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The Journals of Harrison G. Rogers

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Journal of Harrison G. Rogers 415 Member of the Company of J. S. Smith

Merchandise taken by Jedediah S. Smith for the Southwest Expedition, August 15th. 1826.

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4 dozen B. Knives
10 lbs. Lead
1 paper Tax. 2 lbs Beads
1½ dozen looking glasses
55 lbs. Powder
55 lbs. Tobacco
6 Frenchen Chisaels
1 Road Shawl
10 lbs. Lead
15 lbs. Powder
15 lbs. Tobacco
16 Frenchen Chisaels
16 Fuzie
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Merchandise presented to the Eutaw Indians, by J. S. Smith, August 22nd. 1826.

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3 yards red ribbon I brass handle knife
10 awls 40 balls, arrow points
1 razor. I dirk knife ½ lb. tobacco
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August 27th. 1826. Indian presents.

1	tin kettle	2 dozen rings
3	yards red stranding	1 dozen combs
4	razors. 2 durk knives	4 hawk bells
2	butcher knives	2 stretch needles
50	balls. I lb. powder	2 doz. awls, buttons
3	looking glasses	ı large green handle k

⁴¹⁵ Interspersed with the narrative are memoranda of issues of soap, to-bacco, Indian goods, etc., to the men. From these accounts the following data regarding their itinerary is obtainable:

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Muddy River, Oct. 1st. 1826.
              " 2nd.
                 5th.
Siskadee
              46
              " 24th.
  "
            Nov. 5th.
Rainy Encampment, Oct.
Rock Creek Encampment, November 25, 1826.
Saint Gabriel, December 1st. 1826.
              " 5th. "
              " 31st. "
        "
 "
        "
            Jan'ry 4th, 1827.
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Broad, handsomely stripped, the cattle differ from ours; they have large horns, long legs, and slim bodies; the beef similar to ours. The face of the country changes hourly, handsome bottoms covered with grass similar to ours. Blue grass; the mou. goes lower and clear of rock to what they have been heretofore.

[MONDAY, NOVEMBER] 27TH. We got ready as early as possible and started a W. course, and traveled 14 m. and enc. for the day, we passed innumerable herds of cattle, horses and some hundred of sheep; we passed 4 or 5 Ind. lodges, that their Inds. acts as herdsmen. There came an old Ind. to us that speaks good Spanish, and took us with him to his mansion, 416 which consisted of 2 rows of large and lengthy buildings, after the Spanish mode, thay remind me of the British Barracks. So soon as we enc. there was plenty prepared to eat, a fine young cow killed, and a plenty of corn meal given us; pretty soon after the 2 commandants of the missionary establishment come to us and had the appearance of gentlemen. Mr. S. went with them to the Mansion and I stay with the company, there was great feasting among the men as they were pretty hungry not having any good meat for some time.417

28TH. Mr. S. wrote me a note in the morning, stating that he was received as a gentleman and treated as such, and that he wished me to go back and look for a pistol that was lost, and send the company on to the missionary establishment. I complyed with his request, went back, and found the pistol, and arrived late

⁴¹⁶ Sic for mission, [?].

⁴¹⁷ The arrival in the vicinity of the mission of San Gabriel to which reference is here made. San Gabriel, the fourth of the Alta California missions, was originally established on San Pedro Bay in 1771. Subsequently it was removed inland to its present site near Los Angeles. Smith's men stayed this night near an Indian farm-house about four miles northeast of the mission. See entry of January 18, page 224.

in the evening, was received very politely, and showed into a room and my arms taken from me. About 10 o'clock at night supper was served, and Mr. S. and myself sent for. I was introduced to the 2 priests over a glass of good old whiskey and found them to be very joval friendly gentlemen, the supper consisted of a number of different dishes, served different from any table I ever was at. Plenty of good wine during supper, before the cloth was removed sigars was introduced. Mr. S. has wrote to the governor, and I expect we shall remain here some days.

29TH. Still at the mansion. We was sent for about sunrise to drink a cup of tea, and eat some bread and cheese. They all appear friendly and treat us well, although they are Catholicks by profession, they allow us the liberty of conscience, and treat us as they do their own countrymen, or brethren.

About II o'clock, dinner was ready, and the priest come after us to go and dine; we were invited into the office, and invited to take a glass of gin and water and eat some bread and cheese; directly after we were seated at dinner, and every thing went on in style, both the

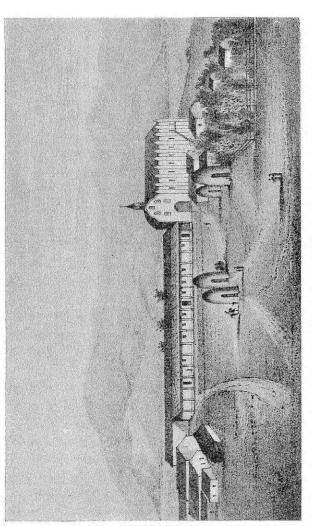
⁴¹⁸ José María de Echeandía, sometime director of the College of Engineers in Mexico City and lieutenant-colonel in the army, was the second governor of Alta California under Mexican rule. He was appointed in January, 1825, but did not formally assume office until November. His term ended January 31, 1831. He established his official residence at San Diego, some five or six miles from the present city of that name, thereby giving offense to the people of Monterey and the north, which resulted in the Solis revolt. At the same time, he made himself unpopular with the missions by proposing, in 1830, an enlightened scheme of secularization. A successor was appointed in 1830, but Echeandía, placing himself at the head of an insurrectionary movement, retained his hold as jefe politico and jefe militar over southern California till January, 1833, when, at last, a successor arrived from Mexico. He left California in the spring of that year, retiring to Mexico, where he died before 1871. Richman, California under Spain and Mexico, 243, and passim. Thwaites, R. G. Early Western Travels, vol. xviii, 290 ff. Bancroft, California, vol. ii, 788.

priests being pretty merry, the clerk and one other gentleman, who speaks some English. They all appear to be gentlemen of the first class, both in manners and habbits. The Mansion, or Mission, consist of 4 rows of houses forming a complete square, where there is all kinds of macanicks at work; the church faces the east and the guard house the west; the N. and S. line comprises the work shops. They have large vineyards, apple and peach orchards, and some orrange and some fig They manufacture blankets, and sundry other articles; they distill whiskey and grind their own grain, having a water mill, of a tolerable quality; they have upwards of 1,000 persons employed, men, women, and children, Inds. of different nations. The situation is very handsome, pretty streams of water running through from all quarters, some thousands of acres of rich and fertile land as level as a die in view, and a part under cultivation, surrounded on the N. with a high and lofty mou., handsomely timbered with pine, and cedar, and on the S. with low mou, covered with grass. Cattlethis Mission has upwards of 30,000 head of cattle, and horses, sheep, hogs, etc. in proportion. I intend visiting the iner apartments to-morrow if life is spared. am quite unwell to-day but have been engaged in writing letters for the men and drawing a map of my travels for the priests. Mr. Smith, as well as myself, have been engaged in the same business.419 They slaughter at this place from 2 to 3,000 head of cattle at a time; the mission lives on the profits. Saint Gabriel is in north latitude 34 degrees and 30 minutes. 420 It still continues warm; the thermometer stands at 65 and 70 degrees.

30TH. Still at Saint Gabriel; everything goes on

⁴¹⁹ Unfortunately these maps have not come to light.

^{420 34° 6&#}x27; N. latitude; 118° 6' W. longitude, to be exact.



THE MISSION OF SAN GABRIEL

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well; only the men is on a scanty allowance, as yet. There was a wedding in this place today, and Mr. S. and myself invited; the bell was rang a little before sun rise, and the morning service performed; then the musick commenced serranading, the soldiers firing, etc., about 7 oclock tea and bread served, and about 11, dinner and musick. The ceremony and dinner was held at the priests; they had an ellegant dinner, consisting of a number of dishes, boiled and roast meat and fowl, wine and brandy or ogadent, grapes brought as a dessert after dinner. Mr. S. and myself acted quite independent, knot understanding there language, nor they ours; we endeavored to appoligise, being very dirty and not in a situation to shift our clothing, but no excuse would be taken, we must be present, as we have been served at there table ever since we arrived at this place; they treat [us] as gentlemen in every sense of the word, although our apparel is so indifferent, and we not being in circumstances at this time to help ourselves, being about 800 m. on a direct line 421 from the place of our deposit. Mr. S. spoke to the commandant this evening respecting the rations of his men; they were immediately removed into another apartment, and furnished with cooking utensils and plenty of provisions, they say, for 3 or 4 days. Our 2 Ind. guides were imprisoned in the guard house the 2nd. day after we arrived at the missionary establishment and remain confined as yet. S has wrote to the commandant of the province, and we do not know the result as yet, or where we shall go from this place, but I expect to the N.W. I intended visiting the iner apartments to-day, but have been engaged in assisting Mr. S. in making a map for the priest and attending the ceremonies of the wedding.

⁴²¹ Really only a little over six hundred miles in a direct line from Great Salt Lake.

DECEMBER 1ST, 1826. We still remain at the mansion of St. Gabriel; things going on as usual; all friendship and peace. Mr. S. set his black-smiths, James Reed and Silas Gobel, to work in the B. S. Shop, to make a bear trap for the priest, agreeable to promise yesterday. Mr. S. and the interpreter went in the evening to the next mission, which is 9 m. distance from St. Gab. and called St. Pedro, 422 a Spanish gentleman from that Mission having sent his servant with horses for them. There came an Itallian gentleman from Port Sandeago today by the name of John Battis Bonafast who speaks good English, and acts as interpreter for all the American and English vessels that arrives in ports on the coast, quite a smart and intelligent man, 423 The men all appear satisfied since there was new regulations made about eating. Mr. S. informed me this > morning that he had to give Read 424 a little floggin yesterday evening, on account of some of his impertinence; he appeared more complasant to-day than usual. Our fare at table much the same as at first, a plenty of everything good to eat and drink.

2ND. Much the same to-day as yesterday, both being what the Catholicks call fast days; in the morning after sun rise, or about that time, you have tea, bread and cheese, at dinner fish and fowl, beans, peas, potatoes and other kinds of sauce, grapes as a desert, wine, gin

⁴²² The port of San Pedro is thirty-four miles from the mission of San Gabriel via the Pueblo of Los Angeles. Rogers seems to have confused this distance with that to Los Angeles.

⁴²³ Juan Bautista Bonifacio, an Italian or Austrian, landed in California in 1822 from the ship John Begg. Bancroft, California, vol. ii, 478. In 1829 he married and two years later became naturalized. Bancroft, op. cit., vol. ii, 723. According to Bancroft, he was an illiterate honest fellow, but his intelligence impressed Rogers; and he had at least sufficient to become second officer of the Compañía Extranjera de Monterey in 1832. Later, he seems to have become a commander of this organization. Bancroft, op. cit., vol. iii, 221, 223. He died about 1834 leaving a widow and three children.

⁴²⁴ James Read, a troublesome fellow, who later abandoned Smith's employ.

and water plenty at dinner. I could see a great deal of satisfaction here if I could talk there language, but, as it is, I feel great diffidence in being among them, knot knowing the topic of there conversation, still every attention is paid to me by all that is present, especially the old priest. I must say he is a very fine man and a very much of a gentleman. 425 Mr. S. has not returned from the other Mission as yet. This province is called the Province of New Callifornia; this mission ships to Europe annually from 20 to 25 thousand dollars worth of hides and tallow, and about 20 thousand dollars worth of soap. There vineyards are extensive; they make there own wine, and brandy; they have orranges and limes growing here. The Inds. appear to be much altered from the wild Indians in the mou. that we have passed. They are kept in great fear; for the least offense they are corrected; they are compleat slaves in every sense of the word. Mr. S and Laplant 426 returned late in the evening, and represents there treatment to be good at the other mission. Mr. S. tells me that Mr. Francisco, the Spanish gentleman that he went to visit, promises him as many horses and mules as he wants.427

⁴²⁵ José Bernardo Sanchez. Born, September 7, 1778, at Robledillo, Spain, he joined the Franciscan order in 1794 and ten years later arrived in California. He served at San Diego from 1804-1820, at Purísima, 1820-1821, and finally at San Gabriel, 1821-1833. He was regarded by his superiors as a man of distinguished merit and ability. He was by no means a friend or sympathizer of Echeandía, the governor, whose policy of secularization he strenuously opposed. From 1827-1831, he held the high office of president of the Alta California missions, performing its difficult duties with much tact and credit. He is described as fair and fat, of lively disposition, generous, and hospitable with a multitude of friends among all classes. He was an able manager of the temporal affairs of his mission and was proud of its prosperity. His declining years were harassed by a painful and incurable malady. Bancroft, California, vol. iii, 642, footnote.

⁴²⁶ Abraham Laplant, one of Smith's men, who apparently accompanied him to San Pedro. He was also a member of the expedition of 1828.

⁴²⁷ Francisco Martinez [see entry of December 7], a Spanish gentleman,

DECEMBER 3RD., SUNDAY. About 6 o'clock the bell rang for mass, and they poured into church from all quarters, men, women and children; there was none of us invited therefore we all remained at our lodgings. The fare to-day at table much as usual; there was an additional cup of tea in the afternoon. The Inds. play bandy 428 with sticks, it being the only game I have seen as yet among them. They play before the priests door. I am told they dance, both Spanyards and Inds., in the course of the evening.

4TH. Still at St. Gabriel; things much as usual The priest presented Mr. S. with two pieces of shirting containing 64 yards for to make the men shirts, all being nearly naked. Mr. Smith gives each man 3½ yards and kept the same number for himself, each man getting enough to make a shirt. The weather still continues to be moderate, the thermometer stands at 60 and 63 in the day, and 50-53 in the night. The Thermometer hangs within doors, etc.

5TH. We are still remaining at the mansion of St. Gabriel, waiting the result of the Governor's answer to a letter that Mr. S. addressed him on the 27th of November. We expect the courier some time today with letters. It still continues moderate.

6TH. Early this morning I presented the old priest with my buffalo robe and he brought me a very large blankett and presented me, in return, about 10 o'clock. Nothing new. Things going on as they have been heretofore; no answer from the governor as yet; we are waiting with patience to hear from the governor.

who had been residing in California for some time but who was obliged to leave by the law of 1827, ordering the expulsion of all Spaniards from Mexican territory. He is said to have sailed on the *Thomas Nowlan* from San Pedro. See Bancroft, *California*, vol. iii, 51, footnote; vol. iv, 733.

428 I.e. hockey.

of the province. Mr. S. and all hands getting impatient. There was a Spanish gentleman arrived yesterday evening named Francis Martinnis, 229 a very intelligent man, who speaks pretty good English, and appears very friendly; he advises Mr. S. to go an see the governor in case he does not receive an answer in a few days. He is a man of business and is well aware that men on expenses and business of importance should be presservering; he appears anxious as respects our well fare. Mr. S. has some idea of going in company with him to Sandiego, the residence of the governor.

8TH. Nothing of importance has taken place today. Mr. S. was sent for to go to Sandiego to see the governor. Capt. Cunningham, commanding the ship Courier, now lying in port at Sandiego, arrived here late this evening. The captain is a Bostonian, and has been trading on the coast for hides and tallow since June last; he informs me that he is rather under the impression that he shall be obliged to remain untill some time in the succeeding summer in consequence of so much opposition, as there is a number of vessels on the coast trading for the same kind of articles. He says that money is very scarce, amongst the most of the people, Mr. Martinas tells me that there is between 16 and 17,000 natives that is converted over to the Catholic faith and under the control of the different Missions;

⁴²⁹ Francisco Martinez.

