

GARRA UPRISING, HOW HE WAS  
CAPTURED - ETC  
FITZGERALD'S VOLUNTEERS

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FITZGERALD'S VOLUNTEERS

DEC. 17, 1851 T. Whaley to Anna Eloise

Capture of Marshall and hanging

Garra is to be brought to San Diego.

( How Antonio Garra was captured.)

San Diego, Decem<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> 1851.

My Dear Anna Eliza.

You may be surprised to hear I have not received a single letter from you since leaving San Francisco. Again, I say, your last containing only a few lines, bears date August 13<sup>th</sup>. That was a long while ago! You have certainly written, and the reason why I have not received your communications is owing to the irregularity of the mails between San & San Francisco. Probably you do not receive all my letters though I assure you I have written twice every month. I would have you to send word to me only that I have a box in the Post Office at San Francisco and prefer my letters being addressed all to one place that I may know where to find them in case of changing my abode. I have known better my arrangements upon 1<sup>st</sup> of February.

I informed you in my last of the outbreak amongst the Indians and that a party of our citizens had proceeded against them. This number was too small to follow the hostile Joe into their mountain fastnesses, <sup>to which</sup> though they had succeeded, so that they determined to make good their retreat but not before having burnt the Indian town of Agua Caliente, and obtained by stratagem the notorious Bill Marshall, an American who has long dwelt among the Indians, and two of their chiefs, who were brought to this town as prisoners of war & tried by court-martial. Marshall and one of the chiefs were found guilty of high treason and suffered the penalty of death by hanging Saturday last. Antonio Lara, too the prime mover and at the head of the Indians has been taken prisoner and is now at Los Angeles but he will be brought here in a few days. He was also taken by stratagem. An Indian chief of one of the

taken friendly to the whites by the name of Juan Antonio and who Antonio  
Garcia supposed his friend, went accompanied by a frenchman <sup>man</sup> to the  
camp of Garcia pretending to have some cattle to dispose of which  
they knew he wished. One of them went to inform him of their ar-  
rival and he with full confidence returned with him alone. They were  
directed upon a log Antonio Garcia between his two friends, when  
suddenly he was seized striped of his arms and bound prisoner.

While I am writing an express has just arrived announcing that Garcia  
has made a confession in which he implicates some of the principal  
californians in the insurrection and he is to be brought here to answer  
to the charge with the forfeiture of his head.

Manila law has been abolished. The company of the "Fitzgeralds" vol-  
unteers is not yet disbanded though we are no longer compelled to  
keep guard at night.

The war is better but not at  
an end by the capture of Antonio. The indians are known to be more  
than six thousand strong. Volunteers and regulars are coming to our  
aid from all parts of the state. We shall soon number them from  
or five hundred strong more than a match for all the indians in  
California. We must exterminate them as they have sworn to exterminate  
all the whites, the case of Santa Barbara. They have commenced their work  
boldly already twelve americans have been murdered, many have been  
plundered, our entire kind waste, horses, cattle and sheep stolen.

The government is momentarily expected and Col Jack Stays with  
150 or more Mexican Rangers. The main steamer is reported to  
have arrived. I must therefore draw to a close. I am justifying the  
society well considering the circumstances under which we are placed.  
My partner has not yet been able to go over the coast owing to the outbreak

amongst the indians, we  
just safe with the  
with remembrance  
I regret sending you  
Anna you are  
The steamer has  
sent you but  
I trust I shall be  
in regard to  
as to be sure  
should I be in  
in New York. The  
you are thousand  
receive the first  
less than several  
concerning it

P.S. Should you have  
the letter contains

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which have been  
of the same.  
to stay with  
is reported to  
not being too  
are placed.  
ing to the author

amongst the Indians, which has been a cause of great detriment to us, but we must  
put up with the circumstances without complaining. I now send  
with remembrance to friends and love to your mother & Sister.  
I regret sending you so short a letter but do not complain clear  
Anna you are the only person to whom I write by this mail.  
The steamer has anticipated me. I have a packet ready to  
send you but know of no one who is going to New York.  
I trust I shall be able to send you some favourable news in my next  
in regard to the expedition against the Indians. The accounts  
are to be published in the Alta California of San Francisco and  
should I be unable to send you one you must try to procure one  
in New York. The steamer edition of the 15th Dec & 1st January will give  
you an idea of what is the present state. I fear I shall not  
receive the price which you have so long promised though I have  
written several times to San Francisco for enquiries to be made  
concerning it at Gregory's. Now demand a single thousand exports

Yours sincerely & devotedly  
H. W. Hays

P.S. Should you have become acquainted with my mother give her the information  
the letter contains as I am unable to write to her.

H. W. H.

Miss Anna C. Linnay.  
395<sup>1/2</sup> South Street.  
East of the Brewery  
New York.

San Diego, December 17th 1851

My Dear Anna Eloise ,

You may be surprised to hear I have not received a single letter from you since leaving San Francisco. Again, I say, your last containing only a few lines, bears date August 13th. That was a long while ago! You have certainly written, and the reason why I have not received your communication is owing to the irregularity of the mails between here & San Francisco. Probably you do not receive all my letters though I assure I have written twice every month. I would have you to send direct to me only that I have a box in the Post Office at San Francisco and prefer my letters being addressed all to one place that I may know where to find them in case of changing my abode. I shall know better my arrangements after 14th of January.

I informed you in my last of the outbreak amongst the indians and that a party of our citizens had proceeded against them. Their number was too small to follow the hostile far into their mountain fastness to which though they had receded; so that they determined to make good their retreat but not before having burnt the Indian town of Agua Caliente, and obtained by Shotgun the notorious Bill Marshall, and american who has long dwelt among the Indians and two of the chiefs, who were brought to town as prisoners & tried by court-martial, Marshall and one of the chiefs were found guilty of high treason and suffered the penalty of death by hanging Saturday last. Antonio Garra, too the prime mover and the head of the indians has been taken prisoner and is now at Los Angeles but he will be brought here in a few days. He was also taken by Shotgun. The Indian chief of one of the tribes friendly to the whites, by the name of Juan Antonio an who Antonio Garra supposed his friend , went accompanied by a frenchman near to the camp of Garra pretending to have some cattle



to dispose of which they knew he wished. One of them went to inform him of their arrival and he with full confidence returned with him alone. They were seated upon a log Antonio Garra between his two friends , when shortly he was seized Stripped of his arms and bound prisoner. While I am writing an expressa has just arrived announcing that Garra has made a confession in which he implicates Some of the principal Californians in the insurrection and he is to be brought here to answer to the charge with the forfeiture of his head.

Martial law has been abolished. The company of the Fitzgerald volunteers is not yet disbanded though we are no longer compelled to keep guard at night. The war is lulled but not at an end by the capture of Antonio. The indians are known to be more than six thousand strong. Volunteers and regulars are coming to our aid from all parts of the State. We shall soon number some four or five hundred Strong more than a match for all the indians in California. We must exterminate them as they have Sworn to exterminate all the whites this side of Santa Barbara. Theyhave commenced their work boldly already twelve americans have been murdered ranches have been plundered, one entirely laid waste, horses, cattle, sheep Stolen. The governer is momentarily expected and Col Jack Hays with 150 or more Texian Rangers. The mail Steamer is reported to have arrived. I must therefore draw to a close. I am propsering tolerably well considering the circumstances under which we are placed. My partner has not yet been able to go down the coast owing to the outbreak amongst the Indians, wich has been a cause of great detriment to us, but we must put up with the inconveniences without complaining . I now close with remeberances to friends and love to you Mother & Sister.

I regret sending you so short a letter but do not complain dear Anna you are t e only person to whom I write by this mail.

The Steamer has anticipated me. I have a present ready to send you but know of not one who is going to New York. I trust I shall be able to send you some favorable news in my next in regard to the expedition against the Indians. The accounts are to be published in the Alta California of San Francisco and should I be unable to send you one you must try to procure one in New York. The Steamer edition of the 15th Dec & 1st January will give you all the news up to the present time. I fear I shall not receive the purse which you have so long promised though I have written several times to San Francisco for enquiries to be made concerning it at Gregory's. Now dearest a single kiss and we part

Yours Sincerely & devotedly

Thos Whaley

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Yours Sincerely & devotedly

Thos Whaley

P.S. Should you have become acquainted with my mother give her the information this letter contains as I am unable to write her

Thos .W.

DEC. 28, 1851 - T. Whaley to Ed Sage

" Volunteer company brought down by the  
NORTH BEND are now quartering in the town  
awaiting the acceptance of General Bean."  
(without ammunition and provender)...

DEC. 28, 1851 - T. Whaley to Ed Sage

" Volunteer company brought down by the  
NORTH BEND are now quartering in the town  
awaiting the acceptance of General Bean."  
(without ammunition and provender)...

J. W. H. W. H.

San Diego, December 28th 1857.

Ed. W. H. W. H.  
Dear Sir,

I have a pleasure to thank you for your kindness in forwarding me letters. By the last steamer I drove you thinking them were none for me which I believed to be the case until I received them two or three days afterwards by Gregory's Express. The office here is more a detriment than any advantage to the people. I find only letters from my mother while there are none from other parties from whom I should expect to receive them, and I have reason to suppose they have been taken from my box without authority. So prevent the repetition of this I will therefore with your permission cease my letters to be addressed to your care in future. Will you do me the favour to enquire at the general delivery also at Gregory's when they should be a saved package for me. You will excuse my saying you do much trouble but when I go to San Francisco I may repay you in some way.

Everything at San Diego is extremely done in the way of business. Several parties of regulars under the command of Maj. Kintzleman have gone to attack the Indians. Nothing definite has yet been heard of their movements. The Volunteer Company brought down by the North Bend are now quartering in

P.S. Dec 31. In consequence of arranging accounts I have made since writing this I shall be in San Francisco the 1st of January. My wife thought please excuse my being absent the Post Office. The clerks receive the money I understand there is a package of books for me and hope it is the one I expected to receive by Gregory's Express. The package is the one I have by which and please to one for forwarding the same. W. H. W. H.



town wanting the acceptance of Genl. Brown. They are without  
ammunition arms or provisions. Certainly a nice position  
ought to be placed in but no one is found who has  
authority to obtain anything upon the credit of the  
State! Something must be done and that speedily for  
the Southern portion of California otherwise the State  
will be involved in a long and expensive war with  
the Indians which might now be easily averted.

Our interests have been properly represented, but  
the Governor in his wisdom has thought proper to  
place more reliance upon provisional resources.

My difficulties on the side of my partner with Wells &  
have been amicably arranged though at a considerable  
loss. We have not yet received the entire amount of  
the award made by the arbitrators but shall soon have  
ample security in our hands. We are doing a snug  
little business. I find no reason to complain being  
more at my ease now than when engineering a coffee  
mill.

He was has prevented the Spaniards from  
going down the coast otherwise I might have been  
with you before now. I wish very much to see  
San Francisco. This is such a good forgotten place.  
I have not heard a word from Wm. You may re-  
collect a dispute which we had together. I wrote  
him a letter to which he never deemed to reply though  
the day I left San Francisco he was on board the  
ship with Mr. Frank but whether he intended to

honor me or  
to I would  
have dictated  
wherever his  
his path for  
to receive a  
though I can  
best understand  
man a letter  
that I expected  
evid. It is  
October. I  
found and it  
perhaps as me  
to Mr. Seaman  
you question  
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The may be  
I wrote  
to pay back  
board the  
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honor me with the visit I should not do it. I thought  
to I would have spoken to him though propriety might  
have dictated otherwise. I bear him no ill will  
whatever his opinion of me may be but shall remember  
his part fairly with gratitude. It is impossible for me  
to conceive why he so suddenly took a dislike to me  
though I can trace the first rupture to my bosom friend  
Westman's. By the way I ~~had~~ prepared this gentle-  
man a letter some time ago and would have sent it on if  
that I expected Mr Franklin would shortly go to San Fran-  
cisco. It is in answer to his communication of the 29th  
October. I enclose both to you also the letter of Mr E. B.  
Jennet and when you have leisure I request you will peruse  
perhaps as much for your satisfaction as mine. He stated  
to Mr Jennet that he had paid the money to me and when  
you question him about it he claims it as his own in the way  
of a settlement. In an article in San Francisco he denied ever  
having received the money and it was for this reason  
that I desired to write to Mr Jennet. But you have  
the whole correspondence before you and can judge  
for yourself. If you will take the trouble to explain  
me into this matter you will greatly oblige me.  
I would also wish you to communicate your impressions  
to Mr Jennet. Let him see these letters. I conceive that  
opposition due to him inasmuch Mr Westman never  
entered into his services upon my recommendation.  
I would refer in reference to Mr E's letter and then I am done.  
He speaks of having paid me money by mistake. He may

well say by mistake now that the note, upon which  
he paid that money in the presence of witnesses, has been  
purloined by him from my desk. He intimates my  
having sold a portion of the Big Centaveta in which  
he and I were jointly interested. Now it so happens  
the entire share is in his individual name. Would  
anybody be fool enough to buy it from me or if  
I have sold it could it not be easily ascertained? I never  
saw any papers in relation to her either in Belknap's name  
or anybody else's. all that I heard is I gave him  
money to pay for my share and whether he ever ap-  
propriated it in the way he ought to have done  
I begin to doubt since this gentleman acts so very  
strangely. While he was at the mines I wrote for  
the papers but never received them ~~though~~ upon  
his return to San Francisco he said he had  
sent them by private hand, and must have  
miscarried.

I do not wish to occupy so much of your  
time with my private affairs but I expect you to read  
this when you have nothing else to do.

This will reach you about new year so my employ-  
ments by Capt. Minton, Savage, Bainbridge & Smith  
should be have returned from the States.

Respectfully  
Yours  
Wm. A. Haery

Please hand the letter to Mr. S. E.  
the others return for me

JAN.1, 1852 T. Whaley to Anna E. Delaunay  
Report on Capture of Garra, see p. 7 of  
transcription.

San Diego, January 1<sup>st</sup> 1852.

