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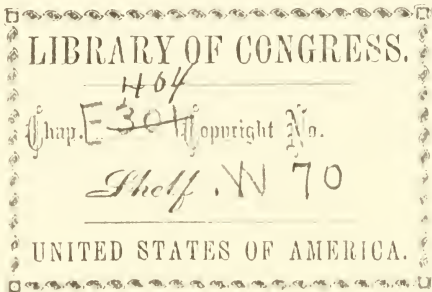
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
 Historically and Chronologically divided into
EIGHT PARTS.

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LAST LEAVES

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY:

COMPRISING

A SEPARATE HISTORY

OF

CALIFORNIA.

BY EMMA WILLARD,

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, OR REPUBLIC OF AMERICA,"
"UNIVERSAL HISTORY," "TEMPLE OF TIME," CHRONOGRAPHIES
OF ANCIENT AND ENGLISH HISTORY, "HISTORIC
GUIDE," ETC., ETC.

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P R E F A C E .

THIS is an age in which men live in the present, and even in the conjectural future, more than in the past. From the electric rapidity of communication, the news of the world comes every day fresh to our firesides ; and we have little leisure for reading more. But since every American, whether for the uses of business or politics, needs the current history of the United States, briefly arranged to his hand,—this volume of its “ Last Leaves ” has been prepared.

The account of the Mexican war, herein contained, is taken from the author’s history of “ The Republic of America ; ” but that of California is not in any other work. Of the part which follows, a portion is taken from “ The Republic,” and the remainder is prepared expressly for this book.

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LAST LEAVES
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Inauguration and Death of Harrison—Tyler's Administration—
Mobs—Disturbance in Rhode Island—Anti-Rentism—Mormonism, &c.

IN the presidential election of 1840, a large majority 1841.
was given to WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON of Ohio,
whose social and public virtues had been rendered con-
spicuous by the various official stations of a long and
useful life. The good man loved his country, and was
pleased that his country loved him in return. On the
4th of March he was inaugurated as president of the
United States. JOHN TYLER, of Virginia, was made
vice-president at the same time. Gen. Harrison's inau-
gural speech was characteristic of the uprightness of his

March 4.
Inauguration
of Harrison
and Tyler.

1841. mind, and the reverential trust with which he reposed himself and his country upon the Great Supreme. From the capitol he went to the presidential mansion. Thousands flocked around him with congratulations and proffers of service, whose sincerity he was not prone to doubt, for he was himself sincere. The sunshine of public favor thus fell too brightly upon a head, white with the frosts of age. His health failed, and he expired just a month from the day of his inauguration.

April 4.
Death of
Harrison.

The census of 1840, gave as the number of inhabitants in the United States, 17,068,666.

Mr. Tyler
succeeds.

Mr. Tyler, by the constitution, became president on the decease of the incumbent. He repaired to Washington, took the oath of office, and issued an address, as agreeable to the patriotic sentiments of the people, as the appointment of a day of public fasting, subsequently made; was to their religious feelings.

May 14.
National
fast.

Monetary affairs were at this period the all exciting topic. The Whig party were opposed to Mr. Van Buren's Independent Treasury, and in favor of a National Bank,—modified, however, to suit the purposes of the public revenue. They believed that such a bank would be more convenient and more economical to the government,—and that it would, at the same time, facilitate the business, and promote the prosperity of the country, over which it was the government's duty, as they maintained, to exercise a parental care; and they asserted that the attempt to bring back a specie circulation was a dangerous experiment upon the currency.

National
Bank. Opin-
ions of the
Whigs.—

The Democratic party, on the other hand, maintained that any connection of government with banks, or with the monetary affairs of individuals, was foreign to its purposes, and embarrassing to its operations; and that experience had shown it to be a fruitful source of bribery and corruption. To avoid these evils, they believed that the government should keep its own money, maintaining its value, by operating with specie itself, not with its representative.

The majority of the voters at that time adopted the views of the Whigs; and at the presidential election chose Messrs. Harrison and Tyler, with an understanding that they would favor a National Bank. General Harrison, aware of the point on which his election had turned, issued, March 17th, his proclamation, calling an extra session of Congress to convene on the 31st of May, to consider "sundry weighty and important matters, chiefly growing out of the revenue and finances of the country." When this Congress met, Mr. Tyler was president. He had formerly been opposed to a National Bank, but he had professed himself a Whig, and accepted his nomination, knowing the views and expectations of the voters.

Congress repealed the Sub-Treasury law on the 6th of August. Three days earlier, the House of Representatives had passed an act, establishing a National Bank for fiscal operations, the scheme of which was understood to emanate from Henry Clay, the leader of the Whig party. Mr. Tyler, to the deep chagrin of that

1841.

Opinions of
the Demo-
cratic
party.

(March 11.
Sails from
New-York,
the Steamer
President,
109 pas-en-
gers. Never
heard of
more.)

May 31.
Congress
convene.

(July 6.
A bill passed
to distribute
proceeds of
public lands
to the several
States.)

1841. party, defeated the measure by the presidential veto.

August 16. Endeavoring to make a compromise with the president, Tyler's first veto of National Bank. the mortified Whigs got up another scheme for a bank, and passed it through Congress under the name of a "Fiscal Corporation of the United States." A second time Mr. Tyler defeated them by his veto. From this period to the close of his administration, he stood in the anomalous position of having the two great political parties both against him. By a third veto, he hindered the passage of a Tariff bill. A law to modify the existing Tariff was, however, passed on the 30th of August. The able cabinet selected by Harrison had all remained in office up to the period of the second veto, when all resigned except Mr. Webster, the secretary of state. His country needed him in the office, and remaining, he found occasion to render her essential service.

Sept. 9. His second veto.

Mr. Tyler makes a third veto.

August 30. A Tariff bill passed.

In consequence of the pecuniary distresses of former years, many merchants had been obliged to fail in business. Congress now passed a Bankrupt Law, uniform in its action throughout the states, by which, on the surrender of their property to their creditors, bankrupts could be free from the legal disabilities of past debt. This act having served its temporary purpose, and no doubt given rise to many frauds, was afterwards repealed.

August 18. Bankrupt Law.

In the unwarrantable stretch of credit which had existed, states over-zealous for internal improvement had participated; and when the revulsion came, some of these found themselves unable, without direct taxation,

(to which the rulers dared not promptly resort,) to meet 1841. their engagements; and the holders of their bonds, many of whom were foreigners, could not obtain the interest when due. These states were said to have repudiated their bonds, and this *repudiation* for a time cast great Repudiation. obloquy upon the whole nation. With returning prosperity, however, these states resume payment; and it is believed, that no such thing as an actual repudiation of a just debt will be permanently made by any state.

The old United States Bank, after having been refused a charter by the general government, received one from the state of Pennsylvania. The president, Nicholas Biddle, the Napoleon of finance, did much to sustain the struggling merchants of the cities, by great foreign operations; but at length going beyond his depth, he and his bank failed. Many banks and commercial houses were involved in the ruin; and many widows, orphans, and others, lost their whole fortunes.

Oct. 11.
Failure of
the old U. S.
Bank.

A disagreement between the United States and England had long existed in regard to the North-Eastern boundary. Much excitement prevailed between the inhabitants of Maine and New Brunswick—regions adjoining the disputed line,—and measures were taken on each side, which threatened war. Lord Ashburton was sent from England as a special envoy to settle this dispute; and Mr. Webster, with great diplomatic ability, arranged with him the terms of a treaty, by which the important question of a North-Eastern boundary is finally and amicably settled.

1842.
Ashburton
Treaty,
(ratified by
the United
States Sen-
ate, Aug. 20.)

(In England,
Oct. 14.)

1844.

May 6.
Riot in Philadelphia.

Serious riots occurred in the spring of 1844 in Philadelphia. They grew out of a jealousy on the part of native American Protestants, that the foreign Roman Catholic population intended to gain the control of the common schools, and change the established order of instruction, especially in regard to the use of the Scriptures. The Native American party attempted to hold a meeting for debate in Kensington, a suburb of Philadelphia, inhabited by Irish Catholics. These assaulted the Natives with brickbats and other missiles, thus beginning that violation of law, by which eventually they suffered so severely.

34 buildings
burned.

Killed, 14,
wounded, 40.

June 7.
Second riot.
Killed and
wounded, 50.

Law once violated, confusion and anarchy prevailed. Fire-arms were used on both sides. The governor repaired to the scene of action, and bodies of the military, with field-pieces, were stationed in the streets. It was not until the third day that order was restored. Thirty dwelling-houses, a convent, and three churches were burned. Fourteen persons had been killed and forty wounded. These disgraceful scenes were renewed on the 7th of June. The governor called out 5,000 of the military, and at this time fifty persons were either killed or wounded.

Rhode Island now became the theatre of an attempt to set aside existing authorities. The "suffrage party," by whom it was made, did not, however, regard the matter in this light. They formed, though by illegal assemblies, what they considered a constitution for the state; and then proceeded to elect under it a governor

(Mr. Dorr) and members for a legislature. Their opponents, called the "law and order" party, acting under existing authorities, elected state officers, Mr. King being made governor. **1843.**

April 18.
Dorr's
attempt.

It was the intention of Mr. Dorr, and his more violent adherents, to get forcible possession of the state buildings; and on the 18th of May, he went with an armed force, and took the state arsenal. No lives were lost, as his directions to fire on those who opposed his progress were not obeyed. Governor King meantime put himself at the head of the military. Several persons were arrested, and Dorr fled. He afterwards appeared at Chepachet with some two or three hundred men; but a superior government force being sent, they dispersed. Dorr afterwards returned, was tried, convicted of treason, and sentenced to the state's prison. Meantime a new constitution was by legal measures adopted. In 1845, Dorr was released from prison, but he was not restored to his civil rights, on account of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the new constitution.

June 25.
Dorr at
Chepachet.

1844.
Dorr sent to
the state's
prison.

1845.
Is released.

The war steamer Princeton, lying, Feb. 28, 1844, in the Potomac—Capt. Stockton, the commander, having on board, as invited guests, the president of the United States, heads of departments, ladies, and others—a wrought-iron gun, whose great size made it a curiosity, on being fired the third time, burst;—and the horrible explosion instantly killed Messrs. Upshur and Gilmer, secretaries of state and the navy,—three distinguished

1844.
Feb. 28.
Explosion
on the
Princeton.

Privates,
killed, 3,
wounded, 12

1844. gentlemen—Com. Kennon, David Gardiner, Esq., and the Hon. Virgil Maxcy,—besides several of the crew.

(Rensselaer-wyck, 48 ms. long, 28 broad.)

An alarming tendency to anarchy has been experienced in the anti-rent disturbances in the state of New York. In the early history of this state we have seen, that under the Dutch government, certain settlers received patents of considerable portions of land,—of which that of Van Rensselaer was the most extensive,—comprehending the greater part of Albany and Rensselaer counties. These lands were divided into farms containing from 60 to 100 acres, and leased in perpetuity, on the following conditions. The tenant must each year pay to the landlord a quantity of wheat, from $22\frac{1}{2}$ bushels to 10, with four fat fowls and a day's service with horses and wagon. If the tenant sold his lease, the landlord was entitled to one-quarter of the purchase-money. The "patroon" was also entitled to certain privileges on all water-power, and a right to all mines.

In process of time, the tenants began to consider these legal conditions as anti-republican,—a relic of feudal tyranny. The excellent Stephen Van Rensselaer, who came into possession of the patent in 1785, had, in the kindness of his nature, omitted to exact his legal rights; and \$200,000 back rent had accrued,—which he, dying in 1840, appropriated by will. The tenants murmured when called on to pay it, and sheriffs, in attempting to execute legal precepts, were forcibly resisted. An ineffectual attempt to put down these

1840.
Stephen Van
Rensselaer
dies
June 26.

disorders was made on the part of the state authorities, by a military movement, called in derision "the Heldeberg war." **1841.**

"The Heldeberg War."

In the summer of 1844, the anti-rent disturbances broke out with great violence in the eastern towns of Rensselaer, and on the Livingston manor, in Columbia county. Extensive associations were formed by the anti-renters to resist the laws. They kept armed and mounted bands, disguised as Indians, scouring the country; and the traveller as he met them issuing from some dark wood, with their hideous masks and gaudy calicoes, was required, on penalty of insult, to exclaim, "Down with the rent." These lawless rangers forcibly entered houses, took men from their homes, and tarred and feathered, or otherwise maltreated them. In Rensselaer county, at noonday, a man was killed where about 50 "Indians" were present,—some of whom were afterwards arraigned, when they swore that they knew nothing of the murder. Sometimes 1,000 of these disguised anarchists were assembled in one body. Similar disturbances occurred in Delaware county. At length Steele, a deputy-sheriff, was murdered in the execution of his official duty, and his murderers were apprehended.

1844.
Anti-renters
disguised as
Indians.

Smith killed
in Grafton.

Steele killed
in Delaware.

Meanwhile SILAS WRIGHT was chosen governor of the state. Much does his country owe him for the wisdom and firmness of the measures by which public order was restored. On the 27th of August he proclaimed the county of Delaware in a state of insurrection.

1846.
Governor
Wright's
measures.

1847. Resolute men were made sheriffs, and competent military

(March 25.
Silas Wright
died.)
(Aug.
Anti-rent
outrage on
the person of
Peter Shel-
don.)

aid afforded them. Leading anti-renters were taken, brought to trial, and imprisoned. The murderers of Steele were condemned to death,—but their punishment was commuted to that of perpetual confinement.

On the 27th of Jan. 1847, Gov. Young, the successor of Mr. Wright, by his proclamation, released from the state's prison the whole number, eighteen, who had been committed for anti-rent offences. There has been a fresh outbreak of these troubles in Columbia county.

1845.

March 3.
Iowa and
Florida.

In congress, March 3d, 1845, an act was passed admitting two states into the Union,—*Iowa*, its western boundary the river Des Moines, and *Florida*, comprising the east and west parts, as defined by the treaty of cession.

(1805.
Dec. 23.
Jo. Smith
born in Sha-
ron, Vt., 1815
—removed to
Palmyra, N.
Y., 1827—
produces the
plates, and
pretends to
inspiration,

One of the most extraordinary impostures of the age is that called "Mormonism." The leader, Joseph Smith, was an obscure, uneducated man, of New England origin. Under pretence of special revelation, he, somewhat after the fashion of Mahomet, produced the stereotype plates of the "Book of Mormon," by which he persuaded numbers, that he was the inspired founder of a new religion, which was to give to his followers the same pre-eminence over all other people, as the Jews had over the Gentiles. His peculiar code is as yet ill understood, but there is little room to doubt, that it gives his followers liberty to commit every crime. Like the systems of socialism which prevail in France, and have

been attempted in this country, Mormonism degrades and demoralizes women. 1838.

Yet such numbers of both sexes were found to join and aid this delusion—throwing their property into common stock—that on their arrival at the Far West in Missouri, the Mormons numbered 5,000, of whom 700 were armed men. Charged with various crimes, among others an attempt to assassinate Gov. Boggs, they were expelled the state by a military force commanded by Gen. Atkinson. They then purchased a large tract of land in Illinois, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. There, on a beautiful slope, they built “Nauvoo,” where, amidst their dwellings, arose a pompous temple, decorated and furnished according to directions found in the “Book of Mormon.”—Robberies and assassinations became frequent in their vicinity; and although secrecy and mystery accompanied them, the neighboring people were convinced that the Mormons were the perpetrators. Yet so had they spread,—using bribery and intimidation, that, in the county courts, no cause could be obtained against a Mormon. Popular fury was aroused, nor could the state authorities restrain its current. The chief of the Mormons, with his brother, had been arrested by Gov. Ford, of Illinois, and lodged in jail at Carthage. A hundred men in disguise broke into their prison and murdered them.—In 1845, so formidable a combination existed against them, that the Mormons sold their possessions in Illinois. Their city, which had contained not less than 10,000 inhabitants, was deserted, and they

Oct. 6.
Mormons at
Far West.

Mormons at
Nauvoo.

1844.
July 7.
Jo. Smith
and his brother
killed at
Carthage, Ill.

1845-6. were wending their way to a region beyond the Rocky

The Mormons
leave Nauvoo.

Mountains. Yet their numbers were still such, that they furnished, in the spring of 1846, 500 volunteers,—who were conducted by Col. Allen and Lieut. Smith to Santa Fé, and afterwards joined Gen. Kearney. The Mormons

1846-8.

Remove to
the Salt
Lake.

are now settled in the great valley of Upper California, near the Salt Lake; and it is to be hoped that the evils which they have suffered, will lead them to abandon their errors. Theirs is the Anglo-Saxon blood. They claim that their religion has its foundation in Christianity; and they may hereafter be led to examine, and conform to its precepts.

CHAPTER II.

Texas—Mexico—Causes of Annexation and the Mexican War.

WE have already seen that the French adventurer **1685.**
La Salle discovered Texas. On account of his discovery, La Salle discovered Tex-
as. the French claimed the country to the Rio Grande, as
forming a part of Louisiana. The Spaniards of Mexico
remonstrated, and sent thither an armed force, but the
French had already dispersed. The first effectual settle-
ment in Texas was that of San Antonio de Bexar, made
by the Spaniards in 1692. A few missionary stations
were subsequently established. **1692.**
Bexar
founded

But the Mexican authorities seemed not so desirous
to occupy this country, as to keep it a desolate waste,
that thus an impassable barrier might be maintained
between them and their Anglo-American neighbors.
This desire to avoid contact by means of an intervening
desert, was so strongly felt by the Mexicans, even in
1847, as to break off negotiations for peace, when Gen.
Scott was at the gates of their capital with a victorious
army. The aversion thus manifested, the Mexicans at
first derived from their mother country. At the time
when Mexico was colonized, Spain stood at the head of 16th century.

Roman Catholic countries,—regarding all heretics in exterminating abhorrence, and cutting them off by the
 17th century. inquisition and the sword. As the Reformation proceeded, England, the land of our forefathers, took the lead of Protestant nations. But while we, mingling with the world, changed,—Mexico, shut up, retained her native aversions; and these, coupled with the national pride and jealousy of the Spanish character, may be marked as *the first and predisposing cause of the late Mexican war.*

Tyranny of
 the Spanish
 in Mexico.

Mexico as a colony belonged not so much to the Spanish nation, as to the Spanish kings; and they governed and managed it by their viceroys, regardless of the well-being of the people,—but merely as an estate to bring them money; yet, not by any methods by which the mother country might be rivalled. Hence, while the mines were industriously wrought, no commerce was permitted to the Mexicans; nor might they rear the silkworm, or plant the olive or the vine. But after Spain saw that the English colonies, less oppressed than her own, had revolted, and were likely to establish their independence, she moderated her rigor, so as to allow some trade with foreign nations, but under severe duties and restrictions. Thus, kept from the means of improvement, Mexico remained unchanged. After Ferdinand VII had, in 1810, fallen with the Spanish nation under the power of Napoleon, the Mexicans revolted. But the people were not united;—and after the bloody war of eight years, called *the first revolution*, the royalists pre-

1778-9.
 Spain allows
 some foreign
 trade in Mex-
 ico.

1810.
 Mexico re-
 volts.

1818.
 Loyalists pre-
 vail.

vailed. *The second revolution* was begun in 1821, by the Mexican general ITURBIDE. Under him the Mexicans threw off the Spanish yoke. But he made himself a monarch. The people wished for a republic; and they deposed Iturbide, banished, and on his return condemned and executed him.

1821-4.

Iturbide.
(He is shot at Padillo.)

Another leader arose,—SANTA ANNA,—who has proved himself one of the most remarkable men of the present day. In 1824, a *federal constitution* was formed under his auspices, by which Mexico, like our republic, was divided into states, with each a legislature, and over the whole a general government.

1824.
Federal constitution of Mexico.

In 1803, the United States, in purchasing Louisiana of France, obtained with it the disputed claim to Texas; but in 1819, they ceded it by treaty to Spain as a part of Mexico, Florida being then granted by that power to the United States. Two years thereafter, STEPHEN F. AUSTIN led a colony from the United States to Texas, and made a settlement between the rivers Brazos and Colorado. The Spanish authorities in Mexico, desirous of defence against the destructive incursions of the fierce and hostile Comanches, had, contrary to their ordinary policy, made laws favoring American immigration, yet only *under the condition that the immigrants merged their religion and their language into those of Mexico.*

1819.
Texas ceded to Spain.

1821.
Anglo-American Texas founded.

MOSES AUSTIN, a native of Durham, Connecticut, applied for, and received, in 1819, a grant of land with permission from the Mexican authorities to plant a

1821. colony. He dying, Stephen F. Austin, his son, according to his parting request, carried out his plans, and thus became the leader of American colonization in Texas. Austin's enterprise being joined by others, who like himself sought to better their fortunes, his colony soon flourished to such an extent, that it attracted the attention of the Mexican clergy. They found that the law, which required the settlers to make oath that they were Catholics, and to establish Spanish schools, had been regarded by them, but as an unmeaning formality; and they felt the utmost alarm that a colony of foreign heretics was planted among them,—and of course a desire that they should either submit to their national laws or be rooted out. *Here were sown the seeds of future war*; for these heretics were the brothers of American citizens, and, though expatriated, they were children-born of the republic.—Farther jealousies arose from futile attempts at independence, which were made by a few of the settlers in the neighborhood of Nacogdoches, and from propositions made on the part of the United States government to purchase Texas. In whatever was done the Mexicans fancied some plot against them, in which the American nation at large was concerned. They even surmised that the settlers in Texas were sent but as a cover to a concealed purpose of the American authorities to take their territory, and destroy their nationality.

Mexican
clergy
alarmed.

1827.
The "Fredo-
nian war."

Texas, under the constitution of 1824, was united in one state with the neighboring province of Coahuila.

The Spanish Mexicans of this province outvoted and (1833, pursued an oppressive policy against the Texans. Stephen F. Austin was sent by them to the city of Mexico to petition against these grievances, and for the privilege of forming Texas into a separate state. The Mexican congress treated him with neglect. He wrote a letter to the Texans advising them at all events to proceed in forming a separate state government. The party in Texas opposed to Austin, sent back his letter to the Mexican authorities,—who made him prisoner as he was returning, sent him back to Mexico, and threw him into a dungeon.

(There were about 10,000 Americans in Texas at the beginning of the Revolution.)

Austin taken prisoner (at Saltillo.)

Meanwhile Santa Anna, ambitious and crafty, though with seeming simplicity, subverted the constitution of 1824, and in the name of liberty, made himself the military tyrant of the Mexicans. They would better bear this, if he employed their force against the Anglo-Americans; and he sent General Cos into Texas, to place the civil rulers there in subjection to the military. Meantime Austin returned, and was placed at the head of a central committee of safety. Appeals were made through the press to the Texan people, and arrangements set on foot to raise men and money. Adventurers from the American states came to their aid. The object of the Texans at this time in preparing for war, was, to join a Mexican party now in arms against the military usurpation of Santa Anna, and thus to maintain the constitution of 1824.

1835.
Texan Revolution begins.

The Lexington of the Texan revolution, was Gon-

1835. zalez. Mexican forces had been sent to that place to demand a field-piece. The Texans attacked and drove them from the ground with loss. Santa Anna now caused the fortresses of Goliad, and the Alamo, or citadel of Bexar, to be strongly fortified; the latter being the headquarters of General Gos. The Texans on the 18th of October, took Goliad with valuable munitions. On the 28th, they obtained a victory near Bexar.

Oct. 2.
Battle of
Gonzalez.
Mexican
force 1000,
Texan 500.

Mexican loss
100, Texan 1
killed.

Texan delegates, November 22d, met in convention at San Felipe, and established a provisional government.

On the 11th of December, their forces, under General Bureson took, after a bloody siege and a violent struggle, the strong fortress of the Alamo, and the city of Bexar; General Cos and his army were made prisoners, and not a Mexican in arms remained. But Santa Anna, ever active and alert, was gathering his forces; and in February, 1836, was approaching with 8,000 men.

Unhappily, divisions now prevailed in the Texan counsels, while the small and insufficient garrison of the Alamo was attacked by this powerful army, headed by a man who added to the smoothness of the tiger his fierceness and cruelty. Travis, who commanded, had only 150 men. They fought all one bloody night, until he fell and all his garrison but seven;—and they were slain, while crying for quarter!

1836.
March 6.
Massacre of
the Alamo.
Killed 150.

(David Croc-
ket was killed
here.)

Meantime a Texan convention had assembled at Washington, on the Brazos, which, on the 2d of March, DECLARED INDEPENDENCE. They had desired, said the delegates, to unite with their Mexican brethren in sup-

March 2.
Texans de-
clare inde-
pendence.