⁴³⁰ William H. Cunningham of Boston, who came to California as master of the *Courier* in 1826. Although on the California coast for several years, he seems to have spent much of his time on shore. He befriended J. O. Pattie on his arrival in California. By 1831 he was back in Boston. He seems to have spent the remainder of his life in Massachusetts, dying after 1880. Bancroft, *California*, vol. ii, 772; vol. iii, 146. Pattie, James O. *Personal Narrative*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vol. xviii, 245. It seems to have been Cunningham who brought Echeandía's message to Smith.

the white population he estimates at 6,000, making 22 or 23,000 thousand souls in the province of New Callifornia.

9TH. Mr. Smith and one of the men, in company with Capt. Cunningham, left San Gabriel, this morning for Sandiego, the governor's place of residence. I expect he will be absent for eight or ten days. The weather still keeps moderate, things much the same, friendship and peace as yet.

noth. Sunday. There was five Inds. brought to the mission by two other Inds, who act as constables, or overseers, and sentenced to be whiped for not going to work when ordered.

Each received from 12 to 14 lashes on their bare posteriors; they were all old men, say from 50 to 60 years of age, the commandant standing by with his sword to see that the Ind. who flogged them done his duty. Things in other respects similar to the last Sabbath.

day more than usual, only the band of musick consisting of two small violins, one bass violin, a trumpet and triangle was played for 2 hours in the evening before the priests door by Inds. They made tolerable good music, the most in imitation to whites that [I] ever heard. Directly after the musick would cease, there was several rounds of cannon fired by the soldiers in commemoration of some great saints day or feast day. They keep at this place 4 small field pieces, 2 6-pounders and 2 2-pounders to protect them from the Inds. in case they should rebel, and, from the best information I can get from the soldiers, they appear at times some what alarmed, for fear the Inds. will rise and destroy the Mission.

12TH. About sun rise, the bell rang and mass called;

men women and children attended church; they discharged a number of small arms and some cannon while the morning service were performing. There main church is upwards of 200 feet in length and about 140 in breadth made of stone and brick, a number of different apartments in it. They hold meeting in the large church every Sunday; the Spanyards first attend and then the Inds. They have a room in the iner apartment of the Mission to hold church on their feast days. There religion appears to be a form more than a reality. I am in hopes we shall be able to leave here in five or six days at most, as all hands appear to be anxious to move on to the North. Things in other respects much the same; the weather still continues to be good. the evening there was a kind of procession, amongst both Spanyards and Inds. I enquired the reason, I was told by a Mr. David Philips, an Englishman, that this day, a year ago, the Virgin Mary appeared to an Ind. and told him that the 12th day of December should always be kept as a feast day and likewise a holliday among them and both Spaniards and Inds. believe it.431

13TH. I walked through the work shops; I saw some Inds. blacksmithing, some carpentering, others making the wood work of ploughs, others employed in making spining wheels for the squaws to spin on. There is upwards 60 women employed in spining yarn and others weaving. Things much the same, cloudy and some rain to-day. Our black smith[s] have been employed for several days making horse and nails for our own use when we leave here.

14TH. I was asked by the priest to let our black

⁴³¹ David Philips, according to Bancroft was an English cooper. He places the date of his arrival in 1834 [sic for 1824(?)] and says that he was in San Diego in 1836, living with a Mexican wife. Bancroft, California, vol. iv, 776.

smiths 432 make a large trap for him to set in his orrange garden, to catch the Inds. in when they come up at night to rob his orchard. The weather clear and warm. Things in other respects much the same as they have been heretofore; friendship and peace prevail with us and the Spanyards. Our own men are contentious and quarrelsome amongst themselves and have been ever since we started the expedition. Last night at supper for the first time the priest questioned me as respected my religion. I very frankly informed him that I was brought up under the Calvinist doctrine, and did not believe that it was in the power of man to forgive sins. God only had that power, and when I was under the necessity of confessing my sins, I confessed them unto God in prayer and supplication, not to man; I further informed him that it was my opinion, that men ought to possess as well as profess religion to constitute the Christian; he said that when he was in his church and his robe on, he then believed he was equal unto God, and had the power to forgive any sin, that man was guilty of, and openly confessed unto him, but when he was out of church and his common waring apparel on he was as other men, divested of all power of forgiving sins.

15TH. I went out fowling with the commandant of the Mission. I killed 7 brant and one duck, and the commandant killed 2 brants and a duck; the priest furnished me with shot. Two of our men went to work today, Arthur Black and John Gaiter; they are to get a horse a piece for 3 days work. Times much the same as they have been some time back; nothing new occurs.

16TH. Late this morning a Mr. Henry, owner of

⁴³² James Read and Silas Gobel presumably.

⁴³³ Inserted at this point are the following directions: "Two days above Saint Francisco, plenty beaver at a lake. Three days above Santa Clare River, Pireadaro, Two Larres or Flag Lakes. Plenty of beaver as we are

a brig now lying in port, arrived at the Mission; he appears to be a very much of a gentleman, and quite intelligent. His business here is to buy hides, tallow and soap, from the priest. Nothing new has taken place. Things much the same about the Mission; the priest administered the sacrament to a sick Indian today, and he thinks he will die.

17TH. The sick Indian that the priest administered the sacrament too yesterday, died last night, and was entered in there graveyard this evening; the proceedings in church similar to the last Sabbath. Sunday appears to be the day that the most business is transacted at this Mission; the priest plays at cards both Sunday a[nd] weak a days, when he has company that can play pretty expert.

18TH. I received a letter from Mr. S. informing me that he rather was under the impression that he would be detained for some time yet, as the general did [not] like to take the responsibility on himself to let us pass until he received instructions from the general in Mexico; under those circumstances I am fearful we will have to remain here some time yet. Our men have been employed fitting out a cargo of hides, tallow, and soap for a Mr. Henry Edwards, a German by birth, and the most intelligent man that I have met with since I arrived at this place; he is what they term here a Mexican trader. 434

informed by Mr. Martinos." The first lake referred to is probably Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, about seventy-five miles northwest of the mission of San Fernando Rey. The Santa Clara River rises in the mountains north of San Gabriel and flows westward, entering the Santa Barbara channel, sixty miles north of San Pedro. The Two Larres Lake is, of course, the Tulare, discovered and named by Pedro Fages, in 1773, from los tules (flags, rushes).

484 Henry Edwards is unidentifiable. All trade with Mexico proper was still conducted by sea. Shortly after this, the term, Mexican trader, was

Mr. S. also wrote to me for eight beaver skins, to present to the Spanish officers to face there cloaks with; I complyed with his request, and selected eight of the Best and sent to him.

19TH. Still remaining at San Gabriel; things much the same. I went out with my gun to amuse myself, killed some black birds and ducks. The express left here this morning for Sandiego. I sent the eight beaver skins to Mr. Smith to present to the Spanish officers to face their cloaks, by him. The old father continues his frindship to me; it does not appear to abate in the least. I still eat at his table. This Mission, if properly managed, would be equal to [a] mine of silver or gold; there farms is extensive; they raise from 3 to 4000 bushels of wheat annually, and sell to shippers for \$3. per bushel. There annual income, situated as it is and managed so badly by the Inds., is worth in hides, tallow, soap, wine, ogadent, wheat, and corn from 55 to 60,000 dollars.

20TH. Nothing new has taken place; all peace and friendship. I expect an answer from Mr. Smith in six or eight days if he does not get permission to pass on. My situation is a very delicate one, as I have to be amongst the grandees of the country every day. My clothes are [illegible] the clothing of blanketts [illegible] pantaloons, two shirts and [illegible] read cap. I make a very grotesque appearance when seated at table amongst the dandys with there ruffles, silks, and broad clothes, and I am 436

applied to those who journeyed overland between Santa Fé and Alta California.

⁴³⁶ Smith, meantime, had reached San Diego, where he was presented to Echeandía. He explained that he had been compelled to enter Mexican territory because of his lack of provisions and horses. Echeandía seems to have been impressed with Smith's honesty and to have been confirmed in

New Years Address by Harrison G. Rogers to the Reverend Father of San Gabriel Mission January 1st, 1827

REVEREND FATHER, Standing on the threshold of a New Year, I salute you with the most cordial congratulations and good wishes.

While the sustaining providence of God has given us another year of probation, every thing seems to remind me that is for probation.

this impression when, December 20, Smith produced the following document as an attestation of his character and good faith:

"We, the undersigned, having been requested by Capt. Jedediah S. Smith, to state our opinions regarding his entering the province of California, do not hesitate to say that we have no doubt but that he was compelled to for want of provisions and water, having entered so far into the barren country that lies between the latitudes of forty-two and forty-three west (sic), that he found it impossible to return by the route he came, as his horses had most of them perished from want of food and water, he was therefore under the necessity of pushing forward to California—it being the nearest place where he could procure supplies to enable him to return.

"We further state as our opinion that the account given by him is circumstantially correct, and that his sole object was the hunting and trapping of beaver and other furs. We have also examined the passports provided by him from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Government of the United States of America, and do not hesitate to say we believe them perfectly correct.

"We also state that, in our opinion, his motives for wishing to pass by a different route to the Columbia River on his return is solely because he feels convinced that he and his companions run great risks of perishing if they return by the route they came.

"In testimony whereof we have herewith set out hands and seals this 20th day of December, 1826.

WM. G. DANA, Capt. Schooner, Waverly. WM. H. CUNNINGHAM, Capt. Ship, Courier. WM. HENDERSON, Capt. Brig Olive Branch. JAMES SCOTT.

THOMAS M. ROBINSON, Mate, Schooner, Waverly. THOMAS SHAW, Supercargo, Ship, Courier."

The above is published in Southern California Historical Society, Publications, vol. iii, part 4, 47, 48, and in Cronise, Natural Wealth of Californa, 43.

There is a break in the manuscript at this point.

Many, very many during the past year have, doubtless, been called throughout the different parts of the tractless globe, to weep over friends now sleeping in their graves, many others have personally felt the visitations of sickness, and probably many more, ere another year ushers in, will be called from time into eternity.

While revolving seasons, while sickness, disappointment, and death raise their minatory voice, remember, Reverend Sir, that this world is not our home. It is a world of trial. It is the dawn of an immortal existence.

Therefore my advice is, to all the human family, to be faithful, be devoted to God, be kind, be benevolent to their fellow sufferers, to act well their part, live for eternity; for the everlasting destinies of their souls is suspended upon their probation, and this may close the present year.

Our Savior, Sir, after having spent his life in untrying [untiring] benevolence, and before he ascended to his native heavens, probably in allusion to the twelve tribes of Israel, elected twelve apostles or missionaries.

To these, after having properly qualified and instructed them, he left a part of his legacy, a world to be converted.

He directed that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem"—Agreeably to his command the first church was founded at Jerusalem.

But, Reverend Father, remember the whole world was missionary ground. Before the days of Christ Jesus, our Saviour, we never heard of missionaries to the heathen with a solitary exception.

The exception to which I allude is the case of Jonah, who was sent to preach to the heathen at Nineveh about 800 years before Christ.

It was not till several years after the ascension of our

Saviour that a single Gentile was converted. But now the door was opened. The Apostles hesitated, delayed no longer. It is said by ancient history that the world was divided among them by lot.

Be this as it may, it is certain that they soon seperated and went from village to village.

To this little number of missionaries we are informed that Paul was soon added.

With the exception of this man, the missionaries were not learned in the arts and sciences; were ignorant of books and of men, yet they went forth unsupported by human aid, friendless and opposed by prejudices, princes, laws, learning, reasonings of philosophy, passions and persecutions.

And what was the result of their labors? We know but a little; we can trace only a few of their first steps. Yet we know enough to astonish us. We know by the labors of those missionaries there are mentioned in the New Testament, sixty-seven different places in which Christian churches were established by them, several of which places contained several churches.

Paul informs us that in his time the Gospel had been preached to every [race] which is under heaven. Justin Martyr tells us that in the year 106, "There was not a nation either Greek or Barbarian or of any other name even of those who wander in tribes and live in tents, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered to the Father and Creator of the Universe, by the name of the Crucified Jesus." We know, assuredly, that at this time that there were churches in Germany, Spain, France, and Brittain. Besides the Apostles, there were at least eighty-seven Evangelists in this age, so that the whole number of active missionaries in the Apostolic age, was ninety-nine or one hundred. Of the Apostles we have reasons to believe, nine at least

suffered martyrdom. On the whole, then, we have no reason to doubt, on the testimony of history and tradition, that the last command of Christ was so obeyed, that in the Apostolic age, the Gospel was preached in every part of the globe which was then known.

Monday, January 18T, 1827. This morning church was held before day; men, women and children attended as usual; after church, musick played by the Inds. as on Sunday; wine and some other articles of clothing given out to the Inds. The priest keeps a memorandum of all articles issued to them. The fare at the table the same as other days, if any difference, not so good. Some rain last night and to-day; weather warm; showers alternate through the day like May showers in the states, and equally as pleasant; things in other respects much the same; no news from Mr. S. and I am at a loss how to act in his absence with the company, as he left no special instructions with me when he left here.

TUESDAY 2ND. Still at the Mission of San Gabriel; nothing new has taken place to-day; the men commenced work again this morning for the old Padre; no news from Mr. S; friendship and peace still prevail. Mr. Joseph Chapman, a Bostonian by birth, who is married in this country and brought over to the Catholic faith, came here about 10 oclock A. M. to superintend the burning of a coal pitt for the priest. He is getting wealthy, being what we term a Yanky; he is jack of all trades, and naturally a very ingenious man; under those circumstances, he gets many favours from the priest, by superintending the building of mills, black smithing, and many other branches of mechanicism. 487

⁴³⁷ Joseph Chapman, one of the most picturesque figures in the California of this period. A Bostonian, he had come to California in 1818 as a car-

W. 3RD. There was five or six Inds. brought to the Mission and whiped, and one of them being stubbourn and did not like to submit to the lash was knocked down by the commandant, tied and severely whiped, then chained by the leg to another Ind who had been guilty of a similar offence. I recd a letter from Mr. S. this morning informing me that he had got his passports signed by the governor, by the intercession of the gentlemen officers, and that he would join me in a few days; he intended embarking on Board Capt. Cunningham's ship, and coming to St. Pedro, which is forty-five miles distant from San Gabriel.⁴⁸⁸

penter and blacksmith. He was at Sta. Ines in 1820, constructing a grist mill, and a year later at San Gabriel, engaged in a similar task. In 1822, he was baptised at San Buenaventura, being known henceforth as José Juan, and soon after married a Mexican lady. From 1824 to 1826, he owned a house at Los Angeles and sufficient land for a vineyard of 4,000 vines. He still continued to do odd jobs about the mission, however, which no doubt accounts for his arrival at San Gabriel during Smith's sojourn there. He was a jack-of-all-trades, indeed, being able, apparently, to repair or to construct anything, having built a schooner, and even having served, on one occasion, as a surgeon. "He was a great favorite with the friars, especially Padre Sanchez, who declared it a marvel that one, so long in the darkness of the Baptist faith, could give such an example of true Catholic piety to older Christians." He was naturalized in 1831. A few years later, he removed to Santa Barbara, where he seems to have lived until his death, about 1848. He was survived by his wife and a number of daughters. Bancroft. California, vol. ii, 757; Bryant, Edwin. What I Saw in California (New York, 1849), 421; Thompson and West. History of Los Angeles County, California, 24.