Dear Aunt,

This being the anniversary of my departure from home I can conceive no way to pass the time more agreeably than in its entire dedication to the life of my Lord. Knowing as I do that the thoughts which the occasion may inspire will greatly tend to promote my own happiness. This pleasure is enhanced by the conviction, that sentiments similar to those which persuade my breast are breathed by an other, one, more fervently. Doubtless, dear Aunt, you this day recall the time of my leaving home and sweet to it with the same feelings mingled with regret which I do. Great indeed was then my sorrow, but my heart buoyant with hope, anticipated a speedy return. Alas! I have been disappointed. Misfortune upon misfortune has been my only lot. I am still a wanderer upon the golden sands of California, muse despairing, but, hoping ever to be able to find the reward which I believe my unceasing efforts merit.

This day, three years ago, I bade you farewell with a bid I then think I should be so long separated from my dear Aunt. I look back and deplore the time that unforbidden flew. It is almost an eternity! Ah! Aunt, and should I never see you again I shall ever continue to cherish your memory and to worship your image engraven upon the retina of my mind; but how great we may meet once more! All my troubles sink into insignificance compared to the sorrow which I feel occasioned by so long and painful a separation. My greatest desire and sole delight would be to have you always at my side and when I have accomplished this I shall consider myself the happiest of mortals. — It is now nearly three months since I arrived here and during this time I have not received a single line from you. You may imagine my impatience and the joy I shall feel when next

I receive an epistle from you. My only consolation has been in gazing upon your daguerriotype. Scarcely a night passes but what I press it to my lips and whenever I say my prayers, which by the way is not as frequent as might be, I ask for your protection and guidance. Do not think our opinions though there are times occasionally when I am reminded of my imperfect nature. So it is with the most virtuous of men. The lessons taught them in youth will fasten themselves upon their minds. I should not object to send a little of your moral nature and if there be any truths which you think you can instill into me I have no objection for you to try. Certainly I should pay more regard to what you may say than any body else. Oh how I wish I could see you Sunday. What a long talk we would have. I should have so much to say I do not think I should be able to give any account to say a single word for the first ten or fifteen minutes. ~~But~~ when I did commence I suppose it would be a sort of discourse similar to what I have been the last half hour writing to you. I will not care what I have written nor where because it contains truth, no matter the manner in which it is expressed. Whatever I say to you is with all the sincerity of my heart and I trust you believe me. I have written thus far when I am informed that this is a packet for me brought by the steamer which arrived from San Francisco yesterday. It may be the one which I have long been expecting to receive from you containing the purse and the long letter due before I left San Francisco. I will away to New York. The horse is ready saddled at the door. I shall be back again in an hour or two to resume my correspondence. — — — Now I am again with your packet containing the handsome gift wrought by your hands and the long letter so anxiously looked for written August 7th. It has indeed been a long while coming, but right welcome are its contents. I could not wait until my return home but opened it immediately. After glancing at the purse I proceeded to examine

I have been thinking much lately of the many things that I have done in my life, and how they have shaped me. I have been to many places, and seen many things, and I have learned a great deal from all of it. I have been to the mountains, and seen the great peaks and valleys, and I have learned that nature is so beautiful and so powerful. I have been to the sea, and seen the waves crashing against the rocks, and I have learned that life is so full of surprises. I have been to the cities, and seen the tall buildings and the busy streets, and I have learned that there is so much to be seen and heard in the world. I have been to the country, and seen the rolling hills and the green fields, and I have learned that there is so much beauty in the simple things of life. I have been to the desert, and seen the vast, empty spaces and the hot, dry air, and I have learned that there is so much to be learned from the things that are not there. I have been to the forest, and seen the tall trees and the soft ground, and I have learned that there is so much life in the world. I have been to the mountains, and seen the great peaks and valleys, and I have learned that nature is so beautiful and so powerful. I have been to the sea, and seen the waves crashing against the rocks, and I have learned that life is so full of surprises. I have been to the cities, and seen the tall buildings and the busy streets, and I have learned that there is so much to be seen and heard in the world. I have been to the country, and seen the rolling hills and the green fields, and I have learned that there is so much beauty in the simple things of life. I have been to the desert, and seen the vast, empty spaces and the hot, dry air, and I have learned that there is so much to be learned from the things that are not there. I have been to the forest, and seen the tall trees and the soft ground, and I have learned that there is so much life in the world.







Vertical text on the left margin, including the name 'Quina' and other illegible words.

Main body of handwritten text, dense and overlapping, covering most of the page.





These things must pass unobserved and your mother like all good parents has  
 your interests much to heart. It attempts to persuade you to do any  
 thing against you is consistent in matters of this kind which you alone have the  
 right to decide. Do not misunderstand me as I am sure when I say  
 you are because the subject of marriage is one of the great questions  
 in life and parents are more deeply interested perhaps than their  
 children especially they to daughters. I am sure that in your  
 father's heart he would like to see you settled in a quiet and comfortable  
 life and if they were sufficient grounds of disapproval of the match  
 if he were he has a delicate daughter to quiet his conscience in this  
 request. But you have sought your mother's advice and I am sure she  
 will be able to give you the best advice. I am sure that for I believe the matter between you  
 and her entirely in your hands whether it is your pleasure or not I would  
 not wish to be your part in the matter as a rule and the words  
 of the "body" at your time then must pass as a matter of course  
 determination. I am sure your letters for some time in attending  
 of your visits to the embassy. That subject as you suppose could  
 be likely to result in more than that expressing your own sweet self but  
 far from this being the case there are many other  
 things which are better and and she will be pleased to see it  
 in the accidental manner in which you became acquainted with a  
 much beloved friend of mine during your short visit in the country  
 I hope you have not failed to keep up the acquaintance as but an now  
 on being of mine with the Secretary's family. My father's particular  
 advice and it may with her you say you became acquainted. If  
 you have not accepted of his offer of invitation to call upon her I  
 believe you will regret to do so no longer. There are more readers  
 than on why I believe my father's opinion forming an opportunity to be acquainted

My mother's wish is  
 at least to a quiet  
 life in a quiet  
 domestic life  
 and what I propose  
 is that you should  
 be settled in a quiet  
 life and if they were  
 sufficient grounds of  
 disapproval of the  
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for the renewed assurance of tender affection in yielding to wait for me the  
 number of years you say you are willing and that such is the true state  
 of your heart I have not the least doubt but do you suppose I  
 could feel happy if I actually thought ten years must elapse be-  
 fore seeing you a gain or even one half of that time? No I  
 cannot I should suffer myself as well as it were and suffer  
 more than the criminal doomed to the torturing thoughts which  
 a gloomy dungeon are likely to inspire. I hope and trust the  
 time of our meeting is not far distant. I live as much as I  
 possibly can and were it not for the constant misfortunes which  
 have befallen me from time to time you and I would be hap-  
 py and in the great embrace of each other; and I should receive from  
 your evening visits a further impetus to stimulate and console.  
 But I will speak of this no more. Time alone will determine our  
 destiny and nothing we say propose can effect the disposi-  
 tion of Providence. — I should very much like to have  
 a peep at you sitting in your study State surrounded by the little ones  
 whose minds you are storing with useful knowledge and instructing  
 by your precepts examples worthy of emulation. I think you must  
 make a kind and good hearted school-master and doubtless  
 the little boys will give an so obedient as seldom to require any  
 reprimand. — At the house of Mrs Vanderhoof you must pass  
 many pleasant evenings at the society which visits he must be of  
 the title but keep a good eye upon Mr Sanford the old bachelor of  
 whom you made the temporary mention and do not let his former fondness  
 for dancing excite a passion for something else. He let me hear or you  
 will certainly think you have excited my jealousy and I enter-  
 tain fears of his falling in love with the ultimate creature I  
 intended across 3d page.

San Diego, January 1st, 1852

Dearest Anna,

This being the anniversary of my departure from home I can conceive no way to pass the time more agreeably than in its entire dedication to her the life of my soul, knowing as I do that the thoughts which the occasion may inspire will greatly tend to promote my own happiness. The pleasure is enhanced by the conviction that sentiments similar to those which pervade my breast are breathed by an other only, more fervently. Doubtless, dear Anna, you this day recall the time of my leaving home and revert to it with the same feelings mingled with regret which I do. Great indeed was then my remorse, but my heart buoyant with hope, anticipated a speedy return. Alas! I have been disappointed. Misfortune upon misfortune has been my only lot. I am still a wanderer upon the golden sands of California, never despairing, but, hoping eventually to find the reward which I believe my unrelenting efforts merit. This day, three years ago, I bade you farewell! Little did I then think I should be so long separated from my dear Anna. I look back and suppress the tears that unforbidden flow. It is almost an eternity! Ah, Anna, and should I never see you again I shall ever continue to cherish your memory and to worship your image engraven upon the retina of my mind; but God grant we may meet once more! All my troubles sink into insignificance compared to the remorse which I feel occasioned by so long and painful a separation. My greatest desire and sole delight would be to have you always at my side and when I have accomplished this I shall consider myself the happiest of mortals.- It is now nearly three months since I arrived here and during this time I have not received a single line from you. You may imagine my impatience and the joy I shall feel

when next I receive an epistle from you. My only consolation has been in gazing upon your daguerrotype. Scarcely a night passes but what I press it to my lips and whenever I say my prayers which by the way is not as frequent as might be, I ask for your protection and guidance. Do not think me religious though there are times occasionally when I am reminded of my sinful nature. So it is with the most wicked of men. The lessons taught them in youth will force themselves upon their minds. I should not object to know a little of your moral culture and if there be any truths which you think you can instill into me I have no objection for you to try. Certainly I should pay more regard to what you may say than anybody else. O how I wish I could see you Anna. What a long talk we would have. I should have so much to say I do not think I should be able to open my mouth to say a single word for the first ten or fifteen minutes. When I did commence, I suppose it would be a pack of nonsense similar to what I have been the last half hour writing to you. I will not call what I have written nonsense because it contains truth, no matter the manner in which it is expressed. Whatever I say to you is with all the Sincerity of my heart and I know you believe me. I have written thus far when I am informed that there is a packet for me bought by the Steamer which arrived from San Francisco yesterday. It may be the one which I have so long been expecting to receive from you containing the purse and the long letter due before I left San Francisco. I will away to New Town. The horse is ready saddled at the door. I shall be back again in an hour or two to resume my correspondence. Here I am again with your packet containing the handsome gift wrought by your hands and the long letter so anxiously looked for written August 7th. It has indeed been a long while coming, but right welcome



are its contents. I could not wait until my return home but opened it immediately. After glancing at the purse I proceeded to examine what interested me infinitely more your welcome epistle. I read it entirely lengthy as it is besides an other dated September 26th and Since my return home I could not resume my correspondence without a reperusal. They are indeed a great treat and considering that this is new years and the first I have received since my arrival, here I enjoy it much more than I would the finest roast turkey or plum pudding the accustomed fair at home upon an anniversary of this kind. Dear Anna I am indeed glad to hear from you. Your letters and the purse arrive very opportunely. As much as I prize the latter I look upon the former as presents more befitting the occasion and place a higher value upon them. The manykind words and tender expressions which they contain are so naturel they seem to proceed from your very mouth and have had the effect to arouse my mind from the despondency into which it was fast singking indeed Since the arrival of your letters I feel like an other being. I regret the delay which the detention of your epistle has occasioned in my ~~xxx~~ rendering you the assistance which you required at the time of writing. You must have experienced considerable inconvenience but why did you delay making the request until you received my letter proffering assistance? Did you think to offend me in ~~xxxx~~ asking me for anything which it is in my power to grant? No I would sacrifice all I possess for you if in bestowing it, it could promote your happiness in any way. I am sorry that you should have hesitated otherwise I should have received it before leaving San Francisco and could have remitted you what you required without the least difficulty but from here it is almost impossible from the fact of there being no banker in the place and occasionally a few passengers who I either do not know or have no confidence

I regret the position in which I am placed but you will rely upon my sending even more than the amount you name by the first opportunity which offers such although it will arrive too late to relieve you from the difficulties you laboured under yet you may find it beneficial other ways. This dear Anna I know is very poor consolation but tis all that I can offer. Your letters are long and as you desire me to answer them particularly I have them before me to pass comments upon the most particular parts . Do not infer from what I stated in one of my letters my time is so much taken up to correspond with you. I can always find time to write you something even though it be only a few lines knowing the consolation it must be to you to hear regularly from me. I have written to you by every steamer with one or two exceptions and I am surprised you do not receive all my letters as well as I do not get all yours. There appears to be great irregularity in the transmission of letters which I do not understand . My health still continues excellent and I have reason to feel thankful for the blessing well knowing I should suffer for the want of attention were I to be taken ill. I am glad you enjoy the same blessings. Health and strength are preferable boons to riches and without which the latter would be superfluous. The climate of California is one of the finest in the world particularly that portion of it which I at present inhabit. The weather at this season is beautiful. The days are as warm as June in New York and to convince you that it is so I find a coat so uncomfortable I can only ever think of pulling one on except in the evenings. The Surrounding hills are all thick in green and vegetation is putting forth. So far we have had but little rain and from certain indications the oldest inhabitants think we shall have little more this season. I shall take the best of care of myself for your sake and dearest I hope you will do the same for mine.

The excursion in the country about which you write must have had the effect to                      your depressed feelings and it was for this reason I decided to afford you a little recreation. No doubt you frequently thought of me and gladly would I have participated in your rambles. Dear Anna, you must strive against your feelings and not permit them to render you unhappy. My time must be consistently and profitably employed and thus it will pass almost imperceptibly until we meet again. I am indeed pleased dearest to think that your undertaking in the instruction of children should have met with so much success as to induce you to open a regular School. You certainly possess the capacity and now that the first step is taken nothing can prevent your doing well. What you have done certainly merits my approval and it places you in an independant position and relieves me from much anxiety concerning you. Continue in this course until fortune once more Smiles upon me and I am enabled ~~to~~ either to return home or send for you. Dear Anna I love you if possible more than ever owing to what you have written respecting your proficiency and the proof you have given that it is real and I long to see you very much to be able to appreciate sufficiently your varied qualifications and attainments. You must indeed understand the rudiments of music to be capable of giving instruction. What would I not give to hear you play and sing? Your accomplishments may prove of more advantage to you than you Suppose if ever you come to California therefore add as much as possible to them. I hope you still retain the piano but if you should have been compelled to relinquish I will not let it be long before you are again in the possession of an other. I am rejoiced to see you write in good spirits and hear you say you are happy amidst the comforts of home.

