

The Path to Cahuenga - Native American Participation in the Conquest of California

by Albert Knight June 25, 2020



MAJOR GENERAL JOHN C. FREMONT, IN HIS FRAMING COSTUME

Figure 1

John C. Fremont and California Battalion Troops
Note Indian at Left

Introduction

This report describes the important contributions made by Native Americans, during the conquest of California by the United States, during the Mexican American War of 1846-1848. The California Battalion was undoubtedly the most remarkably diverse and “colorful” American military formation in the history of the American west. I note that John C. Fremont’s father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, served as Andrew Jackson’s aide-de-camp during the War of 1812. I suspect that Fremont’s creation of the California Battalion was inspired to at least some degree by his knowledge of Jackson’s remarkable mixed-race command at the Battle of New Orleans, which included a large contingent of Choctaw Indians and “Frenchmen.” Jackson’s command and the Battle of New Orleans continue to be celebrated in lessons on American history today, while Fremont’s equally (perhaps more) remarkable command, and their achievement during the Mexican-American War, remains all but unknown.

Officially known as the “Naval Battalion of Mounted Volunteer Riflemen,” the California Battalion as a whole never fought a battle. The one time a detachment did fight (at the Battle of Natividad) the Native American contingent distinguished itself. The Battalion came into *official* existence at Monterey, California, on July 23, 1846. Only half a year later, on January 13, 1847, the Battalion accepted the capitulation of the last Mexican military forces, in what is now the United States, at Campo de Cahuenga, in the San Fernando Valley. Most of the native members were released from duty at San Gabriel, on February 18, 1847. References to at least 55 Native American men, who were members of the Battalion, are scattered throughout numerous references from or on the period, but there is no single report on the subject as a whole. The current effort is an attempt to fill in this gap in our knowledge. Although the primary focus of this report is the historic importance of the Native American component of the California Battalion, it is necessary to put the command as a whole, and the short period of its existence, into context and to briefly describe the Battalion’s commanding officer, John Charles Fremont (1813-1890).

Note that this paper mostly uses the term “Mexican,” and uses “Californio” (or Californian) less frequently. Briefly, many of the “Mexicans” living in California when the war began, considered themselves to be a distinct cultural group, vis-à-vis Mexico, which had only recently become independent from Spain. This is an important point, as reflected in all of the literature on the subject. However, no effort will be made here, to describe the reoccurring political differences between the central Mexican government (or more properly for the period, governments) and the Californios, who were themselves quite diverse in their opinions (i.e. there is no discussion of the differences in political inclinations between those living in the northern and the southern parts of the Department of California). Let it only be said that when Fremont made his entrada (or entradas), the northern and southern factions were not getting along well, and note that not all of the people that were then living in California were averse to annexation by the United States.

Also note that the Mexican Department of (Alta) California, at the beginning of the Mexican-American War, was not well-defined. To the north was the Oregon Territory, still jointly ruled by the United States and Great Britain. To the south was (is) Baja California, which was not part of the Department of California. New Mexico did not extend as far west as the

Colorado River, so some of California was (then) east of that river (i.e. there was no Arizona, yet). In a few years, the Mormons would invent Utah which, not yet defined, was also still part of northern Mexico; some maps from that period seem to make it part of the Department of Alta California, which would probably have come as a surprise to most of the Californians, who, except for a few explorers, had not even penetrated into northern or eastern California. And “Nevada,” as we define it today, was still in the future: if you could see the Sierra Nevada Mountains, looking from east to west, you were in Alta California. Also note that when the Mexican-American War started, there were small Mexican military forces only in southern coastal California and in New Mexico. The Great Basin, which Fremont explored and named, was almost entirely unoccupied (by Mexicans) and was entirely undefended; Fremont (i.e. the United States) took it by riding into and through it. Thus, the Capitulation of Cahuenga not only represented the acquisition of (Alta) California by the United States, the Capitulation represented the “last act,” as it were, in the acquisition of what is now the entire southwestern United States.

John Charles Fremont

John Charles Fremont (1813-1890) was one of the best-known Americans during the last half of the 19th and first part of the 20th centuries. Indeed, he was one of the greatest explorers in the history of the United States. His name, and the places and things he named, can be found across the western United States; some 40 genera or species of plants were named by or for him, based on his scientific research. The Pathfinder, as he became known (Figure 1), was the bastard third child of a French father and an American mother. His family was of humble means, but his brilliance was recognized at a young age, and he was fortunate enough to receive assistance in achieving a good education. In 1838 he was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant in the highly regarded United States Army Bureau of Topographical Engineers. Soon in the field, he immediately showed his competence and did well, especially, outside of working hours, by eloping with the then 16-year-old Jessie Benton, the daughter of Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton, one of the main advocates of “Manifest Destiny.” Benton, at first not happy with the arrangement, soon realized that Charles was The Man to send West, and subsequent events showed that Benton’s assessment was correct. Note that Charley (as his friends called him), the Senator, and his daughter, were all fluent in Spanish.

Fremont would eventually lead five expeditions (the first three are shown in Figure 2). The First Expedition (1842-1843) explored to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, then the western boundary of the United States. The Second Expedition (1843-1845) went almost to the mouth of the Columbia River (Fremont, having crossed the entire North American continent, was only a day’s journey from the Pacific Ocean, but thought that his duty required him to be elsewhere, and so turned back; he finally reached the Pacific Ocean two years later). But instead of returning directly (more or less) to the United States, Fremont and the Second Expedition turned south and perused the (then) unexplored east side of the Cascade Mountains, and then entered northeastern California (i.e. northern Mexico). There, about to run out of supplies, Fremont and a small detachment turned west and made the first winter crossing of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, arriving at *Nueva Helvetia* (New Switzerland; i.e. Sutter’s Fort, the modern Sacramento) in very bad condition, on March 6, 1845. The men spent three weeks there, as the guest of John Sutter, the founder and owner, recuperating and resupplying. No one, including

Sutter, who should have done so, informed the Mexican authorities of Fremont's presence. After leaving Sutter's Fort (Mexican troops arrived there the day after Fremont left), the expedition proceeded southeast, up the east side of the San Joaquin Valley, and passed out of California via Tehachapi Valley. Fremont (2001:365) described the Expedition, as of April 12, 1845, as it entered the Mojave Desert, near Willow Springs:

Our cavalcade made a strange and grotesque appearance . . . guided by a civilized Indian, two wild ones from the Sierra; a Chinook from the Columbia; and our own mixture of American, French [i.e. French-Canadian], German, all armed; four or five languages heard at once; above a hundred horses and mules, half wild; American, Spanish, and Indian dresses and equipment intermingled- such was our composition. Our march was a sort of procession. Scouts ahead, and on the flanks; a front and rear division; the pack animals, baggage, and horned cattle, in the center; and the whole stretching a quarter of a mile along our dreary path. In this form we journeyed; looking more like we belonged to Asia than to the United States of America.

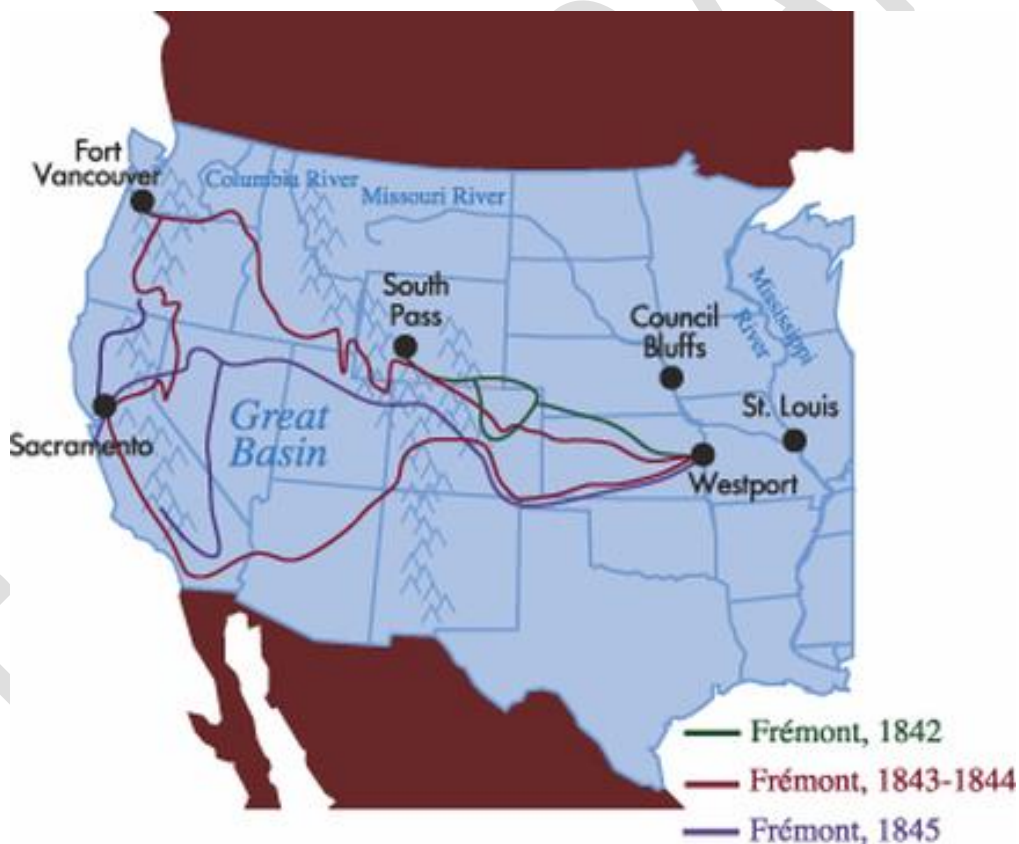


Figure 2
Fremont's First Three Expeditions

In his memoirs, Fremont allowed that the Second Expedition included, “. . . a party of only twenty-five persons . . . American, French, German, Canadian, Indian, and colored- and most of them young, several being under twenty-five years of age” (Fremont 2001:286). The Second Expedition subsequently returned to the United States via the southern Great Basin, which Fremont explored, mapped, described in detail, and named. By doing this, Fremont proved once and for all, as others had already posited, that none of the rivers that flowed west from the Rocky Mountains entered San Francisco Bay, or reached any other part of the California coast (Fremont 2001:363-364; Jackson and Spence 1970).

In mid-1845, after being back in the United States only a few months, Fremont was given *official* instructions to form a Third Expedition, which was ordered to explore certain unmapped portions of the Rocky Mountains to, “. . . localities within reasonable distance of Bent’s Fort, and of the streams which run east from the Rocky Mountains . . .” Note the key-words *east from*. Again, at that time the crest of the Rocky Mountains was the western boundary of the United States, and the *official* orders said, in so many words, *do not wander outside of the U.S. into any foreign countries, again*. Fremont, in the doing however, interpreted *east-from the crest of the Rocky Mountains* to mean *east from the Pacific Coast of North America*, an over-shoot of about 1,000 miles. In his Memoirs, he claimed that the plan always was to go as far as California, to “. . . ascertain the lines of communication through the mountains to the ocean . . . And in arranging this expedition, the eventualities of war were taken into consideration” (Fremont 2001:422-424). And indeed, Fremont and the Third Expedition would play a major role in the conquest of northwest Mexico.

The Third Expedition

Again, although it was explicitly not explicitly stated at the time, Fremont’s Third *scientific* Expedition was sent west because (briefly and in modern terms) President Polk, Fremont’s father-in-law Senator Thomas Hart Benton, and others, decided to forward-position a small but capable “seed-force” on the west coast of North America, just in case Mexico did not agree to sell the northern third of their country (they did not, of course). But the hand of Manifest Destiny could not be applied *too* obviously, so the Third Expedition was limited to some 60 *civilians*, about one-quarter of which were Native American. 30 (mostly white American) men would explore, do science and make maps, and the other 30 (mostly French-Canadians and Indians) would scout for and feed them; “Fremont’s corps of discovery was not technically a military expedition, but he assembled a tough, well-armed, intimidating set of frontiersmen” (Hurtado 2006:165). At his trial in 1848, Fremont (2012:4), stated that,

I was then brevet captain in the corps of topographical engineers, and had no rank in the army, nor did an officer or soldier of the United States army accompany me . . . the object of the expedition . . . was wholly of scientific character . . . The men that were with me were citizens, and some Delaware Indians, all employed by myself on wages, and solely intended for protection against savages, and to procure subsistence in the wilderness, and often desert country, which I had to pass . . .

The Third Expedition, like the Second, could not display a United States flag in foreign (i.e. in Mexican) territory. So, Jessie Benton made a special flag (Figure 3). Like the flag of the United States, this flag had 13 red and white stripes, but instead of a field of stars it displayed a Bald Eagle clutching a peace-pipe and a set of arrows, surrounded by 26 stars, for the then-26 American states. No one is quite sure when this flag was first used; certainly, on the Third Expedition. Perhaps the lack of an appropriate flag during the Second Expedition (when Fremont *perhaps* spontaneously wandered into Mexican territory) piqued him to request that Jessie make an appropriate flag for the Third Expedition (and if so, more proof that he intended to enter Mexico all along) It is likely that the flag that fell over at Gavilan Peak was the Eagle flag, since Fremont should not (in theory) have been displaying the American flag in Mexico; certainly the Mexicans would have taken this a *casus-belli*.