⁴⁸⁸ Echeandía had issued the desired papers, thanks to the intervention of the American ship-masters in the port of San Diego. Smith then sailed for San Pedro on board the "Courier." Captain Cunningham's account of his dealings with Smith is as follows:

"There has arrived at this place Capt. Jedediah Smith with a company of hunters, from St. Louis, on the Missouri. These hardy adventurers have been 13 months travelling their route, and have suffered numerous hardships. They have often had death staring them in the face, sometimes owing to the want of sustenance; at others to the numerous savages which they have been obliged to contend with. Out of 50 horses which they started with, they brought only 18 in with them; the others having died on the road for want of food and water.

"Does it not seem incredible that a party of fourteen men, depending en-

THURS. 4TH. Still at the Mission; nothing new; four of our men, Robert Evans, Manuel Lazarus, John Hannah, and John Wilson went with Mr. Joseph Chapman, to cut wood for the coal pitt, and assist him in erecting it, and burning the coal. Myself and Mr. McCoy went up in the mountains to see if we could find some dear; I saw two and wounded one, killed a wolf and two ducks; Mr. McCoy saw two dear, and got one shot but missed. We passed through a great abundance of oak timber, some trees heavy laden with acorns, the land, rich, and easy cultivated, some large springs, or lagoons, which offered a great quantity of water, which is brought in all directions through the Mission farm as they have to water their orchards, gardens, and farms.

FRIDAY 5TH. Still remaining at the mission of San Gabriel, waiting the arrival of Mr. S. Five men went with Mr. Chapman, this morning, to cut cord wood for the coal pitt. I walked over the soap factory and find it more extensive than I had an idea; it consists of 4 large cisterns, or boilers, that will hold from 2000 to 2500 hundred gallons each; the cistern is built in the shape of an sugar loaf made of brick, stone, and lime; there is a large iron pott, or kittle, fixed in the bottom

tirely upon their rifles and traps for subsistence, will explore this vast continent, and call themselves happy when they can obtain the tail of a beaver to dine upon? Captain Smith is now on board the Courier, and is going with me to St. Pedro to meet his men: from thence he intends to proceed northward in quest of beaver, and to return, afterwards, to his deposits in the Rocky Mountains.

"(St. Diego and St. Pedro are ports in California, W. Coast of America, near 3,000 miles from Boston)".

Letter dated San Diego, December, 1826, in Missouri Republican, October 25, 1827.

439 John Hannah was slain at the Umpqua. His estate brought suit for the recovery of his wages, which the court allowed, final payment being made in October, 1830. Sublette Mss., carton 10, Missouri Historical Society.

where the fire strikes them to set them boiling, lined around the mouth of the cisterns and the edge of the potts with sheat iron 8 or 10 inches wide; the potts, or kittles, will hold from 2 to 250 gallons each, and a great many small ones, fixed in like manner. Things in other respects much the same about the mission as usual, friendship and peace with us and the Spaniards.

or old Christmas day, it is kept to celebrate the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles, or particularly the Magi or wise men from the East. Church held early as usual, men, women, and children attend; after church the ceremonies as on Sundays. Wine issued abundantly to both Spanyards and Inds., musick played by the Ind. Band. After the issue of the morning, our men, in company with some Spanyards, went and fired a salute, and the old Padre give them wine, bread, and meat as a treat. Some of the men got drunk and two of them, James Reed and Daniel Ferguson, commenced fighting, and some of the Spanyards interfered and struck one of our men by the name of Black, which come very near terminating with bad consequence.

⁴⁴⁰ James Read was the blacksmith whom Smith flogged and who seems to have been a troublesome fellow. Nothing is known of his subsequent history.

Daniel Ferguson, confused by Bancroft [California, vol. ii, 526] with Joseph Daniel Ferguson, came to California with Smith but, on the departure of the expedition from San Gabriel, was nowhere to be found. See page 226. He remained concealed until they had gone far enough to eliminate the possibility of recapturing him. Probably his loss was not grievously felt. The California authorities knew of his presence in May, and his testimony was sought as to the character and intentions of Smith's men. Bancroft, California, vol. iii, 156, citing Departmental Records Mss., vol. v, 45. Later he seems to have settled in or near Monterey. His name appears with that of Bonifacio on the Companía Extranjera de Monterey, su organización en 1832, which was formed to support Zamorano in his insurrection against Echeandía. By 1836, he was residing in Los Angeles and was then thirtyeight years old, not thirty, as stated by Bancroft [California, vol. iii, 736].

So soon as I heard of the disturbance, I went among them, and passified our men by telling what trouble they were bringing upon themselves in case they did not desist, and the most of them, being men of reason, adheared to my advice.

Our black smith, James Reed, come very abruptly into the priests dining room while at dinner, and asked for ergadent; the priest ordered a plate of victuals to be handed to him; he eat a few mouthfuls, and set the plate on the table, and then took up the decanter of wine, and drank without invitation, and come very near braking the glass when he set it down; the Padre, seeing he was in a state of inebriety, refrained from saying anything.

SUNDAY, 7TH. Things carried on as on former Sabaths, since I have been at the Mission, church services morning and evening, issues to the Inds. of wine and clothing; the priest in the evening threw oranges among the young squaws to see them scuffle for them, the activest and strongest would get the greatest share. Mr. Smith has not joined us yet.

MONDAY 8TH. Last night there was a great fandago or dance among the Spanyards; they kept it up till nearly day light from the noise. The women here are very unchaste; all that I have seen and heard speak appear very vulgar in their conversation and manners. They think it an honnour to ask a white man to sleep

He seems to have come north again in 1839 or 1840. In July, 1841, he was murdered in Salinas Valley, perhaps by José Antonio Arana, the paramour of Ferguson's wife, María del Carmen Ruiz. Bancroft, California, vol. iii, 736; vol. iv, 653, footnote. Thompson and West. History of Los Angeles County, California, 33.

Arthur Black remained loyal to Smith, accompanied him north in 1828, and was one of the three to escape the massacre on the Umpqua. He is said never to have returned to the states. Bancroft, H. H. History of the Northwest Coast (San Francisco, 1888), vol. ii, 454, footnote.

with them; one came to my lodgings last night and asked me to make her a blanco Pickanina, which, being interpreted, is to get her a white child, and I must say for the first time, I was ashamed, and did not gratify her or comply with her request, seeing her so forward, I had no propensity to tech her. Things about the mission much the same. No news of Mr. S., and I am very impatient, waiting his arrival.

9TH, TUESDAY. Business going on about the Mission as usual. About 8 or 10 boys employed gathering orranges overseed by the commandant and the steward of the Mission, old Antonio, a man of 65 years of age, who is intrusted with the keys of all the stores belonging to the mission; he generally is served at the priests table, and, from appearance, is very saving and trusty. I went out in company with Mr. McCoy this evening with our guns to amuse ourselves; I killed one brant and Mr. McCoy killed nothing. Mr. S. still absent from the company.

WEDNESDAY, 10TH. About noon Mr. S., Capt. Cunningham, Mr. Shaw, and Thos. Dodges ⁴⁴¹ come to the Mission from the ship Courier, and I was much re-

Thomas Dodge is unidentifiable, presumably an officer or passenger on the "Courier."

⁴⁴¹ Thomas Shaw, supercargo of the "Courier," and one of the signers of the testimonial to Smith's character. Like Cunningham, a native of Massachusetts, he was employed from 1826-1828 as clerk and supercargo on the ships, "Courier" and "Waverly." In 1830, he was supercargo of the "Pocahontas," John Bradshaw, master. The following year, he contracted with Juan Bandini, the insurrectionary leader, to transport Governor Victoria to Mazatlan, sailing January, 1832. The Marine List of 1833-1835 shows him as supercargo and master of the "Volunteer," the "Harriet Blanchard," and the "Lagoda," all of them engaged in the Hawaiian trade. He is said to have been in Boston in 1836, with no intention of returning to California. By 1839-1840, however, he was back again as supercargo of the "Monsoon," remaining on the coast for some time apparently. He died in Boston, presumably about 1866. See Bancroft, California, vol. iii, 146, 148, 210 ff., 382 ff., 410; vol. iv, 105, footnote; vol. v, 718.

joiced to see them as I have been waiting with anxiety to see him. Nothing new has taken place to-day; things much the same, about the Mission. Mr. S. intends going back in the morning to the ship.

THURSDAY, 11TH. Mr. S. in company with Capt. Cunningham, Mr. Shaw, and Chapman, left the mission this morning for the sea shore. About noon, Capt. Cunningham returned to the Mission, and informed me that Mr. S. wished me to go to the Parbalo to buy horses, wich is 8 miles distance from San Gabriel.⁴⁴²

I complyed with his request went, and met Mr. S. there, and purchased two horses for our trap, and Mr. S. made an agreement for 10 more, for which he is to give merchandise at the ship in exchange.

FRIDAY, 12TH. I got the two horses we bought last evening, from Mr. Francis St. Abbiso, 448 and returned to the Mission about the middle of the day; just as I arrived the Priest from San whan 444 arrived on a visit with his carriage, and Indian servants. He is a man about 50 years of age, upwards of six feet high, and well made in proportion, and, from his conduct, he appears to be a very good man, and a very much of a gentleman. I had a branding iron made by our blacksmith so soon as I returned, and branded the two horses that we bought, with J. S.; things in other respects at the Mission much the same.

⁴⁴² The pueblo, or town of Los Angeles, the second municipality founded in Alta California, at this time consisting of about eighty houses and seven hundred inhabitants.

⁴⁴⁸ Francis St. Abbiso is unidentifiable.

⁴⁴⁴ The mission of San Juan Capistrano founded midway on the road between San Gabriel and San Diego. The priest referred to is probably Padre José Barona, at this time sixty-two years of age, a native Spaniard who had come to California in 1798. He served in San Diego, 1798-1811 and at San Juan Capistrano, 1811-1831. After 1827, however, he spent most of his time at San Luis Rey, being described as a man in broken health. Here he died. Bancroft. *California*, vol. iii, 625.

SATURDAY, 13TH. This morning I set the men to work to put the Traps in order for packing; one of the horses I bought yesterday got loose last night and ran off, and I have not got him yet or heard anything of him. Today at dinner I was asked a great many questions by the Priest who came here yesterday, respecting our rout and travels; I give him all the satisfaction I could and informed him as respects the situation of the country I have Traveled through, also the United States, and their laws. Things about the Mission much as usual.

SUNDAY, 14TH. As agreeable to promise I sent Arthur Black, John Gaiter, 445 and Peter Ranne 446 to the Parbalo to meet Mr. Smith to get Horses, which he is purchasing at that place. Time is passing off swiftly and we are not under way yet; but I am in hopes we shall be able to start in three or 4 days from here. Church as usual; wine issued, etc. In the evening, four Inds. who had been fighting and gambling was brought before the guard house Door, and sentenced to be whiped; they received from 30 to 40 lashes each on their bare posteriors.

Monday, 15TH. About noon Capt. Cunningham and Mr. Chapman arrived at the Mission from the Ship. Mr. S. still remain in the Parbalo, purchasing horses. Mr. Chapman informed me that there is a natural pitch mine north of the Parbalo, 8 or 10 miles, where there is from 40 to 50 hogsheads of pitch throwed up from the bowels of the earth, daily; the citizens of the country make great use of it to pitch the roofs of their houses; 447 he shew me a piece which have

⁴⁴⁵ John Gaiter was killed at the Umpqua, July, 1828.

⁴⁴⁶ Peter Ranne, a negro.

⁴⁴⁷ Perhaps Devil's Gate, Los Angeles County, California. Compare De Mofras, Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon (Paris, 1844), 357 ff.

the smell of coal, more than any other thing I can describe. Business about the Mission much the same as it has been heretofore. I went in their church to-day for the first time and saw their molten images; they have our Savior on the cross, his mother and Mary, the mother of James, and 4 of the apostles, all as large as life. They appropriate the room, where the images stand, to a sugar factory.

TUESDAY, 16TH. Mr. S. returned from the Parbelo, with 41 head of horses, which he purchased at that place; he got 8 new saddles from the Padra and set the men to work to fix them; nothing new has taken place about the Mission; things much the same.

WEDNESDAY, 17TH. All hands are busily employed fixing their things ready to start tomorrow morning; the old Father has given a great deal to Mr. Smith, and some of the men, and continues giving. I expect we shall be able to get off early in the morning. Things about the Mission much the same.

Thursday, 18th. All hands were up early this morning, and went to the farm, where we had our horses, 68 in number, and got them packed, and under way in pretty good season. After we got ½ mile off the Mission, our unpacked horses, together with those that had packs on started and run 8 or 10 miles before we stoped them; one of the pack horses lossed 12 dressed skins, that Mr. Smith had got, from our old Father of San Gabriel mission, Joseph Sances. We traveled a direct course N. E. about 4m. and we [arrived] at an Ind. farm house where we stayed on the 27th. November, when we first reached the Spanish Inhabitants. Mr. S. and myself intends returning to the Mission, this evening.

⁴⁴⁸ See footnote 417. In the vicinity of Santa Anita, a station on the At-

FRIDAY, 19TH. Mr. S. and myself returned to the Mission, late last evening and took supper with old Father Sancus, for the last time, and our farwell. The old Father give each of us a blankett, and give me a cheese, and a gourd filled with ogadent. All hands being ready early in the morning, we started and travelled, and had an Ind. guide, a N. E. course about 25 m. and enc. at St. Ann, an Ind. farm house, for the night; our wild horses created us considerable trouble during the day. 449

SATURDAY, 20TH. Still at St. Ann; Mr. S. commands to lie by to-day, as there is five of our best horses missing, and hunt them, and brake some other horses; a number of the men are employed hunting horses and others haltering and brake more. The horse hunters returned without finding them; and he intends leaving them and proceeding on his journey early tomorrow morning.

SUNDAY, 21ST. All hands were up early and getting their horses packed; we were under way in pretty good season in the morning, and had an Ind. boy as a pilot; we started and travelled a N.E. and by east course, 25 or 30 m. and reached and Ind, farm house about 4 m. distant from San Bernado, and enc, where we have and order from the governor, and our old Father Joseph Sanchus, at the Mission of San Gabriel, for all the supplyes we stand in need of. The country quite mountainous and stoney. 450

chison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad. See United States Geological Survey, Pasadena Quadrangle (topographic sheet).

⁴⁴⁹ At some point north of Pomona, perhaps on Live Oak Creek. See United States Geological Survey. Cucamonga Quadrangle (topographiq sheet).

⁴⁵⁰ They camped near Rialto. San Bernardino was on the frontier of Spanish settlement in California. Here, until a period shortly before Smith's arrival, there had been only a ranch or two, cultivated by Indians. In 1819,

Mr. S. and the Interpreter started MONDAY, 22ND. early this morning up to San Bernardano for to see the steward, and get supplys. We intend killing some beef here and drying meat. I expect we shall remain here two or three days. All hands get milk this morning. We have killed two beeves and cut the meat, and drying it. Mr. S. has got corn, peas, parched meal, and flour of wheat. Old Father Sanchus has been the greatest friend that I ever met with in all my travels, he is worthy of being called a Christian, as he possesses charity in the highest degree, and a friend to the poor and distressed. I ever shall hold him as a man of God, taking us when in distress, feeding, and clothing us, and may God prosper him and all such men; when we left the Mission he give Mr. S. an order to get everything he wanted for the use of his company, at San Bernandino. The steward complyed with the order so soon as it was presented by Mr. S.

