

Wednesday 30th. The express *mi alma* sent to bring news from the Pass has returned today at 3 o'clock P. M. having been absent a little more than two weeks. The intelligence is altogether in our favour. Col. D. entered and took el Passo on the 28th, the Mexican army having evacuated it the day previous. A company, of three hundred men, has been sent in pursuit of them for the purpose of taking their canon, five or six pieces. Although the number of our troops is not one-third of the enemy 'tis believed they will succeed in their undertaking. Elated with their late success, they will manifest greater courage still, whereas the other party are *flying*, and discouraged, and are expecting to be cut to pieces if overtaken. We learn that their number lost on the 25th was thirty-eight instead of 30.

Enero [January] de 1847.

Thursday 14th. Is it possible that two whole weeks estranged us, my Journal? What have I been about that I have neglected you so long. Well I hope I have his black flag which portrayed their motto: "No quarter asked or given." Caldwell said: "Come on! they are ready for you."

The battle soon began, with the American footmen kneeling and firing alternately, number two firing only when number one stopped to reload. Only seven Americans were wounded, none mortally. The Mexicans were routed and lost sixty-three killed, one hundred seventy-two wounded, including their commander, Captain Ponce de Leon, and three hundred missing.

After the battle Doniphan and his staff went back to the card game, but after they found out which member of the guard was to have the horse, they also discovered that during the battle the horse had been allowed to escape. (M. B. Edwards, "Journal of an Expedition to New Mexico," p. 132, MS.)

not been so badly occupied that I am ashamed to render an account of myself. The sick have called my time.

William has never recovered yet, and how he lingers along, with very little pain too, only weakness, with very excitable pulse, and no appetite. For three or four days *mi alma* was confined to his bed, with severe head-ache, cold, and irritation of the bladder. This was about the first of this month. Next, I had an ugly cold myself which required two or three nights' sweating, and onion poltice before I found relief. For several days past poor little Francisco has been very ill with flux, and I don't know but that it may kill him yet, though I hope and trust that the medicines given him may be blest to his recovery. I shall endeavour to do my duty, as the only benefactors of the orphan, leaving all things in the hands of the Great Giver of all things, knowing that he will never neglect. . . . People have been sending in every day for "remedias," both in the village and from a distance; sickness is great in the country now, and *mi alma* has his name up among the people of the Rio Bajo as a skillful medico, some of the medicines he has administered to the suffering having been of material service. One Snr. Pino⁷⁷ sent some few days since, a horse for him to go

⁷⁷ Don Manuel Pino belonged to one of the most influential families in New Mexico. When the news reached Santa Fé of the invasion of New Mexico by the American Army, the Pino brothers, Manuel and Nicolas, immediately responded to the call issued by Governor Armijo for volunteers, with all the means at their disposal. They at once began raising companies and procuring arms and ammunition. They were with General Armijo

some twenty miles to see his wife, sick of a fever; as this was impossible tho' he gave the servant some medicines for her, and today Snr. Pino, himself, has come down to return his grateful thanks for the good it has done, and, as no charges are made, he presented some fresh meat pork and carnaro [*carnero*—mutton]. It shows a feeling of pure gratitude which I constantly see manifested among these people for any little kindness done them. . . . Yesterday Lieut. Lee who went up for the artillery, arrived; he went back as far as Santa Fé, and there found Col. Price engaged in quelling a revolution that would have been, some of the unruly Mexicans having endeavoured to make a breakout, the heads who were put in prison are Archulette,⁷⁸ one [Tomas] Ortis, Salasar,⁷⁹ the great enemy to the Texan prisoners, that were.

at Apache Pass, and protested against the abandonment of the Mexican position at that place. When Santa Fé was taken by Kearny the Pinos refused to take the oath of allegiance. Nicolas Pino was implicated in the Mexican conspiracy to drive out the American officials from New Mexico, and was arrested by General Price on December 21, 1846. After the failure of the conspiracy at Santa Fé, neither Manuel nor his brother Nicolas Pino took any part in the later revolutionary movements, Don Nicolas Pino having taken the oath of allegiance to the United States upon his release from prison in Santa Fé. These brothers were ever after very loyal citizens of the United States.