Figure 3
Fremont's Eagle Flag

The Third Expedition departed from Westport (now Kansas City), Missouri on August 16, 1845. Fremont, having been there, knew the best route. When the Expedition reached the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, Fremont divided the command and sent the larger and slower part south, to find Walker Pass, so that they could enter the San Joaquin Valley from the southeast (as had been done during the Second Expedition- this was a longer, but easier route). And then, “with a selected party of fifteen, among whom were some of my best men, including several Delawares, I was to attempt the crossing of the mountain in order to get through to Sutter’s Fort before the snow began to fall” (Fremont 2001:439). Having learned the hard way on the Second Expedition, the detail wasted no time, and got over the mountains before the passes snowed-in, and safely reached Sutter’s Fort where, once again, Sutter welcomed and resupplied them.

On January 27, 1846, after again spending a couple of weeks as Sutter's guests, Fremont took a small detachment to Monterey, where he met the commanding Mexican General in California, Don Jose Castro, and the United States Consul, Thomas Larkin, and finally saw the Pacific Ocean. Fremont had successfully avoided coming into contact with Mexican government officials (with the exception of Sutter) on the Second Expedition. But this time he *wanted* the authorities to know of his presence, while still playing the innocent. So he told Castro that the expedition was only, ". . . engaged in surveying the nearest route from the United States to the Pacific Ocean . . . the object of the survey was geographical . . . and was made in the interests of science and of commerce . . . the party were citizens and not soldiers" (Fremont 2001:454); As soon as they could resupply, the expedition would return to the United States via Oregon, Fremont said. Castro, no doubt alarmed at the presence of a strong detachment of armed Americans, encouraged him to do just that. Larkin, who had spent years trying to interest the Californios in becoming part of the United States *peacefully*, also encouraged Fremont and company to move on. But instead of going to Oregon, Fremont then led the *scientific* expedition on a scout of the Santa Cruz Mountains. And now he *was* doing science, at least some of the time, for this is the home of the magnificent Coastal Redwoods (*Sequoia sempervirens*), and Fremont made some of the earliest detailed scientific notes on this then little-known species; Fremont called it, "The King of Trees" (Welsh 1998:119).

More broadly, of course, the Expedition was reconnoitering the Santa Cruz Mountains, between Monterey Bay and San Francisco Bay, which no American military man had ever seen. Fremont made a point of contacting local American settlers (e.g. Isaac Graham), to find out what they knew about the area. In late February 1846, the Expedition returned to the coast at Santa Cruz and headed back towards Monterey, probably via *El Camino Real*. Being a Topographical Engineer, Fremont no doubt noted that the northern approaches to Monterey were entirely undefended and undefendable; one could easily land boats on the beach anywhere around the mouth of the Salinas River and walk into Monterey. And this would have been a superb moment for the whatever Delaware were with him! Their ancestors had resided on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean when Europeans arrived, some 200 years earlier, and now a few of them rode along the shore of the Pacific Ocean, as members of an official American Expedition. One can only wonder what they thought; this moment certainly would have been a story to take home!

By now the Mexicans had finally seen the threat, and on February 25th, a Mexican officer intercepted the Expedition near Salinas, and officially informed Fremont that General Castro now ordered him to remove himself and his men from California, forthwith. You can't talk to the United States like that he responded and, after more dragging-their-hooves reconnoitering, on March 5, 1846, the Expedition took up position on Gavilan Peak (which was later renamed Fremont Peak), directly south of and over-looking San Juan Batista, by then the provisional capital of northern California (the Mexicans, like Fremont, had realized that Monterey could not be defended from the American Navy, and so evacuated it and moved the seat of government inland). Fremont and the men ran up the Eagle and Stripes, constructed makeshift fortifications, hunkered down, and did some serious sulking. And probably soul-searching; how insulting could they be and not start a war? Indeed, General Castro and his staff were now really alarmed and put out a general call-to-arms. So, fortunately, after a few days of diplomatic exchanges (Larkin sagely advised Fremont to move on), the appearance of 300-400 Mexican troops and militia, and the Eagle flag spontaneously falling over (a bad omen, everyone agreed), Fremont packed up and

headed for the Oregon Territory, via Sutter's Fort. On the way north, some of the still few (illegal) American settlers in the upper Sacramento Valley contacted Fremont and told him that General Castro was encouraging the local Indians to attack their ranches, burn their crops, etc. If this *was* the case, and there is no definitive evidence that it was, Fremont made no attempt to determine exactly which Indians were a threat (i.e. he never made an attempt to determine which Indians it were that were rude enough to attempt to defend their homes of 1000s of years from the invading illegal American settlers). Instead, he determined to teach *all of the northern California Indians* that a new power had arrived. Thus, the first official American expedition to California massacred an entire Native Americans village (perhaps Yana). This being done, the Expedition continued north to southern Oregon, beyond the northern-most border of Mexico.

On May 8th, the expedition made camp at lower Klamath Lake. Two settlers rode into the camp on May 9th and informed Fremont that a Lieutenant Gillespie, United States Marines, was trying to catch up with him and was in danger of being attacked by Klamath. On May 10th, Fremont, and a detail of 14 men (2001:487), rode out and located Gillespie. Fremont was amazed, and surely pleased, to find that Gillespie had news and confidential instructions from Washington. Fremont was starved for news and told Gillespie that, "It was now eleven months since any tidings had reached me" (2001:488). Fremont knew all too well that he had been representing the interests of the United States on his own authority and acquiring the most recent news was essential to successfully carrying out his verbal orders. To this day, no one knows all what Gillespie and Fremont discussed late into the night, but Fremont later said, "In substance, their effect was: The time has come" (2001:489).

Everyone was tired that night; they had talked into the wee hours. It was one of only two times that the Expedition did not post sentries. They all should have known better. Sometime after midnight, everyone woke to the screams of dying men; the Klamath were amongst them. Three *Americans*- a French-Canadian, a Metis, and a Delaware, were killed. Kit Carson, who killed him, said that the Klamath chief, who had remained and fought when his men fled, "was the bravest Indian I ever saw" (Carson 2019:50-51). And of the Klamath in general, Fremont said (2001:499), "They are the bravest Indians we have ever seen." He knew this; he saw it when the Expedition took its vengeance on a large Klamath village and killed dozens of people and then proceeded to destroy the village, its food stocks, and even the beautiful canoes that Fremont had admired.

This having been done, the Expedition began the journey back to the Sacramento Valley. On May 30th, they made camp near Sutter's Butte, and "Here terminated the geographical work of the expedition" (Fremont 2001:510). Most of the scientific collections made during the Second Expedition had been lost, and now Fremont made every effort to make sure the collections made by the Third Expedition were properly packaged, secured, and made ready for transport back to the United States. The Expedition had collected over 1000 plant specimens, and dozens of fossils (Welsh 1998), many of both never previously seen by western science. Fremont would name dozens of plant species and would have numerous plant genera or species named for him (the genus *Fremontodendron*, and the Fremont Cottonwood- *Populus fremontii*, for example). Note that the publication of the California Native Plant Society is *Fremontia*.

Now Fremont and the (illegal) American settlers again made contact. Many of these, as Bernardo DeVoto put it (DeVoto 2000:222), “clearly understood the significance of his return.” And so, on June 10, some of the *Osos* (Bears, as certain of the settlers were now calling themselves, meaning Grizzly Bears), and a few men from the Third Expedition, intercepted a small party of Mexican troops, who were driving a band of almost 200 horses towards the coast. There was no fight; the Americans got the drop on the Mexicans by sneaking into their camp early in the morning. The Americans told the Mexicans to take a horse apiece and git, and they did. Never-the-less, Mexican troops had been waylaid and robbed by, “illegal immigrants, that is to say, they had entered the territory without the permission of the Mexican authorities and had not become Mexican citizens” (Bauer 1969:146).

After liberating the horses, the Americans realized that they were horse-thieves! And those were the days when everyone, including them, agreed that horse-thieves got hung. That is, unless they could invoke some great cause. Ah! They thought of Texas. According to DeVoto (2000:223), “In the course of a few days the highwaymen were delighted to find themselves a vanguard of empire. If the raid was not robbery, then it was war.”

And so, on June 14, some 40 *Osos* rode into the pueblo of Sonoma, arrested the Comandante Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and a few other men, seized the arms and munitions stored there, and ran up the “Bear Flag” of the California Republic (Note: one of these men was William Todd, the nephew of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln). Bancroft noted that if Fremont had not been at hand, they would not have done it (Bauer 1969:147). Vallejo, however, was not averse to an American take-over and served brandy and snacks while the articles of surrender were drawn up. No one else in the “Republic” was aware of these events until after the fact.

The *Osos*, likely following a *suggestion* (not an order) by Fremont, had made a wise strategic move; Sonoma was the only Mexican pueblo north of San Francisco Bay (it was, in fact, the only non-Indian community in northern Mexico), and whoever controlled Sonoma controlled northern Mexico. And on the next day, June 15, 1846, although the *Osos*’s did not know it, the United States and the United Kingdom officially divided the Oregon Territory between them, along the 49th parallel (this is still the boundary today). The United States now reached to the Pacific Ocean, and northern California (i.e. northern Mexico) was now adjacent to the United States. In any case, Fremont decided that he did not want events to get (any more) ahead of him: “Affairs had now assumed a critical aspect, and I presently saw that the time had come when it was unsafe to leave events to mature under unfriendly, or mistaken direction. I decided that it was for me rather to govern events than to be governed by them” (Fremont 2001:520). The time to be subtle had run out.

A few days later, as if to prove the point, Mexican troops captured two young Bear Flagger’s, Thomas Cowie and George Fowler and, according to Fremont, “. . . they tied them to trees and butchered them with knives” (Fremont 2001:525). On June 24, a few *Osos*’s skirmished with Mexican troops at Olompali, in Marin County; one Mexican was killed and a few men on both sides were wounded. Then, on June 28, as Fremont put it in his memoirs, “My scouts, mainly Delawares . . . made sharp retaliation” for the murders of Cowie and Fowler, and gunned down old Jose de los Reyes Berryessa and Francisco and Ramon de Haro, his twenty-year-old nephews. Kit Carson was in command of the detail. Fortunately, there would be no

more murders, by either side, undoubtedly partially due to the efforts of Consul Larkin, who tried to keep a lid on the situation. Larkin had hoped to see California become part of the United States *peaceably*, but Fremont and the Osos were rapidly ruining his work. And, in any case, the first battle of the Mexican-American War had taken place on May 8, at Palo Alto, on the Rio Grande. President Polk, through Senator Benton, had made the correct gambit: Fremont and the Third Expedition were now in the right place, at the right time. Except no one in California knew that the war *was* on.

The California Battalion

On July 4th, 1846, the men of the Third Expedition joined the Osos at Sonoma to celebrate Independence Day. On July 5th Fremont proposed that the men of the Third Expedition and the Osos combine their forces, which they did; this *ad hoc* force can be considered to be the 1st incarnation of the California Battalion. On July 10th Fremont learned that on July 7th Commodore Sloat and the United States Pacific Squadron had arrived at Monterey and raised the American flag (Note: Sloat sent a US flag to Sonoma on July 9th; the courier was Lieutenant Joseph W. Revere, Paul Revere's grandson; it was Revere that retired the Bear Flag, and posted the Stars and Stripes). On July 12th, the Battalion mounted up for Monterey, to report to superior authority. The Battalion, now including 160 men, had been organized into four mounted companies, and they created quite a stir when they rode into Monterey on July 19th. According to Fremont, "the rough and travel-worn" appearance of his men stood "in stark contrast to that of Sloat's sailors, with their crisp white uniforms." Fremont later recalled that, "Many of my men had never seen the ocean . . ." (Fremont 2001:532-533). Their arrival was described by Walter Colton (Bauer 1969:159), a chaplain in the U.S. Navy:

. . . two hundred strong, all well mounted, and have some 300 extra horses in their train. They defiled, two abreast, through the principal street of the town. The ground seemed to tremble under their heavy tramp. The citizens glanced at them through their grated windows. Their rifles, revolving pistols, and long knives glittered over dusky buckskin which enveloped their sinewy limbs, while their untrimmed locks, flowing out from under their foraging caps, and their black beards, with white teeth glittering through, gave them a wild savage aspect.

The American naval commander, Commodore Sloat, was not quite sure what to make of Fremont and his colorful militia. Sloat had orders to go on the offensive if he was sure that war had started. But did what Fremont had encouraged and helped the Osos to do, count? When they met, Sloat asked Fremont for his *written* orders; Fremont confessed that he had none. Sloat told Fremont that he (Sloat) had landed Marines at Monterey and Yerba Buena (San Francisco) because he thought Fremont had initiated hostilities *with orders to do so*. Sloat was so completely non-plussed by Fremont's *lack of written orders*, that he retired to his cabin and refused to have anything else to do with him. A few days later, citing his poor health, Sloat appointed Commodore Stockton as the commanding officer in California and, on July 29th, he sailed away. A wise man, indeed; if there had not actually been a war, both men might have been court-martialed.

Commodore Stockton, now the senior American officer in California, outranked Fremont, but was *Navy*, while Captain Fremont was the senior United States *Army* officer in California, if for no other reason, because he was the *only* Army officer in California. Stockton was a wise man and knew that he knew little about the situation ashore, but he could see that Fremont did. So, on July 23, Stockton promoted Fremont to Major and appointed him commander of the “Naval Battalion of Mounted Volunteer Riflemen.” Pay for a rifleman was ten dollars a month and rations, for the duration of the war *in California*. Thus, officially, the California Battalion (now in its 2nd incarnation) was a *naval* formation. According to Bauer (1969:162), “the California Battalion should be regarded as an organization of naval supernumeraries, since it was organized by Stockton and operated as part of his command.” Stockton also posted a company of “Horse Marines” to the Battalion, and since the fleet, at anchor in Monterey and San Francisco bays, did not need all of the sailors that were available, he also added a company of Carbineers (armed sailors).