TUESDAY, 23RD. Still at the Ind. farm 3 m. from San Burnandeino; some of the men are employed in braking horses, and others makeing pack saddles and riggin them; Mr. S. sent a letter back this morning to old Father Sanchius concerning the horses, we lossed at Saint Ann, six in number; he will wait the result of his answer.

WEDNESDAY, 24TH. We are still remaining at the Ind. farm waiting the result of the priests answer, and drying meat, and repairing saddles for our journey. Some of the men are kept employed braking wild horses. Daniel Ferguson, one of our men, when leav-

the Gentiles of the Ranchería Guachana, also called by the Spanish, San Bernardino, voluntarily asked for the introduction of agriculture and stockraising. No station was established or buildings erected prior to 1822. About that time, a church was erected as a branch of the mission of San Gabriel. Illustrated History of Southern California (Chicago, 1890), 409.

ing the Mission on the 18th inst. hide himself, and we could not find him; the corporal who commands at the Mission promised to find him, and send him on to us, But I expect we shall not see him again.⁴⁵¹ The weather continues fine.

THURSDAY, 25TH. No answer from the priest this morning, and we are obliged to remain here another day. The men still keep at work, braking young horses. Mr. S. discharged one of the men, John Wilson, on the 17th Inst., and he could not get permission to stay in the country, therefore we obliged to let him come back to us; he remains with the company but not under pay as yet; I expect he will go on with us. The weather still continues beautiful. Things about our camp much as usual. Inds. traveling back and forward from the mission steady. The Inds. here call themselves the Farrahoots.

FRIDAY, 26TH. Early this morning we collected our horses and counted them, and two was missing. Mr. S. sent a man in search of them; he returned with them about 10 o'clock. We are still at the Ind. farm house, waiting an answer from the priest at San Gabriel. I expect we shall remain here to-day, if the courier does not arrive. In the evening James Reed and myself concluded we would go into the cowpen and rope some

⁴⁵¹ See footnote 440.

⁴⁵² John Wilson, however, did not go on with them. In May, he was a prisoner in the hands of the Mexican authorities at Monterey. The government ordered proceedings to be instituted against him. Departmental Records, Mss., vol. v, 45; Archivo del Arzobispado, Mss., vol. v, part 1, 28-33, cited by Bancroft, in California, vol. iii, 156. He is mentioned in the account book of Thomas O. Larkin in 1838 and 1839. In 1841 he was given license to marry Maria F. Mendoza of San Carlos. Bancroft, op. cit., vol. v, 777.

⁴⁵³ A tribe of Shoshonean(?) stock. See Latham, "On the Languages of the Northern, Western, and Central Americas," in London Philological Society, *Transactions* (London, 1856), 85.

cows and milk them, after the Ind. fashion, accordingly we made ready our rope, and haltered four cows, and tied their heads up to a steak, and made fast their hind feet and milked them, but did not get much milk on account of not letting their calves to them; so soon as we were done Capt Smith and Silas Gobel followed our example. This country in many respects is the most desirable part of the world I ever was in, the climate so regular and beautiful; the thermomater stands daily from 65 to 70 degrees, and I am told it is about the same in summer.

Mr. S. swaped six of our old horses off for wild mares.

SATURDAY, 27TH. Still at the Ind. farm house waiting the answer from the priest. 20 of our horses missing this morning and four men sent in search of them. Mr. S., and Laplant is gone up to San Burnandeino to see the old steward on business.⁴⁵⁴

Having left his men encamped for the summer in the valley of the Stanislaus, Smith with his two companions, one of whom was Silas Gobel, his blacksmith, crossed the Sierras and the deserts of Nevada, reaching Great Salt Lake about June 17, 1827. Still urging forward his single horse and mule, unless, perhaps, he exchanged them there for fresher animals, he proceeded directly to rendezvous, conducted this year at Bear Lake, "one of the most beautiful lakes in the West and therefore in the world." From the east shore, bare hills of burnt siena rise sheer from the water's edge, culminating in the gentle domes of the Bear River divide, while, to the west, beyond a narrow hem of gen-

⁴⁵⁴ The first Harrison G. Rogers journal ends abruptly at this point.
455 Wallace, Dillon. Saddle and Camp in the Rockies (New York, 1911),
216.

tly sloping arable, rise sparsely covered hills of hock and quaking asp, topped by the dark timber of the main Wasatch Ridge. At the north end of the lake is the outlet to Bear River, which, at this point, swings in from the hills to the east, flows diagonally across the lower valley, rounds the hills to the west, not far from Soda Springs, marking the main highway from the South Pass to the Columbia and Oregon. The valley of Bear Lake was a sort of siding on the main line of travel, a convenient spot, where trappers could withdraw from the beaten way and find seclusion and safety for the conduct of their business. Rendezvous was usually at the south, or upper, end of the lake, near the present Laketown, Randolph County, Utah, a point some twenty miles from the trail and so situated that it could be readily defended in the event of an Indian attack.

Here Smith met his partners, Jackson and Sublette, delivered the few furs he had managed to convey across the Sierras, rested his two companions as much as a month's respite would allow, wrote a report to William Clark summarizing the results of his explorations, and started back again to join his men in California.

Leaving, July 13, he set out with nineteen men, including at least one of the men who had just accompanied him from California. His companions were, Thomas Virgin, Charles Swift, Toussaint Marishall, John Turner, Joseph Palmer, Joseph Lepoint, Thomas Daws, Richard Taylor, Silas Gobel, David Cunningham, Francis Deramme, William Campbell, Boatswain Brown, Gregory Ortaga, John B. Ratelle, Pale, Polite,

⁴⁵⁶ Silas Gobel returned with him. Compare draft of a letter of Ashley to Benton (?), St. Louis, December 24, 1828, in Missouri Historical Society, Ashley Mss.

^{457 &}quot;Harrison G. Rogers Journal," see page 237.

Robiseau,⁴⁵⁸ and Galbraith.⁴⁵⁹ Two Indian women also accompanied them.⁴⁶⁰ They followed the same route which Smith had pursued the previous year. He

Proceeded on S. and S.E. until he passed the Utaw Indians with whom he had concluded a treaty the year before; he also passed the Sampatch and Piules [sic], living on the west border of the sand plains and in the vicinity of the Colleredo. His course was S. and S.W., leading down the Colleredo until he came to the Muchabas Indians, whom he found apparently friendly as usual; he remained with them three days, trading of them occasionally some articles of their country produce such as beaver, wheat, corn, dried pumpkins, and melons. After the trade and intercourse with the Indians was over, Mr. Smith and his party, in attempting to cross the river on a raft, was attacked by those Indians and completely defeated with a loss of ten men and two women (taken prisoners), the property all taken or destroyed.⁴⁶¹

Smith had undertaken to ferry his men across the river on rafts, but, as soon as the party was divided, some of them on either bank and some of them still on the rafts, the Indians, "who in large numbers and with most perfect semblance of peace and friendship were aiding the party to cross the river, suddenly rose upon them and surrounding the party in a most unexpected moment and manner" began the attack. The party,

⁴⁵⁸ These ten were killed by the Indians while attempting to cross the Colorado River. Casualty List, furnished by Smith, Jackson, and Sublette to William Clark. Superintendent of Indian Affairs. *Letter Book*, 299 ff. Kansas Historical Society Mss.

⁴⁵⁹ Isaac Galbraith was discharged in California, December 27, 1827, Sublette Mss., carton 10, Missouri Historical Society.

⁴⁶⁰ Brief sketch of accidents, misfortunes, and depredations committed by Indians on the firm of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, since July 1, 1826, to the present, 1829, Kansas Historical Society Mss.

^{461 —} Idem.

⁴⁶² Warner, J. J. "Reminiscences of Early California," in Southern California Historical Society, *Publications*, vol. vii, 181. The Indians had probably been warned by the Mexican government not to allow Americans to cross the river and enter California. News of the disaster did not reach St. Louis till a year later, "I have recently heard of the loss of eight men," etc. Draft

being divided, was taken at a great disadvantage. Those already across, including Smith, seem to have suffered least. Those on the river were very likely all killed as were also most, at least, of those on the eastern bank.

The official narrative continues,

The loss of all papers and journals prevents Mr. Smith from giving precise dates; it happened in August, 1827. Then, as no other alternative was left, and in a country destitute of provisions and water, he was obliged to make for the Spanish settlements in California in the vicinity of San Gabriel, which he accomplished in nine and a half days, including nights, across the sand plains and destitute of almost every necessary of life. Here he procured some few necessaries to enable him to proceed to his party before mentioned, made his report by letter to the nearest place of civil intercourse, left two men, one, by his request, 463 and the other on account of a wound which he had received in the attack. 464 Then, with the remaining seven, he pushed on northwardly, joined his party but in a very unpleasant situation; their supplies were almost entirely exhausted and he without any to assist them.

During Smith's absence the men had been in difficulties with the Mexican authorities. Even before his departure, in May, the head of the Mission of San José, Padre Duran, had accused the men of enticing his neophytes to desert. Although this charge had been dis-

of a letter of Ashley to Benton (?), December 24, 1828, Missouri Historical Society, Ashley Mss.

⁴⁶³ Isaac Galbraith. "On October 8, Galbraith asked for an interview with Echeandía wishing a license to remain in the country or to rejoin his leader. He also corrects an impression that Smith is a captain of troops, stating that he is but a hunter of the company of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette."-Bancroft, California, vol. iii, 158, footnote, citing Departmental State Papers, Mss., vol. ii, 36, 37. Galbraith was not dismissed at this time but accompanied Smith north and did not withdraw from his service till December 27, 1827. Sublette Mss., carton 10, Missouri Historical Society.

⁴⁶⁴ Thomas Virgin. He was sent to San Diego where he was placed in prison but afterwards released to rejoin Smith. Warner states that Smith, himself, was conducted to San Diego but this is unsupported and seems improbable. Warner, J. J. "Reminiscences of Early California," in Southern California Historical Society, *Publications*, vol. vii, 181 ff.

missed by the commandant at San Francisco, orders were issued, May 18, to find out who the strangers were, what their business was, and to demand their passports, in short, to detain them till further orders. It was too late, however, to secure Smith, for, on the twentieth, he had set out for Great Salt Lake, having the previous day written Padre Duran as follows:

REVEREND FATHER: I understand through the medium of one of your Christian Indians that you are anxious to know who we are, as some of the Indians have been at the Mission and informed you that there were certain white people in the country. We are Americans, on our journey to the river Columbia. We were in at the Mission of San Gabriel, January last. I went to San Diego and saw the general and got a passport from him to pass on to that place. I have made several efforts to pass the mountains, but the snow being so deep, I could not succeed in getting over. I returned to this place, it being the only point to kill meat, to wait a few weeks until the snow melts so that I can go on. The Indians here, also, being friendly, I consider it the most safe point for me to remain until such time as I can cross the mountains with my horses, having lost a great many in attempting to cross ten or fifteen days since. I am a long ways from home and am anxious to get there as soon as the nature of the case will admit. Our situation is quite unpleasant, being destitute of clothing and most necessaries of life, wild meat being our principal subsistence.

I am, Reverend Father, your strange but real friend and Christian, (signed) J. S. SMITH. May 19, 1827.466

Far from satisfying the authorities, this letter only roused them to greater exertions. By May 23, Echeandía, having learned of the situation, sent word to Smith,

⁴⁸⁵ Archivo del Arzobispado, Mss., vol. v, part i, 27 and Departmental Records, Mss., vol. v, 45, cited by Bancroft in California, vol. iii, 156, footnote.

⁴⁸⁶ In Guinn, "Captain Jedediah S. Smith," in Southern California Historical Society, *Publications*, vol. iii, part 4, 48 ff.; also in Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California*, 44-45. Padre Duran was in charge of the Mission at San José and President of the Alta California missions 1825-1827.

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not knowing that he had already departed, ordering him to start homeward at once or else to come to San José, or to sail on the first vessel that would convey him north of the forty-second parallel. After it was discovered that the leader of the expedition had gone, however, less interest seems to have been taken in the Americans. From now on the little company on the Stanislaus continued unmolested, though they had become desperately short of food when Smith arrived, empty handed.

It was his last and only resource to try once more the hospitality of the Californians. He remained with his party two days, procured two Indian guides and arrived at the mission of St. Joseph in three days. He then made known his situation and wants, requested permission to pass through the province to the governor's residence (then in Montera)⁴⁶⁸ which is 100 miles distant; but instead of complying with his request, he was immediately conveyed to a dirty hovel which they called a guard house, his horses seized and taken away, and only allowed the privilege of writing to the captain of the Upper Province.⁴⁶⁹

Several days elapsed before any provisions were made for his living except occasional visitations from an old overseer, when a lieutenant arrived. After conversing with him, he soon found he was to be tried as an intruder on their rights. This news confounded Mr. Smith very considerably, as he had entered their province the first time in distress also and without molestation; the lieutenant told him he must be under the necessity of seeing the governor, but before he left him, his situation was much altered for the better.

⁴⁶⁷ Echeandía to Martinez [acting commandant at San Francisco], Departmental Records, Mss., vol. v, 48, cited by Bancroft, California, vol. iii, 158, footnote.

⁴⁶⁸ Echeandía had started north from San Diego in March, 1827, being absent about a year, most of the time in Monterey, where he was now residing. At the beginning of his term of office he had offended the residents of that city by taking up his headquarters in San Diego. Compare Bancroft, California, vol. ii, 551, footnote.

⁴⁶⁹ Ex-governor Luis Antonio Arguello was captain of the company of San Francisco. At this time he was absent and his place filled by Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez. See Bancroft, *California*, vol. ii, 583.

After the lieutenant's departure, he was detained ten or twelve days longer, when he received a polite note from the governor to pay him a visit. Then he was stript of his arms and accordingly complied and started well guarded by four soldiers. The third day, at eleven o'clock at night, he arrived in Montera, where the governor lived, and was immediately conveyed to the callibose without any refreshment whatever, where he remained until eleven o'clock next day, when a messenger arrived stating the governor was then ready to receive him. He was conveyed to his dwelling and met at the door by the governor, who invited him to partake of some refreshment, which he readily accepted. Mr. Smith soon found he could not have a perfect understanding with the governor for want of a proper interpreter. However, he obtained liberty of the limits of the town and harbor and of boarding with an American gentleman (Capt. Cooper) from Boston. 470 Next day an interpreter was found by the name of Mr. Hartwell, 471 an English gentleman, to

and, from a deformity, Don Juan el Manco. Born on the island of Alderna in 1792, he had come to Massachusetts as a mere boy with his mother. the age of twenty-one, master of the "Rover," port of Boston, he reach California. Here he sold his ship but continued, for three years, to co mand her on voyages to China. Abandoning the sea, he settled down life in Monterey where he was baptized, naturalized, and married. Ur 1839, he was in business in Monterey, but in that year resumed his sea-farilife, making many voyages to the Mexican coast and to the Islands. La he resided in San Francisco, dying at the advanced age of ninety. Comp: Bancroft, California, vol. ii, 765-766.