⁷⁸ Diego Archuleta was of higher quality than most of the Mexican officials of his time. His father, Jean Andres Archuleta, was a wealthy resident of Rio Arriba, in which county of New Mexico Diego was born, at Plaza Alcalde, on March 27, 1814. The son received part of his education in the public school, and also studied under Father Antonio José Martinez. Later, while still a boy, he went to Durango, where he studied eight years in

The artillery will be on in a few days and immediately on its arrival at el Passo, we are told that Col. D will leave for Chihuahua, anxious I suppose to reap preparation for the priesthood. After receiving several minor orders he changed his mind about this vocation, and in 1840 returned to his native county.

Not long after the return of Archuleta to New Mexico, he was appointed captain of militia by the Mexican Government, and as such took part in the capture of the Texans involved in the ill-fated Texas-Santa Fé Expedition. This distinction was followed by many others, including a deputyship in the Mexican Congress for two years from 1843. The Golden Cross of Honor was conferred upon him in recognition of distinguished service as an officer in the Mexican Army. At the time of the American advance on New Mexico he was colonel, lieutenant governor, and second in command of the army.

Diego Archuleta has been described by historians as an intense patriot, and he was the leader of a large contingent. Whatever caused him to fall victim to the influence of James Magoffin is difficult to say with any degree of positiveness. Certainly Magoffin understood his man. Armijo had fled and his troops disbanded, at least twenty-four hours before General Kearny reached Apache Pass. Threats of assassination were being made against Armijo by officers under Archuleta, and the latter certainly was determined to use his following for defense of the pass. He was given the impression, which generally prevailed, that General Kearny would leave the western part of the territory untouched, and Magoffin recommended to him that he seize that portion of the country for himself. He was perhaps tempted to make the best of a bad situation, and thought he was trading a temporary victory for a permanent establishment in the western part of New Mexico.

He agreed not to fight and lived up to his agreement. Magoffin, however, was unable to prove his own sincerity. General Kearny, much to Magoffin's surprise, had orders from Washington to take possession of the whole country and move on to California.

if possible the glory of taking it himself before Gen. Wool's arrival. I shall be glad when we can start again, though the chances with our sick family, are rather against us for the present.

Archuleta naturally felt that he had been cheated and after two unsuccessful revolts organized by him, he fled the country. In one of these revolts Governor Charles Bent of New Mexico was cruelly killed.

Archuleta was afterwards invited to return, and did so. He took the oath of allegiance to the United States and filled a number of offices in and about Santa Fé. These included Indian agent in 1857, brigadier-general, 1861, and member of the general assembly of New Mexico for a period of fourteen years.

In 1841 Archuleta was married to Jesusita Trujillo, there being seven children by this union. He died of heart trouble at Santa Fé, March 21, 1884, while a member of the legislative assembly. (Twitchell, *Military Occupation of New Mexico*, p. 238.)

⁷⁹ Salazar is treated by Davis, in his *El Gringo*, as follows: "Toward the close of the month I chanced to meet in Santa Fé the notorious Captain Salazar, the same who figures in not a very enviable position in Kendall's 'Santa Fé Expedition.' He is the man who had charge of the Texan prisoners while marching through New Mexico, and treated them with such a savage cruelty, cutting off their ears, and inflicting other unheard-of barbarities upon them. He is a dark and swarthy-looking individual, and by no means prepossessing in his appearance. Upon this occasion he had come in to see the governor, in order to claim damages for his son, who had been killed by the Indians a few days before, out upon the Plains, while hunting buffalo. He laid a valuation of five thousand dollars upon his life, because, he said, it had cost a good deal of money to rear and educate him, and he now wished the United States to pay for his loss. But, as the Indian Intercourse Act does not recognize such claims, the governor declined either to make him any remuneration, or refer his demand to the government."

Friday 15th. A gentleman from the Pass, Mr. Caldwell,⁸⁰ has passed us today with the intelligence that Gen. Wool is still on his rout to C.[hihuhua] instead of having joined Gen. Taylor as we heard. The news is pretty strait, having come through an intercepted letter from the Gov. of Chi[huahua] (Trius)⁸¹ himself to one of the officers that evacuated the Pass

⁸⁰ Thomas Caldwell acted as interpreter for Doniphan's command. He exhibited great coolness and daring during the battle of Brazito, and several times rode close to the enemy's line, in order to hear the orders that were there given. He remained with Colonel Doniphan until January, 1847, when he felt himself aggrieved, left the army and returned to Missouri. He reached St. Louis the following April.

