

detachment, under Major Lally, which had left Vera Cruz on the sixth of August. Lally's detachment consisted of eleven companies of various regular regiments, a company of Georgia mounted volunteers and another of Louisiana mounted volunteers, and two six-pounder guns. He had in charge a train of sixty-four wagons, and all the way to Jalapa he had been constantly in contact with strong guerilla forces, with whom he had fought a number of serious engagements, his losses in killed, wounded, and missing being 105 men out of his small force.¹ He had felt it impossible, without reinforcements, to advance farther with his wagon-train.

Starting from Jalapa on the afternoon of the first of October, the united forces (leaving behind them their sick and wounded and one of the troops of Louisiana horse) reached a hacienda about three miles east of Nopalúcan, where they came in sight of small parties of Santa Anna's lancers. Lane was here informed that the Mexican troops were not holding the Puebla road, as he had expected, but were posted at Huamantla. He was told that they numbered four thousand men and six guns, and he resolved to take the initiative. On the morning, therefore, of Saturday, the ninth of October, Lane started out for Huamantla, with about two thousand men and one battery of artillery, leaving the Ohio regiment, a part of the regular infantry, and one battery of artillery to guard the wagons.

When about two miles from Huamantla the cavalry were sent ahead, and at once captured the village—which was weakly held—together with Santa Anna's artillery. But by this time Santa Anna had been notified of Lane's march, and had started back to meet him. As the toiling American infantry approached, they saw Santa Anna's lancers galloping in from the left, and an unequal race was begun for the village. The American cavalry, heavily outnumbered, was badly cut up before the infantry could arrive, but courage-

¹ Lally's force was accompanied by Baron von Grone, a young German officer, who on his return to Germany wrote a book entitled *Briefe über Nordamerika und Mexiko*, in which he gave an account of these affairs. See pages 37-58.

ously kept up the unequal contest; and as soon as Lane's main body arrived the Mexicans scattered and fled, having recaptured some of their artillery, though leaving two of their guns in the American hands. There was some looting and disorder, but late in the afternoon Lane collected his men and started back toward the hacienda where he had left his wagons. His losses were thirteen killed and eleven wounded, besides men reported missing, who had probably got drunk and remained behind in the village.

Santa Anna's losses were estimated by the Americans at one hundred and fifty. He himself stated them to be two killed and seven wounded, with a number missing, at least two of whom, Colonel de la Vega and Major Iturbide, were known to be prisoners; but the real damage done to Santa Anna was in the conclusive demoralization of his force and the consequent opening of the road from Nopalúcan to Puebla for the passage of Lane's troops. The latter found the pass of El Pinal undefended.

"The pass," wrote one of Lane's officers, "was well guarded and barricades were thrown across the road in a number of places. The road ran along the side of a mountain; the left side being a very steep ascent, and the right was a deep precipice. If the Mexican chief had got us in there, I am of opinion that very few Americans would have been left to tell of the struggle at the Pinal pass."¹

The next day, October 12, 1847, Lane's column reached the southern suburbs of Puebla about one o'clock in the afternoon, and could see Fort Loreto slowly and steadily firing at an unseen enemy. Lane divided his men into three columns, who advanced up as many separate streets. As they marched slowly in, they were fired on from church steeples and the roofs of houses, but after over an hour of this sort of fighting they had gained the heart of the city.

"About three o'clock," according to the author just quoted, "being very much fatigued, and a number of us wounded, faint and bleeding, we marched into the Grand plaza and halted under the portals of the

¹ Brackett, *General Lane's Brigade in Central Mexico*, 101.

houses. The great cathedral was on our left, and the palace of the Governor on our right. There was not a single Mexican to be seen."¹

The fact was that Rea and Alvarez had by this time silently withdrawn their men and retreated to Atlixco, more than twenty-five miles away to the southwest. Thenceforward the American troops held Puebla without the slightest molestation, and, what was more important, Scott's communications with his base were uninterrupted. In August and September Lally, with a thousand men and two guns, could not get through from Vera Cruz.²

Meanwhile Santa Anna had been joined, near Huamantla, on the eleventh of October by General Reyes, whose footsore troops were in no condition for active operations. This reinforcement was soon followed by a messenger from Querétaro bearing orders, dated October 7, which directed Santa Anna to turn over his command to General Rincon, or, in his absence, to General Alvarez, and to hold himself in readiness to appear before a court of inquiry to answer for his conduct in the late campaign, and especially for the loss of the capital of the republic.

Santa Anna, after some hesitation, decided to obey. He turned over his command to Reyes, as neither Rincon nor Alvarez was on the spot, but he wrote to the government, on October 16, that, as President of the republic, he could only be tried by the method of impeachment prescribed in the Constitution; and that, although he had resigned his office a month before, he could lawfully resume the Presidency at any time before Congress had accepted the resignation.

¹ *Ibid.*, 112.