471 William [Edward] Petty Hartnell, born, 1798, in Lancashire, 1 lived in South America some time when he came to California on board "John Begg" in 1822. He was a member of the firm of McCulloch, Hartr and Company, agents for John Begg and Company of Lima and for Brothertons of Liverpool and Edinburgh. His firm contracted, in 1823, take the mission produce for two years and for a while did a large busin-In 1824, he was baptized, the name, Edward, being added at this time, and 1825, married María Teresa de la Guerra. His business prospered till 18 but, from that time till 1829, constantly declined. After a trip to So America, on which he dissolved his partnership, he returned heavily b dened with debt. He was naturalized in 1830, and, in 1831, undertook life of a ranchero at Alisal. In 1832, he was commander of the Compa Extranjera de Monterey supporting Zamorano. From 1833 to 1836, he ac as agent for the Russian Company. From 1839 to 1845, he was variou employed as interpreter, tithe collector, clerk, teacher, and customs offi From 1845 to 1846, his attitude was unfriendly to the United States, until lost all hope of an English protectorate, on which he had set his heart.

whom Mr. Smith is under many obligations for his kindness and liberality towards him. But yet he could not find out what his future fate was to be; the governor would sometimes say Mr. Smith must go to Mexico, at other times, Mr. S. and party must be sent off by water; again he would say, "Send fetch in the party here," and continued in this equivocating manner for several days. Then, about the 3rd or 4th Nov., when four American gentlemen, masters of vessels, took the responsibility on themselves and appointed Capt. Cooper, agent for the U. States, in order to settle this matter in some shape or manner. Then Capt. Cooper became accountable for the conduct of Mr. Smith and party.

Smith having agreed to leave the country, affixed his signature to the following guarantee: 472

I Jeda S. Smith, of Green township in the state of Ohio, do hereby bind myself, my heirs, executors, and principals in the sum of thirty thousand dollars for the faithful performance of a certain Bond, given to the Mexican Government, dated at Monterey, 15 Nov. 1827.

Witness, Rufus Perkins.

The treaty was finally concluded, the party sent for and brought in. Mr. S. was then allowed the privelege of purchasing such articles as he stood in need of to further his expedition. He also learned while at this place that, after his first excursion through that country, the governor had instructed the Muchaba Indians not to let any more Americans pass through the country on any conditions whatever; to this advice, Mr. S. leaves the entire cause of his defeat. It undoubtedly was, for any man acquainted with the savage and hostile habits of Indians cannot

United States employed him from 1847 to 1850, as official interpreter and translator, in which capacity he rendered important services in connection with land titles and in the constitutional convention. He died in 1854. "Hartnell was a man who enjoyed and merited the respect and friendship of all who knew him, being perfectly honest, straightforward in all his transactions, of most genial temperament, and too liberal for his own interests. In some directions he was a man of rare ability, being master of the Spanish, French, and German languages, besides his own." Compare Bancroft, California, vol. iii, 777 ff.

⁴⁷² Bancroft states that three copies of this were made, one sent to Mexico, one left in the governor's hands, and one given to Smith. The above is from Smith's copy in the Sublette Mss., carton 10, Missouri Historical Society. Compare Bancroft, California, vol. iii, 159, footnote.

judge the matter otherwise. Mr. S. well knows that the two Indian guides who led him first to St. Gabriel were immediately imprisoned, but luckily for one, he died in prison and escaped Spanish cruelty; the other was sentenced to death, but reprieved by the priest. Thos. Virgin, one of the party, who was left on account of his wound, was taken to St. Daego, about 250 miles south of St. Gabriel and there imprisoned and without half sustenance. Mr. S., by frequent applications to the governor, had him released and sent on to join the party.

Mr. Smith, finding his party weak, knowing he had a great many more hostile tribes to pass, endeavored to strengthen his party by engaging more ften [fifteen more men?]; found several willing to engage, both Americans and English, but would not be allowed permission to engage them. He then traded for some articles such as horses, mules, arms, ammunition, and other necessaries, merely to enable him to return back from whence he came. Then Mr. Smith went on to visit his party, found them in St. Francisco in a very deplorable state, and would have suffered immensely for want of victual and clothing, were it not for the timely assistance of Mr. Vermont, a German gentleman, who happened to be trading on the coast, to whom Mr. Smith is under many obligations.⁴⁷⁸

After the conclusion of the treaty between Capt. Cooper and the governor, Mr. S. was allowed two months' time to make all necessary preparations to leave the Spanish province, so by very expeditious movements, he had himself prepared at the appointed time and very near the boundary line; but, on account of the lack of a boat to cross the Bonadventure, (which is very large) and only one particular route destined for him to pass, so he took his own leave and left the province by another route, where he knew he could cross the river without their assistance. Mr. Smith, being experienced and well acquainted with Spanish gen-

⁴⁷⁸ Henry Virmond, a German merchant of Acapulco and Mexico City, was in Alta California as early as 1827 (therefore before 1828, the date given by Bancroft, *California*, vol. v, 764). He did a large business in California where he was well known by nearly everybody before he visited the country. He was a skillful intriguer, enjoyed extraordinary facilities for obtaining the ear of Mexican officials, and was always the man first sought for any favor by his California friends. He owned several vessels on the California coast. He was the tallest man ever seen in the country until the arrival of Dr. Semple, 1845.

erosity, was unwilling to resign himself and property longer than the limited time for fear of further trouble.

Mr. Smith's party was then 21 men strong (though soon after two men deserted) with sufficient supplies to have lasted him back to the Little Lake. He moved on slowly up the Bonadventure, which was generally N.N.W., and passing numerous tribes of Indians, some of which were hostile, he continued on the route, still moving very slowly (and at the same time passing the winter) until the 13th of April, 1828, when, by examination and frequent trials he found it impossible to cross a range of mountains which lay to the East.

We then struck off N. W., leaving the Bonadventure running N. E. and coming out of a large range of mountains impassable, until we came to the sea-coast.⁴⁷⁴

The second journal of Harrison G. Rogers begins with the tenth of May, while they were still in the mountains between the Sacramento Valley and the ocean.

The Second Journal of Harrison G. Rogers

Men's names with J. S. Smith 475

J. S. Smith	Joseph Lapoint
H. G. Rogers	Abraham Laplant
Thos. Virgin	Thos. Daws
Arthur Black	Charles Swift

⁴⁷⁴ Brief sketch of accidents, misfortunes, and depredations committed by Indians on the firm of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, Indian traders on the east and west side of the Rocky Mountains, since July 1, 1826, to the present, 1829, Kansas Historical Society Mss.

⁴⁷⁵ Out of the eighteen men here listed (nineteen including Smith, himself) the following were members of the first expedition: H. G. Rogers, Arthur Black, John Gaiter, Emanuel Lazarus, Peter Ranne, Abraham Laplant, Martin McCoy, John Hanna, [John] Reubascan. The others, Charles Swift, Toussaint Marishall, Thomas Virgin, John Turner, Joseph Palmer, Joseph Lapoint, Thomas Daws, and Richard Taylor, were new members taken by Smith when he started on his second expedition. The annual term of employment of Thomas Virgin, John Turner, Joseph Lapoint, and Richard Taylor expired July 2, 1828, when they were reëngaged. Peter Ranne, or John Peter Ranne, seems to have been counted twice. An Indian boy, Marion, was added to the party before they reached the Umpqua.

John TurnerRichard TaylorJohn GaiterMartin McCoyJohn HannaJohn ReubascoEmannuel LazarusToussaint Marishall

Joseph Palmer John Peter Ranne (a man of colour)

Peter Ranne

Many men of many minds, and many kinds of many, Kinderate of God's creation.

When young in life and forced to guess my road,
And not one friend to shield my bark from harm,
The world received me in its vast abode,
And honest toil procured its plaudits warm.

SATURDAY, MAY 10TH, 1828. We made and early start this morning, stearing N.W. about 5 miles, thence w. 7 miles and encamped, on a small creek, and built a pen for our horses, as we could not get to grass for The travelling very bad, several very steep, rocky and brushy points of mountains to go up and down, with our band of horses, and a great many of them so lame and worn out that we can scarce force them along; 15 lossed on the way, in the brush. 2 of them with loads; the most of the men as much fatigued as the horses; one of the men, lossed his gun, and could not find it. We have had more trouble getting our horses on to-day, than we have had since we entered the mount. We crossed a creek close by the mouth 15 or 20 yards wide heading south, and emptying into the river east at an course, the current quite swift, and about belly deep to our horses. 476 Some beavers sign discovered by the men. The day clear and warm. But one Ind. seen to-day; he was seen by Capt. Smith

⁴⁷⁶ The camp on the night of May 9-10 was on the main branch of the Trinity River, not far above the mouth of the South fork, near Burnt Ranch, Trinity County, California. The morning of the tenth, they proceeded northwest five miles and then west seven miles, making a total of twelve, in the course of which, they crossed the south fork of the Trinity. Continuing, they camped perhaps on Campbell's Creek, Humboldt County.

as he generally goes ahead, and I stay with the rear to see that things are kept in order.

SUNDAY, MAY 11TH, 1828. As our horses was without food last night, we was up early, and dispatched four men after those that was left back yesterday, and had the others packed and under way a little after sun rise, directing our course up a steep point of mountain, very rocky and brushy about 3/4 of a mile. The course N.W. 2 miles and struck into an open point of mountain where there was good grass and encamped, as the most of our horses was nearly down. We had a great deal of trouble getting them up the mountain with there loads on; a number would fall with their packs, and roll 20 or 30 feet down among the sharp rocks, several badly cut to pieces with the rocks.

The four men that was sent back returned late in the evening, they had got 12 of the horses that were missing, and among them the 2 that had loads; the man that lost his gun could not find it. Three deer killed in the evening, the meat poor.

Monday, May 12TH. We concluded to remain here to-day and let the horses rest; 2 men sent back after the other horses that are still missing; one left yesterday that could not be got along, that had entirely given out. The two men returned late, found one of the lossed horses, But could not drive him to camp, consequently we shall loose them as Capt. Smith intends moving camp early to-morrow. The day clear and warm.

TUESDAY, MAY 13TH, 1828. All hands called early and ready for a start, directing our course N.W. over high ranges of rocky and brushy points of mountains, as usual, and travelled 6 m. and encamped on the side

⁴⁷⁷ Still in the mountains, camping near Supply Creek.

of a grassy mou.,⁴⁷⁸ where there was an abundance of good grass for the horses, but little water for them. We had a great deal of difficulty to drive them on account of brush and the steepness of the points of mountain; two left that could not travel and a great many more very lame; the weather good.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14TH. We made and early start, directing our course as yesterday N.W., and traveled 4 m. and enc, on the top of a high mountain, where there was but indifferent grass for our horses. The travelling amazing bad; we descended one point of Brushy and Rocky Mountain, where it took us about 6 hours to get the horses down, some of them falling about 50 feet perpendicular down a steep place into a creek; one broke his neck; a number of packs left along the trail, as night was fast approaching, and we were oblige to leave them and get what horses we could collected at camp; a number more got badly hurt by the falls, but none killed but this one that broke his neck.

Saw some Inds. that crossed the river in a canoe and came to me; I give them some beads, as presents; they made signs that they wanted to trade for knives, but I told them that I had none; they give me a lamper eel dryed, but I could not eat it.

They appear afraid of horses; they are very light coloured Inds., quite small and talkative. The weather still good.



⁴⁷⁸ The two miles of May eleventh and the six miles of the thirteenth brought them to a point on the divide between Trinity River and Redwood Creek, on the slopes of Hoopa Mountain.

 $^{^{479}}$ They camped on the divide, but still on the eastern slope, not far north of Elder.

⁴⁸⁰ The first account of the interesting Hupa Indians, of Athapascan stock, who were not encountered by the whites again till 1850. They occupied the Trinity River from its mouth to Burnt Ranch. They were a powerful and important tribe, whose language was the *lingua franca* among most of the tribes of northern California. All these tribes are described as

THURSDAY, 15TH MAY, 1828. The men was divided in parties this morning, some sent hunting, as we had no meat in camp, others sent back after horses and packs that was left back.

5 Inds. came to camp; I give them some beads; they appear quit friendly; shortly after fifteen or 20 came, and among them one squaw, a very good featured woman; she brought a dressed skin and 2 worked boles for sale; I bought them from her for beads. The hunters killed 5 deer. The balance of the horses and packs, was got to camp about 4 oc. in the evening; the men quit fatigued climbing up and down the hills. The weather still good. Some black bear seen by the hunters.

FRIDAY, MAY 16TH, 1828. We concluded that it was best to lie by today and send two men to look out a pass to travel, as the country looks awful a head, and let our poor horses rest, as there is pretty good grass about 1 mile off for them to feed on. 20 or 30 Inds. visited our camp in the course of the day, bringing eels for trade and roots; the men bought the most of them giving awls and beads in exchange. Capt. Smith made them some small presents, and bought one B. skin from them; the women does the principal trading. Those Inds. are quite civil and friendly; the weather still good.

SATURDAY, MAY 17TH 1828. The 2 men that were sent on discovery yesterday returned this morning and say that we are 15 or 20 miles of the North Paciffic

[&]quot;pudgy" except the Yuroks. For further comment on the Hupas see Powers, "Tribes of California," in United States Bureau of Ethnology, Contributions to North American Ethnology (Washington, 1877), 72-77. See also Goddard, "Life and Culture of the Hupa," in University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. i. Goddard states that the coming of Smith made little, if any, impression on the tribe.

Ocean; 481 they report game plenty, such as elk and deer; they report the traviling favourable to what it has been for 30 or 40 m. back. On there return, we concluded to remain here again to-day on account of our horses being so very lame and soar from the bruises they got on the 14th inst. The morning cloudy and rainy. The 2 men, Marishall and Turner, that were sent off yesterday, killed 3 deer, and Capt. Smith has dispatched 2 men after the meat, as the camp is almost destitute.

Mr. Virgin and Ransa quite unwell this morning. The day continues cloudy and rainy, and quite cold towards evening.

SUNDAY, MAY 18TH, 1828. As we intended moving camp, the horses were sent for early, and got to camp about 10 oc. A.M., packed and started, directing our course W. 3 miles and struck into a small Hill Pararie, where there was grass and water, and encamped, as the distance were too great to go to any other place of grass to-day for the horses, 482 from what Turner and Marishall tell us about the route from here to the ocean. The morning being so thick with fogg, the men that was sent after the horses did not find them all; Capt. Smith took 2 men with him, and went back after those that could not be found in the morning, and I went on with the company, and encamped before he joined me with those that he went back after; he found nine that was left and brought eight to camp, one being so lame that he could not travel, and he was oblige to leave him; the weather clear and windy.

MONDAY, MAY 19TH 1828. We made and early start this morning, stearing our course as yesterday, 6

⁴⁸¹ The two men, Turner and Marishall, crossed the divide and from the western slope sighted the Pacific, off Rocky Point.

⁴⁸² Still on the divide but presumably on the western, or Redwood, slope.

miles west, and encamped on the side of a mountain, where their was plenty of good grass and water for our horses. Just before we encamped, there was a small band of elk seen by Capt. Smith and those men that was in front with horses; they went after them and killed 6, two of which number were in good order. The travelling some better than it was back, although we have Hills and Brush to encounter yet; we encamped about 6 m. from the ocean, where we have a fair view of it.⁴⁸³

4 Inds. came to camp in the evening and stay all night. Capt. Smith give them some small presents of beads and some elk meat; they eat a part and carried the balance off with them; they appear quit friendly as yet.⁴⁸⁴

TUESDAY, MAY 20TH. As our horses was lame and tired, we concluded to remain here and let them rest, and kill and dry meat, as elk appeared to be plenty from the sign.