Like its predecessor the Third Expedition, the ethnic composition of the Battalion was mixed from the beginning. For example, John Grigsby, from Tennessee, who had arrived in California in 1845, “. . . recruited a motley party of rancheros, runaway sailors, Negroes, Englishmen, and Germans at San Jose”; Grigsby became the company commander (Spence and Jackson 1973:231). Some volunteers had only just arrived in California. On his way to meet with Antonio, a Miwok chief, and his men, for example, Bryant recalled (1848:348) that, “Proceeding . . . over a level plain, we overtook a party of emigrants . . . and encamped with them for the night. Five of the seven or eight men belonging to the company enrolled their names as volunteers.” John Marshall, himself soon to become famous, recalled seeing the Battalion: “There were Americans, French, English, Swiss, Poles, Russians, Chileans, Germans, Greeks, Austrians, Pawnees [i.e. Delawares], native Indians, etc. . . . Well if they [Castro’s Army] can whip this crowd they can beat all the world, for Castro will whip all nations, languages, and tongues” (Chaffin 2002:331).

On July 16, the HMS Collingwood, the flagship of the British Pacific Squadron, and with 80 guns the largest warship in the Pacific Ocean, dropped anchor in Monterey Bay. The Americans had feared that the British would try to interfere in California (this was one of the rationale for Polk sending Fremont to California), but now, with the Americans already present in force, the British were satisfied with taking a look around and leaving it at that. One of the British officers, Captain Fred Walpole, witnessed Fremont and his men ride into Monterey; he observed (Fremont 2001:533-534; Walpole 1849) that:

During our stay Captain Fremont and his party arrived, preceded by another troop of American horse. It was a party of seamen mounted, who were used to scour the country to keep off marauders . . . as cavalry they would probably have been singularly destructive to each other. Their leader, however, was fine fellow . . . Fremont’s party naturally excited curiosity. Here were true trappers, the class that produced the heroes of Fenimore Cooper’s best works. A vast cloud of dust appeared first, and thence in a long file emerged this wildest wild party. Fremont rode ahead, a spare active-looking man, with such an eye! He was dressed in a blouse and legging and wore a felt hat. After him came five Delaware Indians who were his body-guard, and have been with him through all his wanderings; they had charge of the two baggage horses, The rest, many of them

blacker than the Indians, rode two and two . . . his original men are principally backwoodsmen . . . Kit Carson is as well known . . . as the Duke [of Wellington] is in Europe. They are allowed no liquor . . . this, no doubt has much to do with their good conduct, and the discipline too is very strict . . . They . . . took up their quarters, in messes of six or seven, in the open air. The Indians lay besides their leader. In justice to the Americans I must say, they seem to treat the natives well, and their authority extended every protection to them . . .” Fremont noted that, “All, especially the English officers, were interested in the shooting of the Delawares and the men of the exploring party.

Now Fremont and Stockton learned that General Castro was retreating towards Los Angeles, the provincial capital. So, they decided that the Battalion would send a detachment of 150 men, who would be transported by sea to San Diego, in an attempt to cut-off Castro’s retreat. The amphibious landings, Indian scouts included, were successful, more horses were found, and Fremont and the Battalion rode north. On August 1st, Stockton and a naval force made up of Marines and armed sailors, occupied San Pedro and then also marched north. The two commands linked up south of Los Angeles, intending to storm the pueblo. But before that could happen, Governor Pio Pico and General Castro decamped for Mexico, and there was no resistance on August 13, when the combined American forces entered Los Angeles. The Marine Band led the way into the pueblo, while the Battalion brought up the rear. Fremont later wrote, “our entry . . . [had] more the effect of a parade of home guards than of an enemy taking possession of a conquered town” (2001:566). On August 14th, the last few Mexicans in California surrendered. In a strange twist, the Mexican-American War in California was over a few days before official word arrived that there *was* a war.

And so, on August 22nd, Stockton sent a dispatch (by sea) to Washington, announcing that whatever else was afoot, the Mexican-American War in California was over. On August 24th, Stockton also send a dispatch to Fremont that read, in part, “I must therefore withdraw my forces from California as soon as it can be safely done . . . as soon as you can enlist enough men to garrison this city [Los Angeles], Monterey, San Francisco, Santa Barbara and San Diego; and have a sufficient force besides to watch the Indians and other enemies . . . For these purposes you are authorized and required to increase your present force to three hundred men” (Spence and Jackson 1973:192); this enlarged force would become the 3rd and final incarnation of the California Battalion. Stockton also informed Fremont that when he (Stockton) withdrew from California, he would appoint Fremont as acting governor (not bad work, for someone that had come to California as a mere Captain, only a few months earlier!).

Things were looking so good that Fremont sent Kit Carson, with a detail that included some of the Delaware, to locate General Kearny, now advancing through New Mexico with 300 Dragoons- some of the best cavalry in the United States Army- to tell him the good news. This Carson achieved, with near-tragic consequences (see below).

In the meantime, after the American victory, according to Fremont (2001:593), “In the early part of September I left Los Angeles for the Sacramento Valley with about thirty-five men.” One can assume that this was Company A, the original core of Third Expedition men, plus a few relative newcomers. At Santa Barbara he detached Theodore Talbot and nine men as a garrison and then proceeded north to Monterey (Fremont 2001:570-572). This movement

provided an opportunity, “. . . to reconnoiter and operate against any organized resistance which might have been set up by California forces after the latter’s dispersal at Los Angeles” (Hussey and Ames 1942:14). This is an important, but little-discussed movement, which most descriptions of the California Battalion fail to mention, for it gave Fremont a chance to reconnoiter the territory the Battalion would soon have to re-cross, for not long after returning to the San Francisco Bay area, Fremont learned of the revolt in the south. He would spend the next two months collecting men, equines, and supplies. And, fortunately, because of the extended September scout, Fremont now knew the central coast area quite well, and could later say (2001:595), “There was no point on the line which I chose for my march from San Juan [Batista] to San Fernando- no camp by night- where I could have been taken at disadvantage.”

When the fully assembled California Battalion moved out on November 29, 1846 (Figure 4), it included “428 men” (Note: this often cited number is somewhat suspect, since many CB men were in southern California: Archibald Gillespie, Alex Godey, and about one company, were in San Diego, having been run out of Los Angeles, as mentioned above, while Kit Carson and his detail were with General Kearny). The composition of the Battalion was (about) 50 officers and (perhaps) 300 riflemen, organized into eight companies (A-H), an artillery detail, consisting of “three pieces of artillery and an ammunition wagon,” and about 75 scouts, drovers, servants, etc.; most of Company H were Native Americans. The battalion was long on enthusiasm, but short on uniforms. Bryant noted (1848:366) that:

There are no plumes nodding over brazen helmets, nor coats of broadcloth spangled with lace and buttons. A broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat, a shirt of blue flannel, or buckskin, with pantaloons and moccasins of the same, all generally worse for wear, and smeared with mud and dust, made up the costume of the party, officers as well as men. A leather gridle surrounds the waist, from which are suspended a bowie and a hunter’s knife, and sometimes a brace of pistols. These, with rifle and holster pistols, are the arms carried by officers and privates. A single bugle (and a sorry one it is) composes the band.



Figure 4
The California Battalion moving out from Monterey

A more upbeat, description of the dress of most of the men is by another one of its members, Edward Cleveland Kemble (Military Collector and Historian 1966:14):

. . . the weapons were rifles and in the hands of men generally acquainted with their use. Some of the sailor volunteers carried the old-fashion ships carbine, and there was here and there a musket of revolutionary pattern. The only equipment worn universally was the ancient powder horn, material for which could be picked up on the plains anywhere, and the making of which served to while away the time in camp. It was noticeable that Jack, with his carbine or old flintlock, usually carried the handsomest powder horn, sparing no labor in its ornamentation and polish. The only article of clothing issued to the Battalion by the United States was the sailor's common blue flannel shirt, with broad collar and star worked with thread into each corner. This, worn over other clothing, and gathered around the waste by the broad, greasy, leather belt- from which depended hunting knife and pistols- was the only uniform of the Battalion. Most of the men wore buckskin trousers, sometimes fringed down the outer seam with buckskin and red flannel intermixed, moccasins on their feet, and their heads crowned with the broad brimmed Mexican hat, minus the black oil-silk cover. A narrow band of red flannel around the hat was in high favor among those men who, from a long life on the frontier seemed to have acquired the Indian fondness for bright colors . . .

Neither Fremont nor the Navy had enough cash to pay for all of this. In the doing, lots of promissory notes and IOUs were handed out, when horses, mules, beefs, gear, and supplies were bought or otherwise requisitioned from the Californians. Even the Battalion's own men, including the Native American troops, had largely provided for themselves as far as equipment was concerned. They were promised that they would be paid for their animals, tack, gear, ammunition, and services, when it was all over, but they were not paid in full for years; some were not paid in full, period (e.g. see Larkin 1959:226; p. 172 provides a good representative list of the types of livestock and materials that the Battalion acquired, by one means or another, during the campaign). Or as Edwin Bryant put it, following the campaign, "Many of the volunteers . . . are in totally destitute condition, and their families are suffering . . . and they are left with no resource . . . except the sums due them for their services" (Larkin 1959:81).

And now, having prepared as well as circumstances allowed, the Battalion was at last ready to begin the 400-mile trek to the *south*, when word came that California was being invaded, by Indians, from the *north*.

The Native American Contingent

Hurtado (1988:77) noted that, "The military utility of Indians was well known to Lieutenant Fremont, who took two Delaware's on his 1843-44 California trip (i.e. the Second Expedition). When Fremont returned in 1845 (during the Third Expedition), he brought nine Delaware's, a Chinook, an Indian whose tribe was not given, and two California Indian boys . . ." In all, Indians comprised at least 25% of the Third Expedition. The presence of the Indian troops in the California Battalion is well-documented (see especially Bryant 1848; Fremont, in his various writings, and Hurtado 1988 & 2006). Harlow (1982:220) states that some six hundred men, including "two hundred Oregon and California Indians" had been mustered by November 9th, but, if there were "two hundred Indians," that number would have included those that served with the garrison at Sutter's Fort (by then renamed Fort Sacramento), and at other northern towns.

Duties

The "main body" of the California Battalion included about 50 officers and some 300 troops, all hypothetically, but not always, mounted. A great deal of activity would have been going on all around the main body, however, both when it was on the advance and in bivouac, and this is where the Indians were deployed. Fremont says that when they left the north in November 1846, and were at full-strength, there were 428 men. So, something on the order of 75 of the men were not combat troops *per se*.

The functions performed by these men includes as:

Spies and Scouts, Skirmishers, Sentries

Many of the Native Americans were referred to as "Spies and Scouts," although these included a few non-Indian men (Kit Carson being the most notable example: see Table 1). Many

of these men became members of Company H. Fremont (2001:446) described the “Horsethief Indians” of Company H as follows: “Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accustomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.” On several occasions, “the Indian troops raided the herds of the enemy. Control of the horse herds was vital and the battalion resolutely plundered California’s *caballadas* . . . In grudging recognition of their wartime adventures, the *Californios* called Company H the ‘forty thieves.’” (Bancroft 1886:359). And although Fremont generally tried to avoid being harsh, this was not always possible. Spence and Jackson (1973:240) note an instance, “While the battalion was in the vicinity of Mission San Miguel, [when] a scouting party burned the ranch house of Mariano Soberanes and took him and his sons’ prisoner.” The “Spies and scouts” always preceded the main body of troops. If enemy troops were encountered, as they were at La Natividad (see below) necessity required that the scouts fight. At night, these men performed sentry duty. Fremont 2001:598) said that, “. . . during the march a part of the company was encamped, without fires, one to three miles in advance of the battalion; the other part about the same distance in the rear; so that no traveler on the road escaped falling into our hands.”

Guides

19 of the +30 “Horsethief Indians” listed by Bryant (1848) had Spanish names. Undoubtedly, many of these had participated in horse-stealing raids at various places near the coast, as described above. These men knew the lay of the land, and made excellent guides, but to only to so-far south; say as far as the upper Salinas Valley. South of that, new guides would have been needed, who knew the area to the south. And indeed, there is a record of two Chumash and two Tulareño men signing on at Santa Ynez, on December 23. The two Chumash, and perhaps all four of these men, would have been acting as guides during the disastrous crossing of the Santa Ynez Mountains on December 24-25 (see below).

Combat Engineers

Everyone in the Battalion would have been expected to help with whatever needed doing. But, on one occasion, the California Indians had special skills that none of the other men had. On November 18, a detachment led by Lieutenant Bryant, was stymied by not being able to ford the San Joaquin River. According to Bryant (1848:359-360), “The next morning (Nov. 19) the river being too high to ford, we constructed, by aid of the Indians, tule-boats, upon which our baggage was ferried over the stream . . . The buoyancy of one of these craft is surprising. Six men, as many as could sit upon the deck, were passed over, in the largest of three boats, at a time. The boats were towed backwards and forwards by Indian swimmers- one at the bow, and one at the stern as steersmen, and two on each side as propellers. The poor fellows, when they came out of the cold water, trembled as if attacked with an ague.”

Translators

The California Battalion was made up of men that spoke several different languages. Most, but not all, of the white men and Delawares would have spoken English. But many of the men were “creole and French-Canadian,” so some conversation would have been in French.