² The brief official report of the siege of Puebla will be found in Sen. Doc. 1, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 471-475. The most detailed account of the events of the siege is in Oswald's *Notes of the Mexican War*, 248-346. The author, a private in the first Pennsylvania volunteers, kept a diary day by day of events as he saw them. Lane's report of the battle of Huamantla and of his march from Vera Cruz, together with subreports, are printed in Sen. Doc. 1, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 476-495. Accounts of Lane's march and of the battle of Huamantla will be found in Brackett's *General Lane's Brigade in Central Mexico*, 53-112, and in Grone's *Briefe über Nord-Amerika und Mexiko*, 67. Santa Anna's own reports are in the appendix to his *Apelacion al buen Criterio*, 123-125, 135-137. See also Ripley, II, 491-496; Brooks, 489-497; Wilcox, 493-496; Roa Bárcena, 516-521; *Apuntes para la Historia de la Guerra*, 344-352.

To his remaining handful of troops he issued an address in which he implied that he was being sacrificed in order that his enemies might conclude a shameful peace which he himself had not been willing to agree to.

Reyes soon marched back toward Querétaro, while Santa Anna set off to join his family at Tehuacan, a watering-place in the hills about seventy miles southeast of Puebla. Here he was very nearly captured by General Lane on January 23. Lane had been successfully occupied during the intervening months in clearing the country for many miles around Puebla of the more or less organized bodies of guerrilleros. Leaving Puebla on January 21 with about three hundred and fifty men, and marching by night, he arrived at Tehuacan just before daylight, but Santa Anna had fled a couple of hours before; and except for some isolated and minor operations, chiefly expeditions against the guerrilleros in the states of Puebla and Mexico, the operations of the American troops in the centre and northeastern part of the country were at an end.¹

Santa Anna, after his hasty flight from Tehuacan, endeavored to reach the state of Oaxaca, but the then governor, Benito Juárez, refused him permission to come within that jurisdiction; and Santa Anna's courage and persistency having at last given out, he wrote to the government at Querétaro for permission to leave the country. His prestige was gone. His friends had left him. And under a safe-conduct from the American authorities he departed from Mexico on April 5, 1848, and eventually reached Jamaica, where he employed an abundant leisure in composing a defence of his conduct in the war with the United States.²

The British minister in Mexico, writing shortly after Santa Anna's resignation as President, had commented with precision upon his remarkable career. It would be hazardous, Bankhead explained, to say that Santa Anna's career was entirely over, although for the moment he had quitted the stage.

¹ As to Lane's several expeditions see Sen. Doc. 1, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 479-482, and H. R. Doc. 1, 30 Cong., 2 sess., 86-101; also Brackett, 146-247.

² *Apelacion al buen Criterio de los Nacionales y Estrangeros* (Mexico, 1849.)

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"His present reign has been short and a very unhappy one for him; he has been beset by enemies and difficulties at every step, and I believe he heartily regrets having accepted the invitation made to him to leave the Havana. It is generally supposed that he has considerably augmented his already large fortune; but be his errors what they may, he is the only Mexican who could have created the forces he has managed to get together for the defence of his country."¹

Santa Anna's career was, in truth, not over. He was destined to return once more, and to rule again over his countrymen; but those events lie beyond the scope of the present work.

The naval operations of the closing period of the war were not of any very serious importance; although, no doubt, they served to impress upon the Mexican government the fact of the irresistible sea-power of the United States, and especially the possibility of its use to effect an invasion from the Pacific seaboard.

After the capture of Tampico and Vera Cruz, which were turned over to be held by the army, little remained to be done by the navy on the Gulf coast. The other harbors were of slight importance, but they were either blockaded or occupied by sufficient detachments up to the close of the war. The harbors so held were Tuxpan; Alvarado; Coatzacoalcos, on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec; Frontera, at the mouth of the Tabasco River; and Carmen, at the outlet of the Laguna de Términos, in the state of Campeche.²

The only affair in which organized opposition was met with was a second naval expedition up the Tabasco River undertaken by Commodore Perry in June, 1847.³ About fifteen hundred men, bluejackets and marines, were taken up in light-draught vessels; eleven hundred of them were landed nine miles below the city of San Juan Bautista, the capital of the state of Tabasco; and after exchanging a few shots with the Mexican troops who were in or near the city, the

¹ Bankhead to Palmerston, Sept. 8, 1847, No. 86; *F. O. MSS.*

² Perry to Mason, Aug. 16, 1847; H. R. Doc. 1, 30 Cong., 2 sess., 1233.

³ See Perry's Report, with subreports; *ibid.*, 1209-1221.

place was occupied, the fortifications and powder-magazine were blown up, the artillery was removed, and all captured munitions of war were destroyed. The American loss was one man killed and five wounded.

Leaving a small and quite inadequate garrison in the city, Perry withdrew to his ships. A harassing guerilla warfare was soon afterward begun, and there was considerable sickness among the men.¹ The detachment was therefore withdrawn from San Juan Bautista to Frontera, at the mouth of the river, on the twenty-second of July—a movement which was hailed by the Mexicans as a victory.² The expedition had really been a blunder of Perry's, for it had been costly out of all proportion to its possible results.