After breakfast, myself and Mr. Virgin started on horse back for the sea shore, following and Ind. Trail that led immediately there; after proceeding about 5 m. west, we found we could not get any further on horse back along the Ind. trail, so we struck out from the creek that we had followed down, about 3 miles from where we first struck it; this creek being about 40 yards wide, heading into a Mou. south and emptying into the ocean at a N. W. direction. After leaving the creek with considerable difficulty, we ascended a point of steep and brushy mountain, that runs along parallel with the sea shore, and followed that, until we could

⁴⁸³ Six miles from the ocean. In the course of the day, they must have crossed Redwood Creek and, climbing the western slope, camped on the ridge.

⁴⁸⁴ Probably the Chillule, a tribe occupying the Redwood for twenty miles from the coast. They were subject to the Hupa. See Powers, op. cit., 87.

get no further for rocks and brush. We got within 80 or 100 yards of the beach, but, being pretty much fatigued and not able to ride down on account of rocks and brush, we did not proceed any further in that direction. Seeing that it was impossible to travel along where we had been with the company, we concluded to turn and travel a cross a point of mou. that run N.E., but we could not get a long, the travelling so bad; we then concluded to stear for camp, as it was get[ting] on towards night. On our return we saw some elk; I went after them, and Mr. Virgin stay with the horses. I did not get to fire on them, and saw a black bare and made after him, and shot and wounded him very bad, and heard Mr. Virgin shoot and hollow in one minute after my gun were discharged, and tell me to come to I made all the haste I could in climbing the mou, to where Mr. Virgin was; he told me that some Inds. had attacked him in my absence, shoot a number of arrows at him and wounded the horses, and, he supposed, killed them by that time, that he had shot one, and was waiting for me. I rested a few minutes and proceed on cautiously to the place where we had left our horses, and found an Ind. lying dead and his dog by him, and Mr. Virgin's horse with 2 or 3 arrows in him, and he laying down. We got him up and made camp a little before night, and there was 7 or 8 Inds. at camp when we got there, and I made signs to them that we were attacked by some of there band, shoot at, one of our horses wounded, and we had killed one; they packed up and put off very soon.485 The day very foggy at times; some little rain in the evening. Mr. Smith told

⁴⁸⁵ Rogers and Virgin had followed down Redwood Creek nearly to its mouth. Finding their way impeded, they had turned northwest toward the sea, but here again, finding their course impassable, they had struck back toward the slopes of the mountain range running parallel with the sea south of Sharp Point. The attacking Indians were very likely Chillule.

me that he had sent two men back after the horses that were missing with instructions to stay and hunt them until tomorrow, if they did not find them to-day.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21ST. Still at the same camp; those two men that was sent after the lossed horses still absent. A considerable quantity of rain fell last night; the morning continues to be showery and foggy. men that were sent back after horses yesterday returned, late in the evening, without finding but one; they say they suppose the Inds. to have killed the rest. The timber in this part of this country is principally hemlock, pine, and white ceadar, the most of the ceadar & trees from 5 to 15 feet in diameter and tall in proportion to the thickness, the under brush, hazle, oak, briars, currents, goose berry, and Scotch cap bushes, 486 together with aldar, and sundry other shrubs too tedious to mention; the soil of the country rich and black, but very mountainous, which renders the travelling almost impassable with so many horses as we have got.

THURSDAY, MAY 22ND, 1828. All hands up early and preparing for a move, had the horses drove to camp and caught ready for packing up, and it commenced raining so fast that we concluded to remain here again to-day, as we could [not] see how to direct our course for fog along the mountains. We have not seen or heard any Inds. since the 20th that Mr. Virgin killed the one that shoot at his horse.

Oh! God, may it please thee, in thy divine providence, to still guide and protect us through this wilderness of doubt and fear, as thou hast done heretofore, and be with us in the hour of danger and difficulty, as all praise is due to thee and not to man, oh! do not forsake us Lord, but be with us and direct us through.

FRIDAY, MAY 23RD, 1828. The morning being clear,

⁴⁸⁶ The black raspberry, or thimbleberry, rubus occidentalis.

We were ready for a start early, directing our course East, back on the trail we travelled on the 19th inst, and made the same camp and stopped, it being 6 miles, and concluded to remain the balance of the day and let our meat and other wet articles get dry. We had but little difficulty getting along, as we had a good trail that were made by our horses passing along before; the day clear and pleasant.

SATURDAY, MAY 24TH. All hands up early and ready for a move about 8 oc. A.M., directing our course N.E., 4 miles, and encamped within 100 yards of Indian Scalp River, on the side of the mountain where there was plenty of good grass for our horses.⁴⁸⁸

Capt. Smith went down to the river, where there is a large Indian village on the opposite side, and called to the Inds., and there were 4 crossed over, 2 men, 1 woman and a boy about 12 or 14 years of age, and came to camp with him; he made them a present of a few beeds. The day cloudy and misty. There being some horses missing when we encamped, 2 men were sent immediately back in search of them and found them and got back a little after sun set. One mule killed this morning by haltering him and throwing him.

SUNDAY, MAY 25TH. As is usual when travelling, we was up and made and early start, directing our course N.E. about 1 mile and struck Ind. Scalp River opposite to and Ind. village, and got the Inds., with there canoes, to cross our plunder and selves. We drove in our horses, and they swam across, where they had to swim from 250 to 300 yards. We give those Inds. that assisted in crossing our goods, beeds and

⁴⁸⁷ Their course was a little to the south and east, taking them back to the camp of the nineteenth on the Redwood Ridge.

⁴⁸⁸ Having started from their camp of the nineteenth on the Redwood divide, they crossed the ridge and encamped near the Trinity, called by Smith, Indian Scalp River.

razors for there trouble; there was a number visited our camp in the course of the day, men, women, and children; some brought lamprey eels for sale; the men bought them, giving beeds in exchange. Those Inds. live in lodges built similar to our cabbins, with round holes about 18 inches in diameter for doors; they appear friendly and say nothing about the Ind. that Mr Virgin killed on the 20th inst. About 10 oc. A.M., it commenced raining and continued to rain on pretty fast during the day.

We cannot find out what those Inds. call themselves; the most of them have wampum and pieces of knives. Some have arrow points of iron; they also have some few beaver and otter skins. Mr. Smith purchases all the beaver fur he can from them. The foundation of there lodges are built of stone with stone floors; the appear quit affraid when we first reached the river and called to them, but, after coakesing, one came across with his canoe, and, showing him by signs what we wanted, he soon complyed, and called to others who came with canoes and comm. X our goods. Deer killed to-day; the meat all poor.

^{489 &}quot;Commenced crossing our goods." Smith and his party crossed the Trinity above the Klamath and encamped on the eastern bank. The Indians encountered were probably the Yurok, who had no name for themselves, but only names for their individual villages. They are of Weitspeken linguistic stock, but their language is quite distinct from the Hupa, being notable for its gutturals. They occupied the Klamath from the confluence of the Trinity to the sea and a short distance along the coast. The house, which Rogers describes, is typical of the Yurok and also of their neighbors, the Hupa, the construction of a stone foundation being particularly characteristic of the latter. The Hupa excavated a round cellar three or four feet deep, which was walled with stone. Round the cellar and resting on the surface of the ground, a circular wall was erected, on which poles, puncheons, and great strips of redwood bark were leaned in the form of a dome. Sometimes the stone wall was built outside the conical covering. Doors of the kind described by Rogers were made by boring a circular hole through one of the puncheons just large enough to admit of an Indian crawling through on all fours. Some of these holes had sliding panels on the inside, rendering them

Monday, May 26TH, 1828. We made an early start this morning, directing our course N.E., and ascended a very long and steep point of grassy mountain, and reached the divide, and kept it about 6 miles, the travilling good, and encamped on the side of the mountain where there was pretty good grass for our horses. I killed one fat buck to day, and Mr. Virgin killed a small doe, but poor fat. We counted our horses, and find that three got drowned yesterday in crossing the river, we saw one of them floating down the river this morning. The day clear and pleasant; 2 Inds. started with us this morning, as pilots, but soon got tired and left us.

TUESDAY, MAY 27TH. Capt. Smith and Mr. Virgin started early this morning ahead to look out a road to travel; I stay and had the horses caught and packed, and started following the blazes through the woods, a N.W. course, descending a very steep and brushy point of mountain, about 3 miles, and struck a creek 25 or 30 yards in width, heading east, and running west into Ind. Scalp River, and enc. (for the day), as there was some horses missing, and sent 3 men back on the trail to look after them. There was 8 or 10 Inds. came to camp, soon after we stoped; Capt. Smith give them a few beeds; they have a fishing establishment on the creek. The day pleasant and clear; one horse left to-day.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28TH. We made and early start this morning, stearing our course N.E. up a very steep and brushy point of the mountain, and got on the ridge, or divide, between the creek and river, and travelled

[&]quot;baby-tight" on occasion. Shell money, wampum, was the usual medium of exchange. See Powers, op. cit., 45 ff., 74.

⁴⁹⁰ They traveled this day up the semi-circular divide between the Trinity and the Klamath, camping on the slopes of the mountain.

⁴⁹¹ They reached the Klamath, not far above its confluence with the Trinity.

about 7 miles on it, and enc, on the top of the mountain, where there was but little grass for horses.⁴⁹² The day so foggy that we could scarce see how to get along on the ridge, at times; late in the evening, it cleared off, and we had a fair view of the ocean. It appeared to be about 15 or 20 miles distant.

THURSDAY, MAY 20TH. All hands up early and making ready for a move; about 10 oc. A.M., our horses were collected together, and we got under way, following the trail that we came yesterday, about 2 miles, S.W., and found some water in a ravine and encamped, the day being so foggy that we could not see how to direct our course to the river, and sent 2 men to hunt a pass to travel; they returned in the evening without finding any route that we could get along with our band of horses.⁴⁹⁸ The timber of the country as usual pine and white ceadar.

FRIDAY, MAY 30TH, 1828. All hands up early this morning and out after horses, as they were very much scattered, and got them collected about 10 o.c., and star[t]ed down a step and brushy ridge, a N.W. course, and travelled about 3 m., and struck a small creek, where there was a little bottom of good grass and clover, and encamped.⁴⁹⁴ The horses got so that it was almost impossible to drive them down the mou. amongst the brush; 8 or 10 left back in the brush, and six men sent back after them; they got them to camp just at

⁴⁹² Again on the divide between the upper and lower Klamath. From the ridge the ocean is easily visible, distant about seventeen miles. The mountains come down so close to the river in the cañon of the Klamath that they found it impossible to proceed except along the ridge.

⁴⁹⁸ An effort to reach the river by traveling two miles southwest resulted in failure, the men sent ahead finding the country too rough for horses. They probably tried to descend Peewan Creek.

⁴⁹⁴ Still traveling northwest, along the ridge, parallel to the Klamath. Several small streams enter the river on the east side, the most important being Blue Creek.

dark; one lost entirely that the men could not find; the rear part of the compy, that stay with me, had a serious time running up and down the mountain after horses through the thickets of brush and briars. 2 elk killed to day by Mr. Virgin; the morning clear, and the evening foggy.

SATURDAY, MAY 31ST, 1828. Capt. Smith concluded we would stay here a part of the day and send 2 men to look out a pass to the river; they returned about 11 o.c' and say that we will be obliged to climb the mountain again at this place, and go along the ridge for 2 or 3 miles, and then descend to the main river, as it is impossible to go along the creek with horses for cut rocks. 495 As it had commenced raining when those men returned, we concluded to stay here to day, as there was plenty of good grass for our horses. Inds 496 came to camp in the rain, and brought a few rasberrys that are larger than any species of rasberrys I ever saw; the bush also differ from those I have been acquainted with; the stock grow from 8 to 10 feet in highth, covered with briars, and branches off with a great many boughs, the leaf is very similar to those vines I have been acquainted with heretofore. Capt. Smith give those Inds. some meat, and they say they will go with us from here to the ocean.

It rained fast from the time it commenced in the forenoon, untill night.

SUNDAY, JUNE 1ST, 1828. We got our horses about 10 o.c. A.M. and packed up and started in the rain, as it had not quit from the time it commenced yesterday, directing our course west, up a steep and brushy mountain, and travelled about 3 miles and enc. in a small

⁴⁹⁵ The scouting party probably followed down the slope of the mountain toward the river but found their way impassable.

⁴⁹⁶ Probably Yuroks.

bottom pararie, principally covered with ferns; 407 the travelling amazing bad; we left several packs of fur on the road and lost several pack horses and some loose horses, the day being so rainy that it was almost impossible to get up and down the mountains; the road became quite mirery and slippery. Capt. Smith got kicked by a mule and hurt pretty bad. When I reached camp with the rare [rear], it was night, and all hands very wet and tired.

Monday, June 2nd, 1828. Capt. Smith concluded to remain here and send some men back after the fur that was left, and to hunt horses; they returned about noon, bringing all the horses and packs that was left. Some men went hunting but killed nothing. Two Inds. 498 came to camp and brought some rasberrys; Mr. Smith give them a few beeds. The morning wet; about 1 o.c. P.M., it cleared off, and the balance of the day fair. Capt. Smith goes about although he was much hurt by the kick he received yesterday.

TUESDAY, MAY [JUNE] 3RD, 1828. We made an early start this morning, directing our course N.W. up a steep point of Brushy Mou., and travelled about 2 m., and enc. in the river bottom, where there was but little for our horses to eat; 499 all hands working hard to get the horses on, as they have become so much worn out that it is almost impossible to drive through brush; we have two men every day that goes a head with axes to cut a road, and then it is with difficulty we can get along. The day clear and pleasant.

WEDNESDAY, MAY [JUNE] 4TH. As our horses were very much fatigued, we made and early start again,

⁴⁹⁷ After four miles of scrambling over the rough mountain side, they encamped not far from the river, having passed into Del Norte County.

⁴⁹⁸ Still the Yuroks.

⁴⁹⁹ At last they reached the river where, emerging from the mountains, it flows through a narrow valley before entering the sea.

this morning, to get to grass, but, the road proving both brushy and mirery, we only made 1½ miles, a N.W. course, during the day; the men almost as well as horses done out. We were obliged to enc. again in the river bottom and build a pen for our horses, as there was no grass for them. 500 5 Inds. came to me and brought some rasberrys, and give me; I give them a few beeds and went on, and left a coloured man by the name of Ransa with them, and had not been absent but a few minutes before he called to me and said the Inds. wanted to rob him of his blanket, that they had rushed into the bushes and got there bows and arrows; he fired on them and they run off leaving 2 or 3 small fishes. The Inds. that have visited our camps some time back generally came without arms and appeared very friendly; those I left with Ransa had no arms at the time they came to me, which induced me to believe that he told me a lie, as I suppose he wanted to get some berrys and fish without pay, and the Inds. wanted his knife and he made a false alarm, for which I give him a severe reprimand. day clear and warm.