Fremont, Gillespie, and Sutter were all fluent in Spanish, as would have been at least some of the mountain men. And while 19 of the +30 “Horsethief Indians,” who had Spanish names, undoubtedly spoke varying degrees of Spanish, it is also likely that none of them spoke any English. Juan and Gregorio, who Fremont had acquired at Sutter’s Fort on the Second Expedition, had gone back to the United States with him in 1845, and had been taught at least some English. These two were probably Miwoks, and they were likely to have been tri-lingual, and spoke Miwok, some Spanish, and some English. If this is the case, then their services as translators would have been quite valuable, for certainly, much of the conversation would have been in Spanish, and much in Miwok. William Chinook may have had a similar relationship with the Walla Walla. He was relatively fluent in English and could probably converse with the Walla Walla in the Chinook Jargon. Also note that it appears that at least six of the Walla Walla had English names. This suggests that, like Chinook, they had received Christian instruction (probably at the Christian mission at the Dalles, Oregon) and they too may have spoken at least some English.

Vaqueros/Drovers/Muleteers

At the time the Battalion left San Juan Batista, the cavalcade included 1,900 horses and 300 head of cattle; some thirteen or so cattle were slaughtered each day, to feed the men (Spence and Jackson 1973:240). All the stock had to be herded, watched over, watered, and fed by drovers and drivers, many of which were probably Indians (Downey 1958:190). The beeves (beef cattle) were driven along with or behind the main force to the degree possible; if the troops did not want to be ahead of their rations, a too-fast advance was not advisable. Revere (1849:79) refers to “Indian horse boys” at Sonoma; some of these, or other “boys” like them, would have been associated with the Battalion. Fremont wrote (2001:446) that, “The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.” Some of the members of the Battalion, including a man named Serfacio, who died during the march south, are listed as “mule drivers” (Spence and Jackson 1973:489). With the exception of the three men that were killed at the Battle of Natividad, Serfacio was the Battalion’s only “casualty.” These muleteers would have been tasked with loading, transporting, and unloading much of the gear and supplies.

When in bivouac, particular people would have tasked with the preparation of whatever food (usually beef) was available; one’s personal knife was undoubtedly the principal eating utensil. However, requisition lists show that coffee was issued, so there must have been coffee-pots to tend to, and- one must assume- mugs of some sort. And someone got the honor of collecting wood for cooking, setting up the messes, breaking them down, and caring for and porting all of the associated equipment. The various mission facilities were used to prepare whatever food was available, whenever possible. In his memoirs, for example, Fremont mentions that at San Luis Obispo, “We found in the town some *frijoles* and other vegetables, and crushed wheat, which were brought and distributed among the men as luxuries” (Fremont 2001:598).

Valets and Other Servants

Officers, even in the semi-frontier conditions in California, had valets or servants. When Company H disbanded in Los Angeles, on February 18, and most of the Native American troops left United States service, “. . . nineteen California Indian servants remained in the employ of battalion officers. The officers claimed that the United States owed them for servants’ hire in the amount of \$6.00 per month pay, \$6.00 per month rations, and \$2.50 per month for clothing for each Indian retainer . . . Pierson Redding, the battalion paymaster, reckoned that the government owed him \$328.64 for two Indian servants” (Hurtado 1988:82; see Note 18.). A note by Fremont, on February 16, 1847, from Los Angeles, says, “. . . effecting settlements with the officers connected with the Battalion, you are authorized to allow in their accounts Forage and servant hire . . .” Note that both Fremont and Gillespie had young negro valets (Jacob Dodson, for Fremont, and Benjamin Harrison, for Gillespie). It is probably safe to assume that Fremont’s and Gillespie’s valets gave their full attention to these two officers, while other valets/servants had responsibilities that extended to more than one person.

In addition, some men’s functions would have been logistical. Although not servant’s *per se*, some of these would have been responsible for the officer’s tack and gear. According to Welsh (1998:7), “Every day the animals, whether pack, riding, or draught, would be rounded up, caught, and fitted with bridles, hackamores, saddles, or harnesses. Baggage would be arranged and packed, and finally tied on the animals . . . Food was prepared for breakfast, with an arrangement for a lunch near midday. The evening meal was probably prepared with greatest care and required more time than other meals. Wood was gathered and fires started as the animals were unpacked and camp set up . . .’ Given that there were “nineteen” Indian servants (+ at least Jacob Dodson and Benjamin Harrison), and that there were approximately 50 officers, there would have been about one valet or servant per two officers.

Tribal Affiliations

The Native American troops associated with the Third Expedition, and later with the California Battalion, can be described as belonging to at least six tribal groups. I have listed these people, by tribal affiliation, in the order that Fremont encountered them.

- 1 Approximately 10 Metis, that came as part of the 3rd Expedition.
- 2 Approximately 10 Delaware, that came as part of the 3rd Expedition.
- 3 One Chinook and two California Indians, that came as part of the 3rd Expedition.
- 4 The approximately 10 Walla Walla from Oregon, that signed on at Fort Sacramento (Tom Hill, a Delaware, came to California with the Walla Walla; some of the Walla Walla may have actually been Cayuse).
- 5 +30 California Indians, that signed on at Fort Sacramento.
- 6 Four California Indians (two Chumash and two Tulareño), that signed on at Santa Ynez.

Note again that the California Battalion was organized into eight cavalry companies, plus an artillery company. A careful count shows that at least 55 Native American, or part-Native American, men are listed, in a variety of references, as being members of the California Battalion

(see Table 1). Harlow states (1982:220) that, “two hundred Oregon and California Indians” had been mustered by November 9. However, as noted above, if “two hundred Indians” had been enlisted, that number would have had to include the Fort Sacramento (as Sutter’s Fort had been renamed) garrison, and perhaps a number of men posted at other northern garrisons. Hurtado (1988:82) states that, “The names of thirty-three California Indians are inscribed in the records of the California Battalion . . .”

Also note that when Fremont visited Sutter’s Fort, during the Second Expedition, Sutter already had 40 native troops (apparently all Miwok) and 12 pieces of (light) artillery (Jackson and Spence 1970:655). But, according to Spence and Jackson (1973:231), during the Mexican-American War, “[Sutter] also helped enlist a company of native California Indians to serve at New Helvetia and thus release the old garrison for service in the south.” It is difficult to track the deployments of these particular Native Americans, although these comments suggest that some of Sutter’s Miwoks served with the California Battalion. The Paiutes mentioned by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins appear to have performed garrison duties, and probably did not serve with the California Battalion.

1- Metis

Fremont refers to the “Creole and Canadian voyageurs” that participated in the First Expedition (2001:75), and the Second Expedition (2001:169). From this, we can see that he was distinguishing between men of European-American descent only, and men that were part European-American and part Native American. Fremont, for example, specifically mentions that Baptiste Bernier was “creole French” (Fremont 2001:276), and he refers to the well-regarded Alexis (Alex) Godey (2001:427) as a creole (creole also implicitly identifies these men as Catholics). Today, the term Creole is usually understood to refer to people that are, in varying degrees, of part European, part Native American, and/or part African descent, but it can also refer exclusively to culture, and not to race at all. So, to avoid confusion, I have not used the term that Fremont, and the men themselves, no doubt, used, but instead have used the contemporary term “Metis,” to describe the French-Canadian/Native American mixed-race component(s) of Fremont’s expeditions. The Metis were undoubtedly motivated by a sense of manliness, the desire for adventure, and the need for income.

2- Delaware

The Delaware also would have been motivated by a sense of manliness and adventure. In fact, they would not have missed the adventure for the world. “A hundred years ago any westward bound caravan seemed incomplete without a Delaware scout . . . On him, to a large extent, depended the safety, even the very existence of the group. And the mountain man, though he despised, or at most tolerated Indians, Mexicans, cavalry, sportsmen and settlers, accepted the Delaware as a partner, an equal” (Haines 1946:139). Two Delaware served with Fremont’s First Expedition, several served with the Second, and at least twelve with the Third (Fremont 2001:424); Downey (1958:183) mentions a, “. . . small body of 10 or 15 volunteers [who] were called the Life Guards . . . This band was commanded by the celebrated Kit Carson.”

Fremont's Delaware contingent was perhaps the most interesting of all his Native American troops. Never a single unified tribe, various groups of Lenni Lenape (or simply Lenape) had lived in portions of what became the states of Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Without reviewing their entire history, it can only be said here that things did not turn out well for them, and the various Delaware groups were eventually forced to remove themselves to Indiana, then Missouri, then Kansas, some even to Texas, and finally, many of them, to Oklahoma, where they were adopted into the Cherokee tribe (Adams 1995). Hurtado (2006:22), notes that members of the Delaware tribe, with their friends the Shawnee, had participated in horse raiding in California, well before any of them signed up with Fremont. Fremont respected the Delaware so much that he sometimes named places for the men that had located them, although many names did not "stick." Examples include, Sagundai's Spring [Fremont 2001:437], a creek named "Crane's Branch" [Fremont 2001:434], and a camp site named Connor Spring (Chaffin 2002:264-265). Fremont (2001:492) says, "There are men above whom the laurels bloom who did not better deserve then my brave Delaware . . ." A high complement indeed.

In June of 1845, in preparing for the Third Expedition, "Fremont made arrangements with the . . . Delawares to hire some of their best men to go with the expedition as guides and hunters. Two . . . who agreed to make the journey were chief James Sagundai and his nephew Chief James Swanuck." A nice sketch of Sagundai can be found in Fremont (2001), following page 491 (Figure 5). "All these men were products of a cultural twilight zone. They had tried to adjust to the white man's ways and had become excellent farmers. Then their land had been taken away from them, and the government had moved them westward. But in moving them into the region of the Plains Indians, the whites had failed to realize that the Delaware were as foreign to these tribes as were the whites. At best, all that could ever exist was an uneasy truce that was frequently broken. Yet these men held no grudge, wasted no time on bitterness. They took things as they were and tried to do what they could. This turned out to be considerable, for they were great warriors and natural leaders. The men Fremont hired not only were extremely loyal to him; they became a kind of personal bodyguard that would have followed him around the rim of hell if he had suggested it" (Egan 1985:286).



Figure 5
Delaware Chief Sagundai

Table 1 shows that not all the Delaware that served with the Third Expedition are listed as members of the California Battalion (James Sagundai, Delaware Charlie, and Wetowka are). The Table shows that the rest were “Paid in California.” This appears to show that some Delaware members of the Third Expedition were discharged after they arrived in northern California. Indeed, Spence and Jackson (1973:489) note that, “Sometimes it has been impossible to ascertain if men actually left the expedition when their services were terminated.” Knowing the Delaware, and their affinity for Fremont and adventure, it is possible that some did not make the transition from the Third Expedition to the California Battalion *officially*, but still remained associated with the cavalcade, in a private capacity. Fremont himself, in a letter to the Department of the Interior (Adams 1995:43), dated March 21, 1857, says:

This will certify that the following-named Delawares, James Swanuck, James Sagundai, James Conner, Delaware Charlie, Wetowka, Crane, Solomon Everett, and Bob Skirkett were with me on an exploring expedition to California in the year 1846; that, being on the shore of Lake Klamath about the middle of May of that year, I received directions from the United States government which changed the exploring expedition

into one of a military character, to which the services of the above mentioned men were valuable and necessary.

To induce them to undertake the new service which would be required of them, I promised that I would endeavor to obtain for them the additional compensation of \$2 a day each which I offered to them on behalf of the United States.

This engagement was afterwards renewed in July when the war broke out openly in California, when they enlisted for the war. From that time (15th May) until about the 20th of November they were actually and efficiently engaged in this service, performing their duties with remarkable courage and fidelity; by which they entitled themselves to all the favors and consideration which has been granted or may be granted to the men who served in the Mexican War. Among the rest they are entitled to land warrants.

J.C. Fremont
New York, 56 West Ninth Street

Another Delaware, Tom Hill (1811-1860), was one of the most interesting people at a place and time when there were quite a few of those (see Haines 1946). Years earlier (1834-1838) Hill, who was fluent in English, had become associated with Kit Carson and his trapping operations. In 1839 Hill joined a band of Nez Perce Indians living in Montana, and he eventually became recognized as a chief. And in 1846 he was part of the "Walla Walla invasion" of California. And he was one of the principal combatants at the Battle of Natividad (see below).

In his memoirs, Fremont said that, "The Delawares kept an unflinching watch from every peak or lofty crag with the instruction and long practiced vigilance, clear-sightedness, and quick discernment of their race, gave notice of every movement in all directions." According to Adams (1995:42), on one occasion (Adams does not say which occasion, unfortunately), expecting to be attacked, "Fremont addressed his people, who assured him with one voice that they were ready to meet death with him on the spot rather than surrender. The Delawares prepared themselves at once . . . They arrayed themselves in their full finery, put their red war paint on themselves and on their horses, and with all of their weapons in order, made the circuit of the camp, singing their war and death songs, their chargers prancing in apparent sympathy with their riders . . . but the enemy shrunk from the crisis." And the Delaware scouts had a keen eye for details. For example, according to Samuel Francis Du Pont, during the Mexican withdrawal from Los Angeles, General Castro, "buried his guns [i.e. ten cannon] in the most ingenious way in the sands, carrying on the carriages much further and leaving thus the wheel tracks to mislead; but the unerring eye of one of the Delaware Indians . . . detected the trail" (Spence and Jackson 1973:191).