That is right. Enjoy yourself as much as possible I should be Sorry were you to refrain from pleasure on account of thinking of me too much. It is the only way to make the time pass agreeably and Speedily. I am sick and tired of the life I have been leading here now nearly three months and long to mingle once more with the bustle and excitement of San Francisco where I Soon hope to be. This day I have entered into an agreement with Mr. Franklin to terminate the 1st of May when we shall then dissolve or dispose of our interest one to the other. Till that time he is to remain here to look after the business and I am to attend to making the purchases in San Francisco. This arrangement will be beneficial to our mutual interests. The reason we have fixed upon so short a time is owing to the discovery of a rich mine the situation of which remains a Secret til the 1st of May when the gentleman at the head of it will return here to form a company of fifty or sixty to work the mine. This gentleman is a man in whom I have reason to place the greatest confidence as he is intimately connected with us So much So as to lend us his name under which we are transacting business as his agents. We are compelled to resort to this means to prevent our areditors from coming down upon us with injunctions before we are able to pay them. This is a Secret which I do not fear to repose in you indeed Anna I never hesitate to tell you my exact position whatever that position may be at the time of communication. In regard to the mine I have not decided to go to them though my partner has. Circumstances in the future alone can guide me. I shall proceed to San Francisco immediately upon the return of Mr. Franklin from Santa Thomas where he has long been proposing to go to effect a considerable amount of money yet due us from the old firm of (Dollin & Co.)(page 7) but the indian difficulties have prevented him I am in hope however he will be able to start soon that I may make my calculations to leave here for San Francisco

the first of next month and if such be the case you will not be kept long waiting for the fulfilment of your request. By the way you must desire to hear something further of the Indian difficulties. I am happy to state they have been brought to a successful termination as far as the present is concerned though I anticipate there will be further difficulties in as much the Indians have not received the chastisement which they deserve at the hands of the whites for the outrages they have committed. The notorious Bill Marshall and one of the chiefs were hung here last month and several more at Los Angeles and Antonio Garra their principal chief was convicted and shot the day before yesterday the painful duty devolving upon me as one of the twelve men who were ordered to execute the sentence. Peace and quietness now reign and the social relations of life have resumed their accustomed sway.

Dear Anna you must not mind the joking and cutting remarks of your friends volunteered on my behalf. The best way is to take things coolly and calmly concealing from them as much as possible your interest for me. Their advice to you is doubtless disinterested and probably they would rejoice to have you withdraw your affections and bestow them in another quarter but such is my confidence in you I know their efforts must prove unavailing and your mother like all fond parents has your interest so much to heart to attempt to persuade you to do any thing against your inclination in matters of this kind when you alone have the right to decide. Do not misunderstand me dear Anna when I say you alone because the subject of marriage is one of the great questions in life and parents are more deeply interested perhaps than their children especially if

they be daughters. I consider that no young lady is warranted to take such a step before consulting their parents and if they upon sufficient grounds disapprove of the match it behooves her as a dutiful daughter to yield compliance to their requests. But you have sought your mother's counsel, and received approbation of your choice. Therefore I consider the matter between you and me entirely for you to decide whether it is your pleasure or not to wait for me. I know you to be firm and unflinching as a rock and the words of the "busybody" as you term them must prove as nought to effect your determination. Dear Anna your letters far from being uninteresting I find quite to the contrary. What subject do you suppose could possibly interest me more than that concerning your own sweet self but far from this being the only thing your epistle affords me many other agreeable and interesting and the one which pleases me most is the accidental manner in which you became acquainted with a much esteemed friend of mine during your short visit in the country. I hope you have not failed to keep up the acquaintance but are now on terms of intimacy with the Devereaux family. Miss E is my particular admirer and it was with her you say you became acquainted. If you have not accepted of her offer of invitation to call upon her I desire you will neglect to do so no longer. There are more reasons than one why I desire this besides your forming an agreeable acquaintance. My mother informs me in her last of her intention to spend the winter in New York and as it is probable she will reside with the Misses Devereux or at least be a frequent visitor at their house. My mother also informs me of her intention to visit you as soon as possible after her arrival but I am so much aware of her procrastinating disposition she may not de-

termine upon this till after she has been in New York a month or more. Now what I propose is for you to make the acquaintance of these worthy ladies as speedily as possible if you have not already done so and when you have become a little intimate with them I wish you to let them into this my secret and say to them that it is my particular request that you and my mother should become acquainted and if they will effect it they ever oblige you and confer a great favor upon me. What I propose is Simple enough and may be easily affected without compromising either party. I prefer you would treat more especially with Miss Elizabeth in this matter. You will desire her to invite my mother to pass an evening with her and that same evening you will also be invited and it will appear that the meeting is accidental when an introduction will take place probably much to the surprise of my mother if she is not aware of your acquaintance with the Devereux family. My mother I am certain will be delighted to see you and make your acquaintance. She frequently makes mention of your name and regrets the opportunity once afforded to become acquainted with her. You will not refuse to show her my daguerrotype as she will most certainly ask for it. I count upon what I have above written and should surely regret it if I again failed to introduce you to my mother who I am confident you will both love and esteem. To the Misses Devereux you will remember me kindly and relate to them such incidents connected with myself as will impress them. Dear Anna how can I sufficiently express my heartfelt thanks for the renewed assurance of tender affection in yielding to wait for me the number of years you say you are willing to wait and that such is the true Sentiment of your heart, I have not the least doubt but do you suppose I could feel happy if I actually thought ten years must elapse before seeing you again or even one half of that time? No dearest I should feel myself an

objection to its acceptance but you will find yourself at greater liberty and certainly more independent in the avocation in which you are now employed. Your remarks upon young ladies, their Systems of education as pursued at Boarding Schools at the present day are not without some degree of truth. They are for the most part, I speak of those educated at fashionable boarding schools, excessively vain, possessing only a superficial knowledge of the branches they pretend to learn and entirely unfitted to make good wives or useful mothers. If I am a little proud of you dear Anna for the remarkable difference between you and them you must not think I tell you so from flattery but to let you see that I can appreciate the assiduity with which you must have applied your self to study during the past three years and that my efforts to encourage you have not proved unavailing. But you must not relax or become indifferent. There are many useful and instructive works in the perusal of which while they afford entertainment will stir your mind with a farther degree of knowled(ge) Do not think I would have you become a savant or a "blue stocking" that is not the object which I have in view. I wish to divert your mind as much as possible from the least gloomy thought and to have the time pass evenly and merrily with you. And so you have heard Jenny Lind the world renowned enchantress and you were delighted beyond conception. I am glad you had that pleasure. I have heard so much about her I desire to hear the Queen of Song but Suppose I must wait until she comes to California. By the way the principal theatre in San Francisco bears the name of the Swedish nightingale nor is it meanly bestowed the edifice being built of marble presenting as fine an appearance any any in the great City of New York. I am heartily glad to hear that Amelia has at last got a beaux but from the insignificant



exile as it were, and suffer more than the criminal doomed to the torturing thoughts which a gloomy dungeon are likely to inspire. I hope and trust the time of our meeting is not far distant. I strive as much as I/<sup>possibly</sup>can and were it not for the constant misfortunes which have assailed me from time to time you and I would be happy now in the fond ~~mf~~ embrace of each other, and I should receive from your encouraging smiles a further impetus to stimulate me on ward. But I will speak of this no more. Time alone will determine our destiny and nothing we may propose can affect the disposition of providence. I should very much like to have a neep at you sitting in matronly state surrounded by the little ones whose minds you are stirring with useful knowledge and imparting by your precepts examples worthy of emulation. I think you needs make a kind and good hearted school mistress and doubtless the little boys and girls are so obedient as seldom to require heavy censure. As the house of Mrs. Vanderhoof you must pass many pleasant evenings as the society which visits her must be of the elite but keep a good eye upon Mr. Sanford the old bachelor of whom you make honorary mention and do not let his extreme fondness for dancing excite a a passion for something else. Here let me stop or you will certainly think you have excited my jealousy and I entertain fears of his falling in love with the estimable creature I know you to be but I am not so unreasonable to suppose so. I am heartily glad to think you have the means of so much recreation and diversion and rather than diminish them I would have you to court society more thus to disarm your mind entirely from a melancholly thought. However estimable a woman Mrs. V may be and the many comforts which you undoubtedly enjoy at her domocile I think you have acted wisely in rejecting her kind offer not that there could possibly be any

manner in why you say she terms him a "foo-foo" I must suppose that nothing can result from his attentions which he is paying to her and that consequently she must hope on hope ever, but I hope not despairingly. Mr. Puffer, or rather my friend George from whom I received a long letter by the last mail is as you suppose head and ears in love and scarcely has time between that and business to devote a moment to anything else and thus you may account for his not visiting you as frequently as he otherwise might. Notwithstanding your opinion of Mr. Puffer and a preference of Mr. Palmer to him I assure you dear Anna he esteems you very highly and I believe him when he says "Tom, if your Anna only lived in Brooklyn, I would steal time once in a while to go to see her but now as it is, it is a great undertaking to start from Brooklyn, to go up to Fourth St New York after I have been hard to work all day, however Tom, I will try to make her a New Years visit and then I will take the opportunity to present your draft for that kiss." He also says that his lady is very anxious to see Tom Whaley and his better half (that is to be) for she hears me talk so much about them". I am surprised that Mr. Palmer whom you say recognized you so frequently in the street is not induced to visit you occasionally. Tell me Anna have you never seen or heard anything of Mr. Wm. I. Thompson astonishing as it may seem to you I have not received a line from him and only indirectly through Mr. Puffer. He has no cause to treat me thus coolly. Richard Thorpe whom you may remember as an old friend of mine is still at the Sandwich Islands. I have not heard from him for a long while but (expect) to pen him a letter upon my arrival in San Francisco. Dear Anna as soon as I determine to go home you may depend my availing myself by the most expeditious route and should a conveyance before that time arrives quicker than lightning be discovered I shall most certainly chose it in prefer-

emce to anything else. I am much pleased to hear of the agreeable visits of my friend Smith at your house. By the time he must have returned and as Mr. Puffer writes me was his intention with his better half as it was this young man's intention to get married. When I arrive in San Francisco I shall leave further particulars concerning you for him. I will not trouble dear Anna with the measure of my foot as I have at the present time some half a dozen of Slippers however I thank you for your liberal intentions towards me. I agree with you Anna that it certainly would be the best way for us to wait till I can go after you myself, but I fear if I was compelled to wait the practicability of the years indeed would pass before meeting as I am still deeply involved in debt and if I do not make money faster than I have been doing during the last year I would almost despair ever being able to return as I have resolved never to see New York again before having liquidated every farthing I owe here, therefore I have resolved to send for you whenever I have the means to do so. I have no doubt I shall be able when the time comes to make things satisfactory to all parties interested. Yes I remember Miss Juliette Lapaille (?) perfectly well. I am glad to hear she is about being married and wish her all the joy and happiness which the connubial state alone can afford when two hearts are united. My remembrance of Miss Lannseer and tell her I hope soon to hear of her following in the wake of her friend, Juliette. I have written you Anna rather a long epistle but as New Years comes only once a year it is the least I can do besides I have not written you any very long letters lately. This is all dearest I can present you in the way of a gift and I have no doubt it will prove acceptable to you. I must now draw to a close wishing to be remembered to your dear mother and sister both of whom with yourself I wish a very happy New Year and may God grant before the return of an other we may

be united and here together to witness many more. With further and constant assurances of my unmitigated esteem and affection I subscribe myself your devoted lover

Most faithfully and truly

Thos Whaley

(At the top of page 9)

The letter enclosed please have delivered as addressed or in the event of not being able to find Mrs. S.M. Pye deliver the same to the safe keeping of Miss Devereaux.

San Diego, January 16, 1852.

Dearest Anna

This your will perceive was written with the intention of being sent by the last Steamer but her departure was sudden as her arrival was unexpected and consequently I was disappointed in sending you what I had written. Nothing worthy of note has transpired since commencing this letter. I am anxiously awaiting the return of Mr. Franklin from Santo Thomas that I may be in funds to proceed to San Francisco to make purchases. I hope to be there before the middle of next month and shall remain only till the 1st of May when I again visit this place probably to wind up my affairs in this quarter. You will continue to address ~~me~~ as hertofore Box 704, Post Office, San Francisco. I find I have said so much I have little more to add and therefore subscribe my self, Yours affectionately,

Thos Whaley

JAN. 1. 1852 T. Whaley to Mother & Sister  
Execution of Garra, by 12 man team, one of  
which is Whaley. (Mentions execution of Marshall)

San Diego, January 1<sup>st</sup> 1853.

Dear Mother & Sister,

I have been writing a long letter to Anna and as I have very little time to spare I fear I shall not be able to send you a long epistle but what few leisure moments I may have between this and the coming of the mail I shall devote to you.

This is the third anniversary of my departure from home and I revert to it with no small degree of emotion. Little did I think when I bid you good bye my stay would be prolonged beyond this time. Three years was the ultimatum and had I then thought it would be more I might have been deterred from undertaking the journey. But who can foresee the future and the events produced by time! Here I am still wandering upon the golden sands of California poorer than when I arrived and likely to remain for some years to come.