THURSDAY, JUNE 5TH, 1828. Our horses being without food again last night, we packed up and made and early start, sending some men a head to cut a road to where there was a small bottom of grass on a creek that comes into Ind. Scalp River, about 10 yards wide; the distance being about 2 miles, a N.W. course. We reached it about 11 o.c.' A.M., and enc., one mule and 2 horses left to-day, that coud not travel. No Inds. seen to-day; one man sent hunting but killed nothing, and we are entirely out of provision with the exception of a few pounds of flour and rice. Capt. Smith give each

⁵⁰⁰ Still along the river, which is heavily timbered on both banks.

⁵⁰¹ They were now near the mouth of the Klamath, not far from the present town of Requa.

man a half pint a flour last night for their supper; we can find no game to kill although there is plenty of elk and bear sign. The day clear and pleasant. The most of the men went hunting after they had enc., but found nothing to kill; we killed the last dog we had along, and give out some more flour.

FRIDAY, JUNE 6TH, 1828. Myself and six men started early hunting, but killed nothing; 5 others started after we returned, as we intend staying at this camp for several days for the purpose of recruiting our horses. 8 Inds ventured to camp and brought a few lamprey eels and some ransberrys; they were soon purchased by Mr. Smith and the men for beeds. The morning foggy and cloudy, the after part of the day clear and pleasant.

The hunters all returned without getting meat, and we were obliged to kill a horse for to eat.

SATURDAY, JUNE 7TH, 1828. At the same camp; some men pressing beaver fur, and 2 sent hunting, and 3 others sent back to look for loossed horses. The horses hunters returned without finding but one horse; they report 2 dead that was left back. 18 or 20 Inds. visited camp again to-day with berrys, mussels, and lamprey eels for sale; those articles was soon purchased, with beeds, by Capt. Smith and the men, and when the Inds. left camp, they stole a small kitten belonging to one of the men; they come with out arms and appear friendly but inclined to steal. The day clear and pleasant.

SUNDAY, JUNE 8TH, 1828. As we intend moving camp, we was up and ready for a start, early, stearing our course N.W., about 3½ miles over two small points

 $^{^{502}}$ The Indians of this vicinity lived chiefly on fish, catching eels in traps which they affixed to stakes driven in the river bottom. Powers, op. cit., 103.

of mou. and enc. on the sea shore, where there was a small bottom of grass for our horses. The travelling ruff, as we had several thickets to go through; it made it bad on account of driving horses, as they can scarce be forced through brush any more. There was several Ind. lodges on the beach and some Inds.; we got a few clams and some few dried fish from them. Some horses being left, I took four men with me and went back and stay all night in a small Pararie.

MONDAY, JUNE 9TH. I was up early and started the men that stay with me all night after horses and to hunt at the same time for meat, as I had left the camp entirely destitute; we hunted hard until 9 or 10 o.c. A.M., but killed nothing. Gaiter wounded a black bear, but did not get him. 6 horses was found that was left, when all hands came in, we saddled up our horses and started for camp, and reached it about the middle of the day. All the men that was sent hunting in the morning from camp had come in without killing anything. Some Inds. in camp with a few small fishes and clams; the men, being hungry, soon bought them and eat them. They also brought cakes made of sea grass and weeds and sold to the men for beeds. Where we encamped, there was a small creek pulling into the ocean at a south direction. Capt. Smith started out again to try his luck and found a small band of elk and killed 3; he returned to camp and got some men and horses and brought all the meat in, which was a pleasing sight to a set of hungry men. The day clear and pleasant.

TUESDAY, JUNE 10TH. We concluded to stay here to-day, dry meat, make salt, and let our horses rest, as there is good grass and clover for them. A number of

⁵⁰⁸ They had, at last, reached the sea, camping north of the Requa. From this point to June twelfth, the itinerary is difficult to follow for the distances are underestimated.

Inds. in camp with berrys, but do not find so good a market for them as they did yesterday. The morning cloudy and foggy, some rain towards evening. The men appear better satisfied than they do when in a state of starvation.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11TH. As we intended moving camp; the men was called early, and, preparing for a start, we were under way about 9 o.c. in the morning, directing our course N.W. up a steep point of mou. along the sea coast, and travelled about 2 m., and entered the timber and brush, and kept along a small divide between the sea shore and creek we left, and travelled 3 m. further and enc. in the woods, without grass for our horses, and built a pen and kept them in through the night. 504 The travelling very bad on account of brush and fallen timber; several horses left with packs that got hid in the brush and was passed and not seen by the men. When we was ready for a start, our fellin axe and drawing knife was missing, and the Inds. had left the camp. Capt. Smith took 5 men with him and went to there lodges, and the Inds. fled to the mou. and rocks in the ocean; he caught one and tyed him, and we brought him on about 2 miles and released him. The axe was found where they had buryed it in the sand. The day cloudy and foggy.

THURSDAY, JUNE 12TH. All hands up early and ready for a start, directing our course W. about 2 miles and struck a small creek, where there was some grass on the mountain for our horses, and enc. for the day, the traveling very bad. The horses that was left yesterday, was found to-day 505 and brought to camp. The day clear; some fog in the morning.

⁵⁰⁴ Following the coast, north, a short distance back from the shore, they reached Wilson Creek. There are a number of rocks off the shore at this point.

⁵⁰⁵ They camped about midway between Requa and Crescent City.

FRIDAY, JUNE 13TH, 1828. We made and early start again this morning, stearing N.W., about 6 m, and struck the ocean, and enc. on the beach. Plenty of grass on the mountain for our horses, but very steep for them to climb after it. The traveling very mountainous; some brush as yesterday. 2 mules left today that give out and could not travel; one young horse fell down a point of mou. and killed himself. The day clear and pleasant.

SATURDAY, JUNE 14TH, 1828. We made and early start again this morning, directing our course along the sea shore N., about 1 mile, and struck a low neck of land running into the sea, where there was plenty of clover and grass for our horse, and enc. for the day. 507 We travelled in the water of the ocean 3 or 4 hundred yards, when the swells some times would be as high as the horses backs. 2 men sent back after a load of fur that was lossed yesterday, and to look after horses. 2 hunters dispatched after elk as soon as we enc. One fat deer killed yesterday by J. Hanna. Seven or 8 Inds. came to camp; Capt. Smith give them some beads. The hunters returned without killing any game; saw plenty of elk sign. The day clear and windy.

SUNDAY, JUNE 15TH, 1828. Several men started hunting early, as we intended staying here to day and letting our horses rest. Joseph Lapoint killed a buck elk that weighed 695 lbs., neat weight; the balance of the hunters came in without killing. A number of Inds. visited our camp again to day, bringing fish, clams, strawberrys, and a root that is well known by the traders west of the Rocky Mountains by the name

⁵⁰⁶ Finding their progress easier, they managed to reach a point just south of Crescent City, where they encamped. For a description of this stretch of coast, see Chase, California Coast Trails (Boston, 1913), 307 ff.

507 A mile from the camp, they struck the long neck of land called Point St. George, and encamped on the side facing the open sea.

of commeser,⁵⁰⁸ for trade. All those articles was soon purchased. The day cloudy, windy, and foggy, some rain in the afternoon. Cap. Smith and Mr. Virgin went late in the evening to hunt a pass to travel and found a small band of elk and killed two.

Monday, June 16th. We made and early start this morning, directing our course N.N.W. across a neck of land projecting or running into the ocean, and travelled 4 m., and enc. in a pararie, where there was plenty of grass for our horses. We had considerable difficulty getting our horses a cross a small branch, that was a little mirery; we were obliged to make a pen on the bank to force them across, which detained us several hours. The day clear and warm.

TUESDAY, JUNE 17TH, 1828. We started early again this morning, stearing our course, as yesterday, N.N.W., 2 miles, and found the travelling in the bottom so amazing brushy and mirery we concluded to go back a few hundred yards to the pararie and encamp, dry what meat we had on hand, and send some men to look out a pass to travel when we leave here. We also sent some hunters out. Joseph Lapoint killed a fine buck elk, and Mr. McCoy killed a fawn elk. The day clear and warm, plenty of muskeatoes, large horse flies, and small knats to bite us and pesterous early of mornings and late in the evenings. The timber along the bottom, ceador, hemlock of the largest size, under brush, hazle, briars, aldar, and sundry other srubs; the soil very rich and black.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18TH, 1828. We concluded to

⁵⁰⁸ The kamas root.

⁵⁰⁹ Proceeding along the point, they camped on its northern extremity near Lake Earl.

⁵¹⁰ They advanced a couple of miles but, finding the ground in the vicinity of Lake Earl swampy and impassable, they returned to the higher prairie and encamped.

stay here to day, and dry meat, and do some work that could not well be dispensed with, and send some men off to hunt a road to travel to-morrow, as those that were sent yesterday did not reach the ocean. say the traveling was tolerable as far as they went. Some more hunters sent out this morning; and men sent after the meat that was killed last evening. day clear and very warm. Those men that was sent to hunt a road, returned late in the evening and say that we cannot travel along the bottom for swamps and lakes.511 The hunters returned without killing any game. A number of Inds. visited our camp with clams, fish, strawberrys, and some dressed skins for sale, also commerss roots, ready prepared for eating; they appear friendly but inclined to steal without watching; they differ from the Ind. Scalp River Inds. in speach a little.512

THURSDAY, JUNE 19TH. As those men that was sent to hunt a road yesterday, returned without assertaining what way we could travel from here, Capt. Smith concluded it was best for us to remain here again today, and that he would take two men with him and go to the N.E. across a ridge, and see what kind of travelling it would be in that direction. He started early in company with two of the men, and returned about 12 o.c., and says that he can pass on in a N.E. direction very well as far as he went; he discovered another small river heading in the mountain east of the ocean, and emptying into a bay west about 2-½ or 3 miles wide. 518 5 Inds,

⁵¹¹ The same obstacles that had been encountered the day before.

⁵¹² The Indians were probably Tolowa, whose language resembles the Hupa more closely than the Yurok. Powers, op. cit., 65.

⁵¹⁸ Smith River, which enters the ocean a few miles south of the Oregon-California boundary. The main highway up the coast today follows the course pursued by Smith. Chase, op. cit., 309 ff.

in camp today with strawberrys for sale; the day clear and warm.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20TH, 1828. Capt. Smith started early with one man to blaze the road and left me to bring on the compy. I was ready about 10 o.c. A.M., being detained collecting horses that was missing, and started and travelled along and Ind. trail, about 2 m. east, thence 1 mile N.E., on the blazed road, forded the river that Capt. Smith discovered yesterday, which was nearly swimming and from 60 to 70 yards wide, and enc. on the east side, in a bottom pararie that contained about 15 or 20 acres of good grass and clover. had brought lamprey eels for sale; the men bought a number from them for beeds. Several of us went hunting, and I killed a fine black tail buck, that was fat. Marichall killed a small deer.

SATURDAY, JUNE 21ST, 1828. All hands up early and preparing for start. We was under way about 8 o.c. A.M., directing our course up a steep brushy point of mountain, about 1½ m. E, and struck and open grassy ridge, or rather a small divide, and kept it about 4½ miles N.E. and enc. The travelling along the divide pretty good and most of the way clear of brush; some rock. I saw and elk, while moving on, and approached it, and killed it; it happened to be a very large and fat buck, that would weight, I should say, nearly 600, from appearance, as I judge from one that we weighed that was killed by Lapoint. Several deer killed by the compy. The day clear and cold.

⁵¹⁴ Traveling two miles east and one mile northeast, they struck Smith River, some distance above its mouth, fording the stream six or eight miles from the sea, where its course is nearly due south and north.

 $^{^{515}}$ An east and northeast course of six miles brought them to the ridge, east of the town of Smith River.

SUNDAY, JUNE 22. We made and early start again this morning, directing our course N.W., in towards the ocean, as the travilling over the hills E. began to grow very rocky and brushy, and travelled 5 m, and enc. in a bottom prararie on a small branch. The road, to-day, brushy and some what stoney. Timber, hemlock and ceadar, of considerable size, and very thick on the ground; some trees from 10 to 15 feet in diamitar. The weather still remain good. We had some considerable trouble driving our horses through the brush.

MONDAY, JUNE 23RD. All hands up early and preparing for a start; we was under way about 9 o.c. A.M., directing our course as yesterday N.W., and traveled 8 m. and enc. 3 miles from camp we struck a creek 516 20 or 30 yards wide and crossed it, thence 5 M. further, keeping under the mountain along the bottom and sometimes along the beach of the ocean. When we enc., the hills come within ½ mile of the ocean pararie, covered with grass and brakes. A little before we enc., we discovered the mule that packed the amunition to be missing; four men was sent immediately back in search of it and found it, and brought to camp just at night. I mule that was lame give out and was left, and another run off from camp, and went back on the trail with a saddle and halter on. A number of Inds. visited our camp, bringing strawberrys and commass for sale; the men bought all they brought, giving beeds in exchange. We passed a number of wigwams during the day. One fine doe elk killed. The day good.

TUESDAY, JUNE 24TH. We made and early start again this morning, directing our course N.N.W., and travelled 5 miles, and struck a creek about 60 or 70

⁵¹⁶ Probably Windchuck Creek, almost exactly on the California-Oregon boundary.

yards wide, and, the tide being in, we could not cross, and were obliged to encamp on the beach of the ocean for the day. 517 Sent two men back early after the mule that run off last night; they returned without finding it; and 2 more were immediately sent back in pursuit of it with orders to hunt all the afternoon and untill 10 or II o.c. tomorrow in case they could not find it this evening. The travelling pretty good yesterday and today; a great many little springs breaks out along under the mountain and makes it a little mirery in some of there branches. Enc. close by some Ind. lodges; they all had fled and left them; no visits from them as yet at this camp; 5 or six Inds. came to camp this morning, just before we started, and brought berries and fish for sale. Capt. Smith bought all they had and divided amongst the men. The day fair and pleasant.

Wednesday, June 25TH, 1828. On account of the tide being low, we were ready for a start a little after sun rise; started and crossed the creek with out difficulty, it being about belly deep to our horses, and directed our course again N.W., keeping along a cross the points of pararie near and on the beach of the ocean and travelled 12 m. and enc. on the N. side of a small branch at the mouth where it enters into the ocean, close by some Ind. lodges; 518 they had run off as yesterday and left their lodges. The 2 men that was sent back to hunt the mule, returned to camp a little after night and say the Inds sallied out from their village with their bows and arrows and made after them, yelling and screaming, and tryed to surround them; they retreated on horseback and swam a small creek,

⁵¹⁷ Starting from a point north of the boundary line, they proceeded five miles to Chetcoe River, Curry County, Oregon, where they camped.

⁵¹⁸ Crossing the Chetcoe at low tide, they traveled twelve miles, encamping at the mouth of Thoglas Creek. The Indians encountered were Chetcos.

and the Inds. gave up the chase. When our horses was drove in this morning, we found 3 of them badly wounded with arrows, but could see no Inds. untill we started; we then discovered a canoe loaded with them some distance up the creek close by a thicket and did not pursue them, knowing it was in vain. One deer killed, and several more wounded, and one elk wounded to-day while travilling. Deer and elk quite plenty. 2 horses left to-day that give out and could not travel. The travelling tolerable when compared to former days when in the mou. among the brush; some steep ravines to cross, but not very mirery. The day clear cold and windy for the season.

THURSDAY, JUNE 26TH, 1828. We made and early start again this morning, stearing, as yesterday, N.N.W. across several points of brushy and steep mou. and travelled 8 m. on a straight line, but to get to the place of enc., about 12 miles, and struck a creek about 30 yards wide at the entrance into the ocean, and, it being high water, we enc. for the day. 2 deer killed today. When we come to count our horses, we found one very valuable one missing that was killed, I suppose, by the Inds. on the 24 inst., when they wounded the other 3. We followed and Ind. Trail from the time we started in the morning untill we enc.