1836.

port of the constitution of 1824, but in vain. Now appealing to the world for the necessities of their condition, they declared themselves an INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC, and committed their cause to the SUPREME ARBITER of nations.

Colonel Fanning commanded at Goliad. He had besought the Texan authorities to reinforce him; and he had been directed by them to abandon his post, and save his garrison by retreat.* The Mexicans, by their superior force, overpowered him. He surrendered on condition that he and his men should be treated as prisoners of war. Santa Anna ordered their execution; and four hundred unarmed and unresisting men, unsuspecting of harm, were drawn out. One of the fated soldiers exclaimed, "They are going to shoot us; let us turn, and not be shot in the back." In another instant the fire was given, and the prisoners fell dead. Fanning was shot the next day;—and his body denied a burial. These men were American-born. Fanning had been an officer in the army of the United States. American sympathy and hate kindled as the shocking massacre was told. *Annexation followed in time, and the Mexican war.*

March 27.
Massacre at
Goliad.
Killed 400.

On the 21st of April, the main Texan army, under GENERAL HOUSTON, met the Mexicans, who were double

* Of this fact, the writer was recently informed by General, now Senator Houston. Fanning had marched out of the fortress, met, and contended with the Mexicans, was taken and carried back, so that the massacre was at Goliad.

1836. their number, near the San Jacinto. Furiously the
 April 21. Texans rushed to battle with the cry, "Remember the
 Battle of Alamo." They fought at less than half-rifle distance,
 SAN JACINTO. Mex. force 1600, and in less than half an hour, wholly routed the Mexi-
 Tex. '83. cans, killing and wounding a number greater than the
 Mex. loss, 630 k., 208 w. whole Texan force. Among the prisoners taken after
 Tex. loss, 8 k., 17 w. the battle, was Santa Anna himself. He, the perfect
 master of dissimulation, now makes the Texans believe
 that he is so satisfied of their valor and goodness, that he
 will use his power and influence in their favor. As su-
 preme ruler of Mexico, he by a treaty, acknowledged
 their independence, and allowed their western boundary
 to be the Rio Grande. This treaty was subsequently
 disavowed by Mexico, it being made while Santa Anna
 was a prisoner. Although the United States, England,
 and other powers acknowledged the independence of
 Texas, yet Mexico, through all her changes of rulers
 ever claimed the country, and occasionally sent troops
 to renew the war by predatory excursions. The Tex-
 ans in 1841, sent under McLeod a party of 300, who
 were partly Americans, to take possession of Santa Fé,
 the capital of New Mexico, that city lying on the eastern
 side of the Rio Grande. These were made prisoners by
 the Mexicans, and treated with great cruelty.

1837.
 March 3.
 United States
 recognize
 Texan inde-
 pendence.
 England, in
1842.

Santa Anna meantime procured himself to be sent by
 the Texans to the U. States, where he so far gained
 President Jackson's favor, as to be sent by him to
 Mexico. Then turning his back upon those he had been
 deceiving, he paid his court to the Mexicans, by dis-

avowing all his treaties and promises, and entering upon 1842.
 a course of hostility to Anglo-Americans.

Gen. Woll, sent by him to invade Texas, took Bexar: A Texan army having driven him back, were eager to carry the war into Mexico. After various disappointments, and the return of most of their volunteers, a party of 300 crossed the Rio Grande, and proceeding to Mier, they attacked it; and although opposed by five times their force, they fought their way into the heart of the place. They killed and wounded double their whole number, when, although they had lost only 35 men, they capitulated.* Although these prisoners were treated badly, yet their romantic history shows that the Mexican character and feelings had somewhat improved since the massacres of the Alamo and Goliad.

Sept. 11.
 The attack on
 Mier.

Texas early made application to be received into the American Union. Gen. Jackson objected,—and afterwards Mr. Van Buren,—on the ground of existing peaceful relations with Mexico, and the unsettled boundary of Texas. Mr. Tyler brought forward the proposition. It was lost in congress. But the mass of the American people were in favor of Annexation, as was made manifest when it became the test question at the presidential election in 1844.† The Whig candidates for president and vice-president were Henry Clay and

(† The alarm had been given that Texas would otherwise throw herself under the protection of England.)

* They were, says Gen. Green, in his Journal of the Expedition, betrayed into the surrender by Fisher, their leader, who had lost his mind by a gunshot wound. Green says this party of 300 killed and wounded 800 of the Mexicans at Mier.

1844. Theodore Frelinghuysen, who were opposed to immediate annexation; and the Democratic were James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, who were pledged it its favor. The latter were elected; and on the 4th March, 1844, they were duly inaugurated. After the election, and

Elected as president, J. K. Polk, of Tenn., vice-president, G. M. Dallas, of Pa.

1845. before the inauguration, Texas was annexed;—Mr. Calhoun, the secretary of state, and Messrs. Van Zandt and Henderson, on the part of Texas, having previously negotiated the treaty at Washington. Mr. Calhoun was especially moved by fears that England was about to gain control of Texas for the purpose of excluding slavery.

March 4. Inaugurated.

Feb. 28. Joint Resolution annexing Texas.

(March 1. It receives the president's signature.

On the 28th of February, congress passed the *joint resolution* to annex Texas,—her authorities and people consenting, and the following conditions observed: 1st. All questions of boundary to be settled by the United States; 2d. Texas to give up her harbors, magazines, &c., but to retain her funds and her debts, and, until their discharge, her unappropriated lands; 3d. Additional new states, not exceeding four, may be formed, *with* slavery, if south of lat. $36\frac{1}{2}$, but if north, *without*.—The Mexican minister at Washington, Señor Almonte, who had before announced that Mexico would declare war if Texas were annexed, now gave notice, that since America had consummated “the most unjust act recorded in history,” negotiations were at an end.

The Americans had, on their part, cause of complaint against Mexico. She had been an unjust and injurious neighbor. Such had been the unredressed wrongs of

person and property to which American citizens had been subjected in Mexico, that had she not been a weaker nation and a sister republic, war would have resulted during Jackson's administration. Mr. Van Buren recommended measures leading to war;—when the Mexicans resorted to negotiation. In 1839 a treaty was made, by which they agreed to pay large indemnities to American sufferers. This treaty was modified in 1843, but its stipulations the Mexican government had mostly failed to observe.

1839.
Mexican
treaty.

1843.
It is modified.

The assent of Texas, by which she became a part of the American Union, was expressed in the ordinance of July 5, 1845. Two days thereafter, a request was dispatched to President Polk to send an armed force to protect Texas against the threatened invasion of Mexico. The administration judiciously chose, as commander of the forces to be sent, Col. ZACHARY TAYLOR. On the 30th of July he was ordered by the war department to proceed to the western frontier, as near the Rio Grande as prudence would dictate. Thereupon he marched, and took post at Corpus Christi, west of the Nueces. He soon received a further order informing him that his forces were to be increased to 4,000, and that he was, in case of emergency, to call immediately on the governors of the adjoining states for volunteers, they being instructed to furnish him. A Mexican force in the meantime had collected on the western bank of the Rio Grande.

1845.
Annexation
completed.

(Commander
at Okeechobee. Soon
made a Brig-
adier.)

Although regular pacific negotiations were closed, yet the American executive made overtures for peace

1845. through Mr. Black, the American consul at Mexico. Gen. HERRERA, one of the wisest patriots of Mexico, was now at the head of affairs. He was disposed to peace, and through his secretary, Señor Peña y Peña, he gave private assurances that he would receive a special commissioner to treat respecting Texas; but the American government, he said, must first withdraw a fleet with which they menaced Vera Cruz. This was done.

The ancient aversion of the Mexicans had been, by the annexation, wrought into jealousy and fierce revenge; and he who most vilified the Americans, and the loudest blustered for war, was most the popular favorite. Such was PAREDES, by whose party Herrera was denounced as a traitor for suspected intercourse with the foes of the nation. He was still struggling for his place, when Mr. Slidell, sent by Mr. Polk, arrived in Mexico, and demanded to be received. Herrera rejected his mission on the ground that the American government had sent him as an envoy to settle the whole differences between the two nations, and not as a commissioner to consider merely the Texan question. He had brought the American account-book, when it had been proposed by the Mexicans to settle such differences only as appeared upon their own. Herrera, even with this rejection, was not found violent enough to please the Mexicans, and they displaced him and elevated Paredes. Mr. Slidell remained at Jalapa until March, when he made, as directed, overtures of peace to Paredes, which were, of course, rejected. The nature of his then unopened in-

Dec. 20;
Mr. Slidell
rejected.

Dec. 29.
(Revolution
in Mexico.)

1846.
(Jan. 2.
Paredes made
president.)

structions, since made public, show how little aware was the government of the bitter hostility of the Mexican mind. Mr. Slidell was to offer money for a peaceable boundary on the Rio Grande, and the cession of California.

1846.

(On the 21st of March Mr. Slidell receives his passports.)

On the 16th of January, 1845, the United States Senate ratified a treaty with China, which had been there negotiated between Mr. Cushing, the American Envoy Extraordinary, and the Commissioner of the Chinese Emperor.

1845.

Jan. 16.
Chinese treaty.

OREGON.—While such was the aspect of Mexican affairs, a difficulty arose between the United States and England respecting the northern boundary of Oregon; both nations claiming the extensive portion of that country north of the Columbia river to the Russian settlements. The full statement of the claims on either side, is long and intricate; but there is no contradiction made to the facts, that the Columbia river and its vicinity, belong to the Americans by right of the discovery made in 1792, by Captain Grey of Boston, and by the exploration of Lewis and Clark, in the employ of the American government, made in the years 1804-5. John Jacob Astor of New-York, founded Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia, in 1811. The first house on its waters was, however, established on Lewis river, by the Missouri Fur Company, in 1808. The Rocky mountains which divide Oregon from the valley of the Mississippi, although generally continuous and sometimes rising to to the height of 16,000 feet, have yet remark-

1792.

(Capt. Grey, sailing in the Columbia, gives to the river the name of his ship.)

1812. able openings; the most singular of which is the South Pass, in lat. $42^{\circ} 30'$, which Colonel Fremont, who explored it in 1842, describes as being in ascent no steeper than the Capitol Hill at Washington.

In consequence of complaints made by American settlers, Congress passed an act, April 16, 1846, that a joint occupation with England of the disputed territory, formerly agreed to,† must after a year cease.

(† In the conventions of 1818 and 1827.)

This difficulty with England became so serious as to threaten war. It was, however, compromised by a treaty negotiated at Washington between Mr. Packenham, the British Minister, and Mr. Buchanan, the American Secretary,—which makes the northern boundary of Oregon, the line of lat. 49 deg.; but gives to the British the whole of Vancouver's Island, and a right to the joint navigation of the Columbia river.

1846.
June 18.
Treaty of
Washington.

CHAPTER III.

Mexican War—Army of Occupation.

GEN. TAYLOR received an order, January 13th, 1846. to take post at the mouth of the Rio Grande. Perhaps the Executive, in giving this order, agreed in opinion with Mr. Slidell,† that “the desire of the government (for peace) will be taken for timidity. The most extravagant pretences will be made, until the Mexican people shall be convinced by hostile demonstrations, that there must be settlement, either by negotiation or the sword.” The effect of the order was, however, to precipitate the collision of arms, and to give to the Mexicans the advantage of the cry of invasion. Many patriotic Americans believed that the Executive, intent on a war of conquest, directed this movement for the express purpose of bringing it on; his overtures for peace not being made in good faith; and that in so doing, he violated the constitution, by which congress is the war-making power.† Congress had, however, given to the president, the difficult task of defending Texas, without advising him of what Texas was,—having received it into the Union with a disputed boundary to be afterwards settled.

(† See Mr. Slidell's letter from Mexico written, not received, Dec. 27, 1845.)

Effect of sending Gen. Taylor to the Rio Grande.

(† Members of congress consume much time in debates on these questions.)

1846. But as Mexico at once scornfully refused to negotiate, claiming the whole,—the question then occurred, ought the Executive to take the Mexican account of limits, or that of Texas, now an American state. Besides, if Mexico was resolved not to negotiate, but to take the chances of war, she could not expect other, than that her opponent would make whatever fair advantage she could, from the coming contest.

Gen. Taylor moved from Corpus Christi on the 8th of March; and after toiling ten days through an arid waste, he reached the Arroya Colorado. Here he was met by a party of mounted Mexican marauders called rancheros. They warned him that he had reached the limits of Texas, and that to advance further would be regarded by the Mexicans as invasion. On the 25th, the army reached Point Isabel, a small Mexican seaport, sometimes called, from the bay on which it stands, Brazos St. Iago. The Mexican authorities in leaving this place had set it on fire; but Taylor with exertion saved most of the buildings. The place was important to him, as, from the nature of the coast, this must be the depot for his stores. Leaving them here, with 450 men under Major Munroe, he advanced, and took post at the mouth of the Rio Grande, opposite to Matamoras. Here batteries were soon erected by the Mexicans, pointing at his camp. This he intrenched, and immediately commenced a fort, whose guns threatened the heart of the city. Yet Gen. Taylor was strictly courteous to all. He had come, in peace, he said, to protect Texas, not to

(March 12. Señor Lanzas writes to Mr. Slidell that the '*casus belli*' was given,—nothing remained but war.)

March 28. Gen. Taylor encamps opposite Matamoras.

invade Mexico; but if attacked, he should know how to defend himself.

1846.

This attack he had hourly reason to expect. Paredes had put in requisition the best troops of Mexico, headed by her ablest generals, and they were gathering towards the Rio Grande. On both sides of the river, all was warlike action; here, mounting or relieving guards, and there, planting artillery. Gen. Arista now arrived, and took the command at Matamoros. The Mexican government made a formal declaration of war on the 23d of May. Gen. Arista informed Gen. Taylor by a polite note, dated the 24th, that he regarded hostilities as having already commenced; and on that day the flow of blood really began. Capt. Thornton with 63 dragoons was sent by Gen. Taylor a few miles up the river to reconnoitre. They fell into an ambuscade, and finding themselves surrounded by a far superior force, they attempted to retreat, cutting their way. But they were obliged to surrender, with the loss of 16 killed and wounded.

(April 10. Col. Cross rode out from the camp alone, and was killed by Mexican ran cheros.)

April 24. Hostilities commence by Thornton's capture. Am. loss, k. and w. 16.

The American congress and people were astonished and agitated, when Gen. Taylor's dispatch was received. Their army was surrounded, and in danger, from the soldiers who had committed the massacres of Goliad and the Alamo! A kind of monomania pervaded the nation. The President announced to congress that the Mexicans had "invaded our territory, and shed the blood of our citizens upon our own soil." Congress responded, that "war existed by the act of Mexico," and in two days

Astonishment and anxiety.

May 11. President's extra message.

1846.

May 13.
Act of con-
gress to raise
men and
money.

passed a law authorizing 50,000 volunteers to be raised for twelve months; and appropriating towards the carrying on of the war, ten millions of dollars. Thus were the means at once provided. Did the administration calculate on this, and therefore forbear to agitate in congress the subject of the war, which, with an army of less than 10,000, it had daily reason to expect?—or was it one of those providential occurrences, of which this war has been so fruitful, and by which we learn, that Mexico was to be chastised, and that the Almighty made this nation his instrument?

Plan of the
Executive.

Declared war being upon the hands of the Executive, the plan for its prosecution and results appears to have been,—to take for indemnity and as a permanent acquisition, that part of the Mexican territory lying between the old United States and the Pacific; and so to carry the war into the more vital and richer parts of the enemy's country, that he would be willing to receive peace, and some needful funds, though at the sacrifice of this territory and the relinquishment of Texas to the Rio Grande.

May 15 & 16.
(See Mans-
field's "Mex-
ican War,"
p. 48.)

The American executive, aided by the head of the war department, and by General Scott, now sketched out, in two days' time, a plan of a campaign, exceeding, in the vastness of the spaces, over which it swept by sea and land, any thing of the kind known in history. This passed at once into the orders given by Mr. Marcy, secretary of war, and Mr. Bancroft, secretary of the navy. Under these orders vessels were to pass round Cape Horn to the coast of California, to aid those already

there in conquering that country. An "Army of the West," was to be assembled at Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri, and under command of Gen. Kearney, to take New Mexico, and then proceed westward to the Pacific, to co-operate with the fleet. An "Army of the Centre," to be collected by Gen. Wool, from different and distant parts of the Union, was to rendezvous at San Antonio de Bexar, and thence to invade Coahuila and Chihuahua. These armies were not merely to be ordered forth. They were mostly to be created from the raw material. The existing regular force of the United States, officers and men, did not much exceed nine thousand.

Gen. Taylor, whose force was called the "Army of Occupation," on finding that about 8,000 Mexican troops were already collected to oppose him, not only sent dispatches to the war department for aid, but, as in this case directed, to the governors of the nearest states. The generals on both sides published proclamations;—Arista calling on the Mexicans to defend their invaded homes and altars, and on the American soldiers to desert, and accept ample rewards; Taylor exhorting the Mexicans to embrace the opportunity of freeing themselves from tyrants who had subverted their constitution, and left them a prey to the mingled evils of despotism and anarchy; and who were now seeking to make them believe the Americans to be their foes,—thousands of whom had shed their blood in the defence of Mexico against Spain.

Gen. Taylor now received intelligence by Capt.

1846.

Vast plan of a campaign.

Mexican and American manifestoes.

1846.

April 23.
Walker's
battle.

Walker that a large Mexican force in his rear, was interposed between him and his stores at Point Isabel. Walker had there been stationed by Major Munroe to keep open the communication; and he had fought fifteen minutes with his one company of Texan rangers, (armed with revolving pistols,) with 1500 Mexican cavalry,—killed thirty and escaped; and subsequently he had found his way with six men through the Mexican army to bring this information.

May 1.
Taylor sets
out for Point
Isabel.

Taylor did not hesitate. Leaving his camp at Matamoras with a garrison in command of that trusty veteran Major Brown, he marched with the main army, and reached Point Isabel unmolested. The Mexicans affected to believe that he had abandoned his works and fled. They attacked the camp with their batteries soon after he left it; and Major Brown opened his guns upon the city. The firing was anxiously heard by Taylor, and a messenger for aid reached him from Major Brown. The garrison at Point Isabel being reinforced by 500 men, which had been supplied by Commodore Conner from the navy, Gen. Taylor announced to the war department, "I shall march this day with the main body of the army, to open a communication with Major Brown, and throw forward supplies of ordnance and provision. If the enemy opposes my march, in whatever force, I shall fight him." The same evening he marched. The next day at noon he came in full sight of the Mexican army, drawn up in order of battle, and extending a mile across his way. Taylor halted his men,—bade them refresh

May 3 to 9.
Cannonade
of Fort
Brown.
7th, Taylor
leaves Point
Isabel.

themselves at the pools—then formed his line. Col. **1846.** Twiggs commanded the right, and Col. Belknap the left. On either wing were batteries with companies of light-artillery. At two o'clock the Mexicans opened their fire. The light-artillery, commanded by Ringgold and Duncan, did great execution. Ringgold, much lamented, fell mortally wounded. The Mexicans, although with choice of the ground, and more than double numbers, were forced, after five hours, to yield to the Americans the victory of Palo Alto.

May 8,
PALO ALTO.
Mex. force
6,000.
Am. 2,300,
—
Mex. loss,
k. & w. 400.
Am. k 4, w.
40.

At two o'clock the next day the army resumed its march. Having advanced about three miles, the Mexicans were discovered, skilfully posted, with artillery, at Resaca de la Palma. A shallow ravine crossing the road,—its margins closely wooded by matted shrubs of a prickly evergreen, called chaparral, afforded them shelter. At four o'clock the Americans came up. The field was fiercely contested. On account of the irregularity of the ground, the history of this battle is full of thrilling incident. It was here that Capt. May, with his dragoons, rode up to a Mexican battery, cut down the men, and took Gen. La Vega as he was applying a match to one of the guns. Young Randolph Ridgely and many others here won fame for themselves and their country. The Mexicans were wholly routed. Their camp—its stores, equipage, and Gen. Arista's private papers, fell into the hands of the Americans. Two hundred Mexicans lay dead upon the field. The flying

May 9,
Resaca de la
Palma.
Mex. force,
about 6,000.
Am. 2,222.
—
Mex. loss,
600.
Am. k. & w.
mortally, 44.

1816. were pursued ; and numbers were drowned in attempting to cross the Rio Grande.

On arriving at the camp, Taylor and his victorious army carried joy to the wearied combatants. But the valued commander of the fort had been killed. Gen. Taylor named the place where he fought and fell, Fort Brown.

Great were the rejoicings and illuminations in the United States for these victories. Taylor was forthwith made a major-general, and several of his officers promoted.

Gen. Arista now proposed an armistice, which Gen. Taylor rejected,—not choosing longer to keep his bad position. He intended on the arrival of heavy mortars to attack Matamoras. But the military deserted it ; and the civil authorities, receiving assurances that private rights would be respected, suffered the Americans to take quiet possession.

May 18.
Taylor occupies Matamoras.

These successes having been obtained, the president of the United States made another attempt to treat for peace. His overtures were not promptly met by Señor Lanzas, the secretary of Paredes, but referred to a Mexican congress to be held in December.

While the news of the imminent danger of the army of the Rio Grande thrilled through the heart of the American nation, Gen. Gaines, the commander of the southern division, full of patriotic feeling, called out a large number of volunteers, additional to those asked for by Gen. Taylor. Every where the young men of the

nation were ready, nay, in haste, to go forth to defend 1846.
 their brethren, fight the Mexicans, and push for the
 "Halls of the Montezumas."* Gen. Taylor was soon
 embarrassed by the numbers who came. They were ill
 provided with munitions; and he not being ready to
 move, they were but consuming his stores. The war
 department decided that those of the volunteers, not
 regularly enlisted, must be dismissed. This caused
 heart-burnings and delay; and although great energy
 pervaded the quartermaster's department, under Gen.
 Jesup, yet so much was to be provided in this sudden
 extension of the army, that it was three months before
 Gen. Taylor could move upon the interior. Meantime,
 the towns on the lower Rio Grande, were taken and
 occupied by the Americans. Camargo, made the depot
 of provisions and stores, was garrisoned with 2,000 men
 under Gen. Patterson.

The army now being 6,000 strong, its first division,
 under Gen. Worth, began its march on the 20th of
 August. Gen. Taylor with the rear column soon fol-
 lowed. On the 5th of September, the several divisions
 were concentrated at Marin. Moving on, they en-
 camped, on the 9th, at Walnut Springs, three miles from
 Monterey. Here, on the south and west towered the
 high peaks of the Sierra Madre,—while before them
 stood the walls of Monterey bristling with cannon, and

Sept. 5.
 The army at
 Marin.
 9th, at Wal-
 nut Springs.

* Mr. Prescott's very popular "History of the Conquest of Mex-
 ico," no doubt increased the war spirit so rife at this time.

1846. surrounded by fortresses;—and around them an unknown region—an invaded country, with thousands of embittered foes. Most of their troops were untried volunteers. But they had officers, educated either directly or indirectly at West Point, who, in all the complicated acquirements belonging to military science, had no superiors. Especially had they a commander, cool and deliberate,—judicious to plan, and energetic to act. He looked upon the mountains, and perceived towards the southwest, that they were cleft by the small stream of the San Juan, along which, was the road from Saltillo to Monterey. He thought if a new way could be made by which the Saltillo road should be reached, the enemy's line of supplies would be cut, and probably less formidable defences intervene. The skill of the American engineers, under Capt. Mansfield, found out such a way; and Gen. Worth being selected for the important service, led a column of 650 men on the 20th and 21st, by a difficult detour round to the Saltillo road. But they did not gain this advantage without loss. On the morning of the 21st they successfully fought a battle, in which Col. Hays and his Texan rangers were distinguished.

Sept. 20.
Worth's
party leave
camp at
noon.

21st, Battle
near Monte-
rey. Mex.
loss, 100.

Forts Federa-
tion and Sol-
dado carried.

The Saltillo road being gained, the first obstacles to be overcome in approaching the city, were two batteries on a hill. Up to these, in face of their fire, the soldiers marched. They were taken, and their guns turned on the third and principal battery,—a fortified, unfinished stone building, called the Bishop's Palace, situated on the steep hill Independence. Night came on, and the weary

and hungry soldiers had to endure a pelting storm. At three, a party headed by Col. Childs, and conducted by engineers Saunders and Meade, mounted the hill. A vigorous sortie from the fort was repelled. The Americans entered it with the flying Mexicans, and it was theirs. After having taken this battery, and turned it against the city, the war-worn troops, now three days from the camp, their numbers thinned by death, stood close upon the rear of Monterey.