The Delaware were not to be trifled with. Early in 1845, during the Second Expedition and the first winter crossing of the Sierra Nevada, Fremont and a select detail, including some of the Delaware, were attempting to cross the Sierra Nevada Mountains, to get to Sutter's Fort for supplies, when they came across an old Indian man. Fremont describes the scene: ". . . he thought his end had come. And so, it would-abruptly- had the Delaware's been alone . . . The Delaware's lingered as we turned away, but I would not let them remain . . . they regarded our journey as a kind of warpath and no matter what kind of path he is upon a Delaware is always

ready to take a scalp when he is in a country where there are strange Indians. We had gone but a short distance when I found they had brought away his bow and arrows, but I had them taken immediately back . . . The Delaware's took them back willingly when I reminded them that they had exposed the poor fellow to almost certain starvation by depriving him at the beginning of winter his only means to procure food" (Spence and Jackson 1973:24).

On May 10, 1846, during the Third Expedition, four Delaware accompanied Fremont when he led a search party that located United States Marine officer Archibald Gillespie. That night, the Klamath's attacked and quickly killed three of the men, including Denny, a Metis, Crane, a Delaware, and Fremont's "old companion," Basil Lejeunesse, whose parents were French-Canadian; another one of the Delaware was wounded. The men rallied and counter-attacked; the Klamath retreated into the forest. "The Delawares were filled with grief and rage . . . and went into mourning, blackening their faces. They were soothed somewhat when I told them [they would] . . . carry home scalps enough to satisfy the friends of Crane and the Delaware nation" (Fremont 2001:492). When the command moved out on the morning of the 11th, 15 men positioned themselves in ambush, knowing that the Klamath's would examine the abandoned camp (Carson 2019:51). When these men re-joined Fremont a few hours later, James Swanuck (one of the Delaware) said to Fremont and the others, "Better now . . . very sick before, better now," and displayed the two scalps he had taken (Fremont 2001:490-493). Kit Carson mentions three occasions during this period when members of the expedition killed and scalped Indians (Carson 2019:52-53; Fremont 2001:493, 496), and one must suspect it was the Delaware who collected these bloody war-trophies. On May 12, the expedition attacked a Klamath village, and they subsequently skirmished with, and usually killed, any local Indians they came across. As Fremont later said, "We afterward fought the nation from one extremity to the other" (2001:499). On May 31st, when they got to the Sacramento Valley, the expedition attacked another village (probably Wintu), near Sutter's Butte, and again killed many people.

Later in the year, on November 20th, two of the Delaware, Tom Hill and James Salmon, fought at the Battle of Natividad; "I give the names as far as I know them, for their signal bravery against heavy odds deserves it," said Fremont (2001:594); here, again, Tom Hill, who saved the day by charging through the Mexican attackers, and riding for reinforcements, took two (Mexican, this time) scalps. This was the only battle fought by the Battalion where men were killed (on both sides). The Delaware are specifically mentioned again by Edwin Bryant, who wrote that on January 6, 1847, as the command rode east, up the Santa Clara Valley, a party of Mexicans appeared, and "prancing their horses, waving their swords, banners, and lances [they performed] a great variety of equestrian feats. They were mounted on fine horses . . . and there are no better horsemen in the world . . . Our horses were so poor and feeble that it was impossible to chase them with any hope of success . . . Some of the Indian scouts, among whom were a Delaware named Tom [Hill] and a Californian Indian named Gregorio, rode towards them; and two or three guns were discharged, but without any damage . . ." (Bryant 1848:388).

3- William Chinook; Juan and Gregorio

The Third Expedition included at least three other Native American members. Hurtado (1988:77) mentions a fourth "Indian whose tribe is not given," but I have found no additional

definitive information on this man. The three men that are known were William Chinook, and the two men known simply as Juan and Gregorio.

Fremont hired William Chinook as a guide, on November 24, 1844, at the Columbia River. Chinook was from the Wasco-Chinook tribe, but had been orphaned at an early age, and had been raised at the Wascopam Methodist Mission at the Dalles. By the time the Second Expedition arrived he already “spoke a few words of the English language.” Chinook was, “. . . about 20 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” (Fremont 2001:424). According to Fremont (2001:287) Chinook, “. . . was extremely desirous to ‘see the whites,’ and make some acquaintance with our institutions, [he] was received into the party, under my special charge, with the understanding that I would again return him to his friends.” And so, Fremont took Chinook to the United States and once established there, Chinook was able to briefly study English at Columbian College. He then (again briefly) lived with the Quaker family of Dr. Caspar Wistar. Of this education, Fremont said, “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” (Fremont 2001:424).

One of the great stories Chinook could later tell, was of the time that he was one of ten men that Fremont posted as a garrison at the City of Santa Barbara, on September 12, 1846, under the command of Theodore Talbot, following the initial Mexican defeat. A couple of month’s later, the too-small American garrison was forced to abandon the town due to the arrival, “of a much superior . . . force” (i.e. a hundred angry Mexicans). With the help of some of the local Chumash Indians, the garrison made a remarkable escape, over the Santa Ynez and San Rafael mountains, reached the western San Joaquin Valley, and walked all the way back to Monterey- quite a trek. Chinook was also with the Battalion when Santa Barbara was reoccupied, on December 27th, 1846.

“Gregorio and Juan were “two Sierra Indian boys whose names appear on the muster rolls of the California Battalion” (Spence and Jackson 1973:489). On March 24, 1845, during the Second Expedition’s visit to Sutter’s Fort, Fremont wrote that, “Mr. Sutter furnished us also with an Indian boy, who had been trained as a *vaquero*, and who would be serviceable in managing our cavalcade, [a] great part of which were nearly as wild as buffalo, and who was, besides, very anxious to go along with us” (Fremont 2001:353-354). Fremont does not provide the name of this boy. Interestingly, on March 27, Fremont, by then near the juncture of the San Joaquin and Stanislaus rivers, wrote, “Here our Indian boy, who probably had not much idea of where he was going . . . began to be alarmed at the many streams which we were rapidly putting between him and the village, deserted“ (Fremont 2001:356).

So where/when did Juan and Gregorio, who were said to be Miwok, enter the picture? It is possible that Fremont managed to acquire more than one young native *vaquero* from Sutter in 1845, but did not, for whatever reasons, mention this in his writings. We do know that, like Chinook, Juan and Gregorio remained with the Second Expedition when it returned to the United States. Fremont later wrote, for example, that prior to the Third Expedition, “The Indian boys

[Juan and Gregorio] . . . spent a happy winter in Kentucky [and] met me at Saint Louis, bringing with them Sacramento . . .” [his favorite horse] (Fremont 2001:424). These young men returned to California with him in 1846, and both also participated in, and survived, the later ill-fated Fourth Expedition.

4- Walla Walla

According to Hurtado (2006:131) “. . . there is no clear record of Oregon Indians in New Helvetia before August 1844.” But this was about to change for, as noted previously, the California Battalion was near-ready to move south, when word arrived that “1000” Walla Walla, from the upper Columbia River area, were invading northern California. According to Spence and Jackson (1973:231), “Peopeomoxmox (or Yellow Serpent) was the chief of a band of forty warriors and their families.” These people were on their way to visit Sutter’s Fort, in September 1846, “to hunt, trade for cattle, and visit the grave of Elijah, the chief’s son.” However, in a “projection” all too common at that place and time, the upper Sacramento Valley (illegal) American immigrants convinced themselves that there were 1000 Walla Walla *warriors*, bent on destruction and murder, on the way. And so, Stockton sent all of the men he could find to the fort, with everyone expecting a crazed assault at any moment. After a few days they got bored, for lack of activity, and decided that if trouble would not come to them, then they would go find trouble. But before they could do anything rash (think massacre the Indians), “just as we were about to mount, I was surprised and confounded by a visit from old Yellow Serpent himself, the head chief of the Walla Walla” (Revere 1849:156). It was a big let-down then, when the Indians turned out to be few in number and entirely peaceful. Many of the volunteers were extremely unhappy that they could not slaughter any Indians, but after considerable grumbling the military ordered them to go back to their business. For a description of the vicious attitudes of some of the settlers, see Joseph Warren Revere (1849). Joseph Revere (Paul Revere’s grandson) was the senior American officer in the area at the time, and even he (a Navy officer) briefly laments about how unhappy he was, when he realized that he was not going to have the honor of leading a glorious cavalry charge against savages. John Sutter, always ready to make a deal, saw an opportunity and managed to convince Peopeomoxmox (Figure 6) to contribute a dozen or so of the Walla Walla men to the California Battalion (Heizer 1942). Like the Delaware, the Walla Walla would have been motivated by the spirit of adventure and hope for suitable compensation.

Fremont, who had a good opinion of the Walla Walla, was happy to have them. On October 22, 1846, Fremont sent a dispatch to Lieutenant Edward Kern, now in command at Fort Sacramento, which read in part, “. . . I have directed the Walla Walla who shall come to me to leave their families . . . you will send to Yerba Buena for any supplies the families may want” (Spence and Jackson 1973:209). In reference to the distribution of firearms, Spence and Jackson (1973:216) note that one rifle was supplied to “Peter- an Indian,” on Nov. 4, 1846. This is after the Metis, Delaware, William Perkins, and Juan and Gregorio appeared on the scene; there is no Peter on either of Bryant’s California Indian lists, so Peter was probably one of the Walla Walla. Haines (1946:145) says that, “Among the hastily formed companies was Co. H, which included 10 Walla Walla and thirty local Indians, who were to serve for \$6.00 a month. They had an excellent record as scouts during their service.” Note (see Table 1) that seven of the Company H men have English names (the majority have Spanish or native names). One man with an English name is listed as a Sergeant, and six are listed as Privates. It is likely that these six Privates were

some of the Walla Walla, who like William Chinook, had English names. If this is correct, these six may be the six Walla Walla that fought at the Battle of Natividad (see following).



Figure 6
Chief Peoemoxmox Monument

The Walla Walla, however, were not universally welcomed. “Lieutenant Louis McLane, now captain of volunteers, thought this a bad policy, there being ‘too much of the blood hound about them . . .’” (Harlow 1982:221). Never-the-less, the “bloodhounds” fought well at the Battle of Natividad on November 16, 1846, when the “reconnoitering party” they were part of was attacked by a Mexican force of 130. The patrol included six Walla Walla, two Delaware (Tom Hill and James Salmon), and two white men (George Foster and James Hays). During the fight, according to Bryant (1848:363), the Mexicans, “kept rallying and firing . . . One of the . . . Indians [Tom Hill] offered his services to come into Monterey and give Colonel Fremont notice of what was passing. Soon after he started, he was pursued by a party of the enemy. The foremost in pursuit drove a lance at the Indian, who, trying to parry it, received the lance through his hand; he immediately with the other hand, seized his tomahawk, and struck a blow at his opponent, which split his head from the crown to the mouth. By this time the others [the Mexicans] had come up, and with the most extraordinary dexterity and bravery, the Indian vanquished two more; and the rest ran away . . .” This was the only battle where the Battalion, fighting its own fight, lost men and inflicted casualties on the enemy. Fremont subsequently sent a dispatch to Lieutenant Kern, that said in part, “Tell the Walla Walla chief that his men fought

bravely and none of them were hurt.” Fremont’s report again instructed Kern to give the Walla Walla families whatever supplies that they needed (Spence and Jackson 1973:209, 230-231).

5- California Indians

Readers will recall that, following the initial Mexican defeat, Commodore Stockton authorized the expansion of the Battalion. His intention was that the expanded Battalion would be divided into small detachments, which would be deployed for garrison duty in northern California, to free-up the naval personal that had been temporarily posted there (and so that the victorious Navy could sail for the west coast of Mexico). In short, the initial intent was not to create a unified combat formation. But following the successful Mexican revolt in (most of) southern California, it was decided that the expanded Battalion would, when ready, go on the offensive as a single unified command (i.e. Stockton would march north from San Diego, still in American hands, and Fremont and the expanded Battalion would ride south from the Bay area; the Mexicans would- for a second time- be trapped in between these two forces). Given this, the Battalion would need locally knowledgeable scouts and guides. Sutter found plenty of these in the western Sierra Nevada foothills. These Indians were variously referred to as “Mission Indians,” and, after the demise of the mission system, as “Horsethief Indians.” They will be referred to here as “California Indians,” keeping in mind that the already-enlisted Juan and Gregorio were also California Indians.

Edwin Bryant later recalled that, “On the evening of October 28 [1846] a courier arrived [Bryant was at Fort Sacramento] with letters from Colonel Fremont which said that the entire southern coast was now back in Mexican hands.” Bryant then says, “On the receipt of this intelligence, I immediately drew up a paper which was signed by myself, Messrs. Reed, Jacob, Lippincott, and Grayson, offering our services as volunteers, and our exertions to raise a force of emigrants and Indians, which would be a sufficient reinforcement to Colonel Fremont.” He also states that, “Mr. Kern, the American commandant of what was now being called Sacramento, approved the proposal, and issued instructions for the provisioning of the troops to-be raised.” Kern and Sutter therefore sent messages to, “. . . the Indian chiefs on the San Joaquin river and its tributaries, to meet me at the most convenient points on the trail, with such warriors of their tribes as choose to volunteer as soldiers of the United States, and perform military service during the campaign. I believed that they would be useful as scouts and spies” (Bryant 1848:359).

The California Indian volunteers were probably mostly Plains Miwok, but they likely also included some Ohlone and some Yokuts (or Tulareño). “They were ‘old horse-thieves now reformed . . . under Jose Jesus, a Christianized Indian’ . . . Armed with bows, the chiefs and some of the warriors . . . were partially clothed, but most of them were naked, except a small garment around their loins . . . Jose Jesus and the men of Company H had fought the Californios for decades, a wealth of experience that the newcomer Bryant could not have fully appreciated” (Hurtado 1988:81-82).