FRIDAY, JUNE 27TH. All hands up early and under way a little after sun rise, and started along the beach of the ocean, crossed the creek at the mouth, where it was nearly belly deep to our horses, and purs[u]ed our route along the beach, it bearing N.N.W., and travelled about 7 miles and struck a river about 100 yards wide at the mouth and very deep, that makes a considerable bay and enc., and commenced getting timber for

⁵¹⁹ They probably camped on the southern bank of Pistol River.

rafts. A number of Ind. lodges on both sides of the river; they had run off, as usual, and left their lodges and large baskets; we tore down one lodge to get the puncheons to make rafts, as timber was scarce along the beach. The weather clear and windy. The Inds. that run off raised smokes on the north side of the bay, I suppose, for signals to those that were absent, or some other villages, to let them know that we were close at hand. All the Inds. for several days past runs off and do not come to us any more. 521

SATURDAY, JUNE 28TH, 1828. All hands up early, some fixing the rafts for crossing the river and others sent after the horses. We had all our goods crossed by 9 o.c. A.M., and then proceeded to drive in the horses; there was 12 drowned in crossing, and I know not the reason without it was driving them in too much crowded one upon another. We have lossed 23 horses and mules within 3 days past. After crossing the river, we packed up and started along the sea shore, a N.N.W. course, and travelled about 6 miles and enc., 522 sometimes on the Beach and sometimes along the points of Pararie Hills that keeps in close to the Ocean; the country back looks broken, and thickety, timbered with low scrubby pines and ceadars, the pararie hills covered with good grass and blue clover; the country has been similar as respects timber and soil for several days past, also grass and herbage. One deer killed to-day.

⁵²⁰ Presumably crossing Pistol River, they proceeded along the beach until they struck Rogue River, where they encamped. The adistance is underestimated.

⁵²¹ The prevailing Indian stock along the coast is Athapascan. The Taltushtuntude lived about the mouth of Rogue River, the Mishikhwutmetunne farther north, near the mouth of the Coquille.

⁵²² Crossing Rogue River, they traveled six miles, camping near Ophir. Compare United States Geological Survey, Port Orford Quadrangle (topographic sheet).

SUNDAY, JUNE 29TH, 1828. We made and early start again this morning, stearing as yesterday N.N.W. along the beach and hills, and travelled 5 M. and enc. 528 on account of the water being high, which prevented us from getting along the shore, or we should have travelled a great deal further, as the point of the mou. was too ruff that come into the beach to get along. The travelling yesterday and to-day much alike. I killed one deer after we enc. The day clear and warm.

Monday, June 30th, 1828. We was up and under way in good season, directing our course N.N.W. along the beach 1 mile, Then took a steep point of mountain, keeping the same course, and travelled over it and along the beach 6 miles more, and encamped. Lossed one mule last night, that fell in a pitt that was made by Inds. for the purpose of catching elk, and smothered to death; one other fell down a point of mou. today and got killed by the fall. The day clear and pleasant.

Tuesday, July 1st, 1828. All hands up early and under way, stearing as yesterday N. along the beach of the ocean and across the points of small hills and travelled 12 miles and enc. The day clear and warm; one Ind. in camp early this morning. The country for several days past well calculated for raising stock, both cattle and hogs, as it abounds in good grass and small lakes a little off from the beach where there is good roots grows for hogs. One horse killed again to-day by falling.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2ND, 1828. We made a pretty early start again this morning, stearing N., and trav-

⁵²⁸ Near the mouth of Mussel Creek.

⁵²⁴ A little over a mile brought them to Humbug Mountain, which they crossed. Six miles brought them to the vicinity of Port Orford.

⁵²⁵ Twelve miles along the beach brought them to the vicinity of Floras Creek.

elled 12 miles, and enc. 526 No accident has happened in regard to horses to-day. We travelled pretty much along the beach and over small sand hills; the timber, small pine; the grass not so plenty nor so good as it has been some days past. The country, for 3 days past, appears to leave the effects of earth quakes at some period past, as it is quite cut to pieces in places and very broken, although it affords such and abundance of good grass and clover. The weather still good. As the most of the mens times expired this evening, Capt. Smith called all hands and give them up there articles, and engaged the following men to go on with him, at one dollar per day, untill he reaches the place of desposit, viz:

John GaiterAbraham LaplantArthur BlackCharles SwiftJohn HannaThos. DawsEmanuel LazarusTousaint Marishall

Daws time to commence when he gets well enough for duty.

Also Peter Ranne and Joseph Palmer, at the above named price, one dollar per day, and Martin McCoy, 200 dollars, from the time he left the Spanish country, untill he reaches the deposit.

THURSDAY, JULY 3RD, 1828. We made a pretty early start, stearing N. along the pine flatts close by the beach of the ocean, and travelled 2 m., and struck a river about 2 hundred yards wide, and crossed it in and Ind. canoe. Capt. Smith, being a head, saw the Inds. in the canoe, and they tryed to get off but he pursued them so closely that they run and left it. They tryed to split the canoe to pieces with thir poles, but he

⁵²⁶ Twelve miles took them to the mouth of Johnson Creek, Coos County, Oregon. Compare United States Geological Survey, Coos Bay Quadrangle (topographic sheet).

screamed at them, and they fled, and left it, which saved us of a great deal of hard labour making rafts. After crossing our goods, we drove in our horses, and they all swam over, but one; he drowned pretty near the shore. We packed up and started again, after crossing along the beach N., and travelled 5 miles more, and encamped. Saw some Inds. on a point close by the ocean; Marishall caught a boy about 10 years old and brought him to camp. I give him some beads and dryed meat; he appears well and satisfied, and makes signs that the Inds. have all fled in their canoes and left him. I killed one deer to-day. The country similar to yesterday; the day warm and pleasant.

FRIDAY, JULY 4TH. We made a start early, stearing N.N.W. 9 m., and enc. The travelling pretty bad, as we were obliged to cross the low hills, as they came in close to the beach, and the beach being so bad that we could not get along, thicketty and timbered, and some very bad ravenes to cross. We enc. on a long point, where there was but little grass for the horses. Good deal of elk signs, and several hunters out but killed nothing, the weather still good.

SATURDAY, JULY 5TH, 1828. We travelled 1½ miles to-day N, and, finding good grass, enc. as our horses was pretty tired. Two Inds., who speak Chinook, 581

⁵²⁷ After traveling two miles, they reached and crossed the Coquille. Continuing along the beach northward, they camped not far south of Whiskey

⁵²⁸ The Indian boy was given the name, Marion, and was among those who perished at the Umpqua. "Casualty List," Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Letter Book, 299-300, Kansas Historical Society, Ms.

⁵²⁹ Nine miles north northwest carried them across the steep and broken ravines known as the Seven Devils. They camped south of Cape Arago.

⁵³⁰ A mile and a half north brought them to the vicinity of Big Creek.
531 The Chinook jargon. This is the first instance of the use, so far

south, of what later became the *lingua franca* of the entire Pacific coast from California to Alaska. It was first noticed about 1810, and at that time con-

came to our camp; they tell us we are ten days travell from Catapos on the wel Hamett, which is pleasing news to us.⁵³² Plenty of elk sign, and several hunters out, but killed nothing.

SUNDAY, JULY 6TH. N. 2 miles to-day and enc., the travelling very bad, mirery and brushy; several horses snagged very bad passing over fallen hemlock; after encamping, two elk killed.⁵³³

MONDAY, JULY 7TH, 1828. We concluded to stay here to-day for the purpose of resting our horses and getting meat and clearing a road to the mouth of a large river that is in sight, about 2 miles distant that we cannot get too without.⁵³⁴ About 100 Inds. in camp, with fish and mussels for sale; Capt. Smith bought a sea otter skin from the chief; one of them have a fuzill, all have knives and tommahawks. One a blanket cappon, and a number have pieces of cloth. The weather for several days past good.

TUESDAY, JULY 8TH, 1828. We made and early start, directing our course N. along the beach and low hills; the travelling very bad on account of ravenes, fallen timber, and brush. We made 2 miles and struck the river and enc. The river at the mouth is about 1 m. wide, the Inds. very numerous, they call themselves the Ka Koosh. They commenced trading shell and

sisted only of Indian words, but later it incorporated English, French, and, perhaps, Russian roots. In 1841, the number of words in the jargon was estimated at two hundred fifty.

⁵⁸²The Kalapooian tribes of the Willamette and upper Umpqua comprise a distinct linguistic group. They seem to have suffered severely from an epidemic about four years before Smith's visit. They were usually at war with the Umpqua Indians, who dwelt farther down the river of that name.

⁵³³ They crossed Big Creek, finding their way brushy and miry.

⁵³⁴ They cleared a road east to the South Slough, which, not unnaturally, was mistaken for a river of some size.

⁵³⁵ They reached the mouth of South Slough. The Indians are probably the Coos or Kusan tribe, as the name suggests, a very small group now

scale fish, rasberrys, strawberrys, and 2 other kinds of bury that I am unacquainted with, also some fur skins. In the evening, we found they had been shooting arrows into 8 of our horses and mules; 3 mules and one horse died shortly after they were shot. The Inds. all left camp, but the 2 that acts as interpreters; they tell us that one Ind. got mad on account of a trade he made and killed the mules and horses. The weather still good. One horse left today that was ma[i]m[ed].

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9TH. We made and early start again this morning, and crossed the 1st fork of the river, which is 400 or 500 yards wide, and got all our things safe across about 9 o.c. A.M., then packed up and started along the beach along the river N., and travelled about 2 miles, and struck another river and enc. 586 We crossed in Ind. canoes; a great many Inds. live along the river bank; there houses built after the fashion of a shed. 537 A great many Inds. in camp with fish and berris for sale; the men bought them as fast as they brought them. We talked with the chiefs about those Inds. shooting our horses, but could get but little satisfaction as they say that they were not accessary to it, and we, finding them so numerous and the travelling being so bad, we thought it advisable to let it pass at present without notice. We bought a number of beaver, land, and sea otter skins from them in the course of the day.

practically extinct. It is possible, however, that Rogers refers to the Kuitsch, a Yakonan tribe, inhabiting the lower Umpqua and the coast. Much confusion has arisen through the similarity of names.

⁵⁸⁶ The words "1st fork of the," are crossed out in the Ms. Having crossed South Slough, they turned north along the east side of Coos Bay but, after proceeding more than two miles, they struck Coos River itself at the point where it flows west.

 $^{^{537}}$ I.e., of boards, as distinct from the bark hives of the tribes farther south.

THURSDAY, JULY 10TH, 1828. We commenced crossing the river early, as we had engaged canoes last night; we drove in our horses and they swam across; they had to swim about 600 yards. Our goods was all crossed about 9 o.c. A.M. and 2 horses that was wounded, and one was much, remained, that Capt. Smith and 5 men stay to cross; the 2 horses dyed of there wounds, and Capt. Smith swam the mule along side of the canoe. He was some what of opinion the Inds. had a mind to attact him from there behaviour, and he crossed over where the swells was running pretty high, and, there being good grass, we enc. for the day; the Inds. pretty shy.

The river we crossed to-day unites with the one we crossed yesterday and makes and extensive bay that runs back into the hills; it runs N and S, or rather heads N.E. and enters the ocean S.W., at the entrance into the ocean its about 1½ miles wide. 538

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1828. All hands up early and under way, had and Ind. who speaks Chinook along as a guide. Our course was N. along the beach of the ocean, 15 miles, and struck [another] river that is about 300 yards wide at the mouth and enc., as it was not fordable. We crossed a small creek, 3 yards wide, 10 miles from camp. To-day we enc. where there was some Inds. living; a number of them speak Chinook; 70 or 80 in camp; they bring us fish and berris and appear friendly; we buy those articles from them at a

⁵⁸⁸ They crossed Coos River, perhaps above Empire, striking the long sandspit on the west side of the bay. The description of the bay as running north and south makes it clear that they did not explore the country to the east of South Slough, where the bay takes a quite different trend, the general form being that of an inverted Y.

⁵³⁹ Following the beach, they crossed Eel Creek reaching the Umpqua River in Douglas County, Oregon.

pretty dear rate. Those Inds call themselves the Omp quch. 540

The day windy and cold. Several of the men worn out.

Peter Ranne has been sick for 6 weeks, with a swelling in his legs. The country about ½ mile back from the ocean sand hills covered with small pine and brush, the sand beach, quit 540a

SATURDAY, JULY 12TH. We commenced crossing the river early and had our goods and horses over by 8 o.c., then packed up and started a N.E. course up the river and travelled 3 M. and enc. Had several Inds. along; one of the Ind. stole and ax and we were obliged to seize him for the purpose of tying him before we could scare him to make him give it up. Capt. Smith and one of them caught him and put a cord round his neck, and the rest of us stood with our guns ready in case they made any resistance, there was about 50 Inds. present but did not pretend to resist tying the other.542 The river at this place is about 300 yards wide and make a large bay that extends 4 or 5 miles up in the pine hills. The country similar to yesterday. We traded some land and sea otter and beaver fur in the course of the day. Those Inds. bring Pacific rasberrys and other berries.548

⁵⁴⁰ The Umpquas, an Athapascan tribe, living along the lower stretches of the Umpqua River. They number at the present time less than one hundred.

⁵⁴⁰a The manuscript breaks off abruptly at this point.

The Parker map (q.v.) to which Smith contributed, shows him ignorant of the latter stream. They proceeded in an easterly direction toward Winchester Bay.

⁵⁴² The story of the stolen axe and its return after binding the Indian, who was, as it happened, the chief, is confirmed by McLaughlin's account, who had it from Arthur Black, one of the survivors of the massacre. See Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History* (Portland, 1905), vol. i, 216.

⁵⁴³ I.e., the large variety noted by Rogers, May 31.

SUNDAY, JULY 13TH, 1828. We made a pretty good start this morning, directing our course along the bay, east and travelled 4 miles and enc. 544 50 or 60 Inds in camp again today (we traded 15 or 20 beaver skins from them, some elk meat and tallow, also some lamprey eels). The traveling quit mirery in places; we got a number of our pack horses mired, and had to bridge several places. A considerable thunder shower this morning, and rain at intervals through the day. Those Inds. tell us after we get up the river 15 or 20 miles we will have good travelling to the Wel Hammett or Multinomah, where the Callipoo Inds. 545 live.

Harrison G. Rogers' Book continued from the 10th of May, 1828. Jedediah S. Smith Capt. of the Compy.

MAY 23RD. One thousand eight hundred and twenty eight.

I promise and oblige myself to pay unto John D. Daggett, one hundred pounds, good and lawful money of the United States, for value recd' of him, as witness my hand this 23rd day of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty eight.

This book commences 10th May, 1828.

Up to this point the general attitude of the Indians toward the little party had been friendly. They had furnished them food in exchange for beads and baubles. To be sure, many of the savages encountered had been overcome with fear at first sight of the whites and had fled precipitously, only to be coaxed back with difficulty. Smith had made every effort to keep on peaceful

⁵⁴⁴ They traveled east along the north bank of the Umpqua River.

⁵⁴⁵ The Indians directed them up the Umpqua to Elk Creek and thence over a low divide to the Coast fork of the Willamette, near Drain, Oregon,