Meantime, Taylor had sought to direct the attention of the enemy from this, his real point of attack, by making a feigned one in front. But so fiercely was this movement conducted by Gen. Butler, Capt. Backus, and others, that the city was entered, though with great sacrifice of life; for every street was barricadoed, and guns pointed from every wall. The second day, a part of the defences were abandoned by the garrison, the Americans getting within the houses, and breaking through the walls. Gen. Quitman, who headed this party, advanced to the Plaza. On the morning of the 23d, the defences of the opposite side were assaulted and carried by the division of Gen. Worth. Gen. Taylor now passed over to Worth's quarters, where he received the Mexican commander, Gen. Ampudia. He came with a flag to propose capitulation and an armistice, on the ground that peace might shortly be expected,—Paredes being displaced, and Gen. Santa Anna now in power. Gen Taylor knew† that in consequence of President Polk's hope of that wily Mexican's favorable

1846.

Sept. 22.
3 o'clock,
A. M.
Bishop's Pal-
ace stormed.

Sept. 22.
Attack on
Monterey in
front.

† "Santa Anna's Pass," dated May 15, 1844. (Com. Conner permits the Arab, in which he sails, to pass without speaking her.)

1846. disposition, he had given an order to the fleet, which Com. Conner obeying, Santa Anna had passed unmolested on his return from Cuba. Taylor had not men sufficient to guard the Mexican soldiers if he kept them as prisoners; and his own unsupplied army needed all the provisions to be found in Monterey. Without the parade of compassion, he had its reality, and he wished to spare especially "non-combatants." With the advice of his officers, he therefore agreed to an armistice of eight weeks, on condition of the approval of the American government. This, on correspondence, was withheld; and the war was renewed;—not, however, until nearly six weeks had elapsed; and not sooner would Taylor have been prepared to act, had he been at liberty.

Sept. 23.
The armis-
tice.

Its rejection
by Mr. Polk.

CHAPTER IV.

Army of the centre.—Gen. Wool's march.—Battle of Buena Vista.

To GEN. WOOL, who had been twenty-five years an 1846.
inspector-general in the army, the administration wisely
confided the principal share in mustering and preparing
for the service, the volunteers,—on whom, for want of
regular troops, the military honor and interest of the
republic, must in this emergency depend.

His orders, dated May 29th, he received at Washing-
ton. From thence he immediately moved through the
states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and
Mississippi;—meeting the enlisted volunteers at design-
ated places of rendezvous, and inspecting and admitting
them, if suitable men, into the army. These distances
were accomplished, and twelve and a half regiments,
(two of cavalry,) making about 12,000 men, were
inspected, mustered into service, and sent towards their
destined places, by the 16th of July. About 9,000 of
these recruits, went to the Rio Grande to reinforce the
army of Gen. Taylor. Those to form the “Army of
the Centre” were by different routes to rendezvous at
Bexar;—some going the far circuit of Little Rock, in

May 29.
Gen. Wool's
orders

July 16.
In 6 weeks
3,000 miles
traversed,
and 12,000
men mus-
tered.

1846. Arkansas, and some by sea and through La Vaea. Gen. Wool, after making necessary arrangements in New Orleans for the comfort and efficiency of his troops, moved to La Vaea on the 1st of August. From thence, after sending his wagon-trains, he accompanied volunteers to Bexar, whose march for 40 miles lay through a country submerged four inches by recent rains. At Bexar began that drill and strict discipline of the volunteers which made Gen. Wool's corps, whether resting or moving, a camp of instruction; and which, together with his great care that every article necessary to health and efficiency should always be prepared and ready, gave to it the praise of being "a model army."

August 1.
Gen. W. at
La Vaea (on
Matagorda
Bay.)

Gen. W.'s
discipline,
(unpopular
with his men
at the time.)

Sept. 20.
Gen. Wool
leaves Bexar
for Presidio.

(Nava, 1200
inhabitants—
buildings of
adobe, or un-
burnt brick—
such are near-
ly all Mexi-
can edifices.)

Gen. Wool's destination was Chihuahua, the heart of one of the richest provinces of Mexico. He began his march from Bexar on the 20th of September, his force amounting to 500 regulars and 2,440 volunteers. At Presidio the troops crossed the Rio Grande on a flying bridge prepared for the purpose. From this fertile spot they marched westward 26 miles, to Nava, over a dead level,—without finding a drop of water or a human habitation. The troops, in crossing the Sierras of San José and Santa Rosa, encountered steep rocky ascents and deep mountain gorges; and often, before their 300 heavy laden wagons could pass, roads must be repaired or made. In the valley between, they found the unbridged torrent-rivers of Alamos and Sabino; and at every turn their flesh was wounded by the prickly-pear, or the thorn-leaved agave. Sometimes, as the army

appeared, the ignorant people of the country, taken by surprise, believed that the robber-bands of Mexico were upon them. The shrieking women would run from their houses, and embrace the crosses by the wayside,—probably where some friend had been killed, whose fate they expected to share. 1846.

But by the better informed, Gen. Wool's approach was hailed with joy. He protected the quiet and the weak against the strong and the lawless. Before crossing the Rio Grande, he had rescued the children of a Mexican family from the Lapan Indians, and restored them to their parents. "His army," says Mr. Mansfield, "were the armed watchmen of Coahuila;" and as he passed on through San Fernando and Santa Rosa, to Monclova, his advance was heralded as that of a friend; and he there peacefully unfurled the American flag over the government-house of the province.

Oct. 31.
Gen. Wool
at Monclova.

At Monclova, Gen. Taylor communicated to him the capture and armistice of Monterey. Here also he learned that the projected route to Chihuahua, continuing along the base of the Sierra Madre, was impracticable for his train; and he could only reach that place with artillery by a circuitous road leading through Parras. Both he and Gen. Taylor believed that it would be unwise thus to withdraw his force from the seat of war;—since the conquest of New Leon and Coahuila, already achieved, gave to the Americans the command of Chihuahua.

(Troops under drill during the armistice; they are always encamped without the cities and villages.)

On the 25th of November, Gen. Wool marched upon

1846. Parras,—Gen. Taylor advising him to establish a post in that fertile region, and collect provisions, of which his army were in need, and which the country about Monterey could not supply. On this march the army encountered a region of calcareous marl, which, for many miles, was like dry ashes, filling their eyes and covering their garments.

Nov. 23 to
Dec. 5.
March from
Monclova to
Parras.

At Parras, General Wool was received with all the courtesy due to a distinguished guest. The strictness of his discipline was not only improving his army, but, by giving the new feeling of security to a people, so long the victims of anarchy, he was winning their affections, and giving them desires for a better government.* Stores came in abundantly, and the necessities of the two armies were fully supplied.

Nov. 14.
Tampico
surrendered.

In the meantime Gen. Taylor had proceeded to Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, expecting to co-operate with Gen. Patterson and a naval force in the reduction of Tampico. But that place had surrendered to Com-

* Already are rumors abroad that this part of Mexico has invited an American general to lead them in an attempt to establish an independent government. But as much the same effect has been produced by the American army in other parts of Mexico, we hope no such movement will be made; but that all *Mexico*, united by language and religion, will have learned how much better is security than anarchy;—and also, we hope, that republican America will learn, on her part, from Mexico, how wretched a condition is that of anarchy;—so that she may avoid it by repressing, while yet in her power, all lawless outrages.

modore Conner on the 14th of November. Gen. Butler was left in command at Monterey. Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, of which the Americans had taken peaceable possession on the 17th, was garrisoned, and commanded by Gen. Worth.

1846.

Nov. 17.
Saltillo.
(Americans in possession of the states of Coahuila, New Leon, and Tamalipas.)

The changeful Mexicans having now displaced Paredes, and given full power to Santa Anna, he had concentrated a force of 22,000 at San Luis Potosi. Gen. Worth, 60 miles in advance of Monterey, and 200 from Taylor at Victoria, now received the startling intelligence, that this army was immediately to be brought down upon him ;—he having but 900 men. He sent a rapid express, entreating Wool to hasten to his aid with his whole force. In two hours Gen. Wool was in motion with his whole column, and his long train of wagons ; and such was the condition of his soldiers, that only fourteen were unable, on account of ill health, to move. And now the gratitude of the protected people was singularly manifested. The ladies of Parras came forward, and vied with each other in offers to take the charge of these fourteen sick soldiers ! The best mansions of the place received them, the first women were their nurses, and in due time they were all restored.*

Dec. 17.
An express from Gen. Worth,— Gen. Wool leaves Parras.

His rapid movement.

* The Americans manifested afterwards their gratitude to these kind Mexicans. They applying to Gen. Wool for aid on an incursion of savages, he sent to Donaphan, then in the region and under his command, a request, which the troops of that gallant chieftain fulfilled by doing battle with the Camanches at El Poso, where Capt. Reid and Lieut. Gordon, with about 30 men, killed and wounded

1846.

In four days the army marched 120 miles ;—when resting at Agua Nueva, it was twenty-one miles in advance of Saltillo,—interposed between Gen. Worth and Santa Anna. It had now completed a march of 900 miles through an enemy's country, without a gun fired, or a man lost.

Gen. Taylor, while at Victoria, learned that the city of Mexico was to be approached by Vera Cruz ; and that Gen. Scott, appointed to conduct this invasion, would, as his senior, supersede him in the Mexican command. Nor was this all. It was from Taylor's army, that Scott's force was to be drawn. Gen. Scott, therefore, ordered from Gen. Taylor most of his efficient troops,—leaving him, till more could be sent by government, “to stand on the defensive.” Taylor, whatever might have been his feelings, promptly obeyed the order ; and dispatched to Vera Cruz the greater part of his regular troops, and volunteers,—with Generals Worth, Patterson, Quitman, Twiggs, and others, who had fought so bravely by his side. This order reached the forces of Gen. Wool also ; and to his great grief deprived him of most of his efficient staff-officers and regular infantry, those whom he had as soldiers “brought up,” and with whom he had thought to win glory, the soldier's meed. But this deprivation proved to the two generals the source of their highest fame. For with the remains of their

Scott super-
sedes Taylor.

(Gen Scott's
letter to
Gen. Taylor,
dated Nov.
25.)

(Dec.
Lt. Ritchie,
bearing dis-
patches to
Gen. Taylor,
is massacred
by the Span-
iards, and
Santa Anna
learns Scott's
intended
movements.)

40 Indians,—liberated 19 boys and girls, and restored them to their parents at Parras.

force, they met and bore back the shock of the most formidable army which Mexico had ever sent to the field. 1847.

Gen. Taylor on the way from Victoria to Monterey learned that Santa Anna, by decided demonstrations, was threatening him. Leaving a small garrison at Monterey, he advanced south with about 300 men to the camp of Wool at Agua Nueva. Their whole force, officers and men, was 4,690, and Santa Anna was approaching with more than four times that number,—besides 3,000 regular cavalry under Gen. Miñon, and 1,000 under Gen. Urrea, sent in advance, to turn the American position, destroy their stores, and cut off their retreat. This perilous situation became known to their distant country—to the friends and families of these Spartan officers and soldiers. We knew that they would have fought—but *could* they have conquered? Were they victors,—or had they died for their country's honor?—And were the garrisons of the Rio Grande to be slaughtered, and Scott to be intercepted by a victorious foe?

Santa Anna approaches. Great inequality of force.

Gen. Wool had remarked that the road from San Luis Potosi, seven miles south of Saltillo, and thirteen north of Agua Nueva, passed through a mountain gorge called Angustura, south of the small village of Buena Vista. On the west, a net-work of deep, impassable ravines came close to the road, while on the east, the mountain sent off a succession of spurs, some of which came at this point close to the road. "Here," he said,

1847.

Gen. Wool
selects a field.
Gen. Taylor
approves it.

“is the place which I would select, if obliged to fight a large force with a small one.” Gen. Taylor approved. The army remained encamped at Agua Nueva until the afternoon of the 21st of February. Santa Anna was approaching. Gen. Miñon had already captured Majors Borland and Gaines with a reconnoitering party.† The camp at Agua Nueva was broken up, and Santa Anna, believing that his foes were flying in dismay, eagerly pursued, till he was drawn to their chosen position. Gen. Wool was left by Taylor the active commander at Buena Vista; while he, anxious for his stores menaced by Miñon, went to Saltillo.

(† Cassius M.
Clay is of the
captured
party.)

Santa Anna,
deceived, is
drawn to a
bad position.

On the morning of the 22d, Gen. Wool drew up the army for battle. The gorge was the key of the position. Here was placed Capt. Washington's battery. THIS WAS THE BIRTHDAY OF THE GREAT WASHINGTON, and the battle-cry was to be, “The memory of Washington!” On a height opposite the deep ravines, and contiguous to the gorge, were placed the volunteers of Illinois and Kentucky, under Colonels Hardin, Bissell, and M'Kee. Bragg's battery was beyond the ravines on the right; while on the left, O'Brien's battery, with most of the remaining regiments, were on plateau-elevations between the mountain and the road. From their positions the troops looked out through the gorge to the south, and beheld, issuing from clouds of dust, the long array of the Mexican host,—glittering with burnished arms, and gorgeous with many-colored draperies. As they come nearer, their delicious music charms for a moment even

Feb. 22.
BUENA VISTA.

Mexican ar-
my appears.

the stern ear of war! But the shouts of the Americans rise louder,—as Gen. Taylor, whom they regard as invincible, appears upon the field.

1847.

At eleven o'clock, Santa Anna sent to Taylor a useless summons of surrender. About noon the Mexicans pushed forward a party to the heights on the east, or American left. At three o'clock began the battle. Volunteer riflemen, under Col. Marshall, met the advanced Mexicans. They made no impression upon the American lines, while they suffered loss.

3 o'clock
P. M.
Battle begins.
(See Capt.
Carleton's
Battle "Buena Vista.")
Mex. loss,
k. & w. more
than 300.
Am. w. 4,
k. 0.

Night came. The Americans remained under arms. Santa Anna's arrangements were those of an able commander. A strong column, headed by Gen. Mora y Villamil, he directed to attack the gorge defended by Washington's battery. This charge was in the morning made, met, and repulsed. Generals Pacheco and Lombardini, with their thousands, were early in the night climbing the heights on the east. Two hours after midnight they drove in the American pickets. Major Mansfield discovers their approach, and the watchful Col. Churchill is near to give information to Gen. Lane, then in command of the American left. Gen. Taylor was not upon the field, for his night had again been spent in providing for the safety of his stores at Saltillo;—and Gen. Wool had just left the plateau, and gone to the gorge to see if all was right there. Gen. Lane ordered forward the battery of O'Brien, with a supporting regiment of Indiana volunteers under Col. Bowles. The Mexicans advanced,—their arms and standards glittering

Feb. 23.
2 o'clock
A. M.
Mexicans attack the Am. left, (and simultaneously Washington's post at the gorge, where they are repulsed.)

1847. gorgeously to the sun. They gain the heights and plant their heavy batteries. Impetuously they now attack the Americans, and with a tenfold force. The volunteers return the fire, and check the enemy, when Col. Bowles orders a retreat. It became a rout which could not be stopped, though Capt. Lincoln, the aid of Wool, lost his precious life in attempting the rally. O'Brien stood, with Bryan his associate, and checked their progress, until men and horses were killed; and when he retreated, one gun could not be removed.

The Mexicans were gaining ground. Their right was turning the American left. Gen. Taylor arrives. Col. Jefferson Davis, with his Mississippians, comes forward, calling to the retreating, to form in the shelter of his column. Col. Bowles, unable to rally his men, seizes the rifle of a private, and enters the ranks. Forward press the few against the many; nor pause for danger or death, until, close to the foe, their rifles give the unerring fatal fire. A yell and a rush, and the volunteers have crossed a ravine, and stand close to the Mexicans, forcing them to retreat. Thousands of the foe are ready to fill the places of the slain. But the batteries of Bragg and Sherman have now arrived. They pour a fire too rapid and deadly to be resisted, and the ground is regained.

Col. Davis and the Mississippians, with Bragg's battery, recover the ground on the left.

The camp attacked and defended.

Meantime, bodies of the Mexican cavalry had passed between the combatants and the mountains, and gone towards the rear, where they menaced the camp at Buena Vista. Gen. Taylor ordered Col. May, with his

1847.

dragoons and other cavalry, to follow and attack them. Col. Yell of the Arkansas volunteers here fell bravely fighting. Major Dix, a paymaster, seized the standard of the flying Indianians—called on them to follow,—and never suffer the flag of their state to leave the battlefield but in triumph. Many turned and fought. The Mexicans, thus resolutely met, veered about, and being joined by a fresh brigade, they now attempted to gain the road, from whence they might attack from the rear. The Mississippians were drawn up. The Mexican cavalry came gallantly on. The Mississippians stood and fired not. Surprised, the horsemen check their career—and, for one suicidal moment, they halt. The next—each unerring rifle had brought down its man. Sherman's battery had arrived, and the foe were unable to rally. Other American troops with artillery pressed closer and closer; and some thousands of Mexicans are in danger of being cut off from the main body. Santa Anna dispatches a flag of truce to Taylor, desiring to know what he wants. Gen. Wool, attempting to go with a reply, perceives the treachery of Santa Anna, and declares the truce at an end.

(A violent thunder storm rises at this period of the battle.)

Dishonorable conduct of Santa Anna in using a flag to deceive.

The American firing having been suspended by order, the endangered Mexicans escaped; while, not only did two of the Mexican batteries continue their fire, but Santa Anna used the time to change the position of another, in preparation for his final desperate struggle. This was made against the centre, where Gen. Taylor

1847. commanded in person ;—and by Santa Anna himself, with his entire reserve.

Final struggle
of the whole
armies, under
the two com-
manders.

O'Brien with his battery again stood foremost, and Colonels Hardin, Bissell, Clay, and M'Kee were in the hottest of the battle. But the odds against them is overwhelming. Again O'Brien, now with Lieut. Thomas, stands and checks the foe, till men and horses are slain, and now, as he retreats, he leaves two of his guns. Mexican lancers drive the infantry into a ravine. M'Kee, Hardin, Clay, and many others fall. Bragg and Sherman, straining every nerve, advance with their batteries, and in the face of death, maintain their ground, and save the battle. Washington's battery too,—often attacked through the day,—now by turning on the Mexican lancers, and protecting the American infantry, saved a field, in which, with such disparity of force, there were many chances to lose where there was one to win.

Battle-field of
BUENA VIS-
TA.

Santa Anna was obliged to draw back his much diminished forces. The second night came on. Officers and men were on the alert, and horses in harness. The field was strewed with the lifeless victims of war. The American surgeons and their assistants administered to the wounded, whether friend or foe. Mexican women were there, to soothe the dying, or wail the dead.

The Americans were prepared to renew the contest. Outposts had made astonishing marches, and had reached the camp. Gen. Marshall, with his mounted Kentuck-

ians, and Capt. Prentiss with his artillery, had travelled 1847.
 from the Pass of Rinconada,—35 miles of bad road,—
 in one day.

With the earliest dawn of the morning Gen. Wool,
 abroad to reconnoitre, discovered that the enemy were
 in full retreat. Hastening with the news to the tent of
 Taylor, they embraced and wept,—while the shouts of
 victory rang over the battle-field.

Feb. 23-4.
 Santa Anna
 retreats.
 Am. loss,
 k. 264, w. 450.
 Mex. loss,
 k. & w. 2500,
 missing 4000.

Presuming that he should conquer, Santa Anna had
 detached regular forces under Miñon and Urrea, to cut
 off the retreat of the Americans; while hordes of
 rancheros were sent to the mountain passes to kill every
 straggler. General Urrea, with 1,000 cavalry, went
 into the vicinity of Monterey, where at Ramas a wagon-
 train was captured, and forty-five wagoners barbarously
 murdered. Both these generals from the 22d to the 26th
 menaced the weakened outposts of Taylor's army; and
 both were attacked and defeated. Gen. Miñon, on the
 23d, interposed a body of 1,800 cavalry between Buena
 Vista and Saltillo, threatening the rear of the army.
 He was gallantly driven away, with the loss of 60 of his
 men, by Capt. Webster, aided by Lieut Shover. Gen.
 Urrea was defeated by Colonels Morgan and Irvin on the
 26th, at Agua Frio, near Monterey. On the 7th of
 March, Major Giddings with 260 men, having a train of
 wagons in convoy, was attacked near Ceralvo by 1,600
 Mexicans;—the party of Urrea combined with that of
 Gen. Romera. The Americans bravely defended them-
 selves, and compelled the enemy to retreat.

Santa Anna's
 preparations
 to cut off the
 whole Amer-
 ican army.

26th.
 Agua Frio.
 Mex. loss,
 k. & w. 60.
 Am. 6.

March 7.
 Ceralvo.
 Mex. force,
 1,600.
 Am. 260.
 —
 Mex. loss,
 k. & w. 45.
 Am. 17.

1847. The victory of Buena Vista, without which the guerilla warfare would have borne a different aspect, left the Americans after these affairs in quiet possession of the northern provinces of Mexico proper. Active operations being here at an end, Gen. Taylor, after a few months, returned to receive high honors from his country ;—and Gen, Wool, “without fear and without reproach,” was left at Monterey to govern and protect the conquered region.

CHAPTER V.

Army of the West—Conquest of New Mexico and California.

A FLEET consisting of one frigate and nine smaller vessels, was already on the coast of California, when the war commenced. Commodore Sloat, the commander, was advised by the navy department, that war with Mexico might occur; † that he must be careful to observe the relations of peace, unless they were violated by the opposing party; but if this should take place, he was, without further notice, to employ his fleet for hostile purposes. Being led to suppose that war existed, Com. Sloat took Monterey on the 7th of July, 1846; and raised the American flag without opposition. On the 9th, Francisco, north of Monterey, was taken by a part of the squadron, acting under the orders of Com. Montgomery. On the 15th, arrived a second frigate under Com. Stockton. On the 17th, Com. Sloat dispatched a party to the mission of St. John, to recover cannon and other munitions which the enemy had there deposited. At this place the American flag had already been planted by Col. Fremont,—who, with sixty-three men, had been sent out in 1845 by the government with the ostensible

1846.

(† See Mr. Bancroft's order to Com. Sloat, June 24, 1845,

July 7.
Monterey in
California,
taken by
Com. Sloat.

15th, Arrival
of Com.
Stockton, at
Monterey.

1842-3. object of making peaceful explorations. He had, as an officer of the corps of topographical engineers, been employed in the years 1842-3, in exploring the great rivers, valleys, prairies, lakes, and mountain-passes on the grand route to Oregon; and he had manifested, by his keen observation, his hardy endurance, untiring activity, courage and conduct among the Indian tribes—the incipient germ of the great military commander. He was opportunely on the ground at the breaking out of the war. The Mexicans menaced him, although he had obtained leave of Gen. Castro, the military commandant,

(† Fremont raised the Am. flag, but Castro did not attack. He went, for a time, to the south part of Oregon.)

to winter near the San Joaquin.†

Subsequently all Americans were threatened. Fremont went and aroused the settlers in the valley of the Sacramento. They added to his force, and he swept out the Mexican authorities from the northern interior. The American Californians, July 6th, declared their independence, and placed Fremont at the head of their government. A few days after, news came that war existed between the United States and Mexico; when the Californian colors were joyfully pulled down, and the American hoisted.

(Com. Stockton, in full command. Com. Sloat sailed for the U. S., July 29.)

Com. Stockton constituted the 160 men under Fremont, “a navy battalion.” This force sailed to San Diego, where, united to the marines, their leaders marched upon, and occupied Los Angeles. Here Com. Stockton proclaimed himself governor, and established civil government. Leaving a small garrison, the commanders went north. In September, a Mexican force, under Gen. Flores and Don Pico, led in a revolt—retook Angeles, and other places. Stock-

(Com. S. was at Diego, and Fremont on his march, when Gen. Kearny arrived in Cal.)

ton sailed with his marines to San Diego. Fremont increased his battalion to 428 ; and marched from Monterey south, to co-operate with Stockton in quelling the revolt.

Immediately after the opening of the war, orders were issued by the Executive for organizing an " Army of the West," to be commanded by Gen. Kearny ;—for the object of taking, and placing under American laws, New Mexico and California. This army was to be composed of mounted volunteers from the state of Missouri, with one battalion of infantry, one of light-artillery, and one of dragoons. —

They began, June 5th, to appear at the rendezvous, which was Fort Leavenworth. The choice of field-officers for the first Missouri regiment was regarded by the volunteers as peculiarly important ; because, in the event of the death of Gen. Kearny, on the colonel of this regiment would devolve the command of the army. The men elected by the volunteers had entered their ranks as privates. Doniphan was chosen colonel ; Ruff, lieutenant-colonel ; and Gilpin, major.* All were for twenty days instructed by such of their officers as had been West Point students ; and thus, the military science

1846.