Fremont had previously encountered the “Horsethief Indians” during the Second Expedition (Fremont 2001:359-360):

The Indians of the Sierra make frequent descents upon the settlements west of the Coast Range, which they keep constantly swept of horses; among them are many who are called Christian Indians, being refugees from Spanish missions. Several of these incursions occurred while we were at Helvetia. Occasionally parties of soldiers follow them across the Coast Range, but never enter the Sierra . . . Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spaniards *mansitos*, (tame), in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains . . . they are dark-skinned . . . handsome and intelligent . . .

Many of these Indians had been treated harshly by the Spanish, and later by the Mexicans, and they were now ready to return the favor. It had not started out this way. “The first contacts made between the Spanish and the Indians of Central California were, on the whole, peaceful and friendly. However, after some forty or forty-five years, a pattern of almost continual conflict developed. The Indians stole horses from the Californios [who] retaliated with bloody raids on Indian settlements” . . . “What is particularly interesting is the form that Indian hostility took. There was not much of a tradition of warfare . . . in the pre-contact California Indian culture . . .” [in California] “. . . conflict took the form mainly of alienation of property- stealing horses. The Indians found out that with suitable tactics this was easy to do, and that it was exceedingly annoying to the Californios. The more Indians found this out, the more they attacked. But they resorted to physical violence only where there was active resistance” (Broadbent 1974:97).

Broadbent (1974:96) notes, “One general point of some importance is that the Indians themselves do not seem to have been out to inflict direct physical violence on the persons of the whites; they were simply after horses. They were prepared for violence if the Californians put up any resistance, but only in this case. Bloodshed seems to have resulted rather from Californian and American retaliation, and it was Indian blood rather than white.” For example, an observer at the time, commented that, “. . . the Californians overlook the constant pilfering’s of cattle and horses, till they are roused beyond the measure even of their patience by some outrage of more than ordinary mar; and then, instead of hunt down the guilty . . . they destroy every native that falls in their way, without distinction of sex or age. The blood-hounds, of course find chiefly women and children, for in general the men are better able to escape, butchering their helpless and inoffensive victims after the blasphemous mockery of baptism.” During on raid, “. . . nine persons, all females, were tied to trees, christened, and shot . . . The Indian makes a regular business of stealing horses . . . In his turn, the Californian treats the savage, wherever he finds him, like a beast of prey, shooting him down, even in the absence of any specific charge” (Simpson 1847:194-196; cited in Broadbent 1974:95).

And so, the Americans would use these people’s knowledge of the coastal settlements, resources, and trails, and rely on their animosity towards the Mexicans as a motivating factor. After the Bryant party left Fort Sacramento, they traveled to the southeast, to the western foothills of the Sierra Nevada. Bryant (1848:340) says:

I rode forward, on the morning of the 17th [November 1846], to the Mokelumne River, twenty-five miles from the Cosumnes, where I met Antonio, an Indian chief, with twelve warriors, who had assembled here for the purpose of joining us. The names of the warriors were as follows: - Santiago, Masua, Kiubu, Tocosu, Nonleo, Michael, Weala, Arkell, Nicolas, Heel, Kasheano, Estephen. Our party coming up in the afternoon, we camped here for the day, in order to give the Indians time to make further preparations for the march. On the 18th we met, at the ford of the San Joaquin River, another party of eighteen Indians, including their chiefs. Their names were – Jose Jesus, Filipe, Raymundo, and Carlos, chiefs; Huligario, Bonefasio, Francisco, Nicolas, Pablo, Feliciano, San Antonio, Polinario, Manuel, Graviano, Salinordio, Romero, and Merikeeldo, warriors . . . We encamped with our sable companions on the east bank of the San Joaquin.

This is the time when the Indians used tule-boats to move six men at a time across the swollen San Joaquin River. Spence and Jackson (1973:302) note that, “Sikayum chief Jose Jesus and his people occupied the area between French Camp Slough and the Stanislaus River. The chief had long been unfriendly to the Californians . . .” Note again that 19 of the 30 names Bryant recorded are Spanish. Bryant states next that, on November 29th, “we reached the camp of Colonel Fremont about noon.”

6- Chumash and Tulareño

To skip ahead a little here, more California Indians joined the Battalion during the ride south. Fernando Librado, one of John P. Harrington’s most important consultants, provided several comments about Tulareño (Yokuts) and Chumash men joining the California Battalion, when it was at Santa Ynez, on December 23, 1846 (1979:97-98). According to Librado, “I remember the Mexican War . . . In the Mexican War the Walawala composed of Indians, Spanish Californians, and so on, went ahead of Fremont’s army, lest they be ambushed at San Benito, Santa Margarita, Gaviota, and so on . . . Four Indians joined Fremont’s army at Santa Ynez. Their names were Antonio Tuks (a Tulareño [Yokuts] name), Raymundo Choch’ow (also a Tulareño name), Isidro, and ‘Coyote,’ alias Daniel. They were with the Walawalas.” The two Chumash men, and perhaps the Tulareño, undoubtedly acted as guides (“lest they be ambushed”) in the near-disastrous crossing of the Santa Ynez Mountains, on Christmas Day, 1846. Here again revenge and a hope for profit would have been the motivating factors. The Santa Inez Chumash had been one of three groups of Chumash that revolted against the new Mexican government in 1824, only a generation earlier (La Purisima and Santa Barbara had also revolted). Certainly, many of the Chumash would have been glad to get rid of the Mexican government, if not many of the Mexicans themselves.

The Path to Cahuenga

When it finally moved out, on November 28-28, 1846, the California Battalion included:

- Most of the men from the Third Expedition (including the Metis, the Delaware, William Chinook, Juan and Gregorio, and Fremont's black servant Jacob Dodson).
- Many of the Osos (including at least a couple of African-Americans).
- Many newly arrived settlers (also including at least a couple of African-Americans).
- Several Californios (probably including men of European, Native American, Mestizo, African-American, and creoles descent, of various admixtures).
- At least 10 Walla Walla.
- +30 California Indians (Miwok, and probably some Ohlone and some Yokuts).
- A Company of "Horse Marines."
- A Company of Carbineers (armed Navy Jacks).
- A small artillery detail, with three light field howitzers.
- And later, at least 2 Chumash and 2 Tulareño, which joined at Santa Ynez, on December 23, 1846.

According to Egan (1985:385-386), "Only two things followed a set pattern: powder horns, plain or highly polished and ornamented, and the one article of clothing issued from the United States Navy to battalion members- the common blue-flannel sailor's shirt with its broad collar and a threaded white star in the corner of each collar wing. The shirt was worn over whatever clothing the volunteer happened to own . . ." The men needed all the clothing and protective gear they could get; Fremont (2001:597) noted that, "The march was made under difficult circumstances. Winter weather and cold rainstorms for days together; the roads and trails muddy; the animals weak for want of food . . . Many of the horses, too weak for use, fell out by the way and were left behind, and part of the battalion were soon on foot. Attached to the battalion was a company of Indians; some Walla Walla and a few Delawares." Taken together, they must have been quite a sight, especially on the move! It is a shame that there are no photographs of this wildest "Wild Bunch."

Before proceeding, recall here for a moment that following the American (first, temporary) victory, Fremont had sent Kit Carson to find General Kearny, which he did; Carson located Kearny, in New Mexico, on October 6. On receipt of the news of the victory, Kearny had sent all but 110 men back to Santa Fe, and then continued advancing towards San Diego. A good idea at the moment, but in hindsight not so good. Because, unfortunately, unbeknownst to everyone involved, the few occupiers in the south, (now) Major Gillespie in particular, who had been left in command in Los Angeles with a garrison of only 50 men, had been quite rude to the locals. This piqued the offended Mexicans into getting themselves organized, revolted, and caught the American garrison off-guard. After some skirmishing, the Americans surrendered and soon after were escorted to the coast and told to take to their ships and depart.

On the morning of December 6th, 1846, as the California Battalion was ascending the Salinas Valley far to the north, General Kearny and what was left of his command, reinforced by a small detachment from San Diego, led by none other than Major Gillespie, blundered into General Andres Pico and the "Greyhounds," northeast of San Diego, near the Indian village of

San Pascual. It had rained extremely hard during the night. The Greyhound lancers were the best Mexican cavalry in California. The Americans dragoons were amongst the best cavalry the United States had, but they rode only worn-out horses and mules, and their powder was not dry. The encounter was a disaster for the Americans, half of whom were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. Kit Carson only survived because his horse threw him at the beginning of the battle, and he was able to retreat into a near-by rock outcrop. It was the greatest Mexican victory during the entire war, and the worst American defeat.

Fremont, far away in central California, did not know this as he and the Battalion rode south. In San Luis Obispo, Fremont ordered the execution of an Indian servant (a male), as a spy for the Mexicans. The Indian was the only casualty, in the area of operations of the California Battalion, on either side, after Natividad and to the end of the campaign, at Cahuenga. From San Luis Obispo, the men generally followed *El Camino Real*, until they got into Santa Barbara County.

There, the Battalion ascended the Santa Maria/Sisquoc River for several miles, then turned to the south and descended Foxen Canyon (as it has since been known), and arrived at Mission Santa Inez, on December 23 (note Mission Santa Inez is spelt with an “I,” while the local mountains, river, etc. are spelled with a “Y”). At this moment, there was a good chance the Battalion was going to get to Los Angeles before Stockton and Kearny did. But it was not to be. The next day, the Battalion ascended the steep and heavily-wooded north side of the mountains; the undeveloped foot-trail was hard-going, but they made it to the top, from where they had a magnificent view of the Santa Barbara coast, channel, and islands. The view was great, but they had outstripped their provisions and got no dinner. Things soon got worse; Fremont later wrote (2001:599), “On Christmas Eve we encamped on the ridge of Santa Ynez behind Santa Barbara. The morning of Christmas broke in the darkness of a southeasterly storm with torrents of cold rain, which swept the rocky face of the precipitous mountain down which we descended to the plain.” In fact, the entire Battalion was all but flushed down the mountain; almost all of the horses and pack mules were killed, and almost all the equipment was destroyed or had to be abandoned on the mountain. It was a matter of life or death to get off of the mountain, but somehow none of the men were killed. The 26th of December was sunny and warm, and the men, exhausted and near-destitute, did what they could do to dry out and regroup. On December 27, as Fremont later said, “. . . gathering ourselves into an appearance of order we made our way into the town. There was nothing to oppose us . . .” (2001:599). Other than the fact that the command had essentially put out of action, it had worked! There were no Mexican forces left in the area, who could have made a counterattack. All of northern and central California was now back in American hands.

The Battalion spent a week recuperating at Santa Barbara. By January 4th, when they finally moved out, Commodore Stockton, and General Kearny (having recovered from the debacle at San Pascual and finally achieving San Diego), were methodically approaching Los Angeles with about 600 men. On January 7th, the Mexican General, Jose Maria Flores, now in command with +400 men, tried to stop the Americans at the San Gabriel River, a few miles southeast of Los Angeles. But although the Mexicans fought well, they were forced to fall back. But Flores was still between the Americans and Los Angeles, and on January 9th there was another fight, the Battle of the Mesa, where despite repeatedly launching cavalry charges against

the American's, the Mexicans were once again forced to yield. These were numerically the largest battles in California during the Mexican American War. At noon, on January 10th, the American's marched into Los Angeles for the second time; the Marine Band once again led the way.

Again, due to poor communications, Fremont did not know this. From Santa Barbara, after following *El Camino Real* (i.e. they rode along the beach on the Rincon coast, at low tide) the Battalion occupied the City of Ventura on January 5th. From there, they once again left *El Camino Real*, and rode east up the Santa Clara Valley. Fremont wanted no more unnecessary bloodshed and made sure that the Battalion held its fire: "On our way across the plain below Santa Barbara a corps of observation of the enemy's cavalry, some fifty to one-hundred men, hovered about us, without doing or receiving any harm. It did not come within my policy to have any of them killed, and a few shots from our guns that went uncomfortably near dispersed them" (Fremont 2001:600). On January 9th, the Battalion was in bivouac at "the Willows," near today's Santa Paula, when they received a six-day old dispatch from Commodore Stockton, who informed him that the American Army was approaching Los Angeles. In fact, the Battle of the Mesa was probably being fought as Fremont read.

On January 11th, the California Battalion rode through San Fernando Pass (today's Newhall Pass), "... expecting to find the enemy there in force," but, although they, "saw armed Mexicans in the distance, there was no resistance, and the artillery, horses, and baggage, with an advance-guard and escort [marched] by the direct route . . . Emerging from the hills [and entering the San Fernando Valley], the advance party, to which I was attached, met two Californians . . . riding in great haste" (Bryant 1848:390). The Californios reported on the two battles south of Los Angeles and the reoccupation of Los Angeles by the Americans. Then, "Continuing our march, we entered the mission of San Fernando at one o'clock, and in about two hours the main body arrived, and the whole battalion encamped in the mission buildings" (1848:391). Fremont's Mexican friend, Don Jose de Jesus Pico, also arrived and Fremont sent him to speak with Governor Flores and Andres Pico, now in command of the last few Mexican troops. But Flores knew the end was at hand, had resigned, and left for Mexico, after turning the command over to Andres. On January 12th, at San Fernando, Fremont and his staff, and the two Californians (it is now proper to use this term), Jose Carrillo and Agustin Olvera, negotiated the terms of Capitulation. Note that Andres Pico and his *compadres* preferred to surrender to Fremont, who they trusted would treat them with respect, rather than to Fremont's superior officers, Commodore Stockton and General Kearny, who they knew would not.