Notwithstanding repeated reverses of fortune, my heart is yet strong and imbued with the same determined spirit and if I do not eventually succeed it will not be for the lack of energy. Boxes of 26<sup>th</sup> Sept & October 19<sup>th</sup> came to hand the 18<sup>th</sup> December and one of November the 11<sup>th</sup> the 29<sup>th</sup> December. Now they are all in a heap and right well come they are being the only ones I have received since my arrival here. I am glad to hear you are still in the enjoyment of good health and that it is your intention to proceed shortly to Nevada where you may live more contentedly than any where else and should John be as you say he proposes I have no doubt but

might do very well upon the Bloomingdale Road and be  
of great assistance to you in the management of your af-  
fairs though perhaps in no retired spot it would not be the  
readiest way to acquire a fortune. I trust that Mr. Hesse  
may have succeeded in obtaining the management of the New-  
York Telegraph Office as in that case you will have Harriet  
with you when she will be more comfortable than in Baltimore  
Should you decide not to go to house keeping before the 1st of  
May I hope you will make arrangements to reside with the  
Muller's. Besides what you will be more at your ease than any  
where else and I suppose it does not a little more why need  
you mind? You have no one dependent upon you now and  
your income is entirely enough to purchase you all the  
comforts you desire therefore there is no necessity to think  
yourself in anything. I can not tell you need not look  
so anxiously forward to my coming home or defer any  
thing on my account as it will probably be a long while  
yet to come. I do not say this to discourage you but  
to prevent you from placing the least reliance upon my  
coming for the fulfilment of any particular object.  
You state that the slaughter house property requires im-  
proving and so does the North Street house requires con-  
siderable alterations and if I were home I would certainly  
try to effect all this but as there is little probability  
of my for some time to come I recommend you to  
consult with the rest of the children and whatever they  
decide upon I am willing to assent to. I believe the  
property might be improved to produce a much larger

income. Money in  
No 3 West. Street  
This was done in  
the 27th St lot.  
This story house  
around this as  
necessary altera-  
enough and one  
contract and  
what ought to  
at hand and a  
New York. I can  
effect something  
I would not see  
how tempting the  
being erected in  
become a very  
hold us to they  
become very real  
me nothing suspect  
anything from it  
neglected and  
the boys are not  
near to you in your  
view even so great  
Columbough appear  
justified. I hope  
they certainly than

a couple  
of years of  
not be the  
Mr. Steele  
of the New-  
Haven  
in Baltimore  
the best of  
with the  
we have any  
society and  
in all the  
to think  
and look  
defer any  
a long while  
upon my  
object.  
regards in-  
regards con-  
to certain  
probability  
you to  
I fear they  
since the  
much larger

money. Money might be raised upon bond and mortgage upon  
no 3 North Street to improve the South St lot and which  
the way done money could be raised upon that to improve  
the 27th St lot where you might have built a nice plain  
three story house for yourself after the plan which I have  
drawn. This again could be mortgaged to make the  
necessary alterations at no 3 North St. The thing is simpler  
enough and only requires judicious management in making  
contracts and the expenditure of capital. I often think  
what ought to be done and what I would propose social  
at home and now that John thinks of locating himself in  
New York I would what I have suggested will be of use to  
effect something which will ultimately prove advantageous to you.  
I would not recommend the sale of the 27th St lot - not at  
how tempting the price, without there is a probability of a bridge  
being erected in the neighbourhood, as it must even now have  
become a very desirable place for a residence. The lot out of town  
held in to they are but a trifling expense and must stand very  
become very valuable as the city extends itself. You had  
me nothing respecting our suit or whether we are likely ever to meet  
anything from it. This affair I am sorry to see is being managed  
neglected and I am not a little surprised at it. This is it  
the boys are not more interested to help forward and be of some assist-  
ance to you in your difficulties. I am to you away to be of any ser-  
vice even to you as to comfort you. The bodies in the vault at Mil-  
lionsburgh appear not yet to have been removed. I am indeed sur-  
prised. John you say has become one of the best men of the Church.  
This certainly should make him more diligent. I heard nothing relating



to Whorpe except that he is still at the Scandinavian Islands. John Benbow  
I believe has returned home. Lorenzo Dow I nothing about not hear-  
ing from him since the time he delivered me your Liberator. It is  
indeed strange to me what occasions the irregularity of the receipt  
of my correspondence. Though I have written regularly twice a week  
with a single exception during the past year you do not acknowledge  
the receipt of all of them and so with those written by you.  
I think the fault must lie somewhere in their transit between New  
York and Baltimore as the correspondence is not so regular as  
it was when you were living in Middle or Market St. Mr. Day John  
has proposed for you to send forward to send him thinking I am un-  
tiringly wasting my time and efforts uselessly in a fruitless endeavor.  
I thank him for his manifestation of deep interest in my welfare  
but I believe myself with all due deference to his opinion, both capa-  
ble of judging when I am most likely to succeed. At home I shall  
be without friends or fortune to enable me to pursue a course of  
broad enterprise funded at your generous hands near mother and I  
would not longer tax your liberality when by remaining here I  
possess both friends and fortune. Then are those who have and  
will assist me again whenever I demand it in the most bene-  
volent manner and the funds, or whatever it may be they employ  
in me, if something to endure fortune for me. I have never yet  
heard the want of a dollar nor do I think I ever shall so long  
as I remain in the country and possess health and strength  
I have no reason to complain notwithstanding the misfortunes which  
have assailed me. The little I invested in my prudent business  
now a little more than a year ago has increased at least three or  
four fold but had it not been for mismanagement and wrongs done

Jan 15 1852

of William Lee with whom my father was associated I should have respected  
 my kindred man whom which would have enabled me now to effect some  
 of what I realize my most ardent desires. It would indeed be great  
 folly for me to think of returning home indebted as I am. Had every  
 I ever hope to retrieve the good name which a train of unavoidable  
 circumstances has deprived me of. No more will I think of returning  
 to New York until I have paid everything I owe them and that I shall  
 sooner or later be able to do this I have not the least doubt in my mind.  
 I have comparatively little in California excepting what I owe my land  
 lord and he may threaten me with judgments and executions until  
 I am able to pay him. I am working and do nothing in my own  
 name and I take this precaution merely to secure myself against  
 him as I know him to be no man who would crush me did he dis-  
 cover in getting me in his power. My mind is my determination  
 and I think dear mother, unwilling as you may be to send me any  
 further abroad, you will agree with me that the cause which I have  
 chosen is a wise and expedient one. It pains me indeed to think  
 I am compelled thus to make myself a voluntary exile, to absent  
 myself long from family and friends, when I might enjoy life so  
 much more in this Society, but the sacrifice is a necessary one.  
 God knows how gladly I would embark in the steamer, which is to  
 carry this, to be once more with you and partake of the welcome  
 which you would give me but such is not my fortune and I  
 am still doomed to wait an other year before thinking of returning home.  
 But my hands are strong and my heart disobeys. I submit the matter willingly  
 for another twelve months and may hope with the experience of the past  
 to reap a more encouraging reward. I have been so kindly and so

gratefully treated by some who were under infinite obligations to me that  
my character within the few months past has changed almost altogether  
that liberal sentiment thro' out quite so profoundly as than my breast agi-  
on did and to be avoided now require no ordinary demand to reach it  
through the assumed misstatements of my character. You in California may  
think it self more so than in any other part of the world and unless a man  
looks out for number one he will soon find number one in rather a bad  
predicament. Such has been my position for some months past and find  
unwakened to the state of my changed I have advised this day with  
the courage to turn over a new leaf and if I am not more disqualified  
for the future it will not be for the want of the recommitment I have de-  
cided upon. You ask me what caused into think at my protracted absence  
You see such upon a tender point for if anything could possibly induce me  
to return home it would be to see this good and confiding girl who loves and  
but too well for the society which I must endure here to be excluded by remain-  
ing longer from home. It's clear marked if you knew the person of her too  
you would not suppose it could be shaken by delay or ~~even~~ destroyed  
even though I should never see her again. Here are the cheering words in  
her last letter. "I write you the bottom of my heart and all that I say  
I feel deeply. Only come back to me soon, as I am disappointed in  
going to you, and all will be right enough. And I can tell you what  
my feelings are better than I can write them but rest assured dear Mary  
I will wait for you as long as you desire, only I pray you do not let it be  
over ten years." This is enough to show you I find no disinterested conde-  
mner from that granted sincerest sincerity enabled me to remain away  
a year or two longer or any position be such as well to warrant me  
to stay for the object of my love. I feel left awfully concerning  
her mind than ever as she has by her untiring efforts placed herself

in a position to re-  
state she has found  
in and has under  
letters in French  
writing two school  
addresses. She may  
affording assistance  
with these available  
wife and pleasure  
housekeeping, however  
I think she is suffi-  
cient. I am glad  
when I leave it to  
of San Francisco  
been here under man-  
agement with Mr.  
shall either disolve  
remains here to  
in San Francisco  
an actual advance  
to the discovery of  
remains a secret  
return here to for  
I have not yet de-  
always been to con-  
some thing exceeding  
future circumstances  
and immediate

to me that  
sides also  
my breast  
to reach it  
California  
wants a man  
wishes a fact  
all our friends  
the day with  
we are satisfied  
I have  
traced  
judged and  
or who loves  
withy remain  
of his best  
destroyed  
ing words in  
that I say  
wrote to  
you what  
dear Thomas  
would let  
be  
without  
main away  
warrant  
concerning  
lands himself

in a position to render himself independent of family or friends. The  
lady she has formed a class of little boys and girls limited to a class  
in and has undertaken to teach them and their mothers. Besides she gives  
lessons in French and in German in music. Having at the time of  
writing two scholars receiving lessons upon the piano. From and these  
advances she may hope to maintain herself respectably. As well as  
affording assistance to her mother. Do you not think a woman  
with these available attainments, must make any man a valuable  
wife and pleasant companion? Now let me tell you the understanding  
housekeeping, knows how to make pins, socks, &c, and what is best of all  
I think she is sufficiently economical for a woman. You to return  
letter. I am sick and tired of San Diego and shall be heartily glad  
when I have it to mingle me more with the bustle and excitement  
of San Francisco where I hope to be more actively employed than I have  
been here now nearly three months. The day I have entered into an  
agreement with Mr Franklin to terminate the 1st of May when we  
shall either dissolve or disperse of our interests. During this time he  
remains here to attend to the business and I make the purchases  
in San Francisco. An arrangement of this kind will be beneficial to  
our mutual advantage. We have fixed upon the 1st of May owing  
to the discovery of some very rich mines the exact position of which  
remains a secret till then when the gentlemen at the head of it will  
return here to form a company of 50 or 60 persons to work the mines.  
I have not yet decided to go though my partner has. My policy they  
always been to avoid the mines but as the prospect seems to promise  
something exceedingly rich I may be induced to go but I leave to  
future circumstances to guide me. I shall proceed to San Fran-  
cisco immediately upon the return of Mr Franklin from Santa

comes with funds yet due from the old firm of Green & Co. The  
difficulties with the Indians have a long prevented him from  
going long before this but now that the disturbances are at an  
end he will be able to start shortly and I hope return in  
time for me to proceed by the steamer of the 1st of next  
month to San Francisco. By the way you must desire  
to hear something further respecting the outbreaks among the  
Indians which I am happy to state have been brought to  
a successful termination as far as the present is concerned,  
though I very much fear there will be further difficulties in  
as much as the Indians have not received the chastise-  
ment which they deserve at the hands of the whites for their  
many outrages committed by them. The notorious Bre-  
mestrad and one of their chiefs were hung here last  
month and several more at Los Angeles and Antonio. Carra  
their principal chief was executed and that the day be-  
fore yesterday the principal duty devolving upon me  
as one of the twelve men who were ordered to execute  
the sentence. Peace and quietness reigns now more and  
the social relations of life have resumed their wonted aspect.  
I live dear mother I have communicated to you all  
of our possible interest you and answered the most  
important points contained in your letters and therefore I  
will bring this lengthy letter to a close in wishing you and our family  
a very very happy new year God granting before the return  
of an other we may again meet and live together to witness  
many more. I bid dear mother and Sister an affectionate  
adieu and believe me with filial love very sincerely yours  
11. B. McQuinn the past long and as knowledge of W. S. H. H. H.  
at the time.

JAN. 25, 1952 Rachel Whaley to T. Whaley  
Troops being sent

Jan 1st  
Whaley 1852  
to Mother & Sister  
Indian uprising  
Antonio Garcia  
Bill Marshall  
Fitzgeralds  
Volunteers

Whaley serves  
as 17 man team  
to execute Garcia

Jersey City, January 25<sup>th</sup> 1852

Dear Son.