(Army of the West—1st reg. under Doniphan, 856, Infantry 145, Lt. artil. 250, Dragoons 407. 16 pieces of ordnance.)

June 18. Doniphan chosen.

* There was some difficulty about officering the volunteers—the government preferring to select the high officers. Subsequently the Executive of the United States appointed Col. Sterling Price to the command of a regiment of volunteers, which were to follow and reinforce Kearny. The volunteer regiment, however, held an election, in which they very wisely elected Col. Sterling Price, to the place previously assigned him by government.

1846. infused into this celebrated school, by COL. SYLVANUS THAYER and his associates and successors, now became as rapidly transfused into the quick minds of the volunteers of the West, as were the military arts into the well-formed, active frames of this remarkable body of recruits.*

(The ladies of "Liberty" present the volunteer officers with flags. See "Doniphan's Expedition," by Hughes.)

General Kearny, having sent forward his baggage, and taken in convoy the annual train of merchants' wagons, now numbering 414, (going to trade at Santa Fé and Chihuahua,) set out with his army on the last of June. They moved southwesterly across the river Platte,—the branches of the Kansas,—along the Arkansas to Bent's Fort;—thence south and southwesterly to Santa Fé.

June 26-29.
Army begins
its march.

June 30.
Reaches the
Kansas.

July 12.
Reaches the
Arkansas.

A great portion of the region moved over was prairie;—one wide, wild, unmeasured level, or gently undulating field;—sometimes green, as far as the eye could reach, with tall, rank grass,—and sometimes gay with unnumbered flowers,—perhaps blushing, far round, with the varieties of the prairie rose,—or tinged orange with the wild lily; and sometimes showing the pale green and delicate white and red of the moccason flower, the "belle of the prairie." Along the Arkansas the troops found

From June to
Aug. 19.
Prairie scenes.

* Willard P. Hall was chosen from their ranks, as a member to congress, and received at Santa Fé news of his election. But he proceeded as a private to California, from whence he returned with Kearny by the South Pass,—then went to Washington, and took his seat in congress. Another from the ranks of these volunteers was chosen into the state legislature of Missouri.

1846.

great herds of buffalo; and cheerily joined the hunt, and enjoyed the feast. But they had many hardships. The ground was often so soft and spongy, that the wagons sunk; and the strength of the men must be added to that of the horses to drag them forth. Again chasms must be filled, and torrents bridged; and sometimes the volunteers must lie down at night in places infested with serpents, horned-frogs, lizards, and mosquitoes. Often they made long marches without water, and sometimes with scarcely any food.† Twice occurred among their horses that singular outbreak, called "estampeda." The first was a few miles below Bent's Fort. Here the animals were turned loose; and while feeding in the prairie, a few of them took fright at an Indian. The panic was communicated. The keepers tried to stop the flight, but "a thousand horses were dashing over the plain, enraged and driven to madness by the iron pickets and the lariats which goaded and lashed them at every step." About sixty-five of the best were irrecoverably lost.†

(† From July 8—rations were cut down to one half, and afterwards to one-third.)

July 29.
Estampeda
near Bent's
fort.

(† See
Hughes'
Doniphan.)

As Gen. Kearny approached the capital of New Mexico, he heard rumors of a formidable military force which the governor, Don Manuel Armijo, had collected to oppose his progress; and he put his army in battle array to meet them at the cañon or pass of Galisteo, fifteen miles from Santa Fé. But the governor's own heart, or that of his troops, had failed. Kearny peacefully entered the city, containing 6,000 inhabitants, and, occupying the governor's palace, he planted above it, August the 18th, the standard eagle of Republican

August 18.
Gen. Kearny
enters Santa
Fé.

1846. America. Thus had the army in fifty days accomplished this desert march of nearly 900 miles.

He establishes
civil govern-
ment.

Neither Santa Fé nor the surrounding country, offered any cogent objections to receiving the government, which Gen. Kearny next proceeded to establish;—according to his understanding of directions, which he had received from the war department. On the day after his entrance, he proclaimed himself governor of New Mexico. “You are now,” said he, “American citizens;—you no longer owe allegiance to the Mexican government.” The principal men then took the oath required; swearing in the name of the Trinity to bear true allegiance to the laws and government of the United States. Whoever was false to this allegiance, the people were told, would be regarded and punished as a traitor.

Debates in
congress.

These measures gave rise to much discussion in the American capitol when they became known; the question being, whether the administration had or had not transcended its constitutional powers, in thus annexing, without any action of congress, a territory to the American Union.

Sept. 25.
Kearny leaves
Santa Fé.

Gen. Kearny having now taken possession of New Mexico, and organized a government,—of which he made CHARLES BENT the chief executive,—it next became his duty to proceed to California. He appointed COL. DONIPHAN to succeed him in the province; with orders, however, that on the arrival of volunteers under Col. Price, Doniphan should leave him in command,

proceed with his regiment and some additional forces to Chihuahua, and there report to Gen. Wool. 1846.

Proceeding down the Rio Grande, Kearny was met by an express† from Col. Fremont,—by which he learned that California was already conquered. Selecting 100 men as his escort, he ordered the return of his main force to Santa Fé. Crossing the Rio Grande in latitude 33°, he reached the river Gila, at the copper mines, on the 20th of October; and following its course, he arrived at its mouth on the 22d of November, in lat. 32°. From this point he kept along, or near the Colorado, forty miles; thence westerly sixty miles, through an arid desert. On the 2d of December, Gen. Kearny reached Wamas' village, the frontier settlement of California. Pursuing his way, he was met on the 5th, near San Diego, by Capt. Gillespie, sent to him with 36 men, by Com. Stockton,† now acting governor of California. A corps of the enemy were near. The next morning the general, expecting an encounter, mounted his little party on the jaded beasts they had ridden from Santa Fé, 1050 miles, and at day-dawn went forth to San Pascal,—where he engaged 160 mounted Californians. The Americans were victorious;—but those more northern troops sold victory at a dearer rate, than the southern Mexicans. Kearny was twice wounded. Captains Johnson and Moore and Lieut. Hammond were killed;—indeed more than half the officers were either killed or wounded, with 19 of the men.† When the surgeon appeared, the commander directed, “first dress the

(† This was Kit Carson. Gen. Kearny obliged him to transfer his men to Mr. Fitzpatrick, and return as guide.)

(† At Gen. K.'s request, sent by special messenger.)

Dec. 6.
Battle of
SAN PASCAL.

(† 7th.—Ams. again drive the foe.)

8th.—Are encumbered by the wounded, —besieged in camp. Carson and Beale go to Stockton.

10th.—200 marines arrive to relieve them.)

1846. wounds of the soldiers;” and then fell,—fainting with exhaustion. Happily his wounds were not dangerous. He reached San Diego on the 12th of December.

On the 29th of that month, by Com. Stockton’s request, Gen. Kearny took the command of 500 marines with the land forces; and marched to the vicinity of Ciudad los Angeles, to quell a rising of the inhabitants, backed by a Mexican army of 600, under Generals Flores and Pico. These forces were met and defeated

Jan. 8 and 9.
Battles of
SAN GABRIEL
and the Mesa.
Am. loss,
about 20.
Mex. loss,
70 or 80.

at San Gabriel, on the 8th of January; and on the 9th, were again fought and routed at the Mesa. They then marched 12 miles past Angeles to Cowenga, where they capitulated to Col. Fremont, who, with his battalion had now arrived at that place. Com. Stockton, January 16, commissioned Col. Fremont as Governor.* He discharged the functions, until the 1st of March; when Gen. Kearny, according to his orders, assumed the office and style of Governor of California.†

Col. Cooke with the Mormon battalion, had, from

* It was not until these pages were stereotyped, that documents existed, by which a correct account could be given of the unhappy disagreement between Kearny, Stockton, and Fremont. The reader will now find a circumstantial account, in the accompanying History of California.

† At Fort Leavenworth Gen. Kearny arrested Col. Fremont, who was tried and condemned to lose his commission. The President, however, pronounced his pardon; but Fremont (June, 1848) resigned; maintaining that he had done no wrong, and desired no clemency.

Santa Fé, proceeded down the Del Norte ; then sending back his sick to the Arkansas, where were 900 Mormon families on their way to California, he here took a route, which deviated to the south from that of Kearny, and led him through a better road and a more interesting region.

By direction of the war department, Gen. Kearny placed Col. Mason in the office of chief magistrate of California ; and, on the 16th day of June, 1847, he took his way homeward across the Rocky Mountains, by the South Pass ; being accompanied by Colonels Fremont and Cooke,—Hon. Willard P. Hall, (who had been elected to congress,) with other officers and privates, to the number of forty. On the 22d of August, the party were at Fort Leavenworth ; when Gen. Kearny immediately repaired to Washington,—having twice crossed the continent in little more than a year.

1846.

Oct. 18.
The Mormon
battalion
leaves Santa
Fé.

1847.

June 16.
Kearny leaves
California.

Aug. 22.
At Fort Lea-
venworth.

CHAPTER VI.

Doniphan's Expedition to Chihuahua—Revolt in New Mexico.

1846.

Sept. 23.
Col. Price ar-
rives at Santa
Fé.

Oct. 11.
Doniphan or-
dered against
the Navajo
Indians.

THREE days after Gen. Kearny's departure from Santa Fé, Col. Price arrived with his recruits. Col. Doniphan was awaiting this event to commence his march upon Chihuahua. But on the 11th of October he received an order from Gen. Kearny, dated "near La Joya," to march with his regiment against the Navajo Indians,—their chiefs not having come to Santa Fé to hold a peace-council with those of other Indian nations, as they had been invited, and as they had promised to do;—but instead of this, they had made war on "the inhabitants of New Mexico, now forming a part and under the protection of the United States."

(The Navajos
had killed
seven Mexi-
cans near So-
lon, and tak-
en captive
many women
and children.)

Winter was approaching, and the abodes of the powerful Navajoes, the "mountain-lords" of unknown regions, extended far to the west. The more thoroughly to scour their country, Col. Doniphan divided his regiment into three parties,—one under Major Gilpin, to take a northern route; one under Col. Jackson, a southern, while Doniphan himself was to take a central range. All were to meet at Ojo Oso, or the Bear

Springs,—bringing in the chiefs, there to hold a council. **1846.**
 At the same time a detachment under Capt. Walton, went down the Del Norte to Valverde, to convey the train of merchant wagons for the Chihuahua trade. (Major Gilpin marches about 750 miles among the Indians)
 Here they were menaced by a Mexican force; but fortunately 200 men, under Capt. Burguin, whom Gen. Kearny had sent back, now came up, and joining the escort, they were too strong to be attacked. The three parties then set forward; and, after incredible hardships, thrilling adventures among strange savages,—in crossing the heights and chasms of unexplored mountains, where one false step would precipitate man and horse into unfathomed abysses—after losing several lives of their men by frost, poorly clad as they were, among snows and mountain-storms,—they finally accomplished their object.

Nov. 2.
 (Col D. left the Del Norte Dec. 12.
 Returned to Valverde.)

Capt. Reid, of Jackson's division, with thirty young men, had volunteered to accompany Sandoval, a Navajo chief, five days through mountain-heights,—to a grand gathering of the men and women of the tribe. They were completely in the power of the Indians; but they won their hearts by gayety and confidence. Most of the five hundred whom they met at the feast, had never seen a white man. Reid and his companions joined the dance, sung their country's songs—and what pleased the Navajoes most, interchanged with them their costume. The head chief, NARBONA, though sick and aged, came to the camp of the strangers,—lodged with them, and favored their mission. Thus were the savages persuaded

1846. to agree to what would please those whom they liked ;

Nov. 21.
(Present at
Bear Springs
189 Americans,
500 Navajoes.)

although, as spoken by Sarcilla Largo, a Navajo chief, it struck them as very singular, that the Americans, coming to fight the New Mexicans, who had never injured them, should make a point of preventing the Navajoes from doing the same thing, though the New Mexicans had long been their enemies. Nevertheless, if their new friends really did possess New Mexico, they would, they said, cease their depredations. Accordingly at Bear Springs, on the 22d of November, a treaty was made in form ; and the three parties, Americans, New Mexicans, and Navajoes, were, by its conditions, to live in perpetual peace.

Nov. 22.
Treaty made.

Col. Doniphan made the camp at Valverde the place of rendezvous for the troops who were to accompany him. Some regulars of the light-artillery, with ten pieces of cannon, were by his direction to be sent from Santa Fé. In the middle of December he moved his army in three divisions south, with his baggage-wagons, and merchant-trains in convoy. He now crossed a dreary desert of ninety miles, called the "Journey of the Dead," where there was little of water, food, or fuel. At Doñanna the army found refreshment. Proceeding in the direction of El Paso—at Bracito, on the Del Norte, they encountered a Mexican force, commanded by Gen. Ponce de Leon. He dispatched an officer with a *black flag*, demanding of the American commander to appear before him. On refusal, he said in haughty defiance, "We neither ask quarter nor give

Dec. 14-19.
Doniphan's
army move
from Val-
verde.

Dec. 22.
At Doñanna,
60 miles from
El Paso.

it." The Mexicans advanced, firing three rounds. The Missourians, falling on their faces, were supposed to be dead, but suddenly rising, they delivered a fire so fatal that the foe fled in confusion, leaving about 200 killed and wounded. The Americans had but seven wounded, and none killed.

In the delightful valley of El Paso del Norte, the troops were fully recruited; and they were joined here by the artillery companies from Santa Fé, under Clarke and Weightman. Their march from El Paso was forth into unknown hostile regions. And now they had learned that Gen. Wool was not at Chihuahua. No army was there for their defence. Missouri became anxious for the fate of her sons. But fearlessly they pressed on. They encountered as they went from the Del Norte a desert sixty-five miles in extent, in which their sufferings became so intense from thirst, that the whole army were in danger of perishing. Many animals, and some men gave out, and lay down to die. Many officers and soldiers threw all aside, and were running with their last strength to reach a lake ten miles distant. But that Providence which so often saved our armies during this war, relieved their sufferings by a shower so copious, that the torrent-streams came dashing from the rocks, to refresh and save them. Having at length reached the lake, (Laguna de los Patos,) they remained to recruit, one day only, and on the 18th resumed their march.

Col. Doniphan, as he approached Chihuahua, learned that an army of 4,000 men had been raised to oppose

1846.

Dec. 25.
Battle of
BRACERO.
Mex. force
1,200,
Mex. loss
k. about 50,
w. 150.
Am. force
engaged 500,
w. 7. k. 0.

1847.

(El Paso
noted for deli-
cious wines.)

Feb. 8.
Army leaves
El Paso.

16th.
Great distress
from thirst.

1847.

Feb. 28.
Battle of
SACRAMEN-
TO.

Mex. force
4,120.
Am. force
924.

Mex. loss,
k. 300, w. 300.
Am. loss,
k. 1, w. 18.

him by Don Angel Trias, governor of the province ; and he met this formidable force strongly posted, and fortified with heavy ordnance, at the Pass of Sacramento, eighteen miles from the capital. No more daring deeds were done during the war, than those which now distinguished this little army of about a thousand brave men. Capt. Reid's charge, when at the head of the cavalry he out-rode all his fellows in the storming of the enemy's battery, is a specimen of the manner in which the Americans here defeated quadruple numbers of their enemies,—fighting on ground of their own selection,—under the eye of Trias their governor, of Gen. Heredia their military commander, and of Gen. Condé, former minister of war,—a scientific man, who, says Col. Doniphan, “planned their whole field of defence.”

Having completely routed the army, the city and province of Chihuahua were at the mercy of the conqueror. Captains Reid and Weightman, both distinguished in the battle, were sent the following day to take military possession of the capital. Col. Doniphan having collected the trophies of his victory, entered the succeeding day, March 2d, with the main army ; and planted the colors of his country, over a city containing forty thousand inhabitants, and having in its vicinity some of the richest mines in Mexico. In this salubrious climate, his soldiers enjoyed six weeks of the opening spring ; then marched by Parras to Saltillo, where at length they met Gen. Wool. But Buena Vista was past, and their term of service expired on the last of May. By Comargo and

March 2.
Doniphan en-
ters Chihua-
hua.

May 22.
At Saltillo.

the Rio Grande, they arrived at New Orleans, on the 15th of June; having marched 5,000 miles since they left the Mississippi. 1847.

In the meantime the New Mexicans had secretly conspired to throw off the American yoke. Simultaneously, on the 19th of January, massacres occurred at *Fernando de Taos*, where were cruelly murdered Gov. Charles Bent, Sheriff Lee, and four others,—at *Arroya Honda*, where seven Americans were killed,—at *Rio Colorado* two,—and at *Mora* four. Col. Price, the military commander of Santa Fé, received the startling intelligence on the 20th; when he learned that a force, hourly increasing, approached him. He sent expresses to call in his outposts, and on the 23d marched with 350 men,—met the foe on the 24th, near the small town of *Canada*, attacked and defeated him. On the 29th, Col. Price, now reinforced by Capt. Burguin from Albuquerque, again encountered the enemy,—and defeated him at the mountain-gorge called the *Pass of Embudo*. The Americans next had a march over the Taos mountain, through snows two feet in depth, with a degree of cold so intense, that many had their limbs frozen. They passed unmolested through Fernando de Taos; but at *Puebla*, they met the enemy, stormed his fortifications, and drove him from his position. The valuable lives of Capt. Burguin and other officers, were here lost. Capt. Hendley was killed on the 22d of January, in an attack on *Mora*. That village was destroyed on the 3d of February, by a detachment under Capt. Morin. The

Jan. 19.
Massacre of
Gov. Bent
and 18 others

Victories of
Col. Price.
Jan. 24.
CANADA.

Jan. 23.
EMBUDO.
Mex. force
about 1,500.
Am. 479.

Feb. 5.
PUEBLA DE
TAOS.

Jan. 22.
MORA.

1847. loss of the Mexicans in all these engagements is supposed to have been about three hundred killed; the number of wounded unknown. The Americans lost in killed and wounded about sixty. Fifteen Mexicans were executed as conspirators.

But although the Americans had conquered, they now lived in fear of secret conspiracy. The Indians also, especially the Camanches, showed themselves hostile. Along the far line of communication—from the settlements on the Missouri to Santa Fé, California, and Oregon, robberies and murders were committed by savages, on travelling parties. The government therefore increased the number of troops to be stationed in these regions. One extra battalion has been sent to New Mexico. One is employed on the Santa Fé—and one on the Oregon road. Colonel, now General Price, leaving in command Col. Walker, reached Missouri, Sept. 25th; having lost in battle and otherwise, more than four hundred of his men.

(Col. Gilpin is in command on the Santa Fé road, and Col. Powell on the Oregon.)

Sept. 25.
Return of
Gen. Price.

CHAPTER VII.

Scott's Invasion—Vera Cruz—Cerro Gordo.

SINCE Mexico refused to treat for peace, the American Executive determined to strike at her capital through Vera Cruz. Gen. Scott, the first officer in the American army, was properly selected to conduct this perilous enterprise. He was notified by Secretary Marcy of his appointment, on the 18th of November; and he was directed to draw his force chiefly from Taylor; that general having received notice, that troops would, for this invasion, be withdrawn from his army by the war department. On the 25th of November, Gen. Scott gave, with reluctance, the order already noticed, by which the Generals Taylor and Wool were deprived of the greater portion of their armies. With a smaller force than that with which Gen. Scott was furnished, it would have been madness to undertake such an invasion; † nor would the nature of the service brook the delay of raising and disciplining new troops. The deadly summer climate of Vera Cruz required immediate action.

1846.

Nov. 18.
(See Marcy's
letter to
Scott.)

(† See Mansfield's "Mexican War.")

Santa Anna was lying with 22,000 men at San

1847. Luis Potosi. It would have seemed probable that he would have turned towards Vera Cruz, and uniting with forces in that vicinity, oppose, as he might have done, with an army of 30,000, the landing of Gen. Scott;— rather than to march against Gen. Taylor. But (as Scott learned after landing) Santa Anna chose the latter, and was defeated at Buena Vista.

Feb. 22 & 23.
Battle of
Buena Vista.

To make the preparations necessary for a foreign siege, Gen. Jesup, the quartermaster-general, proceeded to New Orleans, to arrange with Gen. Scott the details of this important service; the magnitude of whose operations, appears from the fact that 163 vessels were employed as transports. The general rendezvous of the several corps, which were to compose the invading army, was the island of Lobos, 125 miles from Vera Cruz. Necessary delays, however, occurred; and it was not until the 7th of March, that Gen. Scott embarked with his troops on board the transporting squadron, which was commanded by Com. Conner. Reaching Vera Cruz on

March 7.
Scott em-
barks his ar-
my.

9th, lands at
Sacrificios.

the 9th, he, with admirable order, debarked his whole army on the west side of the island of Sacrificios. Having vainly summoned the garrison to surrender, Gen. Scott, with the aid of his able engineers, of whom Col. Totten was chief, planted his batteries; and commenced, on the night of the 18th, a tremendous bombardment of the city. The fleet lent its aid, although exposed to the fire of the castle. On the morning of the 26th, Gen. Landera, then in command of Vera Cruz, made overtures for capitulation. Generals Worth, Pillow, and Col.

18th, begins
the cannon-
ade.

Totten, arranged with him the articles;—and on the night of the 27th, Vera Cruz, with the strong castle of San Juan d'Ulloa,—the principal commercial port, and the strongest fortress in Mexico, were surrendered, with 5,000 prisoners, (dismissed on parole,) and 500 pieces of artillery. Two meritorious American officers, Captains Alburtis and Vinton, with ten privates, were killed. Capt. Swift, one of the brightest ornaments of the service, who had organized a company of sappers and miners,—too eager in duty for his impaired health, fainted at the head of his corps, from over-exertion; and died in the hospital. The discipline of Gen. Scott's army was strict, and no invasion of private rights was permitted.

Com. Perry, who succeeded Conner in command of the Gulf squadron, extended his operations after the fall of Vera Cruz. Alvarado on the south, was captured, and Tuspan on the north. The American government about this time adopted the policy of drawing a revenue from the conquered;—lest by too much lenity, in paying for all needed supplies, the war should become a pecuniary advantage to certain classes of the Mexicans, and thus peace be deferred. Having now the best harbors of Mexico in possession, American revenue officers were appointed, and impost duties collected.

On the 8th of April, Gen. Scott, leaving a garrison in Vera Cruz, sent forward the advance of his army under Gen. Twiggs, on the road to Jalapa. At the base of the grand eastern chain of the Cordilleras, the other divisions of the army came up, and the commander

1847.

March 26-7.
The city
surrenders.

(Capt. Hunter, with valor, but disrespect to his superior, took Alvarado.)

April 8.
Army leaves
Vera Cruz.

1847. established a camp at Plan del Rio. Then lay before him an arduous and difficult ascent through a mountain-gorge. Across this way, and on the heights which commanded it, bristled the artillery of the invaded foe, 12,000 strong, commanded by Santa Anna. He had made great efforts to keep up his army; and here declared that he would die fighting rather than "the American hosts should proudly tread the imperial capital of Azteca." Scott found by reconnoissance, that the Mexican position was so strongly fortified, and so commanded by the batteries of the lofty height of Cerro Gordo, that approach in front was impracticable. But, aided by the skill of the engineers, Lee and Beauregard, he turned to the left, causing to be made a new road, by which, ascending along difficult slopes and over deep chasms, his army might reach the rear of the enemy's camp. After three days of secret labor, the road was made. On the 17th of April, the commander published in a general order the detailed plan of a battle for the next day,—showing how the victory was to be obtained,—how the flying were to be pursued,—and how the greatest advantage was to be reaped. All was done as he commanded.

April 18.
Battle of
CERRO GOR-
DO.
Mex. force
12,000.
Am. 8,500.

Mex. loss
k. & w. about
1,100.
pris. 3,000.
Am. k. & w.
430.

About noon the steep ascent was gained. The heights of Cerro Gordo were stormed by Twiggs' brigade,—and the enemy's camp, by a party led by Col. Harney, Gen. Shields,—(severely wounded,) and by Col. Riley. At two o'clock, P. M., the enemy were put to flight,—more than a thousand had fallen, either killed

1847.

or wounded. Santa Anna and a part of his army had fled, and the eager pursuit had commenced. Scott in his orders, given before the battle, had directed that the pursuers should each take two days' subsistence, and that wagons with stores should immediately follow, so that they need not return. On the 19th, the pursuing squadrons entered and took possession of Jalapa. On the 20th, they found the strong post of La Hoya abandoned. On the 22d, having now attained the summit of the eastern Cordilleras, General Worth displayed the American banner from the unresisting castle of Perote, the strongest fortress in Mexico, next to San Juan d'Ulloa. Thus by vigorously following up this remarkable victory, the enemy were unable to recover in time to make a stand in this, their strongest inland post; and thus, other battles were saved.