According to Bryant, on January 13, 1847, "We continued our march, and encamped near a deserted rancho at the foot of Cahuenga plain. Soon after we halted, the California peace-commissioners appeared, and the terms of peace and capitulation were finally agreed upon and signed by the respective parties" (Bryant 1848:392). Fremont says (1848:37) that, "... a small party under Don Andres Pico- [of] . . . fifty or sixty men- went to Cahuenga, and entered into capitulation . . ." Many people believe that only a few people were present at Cahuenga, and this is how most people now envision the event (Figure 7), whereas the historical record, in particular the specific statements by Edwin Bryant and by John C. Fremont himself, say that the entire California Battalion occupied Mission San Fernando on January 11, 1847, advanced to Cahuenga

on the 13th, and made the final advance to the Ciudad de Los Angeles, in a pouring rain, on January 14th.

After the ceremony was over, Fremont sent a report to Stockton and Kearny at Los Angeles, which said, in part, “Their entire force . . . have laid down their arms and surrendered to my command” (Bancroft 1970: 422; Fremont 2001:601-602). And, as so well-put by Chaffin (2002:364), “Fourteen months earlier, Fremont had commenced U.S. hostilities in California, without formal authorization. Now, with the stroke of a pen, he had ended the conflict in the same manner.” Stockton and Kearny, who had done the real fighting, did not like this arrangement and were not happy with what Fremont had done. But, wisely, in the interests of peace, they agreed: the Mexican-American War was over, at least in California.

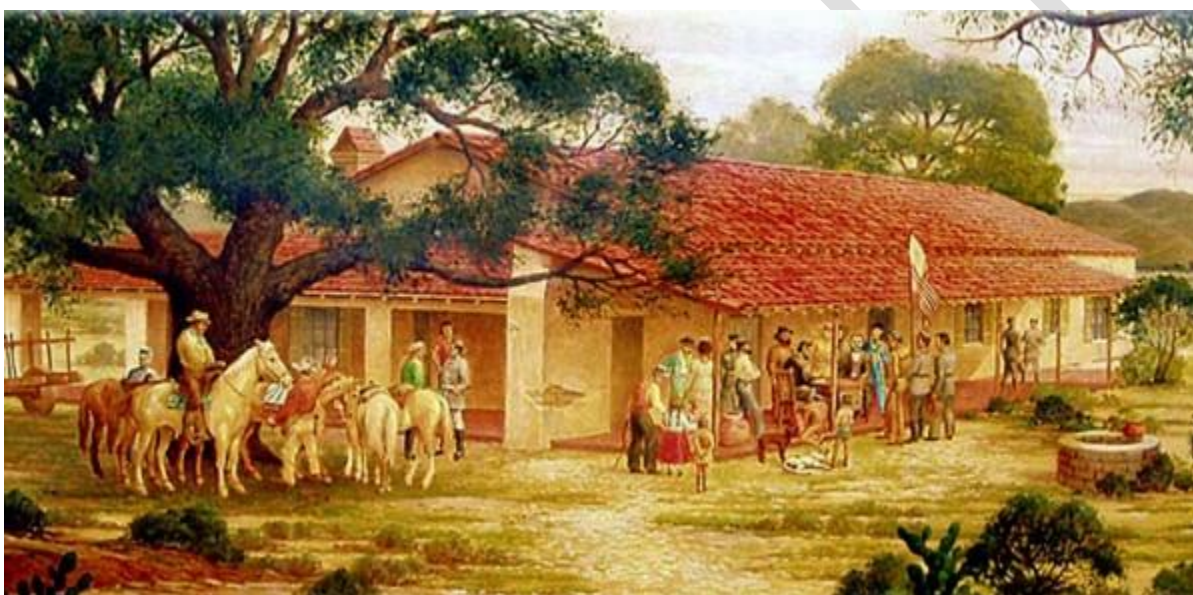


Figure 7
The Capitulation of Cahuenga

At the time the Capitulation was signed, and on the final ride to Los Angeles, the Battalion was not at full strength. By then, Fremont probably had somewhere between 325 and 350 men with him; about 50 members of the Battalion, including Kit Carson and several of the Delaware, were with Gillespie’s “company of rifles” and already at Los Angeles (Revere 1849:173), having arrived from the south with Stockton and Kearny, and a few men had been left as garrisons at selected places in the north (e.g. Santa Barbara). The final march, through today’s Hollywood and Echo Park, was hardly glorious. Bryant later (1848:394) described the Battalion, at this time, as follows:

A more miserably clad, wretchedly provided, and unprepossessing military host probably never entered a civilized city, In all except our order, deportment, and arms, we might have been mistaken for . . . a tribe of nomads from Tartary. There were not many of us so fortunate as to have in our possession an entire outside garment; and several were without

hats or shoes . . . Men never, probably, in the entire history of military transactions, bore these privations with more fortitude or uttered fewer complaints.

Seaman Joseph T. Downey, who had been a member the American force that had re-occupied Los Angeles on January 10, described (Downey 1958:223-224) Fremont's arrival:

The next day after we arrived, there was a large body of horsemen discovered advancing on the northern road, and we were at once got under arms to receive them let them be who they might. It was raining as if heaven and Earth was coming together and if the force seen in the distance were the Enemy, it was to say the least of it, a very uncomfortable day to fight. Upon their approach however they proved to be the command of Col Fremont . . . Poor devils, their tramp had been a hard one . . . we expected when we saw them no matter how long they had been out . . . that they would look at least spruce and in some sort of order, and not be like Jacks a conglomeration of rags, tatters, and motly dress. But what was our surprise, when they formed up in the square to find they looked worse than ever we dared to. Such a tribe, I verily believe was never dreamed of before . . . and to make the matter better and mend their appearance, it rained incessantly for the last 24 hours before they came in. This might have improved them a little by washing some of the outside of the dirt from their clothes . . .

Walker (1999:249) specifically mentions the presence of native troops:

The California Battalion entered Los Angeles in a rainstorm on the afternoon of January 14, 1847. Riding with his beloved, warpainted Delaware bodyguard in front of his four hundred men, pack animals, baggage train, and mule teams pulling six artillery pieces through the muddy streets, Fremont sat on his horse straight as a lath. He was tanned and bearded, wore an open-collared, blue flannel shirt, deerskin hunting jacket, blue-canvas trousers, moccasins, a buccaneer's bandana on his head, covered by a slouchy, wide-brimmed hat. The men who followed him looked more like a huge fur brigade riding to a mountain rendezvous than an authorized military force. They were a sunburnt, tail-ragged, mud-caked, grizzle-bearded lot- farmers, frontiersmen, hunters, trappers, wanderers, sailors, in their favored buckskins and sun faded shirts and big floppy hats, carrying huge knives, sidearms, and all manner of carbines, musketoons, and long rifles.

Honor having been served, most of the leading citizens of California were now ready to accept American rule. Fremont later recalled that, "After the capitulation of Cahuenga I was riding into Los Angeles at the head of the battalion and was met by Don Francisco de la Guerra and other officers of the California force, who brought with them for me two fine horses, one a gray, the other a *palomino* . . . My friend Don Pedro Carrillo, a Californian, educated at Harvard and who had taken sides with me and was one of my aides- took the gray" (Fremont 2001:443-444). The Mexicans were now gone, and the Californians and the Americans celebrated their shotgun marriage: That night, "the inhabitants of Los Angeles gave a ball in honor of Kearny, Stockton, and Fremont" (Bauer 1969:201).

Fate of the Native American Members of the California Battalion

The Battalion as a whole did not long outlive the capitulation. Following the triumphant ride to Los Angeles, it was ordered to proceed to Mission San Gabriel, where Company H was decommissioned. Captain Jacob and Lieutenant Bryant were back in San Francisco by February 13, 1847, and on February 20 General Kearny appointed Bryant as alcalde (mayor/judge) of San Francisco. Bryant's subsequent *What I saw in California* was the first book published about the territory following the American invasion. And thanks to him, many details about the Native American participation have been preserved. The Native American troops were supposedly enlisted under the same rules and regulations as the other men, but when the time came, they were not treated well (Note: In fact, after the war, most of the non-professional military men of the California Battalion were treated shoddily and many were never paid in full (Larkin 1959). Hurtado (1988:83) says that, "Besides paying the Indian troops in clothing, naval authorities decided that Indians should not receive tea, sugar, or tobacco as part of their regular issue of rations . . . Payment of volunteers in clothing did not conform to the law that was then in force, which provided that volunteers were to receive the same pay and allowances as regular troops . . ."

Delaware

The fate of the Delaware is discussed in Adams (1995:43-44), who reported that, "Notwithstanding that they faithfully served Fremont on all occasions, and never for one moment faltering in the duties that were required of them, when their work was performed they received their discharge, the United States Government denied the responsibility of fulfilling the contract that General Fremont made with them, and, as far as I know, to this day neither they or their heirs have received the money or land warrants to which they were entitled." Note that ". . . ten Delawares, including Captain Wolf . . ." participated in Fremont's subsequent Fifth Expedition." One of these men was Solomon, a chief (Egan 1985:495). This may be the same Solomon that was a member of the Third Expedition. Adams cites a letter, dated June 1, 1886, from the Indian Agent at the Quapaw Agency Indian Territory (i.e. Oklahoma), to the Department of the Interior, that shows what the Delaware thought they were owed for their services. The original message, from the Indian agent, says that: "George Washington, one of ten Delaware Indians who accompanied Gen John C. Fremont on his California expedition . . ." has an original letter from Fremont, dated September 16, 1845, that reads:

I have this day signed an agreement . . . by which ten Delaware hunters, good men, are to accompany me on my journey to California and back to this country. The ten Delawares are to furnish their own animals and are each to be paid \$2 per day. They are to provide themselves with good animals, and if any of their animals die upon the road, I am to pay them for their loss. They will of course be furnished by me with ammuniton, and the saddles which are furnished by me at my own cost.

Signed by John C. Fremont.

The letter gives a good idea of the prevailing rates at the time. Note again that the Third Expedition Delaware had been personally paid "by Fremont," and were not on the government payroll. Also note that the name "George Washington" was probably a pseudonym for one of the

two chiefs that accompanied Fremont to California (perhaps the writer thought that using Washington's name would get the attention of the government, whereas his own name would not). In addition to the personal letter, "George Washington" also submitted a ". . . statement bearing the signature of the ten Delawares, detailing the amount due each for work and loss of animals . . ." and he included a request asking how to proceed with collection. The Interior Department's reply (July 9, 1886) to the Indian Agent reads, in part, "Referring to your letter . . . relative to ten Delaware Indians who claim that there are monies due them for services rendered as scouts for General Fremont on the California Expedition . . . I have to advise you that the honorable Secretary of War . . . states that the United States is not responsible for this indebtedness, as General Fremont conducted at his own expense an exploring party on the Pacific coast."

Signed A.B. Upshaw, Acting Secretary.

Not-with-standing any disagreements about compensation, the Delaware and Fremont worked together again during the Civil War, when many Delaware men joined the Union Army. Fremont himself rejoined the Army, and he soon became one of the four senior Union Army Generals and was put in command of the Army of the West. Of this time, on September 15, 1863, Captain Fall Leaf, a Delaware, wrote that, ". . . in the fall of 1861, at the request of Major-General Fremont, I have raised a Company of 54 Delawares and proceeded . . . and at the request of General Fremont, to Springfield Missouri" (Adams 1995:50).

Tom Hill, the Delaware warrior that had come to California with the Walla Walla, seems to have been one of the few Indians that did well. According to Haines (1946:146-147), "After his return to Monterey from the south, Hill was royally entertained by his comrades and the local people. On February 8, 1847, he was paid three month's wages as volunteer by P.B. Reading [the Battalion's paymaster], and shortly after that he left for Sacramento with the Walla Wallas. His arrival at Fort Sacramento was recorded thus: Tom Hill & Co., the Walla Walla [has] returned . . . Hill sports his fine \$150 Saddle with much grace and says that White men think him big man below gave him plenty Rum plenty drink . . ." [What can one say? He should have been given a medal, not a bottle]. After the Walla Wallas went back to Oregon, Hill stayed in California for a few years; in 1854, he returned to his family in Kansas, "applied for land as a veteran, and secured two plots," one in Missouri and one in Kansas. He apparently died in 1860, at about 49 years of age.

William Chinook, Juan, and Gregorio

On February 4th, 1847, Theodore Talbot presented a "faithful schedule" to the government, requesting compensation for himself and the nine other men who had been assigned garrison duty in Santa Barbara, but who had to flee. The bill was for the loss of "all the little property we then had with us." On April 18, 1847, the government reimbursed the men, and William Chinook received \$61.00 (Spence and Jackson 1973:287, 290). Chinook was one of the few Indian men that remained with the Battalion after it was reformed as a regular Army unit, at San Gabriel, following the Capitulation of Cahuenga. Chinook remained with the reconstituted Battalion when they returned to central California, and took his discharge there, on June 16, 1847. He

remained in California for the next few years, married a Mexican woman, and acquired and managed his own herd of cattle. In 1851 he returned to the Dalles area and establish a stock ranch. Chinook used the education that Fremont had helped him get to advance the interests of his tribe, including represented them in negotiations with the United States government. He was elected one of three chiefs, and he signed the treaty that established the Warm Springs Reservation, where he lived out his days. Lake Billy Chinook, on the reservation, is named for him.