The receipt of yours of Dec 2<sup>nd</sup> is on hand which informs me of your perilous situation with respect to the Indians. Oh my! what will be your destiny, God only knows, I read something of it in the papers, likewise that troops had been sent that way, I trust they will be for the protection of San Diego - now, I have a rather source of uneasiness & what misfortune will befall you next & I feel great concern for you leaving San Francisco, I have been waiting to hear from you for some time your business news is tolerable but what what will be the result we cannot tell I pray you to be studiously careful of yourself and not stand but flatter from harm Thomas, what could, I & mine do towards protecting a house Henry only knows what will happen the outrage they committed on Mr Warner member of the State Legislature, was useful indeed and the five Americans, who were at the Springs, you may easily imagine my feelings how I wish you was safe at home, as John says, you had better come, what will he say when I inform of this news we all feel very anxious for your safety as you may suppose under all circumstances Thomas I hope Mr Franklin will be kind and true to you and not leave such other until peace is restored to the South I am thankful that you are in good health and spirits at the time you wrote to keep yourself well armed and a horse ready to saddle as you could do better in your case defence will

Draw you a letter  
Wishes of us and  
the it is not just any appearance

Baltimore, Pennsylvania

I presume the weather so cold with you as in this  
region it has been intense indeed in all the States We have  
again returned to N York I left Baltimore on the 8<sup>th</sup> of Dec  
since which Sister has come, as you has an appointment in  
N York, I was at Newark when she came there we left for  
N York but the weather has been so very cold, crossing  
had and ~~was~~ business on this side at present ~~is~~  
we have remained 2 weeks on Thursday then we shall ~~be~~  
Sister has not been ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> the city, I was there ~~on~~ <sup>came</sup> she  
The East River has been frozen over admitting hundreds to  
walk ~~over~~ it has been much colder in New-Years than  
ever known. I received letters from you informing of the  
beauties of the House of San Diego and your voyage there  
that being the last article yesterday I answered that  
Newark after I had called at Mrs Lannings giving you  
a detail of our interview I trust you will hear of it  
by my letter on Thurs as your mind will be at rest I  
shall see her again soon we contemplate taking board  
at Miss Devereux, until Sister takes a house as she  
intends to do we, will see her in a few days I had some  
conversation with her when I saw her last very spoke  
of you kindly. Sunday the day is most beautiful but  
fairs for a January there a great amount of snow in  
N York as Sylvester informs me he is boarding here with  
she to be remembered to you he thinks your letter must  
have been left at her store 93 Maiden Lane by Miss  
Lannings brother Dr Lanning looks quite fishy since  
his return from Europe I hope he will succeed in  
his undertakings as I presume he is very attentive

Thomas let  
the four clas  
three hundred  
paid at diff  
the next  
find some his  
place at  
who has ha  
another  
to the purpose  
their writte  
not wish  
he is the  
child the  
him to  
I think  
if John  
have come  
a long let  
Post, I  
can Mr F  
him notes  
I could  
if I was he  
as I know  
your child  
had lost  
was settle



Thomas let me inform you that our suit in respect to  
the foreclosure is decided in our favour ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~three~~ <sup>three</sup> hundred dollars in ~~including~~ <sup>including</sup> \$150 which I have  
paid at different times he said you children must enter  
the next suit John Faulks leaving Harper H, he may  
find something to do in say I tell him he may have the  
place at Bloomingdale and hire the dwelling of Bailey  
who has bought a farm in Chicago. My state and put  
another tenant on our place but that is nothing  
to the purpose I will go up and look at one of these days  
then write John word and gain his instructions I do  
not wish him to stay any longer where he is I think  
he is too much confined for his benefit he has only one  
child though he may have more I will write to  
him to say as he wishes to hear of your welfare  
I think we ought to improve the fourth of Oct  
if John comes I have been in hopes that you  
have come home with a <sup>wound</sup> pile to rid us that, write  
a long letter next time what have you done with the  
Post? I will give you all the information I  
can Mr Lee Smith asked me if I was willing to give  
him notes bearing a simple interest I told him  
I could not do so as I had some large bills to pay  
if I was rich I would pay of all your responsibilities  
as I knew you had been so truly unfortunate in losing  
your buildings he said he did not know that you  
had lost them until then he said he wis had affair  
was settled as Mr Wauker was dead I told him I hoped  
you would be more prosperous

is in this  
States We have  
the 8<sup>th</sup> of Dec  
the statement in  
we left for  
id; crossing  
refer to  
we shall have  
come  
one the  
hundreds to  
and than  
many of the  
voyage this  
were that at  
giving you  
hear of it  
at least I  
king board  
use as she  
I had some  
they spoke  
whisper bits  
I know in  
I have wi-  
letter must  
by Miss  
clerby since  
succeed in  
continue

giving you a good opportunity to pay off all liabilities  
Thomas, how does your Coffee Mills, come on I hope Garrison  
will be honorable to you you once wrote that you had  
to receive \$600. from your buildings have you done so  
I do not hear any thing of Wardle now a days on any of  
the firm Mrs Lanny, said Anson had gone to Cal<sup>a</sup> I did  
not know it, I would like to call on, Parner if you have  
not objections it may not be of any avail I think he is do  
ing a good business tis too bad for you to lose your <sup>then</sup> money  
I have not seen any old friends as yet the furthest is at  
Mrs Watsons G. Avenue I thought if Sister keeps house to  
board with her having my room and bedroom and do as I  
please I do not wish to have the responsibilities of a family  
depending on me I want to do as I please walk out  
or remain at home your Grandfather is quite smart  
in his 90<sup>th</sup> year is he not a surprising man looks as bright  
as ever appetite good all other friends are well at Newark  
I saw Henry a short time before I left Balt<sup>a</sup>. he was  
looking very well I am glad that I saw him as Sister has  
moved on, as I anticipated returning at the close of winter  
at least we are well pleased with Baltimore a very clean  
city My Dear child I must bid you adieu commen  
ding you to the protection of the Almighty Sister &  
Mother sends their best and warmest affection  
to their distant brother hoping we may all meet again  
soon is the prayer of your Affectionate Mother  
R. Whaley.

From Paul Frederickson --notes made from microfilm of holograph journal of

SAMUEL P. HEINTZELMAN

(Seen at University of Arizona Library, which had obtained this microfilm from Library of Congress Manuscript Division)

"Sat. Dec. 13, 1851 (San Diego)

"The steamer 'Sea Bird' came in this morning with two companies C & F of Infy from Benicia and one of Artillery from Monterey & went to the New Town without communicating with the shore. I rode up to the Old Town with Hendershott. There Major Brown soon came with Dr. Woscroft, the Ind. Agent, & Lt. Hamilton. I directed the troops (53) landed at the New Town. After a conversation with Dr. Woscroft I determined to start tomorrow and endeavor to chasten the indians back of Agua Caliente and immediately issued an order for Magruder and Slemmer & 8 men from the Mission and all the disposable men from here to rendezvous at the Mission at 12 m tomorrow. I am, I see from these letters in command of the Southern District. I have ordered all the horses at the Mission turned over to the Depot Q. Master. We will go with a pack train across the mountains. The men are ~~not~~ in extacie at the orders to go. The general [Hitchcock--PF] leaves all to my discretion is very flattering.

"Marshall & the Californian were hung this afternoon."

"Mission San Diego Sunday Dec 14, 1851

"I was up by sunrise and finished packing my valise & mess basket. We had our things put in the ambulance and started for the mission & early in the morning sent a wagon to the New Town [supposedly from La Playa, where Heintzelman was living.--PF] with some things. It was near 12 when Hendershott & I started for New Town. When we got there we found the muster packed and ready to start but the men had got at some liquor on the wharf and most drunk. I staid & took dinner at the mess & rode to Mission getting there a little before sundown. The men got scattered and some of the drunken men laid down and went to sleep."

"3 Miles East of Estudillos Monday Dec. 15, 1851

"I was a little disgusted last night on finding we had not near so many provisions as I had ordered & the mules behind. I then determined to start two wagons ~~and~~ and got them off in very good time.

~~the doctor~~ a family  
"The doctor [not identified, but apparently/~~some~~ relative at La Playa merely referred to as "the doctor" in previous entries.--PF] took me to one side and spoke about going along if needed. He thought there would be talk if I left him behind, as he was my brother-in-law. I issued an order to join me at San Isabell (sic). Col. Magruder was not here & I did not see him until this morning. He wanted to stay a day longer. I let him. He was to join us here, though I suppose he will come with the doctor & join us at Santa Isabel (sic).

"Laguna Tuesday Dec 16, 1851

"I slept very comfortably last night. We were up & off before the sun was half an hour high. As we got into the little valley this side of the mountain we saw a group of men sitting on the ground at breakfast & on approaching

them saw they were New Mexicans & Americans. They told us they came from New Mexico as an escort to Capt. Sitgreaves to explore the Colorado river & that they & all the men on the Colorado had come in --that the post was broken up;-- that they had stopped last night at this place.

"We hurried on reached Santa Maria, from which I sent an indian [most often Heintzelman did not capitalize Indian.--PF] express to have them join me.

"We rode on to the Laguna, & not long after Lt. Patterson joined us & brought a message that the men who came across the country were ragged and worn out and to know whether I wished him & his men, or only Davidson's [not clear who sent the message.--PF] The indian I sent soon arrived with a note & I sent for all my men & let him take the waggons back & the 12 pdr. Eager (sic) was fired at three miles from the Post and wounded with arrows in the neck and two in the side but he and the man with him got in safe. Davidson sent me a message that he was out of provisions and came in. The officers are disposed to doubt.

"Santa Isabel Wed 17 Dec 1851

"It was quite warm and we had a pleasant night. This morning it looked like rain & soon after we got here we had a shower. We were here at one P.M. I wrote a letter last evening to McKinstry & one to Magruder & gave them to Dr. Irvin who left this morning.

"The indian returned this morning with a note ~~from~~ from Maj. Kendrick. He wants an officer to turn over the men to. I had no one to send with a ~~message~~ note & shall wait until the command joins, when I will have to send Sweeny. He caught there in time from here. He will be important in command at the Beach. I suppose Davidson would be delighted to be selected. How well he is known by the officers.

"We are encamped, or rather quartered, in the old Mission buildings. They are better than a bivouac in the cold rain.

"Santa Isabel Thurs. D-c. 18, 1851

"Davidson's party got in about midday. I required of him a report. He handed me his and Murray's. I send them in tomorrow with Sweeny & have endorsed that I do not see the necessity for abandoning the post & that had an express been sent me I would have sent out supplies. Magruder agrees with me.

"The doctor and Magruder joined last evening. We have made arrangements to start in the morning to surprise the Colloytts (sic). I take C, F & D Companies 48 men with Lt. Lyon [name hardly clear.--PF], Patterson, the doctor & Mr. Warner along. We enter on the desert. Col. Magruder with the other companies leaves tomorrow for the more direct route. He has a little over 50 men. If we are successful I hope to put an end to the difficulties here.

"It rained a little in the afternoon and cleared off in the evening. It has been rather cool today.

"Lt. Sweeny goes in to take charge of the 30 men that Major Kendrick has with him. They have the reputation of being a pack of thieves & scoundrells (sic).

"I wrote to Margaret by him [presumably Mrs. Heintzelman at La Playa:PF]

"Friday, Dec 19, 1851. Camp on Mountain 14 miles from Santa Isabel between Warner's & San Felipe.

"Josa No-ca was called up after breakfast and gave me important information. He says Rason's (sic) people are not concerned in this outbreak. It appears the indians generally did not join. We got an indian of the name of Qualito to go with us as guide and got off at 10 a.m., the hour fixed upon the day before. Lt. Sweeney left this morning with the two wagons for San Diego. I sent by him letters for Major Kendrick, General Hitchcock & Margaret.

"Magruder wrote a communication at the last moment asking to be remounted &c. I approved of it in so many words, though it was not entirely to my mind [that's what the word looks like.--PF]. Mr. Warner is with us. We passed within sight of the ruins of his rancho but did not stop. We went about six miles further up the slope towards the crest of the mountain, near wood & water & grass. Our packs did not get into camp until sometime after dark, & it soon after dark commenced to rain. We went to work & fixed a place to shelter us from the rain. We slept pretty well.

"Sat Dec. 20, 1851 --On the Desert

"We intended to start at 3 a.m. but it rained too hard & was too dark & rainy. It was after daylight before our packs were fixed. We slept in the clouds.

"We travelled about six miles partly up & then a little descending. We had a beautiful view of the desert & saw the Dome on the ridge near Camp Yuma. The descent was about 7 more to the desert. We descended a very good slope. We came about 5 miles on the desert and about 2 miles from our camp caught 3 indians two armed with war arrows & one with hunting. We took them along as prisoners.

"We came yesterday 16 miles & today 18. We are now within 5 or 6 miles of the Coyotes village encamped behind a ~~spur~~ spur of the mountain, s?--PF. The three indians we captured had two doz. arrows. They were evidently surprised. We go tomorrow two hours before day to surprise the village. The indians we caught are Agua Calientes, but no doubt staying at this village. There is quite a large pack trail. The San Ysidro indians live up a cañon we have just passed.

"Los Coyotes Sun Dec. 21

"We made all our arrangements, having spent more than two hours trying to get more definite information from the captured indians. The great difficulty is to get a definite idea from them about distances. We had scarcely laid down before it commenced raining & it continued off & on all night. We got up had a cup of coffee & were on the march at 4 a.m. -- two hours before day. We took one of our captives as guide. We entered the canon as it grew light. We there got water, having had none at our encampment except a little we carried in a few water tanks. We passed a lookout & several indian ranches. We had not gone up more than a little over half a mile before we were surprised to discover some indians in the bottom on our left & a moment after some more on the side of the mountain on our right. Between us and those on our left & front there was a deep gully so steep we could not cross until we went down it a short dis-

tance. Mr. Warner found a place & crossed & I followed next. When we got over we were surprised & the officers exclaimed see the rascals advancing on us.

"One shot was fired before we crossed, but the distance was too great. After we got over the men commenced a general firing. The indians were armed with arrows and some half dozen rifles. As the men advanced firing they retreated & in less than five minutes fled up the canon & sides of the mountain [s?-PF]. I think we killed three. By leaving a guard with the packs & another in the narrow part of the canon, with some men scattered when I pursued up to the village I did not have 20 men out of near 50 we started from San Isabel with. We entered the village & set fire to it, as the men disappeared up the mountain side and around a point I ordered a pursuit but the widow of Bill Marshall with a child in her arms came down the side of the mountain & called for a parley. The men were so excited they did not see she was a woman. I had great difficulty in saving her from being shot. She said the parties were divided and they would come in. I ordered no more kuts burned & stopped the pursuit.

"About half past 9 a.m. I sent an indian with a note to Col. Magruder to come down the mountain & join us & soon after the officers rode in & the men followed. They did not get my note.

"The indians had information of our coming, having seen us passing the mouth of the cañon near where we caught the three indians and sent word to the village. They cached their provisions (sic) & effects. The men dug them up & found some of Mr. Warner's effects and those of the murdered men.

"Juan Bautista, the chief of a village in a cañon to the right, showed himself with 9 or 10 warriors on the hill just back of the village. After some assurance they came down. He says he was sent for the night before to join, but would not come. I rather think had we been stopped he would have joined against us.

"Dr. Wosencroft determined this afternoon to send out for Razon & all the chiefs & headmen near here. I will wait a couple of days here for them.