April 22.
Worth takes
the town and
castle of Pe-
rote.

Three thousand prisoners were taken at Cerro Gordo, among whom were four generals. Gen. Scott dismissed them all upon parole, having neither food to sustain, nor men to guard them. Santa Anna's equipage and papers were secured. Both here and at Perote were captured many large pieces of bronze artillery. From Perote onwards, through that great table valley between the grand chains of the Cordilleras, called the Terras Frias, or the "cold country," the American army had now no cause to apprehend serious resistance. On the morning of the 25th of May, the advance under Worth entered Puebla, the second city of Mexico, containing 80,000 inhabitants. Eagerly did the Mexican men and women

(54 pieces of
cannon and
mortar taken
at Perote.)

1847. look out from their balconies, and from the roofs of their houses, to see these mighty conquerors. War-worn, and habited in the sober gray of the American army, the Mexicans, accustomed to a gaudy uniform, looked upon them with disappointment ; and could find no reason but one for their success. " Their leaders," said they, " are gray-headed men."

CHAPTER VIII.

State of the Army—Its March—Contreras—Churubusco.

THE American army having now overrun the northern 1847.
portion of the country, and made a successful inroad
which threatened the capital, the Executive sent
Nicholas P. Trist, as an agent to make the experiment,
whether Mexico would now treat for peace. But the
olive-branch was again rejected.

The interruption of the army's activity caused by
these unavailing efforts for peace, was opportune. Its
numbers were lessened by sickness; for the climate
though pleasant proved so unhealthy, that hundreds
were in hospitals, and many died. The time for which
large numbers of the volunteers were enlisted, expired;
and many had deserted. Congress had, however, passed
a law, February 11th, 1847, authorizing ten new
regiments; and these being raised, reinforcements were
sent by the way of Vera Cruz; and although not in
sufficient numbers to admit of leaving such garrisons
behind as would keep open his line of supplies, Gen. Scott
determined to move forward.

(709 died at
Perote; 1800
were at one
time in hospi-
tal at Puebla,
and 1700 de-
serted in little
more than a
year.)

1847.

On the 7th of August he marched from Puebla with 10,728 men, leaving more than 3,000 in hospitals,—and as a garrison under Col. Childs. Keeping the several columns into which he had divided the army, within supporting distance, and himself accompanying the van, Gen. Scott moved forth with his little army;—like a second Cortez, to encounter the unknown numbers, which would be brought against him, at the coming death-struggle of an infuriated nation. The march of the Americans was now through a beautiful and cultivated region, whose abundant waters flowed pure and cool. Soon they began to ascend the gradual slope of the great Cordilleras of Anahuac, central between the east and western oceans. On the third day, their toilsome march wound up through steep acclivities. At length they reached the summit; and three miles beyond Rio Frio, burst upon their gaze, all the glories of the grand valley of Mexico. Spreading far round and beneath, were its mingled lakes, plains, cities, and cloud-capped mountains. The giant peak of Popocatepetl was far to their left; before them lay lake Tezcuco; and beyond it, the domes and towers of the city of the Montezumas,—which many a brave American, who that day rejoiced to behold, never reached.

August 11.
Advance at
Ayotla.

The mountain-passes were here unguarded; and the army marched on, until, on the 11th, the advance commanded by Gen. Twiggs, rested at Ayotla, north of lake Chalco, and fifteen miles from the capital. The remaining corps were soon concentrated at small distances;

some on the lake's eastern border. The first step was to learn and consider well the position of the city, and every thing respecting its defences. Its ground plot had formerly been an island. What was once the lake on which it stood, was now an oozy marsh. Long straight causeways, easily raked by artillery, led through this marsh to the several gates, from the great roads by which the city was approached; and much the longest was that connected with the road from Vera Cruz. But before reaching the causeways was an exterior system of strong defences. 1847.

A bold reconnoissance was made. By the Vera Cruz road, on which the army were, the city could not be approached, without first encountering the strongest of the exterior fortifications, that of El Peñon. "No doubt," says Gen. Scott, "it might have been carried, but at a great and disproportionate loss, and I was anxious to spare the lives of this gallant army for a general battle, which I knew we had to win before capturing the city, or obtaining the great object of the campaign—a just and honorable peace."

The commander then moved his troops 27 miles; they making a new road, directed by the engineers, over such sharp volcanic rocks and deep chasms, as the foe had not dreamed could be passed; when,—having turned the lakes Chalco and Jochamilcho, they encamped at St. Augustine, on the Acapulco road, eight miles south of Mexico. From the camp, looking towards the city, the first defences on this road were the fortress

Aug. 15-18.
Army
marches from
Ayotla to St.
Augustine.

1847. of Antonia; and—a mile and a half farther north—the strongly fortified hill of Churubusco. These could be approached in front only by a dangerous causeway.

Aug. 18-19,
The Army
makes a road
to Contreras.

By making a detour to the west, where lay yet other dangers, they might be reached from the left. Two movements, ordered by the commander, were simultaneously made. Worth with Harney's cavalry went to menace Antonia in front; while to the left, Gen. Pillow's division, consisting of the brigades of Pierce and Cadwallader, conducted by the engineers, Lee, Beauregard, and others, made a road through craggy rocks of ancient lava,—whose crevices shot up the thorn-armed maguey, and whose deep chasms were filled with water. To cover and support the working party, was sent Gen. Twiggs' division, made up of the brigades of Riley und Persifer Smith.

In the afternoon of the second day, after accomplishing nearly three miles of this difficult road, the troops found themselves within cannon-range of the enemy's fortified camp at Contreras, commanded by Gen. Valencia, with 6,000 men, surmounted by 22 heavy guns, and communicating by a good road with Mexico, and also with the main camp of Santa Anna, which was lying two miles nearer. Upon this road they saw the Mexicans hurrying on to the scene of action. Fighting now begins, in which the divisions of generals Twiggs and Pillow, especially Riley's brigade, are engaged. They advance, though suffering from the enemy's fire;—aided by the small batteries of Magruder and Callen-

der, which are with difficulty brought into action. About 1847. sunset, the commander, now on the field with fresh troops, gives to Col. Morgan of the regular infantry, an order, which, aided by Gen. Shields of the volunteers, he executes; taking the village of Contreras, or Ansaldo,† which lay on the road from the fortified camp, to that of Santa Anna. The enemy's line of reinforcements was now cut.

(† This village is sometimes called in accounts of this battle, Contreras, and sometimes Ansaldo. See Scott's Report, August 19.

Night,—cold, dark, and rainy—closed in. Comfortless was the condition of the troops, remaining without food or sleep, upon the ground. The officers at Ansaldo, in their perilous position,—separated as they were from their commander by the almost impassable† lava-field, whose crags, on account of the rain-flood, were interspersed by torrents,—now found resources in their own genius, courage, and union. Gen. Persifer Smith proposed to set out at midnight, surprise and storm the camp at Contreras. From that moment, dark forebodings passed from the army, and each officer and man, as by spontaneous movement, fell into his proper place. Gen. Shields extending his 600 men into a long line, and keeping up fires, was interposed between the storming party and the camp of Santa Anna, with his 12,000 reserve. One messenger alone—Lee, the engineer,—found his dark and watery way over the lava-rocks, and carried to the gratified commander the tidings of the gallant attitude of his troops,—and also, a request of Gen. Smith, for co-operation. Gen. Scott complied, by sending with the messenger the force under Twiggs, to

(† Of seven officers sent by Scott after sundown to carry orders, not one succeeded in reaching Ansaldo.)

August.
Morning of
the 20th.

1847. Contreras at five in the morning, to aid the storming

CONTRERAS.
Mex. force,
7,000 en-
gaged, 12,000
more in sight,
Am. force en-
gaged, 4,500.

Mex. loss,
k. 700, pris-
oners 813, 88
officers, 4 gen-
erals.

Am. k. & w.
66.

Capt. Han-
son—good as
brave—was
here killed.

party approaching the enemy's rear, by making a diversion in their front. A little past midnight, Gen. Smith sets forward, conducted by engineer Smith, Col. Riley leading the van. The rain continues to fall in torrents, and their progress is slow. So profound is the darkness, that the men must touch each other as they move, lest they divide, and some be lost. At sunrise, they storm the intrenchments, and precipitate themselves upon the surprised Mexicans. Dismay and carnage prevail for seventeen minutes; when the camp is carried. Eighty-eight officers and 3,000 men are made prisoners. Thirty-three pieces of artillery are captured; among which are found two of those so honorably lost by O'Brien at Buena Vista;—and they are taken by Capt. Drum with a part of the regiment to which they had in that battle belonged. They are received with shouts of joy by the victors of Contreras; in which the commander, now present, and proud of his "gallant army," heartily participates.

Gen. Scott next directed a grand movement upon Churubusco, to which the victory already achieved, opened the way. Moving northeasterly by the road through St. Angel, he keeps the centre of the extended field, while Gen. Worth on his extreme right, is driving the now terrified garrison from Antonia. Gen. Shields, who at Contreras, had kept for hours the whole army of Santa Anna in check, was in command of the extreme left; still charged with the dangerous duty of keeping

off the grand Mexican army from the immediate object of attack. In the centre, Gen. Twiggs presses forward to Churubusco, and entering it from the west, attacks one of its two strong defences, the fortified church of San Pablo. In the mean time, Worth, joined by Pillow and Cadwallader, comes in from Antonia, and furiously carrying the stronger fortress, called *Pont du Tête* or Bridge's Head, he turns its guns upon the citadel-church, which now surrenders. Shields, Pierce, and others, are meantime fighting a bloody battle with Santa Anna, with fearful odds against them. Scott sent successive regiments to their aid. Churubusco was now taken, the brave old Gen. Rincon, its commander, having surrendered. Santa Anna abandoned the field. Worth and Shields pursued. Col. Harney with his dragoons dashed by them, and one of his officers, Capt. Kearney, not hearing the call to return, followed the flying Mexicans to the very gate of the capital.†

1847.

 August 20.
 CHURUBUSCO.

(† Kearny here lost his arm, and other officers their lives.)

CHAPTER IX.

Armistice—Molinos del Rey—Chapultepec—Mexico.

1847. THE commander, following up his victory, might now have entered Mexico. But he was not sent to conquer the country, but to “conquer a peace,” and he believed that the reduction of the capital would delay, rather than accelerate this result. He did not wish to drive the government away from the city dishonored. “The army,” says Scott in his dispatches, “are willing to leave to this republic something on which to rest her pride,—and they cheerfully sacrifice to patriotism the eclat that would have followed an entrance, sword in hand, into a great capital.”

Generous proceedings of Scott.

August 21. Tacubaya now became the head-quarters of the American army. The general-in-chief occupied the archbishop’s palace, with its beautiful gardens. Here he negotiated with Mexican commissioners an armistice, as a step preparatory to a final peace. On Mr. Trist, the agent of the American executive, it devolved, to settle with the Mexican authorities the terms. They wanted, among other conditions, that regions should be left as desolate wastes between the two republics; and,

24th. Armistice concluded.

1847.

humbled as they were, they could not yet brook the relinquishment of the territory demanded. Negotiations were broken off, and the spirit of the Mexican government rose once more to meet a final struggle. They violated the armistice by strengthening their defences. Taking down the bells of their churches, they made a foundry at the "King's Mills," where they converted them into cannon. They called on the provinces to come to their aid in mass; and by fire, or poison,—by any weapon, in any manner, to injure and destroy the invader.

Violated by
the Mexicans.

From Tacubaya, Mexico was in full view—north-east, and distant three miles. North—bearing a little east—distant a mile—rose, in beautiful prospect, the fortified hill of Chapultepec; its porphyritic rocks abruptly descending on its southern and eastern sides,—while to the west, the hill fell gradually, with a gentle, wooded slope, till it met the fortified building of stone, called *El Molinos del Rey*, or the King's Mills. A quarter of a mile west of the fortified mills stood another stone fortress called Casa Mata. These were the obstacles which now barred the way of the Americans to the capital; and they constituted the supporting points of the Mexican army ranged behind them, headed by Santa Anna, and amounting to fourteen thousand.

Scott's position in respect to Mexico and its defences.

Sept. 8.
MOLINOS
DEL REY.
Mex. force,
14,000.
Am. 3,200.

The generals, Scott and Worth, went forth in person to reconnoitre, and they sent out their skilful engineers. Scott then gave the order for an assault on Molinos del Rey, committing its execution to Worth. A terrible battle was fought,—the fortresses of Molinos del Rey

Mex. loss severe, but unknown.
Pris. 800,
52 officers.
Am. loss, k. 116, w. 665, including 49 officers.

1847. and Casa Mata were taken, and an important victory was won. But the very tone was melancholy, in which the commanding-officer praised the victors, "the gallant dead, the wounded, and the *few unscathed.*" The commanders in their reconnoissance before the battle had been somewhat deceived as to the enemy's strength; they masking their batteries, and concealing their men, which were perhaps fivefold the numbers of their assailants. In the heat of the action, Major Wright, assisted by Mason of the engineers, fell upon the enemy's centre, and took his main field-battery; when so furiously did he charge to regain it, that of fourteen American officers, eleven fell. Among the number were Wright and Mason. One brigade lost its three senior officers,—Col. M'Intosh and Major Waite wounded, and Col. Martin Scott killed. Casa Mata was blown up, and El Molinos dismantled.

(† See Prescott's Conquest of Mexico.)

It was at the beautiful hill of Chapultepec, where once arose the veritable "Halls of the Montezumas." Here was now the military school of Mexico, and the last exterior defence of the successors of Cortez, to that capital which he had so iniquitously taken, shedding seas of blood, because "the Spaniards had a disease of the heart, which nothing could assuage but gold."† The God of battles, who had so signally made the American armies the means of chastising the Spanish Mexicans, for national cruelties early begun and long continued, again led them to victory.

On the night of the 11th of September, Gen. Scott

caused to be erected, from the cannon taken in former victories, four heavy batteries, bearing on Chapultepec. Before night, on the 12th, the outworks of that fortress, skilfully assailed by a cannonade directed by the American engineers, began to give way. On the 13th was the battle. The officers and men, by whom such an unbroken series of victories had been achieved, were all promptly in the places assigned them, by eight o'clock in the morning. The fortification which they were to storm was a nation's last hope. The roar of the American cannon ceases for a moment. It is the preconcerted signal for the assault. In an instant the assailants are in rapid motion. Gen. Quitman hastens from the south, Gen. Persifer Smith from the southeast, and Gen. Pillow, with Col. Clark, from the wooded slope on the west. The batteries throw shells into the fort over the heads of their friends, as they begin the furious attack. The garrison, though they fought with desperation, were overpowered. Some yield, and others attempt to retire. At the moment of their retreat, the supporting force under Santa Anna, in the rear of Chapultepec, is attacked and defeated by Gen. Worth, who for this purpose had passed the batteries. Directed by the commander, he pursues the enemy as he flies to the city, pressing forward to enter, by a circuitous road, the San Cosme gate on the northwest. Gen. Quitman, in the meantime, follows the flying foe to the city, by a route direct from Chapultepec; he being instructed to make a feint of storming the southwestern or Belen gate, near to the formidable

1847.Sept. 11.
4 batteries.Sept. 13.
CHAPULTEPEC.The fortress
stormed.Sept. 13.
Battles of
MEXICO.
Mex. force
more than
20,000.
Am. 7,180.Mex. loss, the
whole army,
except about
6,000, k., w.,
or deserted.
Am. loss,
Sept. 12-14,
k. 130-10
officers;
w. 703-68
officers.

1847. citadel within,—in order to make a diversion from the real point of attack at San Cosme.

Gen. Scott meantime advanced with Worth into the suburb of San Cosme, where opposing batteries were taken; but he returned at night to Chapultepec, to look with a father's care to the condition of all,—the living, the wounded, and the dead. Worth, as instructed, remained in the suburb until morning. But Gen. Quitman, accompanied by Shields and Smith, rested that night within the city; having changed the feint which the commander ordered, into a real attack, by which they entered (though with considerable loss) the Belen gate. They had not yet passed the formidable citadel.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 14th, Gen. Scott having returned to San Cosme, the Mexican authorities sent him a deputation, desiring of him terms of capitulation; their army having fled a little after midnight. Gen. Scott replied, that the American army would come under no terms, but such as were self-imposed, and demanded by honor,—by the spirit of the age, and the dignity of the American character. Worth and Quitman, as directed, moved cautiously forward,—Worth to the Alameda and Quitman to the Grand Plaza, where the victorious army reared above the National Palace of Mexico, the stars and stripes of the Republic of America.

Sept. 14.
MEXICO TAKEN.

(The Am. colors were hoisted at 7 A. M.)

Three hours before noon, Gen. Scott made his entrance, with escort of cavalry and flourish of trumpets, into the conquered city of the Aztecs; and

as he approached the grand plaza—his towering figure 1847. conspicuous as his fame,—loudly and warmly was he cheered, by shouts, which arose from the hearts of his companions in arms.

The troops for twenty-four hours now suffered from the anarchy of Mexico, more than her prowess had been able to inflict. Two thousand convicts, let loose from the prisons, attacked them from the house-tops; at the same time, entering houses and committing robberies. The Mexicans assisting, these felons were quelled by the morning of the 15th.

Gen. Scott gave to his army, on the day of their entrance into Mexico, memorable orders concerning their discipline and behavior. After directing that companies and regiments be kept together, he says, “let there be no disorders, no straggling, no drunkenness. Marauders shall be punished by courts martial. All the rules so honorably observed by this glorious army in Puebla, must be observed here. The honor of the army, the honor of our country, call for the best behavior from all. The valiant must, to win the approbation of God and their country, be sober, orderly and merciful.—His noble brethren in arms, will not be deaf to this hasty appeal from their commander and friend.” On the 16th, he called on the army to return public and private thanks to God for victory. On the 19th, for the better preservation of order, and suppression of crime, he proclaimed martial law. Thus protected by the American army, the citizens of Mexico were more secure from violence, and from fear of

1847. robbery and murder, than they had ever been under their own flag.*

* M'Culloch quotes from the French traveller, Chevalier, the fact, that in the city of Mexico 900 bodies were annually carried to the House for the Dead ; the presumption being that they came to their death by violence.

CHAPTER X.

Puebla—Huamantla—Atlixco—Treaty of Peace—Conclusion.

THE crisis of the war was past. Mexico throughout **1847.**
her broad domains, was virtually conquered; and what followed was but as the dashing of the waves, after the storm is over.

We have seen, that when Scott left Puebla, he cut his own line of supplies; not being in force sufficient to garrison any place between that city and Mexico. At the final entrance of his troops into that capital, he had only 6,000 men.† If the army had failed to conquer, they had, in sober earnest, good reason, from past practices, to consider it probable that their infuriated enemy would kill them all.‡ Bitterly did the Mexicans reap the fruit of their former cruelties, by the almost superhuman energies put forth in fight by the Americans, and the unvarying success which it pleased the Almighty to give to their arms. The Mexican capital was not conquered by the American republic, as Carthage and other cities were by the Roman,—to be destroyed, or to become the sport of petty tyrants and a lawless soldiery, who in time would turn and become the destroyers of

† See Scott's dispatches.

(‡ See also Santa Anna's arrangements for cutting off all the Americans at Buena Vista.)

1847. their own country. Nothing was now asked of Mexico, conquered as she was, but to negotiate a treaty of peace, in which America stood ready to be generous. To bring forward a Mexican government, with which peace could be made, became, at this period, the difficult task of the well-meaning of both belligerent parties.

Santa Anna after leaving Mexico on the night of the 13th of September, was not heard of for some days. In the meantime, Colonel Childs, commander at Puebla, whose effective force amounted to only 247 men, and having 1,800 sick in the hospitals, had been closely besieged by the enemy, since the same date, the day of the battle of Chapultepec. On the 22d, the besiegers were encouraged by the appearance of Santa Anna, with some thousands of the remnant of his army. Col. Childs and his gallant band, though worn with watching, and wasted by fatigue, still refused the summons to surrender, and bravely continued their defence. But Santa Anna had heard of the approach of 3,000 recruits under General Lane,† on their march from Vera Cruz, to reinforce Gen. Scott; and he left Puebla on the 30th, to go to Pinal, where they were daily expected. Gen. Lane, on his part heard of the Mexican army, and turning from his direct course, he encountered it at *Huamantla*, with Santa Anna at its head; fought and defeated it,—losing eleven men, among whom was the well-known Capt. Walker of the Texan rangers. Gen. Lane arrived, October 12th, at Puebla, and relieved Col. Childs from a distressing siege of forty days. Lane again turned from

Sept. 22.
Santa Anna
at Puebla.

(† A part left
Vera Cruz,
Oct. 1, a part
under Major
Lally left
earlier.)

Oct. 9.
Huamantla.
Mex. loss
150.
Am. k. 13, w.
11.

his course to seek the enemy; and at *Atlixco*, ten leagues from Perote, he defeated a strong guerilla force under the well-known chief, Gen. Rea. By these guerilla parties, of which Atlixco had been the head-quarters, many Americans, found as stragglers, or in small parties, had been killed. Major Lally, in marching his command of 1,000 men from Vera Cruz to Jalapa, had lost 100 men, having been waylaid by them, with Rea at their head, four times.† In every instance, however, he defeated them with loss.

Santa Anna, now abandoned by his troops, resigned his offices on the 18th of October, and soon became a fugitive. The supreme power passed into the hands of Señor Peña y Peña, by virtue of his office as president of the Supreme Court. He forthwith sent his circulars, calling on the several states, in pathetic language, to send deputies to Queretaro, to treat for peace. A congress there assembled on the 12th of November, which appointed four commissioners, one of whom was Gen. Rincon, to arrange with Mr. Trist the plan of a treaty. In the meantime, Mr. Trist had lost the confidence of the American Executive, and his powers had been revoked. Nevertheless, with Gen. Scott's approbation, he presumed in this emergency, to act. On the 2d of February, the treaty was signed by Mr. Trist and the Mexican commissioners, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and twenty days afterwards it was submitted by the President of the United States to the Senate. That body adopted it with alterations. President Polk then ap-

1847.

Oct. 18.
Atlixco.
Mex. loss,
k. 219, w. 300.
Am. k. 1,
w. 1.

(† Aug. 10.
At Paso Ove-
jas.
12th, at Pru-
ente del Rey.
15th, at Cerro
Gordo.
19th, at Las
Animas.)

Nov. 11.
Mex. congress
appoint four
commission-
ers.

848.

Feb. 2.
The Treaty of
Guadalupe is
signed.

Feb. 22.
Laid before
the Senate of
the United
States.

1848. pointed two gentlemen, Mr. Sevier of the Senate, and Mr. Clifford, attorney-general, to proceed with the modified treaty to Queretaro. There, on laying it before the Mexican congress, the president eloquently urged its acceptance, and it was ratified by a large majority.

On the 21st of February, the beloved and venerated patriot, John Quincy Adams, who, since his presidency had served his country in the national legislature, fell from his seat during the debates of the House of Representatives, struck by a fatal paralysis. Congress in both its branches suspended public action; and its members were waiting as around the couch of a dying father. He expired, in Christian hope and resignation, on the 22d; saying, "This is the last of earth."

Feb. 23.
Death of Ex-
president J.
Q. Adams.

In March, Gen. Sterling Price moved with a force from New Mexico to Chihuahua; and from that city, sixty miles on the road to Durango; where he conquered, at *Santa Cruz de Rozales*, a Mexican army, making prisoners the commanding general, Angel Frias, and forty-two other officers.

March 16.
Rozales.
Force un-
known.
Mex. loss,
k. & w 233.
Am. k. & w.
about 20.

Peace was declared to the American army in Mexico, on the 29th of May, by Gen. Butler, who was, by order of the government, left in command of the army by Gen. Scott, he being about to return to the United States.

May 29.
Peace pro-
claimed by
Gen. Butler
in Mexico.

The treaty stipulated that all Mexico should be evacuated by the American armies within three months. Prisoners on each side were to be released; and Mexican captives, made by Indians within the limits of the United States, were to be restored. These limits, as

they affect Mexico, are to begin at the mouth of the Rio Grande,—thence to proceed along the deepest channel of that river to the southern boundary of New Mexico. From thence to the Pacific, they are to follow the river Gila, and the southern boundary of Upper California. The United States may, however, use the Colorado, for purposes of navigation, below the entrance of its affluent, the Gila. If it should be found practicable, and judged expedient, to construct a canal, road or railway, along the Gila, then both nations are to unite in its construction and use. The navigation of that river is to be free to both nations; and interrupted by neither. Mexican citizens within the limits of the relinquished territories of New Mexico and Upper California, are allowed a year to make their election—whether they will continue Mexican citizens, and remove their property, (in which case they are to receive every facility,) or whether they will remain and become citizens of the United States. This nation agrees to restrain the incursions of all the Indian tribes within its limits, against the Mexicans; and to return all Mexican captives hereafter made by these savages. In consideration of territory gained, the American government is to pay to Mexico fifteen millions of dollars; and also to assume her debts to American citizens, to the amount of three millions and a half more.

