A number were made prisoners and others surrendered; all of whom were either released on parole or set at liberty after being notified that they would be required to comply with the necessary police regulations, and expected to aid in the preservation of order. Before our occupation of the city, the governor, Don Pio Pico, had retired to one of his estates, lying near the coast about forty miles to the southward of Los Angeles.

I wrote to him, assuring him of protection to his person and property, and inviting him to return to the city. I knew afterwards that he thoroughly appreciated my sincere desire to save himself from annoyance and his affairs from derangement, and to publicly show my respect for him and his official position; and although he did not then decide to return, my action led to the most friendly relations with his brother, Don Andres Pico.

On the 17th Commodore Stockton issued a proclamation for the information and government of the people. There seemed to him no apparent reason why the conquest thus easily made should not become permanent, as the acquiescent condition of the people seemed to indicate that it would. So considering it, and treating California as already a territorial possession of the United States, he occupied himself immediately in organizing a civil government and formulating such regulations as, in his opinion, would best tend to preserve order and guard against any attempt at surprises from the Californians.

His reason for speedy action was his desire to go at once himself to the southern coast of Mexico. In his arrangements for the more convenient government of the Territory, he divided it into three districts, and on the 24th of August, in anticipation of his speedy return to the sea, he completed them by appointing me Military Governor of the Territory and Gillespie Commandant of the Southern District, with headquarters at Los Angeles, and a garrison from the battalion of fifty men. Notwithstanding the existence of martial law, the civil officers of the country were permitted to proceed with the usual exercise of their functions, and were not to be interfered with, except in cases where the peace and safety of the district required aid or interference from the military authority.

In his letter to me he says: "I propose, before I leave the Territory, to appoint you to be governor, and Captain Gillespie to be secretary; and to appoint also the Council of State, and all the necessary officers. You will, therefore, proceed to do all you can to further my views and intentions thus frankly manifested. Supposing that by the 25th of October you will have accomplished your part of these preparations, I will meet you at San Francisco on that day, and place you as Governor of California."

A copy of this letter with a copy of all the rest of the acts of Commodore Stockton up to the 28th of August, as governor and commander-in-chief in California, were sent now to Mr. Bancroft. To insure the safety and speedy delivery of these important papers, and as a reward for brave and valuable service on many occasions, we decided to make Carson the bearer of these despatches, which announced to the Government that its orders concerning California had been successfully carried out. And I was pleased to procure for Carson any occasion where he would meet with the personal recognition which he had earned by good service. He was to go direct to Senator Benton at Washington, who would personally introduce him to the President and Secretary of the Navy, and to whom he could give in fulness the incidental detail always so much more interesting than the restricted official report.

On the way he would see his family at Taos, New Mexico, through which lay his shortest road to the frontier. It was a service of high trust and honor, but of great danger also. The shortest way led through Mexican territory and through the dangerous Indians we have already described along the Spanish trail. He went off, charged with personal messages and personal feelings, and I looked to his arrival at home and the deep interest and pleasure he would bring to them there, almost with the pleasure I should feel in getting there myself—it was touching home. Going off at the head of his own party with *carte blanche* for expenses and the prospect of novel pleasure and honor at the end was a culminating point in Carson's life.



He had been so part of all my life for eighteen months that my letters were chiefly indications of points which he would tell them at home in fulness.

The despatches reached Washington safely; but by another hand.

The chief points they contained concerning California affairs were embodied in the message of the President and the reports of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy. When the courier reached Washington, Mr. Bancroft was no longer in the Cabinet, but was already at sea on his way to England, having been appointed Minister from the United States.

EXTRACT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER, 1846.

Our squadron in the Pacific, with the co-operation of a gallant officer of the army, and a small force hastily collected in that distant country, have acquired bloodless possession of the Californias, and the American flag has been raised at every important point in that province. I congratulate you on the success which has thus attended our military and naval operations. In less than seven months after Mexico commenced hostilities, at a time selected by herself, we have taken possession of many of her principal ports, driven back and pursued her invading army, and acquired military possession of the Mexican provinces of New Mexico, New Leon, Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and the Californias, a territory larger in extent than that embraced in the original thirteen States of the Union, inhabited by a considerable population, and much of it more than a thousand miles from the points at which we had to collect our forces and commence our movements. By the blockade, the import and the export trade of the enemy have been cut off. By the law of nations a conquered territory is subject to be governed by the conqueror during his military possession, and until there is either a treaty of peace, or he shall voluntarily withdraw from it. The old civil government being necessarily superseded, it is the right and duty of the conqueror to secure his conquest, and to provide for the maintenance of civil order and the rights of the inhabitants. This right has been exercised and this duty performed by our military and naval commanders, by the establishment of temporary governments in some of the conquered provinces in Mexico, assimilating them, as far as practicable, to the free institutions of our own country. In the provinces of New Mexico and of the Californias little, if any, further resistance is apprehended from the inhabitants to the temporary governments which have thus, from the necessity of the case and according to the laws of war, been established.

It may be proper to provide for the security of these important conquests, by making an adequate appropriation for the purpose of erecting fortifications and defraying the expenses necessarily incident to the maintenance of our possession and authority over them.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR, DECEMBER, 1846.

Commodore Stockton took possession of the whole country as a conquest of the United States, and appointed Colonel Frémont governor, under the law of nations, to assume the functions of that office when he should return to the squadron.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, DECEMBER, 1846.

On the 25th of July, the *Cyane*—Captain Mervine—sailed from Monterey, with Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont and a small volunteer force on board, for San Diego, to intercept the retreat of the Mexican General Castro. A few days after, Commodore Stockton sailed in the *Congress*, frigate, for San Pedro, and, with a detachment from his squadron of three hundred and sixty men, marched to the enemy's camp. It was found that the camp was broken up, and that the Mexicans, under Governor Pico and General Castro, had retreated so precipitately that Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont was disappointed in intercepting him. On the 13th, the commodore was joined by this gallant officer, and marched a distance of thirty miles from the sea, and entered without opposition the Ciudad de los Angeles, the capital of the Californias; and, on the