"Our men behaved very well in the engagement, but shot very wild, through excitement. There were 400 indians collected here the other day, when Mr. Warner's cattle were eaten up.

"Los Coyotes Mon Dec. 22, 1851

"Last evening we talked our future plans over & I agreed to go to Temecala (sic) with the command to see the indian agent make a treaty with the Ca-hui-ya's. This morning I was called at daylight and we completed our arrangements. We sent for the packs left on the mountain & they will be in & tomorrow we will send them to Santa Isabel and for more wagons to join us at Temecula (sic). Here we remain until we see some Indians sent for & then join there & from there go in. Sunday we are to meet the Indians at Temecula.

"Los Coyotes Tuesd Dec. 23, 1851

"We had a few drops of rain last night. This morning I sent an expedition to San Ysidro, but they met a messenger & returned. We had sent the day before for the San Ysidro indians to come in to us here. The people got in at 4 a.m. & I have organized a Council of War to try those implicated in the murders, & all the officers are on it. Lt. Hendershott left for San Isabel. We found the body of Cha-pu-li & yesterday we found that of Ce-cilo. The former was the chief of this village & the latter a confidential advisor of Antonio Garra.

"The couriers have returned from Razons. They send their respects but cannot come --are friends and quiet. We send tomorrow for them to meet us at Temecula.

"Los Coyotes Wed Dec. 24, 1851

"It rained some last night. The trial is still going on. One I believe is convicted & I suppose more will be. Will have to leave tomorrow on account of our provisions.

"Midnight--The trial closed a few minutes since & four are convicted & recommended to be executed & the recommendation endorsed by the Indian Agent and Commissioner. The names of the four are Juan Bautista or Goton, Jacobo or Qui-sil & Luis the Alcalde all of Agua Caliente & Francisco Mocato, captain of San Ysidro, convicted of murder, arson & robbery. I approved the proceedings & ordered the execution by shooting at ten o'clock tomorrow. I wanted to have them informed of the result immediately, but the officers thought it best to delay until the morning. This is a most disagreeable duty.

"Buena Vista Thurs Dec. 25, 1851

"We had a little rain in the morning, but nothing to interfere with the execution. I sent for Juan Bautista & his people. The men were informed & took it very well. One of them before exhibited a good deal of feeling. One of them now promised if the commander would save them they would serve him all their lives. At 10 all the arrangements were made & the firing party of five for each man & five reserve drawn up & the men blindfolded & kneeling before their graves. Lt. Slemmer was officer of the day and gave the orders. They all fell & were dead in a few moments. The indians all off at a little distance & witnessed the execution. I felt quite relieved when it was over. We buried them immediately & as soon as we could pack we started. It was 12 o'clock. We first burned all the ranches below and one near them, leaving a few for Juan (sic) Noca to occupy till he could pack up his things, when he was to burn them.

"It soon commenced raining hard & continued so all day. We passed Juan Bautista's village, his winter one, about five or six miles up the cañon & finding it still early and no accommodations very promising we continued on to the summer village over the ridge of the mountain. The cañon is wide and barren & the mountain at the head pretty steep. Before we got there we saw a cañon where the route passes over the mountains to Panito's village. We did not know it was so near or I would have sent out a party to bring him in. I have no doubt the Coyotes fled to his village. This Panito is implicated in this outbreak.

"This village, Bautista's, is situated in a beautiful position. We found a small vineyard just before we got to the village. There was no wood, but the old man let us burn his fence.

"Ahuanga Friday Dec 26, 1851

"This morning our horses, mine, Warner's & Patterson's, were missing. We got trace of them and packed & were off about 9 a.m. I took it on foot in the rain & met our horses brought back by Mr. Warner about a mile from our camp. The plain was wide and gently ascending awhile and then descending in the same way. The rain poured all day. About 7 miles from here we passed a warm spring about 10 feet in circumference. We noticed it from the steam rising & the smell of sulphur. The ground was very rotten [or did Heintzelman write "sodden"?--PF] for a mile or two after we passed it & I have serious fears if the rains continue whether we will be able to get in without difficulty. Today's ride has been exceedingly disagreeable. The road is quarter of a mile from here. We came the first day 14 and yesterday 16 miles.

"Camp near Temecula Sat Dec 27, 1851

"We sent out & examined the road & they reported many horse tracks going towards Santa Isabel. As there is another place called Ahuanga some four miles nearer Santa Isabel & Mr. Warner proposed riding down there, I gladly accepted his kind offer & about 8 P.M. he returned reporting Lt. Sandershott there & that 23 volunteers had arrived at Santa Isabel with ~~George~~ Geo [or did Heintzelman write "Gen" or Edw"? Very unclear.--PF] Fitzgerald in command. He brought me some papers and letters from Margaret. Dr. Irvin is with them & has some things I sent for. The volunteers from above are not coming down. I got a letter from Sackett reporting that he heard that four Americans were murdered at Vallecito by those ~~Indian~~ Indians, also letters from McKinstry & Kendrick. The abandonment of the Gila has excited the some fute ing in San Diego [Can't make this out.--PF].

Same  
"Camp Sunday Dec 28, 1851

"The train got in before 9 a.m. yesterday & we waited for them. There are four wagons. It commenced raining again & continued most of the day & we got very wet. We got in before one P.M. & our wagons and mules soon after. I sent Capt. Davidson's company back from our last camp to Santa Isabel to take charge of the depot & prevent if possible the volunteers from doing any harm to the Indians.

"Magruder brought a couple of wall tents & we put them up at Los Coyotes & find them quite a comfort. We have a few common tents with the train and have been able to make our men a little more comfortable.

....."Mr. Warner & Dr. Wozencroft rode in yesterday to Temecula and some of the officers this morning, as we concluded to remain here, as it is a tolerably good camp & dry. They all returned & we will stay here tomorrow.

....."There was some bedcimming (sic) whiskey brought out with the train & last evening Col. Magruder mixed what he calls a cracker toddy. It was quite a favorite.....



"Camp at Pauva led. [?--PF] (near Temecula)  
Mon. 29 Dec. 1851

"We have had no rain today --the first time since we left Santa Isabel.

"An express arrived from Mr. Gouts at San Diego informing me that Capt. Hays has arrived from above with 45 men. I declined receiving them, informing him that the war was over.....

Camp near Temecula Tues Dec. 30, 1851

"....We moved our camp & are encamped a couple/ of miles beyond Temecula, on the San Luis Rey road. We have come about nine miles.

"Pablo Apis village is the largest I have seen in California. We there found Magruder & Dr. Irvin. They are in our camp & will start tomorrow.

"There are some men here from Los Angeles & report that Gen. Bean has the rest of the murderers & is taking them to Los Angeles. The indians sent for are coming in. We saw Juan Bautista & Jose Noca at the village. Everything promises a speedy termination of our campaign & in the most happy manner....

"Camp near Temecula, Cal. Wed Dec 31, 1851

".....Dr. Wozencroft, Lt. Hamilton & Mr. Warner came to camp this morning, to breakfast. The doctor proposed sending an officer with Mr. Warner to San Gorgono (sic) for Juan Antonio, or some indians there. There are some persons keeping the indians back & such an embassy may bring them in. Juan Antonio has been stabbed in the arm & side by Antonito, Antonio Garra's son & is perhaps not able to come....

"We had muster & inspection this morning. I never saw arms so dirty or men in general --Magruder's company in particular. He and Dr. Irvin got off after eleven I believe it was this morning. Lt. Patterson went with Mr. Warner...

"We had a most beautiful sunset. The top of the San Bernardino Mountain covered with snow, then a belt of clouds & the base in the sunlight, made a beautiful picture.

"After dark *all* but the Doctor--[capitalized word undecipherable.--PF] & myself went to the Indian village. We spent the New Years eve in thinking of home & enjoying a built [?--PF] of venison, before the fire. A poor substitute for home.

"Glo [George?--PF] Fitzgerald with the volunteers has arrived from Santa Ysabel --PF] & is encamped near the Indian village. Col. Magruder & Dr. Irvin left for Los Angeles.

"Camp near Temecula, Cal. Thurs. Jan 1st, 1852

".....After breakfast Dr. Summers [looks like.--PF] and I rode to the village.....The day has been pleasant.

"10 $\frac{1}{2}$  P.M. Mr. Warner & Lt. Patterson have returned from San Gorgono. They did not get there until 2 a.m., and left there at 9 a.m. Juan Antonio will

be in with his captains. He would have been in before but there were counter influences. Antonito and another Indian were executed at Chino & Bean is taking Antonio Garra to San Diego. The matter may now be considered entirely settled. There will be no difficulty in the agent's making the final arrangement. We start on our way back in the morning.....

"San Diego (Playa) Cal. Jan 3, 1852. Sat

"We were up at daylight & had all packed & were off by half past 5 a.m. Lt. Hamilton came over to camp & arranged about going home with the Indian-PF I commission by Santa Isabel. The doctor & I with Patterson & Tilghman rode on to ~~mm~~ San Luis Rey. Hendershott I sent to Santa Isabel to secure the stores.

"We had a good deal of difficulty in getting up the hill close by camp, but after that the road was very good. The valley of San Luis Rey is beautiful. We got there at  $\frac{1}{2}$  before one & Lt. P sent for horses for us, but we did not get them until 3 P.M. At that time Fraser had got along & the command was dropping in. The distance is 20 or 25 miles. We got on our fresh horses & started for this place where we arrived at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  P.M.—45 miles more....

"San Diego, Cal., Fri. Jan 9, 1852

"....I drove to the Old and New Town. I met Gen. Bean as I passed through the Old Town & he told me he had brought in Antonio Garra. As I left town I met Lt. Hamilton just out of town & stopped —next Lt. Col. Craig & had a long talk with him. In the New Town I saw Dr. Wazencroft I learned the Indians came in as desired & all the arrangements he desired are completed. He has been sick and looks badly....

"In the Old Town they are trying Antonio Garra by a militia court martial. I saw Mr. Warner. He showed me a letter from one of the state senators about the indian war. He for occupying the Gila with volunteers, at once & till the U.S. can. We will be before them.

"I saw Yeager & he paid me \$115.55 my share on the last division. If Davidson was not so poor a stick I would by this time have had refunded me all I paid out for my share in the ferry. I hope to make something yet.

"San Diego Sunday Jan 11, 1852

".....Antonio Garra was shot last evening. This is the finale of the war..."

#

ANNA WHALEY'S DEATH FEB 24, 1913  
PAPERS RELATED TO HER CARE AND  
FUNERAL - A WIDOW OF THE INDIAN WARS  
FITZGERALD'S VOLUNTEERS  
SEE: DOCUMENT No 6334 ENTITLED  
INDIAN WARS - APPROVED JULY 27, 1892  
ANNA WHALEY - WIDOW OF THOMAS WHALEY  
WHO WAS A PRIVATE OF CAPT KURTZ  
COMPANY FITZGERALD'S VOLUNTEERS  
CALIFORNIA MOUNTED - PENSION  
EIGHT DOLLARS - JUNE 27, 1892

LEGO SUN MONDAY JUNE 19 1933

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MALKI MUSEUM BROCHURE NO. 1

THE CAHUILLA INDIANS  
 of  
 SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA  
 Their History and Culture



MALKI MUSEUM, INC.  
 P.O. Box 614  
 Banning, California

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the Association of Employed  
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## TO THE READER

This is the first of a series of brochures for the general public that Malki Museum, Inc. hopes to publish on the Indians of Southern California. Eventually, other publications will cover the Serrano, the Luiseno, and the Diegueno tribes. Special attention is given to Morongo Indian Reservation in this first booklet because the museum is located on this reservation and it was felt that such material would assist in answering the questions of visitors.



## CREDITS

Text by Lowell Bean and Harry Lawton.

Photographs from Malki Museum files and courtesy of the Riverside Press-Enterprise Co.

Lithographed by Riverside Printers, Inc.

Cover sketch from the 1852 report of the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers railroad survey. Depicted is a Cahuilla family in front of mountainman Paulino Weaver's ranch near Beaumont. Back cover is an 1892 photograph of famed Cahuilla Chief Cabezon.

Published  
February, 1965

## WELCOME TO MALKI MUSEUM

Malki Museum is the first public museum ever established on a Southern California Indian reservation. Located on the Morongo Indian Reservation between Banning and Palm Springs, California, the museum is operated by Malki Museum, Inc., a non-profit corporation.

The museum's function is to collect and display historical materials and artifacts pertaining to:

- (1) Indians of San Geronimo Pass
- (2) Cahuilla-speaking peoples
- (3) Indians of Southern California
- (4) Other Indians having historical and cultural ties with the above peoples.

Other functions include directing research and serving as a research center for scholars seeking material on the Southern California Indians. An eventual goal of Malki Museum, Inc. is to provide educational grants for Indian children.

The initial impetus for Malki Museum came from Indians of the Morongo Reservation, and the bylaws of the corporation require that at least two members of the board of trustees must be of Indian descent.

The museum is financed by income tax-deductible contributions from patrons, by visitor donations, and by dues paid by members of the rapidly-growing Malki Museum Association. Charter membership in the association consists of 200 persons.

Anyone is eligible to join Malki Museum Association, and all members are actively engaged in devoting their spare time to the museum. Some perform necessary chores such as keeping accurate records up to date and rendering clerical aid. Others assist in research projects such as site surveys, gathering historical notes and artifacts, and planning future archaeological projects.

Malki Museum is presently housed in temporary quarters on Fields Road leased from Mr. and Mrs. Elmer Penn. The museum is open to the public six days a week.

Architectural plans have been prepared for a large, new museum plant to be built on a two-acre site immediately adjacent to the present quarters. In addition to the museum building, plans call for using part of the site to recreate a Cahuilla Indian village exactly as such a village would have looked a century ago.

A fund raising drive will be undertaken soon for the new building. It is hoped Malki Museum will be fortunate to gain sufficient support for the entire project within a short time.

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Materials from Malki Museum files and courtesy of the Enterprise Co.