Three millions were paid to Mexico in hand; congress having the preceding winter placed that sum with the president, in anticipation of such an event; the remaining twelve millions to be paid in instalments.

1848.

Substance of
the Treaty of
Guadalupe.

1848.

The territory of *Wisconsin* was admitted into the American Union as a state, on the 29th of May 1848.

The Mexican treaty was brought home by Mr. Sevier; Mr. Clifford remaining in Mexico as American envoy. President Polk made his proclamation of peace between the two republics, on the 4th of July, 1848, the first day of our seventy-third national year.

July 4.
Peace pro-
claimed.

The American armies have evacuated Mexico. Distinguished generals, and other officers, have been received by their country with the honors due to those who have so well sustained the national character,—not only for courage, activity, endurance, discipline, and military science,—but for the nobler virtues of humanity. The remains of other officers, who died in the service of their country, have been brought home to be honored, in death; and to find their last repose among their friends.

And the soldiers too,—they who fought so bravely for their native land,—they have returned. Regiments that went forth full and fresh, have returned,—smitten and scathed. Many is the desolate hearth, to which the son, the husband, the father, shall return no more. No kindred eye shall weep at his grave. He is buried with the undistinguishable dead, who fell on the foreign battle-field, or died in the hospital. Twenty-five thousand American lives, it is calculated, have been sacrificed in this war; and about seventy-five millions of money expended. And we know that the sacrifice of Mexican life and property has been still greater. The number of Mexican soldiers, who fell in battle, greatly exceeded

that of the American ;—and who can tell how many of 1848.
 their women and children were killed in the bombard-
 ment of their cities.

Let the value of money be estimated by the good it may be made to do, and we shall then see the magnitude of the evils which, in a pecuniary way, war inflicts. Ireland was visited with famine in the winter of 1846-7, from the failure of crops, especially that of the potato. The benevolent among us were moved with compassion, and contributed money and food to her relief. The government in one instance sent a public ship to carry provisions thus contributed.† The very heart of affectionate Ireland overflowed with gratitude ; and England and Scotland, themselves sufferers in a less degree from the same cause, felt and praised our liberality. Thus, we blessed others, and were ourselves blessed in return ;—and the money which it cost us was about half a million of dollars ; whereas, we paid seventy-five millions, to kill and distress the Mexicans.

(† March 28.
 Sailed from
 Boston, the
 sloop-of-war
 Jamestown,
 Capt. Forbes.
 She anchored
 at Cork,
 April 22.)

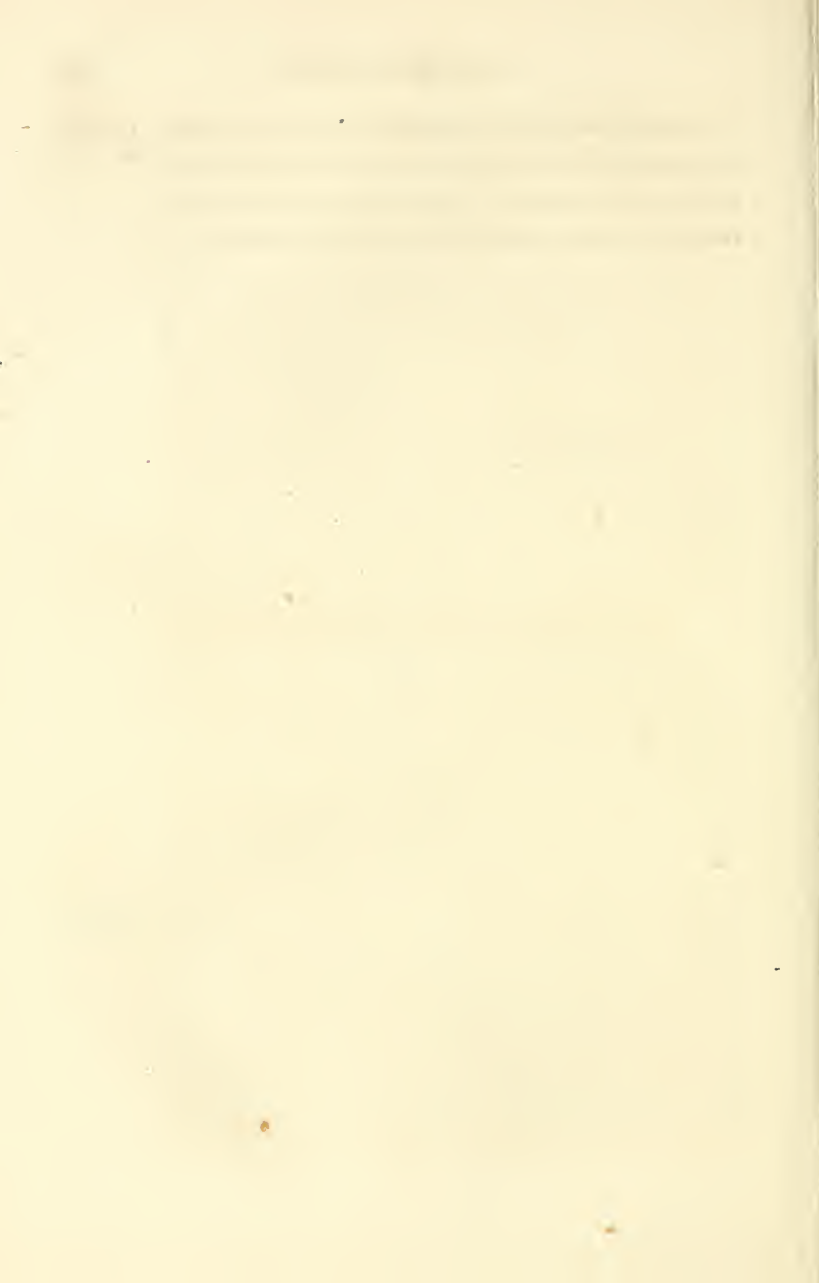
The time to act for the prevention of war, as of incendiarism, is when none is raging ; and those to move first in the cause of peace, should be nations and men, of undoubted courage and ability in war. The Mexican contest has placed our Republic, for the present time, eminently in that position. No country has at any period, shown braver soldiers, or better officers. Our government, from respect to the moral feeling of the nation, which wishes no territory gained by force, pays

Time, and
 persons to act
 for universal
 peace.

1848. to conquered Mexico the full price of the lands acquired from her ; yet is it none the less true, that these territories were won by the valor of our armies, and without conquest would not have been ours. They extend from ocean to ocean, the full breadth of the grand platform on which stands the American nation ; and the 300,000 emigrants, which come yearly to her shores, will soon people her waste places.

Some among the very first of our veteran officers are avowedly in favor of UNIVERSAL PEACE, as soon as means can be devised by which it may ensue, consistently with the existence of national law ; which, in its violation, has at present no other penalty than that of war. Why then should not our government—while yet the bereaved among us are sorrowing for the miseries which even a successful war has inflicted upon ourselves,—and the benevolent are grieving for those which our armies have been obliged to inflict upon others,—send some one of those veteran generals, while his laurels are yet fresh upon his brow, as a special envoy, to negotiate with Great Britain and other Christian powers, the immediate formation of a COUNCIL OF PEACE ? Such a Council, having its constitution founded in the law of nations, sitting alternately in the different countries, whose governments shall have sent delegates and sanctioned its special arrangements, has nothing visionary or impracticable in its scheme, now, when men move by steam, and send their thoughts by electricity. Could this great errand

of "PEACE ON EARTH" be accomplished, and that by the instrumentality of this nation, then, with peculiar emphasis, might PROGRESS be made the watchword of the nineteenth century, and of the Republic of America. 1848.



HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA.

[NOTE.—It was not until the author had completed the following pages, that she thought of writing a sketch of California. The plan of this sketch, going back as it does to the first discovery and settlement of that country, is different from the preceding “Last Leaves of American History,” and on that account it is placed before the reader as a separate article.]

CALIFORNIA.

LAST LEAVES

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks—Discovery and Settlement of Old and New California—Establishment of Missions by the Jesuits in Old California, and the Franciscans in New.

CALIFORNIA is the one theme which at present excites the whole American community, and each in his sphere feels the strong impulse which leads to action. The pursuit of wealth—the natural desire which every man feels to better his condition, has set in motion an almost incredible number of our most vigorous, enterprising, and useful men, particularly among the young. It is not the refuse of our society who are going to California, for the journey is expensive, and they cannot command the means. From all our cities and villages organized

1849.

Great excitement.

Character of the emigrants.

1849. companies are in motion, and there is scarce a hamlet

The past,
present, and
probable fu-
ture.

but sends an individual to go in search of gold to California. Europe has caught the excitement, and South America, and the Islands of both oceans ; and California, so lately a poor anarchical territory of an ill-governed state, is now attached as an integral part of the American Republic, and at the moment of her becoming so, discovered to possess immense mineral riches ; and a flood of emigration is hastening by sea and land, such as the earth has never seen before, to go to the same place, voluntarily and separately, without a leader.

In a Report just laid before Congress, of the committee to whom was referred the memorial from William H. Aspinwall and others, praying for aid in constructing a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama, the following estimate is made, which sets in a strong but not exaggerated light, the probable future importance of California : " It is believed by many who have had the best opportunities of forming an opinion, that one hundred thousand emigrants will go to that territory within a year from this time.—At the expiration of three years, the time proposed for the completion of the railroad, if the reports of the mineral wealth of California shall be found to be true, it would perhaps not be regarded as visionary to suppose that at least half a million of people will have found their way to it, who will be employed in collecting gold, mining operations, and commerce."

(Jan., 1853.
Not half the
estimated
population.
Gold discov-
ery in Aus-
tralia has
turned the
current.)

Not only is the desire of wealth, developed in action,

but the benevolent and religious feelings of the community are engaged in planning and executing, what may give to our Californian emigrants our best institutions.*

1849.

History is said to be the school of politics. It is certain that the statesman of California will have before him no ordinary task, in bringing her government to harmonize with the most enlightened views now prevalent concerning human polity. He should begin with as correct an understanding as may be attained, of what has been already done ; as therein will be found the causes of things existing. Truth, and that alone, leads to wisdom.

Correct history important to the Californian statesman.

The histories of Old and New California are so blended in their discovery and early settlement, that they cannot be separated ; and as the same method of settlement by missions prevailed in both, in this respect to understand the one, is to understand the other.

California owes its discovery to FERNANDO CORTEZ, the Spanish conqueror of Mexico. In 1534, FERNANDO DE GRIJALVA was sent by him to explore the coast of the Pacific ; and he discovered the peninsula. In the mean time, Cortez, ill-treated by the court of Spain, after his

Cortez.

1534.

Sends Grijalva.

* In New-York, on Sunday, February 18, 1849, all the Episcopal churches in the city took up collections for the purpose of constructing and sending out a church to St. Francisco, and of supporting a minister to officiate. Sermons suited to the occasion were preached in the churches. Other denominations are also active ; and the Tract, Bible, and other societies are awake.

- 1536.** great services, and seeking occupation for his restless and energetic mind, had determined to pursue the discovery in person; and in 1536, after Charles V had superseded his authority in Mexico by sending out a viceroy, Cortez sailed; and amidst incredible difficulties and dangers, he coasted both sides of the Californian Gulf. Finding that his affairs demanded his return, he went to Mexico, leaving FRANCISCO DE ULLOA to complete the survey of what was then called the Gulf of Cortez.* This expedition was accompanied by a pilot named *Domingo Cas-*
- 1538.** *tillo*, who made a map of the coast, including the mouth of the Colorado, laying down Old California as a peninsula. Nevertheless, it was afterwards, for more than a hundred years, generally supposed to be an island.

(See Robert-
son's Ameri-
ca, note 162.

- No settlement was attempted on this peninsula until 1596, when Philip II of Spain, in part attracted by the valuable pearl-fishery found on the coast, sent SEBASTIAN VISCAINO, who established a small colony of Mexicans at the bay de la Paz; but the natives, whom his people abused, refused to provide them food; and he returned with his company to Mexico. Again he was sent out to explore the coast in search of harbors, where the Spanish galleons employed in the East India trade, might find an asylum. Viscaino thus became the first *Spanish* discoverer of Upper California. He discovered and named *St. Diego* and *Monterey*, giving on his return a glowing description of the beauty and fertility of the country.

Philip III.

1596.

Sends out
Viscaino.

1602.

Discoveries of
Viscaino.

* This Gulf is also on very old maps laid down as the Vermillion Sea.

But the first discovery of Upper California was made **1579.**
 by SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, an *Englishman*, who, in 1579, visited the northern part of New California, and named it New Albion.*

Sir Francis Drake discovers Northern California.

After the voyage of Viscaïno, the Spanish sovereigns made many attempts to colonize Old California; but such had been the conduct of the pearl-fishers and other Europeans who had visited the country, that the natives hated, and so annoyed them, that no permanent settlement could be formed. Thus wearied with fruitless attempts and expenses, Charles II, the Spanish sovereign, acceded, 1697, to propositions from the Jesuits, to take California under their superintendence, for the object of converting the natives to Christianity.

1697.

Spanish grants.

The Presidio, or Presidency, was a kind of fort guarded by the military, the protectors of the neighboring missions. The missions were quadrangular inclosures of adobe, with gardens, to which the natives resorted to be fed, and taught religion and the useful arts. But their labor was exacted in return, and by degrees their dependence and obedience were made servitude and slavery.

Jesuit Missions in Old California.

The first of the presidios and missions were established by the Jesuits in Old California. It was not until

* With regard to the name, California, we are informed that it was received as belonging to the peninsula, from the time of its first discovery by Grijalva; but whether it was given in reference to the heat of the country, or whether it was supposed to have been so called by the natives, is not known.

1766. the king of Spain, Charles III, began to fear, from the progress of English colonization in America, that he might be anticipated in New California, that he gave orders to the Chevalier St. Croix, Viceroy of Mexico, to found missions and presidios in the ports of San Diego and Monterey. Expeditions by sea and land were set on foot. The Franciscan priests received the royal permission, to superintend the conversion of the Indians in New California, as the Jesuits had in the old province. The first mission in New California was established by Franciscans, in 1769, at *St. Diego*; and the second, in 1770, at Monterey.

The king of Spain improves waste lands.

Franciscan Missions in New California.

The following list of the missions of New California, with the date of the first settlement and the number of inhabitants of each in 1802, is copied from the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, whose authority is Humboldt.

| Names. | Founded. | Population in 1802. |
|------------------------------|----------|---------------------|
| 1. San Diego, | 1769 | 1560 |
| 2. San Carlos de Monterey, | 1770 | 700 |
| 3. San Antonio de Padua, | 1771 | 1050 |
| 4. San Gabriel, | 1771 | 1050 |
| 5. San Luis Obispo, | 1772 | 700 |
| 6. San Francisco, | 1776 | 820 |
| 7. San Juan Capistrano, | 1776 | 1000 |
| 8. Santa Clara, | 1777 | 1300 |
| 9. San Buenaventura, | 1782 | 950 |
| 10. Santa Barbara, | 1786 | 1100 |
| 11. La Purissima Concepcion, | 1787 | 1000 |
| 12. Soledad, | 1791 | 570 |
| 13. Santa Cruz, | 1794 | 440 |
| 14. San Jose, | 1797 | 630 |
| 15. San Miguel, | 1797 | 600 |
| 16. San Fernando, | 1797 | 600 |

Names, &c. of the Missions in New California.

| Names. | Founded. | Population in 1802. | 1802. |
|------------------------------|----------|---------------------|--------------|
| 17. San Juan Bautista, | 1797 | 960 | |
| 18. San Luis Rey de Francia, | 1798 | 600 | |

According to Humboldt, the population of New California, including the Indians attached to the soil, and who had begun to cultivate their fields, was doubled in twelve years. In 1790, there were 7,748 souls, and in 1802 they had increased to 15,630.

We further quote, from the same authority, the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, the following description of the manner in which the foundations of society were laid in that beautiful region, which Providence has now placed under a new, and we hope it may prove, a regenerating influence.

“The number of whites, mestizoes and mulattoes, may be estimated at 1,300, upon whom alone the government can depend for the defence of the coast, in case of any military attack by an European power. The smallness of this number, so disproportionate to the fertility and extent of the country, is owing entirely to the absurd regulations by which the Spanish presidios are governed, and the principles of colonization followed by Spain, which are in general directly opposite to the true interests, both of the mother country and colonies. ‘It is truly distressing,’ says the Spanish navigator, Galiano, ‘that the military, who pass a painful and laborious life, cannot in their old age settle in the country, and employ themselves in agriculture. The prohibition of building houses in the neighborhood of the presidios is contrary

Latter part of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century.

The Missions under the Spanish Padres.

Unenlightened policy of Spain.

1802. to all the dictates of sound policy. If the whites were permitted to employ themselves in the cultivation of the soil, and the rearing of cattle, and if the military, by establishing their wives and children in cottages, could prepare an asylum against the indigence to which they are too frequently exposed in their old age, New California would soon become a flourishing colony and resting-place of the greatest utility for the Spanish navigators who trade between Peru, Mexico, and the Philippine islands.'

The country
not prosper-
ous.

1832.

“The Governor of the Californias resides at Monterey, with a salary of 4,000 piastres. His authority is confined entirely to the garrisons, and the independent Indians; for he is not allowed to interfere with the affairs of the different missions, but is only obliged to grant assistance when they claim it. His real subjects consist only of four hundred military, distributed in the different presidios, which are all the means that are required for keeping in subjection about 50,000 wandering Indians. Every parish is governed by two missionaries, whose authority over the converted Indians is absolute; and *the domestic economy of each mission differs scarcely in any respects from the regulations of a West India plantation.* ‘The men and women,’ says La Perouse, ‘are assembled by the sound of a bell; one of the priests conducts them to their work, to church, and to all their other exercises. We mention it with pain, the resemblance is so perfect, that we saw men and women loaded with irons, others in the stocks, and at length the noise of the

Little power
of the Govern-
or.

Indian Sla-
very.

Religion en-
forced.

strokes of a whip struck our ears, this punishment being also admitted, but not exercised with much severity.'

1802.

“The utmost regularity and order pervades these religious communities. Seven hours a day are allotted to labor, and two to prayers; they have each a certain allowance of food, which consists of boiled corn and maize, and which is prepared and served out in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. On festivals, the ration is beef, which many of them eat raw. Corporal punishments are inflicted on both sexes, for the neglect of pious exercises, or for the smallest dishonesty; that of the women, however, is private, while the men are exposed to the view of all their fellow converts, that their punishment may serve as an example. As soon as an Indian is baptized, he immediately becomes a member of the community, and subject to its laws. On no pretence whatever is he allowed to return to his rancheria* or family; his fate is as decided as if he had pronounced eternal vows, and should he escape, he is brought back by force, and under pain of the lash is compelled to join in the solemn devotions of the altar, and to offer up his unwilling prayers to that Being, who desires not the homage of the lips, but the free and unreserved worship of the heart.

Religious exercises and meals.

Punishments.

The baptized Indian separated from his family.

Compulsory religion.

“This system of government has been attempted to be justified from the character and disposition of its subjects. They are represented as a nation of children that never

* The hamlet near the mission, where are collected the residences of the converted Indians.

1802.

(† No doubt there is much truth in this. The U. S. by a regular system treat the Indians as wards.

arrive at manhood ; they are small and weak, entirely destitute of that love of liberty and independence which characterizes the northern nations, and equally ignorant of their industry and arts. They have very few ideas, are almost incapable of reasoning, and have so little stability, that unless continually treated as children,† they would escape from those who have been at the trouble of instructing them, and again return to their original barbarism. But if the Californian Indian be thus destitute of the ideas and qualities of men, he will, by such means, be continually kept so. He has no property that he can call his own.† His labor and actions are entirely under the direction of his masters, whom he has been taught to regard as superior beings.

(† The slaves of our Southern States have.)

* * * * *

Policy of depression.

“The great number of both sexes who are in a state of celibacy, and have taken vows to continue so, and the invariable policy of the Spanish government to admit only one religion, and to employ the most violent means in support of it, will incessantly oppose a new impediment to its increase.”*

Little known of the early history of C.

California has heretofore attracted so little notice, that mere sketches concerning it are all which can be found in standard English authorities. Of these, perhaps, Dr. Robertson, on early American history, occupies the first place. Although he had carefully studied for his History of America, a host of Spanish writers, yet the follow-

* Edinburgh Encyclopedia. First Am. Ed. 1832.

ing extract comprises all that his text contains of California. 1836.

“The peninsula of California, on the other side of the Vermillion Sea, (the Gulf of California,) seems to have been less known to the ancient Mexicans than the provinces which I have mentioned.* It was discovered by Cortez in the year 1536. During a long period it continued to be so little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in most charts it was represented as an island, not as a peninsula. Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from its situation, must be very desirable, the Spaniards have made small progress in peopling it. Towards the close of the last century,

Dr. Robertson's account of the first discovery of California.

* These are Sonora and Cinaloa, in which valuable gold mines had been discovered. “At Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora,” says Dr. Robertson, “they entered a plain of fourteen leagues in extent, in which, at the depth of only sixteen inches, they found gold in grains of such a size, that some of them weighed nine marks, and in such quantities, that in a short time, with a few laborers, they collected a thousand marks of gold in grains, even without taking time to wash the earth that had been dug, which appeared to be so rich, that persons of skill computed that it might yield what would be equal in value to a million of pesos. Before the end of the year 1771, above two thousand persons were settled in Cineguilla, under the government of proper magistrates, and the inspection of several ecclesiastics. As several other mines, not inferior in richness to that of Cineguilla, have been discovered, both in Sonora and Cinaloa, it is probable that these neglected and thinly inhabited provinces may soon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spanish empire of America.”

Gold mines in Sonora.

1700. the Jesuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and in civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it as complete as that which they possessed in their missions in Paraguay, and they labored to introduce into it the same policy, and to govern the natives by the same maxims. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs and operations, they seem studiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as so disagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil as so barren, that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives could have induced them to settle there. Several public-spirited citizens endeavored to undeceive their sovereigns, and to give a better view of California ; but in vain. At length, on the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, the court of Madrid, as prone at that juncture to suspect the purity of the order's intentions, as formerly to confide in them with implicit trust, appointed Don Joseph Galvez, whose abilities have since raised him to the high rank of minister for the Indies, to visit that peninsula. His account of the country was favorable ; he found the pearl fishery on its coast to be valuable, and he discovered mines of gold of a very promising appearance. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable, that, if the population of these provinces shall increase in the manner which I have supposed, California may, by degrees, receive from them such a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the desolate and useless districts of the Spanish empire."

The Jesuits in Old California.

About 1752 the Jesuits are accused of depreciating the country.

The Jesuits were expelled from Spain in 1776, the year of American Independ.

Pearl-fishery valuable.

California reckoned a desolate and worthless district.

Whether the Jesuits did slander the country, as Dr. Robertson and others suppose, is somewhat problematical. A French authority which we here quote, gives a different account of their report. This writer confirms the history which we have given of the first discovery of California, omitting however the survey of Grijalva, made under the direction of Cortez, two years before he went in person to the peninsula.

1750.

About the time in which the Jesuits are accused.

“Après que Fernand Cortez eut fait la conquête de l’ancien Mexique, il tenta de nouvelles découvertes dans les pays voisins, découvrit en 1534, le bout de la Presque Isle de la Californie. En 1539 il envoya François d’Ulloa avec deux bâtimens, pour continuer la découverte. Il visita la côte orientale de la Californie, entra dans le golfe et avança jusqu’au fond. Depuis ce tems les Espagnols y ont fait des expéditions, ont donné des noms aux Caps et aux Ports. En 1683, le Vice-Roi du Mexique fit construire un Fort et une Eglise dans ce pays. Les Jésuites pénétrèrent dans la Californie, y construisirent une habitation. *Selon eux c’est un des beaux pays du monde : le terrain y produit abondamment sans culture. On en tireroit un grand parti, si on y apportoit tout l’attention qu’il merite.*”*

Quotation from M. Richer, a French writer.

Jesuits defended from the accusation of selfish slander.