⁸¹ Don Angel Trias, governor of Chihuahua and brigadier-general commanding the Chihuahua volunteers. He owned a large estate in and around the village of Encinillas. "He was for years governor of the State of Chihuahua, a gentleman of large wealth and fine accomplishments. After receiving his education he went to Europe, where he spent eight years traveling in various parts, although he remained most of the time in England and France. He was well versed in several of the European languages, and spoke English with great correctness. With large estates, a cultivated mind, and elegant manners, General Trias naturally exercised a great influence in the State. His estate at the time of the invasion of the Americans contained many thousand head of cattle, which he gave to his government for the support of the army, and for which he has never made a claim. The sacrifices he made for his country greatly impoverished him. There is no doubt that General Trias detested the Americans as a people; yet American gentlemen and officers who stopped at Chihuahua were always treated by him with great politeness and attention. He was ardently devoted to Santa Anna and was considered to be the head of the war party in his State." (Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents*, vol. 2, p. 426.)

on Col. Doniphan's arrival. He writes that "Gen. Wool has taken Paris [Parras] (S. E. from C.[hihuahua]) and is on his march with 2500 men to the North." Whether for Chihuahua or Durango, we know not, but 'tis more than probable 'tis the former place, as his first orders were to go there. If so, by this time he must be near the end of his march, and Chi.[huahua] they say is not in the best situation to defend herself having been unable to get assistance from below. We must hear something decisive soon!

Friday 22nd. Well at last Maj. Clark of the artillery has arrived! How long we have been expecting him; he brings a good excuse though for his delay. The outbreak at Santa Fé, or rather San Miguel and Taos the other side of it has been of more importance than we have ever heard—the conspiracy was headed by one Thos. Ortis who was to be made their Governor, and one Archulette, Lieut. Govnr. At San Miguel they even beat their drums to arms. The night of the 19th of December was set as the executing of their designs, but from some sign of discovery they deferred it till the 25th, at which time Col. Price received positive information of their designs, and ordered Maj. Clark out with his artillery to stop the disturbances. Several were apprehended, and tried. They acknowledged their intentions were to rush onto Santa Fé seize and either shoot or hang on the American flag-staff immediately the Gov. Bent, Col. Price and Maj. Clark three principals. They were then to appoint this Ortis Gov. take possession of the Fort and there to establish themselves, dealing out their laws till a larger force could come up from the Pass,

when they were to give all the Americans their choice to leave the country immediately or they would meet with no mercy. The Gov. has discharged some, others are in confinement, while the two heads Ortis and Archulette have escaped. Maj. C. says they are on the search though, and if they are taken will be made a sample of by being put to death.—Quite a bold step this has been, and but for the fortunate disclosure of it we might have been killed before this.⁸²

⁸² The insurgents were: Tomas Ortiz, who had been chief alcalde of Santa Fé, Juan Felipe Ortiz, the vicario, Diego Archuleta, Domingo C. de Baca, Miguel E. Pino, Nicolas Pino, Manuel Chaves, Santiago Armijo, Agustin Duran, Pablo Dominguez, José Maria Sanchez, Antonio Marie Trujillo, Santiago Martinez, Pascual Martinez, Vincente Martinez, Antonio Ortiz, Facundo Pino, Rev. Antonio José Martinez, and Fr. Leyva. These men considered themselves to be patriots, and unwilling to see their country lost without a single effective blow. Not one of them had favored the abandonment of Apache Pass by Armijo, and all were related either by blood or marriage. The plan as formed by these men was that on the appointed day those engaged in the conspiracy in Santa Fé were to gather in the parochial church and remain concealed. Meanwhile friends from the surrounding country, under the lead of Archuleta, were to be brought into the city and distributed in various houses where they would be unobserved. At midnight the church bell was to sound and then the men within the church were to come forth and all were to rendezvous immediately in the plaza, seize the cannon there, and aim them so as to command the leading points, while detachments under special orders were to attack the palace and the quarters of General Price, and make them prisoners. The people throughout the whole north had been secretly notified and were only awaiting news of the rising at Santa Fé in order to join in the revolt and make it a success. (Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. 2, p. 232.)