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## HISTORY OF THE CAHUILLA INDIANS AND MORONGO RESERVATION

The Cahuilla Indians (pronounced Ka-wee-yah) had their first encounter with non-Indians in 1775-76 when the expedition of Juan Bautista de Anza, marching from Sonora, traveled through northern Borrego Desert and the Los Coyotes Canyon area and down Bautista Creek near what is now San Jacinto.

The next known record of Cahuilla-Spanish contact comes from the baptismal records of San Gabriel Mission (1809), when Cahuillas from the village of Wanapiapa (Whitewater Canyon) were baptized.

Shortly thereafter, in 1819, a sub-mission or asistencia was established near San Bernardino. Numerous Cahuilla were attracted to the site. They helped the priests build the Redlands zanja (irrigation ditch), and learned farming and other aspects of Western culture.

Another important exploration and the first recorded contact with Cahuillas east of San Gorgonio Pass was the Romero expedition (1823-24), which passed near the present site of Malki Museum and on into the Colorado Desert. By this time San Gabriel Mission was maintaining a cattle ranch in San Gorgonio Pass near what is now Beaumont, and Cahuilla Indians worked there as cowhands.

In the 1840's, mountainmen Paulino Weaver and Daniel Sexton settled in the Pass, carrying on trade with the Cahuilla and hiring them to haul timber. In 1842, Sexton promised Cahuilla chief Juan Antonio that he would show him how Americans celebrated their holidays. On July 4, Sexton invited all of the surrounding Cahuilla to a fiesta. He climaxed a barbecue by raising the American flag — making the Cahuilla the first Indians to witness the raising of the American flag on California soil.

When the ill-fated Garra revolt broke out in 1851, Weaver prevailed upon Juan Antonio to help him quell the Indian uprising. Working together, Weaver and Juan Antonio captured Garra at his stronghold and ended the plan of some of the Indian tribes to attack and destroy Los Angeles.

In 1852, the Cahuillas signed the Treaty of Temecula with the United States government, which would have provided an Indian reservation 30 miles wide and 40 miles long. Among the signers was Chief Genio for whom the Potrero Ajenio on which the Morongo Reservation is located was named. The treaty, however, was never ratified by Congress.

The Cahuillas continued to live an existence that was partly aboriginal and partly American, working on fruit ranches, as farmers, and as cowboys.

Although the Morongo Reservation (then known as Potrero Ajenio) was one of nine small reservations set aside by President Grant in 1865, it remained unsurveyed and had no official status for many years. The native name of Morongo Reservation was Malki and it lay in the territory of the Wanikik or Pass Cahuilla. In the



This Southern California Indian village typifies the rectangular construction of the 1870's. Earlier structures were of circular design.

mid-19th century, the Serrano people to the north began joining the settlement. They brought with them the Morongo name, derived from the Serrano name for their people, Maringayam. Since the late 19th century, Morongo Reservation has been inhabited by a mixed population of Cahuilla, Serrano, and Cupeno, all of whom are of the Shoshonean linguistic group, each with their own proud heritage.

It wasn't until 1877 that a Mission Indian Agency was created for Southern California, and Rev. S. S. Lawson was appointed Indian agent with headquarters in San Bernardino and later Colton.

By then the situation of Southern California's Indians was desperate. Scattered in small villages over wide areas, they had no legal rights under California law and white settlers were rapidly appropriating their best lands.

One by one the old and powerful Cahuilla leaders were vanishing. Juan Antonio, who had protected San Bernardino's colonists from Paiute marauders, died an embittered old man in the 1863 smallpox epidemic, regretting that he had not joined forces with the Indian patriot Garra in the 1851 revolt. The famed Razon, a signer of the Temecula treaty who had tried to teach his people farming, passed away. Ajenio too was dead. All of these Indian leaders had listened to decades of promises and watched their people die of European diseases and their lands dwindle.

Only white-haired Chief Cabezon remained of the old generation of leaders. He had ruled his people firmly and had held back the Colorado River tribes from massacres. At a gathering of Cahuilla in 1878 on the banks of the zanja near Redlands, Cabezon eloquently summed up the plight of his people for Indian Agent Lawson:

"When white brother come, we make glad, tell him to hunt and ride. He say, 'Give me a little for my own,' so we move little way,

not hunt there. Then more come. They say move more, and we move again. So many times. Now we are small people, we have little place, but they say move to new place, away from white friends, go from out valley."

The aged chief shook his head and sighed.

"I know not," he said. "I know not."

Two years later, the last of the old Cahuilla warriors was also dead.

In 1881, Helen Hunt Jackson wrote "A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes." Public opinion was aroused by Mrs. Jackson and other writers and some steps were taken to improve Indian affairs.

Lawson was a conscientious and capable executive and by 1879 his agency was firmly established. His first census listed 3,000 Cahuilla, Serrano, Luiseno, and Diegueno Indians under agency jurisdiction. In 1882, Lawson issued the first wagons and plows to the Indians to help them in farming. Over the years, the Indian agents responsible for Morongo Reservation varied in abilities, ranging from those who were hard-working and altruistic to a few who bordered on the unscrupulous. The work of one Indian agent was often undone by the agent who followed.

Assisting Lawson and his successors for many years at Morongo Reservation was Captain John Morongo, a Serrano Indian born in 1846, who served as an interpreter and was intimately known by many government and state officials. Another important early captain was Pablo Gabriel, a Wanikik Cahuilla. Other prominent Morongo Reservation leaders of the early days were John Martin, Will Pablo, and Henry Pablo.

Irrigation began on the Morongo Reservation in 1888, when water was brought down from the upper cienega by a stone ditch. By 1890, there were orchards of apricots, peaches, and almonds, and vineyards of grapes. The Morongo Moravian Church was built in 1890 and the Catholic chapel in 1898, although Catholic priests had been saying mass on the reservation since the early 1880's.

For many years the Indian Bureau was solely responsible for Morongo Reservation, and Indian agents, bureau farmers, and teachers lived on the reservation. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed by Congress, which made it possible for tribal groups to set up and direct their own local government and to form corporations for various business purposes.

The Morongo Reservation today consists of 31,724 acres of which 1427 acres have been allotted. There is a population of about 125 persons, including Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeno, and Chemehuevi. Complex tribal problems pertaining to land and water rights are handled by the Morongo Tribal Council.

Descendants of the Cahuilla peoples live today throughout the United States, although most of them live in Southern California.

There are approximately 650 Cahuillas today. In addition to those living on the Morongo Reservation, sizeable populations of Cahuilla live in Palm Springs on the Agua Caliente Reservation; or on Los Coyotes, Santa Rosa, Cahuilla, Soboba, and Torres-Martinez reservations.

The Cahuilla remain a people devoted to their past, while successfully participating in the wider American culture socially and economically.

## CAHUILLA SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The territory of the Cahuilla Indians was bounded on the north by the San Bernardino mountains and on the south by the northern Borrego Desert. They ranged east on the Colorado Desert and as far west as present-day Riverside.

The Cahuilla lived in small villages of about 100 to 200 persons, but recognized themselves as belonging to larger political groups where several villages were considered related or to share a common territorial area.

The word Cahuilla is said to mean "the masters" or "powerful ones," but the origin of the name is obscure. The tribal designation "Cahuilla" is based more on a linguistic fact than on a political one. People speaking the Cahuilla language were divided into two groups (moieties) that served as marriage regulation groups. A member of one group had to marry a member of the opposite group. Inter-marriage between the members of the two groups made for strong social and economic alliances.

The Cahuilla Sib - or tribelet - was the largest political entity. These groups ranged from 300 to perhaps two thousand individuals. Each group had its own territory within which a number of smaller groups (lineages) lived. Every lineage had its own food gathering areas, hunting areas, and its village.

Lineages were composed of nuclear and extended families with an older man heading each household. A *net* (or chief) served as a ceremonial leader, economic administrator, political leader, and adjudicator. He was assisted by another official called a *paha*. Other positions also carried political weight. Medicine men or *pulem* were often included in the decision-making for the group.

A wide range of Southern California environment was exploited by each Cahuilla tribelet. Foods were gathered from the Colorado Desert basin to above the pinon range of the San Jacinto Mountains. From the lower desert came such staples as mesquite and screw-bean; slightly higher, agave and yucca provided dependable foods; and still higher, the acorn and pinon, to mention only a few. Each of these foods were ready for gathering at different times of year.

In each of the life zones in which the Cahuilla made use of that which nature provided, there were also animals. Throughout the year, rabbit, deer, mountain sheep, antelope, quail, wood rats and numerous small game were available.



## CAHUILLA CULTURE AND ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

The Cahuilla endeavored to create beauty in day-to-day projects and in objects which had religious meaning.

A major means of aesthetic expression was basketry. Cahuilla women were among the finest basketmakers in the world, and a Cahuilla wife who was an outstanding basketmaker found her social prestige considerably enhanced.

Throughout Cahuilla territory, petroglyphs (rock carvings) and pictographs (rock paintings) may be found. They were usually created for religious purposes. Diamond-shaped paintings and zig-zag patterns characterize much of the Cahuilla work.

While pottery was relatively late in developing among the Cahuilla, it also served as a means of artistic expression. A strong similarity exists between Cahuilla pottery designs, body designs, and petroglyph designs.

Body painting was used for ceremonial purposes and facial tattooing was a means of personal adornment.

Decoration was used for magical purposes and to indicate ownership. Arrow straighteners, for example, were often decorated with incised patterns. The designs were believed to enhance one's success as a hunter. A material used frequently for paint pigment was ochre (an iron oxide).

### POTTERY

Cahuilla pottery was probably borrowed from the Colorado River Indians to the east at a relatively late date. Among the items manufactured from clay were cooking pots, water jars, parching trays, storage jars, ladles, and pipes. The pottery was made of clay that burned red and very thin-walled, fragile, and porous. Some jars were decorated by painting (with hematite or a black material) or by making incisions around the mouth of the jar.

In preparing pottery, clay was ground into a fine powder. Water was added and coils of clay were made. The coils were pressed into the shape desired and smoothed on the inside with a small stone. A wooden paddle was used to smooth the exterior. The clay was kept wet to prevent cracking. The completed pot was baked in the sun for a day and then burned on a fire for one day.

### BASKETS

Cahuilla baskets were of varying shapes: shallow trays for sifting; small wide-mouthed globular baskets for storing personal objects; large gathering baskets; and basket caps. Large, loosely-woven containers — made of willow, palm leaves, mesquite branches and other plants — were used for gathering baskets and for storing large amounts of food.

The baskets were of the "coiled" or sewn type, made on a multiple foundation of a type of grass. Strips of a reed or other material



Ollas containing food were stored in desert caves where hunters and food gatherers might stop for a meal (top photo). Cahuilla basketry rivals that of basket-makers throughout the world (bottom photo).

were used in stitching. The only tool used in making a basket was the awl, made from the leg bone of a deer or a long cactus needle set in a wooden handle. Designs were usually taken from nature, such as animals, birds, clouds, lightning, and winds. The waterdog symbol used by Malki Museum was taken from a basket and typifies the high artistry of the Cahuilla basketmaker.

### CAHUILLA ARCHITECTURE

The family dwellings of the Cahuilla were called Kish. In early times, they were usually circular brush shelters built over a scooped-out hollow in the ground. Later houses, probably influenced by the Mexican jacal, were rectangular and set on forked posts. Walls were plastered with mud or adobe and the roof was thatched with tules or other plants.

Religious observances were centered in the large ceremonial house known as Kishumnawat. It was usually circular with a floor sunk several inches below the ground. The roof slanted upward from the sidewalls and was supported by forked posts. Arrow weed, palm fronds, willow, and other shrubs were used to thatch the building.

The ramada or shade arbor was also popular among the Cahuilla. It consisted of a roof of foliage supported by poles. Another building playing an important role in Cahuilla life was the Hoyachat or sweathouse. The Cahuilla discovered the modern sauna bath centuries ago. Cahuilla men and women enjoyed sweat baths in these brush structures, which were up to 12 feet in height and thickly covered with mud.



Morongo Reservation Ceremonial House.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE

Two major trade routes passed through Cahuilla territory, connecting them with tribes in Arizona and with such tribes on the coast as the Chumash and Gabrieleno. Commerce along these trade routes was far more extensive than might be imagined, providing a means whereby luxury items could be exchanged between tribes. Foods, shells, animal and mineral products were materials of exchange.

Many of these trade articles, found on the sands of the Colorado Desert, are preserved in the Aubrey Morgan collection at Malki Museum. One of the most unusual is a delicately carved amulet depicting a turtle.

One of the trade routes was that taken by the Anza expedition through northern Borrego Desert. The other led through San Geronio Pass, connecting the Cahuilla with the Arizona, Halchedum, Cocomarcopa, and Pima tribes. Over the centuries, many aspects of indigenous culture were exchanged from tribe to tribe. These trade routes later became early routes by which Spanish, Mexican, and American explorers passed through Cahuilla territory. When William Bradshaw sought a route to the Ehrenberg gold mines in the 1860's, he was shown an old Cahuilla trade route by Chief Cabezon, and it was this route that became the Bradshaw Trail.

### CAHUILLA WEAPONS

The Cahuilla bow is typical of the weapon throughout Southern California. Bows ranged from three-and-a-half to five feet in length, and were made of mesquite, desert willow, and sometimes palm-leaf stem. The bow was narrow and unbacked.

Arrows were of two kinds: cane reeds tipped with a hardwood foreshaft or a sharpened stem of Artemisia without a head. Flaked arrowheads made from various types of rocks were fitted to the shaft.

The Cahuilla had a thrusting war club with a thick cylindrical head, often made from a branch of ribbonwood.

A curved flat rabbit-killing stick, similar to the Australian boomerang, was also used by the Cahuilla in hunting.

### CAHUILLA CLOTHING

Because the Southern California climate did not require elaborate clothing for warmth and protection from the elements, the Cahuilla wardrobes were simple. Men wore loin cloths for every day wear and women wore grass skirts. The men also wore jackets, short trousers, and buckskin shirts. In winter, extra covering was provided against rain and cold. Robes were made of woven rabbit skins. Rabbit blankets and floor coverings were also used.