* “After Fernando Cortez had made the conquest of ancient Mexico, he attempted new discoveries in the neighboring countries, and discovered in 1534 the extremity of the peninsula of California. In 1539 he sent Francisco d’Ulloa with two vessels to continue the discovery. He visited the eastern coast of California, entered, and advanced to the bottom of the gulf. Since this time the Spaniards

1683. have made expeditions there, and have given names to capes and ports. In 1683 the Viceroy of Mexico built a fort and a church in this country. The Jesuits have penetrated into California, and built a habitation (for a mission). *According to them, it is one of the most beautiful countries in the world: the earth there produces abundantly without culture. Great advantages might be drawn from it, if it attracted all the attention which it merits.*—*Histoire Moderne.* Pour servir de suite a l’*Histoire Ancienne* de M. Rollin. Continué par “M. Richer.” Vol. xx. p. 10.

CHAPTER II.

The Spanish System of Treatment to the Indians, compared with that of the American Government—Account of Upper California—its Presidio, Missions, &c., in 1822.

ORDINARILY the river keeps the course which was begun by the rivulet. The little city of Rome was commenced in the military spirit; when her borders were spreading over Italy it was by offensive war; and when her empire was grasping the civilized world, the identical character of military aggression remained. In California there will be tendencies coming from the order of things already established. Are those tendencies good? encourage them. Are they bad? suffer them not to remain, but root them out with an unsparing hand. In the sudden tide of a great immigration, the power now exists. The affluent welling up from a fountain just burst from the earth, is so much larger and stronger in its current, than the original long and little stream, that now its force may be stemmed. But once fall into its course, and the power to change is lost.

1847.

Nations like rivers, apt to keep their first course.

California may and should be an exception.

We believe that the system of the priests respecting

1847. the Indians was radically bad, and should at once be changed for that of the United States, in which the Indians are regarded as wards of the government. But we perceive that there is a fashion of speaking on this subject in California, which Americans who go there imbibe, which throws a veil over the truth of history, and is calculated to mislead the understanding and the conscience of those who ought to be the founders of a new order of things. Col. Fremont, in his late able "Geographical Memoir," thus speaks of the rule of the priests and the character of the Indians: "Under the mild and paternal administration of the '*Fathers*' the docile character of the Indians was made available for labor; and thousands were employed in the fields, the orchards, and the vineyards." We could quote other authors who have used similar language.

The treatment of the Indians should be changed.

Difference of opinion respecting the "*Fathers*."

This is not, we think, a true picture of the Californian Indian. By nature, he is indolent. But by force or necessity, or by an appeal, not to his reason, but to the strong superstition of the Indian nature, he may be, as he was by the "*Fathers*," brought to submit, and to labor; and thus minister to the accommodation of the whites. And we object, in the second place, to an administration being called mild and paternal, which brings men by force to the baptismal font, and then, by military government and superstitious fear, obliges them to cut the ties of family and kindred, and settle into a state of slavery; because the Indian race can thus "be made available for labor." The remains of this system, as we

The Indian should be treated not as a mere convenience, but as an improvable and a sensitive being.

shall see, are still in California, though in a modified form—the tyranny begun by ecclesiastics, being carried on by seculars. We hope Americans will, as we have already remarked, pursue the more noble policy adopted by our general government, which regards the well-being and the improvement of the Indian himself, and which is therefore truly paternal. 1847.

We have, in the foregoing pages, given accounts of Protestant writers respecting the arrangements of the ecclesiastical Fathers of New California, and the miserable condition of society in which those arrangements had resulted. We naturally desire to know, to what extent Catholic writers would accredit their statements. Truth, concerning this interesting region, to which so many in whose fate we are interested are now hastening, we most anxiously desire to learn and to teach. Heretofore California can scarcely be said to have had either a geography or a history. But such is now its actual increase, and such its splendid prospects, that throughout the land it is becoming the one luminous point to which attention is attracted. We hope, that, among other good objects, those who go thither, will seek to aid the historian in correctly settling the foundations of its history.†

Will Catholic writers accredit Protestant accounts.

† The writer will thank any one to correct errors or afford new and pertinent facts.

Mr. Edwin Bryant, who, in 1846, travelled overland to New California, has, with praiseworthy zeal, talent, and industry, given us an interesting volume,* in which

Merits of Mr. E. Bryant's book.

* "What I saw in California." By Edwin Bryant. We have, for brevity, made occasional omissions and alterations in phraseology

1822. he has done no little service to history. He has inserted "an extract and a translation from a Spanish Catholic writer" of 1822, which not only affords us the means of making the desired comparison between Catholic and Protestant authorities, but gives us the history of the settlements at a later date. From this article we copy the following facts.

Account of
Upper Cal. by
a Spanish Ca-
tholic in 1822.

GOVERNMENT.—Upper California, on account of its small population, takes the character of a territory, the government of which is under the charge of a commandant general, whose powers depend upon the president and congress of the Republic of Mexico. The inhabitants of the territory are divided amongst the *Presidios*, *Missions*, and *Towns*.

The Presidio,
or Presidency.

PRESIDIOS.—The necessity of protecting the apostolic predication, was the cause of the formation of the presidios. That of San Diego was the first; Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco, were built afterwards. The form of all of them is nearly the same, a square inclosure of adobe, 200 yards in each front, and about twelve feet in height. Within are a chapel, storehouses, houses for the commandant, officers and troops. At the entrance of the presidio, there are quarters for the soldiers composing the *corps de garde*.

The buildings
contained.

The buildings in the presidios were placed there for defence against surprise from the wild Indians. But

and arrangement—but to Mr. Bryant's translation we are indebted the same as if the quotation were entirely verbatim.

1822.

this cause having ceased they ought to be demolished, as they are daily threatening to become complete ruins; and from the limited spaces contained in the inclosures, they must be very incommodious. Several private individuals have built comfortable houses without the presidios. Great emulation in building is evinced; and no doubt but in a short time there will be considerable towns in California.

At the distance of one, or, at the most, two miles from the presidio, and near to the anchoring-ground,* is a fort, which has a few pieces of artillery of small calibre. The battalion of each presidio is made up of eighty or more mounted men, a number of auxiliary troops, and a detachment of artillery. The commandant of each presidio is the captain of its respective company, and he has charge of all things relating to the marine department.

Military defences.

MISSIONS.—The missions contained in the territory are twenty-one. They were built at different epochs; that of San Diego, the most southerly, in 1769; its distance from the presidio of the same name, is two leagues. The rest were built successively, according to circumstances and necessity. The edifices in some of these missions are more extensive than in others, but in form they are all nearly alike. They are all made of mud-bricks (adobe). In all of them may be found commo-

St. Diego the first mission in Up. Cal. founded.

* The four *presidios* previously named, are all sea-ports; not so the *missions*.

1822. dious habitations for the ministers, storehouses in which
 Accommoda- to keep their goods, proportional granaries, offices for soap-
 tions. makers, weavers, and blacksmiths,—and large gardens,
 Buildings of horse and cattle pens, and independent apartments for
 the Missions. Indian youths of each sex. A well-built and much or-
 namented church forms a part of each mission.

RANCHERIAS.—The Indians reside about two hundred
 yards from the mission building, in a place called the
rancheria. In most of the missions the rancheria is a
 confined structure of adobe, while in others the Indians
 are allowed, according to their primitive custom, to build
 their village of wigwams; which being made of sticks,
 and covered with bulrushes, can easily be destroyed and
 renewed, which their uncleanly habits make desirable.
 Opposite the rancherias, and near to the mission, is
 placed a small garrison, with proportionate rooms, for a
 corporal and five soldiers, with their families. This
 small garrison is sufficient to overawe the *gentile* In-
 dians,* *there having been some examples made, which*
causes them to respect this small force. Besides keeping
 the Indians in subjection, they run post with a monthly
 correspondence, or with any extraordinary message that
 may be necessary for government.

(Some ne-
 gro quarters
 in the South-
 ern States,
 are of brick,
 two stories, a
 small garden
 attached.)

Means by
 which the In-
 dians are kept
 in order.

THE PADRES.—All the missions in Upper California
 are under the charge of religious men of the order of

The unconverted Indians in California are called *gentiles*; an
 odd application of a term used in Scripture, not for those who are
 not Christians, but for those who are not Jews.

San Francisco. At the present time their number is twenty-seven, most of them of an advanced age. Each mission has one of these fathers for its administrator, and he holds absolute authority. The tilling of the ground, the gathering of the harvest, the slaughtering of the cattle, the weaving, and every thing that concerns the mission, is under the direction of the fathers, without any other person interfering in any way whatever, so that if a mission has the good fortune to be superintended by an industrious and discreet padre, the Indians have in abundance all the real necessaries of life; at the same time *the nakedness and misery of any one mission are a palpable proof of the inactivity of its director.*

Absolute
power of the
Padres.

EXTENT OF THE MISSIONS, NUMBERS, &c.—The missions extend their possessions from one extremity of the territory to the other, and have made the limits of one mission from those of another. Though they do not require all this land for their agriculture and the maintenance of their stock, yet they have appropriated the whole—always strongly opposing any individual who may wish to settle himself or his family on any piece of land between them. But it is to be hoped that the necessity of increasing *the people of reason** and augmenting

The Priests
seek to mono-
polize all the
land.

* It is thus that the white inhabitants are distinguished in California, and it betokens an entire acquiescence in the fact of the innate superiority of the white race—a superiority, which in the political family should be, like that of the father in the domestic circle, to seek the means of providing for, making happy, and improving the whole.

1822. private property, will cause the government to take adequate measures for the interests of all. Amongst all the missions there are about 21,500 Catholic Indians. Of these, some missions have 3000 or perhaps 4000, whilst others have scarcely 400; and the riches of the missions are in proportion. Besides the Indians already spoken of, each mission has a considerable number who live chiefly on farms annexed.

The wealth of the Padre according to the number of his Slaves.

Californian Indians an inferior race.

CHARACTER AND CONDITION OF THE INDIANS.—The Indians are naturally careless, uncleanly, and of very limited mental capacity. In the small arts they are not deficient in ideas of imitation, but they never will be inventors. Their true character is that of being revengeful and timid. The education they receive in their infancy is not the proper one to develop their reason, and if it were, they seem not to be capable of any good impression. All these Indians, are unhealthy and physically feeble; and the records of births and deaths show *ten deaths to one birth!*—Such is the assertion of a Spanish authority in 1822, which is a period within the vaunted reign of the old Spanish padres.

PRODUCTIONS AND COMMERCE—AGRICULTURE, &c.—The general productions of the country are, the breed of the larger class of cattle and sheep, horses, wheat, maize or Indian corn, beans, peas, and other articles. The vegetables and garden fruits which are produced in the missions more to the south are in great variety. There the grape and the olive grow in abundance. Of all the

The grape and olive.

1822.

articles of production, the most lucrative is the large cattle, their hides and tallow affording an active commerce.

The only articles which foreign vessels seek on this coast, are hides and tallow ; for which they barter in the territory. It is well known that at any of these ports there is no possibility of realizing any money, for here it does not circulate. The goods imported by foreign vessels are intended to facilitate the purchase of hides and tallow, it being well known that the missions have no interest in money, but desire such goods as are necessary for the Indians. Several persons who have brought goods to sell for nothing but money, have not been able to sell them.

Hides and tallow the staple commodities.

1816.

It is now about six years since hides and tallow were first gathered for commerce. The annual number of hides sold to foreign vessels is about 35,000, and the amount of tallow about twenty-five pounds for each hide. Flax, linen, wine, olive oil, grain, and other agricultural productions might exist in profusion if there were stimulants to excite industry ; but this not being the case, there is just grain enough sown and reaped for home consumption. Were it not for the want of sufficient land, of which the inhabitants cannot obtain a rightful ownership, farming operations would be much more extensive. All the presidial companies are composed of the natives of the country ; but most of them are entirely indolent, it being very rare for any individual to strive to augment his fortune. Dancing, horse-riding, and gambling occupy all their time. The arts are entirely un-

About the time when the trade in hides began.

1816. known, and I am doubtful if there is one individual who exersises any trade ; very few understand the first rudiments of letters, and the other sciences are unknown among them.

Towns in
1822, few and
small.

TOWNS—THE WHITE RACE.—The towns contained in this district are three, the most populous being that of Angeles, containing 1200 inhabitants ; St Joseph's, 600 ; and the village of Branciforte, 200. They are all formed imperfectly and without order, each person having built his own house on the spot he thought most convenient for himself.

Healthfulness
of the whites.

The whites are in general robust, healthy, and well made. The age of eighty and one hundred has always been common in this country ; most infirmities are unknown here, and the freshness and robustness of the people show the beneficial influence of the climate ; the women, in particular, have always the roses blooming on their cheeks.

CHAPTER III.

Lewis and Clarke's Expedition in the years 1803-4-5.—Fremont's
Exploration to the South Pass, 1842.

HAVING now shown the condition of California while under the Spanish and Mexican governments, we next proceed with some account of the steps by which, among us, attention was called to this country, information obtained, and interest excited. This will lead to the consideration of the various overland routes by which it is approached, and in this point of view its history is connected with that of Oregon.

History connected with that of Oregon.

Oregon, as has been stated, became a territory of the United States by means of the discovery of Capt. Grey, which was made in the year 1792, 213 years after that of Upper California by Sir Francis Drake.

1792.
Grey's discovery.

At the beginning of the present century, the vast region containing the head waters of the Missouri and other western affluents of the Mississippi, were as little known as the interior of Africa. The first exploration made by the government of the United States was set on foot by President Jefferson, shortly after the acquisition of Louisiana; and conducted by MERIWETHER LEWIS, a

In the beginning of the 19th century, the region of the Rocky Mountains unknown.

1802. native of Virginia, a man eminently fitted for the bold and arduous undertaking. Lewis was accompanied and

Lewis and Clarke, sent by Jefferson, make surveys in the years 1803-4-5.

aided by Clarke. In the year 1803, they travelled up the Missouri to the Great Falls, when leaving that stream, they pursued a westerly course, crossed the Rocky Mountains in about lat. 47°, and soon after struck upon the waters of the Columbia. They examined its main branches, and followed its course to the Pacific Ocean. Thus they became the first explorers of that great river, and by this means, the title of the United States to the region which was watered by the Columbia and its affluents, was confirmed. From the favorable accounts which they gave of the country on their return, a few American settlers were led thither. The first permanent

1808.

First settlement.

establishment made in Oregon was a trading-house of the Missouri Fur Company established in 1808, on Lewis

1811.

Astoria founded.

river. In 1811 the Pacific Fur Company, under John Jacob Astor, of New-York, founded Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia.

In the meantime Great Britain laid claim to Oregon, especially the northern portion; and the Hudson Bay Fur Company occupied, with their trading-houses, some of the best locations in the country. This joint occupancy of American and British subjects was sanctioned by the treaty of 1818 with great Britain, and continued until the treaty of 1846, when Oregon, with the boundary of 49°, the former extreme northern limit of the Republic, was relinquished to the United States.

Joint occupancy of Oregon from 1818 to 1846.

After the surveys of Lewis and Clarke, little geo-

graphical light was thrown upon the regions beyond the Rocky Mountains, and the routes by which they were approached, till 1842. Early in the spring of that year, Capt. Fremont, an officer of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, received orders from the American Executive, through Col. Abert, the chief of that bureau, to explore, and report upon the country, between the frontiers of Missouri and the South Pass, in the Rocky Mountains, and on the line of the Kansas and Great Platte rivers.

1842.

Fremont sent to explore the route through the South Pass.

In the early part of June, Capt. Fremont left the mouth of the Kansas—travelled along its fertile valley—then struck off upon the sterile bank of the Platte—followed its South Fork to St. Vrain's Fort—thence north-erly to Fort Laramie, on the North Fork of the same river. Following up from this point, the North Fork, and then its affluent, the Sweet-Water river, he was conducted, by a gentle ascent, to that wonderful gap in the Rocky Mountains, called the South Pass; which he reached on the 7th of August.

June 10, Fremont leaves the mouth of the Kansas.

July 15, at Ft. Laramie.

August 17, the South Pass.

As this natural gateway between the portions of our Republic, divided by these formidable mountains, has become a point of great importance, we insert Capt. Fremont's description in his own words. "About six miles from our encampment brought us to the summit. The ascent had been so gradual, that with all the intimate knowledge possessed by Carson, who had made this country his home for seventeen years, we were obliged to watch very closely to find the place at which

Fremont's description of the South Pass.

1842. we had reached the culminating point. This was between two low hills, rising on either hand fifty or sixty feet. When I looked back at them, from the foot of the immediate slope on the western plain, their summits appeared to be about one hundred and twenty feet above. From the impression on my mind at this time, and subsequently on our return, I should compare the elevation which we surmounted immediately at the Pass, to the ascent of the Capitol hill from the avenue, at Washington. It is difficult for me to fix positively the breadth of this Pass.

* * * * * It will be seen that it in no manner resembles the places to which the term is commonly applied—nothing of the gorge-like character and winding ascents of the Alleghany passes in America; nothing of the Great St. Bernard and Simplon passes in Europe. Approaching it from the mouth of the Sweet Water, a sandy plain, 120 miles long, conducts, by a gradual and regular ascent, to the summit, about 7,000 feet above the sea; and the traveller, without being reminded of any change by toilsome ascents, suddenly finds himself on the waters which flow to the Pacific ocean. By the route we had travelled, the distance from Fort Laramie is 320 miles, or 950 from the mouth of the Kansas. Continuing our march, we reached, in eight miles from the Pass, the Little Sandy, one of the tributaries of the Colorado, or Green River, of the Gulf of California.”

Not a mountain gorge.

7,000 feet the height of the South Pass.

Wonderful natural gateway.

Mr. Edwin Bryant confirms this extraordinary account, and gives further interesting particulars. In his Journal, under date of July 12, 1846, he says, “The gap

in the mountain is many miles in breadth. The ascent of the Platte and Sweet Water has been so gradual, that although the elevation of the Pass above the sea is, according to some observations, between seven and eight, and others, nine and ten thousand feet, yet from the surface we have travelled over, we have been scarcely conscious of rising to the summit of a high ridge of mountains. The temperature has given us the strongest admonitions of our position. The Pass, where the emigrant trail crosses it, is in latitude about $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north, and longitude $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ degrees west from Washington city. The wagon trail, after we reach the summit, passes two or three miles over a level surface, between low sloping elevations composed of sand and clay, and covered with a vegetation now brown and dead, when it descends, by a gentle declivity, to a spring known to emigrants as the "Pacific Spring," the water from which, flows into the Colorado river of the West, and is emptied into the Gulf of California."

1846.

Extract from
Bryant's
Journal, July
12, 1846.

In examining the accounts of travellers, we notice every thing material concerning emigration. While in the valley of the Kansas, (June 17) Capt. Fremont learned that a party of emigrants of sixteen families, sixty-four persons, had preceded his party, who were going to the Columbia river, conducted by Dr. White, an agent of the United States government of Oregon Territory. July 2d, Fremont passed near where a party of Oregon emigrants had encamped, and at Fort Laramie met one Oregon party returning. They had proceeded

Emigrants for
Oregon.

1842.

June 17.

1842. beyond Fort Hall, when they became, with reason, alarmed at the hostile attitude of the savages. They were, however, led safely, in retracing their perilous route, by Mr. Fitzpatrick (a person often honorably mentioned by Fremont and others) and were returning under the conduct of Mr. Bridger; the same, doubtless, whose name is now given to a Fort beyond the South Pass. Although Capt. Fremont saw many parties of Indians, yet this is the amount of what he saw and heard of civilized emigrants, in his solitary route in the summer of 1842. All of the few, that he saw or heard of, were for Oregon—not one for California.

In 1842, no emigrants on the land route for California.

With the survey of the South Pass was accomplished the duty assigned him for that year, and he returned after completing it. Of the road which he had passed over he says, "From the mouth of the Kansas to the Green River valley, west of the Rocky Mountains, *there is no such thing as a mountain road on the line of communication.*"

Among the party who accompanied Fremont was one man too remarkable to be passed over without notice. This was his guide, the hunter, Christopher, or Kit Carson, a name which will be remembered for public services, in connection with great acquisitions to geographical knowledge, and also as the impersonation of many of the best traits of humanity. We ever find Kit Carson, unselfish, faithful, efficient, untiring, quick in action, and full of resources;—free and fearless as the north wind, yet kind and gentle as the south. Those to

Excellent character of Kit Carson.

whom he renders his voluntary service, he inspires with a loving confidence, which makes the tongue or the pen linger, while they write or speak of him, as though the subject were pleasant. How little, in his innate meekness, did Kit Carson suppose, that he was to be a famous man, and have his name in books, and even on maps,—a lake and a river bearing his name. He has probably been the greatest traveller over the regions extending from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and is the best guide through them, of any man living ; and he has also performed acts of genuine heroism, some of which we shall hereafter relate.

1842.

Kit Carson
one of the
heroes of his
time.

Fremont's book is open before me, where a little incident is so graphically related as to be almost equal to a portrait. This incident also shows the perils of travellers through desolate prairies, and that the American Indian still inspires terror.

“The next morning (June 22) we had a specimen of the false alarms to which all parties in these wild regions are subject. A man, who was a short distance in the rear, came spurring up in great haste, shouting, Indians! Indians! He had made out twenty-seven. I immediately halted ; arms were examined and put in order ; the usual preparations made ; and Kit Carson, springing upon one of the hunting horses, crossed the river, and galloped off into the opposite prairies, to obtain some certain intelligence of their movements. Mounted on a fine horse, without a saddle, and scouring bareheaded over the prairies, Carson was one of the finest pictures of a

Kit's eque-
strian portrait.

1842. horseman I have ever seen. A short time enabled him to discover that the Indian war-party of twenty-seven, consisted of six elk, who had been gazing curiously at our caravan as it passed by, and were now scampering off at full speed."

CHAPTER IV.

Fremont's Discoveries on his second Expedition in 1843.

So ably had Captain Fremont fulfilled his mission, that he was sent by the government the following year, on a second expedition, whose objects were to make explorations which should form a connection with his preceding reconnoissance, and with the surveys of Commander Wilkes of the Expedition on the Pacific coast, so as to give a connected survey of the interior of our continent. Of the information concerning California elicited by Capt. Wilkes, we shall speak hereafter. Capt. Fremont set out earlier than the preceding year and took with him thirty-nine persons, a larger party than that of 1842, by nearly one half. He also took for protection against hostile savages a brass twelve-pound howitzer and three soldiers to manage it. Capt. Fremont had again an interesting companion in Mr. Preuss, whose drawings illustrate the history of all his expeditions. Mr. Fitzpatrick was guide.

Fremont set out on his former track ; but instead of striking from the Kansas to the Platte, he followed the

1843.

Fremont ordered on a second expedition.

March 7,
at the mouth
of the
Kansas.
Party, 39.

1843. Kansas to the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill Forks, which two streams together form that river. Pursuing for some days the course of the Republican, he then crossed to the South Fork of the Platte, and was at St. Vrain's Fort on the 4th of July. Here he turned, and following up for a time the South Fork of the Platte, came upon an affluent of the Arkansas, and pursued it to the parent stream, near the location of the Boiling (or effervescing) Springs, whose waters Mr. Preuss (a German) found to much resemble those of Seltzer.

July 4,
at St. Vrain's
Fort.

July 18,
at the Arkan-
sas.

Here Capt. Fremont was likely to meet a great disappointment in regard to an expected and much needed recruit of mules, but he had the good fortune to meet and again secure the services of his "reliable friend, Mr. Christopher Carson," whom he immediately dispatched to Bent's Fort to procure the needed supply. Returning to St. Vrain's, he found the animals collected, and already at the Fort awaiting his arrival.

July 23,
St. Vrain's
Fort.

Capt. Fremont here divided the party. Taking with himself thirteen men, he sent the remainder under Mr. Fitzpatrick, the guide, by the ordinary route to Oregon, through the South Pass, to Fort Hall on Snake River, where he was to meet them; he then took a north-westerly course and ascended the mountain, following the *Câche à la Poudre*, one of the head streams of the Platte. The party then travelled at an elevation of seven or eight thousand feet on a high plateau, which forms the dividing ridge, between the two oceans bounding the continent.

On the 21st of August, now exploring the eastern part of Upper California, Fremont was in the fertile and picturesque valley of Bear River, and approaching by its course the *Great Salt Lake*. "We were now," said he, "entering a region which for us possessed a strange and extraordinary interest. We were upon the waters of the famous lake which forms a salient point among the remarkable geographical features of the country, and around which, the vague and superstitious accounts of the trappers had thrown a delightful obscurity, which we anticipated pleasure in dispelling, but which in the mean time, left a crowded field for the exercise of our imagination."

1813.

August 21,
Near the Salt
Lake in
Upper Cal.

"In our occasional conversations with the few old hunters who had visited this region, it had been a subject of frequent speculation, and the wonders which they related were not the less agreeable because they were highly exaggerated and impossible.