Thursday 28th. Eight miles below Bosquito [Bosquecito]. Again on the road, and with what foreboardings. For three days I have been trying to find time to write but failed. Dctr. Richardson⁸³ of the army arrived in haste at our house in Bosquecito, with his wagon of medicines and an escort of five men beside his waggoner. He brought news that started us from the village in haste or as soon as we could be ready, which took us till Wednesday noon.

The news is that the Taos people have risen, and murdered every American citizen in Taos including the Gov.⁸⁴ (then on a visit there). That all the troops

⁸³ Robert F. Richardson, born in Tennessee. He was appointed surgeon of Major Meriwether Lewis Clark's Battalion of Missouri Volunteers, July 7, 1846, and was honorably discharged June 30, 1847.

⁸⁴ Charles Bent was appointed governor of New Mexico on September 22, 1846, by General Kearny. The latter having visited some of the Pueblo Indians and assured himself that the country was tranquil, appointed the governor and a full set of territorial officials, and marched off to California. He had hardly gone, however, when evidences of a growing revolt by the Mexicans and part of the Pueblo Indian population began to appear. On December 17, following, Governor Bent arrested seven of the conspirators, and the military and civil officers were sent in pursuit of two of the prime movers in the rebellion. During the state of unrest caused by these conspiracies, of which Diego Archuleta was the prime mover, Governor Bent happened to be visiting his family at San Fernando de Taos. Very early in the morning, on January 19, 1847, a mob of drunken Indians went into the town and demanded the release of two Pueblo Indians held in prison for stealing. Sheriff Stephen L. Lee refused their demands and they murdered him, as well as the prefect of the town, a Mexican named Vigil, the latter having infuriated them by calling them

from Albuquerque (the regulars) have been ordered to Santa Fé leaving this portion of the territory at the mercy of the mob. It is a perfect revolution there;

all thieves. They chopped his body up into small bits. A number of Mexicans then joined the mob and it proceeded to the house occupied by the governor. Warned of their approach by the noise, Governor Bent quickly dressed and armed himself.

It soon became evident to the governor that resistance would be futile. Instead he attempted to reason with them, recalling the many kindnesses he had done for them during his twenty years' residence among them. But they were beyond all reason, and only replied with wild angry yells and attacks upon the house. They climbed upon the roof and dug a hole in it, while the governor's wife and children plead with him to use his pistols in defense of his life. This he refused to do, as he believed such action would only make the mob determined to kill all the occupants of the house, as well as himself. These were his three children, his wife and her sister, Mrs. Kit Carson, Mrs. Tom Boggs, and a Mexican woman servant.

In the meantime neighbors, a French Canadian and his Mexican wife, were aiding the women in the besieged dwelling to cut a hole through the adobe wall. This completed, the women and children escaped into the adjoining house, but Governor Bent held back, and was unwilling to follow. He finally yielded, but not before being wounded, and thereafter was fired on through the window of a room to which he had retreated. Taking paper from his pocket and attempting to write, his strength failed him. He was only able to speak a last word to his weeping wife and children, and fell dead from the bullet of a Pueblo. Thus the first American governor of New Mexico died a martyr. The Indians broke into the house, shot him with their arrows and his own pistols, took his scalp, stretched it on a board with brass-headed tacks, and paraded with it all over the town.

Charles Bent was born at Charleston, Virginia, November 11, 1799, the son of Silas and Martha (Kerr) Bent. With his brother, William, and Ceran St. Vrain, he engaged in the fur trade; later

they are mounting the cannon on the fort—the citizens have all deserted the place, and Col. Price is in readiness to subdue the rebels, and has perhaps before this time will have done some fighting.

The Dctr. was prevailed upon by *mi alma* to attach himself to our party for strength's sake, they are seven and add much to us while we protect them too, and this is absolutely necessary now. We left in much haste they are rising between us and Santa Fé now under one of the Armijos [Santiago Armijo], and in truth we are *flying* before them.—My knowledge of these people has been extended very much in one day. There are among them some of the greatest villains, smooth-faced assassins in the world and some good people too. But yesterday morning while we were packing our trunks and some bales of goods, my suspicions were highly roused though perhaps unjustly; a good many men came in, some to buy goods, others merely to talk and as I suspected to see some thing of our strength, for without doubt 'tis the intention of nearly every one of them to murder without distinction every American in the country if the least thing should turn in their favour, for which reason we are going on now to overtake the troops below us, as 'tis a time when wisdom

his brothers, George and Robert, were taken into the firm. Charles was very popular with the traders and trappers of the upper Arkansas, but he seemed to prefer the trade about Santa Fé. He took up that branch of it, and went into New Mexico in 1829, settling in the valley of the Taos. There he married Marie Ignacia Jaramillo, who belonged to one of the leading families of New Mexico. Her younger sister, Josefa, became the wife of Kit Carson. (Grinnell, *Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders*, Kansas Historical Collections, vol. 15, pp. 78-81.)