As noted above, Juan and Gregorio were hired as Vaqueros at Fort Sacramento, during the Second Expedition. Like Chinook, they accompanied the Expedition back to the United States and subsequently returned to California as members of the Third Expedition; like most of the other men, they made the transition to the California Battalion. Spence and Jackson (1973:489) note that, following the California campaign, they both, “. . . presumably accompanied him east again in 1847, since they were members of his disastrous 1848 expedition.” In fact, Juan, Gregorio, and a third California Indian, Manuel, survived the tragic Forth Expedition, where one-third of the men starved to death. After they recuperated in Taos, many of the survivors, including Juan, Gregorio, and Manuel, all accompanied Fremont back to California the following spring (Egan 1985:477). Note that a California Indian named Manuel had joined the California Battalion on November 18, 1845 (see Table 1); this may or may not be the same Manuel that was with the Fourth Expedition.

Walla Walla

When Company H was disbanded, “The Walla Walla were unhappy . . . They had been promised booty for their services, especially livestock . . . They accused Sutter of deceiving them and threatened to declare war. The Oregon Indians hung around Fort Sacramento for several months, waiting for Fremont and Sutter to pay them . . .” Hurtado (2006:203). The Walla Walla, during this time, “. . . were accused of plundering the local Indians and of stealing horses from white settlers . . . They remained deaf to all suggestions that they go home” (Haines 1946:147) And who today would blame them? Some of them had been in the vanguard of the fight at Natividad, and Fremont had promised to take care of them and their families.

Spence and Jackson (1973:231) note that, “Joseph Libby Folsom, chief of the Quartermaster Department station at San Francisco, reported . . . in June 1847 [that he] had given the Walla Walla Indians about a hundred of the public horses in payment for their services in the war.” According to Heizer (1942:6-7), who was citing Army Quartermaster records, “. . . the Walla Walla chief has been paid of here for his private demands, and presented with a good many thing,” and “they left contented and started homeward.” Fremont put it a little differently, saying that the Walla Walla had been given, “a lot of old broken-down government horses, stamped U.S. which were roaming around the fort” (Hurtado 2006:208). And injury followed insult, for “The Walla Walla and other Indians had measles when they returned to Oregon . . . adding a major grievance that culminated in the Cayuse War” (Hurtado 2006:210).

It is also undoubtedly an understatement to say that short-changing the Walla Walla generated negative publicity within the native community. Far away on the Columbia River, for example, Peoemoxmox, who had stayed with the families while his men served with the

Battalion, was the only Walla Walla chief recognized at the Stevens Treaty Council of 1855; his words to the assembly carried a lot of weight. At one point during the discussions, he commented to the treaty commissioners- in front of the assembled Indians, that, "I know the value of your speech from having experienced the same in California, having seen treaties there. We have not seen in a true light the object of your speeches . . ." In June 2005, on the 150th anniversary of the Treaty Council, the City of Walla Walla erected a statue in honor of his memory (Figure 6).

California Indians

The California Indian members of Company H were also short-changed. They, ". . . were entitled to \$25 a month as volunteers, but they were paid in receipts that could [only] be redeemed in cash once Congress appropriated the money, a matter that remained unsettled until 1858. By that time the Indians had either sold their receipts at a steep discount or received no pay at all. Jose Jesus remained loyal to Sutter . . . but other Miwoks drifted back to the San Joaquin . . . and took up their old pursuit of livestock raiding" (Hurtado 2006:203). Nor did the government let the natives retain the equipment that they had been issued. One example is provided in a note from Quartermaster Jacob R. Snyder, to Edward Kern, still the commander at Fort Sacramento, on February 11th, 1847, requesting that the Tulareño return, "Thirty Saddles and thirty-two horses" (Spence and Jackson 1973:302). The use of "Tulareño" here probably refers to the mostly-Miwok Indians that John Sutter and Edwin Bryant brought in from the Sierra Nevada foothills (see above), and not specifically to one or both of the Tulareño that joined the Battalion at Mission Santa Inez.

Comments

When the Third Expedition arrived in California, during the winter of 1845-1846, one quarter of the men were Native Americans. These included Metis, Delaware, two Miwoks, and a Chinook. After the Third Expedition morphed into the California Battalion, other Indian peoples, including Walla Walla, Yokuts, Ohlone, Chumash, Tulareño, and quite a few more Miwok, also joined, in various capacities. When the Battalion was at full-strength (hypothetically 428 men), about one-eighth, including mostly full-blood men, but also some half-blood men, were Native American.

Officially known as the "Naval Battalion of Mounted Volunteer Riflemen," the remarkably diverse California Battalion was the northwestern arm of a great pincer-movement, while General Kearny's force was the southeastern arm. The actions of these two (mostly, usually) mounted forces, combined with the complete control of the Pacific Coast by the American Pacific Squadron, under the command of Commodore Stockton, resulted in the acquisition of California, the Great Basin, and what is now the American southwest. Given the incredible scope of the acquisition, it is near astounding when one considers that total combat casualties on both sides, including dead and wounded, were only about 100 men (this does not include the 100s of Native American men, women, and children, slaughtered by the Third Expedition, prior to the outbreak of war).

There are many questions about the Battalion that we cannot answer, due to the lack of records. These include:

- What did the different Indian groups think of each other? How did they get along? For example, what did Fremont's Delaware think of Sutter's Miwok soldiers, dressed in their Imperial Russian Army uniforms?
- How did the white men get along with the Indians? Some of the few comments that we have are very racist (and refer to "Digger Indians," and the like). How was inter-command discipline enforced? Some of the white men were familiar with and friendly towards native peoples; others were, to say the least, hostile.
- Company H itself was racially mixed- how well (or not) did the men interact? The white officers were recent immigrants to the west, but they seemed (following Bryant) to get along with the Indians quite well; was that actually the case? In particular, how did the California Indians get along with the Walla Walla?
- What did the Mexican/Californio population think of the Indians? One might suspect that the locals were quite intimidated by the California Indians, at least (the shoe now being on the other foot), if not by the Battalion in general. The intimidation factor may have been one of the reasons that resistance, at least during the period leading to the first, false peace, was so limited. The Mexican/Californians would certainly have heard about the Third Expedition slaughtering the Yana, Klamath, and Wintu, in northern California and southern Oregon; it is not unlikely that they feared that the same thing might happen to them.
- At least some of the Mexican/Californios were themselves Native American, or of mixed race (an interesting subject in and of itself, but not addressed here). Did any of these native/part native "Californio" people interact, in a positive way, perhaps, with the Battalion's native members?
- What can be learned about the California Indians (etc.), that joined the Battalion, from mission records and other historic records? Certainly at least some of the former Mission (California) Indians could be individually traced and studied in greater detail. This is probably also be true of some or all of the Walla Walla. Another good research paper, or papers, for someone in the future!

And finally, one cannot help but wonder what subjects were discussed around the campfires! The California Battalion was, in its various incarnations and short life, truly one of the most diverse and unique military formations in the history of the American west. The tall tales that were told must have been fascinating. If only we knew!

Table 1**Native American Members of the 3rd Expedition and the California Battalion**

The names on this list are mainly derived from Bryant (1848), Spence and Jackson (1973:487-489), and Hurtado (1988:82). Note: No definitive search was made for information on the men that served with Fremont's other four Expeditions. When such information was located, in the process of researching the Third Expedition and the California Battalion, it has been included with Table 1.

Tribes are listed in order that Fremont encountered them. I have tried to supply the most pertinent reference that I could find.

Name	Tribe	Expeditions served with CB = Served with California Battalion Rank, if known	Actions	Discharge Information
Alex Godey	Metis			
Francois Jeandreau (Gendreau, etc.) Company Commander (?)	Metis? "Canadian w. Walla Walla wife" (S&J 1973:174)	Signed on at Fort Sacramento		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (Hurtado 1988:82)
Denny	Metis (see Chaffin 2002:310)	Member of 3 rd Expedition	Killed at Klamath Lake May 9, 1846	
Other "Fr.-Creole" #?	Metis			
James Sagundai (chief)	Delaware	Member of 3 rd Expedition Member CB	At Klamath Lake fight May 9, 1846	S&J 1973:487 gives "Paid in California"
James Swanuck (or Swonok.) chief	Delaware	Member of 3 rd Expedition	At Klamath Lake fight May 9, 1846	S&J 1973:488 gives "Paid in California"
Crane	Delaware	Member of 3 rd Expedition	Killed at Klamath Lake May 9, 1846	
Delaware Charley	Delaware	Member of 3 rd Expedition Member CB	Nose broken in fight with a bear April 26 in upper	S&J 1973:487 gives "Paid in California"

			Sacramento Valley At Klamath Lake fight May 9, 1846	
James Conner	Delaware	Member of 3 rd Expedition Not CB	February 1, 1846 Conner and Wetowa killed a Grizzly Bear	S&J 1973:487 gives "Paid in California"
Solomon Everett (or simply Solomon)	Delaware	Member of 3 rd Expedition	At Klamath Lake fight?	S&J 1973:487 gives "Paid in California"
Bob Skirkett (AKA Job S. Ricketts)	Delaware	Member of 3 rd Expedition	At Klamath Lake fight?	S&J 1973:488 gives "Paid in California"
Wetowka	Delaware	Member of 3 rd Expedition Member CB	At Klamath Lake fight?	Listed S&J 1973:488
Dickey Lowitch	Delaware?	Member of 3 rd Expedition	At Klamath Lake fight?	S&J 1973:487 gives "Discharged in California but paid elsewhere"
Charlie McIntosh	A "1/2 breed" Delaware, or pos. Cherokee	Member of 3 rd Expedition Member CB	At Klamath Lake fight? Fought at Natividad (S&J 1973:229)	
Tom Hill	Delaware	Came to California with the Walla Walla From 1846 Member CB	Fought at Natividad (S&J 1973:229)	
William/Bill Chinook	Wasco Chinook	Hired as a guide on Columbia River during 2 nd Expedition Member 3 rd Expedition Member CB	CB Private	S&J 1973:290 gives "Discharged 16 June 1847 Johnson's farm, Upper California"
Juan	California Indian Consumne Miwok?	Vaquero (from New Helvetia) on 2 nd Expedition	CB Private	S&J 1973:487 Also see S&J 1973:489 Included on Mustered Role of

		Scout on 3 rd Expedition Member CB Member 4 th Expedition		Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Gregorio	California Indian Consumne Miwok?	Vaquero (from New Helvetia) on 2 nd Expedition Scout on 3 rd Expedition Member CB Member 4 th Expedition	CB Private	S&J 1973:487 Also see S&J 1973:489 Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
“Indian whose tribe is not given” Possibly a man named Manuel (but not the one brought in by Bryant?)	Consumne Miwok?	Member 3 rd Expedition?	?	Mentioned by Hurtado (1988:77)
Francois Gendreau	French-Canadian	Captain Walla Walla detachment?		
Peter?	Walla Walla?	One rifle supplied to “Peter- an Indian” on Nov. 4, 1846 (S&J 1973:216) There is no Peter on any of the lists of Indian recruits, so he may have been one of the Walla Walla	CB Company G? Private?	If Walla Walla returned to Oregon
10 (or more?) unrecorded names	Walla Walla	CB Company G?? Privates	Several Walla Walla fought at Natividad	Returned to Oregon
Oliver P. Paulson	White?	CB Company H Sergeant		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847

				T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
John Sly	White? Walla Walla?	CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Solomon Sly	White? Walla Walla?	CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
William M. Ritchey	White? Walla Walla?	CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Henry Peterman	White? Walla Walla?	CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Thomas Towson	White? Walla Walla?	CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
John Lennon	White? Walla Walla?	CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)

Nonleo	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 17 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Michael	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 17 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Weala	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 17 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Arkell	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 17 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Nicolas	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 17 th CB Company H Private		On list as Koluss Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Heel	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 17 th CB Company H Private		On list as Hesll Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)

Kasheano	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 17 th CB Company H Private		On list as Casiano Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Estephen	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 17 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Jose Jesus (“Sikakum chief” S&J 1973:302)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Filipe (chief)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th		On list as Feleipe Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Raymundo (chief)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		On list as Rimondo Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Carlos (chief)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)

Huligario (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Hurtado says Huligario was not listed this date
Bonefasio (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Hurtado says Bonefasio was not listed this date
Francisco (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Nicolas (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Pablo (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Feliciano (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
San Antonio (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)

Polinario (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Manuel (warrior)	Miwok? Consumne? (Egan 1985:475)	Listed by Bryant November 18 th Same Manuel as was member 4 th Expedition?		S&J 1973:488 lists a Manuel "Paid in St. Louis or Washington" – This does not appear to be the same Manuel that Egan lists, but this needs checking
Graviano (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		On list as Graciano Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Salinordio (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		On list as Salnordio Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Romero (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		On list as Ramero Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Merikeeldo (warrior)	Miwok?	Listed by Bryant November 18 th CB Company H Private		Hurtado says Merikeeldo was not listed on T135
Kuliganio	Miwok?	CB Private		Included on Mustered Role of

				Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Onofariu	Miwok?	CB Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Eusebio	Miwok?	CB Private		Included on Mustered Role of Company H February 18, 1847 T135, reel 2 (cited in Hurtado 1988:82)
Bruno	Miwok?	CB Private		Hurtado says Bruno was listed on T135, but this name does not appear on any of Bryant's lists
Antonio Tuks	Tulareño (Yokuts)	CB Private Dec. 23, 1846 @ Santa Inez	Guide	
Raymundo Choch'ow	Tulareño (Yokuts)	CB Private Dec. 23, 1846 @ Santa Inez	Guide	On Bryant's list as Rimondo?
Isidro	Chumash	CB Private Dec. 23, 1846 @ Santa Inez	Guide	
'Coyote,' alias Daniel.	Chumash	CB Private Dec. 23, 1846 @ Santa Inez	Guide	

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