"There is no particular object to be gained," he had written to the Navy Department in May, "by a second attack of the city [of San Juan Bautista], as we have quiet possession of the mouth of the river, which, with the occupation of Laguna, completely shuts the Tobascans from the sea."³

His real motive for subsequently undertaking the capture of the city is therefore not clear, though he explained that he wished to give the officers and men of two of his ships, which were about returning to the United States, "another opportunity of displaying their gallantry and zeal."⁴

On the Pacific coast the navy, early in January, 1847, was relieved from the necessity of co-operating with the army for the pacification and protection of California. The thoughts of the successive naval commanders were then naturally turned toward operations upon the coasts of Lower California and of the states of Sonora and Sinaloa, and even farther south on the Pacific. About the end of March the sloop-of-war *Portsmouth* seized the small harbors of San José, San Lucas, and La Paz near the southern extremity of Lower California; and she was followed by the sloop-of-war

¹ Reports of the skirmishes with the guerillas up and down the Tabasco River are printed in the same volume, 1221-1233.

² For the Mexican accounts see Roa Bárcena, 525-528.

³ Perry to Mason, May 24, 1847; H. R. Doc. 1, 30 Cong., 2 sess., 1206.

⁴ Same to same, June 8, 1847; *ibid.*, 1207.

Cyane and the frigate *Independence*, which established a blockade of Mazatlan.¹

In the autumn of the same year a descent upon the Mexican coasts was made by a larger force. Detachments both of the army and navy were landed at various places. La Paz, the capital of Lower California, was occupied by about a hundred men of the first New York volunteers, and San José by a small force of marines. These detachments were not large enough to overawe the neighboring inhabitants, or to afford assistance to each other; and therefore for some months they had a series of arduous conflicts with irregular bodies of armed men, mainly raised in the neighborhood. But they managed to hold on to their posts until the close of the war.²

On October 16, 1847, the frigate *Congress*, accompanied by the sloop-of-war *Portsmouth*, arrived in the harbor of Guaymas in Sonora, and after they had shelled the fortifications for an hour the town surrendered.³ A month later, the American seamen were compelled to abandon the town, which was threatened by a force which they estimated at three or four hundred men; but the blockade of the place continued, and the American flag was kept flying on an island in the harbor.⁴

In January, 1848, the town of San Blas was taken without opposition; a couple of schooners and "the custom-house boat," besides two small pieces of artillery, were carried off as prizes, and the town was then abandoned for want of a sufficient force to hold it permanently.⁵

A more important affair was the permanent occupation of Mazatlan, which was accomplished by the ships *Independence*, *Congress*, and *Cyane* on the morning of Novem-

¹ *Ibid.*, 1055-1059.

² *Ibid.*, 105-112, 1112-1119, 1123-1127, 1138-1149. The garrison at San José was helped at a critical moment by the arrival of two whale-ships, the *Magnolia* and the *Edward* of New Bedford, who arrived in the port on November 21, 1847, and frightened off the besieging guerillas.—(*Ibid.*, 1123-1126.) There was also some skirmishing at Loreto and Mulejé in Lower California.—(*Ibid.*, 1110.)

³ *Ibid.*, 1075-1083.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1127-1129.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1101-1104, 1133-1137.

ber 11, 1847, the Mexican garrison making no resistance and abandoning the town. A large force was landed from the ships, but after an examination of the situation by Lieutenant Henry W. Halleck, of the United States engineers, who accompanied the squadron, it was thought that three hundred men would be a sufficient garrison. This force held the place until the close of the war without being attacked by the Mexicans. They had, however, a number of skirmishes in the neighborhood of the town, which were chiefly the results of scouting expeditions made by the American garrison.¹

The last military operation of the war was the recapture of Chihuahua by an American force under the command of Colonel Sterling Price, who, it will be remembered, had been left in command of the troops in New Mexico. Early in February Price received information which led him to think that the Mexicans in Chihuahua contemplated taking the offensive, and he therefore collected in the town of El Paso a considerable number of troops, mostly mounted. Starting from El Paso on March 1, he marched rapidly and without meeting any opposition to a point near the Sacramento River (the scene of Doniphan's successful battle), where he was met by a flag of truce from General Trias, the military commander in the city of Chihuahua, who protested against the advance of the Americans "upon the ground that instructions had been received from the Mexican government suspending hostilities, as a treaty of peace had been concluded and signed by Commissioners on behalf of both governments." Price did not think the evidence adduced satisfactory, and he therefore pushed forward and arrived at the city with part of his men at nine o'clock on the evening of the seventh of March. He had marched about one hundred and forty miles in seven days, through a difficult country.

¹ *Ibid.*, 1089-1096, 1104-1110, 1120-1122. An interesting and humorous account of the blockade of Mazatlan by the U. S. S. *Independence* in May, 1847, and its occupation by the landing parties from that and other ships from November, 1847, to March, 1848, will be found in Lieutenant Wise's *Los Gringos*, 82-100, 142-202.