says "keep with the fource." I often observed these men yesterday whispering slyly about the room, and especially when *mi alma* went out of the room, always peeping out after him to see if he was near or far off, on which occasions they talked more and faster than if he was only about the door. Everything was said in whisper and of course I could hear nothing, but whether right or wrong my suspicion made it of a very dark nature. One of them is a brother to a chief leader in the disturbances above—Pino, is his name, and a man that, from his looks and whole demeanor I should say would not hesitate to do a "deed in the dark"! An other one made me suspicion him *from his flattering talk of the Americans* and abuse of his own people; the same was sly enough in gathering up some goods he had bought, to slip in a whole piece of calico more than belonged to him but did not succeed in carrying it off for being discovered and the piece recovered.

The whole company of us were on the look out—*mi alma* was often on the house top; William, the Dctr. and his seven men quietly *skouted* the town, and I kept watch within door. We remained at this camp all this day, making preparations for a constant travel from tomorrow, in the mean time all fire arms are being examined, shot off and reloaded to be all in readiness for an attack. And we are well prepared for it; all the wagoners are well armed, William and the Dctr's company, and within our little tent we have twelve sure rounds, a double-barreled shot gun, a pair of holster and one pair of belt pistols, with one of Colts six barreled revolvers—a formidable core for only two people to muster. I hope and pray none of

them may have to be used, though we have good ground to expect an attack either from these, or a party of Indians reported to be below us a little—and to paint the scene as frightful as possible—we might have both to attack us.

Friday 29th. Camp No. 2. Well our travel today of some seven or eight miles has been *safe* though over very heavy roads along the river.

How exceedingly cold it is; water froze to the thickness of an inch and a half in a cup on our table last night, and the inmates of the bed suffered though under a buffalo robe, a counterpane and three pairs of Mackenaw blankets.

February 1847.

Monday 1st. By the goodness of God we have come this far in safety. We are almost at the mouth of the *Jornada* (the long journey without water) have been traveling slowly the roads being exceedingly heavy, with two or three severe hills; one we passed this morning, about a half mile in length, and the sand so heavy all the teams doubled and were then just able to get over with resting half a dozen times. 'Tis an ugly road very, but they say 'twill be better after this; I hope so indeed, for the poor animals work so hard. One month of this year is gone and eight months since we started on this long journey. I wonder if I shall ever get home again? But 'tis all the same if I do or do not, I must learn to look farther ahead than to earthly things. Now that a conviction has been awakened within my dark and sinful soul, how greater is my sin if I suffer it to die away without seeking my Savior's

pardon for multiplied transgressions against his infinite goodness and forbearance. I am sinful my flesh is prone to do evil, and if I remain in this state what says the Apostle is my doom—"Indignation, wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil. But glory, honour and peace to every man that worketh good." The two great rewards are laid before me, with the command to choose the "evil or the good." What must I do? I am conscious of my great pollution, my unworthiness of God's mercies and shall I stop at this? No, there is certain ruin if I do. If pardon is offered the penitent, "I will arise and go unto my Father and say unto Him Father I have sinned against Heaven and in thy sight and am not worthy to be called thy child, make me as one of thy hired servants."

Tuesday 2nd. Fray Cristobal. Well we have arrived at the last point on the *River* before taking the *Jornada*. Fray Cristobal is a celebrated place, not from the beauty or number of its houses, but from its being a regular camping-ground never passed without the traveler stops a day or two or at the least the half of a day to rest his animals for the *Jornada*. One would think that as long as they have been passing towns all down the *River*, that this must be one too, or at least a settlement; but no, there is not even the dusky walls of an adobe house to cheer its lonely solitude. Like Valverde it is only a regular camping place with a name. At present I can say nothing of its beauties—the bleak hill sides look lovely enough and feel cold enough. In the summer season though I suspect it is quite attractive; the *River* bottom is then green; the