Several types of foot-covering were worn. One was a sandal made from yucca and agave fibers. Another was made from buckskin. A bootlike shoe of buckskin was more elaborate and resembled other Southwest Indian shoes.



This Cahuilla War Dance photograph was taken on the Morongo Indian Reservation in Banning about 1934.

## GAMES AND MUSIC

Games had an active place in Cahuilla society. There were men's games and women's games and competition was the principal motive. Moiety played against moiety, lineage against lineage, and individual against individual. To add excitement, bets were placed on the outcome of many games. Men engaged in foot races, demonstrated their skill with bow and arrow, and played the famous hand game, "peon." Women favored foot races, juggling, guessing games, and cat cradle.

The most common means of aesthetic expression among the Cahuilla was music. Music pervaded all activities of the people. Tribal history was recorded in songs, songs had religious meaning, and songs accompanied games, secular dances, and hunting and food gathering activities.

Musical instruments among the Cahuilla were the flute for secular music, rattles for both secular and sacred music, and rhythm sticks. Most musical expression, however, was vocal.

An impressive rite among some of the Cahuilla was the Eagle Dance. The dance was announced by a leader, who whirled a bull-roarer about his head. The keening sound of the bull-roarer attracted the people to the front of the ceremonial house.

When the people assembled, the leader gazed up at the sun. Then the dancer suddenly burst out of the ceremonial house, clad in kilt and head-dress of eagle feathers with two short sticks in his hands. When he struck the sticks together, the people began singing, and he started dancing in imitation of an eagle. Suddenly, he would vanish back into the ceremonial house.

Types of dances varied among the Cahuilla lineages with certain dances common to all Cahuilla. Other important dances of the Cahuilla include the War Dance and the Deer Dance. The Deer Dance was held to celebrate killing of a first deer by a young boy.

## INTERESTING CAHUILLA FACTS

The Desert Cahuilla were one of the few American tribes to dig wells. Their ancient wells, a few of which still remain on the desert, descended in a series of stair steps down into the earth. The well was known as te-ma-ka-wo-mal or "earth olla."

☆ ☆ ☆

Alessandro, the tragic hero of Helen Hunt Jackson's famed novel "Ramona," was actually a Cahuilla Indian. His name was Juan Diego and he was shot down by Sam Temple of San Jacinto. The real Ramona was also a Cahuilla, Ramona Lubo. She died on July 21, 1922 and is buried in the old Cahuilla cemetery in the San Jacinto Mountains.

☆ ☆ ☆

Among the most famous of the desert Cahuilla was Fig Tree John of the Agua Dulce clan, who lived in a jacal house at a spring near the Salton Sea.



Fig Tree John

He was named for the fig trees he planted around his spring. He often visited Banning, where he paid for his purchases with gold dust, giving rise to rumors about the lost gold mine of Fig Tree John in the Santa Rosas.

☆ ☆ ☆

The Cahuilla were the only tribe on the North American continent ever to organize a rebellion on the same grounds as the American revolution - taxation without representation. In 1851, the San Diego tax collector began seizing Indian cattle. A Cahuilla chieftain, Antonio Garra, organized a revolt

that was to include all the tribes of Southern California with the objective of destroying Los Angeles. At the height of the revolt, Garra was captured by mountainman Paulino Weaver and Chief Juan Antonio, a friend of the whites. He stood bravely before a firing squad in San Diego, laughing at his executioners as he toppled into his grave.

☆ ☆ ☆

When the first white men encountered the Cahuilla they were told a legend of a time when the Colorado River flowed inland and covered the desert with a great sea, forcing the people to flee from the flood. The flood legend was first confirmed in 1852, when geologists with a U.S. Army engineering survey found the marks of the Blake Sea or Lake Cahuilla along the edges of the Santa Rosa Mountains. The watermark may be best observed at Travertine Point south of Indio.

ITE OF THE  
MUSEUM INC

Katherine Siva Saubel, president (right), and Jane Pablo Penn, treasurer, inspect Malki Museum's future site.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

For those who want to know more about the Cahuilla, the following books and papers are recommended:

"The Cahuilla Indians" by Harry C. James, Westernlore Press, 1960.

"The Ethno-Botany of the Cahuilla Indians of Southern California," by David Prescott Barrows, University of Chicago Press, 1900.

"The Cahuilla Indians," by Lucille Hooper, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1920.

"Stories and Legends of the Palm Springs Indians," by Chief Francisco Patencio, Los Angeles, 1943.

"Aboriginal Society in Southern California," by William Duncan Strong, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1929.

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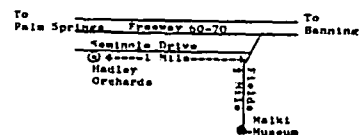
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Robert and Lovice' (Warner) Hungerford. See number 238. He was educated at Williston Seminary, after which he returned to Hadlyme and was extensively engaged in farming there. He served on the board of relief for several years and represented the town in the State Legislature in 1882. He was a committeeman of the Hadlyme Congregational Church for 12 years and a deacon after 1880. They had no children.

*Harris, Maudie Warner*, b. Mar. 29, 1837; d. Aug. 1839 (or 1838), at Mt. Clemens, Mich.

*Mary Selden Warner*, b. Sept. 17, 1839; resides at Mt. Clemens or Marquette, Mich.

*Henry Elfred Warner*, b. Jan. 1845; d. Nov. 6, 1891, at Mt. Clemens, Mich., not married.

403 **MATTHEW GRISWOLD WARNER**, son of Selden<sup>4</sup> and Dorothy (Selden) Warner, born March 6, 1799, in Hadlyme, Conn.; died in Rochester, N. Y., Dec. 29, 1884. He joined the church in Westchester, Conn., in 1824. He was a merchant in Westchester and East Haddam, removed to Rochester, N. Y. He was always active in public affairs; in East Haddam was constable and collector of the school district, and after his removal to Rochester, became city treasurer in 1877; was defeated Jackson candidate for presidential elector in 1828.

Married in Colchester, Conn., November 30, 1825. **LUCRETIA HUBBARD LOOMIS**, of the Westchester Society of Colchester, born March 5, 1824 or 5, died May 4, 1876, daughter of David and Clarissa (Williams) Loomis.

*Children, births of the first three recorded at East Haddam*  
*Matthew Griswold Warner*, b. Jan. (or June) 4, 1827; resided in Rochester, N. Y.; d. in Westchester, Conn., Mar. 4, 1880, not married.  
*Louella Loomis Warner*, b. July 6, 1828; d. in Rochester, Oct. 25, 1847.

*Emeline Eliza Warner*, b. June 4, 1829; d. in East Haddam, Sept. 25, 1831, buried in River View Cemetery, East Haddam.  
*Edwin Carr Warner*, b. Nov. 27, 1831; d. in Rochester, May 5, 1853, not married.

*Eliza Chaugton Warner*, b. Jan. 3, 1831; d. Feb. 23, 1817.  
*Mary Eliza Warner*, b. June 16, 1835; d. Jan. 27, 1843.  
*Christina Jane Warner*, b. 1837 or 1838; d. 1855; m. Horton Sabin; resided in Rochester.  
*Mary Amelia Warner*, b. 1812; d. Oct. 5, 1875.

✓ 404 **JONATHAN TRUMBULL WARNER**, son of Selden<sup>4</sup> and Dorothy (Selden) Warner, born in Hadlyme, Conn., November 20, 1807; died in Los Angeles, Cal., April 11, 1855.

He was better known in later life as **Colonel JUAN JOSE WARNER**, a name which he adopted during his residence among Spanish-speaking people who had no equivalent in their language for Jonathan or Trumbull. By his physician's advice in 1830 he decided to seek a milder climate and went west, reaching St. Louis in November. While he was in that town, the arrival of a wagon train of furs from the Yellowstone country caused quite a sensation and gave an impetus to fur trapping and trading. The following spring he joined an expedition to Santa Fe, consisting of 85 men and 23 wagons, under the employ of the famous hunter and trapper, Captain Jedediah S. Smith, who was killed by the Indians on this expedition. He reached Santa Fe, July 4, 1831. In September he left for California, in the employ of Jackson, Sublette and Ewing Young, who, with a party of eleven men, were going there to buy mules for the St. Louis market. They had with them five pack mules laden with Mexican silver dollars, and reached Los Angeles, December 5, 1831. Here Mr. Warner remained with one other man, while the others went on to make their purchases of mules. The speculation proved a failure. Jackson returned in March with 500 horses and only 100 mules. Mr. Warner assisted in driving the stock to the Colorado River where they experienced considerable difficulty and no little loss in forcing the stock to swim across the high water.

With three of the party Mr. Warner returned to Los Angeles, and, during 1832-33, with a party of fourteen under Young, he trapped and hunted in northern California and Oregon. In 1834 he settled in Los Angeles and engaged in merchandise. In 1840-1 he visited the Atlantic states and delivered a lecture at Rochester, N. Y., in which he urged the building of a railroad to the Pacific, the first time the project was presented to the public. He spoke on the same topic at other places, during this visit.

In 1843 he moved to San Diego, on what has since been known as Warner's ranch, a large and valuable tract of some 26,000 acres, devoted almost exclusively to sheep and cattle raising, with a yearly wool-clip larger than that of any other single section of the county. At the eastern end of the valley is the pass known as Warner's Pass, leading through the mountains to the Colorado desert. The ranch was the scene of an exciting Indian raid in 1851. Mr. Warner had been warned that the Calmilla Indians from nearby villages were planning the attack, and, although discrediting the report, took the pre-

caution to send his family under safe escort to San Diego. Early the second morning after their departure he was awakened by cries of Indians who had surrounded the house. As was customary at the Mexican ranchos, several horses were standing near, saddled and ready for instant mounting, and loaded weapons were in profusion. As Colonel Warner stepped to the door to look for his horses, he was greeted by a shower of arrows from some 200 Indians; all of his horses were gone save one, and that was just being untethered by an Indian. With three skillful shots the marauder and two of his companions were killed. During the temporary panic that ensued and in which the Indians withdrew to some outbuildings, Colonel Warner escaped with the single horse, carrying with him a mulatto boy, servant of an army officer at San Diego, a helpmate, cripple from rheumatism who had been sent to the ranch to try the beneficial waters of a spring there. With this boy he reached a friendly village of Indians, gathered a few of his own herdsmen and went back to the rancho. The party was outnumbered by the Indians that the men fled precipitately and Colonel Warner was obliged to go back to San Diego, and abandon to the Indians the stock of merchandise, which, as was customary, was kept at large ranches. The family later returned under military escort from San Diego and were un molested as long as they made their home there, until 1857. After the American occupancy of California, Colonel Warner took an active part in politics and public affairs. He was Senator from San Diego County, 1851-2. From March, 1858, to June, 1860, he published the "Los Angeles Southern Vineyard." In 1860, he was elected to the Assembly from Los Angeles. In 1876 he was appointed U. S. register in bankruptcy for the southern district, an office he held until his eyes failed him. He was joint author of the "Centennial Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County," treating the part from 1771 to 1847. In 1883 he was the first president of the newly organized Historical Society of Southern California.

His home for many years was in Los Angeles, after 1887 in the university district southwest of the city, with his daughter and grandchildren.

Colonel Warner married at the Mission of San Luis Key, February, 1837, ANITA GALE, who died April 22, 1859. She was the daughter of William A. Gale of Boston and had been brought to California by her father when she was five years

old. Until her marriage she lived in the home of Mrs. Eustaquia Pico, mother of Don Pio Pico, last Spanish governor of California, as daughter and sister. Close relations between the two families were maintained and in his later years Don Pio Pico was befriended by Colonel Warner who maintained him in a house adjacent to his own.

Much interesting information about Colonel Warner is found in the "Historical and biographical record of Los Angeles and vicinity," and "Illustrated history of Southern California."

#### Children

*William Gale Warner*, b. Feb. 20, 1838; d. Mar. 19, 1838, in Los Angeles.

*Mary Ann or Maria Anita Warner*, b. Nov. 19, 1839, in Los Angeles. At the age of 30 she was placed in the Stockton Asylum for the Insane.

*William Henry Warner*, b. 1842; d. Apr. 1847, in Los Angeles.

*Elenor Mary Warner*, b. 1844; d. in Los Angeles.

*Andrew Ferdinand Warner*, b. 1846, on the Warner Ranch, San Diego Co.; d. in Los Angeles, 1880; m. Chona Alaniz. Child: Artemiza.

*Isabella Warner*, b. 1848, on the Warner Ranch; d. 1873; m. in Los Angeles, Jesus Cruz. Child: Jane Artemiza, m. in 1889, S. Mendoza and died Apr. 27, 1891, no children.

*Juan Justine Warner*, b. 1851, on the Warner Ranch; m. in San Francisco, Annie Cross. Children: i. John Francis, b. 1877. ii. May Belle, b. 1878. iii. Oscar, b. 1880.

*Amanda Conception Warner*, b. Sept. 13, 1855; d. in Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 4, 1908; m. in 1874 Manuel Rubio. Children: i. Albert, b. Aug. 5, 1875. ii. Jane D., b. Aug. 17, 1877. iii. Reginald, b. July 7, 1879. iv. Annie Mabel, b. Nov. 2, 1881. v. Viola Margaret, b. Aug. 13, 1884.

**405 JOHN' WARNER**, son of Phineas' and Eunice (Church) Warner, born in Saybrook (Chester), Conn.; resided in Chester and died there, May 25, 1850, aged 77. He was recorded in the 1800 Census in Saybrook, aged over 26, wife under 26, a boy between 10 and 16, and a boy and a girl under 10. A record of this family is given in the Church Genealogy. Married (1) October 3, 1797, **MEHITABEL CLARK** of Chester, born July 14, 1777; died December 1, 1826. She is mentioned in the distribution of the estate of Jared Clark of Saybrook in 1804.

Married (2) October 8, 1827, recorded in East Haddam, **LUCY COMSTOCK**.