"Hitherto this lake had been seen only by trappers, who were wandering through the country in search of new beaver streams, caring very little for geography; its islands had never been visited; and none were to be found who had entirely made the circuit of its shores; and no instrumental observations or geographical survey, of any description, had ever been made any where in the neighboring region. It was generally supposed that it had no visible outlet; but among the trappers, including those in my own camp, were many who believed that somewhere on its surface was a terrible whirlpool,

Neither
geographical
nor historical
knowledge
existed.

1843. through which its waters found their way to the ocean by some subterranean communication. All these things had made a frequent subject of discussion in our desultory conversations around the fires at night; and my own mind had become tolerably well filled with their indefinite picture, and insensibly colored with their romantic descriptions, which, in the pleasure of excitement, I was well disposed to believe, and half expected to realize.

A family
of emigrants
for Oregon.

“We continued our road down the river, and at night *encamped with a family of emigrants*—two men, women, and several children—who appeared to be bringing up the rear of the great caravan. I was struck with the fine appearance of their cattle, some six or eight yoke of oxen, which really looked as well as if they had been all summer at work on some good farm. It was strange to see one small family travelling along through such a country, so remote from civilization. Some nine years since, such a security might have been a fatal one; but since their disastrous defeats in the country a little north, the Blackfeet have ceased to visit these waters. Indians, however, are very uncertain in their localities; and the friendly feelings also of those now inhabiting it may be changed. This is the route all the emigrants now travel to Oregon.

“Crossing, in the afternoon (of the next day), the point of a narrow spur, we descended into a beautiful bottom, formed by a lateral valley, which presented a picture of home-beauty that went directly to our hearts.

The edge of the wood, for several miles along the river, was dotted with the white covers of emigrant wagons, collected in groups at different camps, where the smokes were rising lazily from the fires, around which the women were occupied in preparing the evening meal, and the children playing in the grass; and herds of cattle, grazing about in the bottom, had an air of quiet security, and civilized comfort, that made a rare sight for the traveller in such a remote wilderness.

1843.
A camp of
Oregon emi-
grants.

“In common with all the emigration, they had been reposing for several days in this delightful valley, in order to recruit their animals on its luxuriant pasturage after their long journey, and prepare them for the hard trail along the comparatively sterile banks of the Upper Columbia.”

We make the last quotation to show that American emigrants were in considerable numbers now, 1843, travelling over land to Oregon. Fremont has, as yet, found none bound for California, except a Mr. Chiles, his family and his laborers, who are going from Missouri to settle in the valley of the Sacramento. He is carrying the parts of a mill which he means to set up on that stream. We wish particularly to call attention to the fact of the rapid improvement in the geographical knowledge of these regions, by showing how little they were known in 1843.

On the 25th Capt. Fremont was at Bear Springs, whose character is not unlike those of the Boiling Springs at the Arkansas. Wandering among the moun-

August 25.

1843. tains in search of the Salt Lake, Fremont and his party suffered for want of food. Kit Carson shot off the track, went to Fort Hall, and returned with such a scanty supply, as the Oregon emigrants had left behind them.

Sept. 6,
at the
Salt Lake.

On the 6th of September the party had reached a point, where, says Capt. Fremont, "we beheld at our feet the object of our anxious search—the waters of the Inland Sea, stretching in still and solitary grandeur far beyond the limit of our vision. It was one of the great points of the exploration; and as we looked eagerly over the lake in the first emotion of excited pleasure, I am doubtful if the followers of Balboa felt more enthusiasm when, from the heights of the Andes, they saw for the first time the great western ocean. It was certainly a magnificent object, and a noble *terminus* to this part of our expedition; and to travellers so long shut up among mountain ranges, a sudden view over the expanse of silent waters had in it something sublime."

Enthusiasm
of the party
at the first
view.

The lake Capt. Fremont and his party explored in a small boat and found all superstitious fears to be groundless. The waters of the lake a mile from the shore were saturated with common salt.* On the islands were in-

* Fourteen pints of fine grained salt were obtained by the party from five gallons of the water. Fremont heard of immense beds of rock salt in the vicinity. Truly, Mr. Jefferson's "Salt Mountain," for which in 1803 he was so much ridiculed, has come to light at last.

crustations of salt to a considerable thickness. But we must leave minute descriptions to the geographer, and trace the progress of discovery and emigration. **1843.**

On the 19th Capt. Fremont was at Fort Hall, where his whole party were reunited. Sept. 19,
at Fort Hall
from Sept. 19
to 26.

Here he met Mr. Chiles and his company of whom he had before heard, as American emigrants going to California. Mr. Chiles divided his party at this point; the largest division, taking the wagons, with mill-saws, &c., were to travel under the conduct of Mr. Joseph Walker, of Missouri; and a long route lay before them, along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada, to its southern extremity, and thence through "Walker's pass," (that intrepid traveller having discovered it,) into the valley of the San Joaquin. Thence they were to go north to the place of their destination on the Sacramento. This tedious journey they performed; but we afterwards learn, that before they finally reached the valley of the Sacramento, they suffered much, and lost their wagons and mill-irons. Mr. Chiles himself followed the stream called Lewis's Fork, or Snake River, to the mouth of its affluent, Matthew River; then following that stream to its source, he found his way over the Sierra into the valley of the Sacramento. His people were among those few American settlers of the Sacramento, who under Fremont made in July, 1846, the "Bear revolution."

Mr. Chiles
and his com-
pany emi-
grants for
California.

From Fort Hall Capt. Fremont followed the course of Snake River to Fort Boise; then crossing the Blue Mountains, (their height 5000 feet,) he came upon the The Blue
Mountains.

1843. waters of the Walahwalah. Here he found Dr. Whitman, the first American whom he had met, who had a house, a farm, and a family. From the mouth of the Walahwalah, the party proceeded to the *Dalles* or walls of the Columbia, where, as the river cleaves those basaltic rocks, its whole breadth is compressed into fifty yards. At this point Capt. Fremont found a Methodist mission, whose buildings consisted of two adobe dwelling-houses and a *large school-house*. From the Dalles, Fremont with a few of his men embarked and had a pleasant sail to Vancouver, then a mud-built British trading-house. His orders to connect his surveys with those of the Exploring Expedition under Capt. Wilkes being now executed, he returned to his main camp at the Dalles; and immediately began his long homeward route by California.

Nov. 4,
at the Dalles
of the
Columbia.

Nov. 10,
leaves Van-
couver.

Dec. 10,
the Hamath
Lake.

On the 10th of December he explored the Hamath Lake, called also, as is its river, Klamet. The lake was, at this season, when no melting snows sent waters from the mountains, only "an extensive meadow or lake of grass," with a river running through it, and occasional pools. The Indians in this vicinity were said to be uncommonly treacherous and cruel. The state of geographical knowledge respecting California will appear from the following extract of Fremont's journal.

"From this lake our course was intended to be about southeast, to a reported lake called Mary's, at some days' journey in the Great Basin; and thence, still on southeast, to the reputed *Buena Ventura* River, which has had a

place in so many maps, and countenanced the belief of the existence of a great river flowing from the Rocky Mountains to the Bay of San Francisco. From the Buenaventura the next point was intended to be in that section of the Rocky Mountains which includes the heads of Arkansas River, and of the opposite waters of the Californian Gulf; and thence down the Arkansas to Bent's Fort and home. This was our projected line of return—a great part of it absolutely new to geographical, botanical, and geological science—and the subject of reports in relation to lakes, rivers, deserts, and savages hardly above the condition of mere wild animals, which inflamed desire to know what this *terra incognita* valley contained. It was a serious enterprise, at the commencement of winter, to undertake the traverse of such a region."

We thus see what was at this time the state of geography in relation to California, and how much that science is indebted to Fremont's surveys. From the vicinity of Lake Hamath, where rise three rivers running diversely—the Sacramento, the Klamet, and the Fall-River branch of the Columbia—Capt. Fremont took, as he proposed, a southeast course. But misled by the imaginary maps of the country, he was constantly expecting to fall upon the waters of a great river, flowing from the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of San Francisco; and keeping what he conceived the proper course for this object, he was led a long and dreary way across the Sierra Nevada. On his descending upon the eastern

1843.

Fremont expects to find the great Buenaventura.

Fremont's imaginary route.

He is misled by false ideas and crosses to the eastern side of the Sierra.

1844.

Jan. 10,
the Pyramid
Lake.

side, he discovered lakes, to which he gave the names of *Summer* and *Abert*. He was now on the wintry side of the Sierra; and the commencement of the year 1844 found him and his men in a forlorn condition, but still seeking the imaginary great river. On the 10th of January they discover the *Pyramid Lake*. Finding here the inlet of a considerable stream, which they named *Salmon Trout River*, and which rose in the mountains on their right, they became satisfied that the direction of the water-courses was incompatible with the existence of the supposed *Buenaventura*. Their provisions were exhausted, their garments tattered, their animals jaded, and they must recross the *Sierra Nevada*, or perish in the inhospitable desert.

The conse-
quences of
delusion.

They found a tribe of the natives of apparently more than ordinary sagacity. "We explained to the Indians," says Fremont, "that we were endeavoring to find a passage across the mountains into the country of the whites, whom we were going to see; and told them that we wished them to bring us a guide, to whom we would give presents of scarlet cloth, and other articles, which were shown to them. They looked at the reward we offered, and conferred with each other, but pointed to the snow on the mountains, and drew their hands across their necks, and raised them above their heads to show the depth; and signified that it was impossible to get through. They made signs that we must go to the southward, over a pass through a lower range, which they pointed out; there, they said, at the end of one

Indian ac-
count of the
crossing of the
Sierra.

1844.

day's travel, we would find people who lived near a pass in the great mountain ; and to that point they agreed to furnish us a guide. They appeared to have a confused idea, from report, of whites who lived on the other side of the mountain ; and once, they told us, about two years ago, a party of twelve men like ourselves had ascended their river, and crossed to the other waters. They pointed out to us where they had crossed ; but then, they said, it was summer time ; but now it was impossible. I believe that this was a party led by Mr. Chiles,† one of the only two men whom I know to have passed through the California mountains from the interior of the Basin—Walker being the other ; and both were engaged upwards of twenty days, in the summer time, in getting over. Chiles' destination was the Bay of San Francisco, to which he descended by the Stanislaus River ; and Walker subsequently informed me that, like myself, descending to the southward on a more eastern line, day after day he was searching for the Buenaventura, thinking that he had found it with every new stream, until like me, he abandoned all idea of its existence, and turning abruptly to the right, crossed the great chain. These were both western men, animated with the spirit of exploratory enterprise which characterizes that people."

† In some former year.

Chiles and Walker the only pioneers before Fremont.

We introduce this extract, not only to manifest how entirely in the dark the best informed, such as Fremont himself, were at that period respecting California, but also to show that overland emigration had then made no

1844. progress. The great breadth and formidable nature of the chain of the Sierra Nevada* is made apparent from the ignorance of the Indians of what was beyond, and from the length of time employed in crossing it. It was the 16th of January when Fremont left the Pyramid Lake, to follow up into the mountains its affluent, the Salmon Trout River ; and it was not until the 6th of March that he struck the waters of the Sacramento. The hardships endured during the many days, which occupied these resolute, uncomplaining men, to cross these Alpine regions, were all that they could endure. Indeed, one died and two became insane. Had there been women and children of their number, a great proportion must have perished.

Jan. 16,
leaves Pyra-
mid Lake.

Extreme
winter suffer-
ing in crossing
the Sierra.

The party
approach
Suter's Fort.

Capt. Fremont, in descending the mountains, fortunately came upon a stream which he was told was the River of Americans, and never did the name sound more grateful to an American ear. Its waters led his famished company to Suter's Fort, the spot of all others in the valley where they might expect to find the hospitable relief of good and wholesome food ; which they who had been subsisting on the flesh of dogs, and of lean and starved mules, would well know how to appreciate. They came up to the Fort, weak and emaciated, each man leading a horse or mule as weak and emaciated as himself, unable to

* On the new map of Fremont's explorations, made by Mr. Preuss, these mountains are laid down opposite the Pyramid Lake, as not less than seventy or eighty miles in breadth.

bear the weight of a rider. They had been obliged to leave their howitzer ; half their animals had perished in the mountains ; their mules falling with their loads, down frightful precipices, into gulfs below. Thus were lost their botanical specimens, and other articles, which could not be replaced.

1844.
Fremont loses his botanical specimens.

The Fork of the American where they passed, was the same, along which the gold placers were first discovered. How little did these sufferers, as they passed, wayworn and hungry, over the desolate wilderness, know that they were treading on gold ; and how little would it have availed to their necessities, if they had at that time, not only known its existence, but possessed it ;—and how little did their leader suppose that ere five years should pass, a thronging multitude, not only of his countrymen, but from every part of the earth, would be there ; and he mark the wonderful spot upon his map, as **EL DORADO, OR THE REGION OF GOLD !**

The hungry tread on gold.

CHAPTER V.

Fremont in California—At Suter's Fort and in the valley of the San Joaquin.

1844.

(† Within the last two years, this name is more commonly spelled Sutter.)

CAPT. SUTER† received the famished party with his wonted generous hospitality, gratuitously supplying their immediate necessities. He is by birth a Swiss, and was a lieutenant of the Swiss guards of Charles X, the last of the Bourbons. He continued so during the Revolution of the "three days" in 1830. While the aged exiled monarch fled, and went to reside in old Holyrood, in Edinburgh, JOHN A. SUTER emigrated to America, and settled in Missouri. From that State in 1838-9 he removed; and settled in his present location, near the confluence of the *Rio de los Americanos* with the Sacramento.

His eminent position.

He owned the Fort and a princely estate adjoining, the title to which he had obtained from the Mexican government.* Himself and his position are now full in

* We find it stated by McCulloch and others, that the Californians had cast off the Mexican authority, and made themselves independent. But we see from this, and similar cases, that land-

the eye of public observation. It was by his agent and on his property that the gold, which is attracting such vast numbers to California, was first found; and the governor of California was by the latest advices, making Suter's Fort his head-quarters. The fort is built upon a pond-like stream communicating with the American River about two miles above an entrance into the Sacramento; and is a quadrangular adobe structure about five hundred feet in length and a hundred and fifty in breadth. At this time it was garrisoned by forty Indians, whom Capt. Suter at first, according to Fremont, found troublesome and dangerous, but by prudent management and well-timed discipline,* he had reduced them to order and obedience.

1844.

Suter's Fort.

title from Mexico was alone considered good. If California did not belong to Mexico, why should our republic take it as a Mexican province? and why should it be universally conceded, that a cession from the Mexican Republic is valid title to the American?

* Capt. Wilkes gives us further information concerning this discipline. It was severe to an extent that negro slavery in the United States by no means admits. But we know too little of what that necessity consisted in, to offer any condemnation. The inherent difference in different races of human beings, is one of those truths which men look away from in theory, but act on in practice. When philosophy shall have done her part in settling what is truth concerning the kind and degree of these differences, the world will be less agitated on some subjects than it is at present. We have not a doubt that the Creator's arrangements are all in perfect wisdom, and it is for man to find out what they are, and conform to them. In order to this, the superior race (that is the race superior in force

Inherent
difference in
different
races.

1844.

In the Journal of Fremont's first visit at the Fort, he says that Capt. Suter, "on application to the chief of a village, readily obtained as many (Indian) boys and girls as he has any use for. There were at this time a number of girls at the Fort in training for a future woollen factory, but they were now all busily engaged in watering the gardens."

Capt. Suter's agricultural operations are on a great
1843-4. scale. He sowed, according to Fremont (in 1843), three
 Farming operations on a
 great scale. hundred fanegas* of wheat, expecting the ordinary yield
 of the country, thirty-five fold. The price of wheat at
 this time, was two dollars and a half per bushel. In
1846. 1846, the wheat crop of Capt. Suter, according to Mr.
 Increased. Bryant, was about 8000 bushels; his number of Indian
 laborers, from two to three hundred. In August, 1848,
1848. when Gov. Mason visited the Fort on his return from the
 Still
 increasing. gold placers, where many had gone and left their crops
 unharvested, Capt. Suter on the contrary, was carefully
 gathering his wheat. It was estimated at 40,000 bushels,

and power) must hold the superior place in government. In the matter of sex men do it, and sternly maintain their prerogative;—and sometimes while they quarrel with nature, for differences of race. But while the men of the white race, ought perhaps to maintain the first rank, so far as power is regarded; they should remember that they are exercising it over the children of God, and are responsible to him, that they exercise for the good of those who are its subjects.

* The fanega is 140 pounds. Mr. Bryant says that a fanega of wheat is rather more than two bushels.

and bore already the enormous price of nearly thirty-six dollars per barrel, and was expected soon to fetch twenty more. 1848.

The site of New Helvetia laid down upon the maps at the junction of the American River with the Sacramento, was selected and named by Capt. Suter, from the ancient appellation of his native land. But he came an emigrant from the United States, being a naturalized citizen.*

(1853,
This site is
now occupied
by Saera-
mento City.)

We should infer from the following expression in Fremont's Journal that he was the first emigrant, as he is certainly up to this period the most eminent. "*Since his arrival, several other persons, principally Americans, have established themselves in the valley.*" We hear of none who were there before him, except a few hunters. Mr. Sinclair, a highly respectable emigrant, was in 1844 settled about two miles from the Fort on the American River, and Mr. Chiles was again met by Fremont at the Fort, being temporarily located on a farm near the Sacramento, until he could select land for a permanent residence, for which he had secured a grant from the Mexican government.

1844.

Capt. Suter
probably the
first emigrant
from the U. S.
in that region.

Mr. Chiles
near Suter's
Fort.

On the 22d of March, Capt. Fremont took his departure with an ample outfit of provisions, animals, &c., furnished him at the Fort. To avoid crossing the Sierra,

March 22,
Fremont
leaves Suter's

* We hope, as a farther element of Californian history, that we may ere long receive from some source, a complete list of the first American emigrants in the valley of the Sacramento.

1844. he ranged southeasterly along its base through the beautiful and balmy valley of the San Joaquin, where life itself was enjoyment. Here the party travelled five hundred miles, luxuriating in the loveliness of nature, and the delights of spring. Fresh streams were welling from the dissolving snows of the mountains ; green carpets of tender grass were beneath ; bright and harmonious birds nestled in the branches of the trees, or amidst the splendid array of wild flowers, which sometimes seemed as if arranged in grand natural bouquets, rising to the height of the horseman's head, and stretching to the extent of a New England garden.

Spring in the valley of the San Joaquin.

But on that whole way, not one civilized human being was found, who had as yet made his dwelling in the charming valley. The nearest approach to this was when, on the 13th of April, the day before they began crossing the mountains, a single Christian Indian, habited in the Spanish costume, much to their satisfaction, rode into their camp and accosted them in the Spanish language.

Fremont's party in the Great Basin.

This Indian, Fremont took for a guide, as he travelled through Walker's Pass into the Great Basin. The company then moved southwestwardly, leaving the Sierra on their right, until they reached the Spanish trail from Los Angeles to Santa Fé. This was followed until it turned to the southeast. Their course was northeast, and led them along the base of the Wahsatch Mountains to the Utah Lake ; and thence, across the Rocky Mountains, to the head-waters of the Arkansas.

1844.

These explorations form a constituent part of the history of Upper California; and the great ability manifested by the leader, in bold and daring action, fertility of resource, and capacity of endurance, amidst fatigue and long-continued privation,—power of attaching to his person by watchful care and kindness those whom he led;—these qualities and others, marked him as a man in whom the American administration might well place great confidence. In the spirit of such a confidence, he was sent again, the succeeding year, to California; and history can do no other, than to make him the hero of the American possession of that important country.

Fremont
sent out again
in 1845.

CHAPTER VI.

Visit to Upper California of Capt. Wilkes, Commander of the Exploring Expedition, 1841—The Californian Revolution of 1836, &c.

1841.

Wilkes and Fremont surveyed different parts of Upper Cal.

THE United States Exploring Expedition under Capt. Wilkes, made, from the middle of August to the last of September, 1841, a survey of the maritime parts of Upper California; especially the Bay of San Francisco and its vicinity,—parts of the country which Capt. Fremont did not visit in his first explorations. The publication of Capt. Wilkes' researches did not, however, occur until after Capt. Fremont's first and second expeditions, and he was not availed of any geographical knowledge thus elicited. From the short time employed by Capt. Wilkes in his personal survey of California, hearsay necessarily mingled with observation in his accounts: and we find in them some errors, with much that is correct and valuable.* It is, however, in most cases,

* Take for example the following passage: "The best route to the United States is to follow the San Joaquin for sixty miles, thence easterly, through a gap in the Snowy Mountains, by a good beaten

easy to distinguish what is drawn from others, from that which is reliable information, drawn from actual survey. 1841.

When the Commander of the Exploring Squadron entered, August 14th, the Bay of San Francisco, the country disappointed him ; having an uninviting aspect on account of the uncommon drought, which, in 1841, prevailed in Upper California. There had been no rain during a year. But the vineyards had produced abundantly ; and wherever irrigation had been practised, the earth had yielded a large increase. Capt. Wilkes bears his testimony to the superior excellence of this great harbor. "Upper California," he says, "may boast of

August 14.
Capt. Wilkes
enters the
Bay of San
Francisco.

road ; thence the course is northeasterly to Mary's River, which flows southeast and has no outlet, but loses itself in a lake ; thence continuing in the same direction, the Portneuf River, in the Upper Shoshone, is reached ; and thence to Fort Hall. According to Dr. Marsh, (an American of much intelligence, resident at the mouth of the San Joaquin, to whom we are indebted for much information of the country,) there is plenty of fresh water and pasturage all the way, and no proper desert between the California Range and the Colorado." Vol. v. p. 181.

Incorrect
reports made
to Capt.
Wilkes.

From this may be seen the incorrect notions which then prevailed of the Great Basin, with its deserts, and of the formidable Sierra Nevada. The course of Humboldt's, or Mary's River, is made southeast instead of southwest—it is incorrectly stated that there is no desert ; and as to Portneuf River in the Upper Shoshone, according to Fremont's map, the Upper Shoshone is far from the river, and off the route to Fort Hall, and the river itself is but a small stream to be crossed just before arriving at that place.

1841. one of the finest, if not the very best harbor in the world—that of San Francisco. Few are more extensive, or could be as readily defended; while the combined fleets of all the naval powers of Europe might moor in it.” He says, however, that “this is the only really good harbor which the country possesses; for the others so called, may be frequented only during the fine season, being nothing more than roadsteads, affording little safety and but few supplies to vessels.”

Excellence
of the harbor
of San Fran-
cisco.

San Fran-
cisco in 1841.

The progress of immigration, especially the American, may be traced by the growth of San Francisco. The most frequented anchorage of the bay called Yerba Buena is thus described by Capt. Wilkes: “The town is not calculated to produce a favorable impression on a stranger. Its buildings may be counted, and consist of a large frame building, occupied by the agent of the Hudson Bay Company; a store, kept by Mr. Spears, an American; a billiard-room and bar; a cabin of a ship, occupied as a dwelling by Capt. Hinckley; a blacksmith’s shop, and some outbuildings. These, though few in number, are also far between. With these, I must not forget to enumerate an old dilapidated adobe building, which has a conspicuous position on the top of the hill overlooking the anchorage.”

Size of San
Francisco.

This was in 1841. When Mr. Edwin Bryant first visited this place in September, 1846, he found it containing 200 inhabitants. But when he left it the succeeding spring, the number had increased to 1500. This was before the gold mania had commenced. Re-

cent advices state that at the close of the year 1848, **1841.**
 there were already 15,000 inhabitants. San Francisco will therefore probably increase faster than any city of our fast-growing republic has ever done.*

Size of San Francisco in 1846 and in 1848.

Of all the men found by Capt. Wilkes' party in California, Capt. Suter is made, in his report, the most prominent. His grant from Mexico, Capt. Wilkes states, to be conditional, and for thirty *leagues square*. Besides this, which is of itself a principality, he had bought out the Russians, whose principal stations were Fort Ross and Bodega, on the coast of the Pacific, northwest of the Bay of San Francisco. It was with the guns from Fort Ross, that Capt. Suter garnished his own fort.

Capt. Suter's eminence and wealth.

In the vicinity of the Bay, the next most prominent persons for business and political consequence were the two brothers Vallejo, of Sonoma.

The Vallejo family.

Capt. Wilkes says of Capt. Suter, that he holds, by appointment of the government, the office of administrator, "and has, according to his own belief, supreme power in his own district; condemning, acquitting, and punishing, as well as marrying and burying those who are under him."

Capt. Suter's power over the Indians.

* Yet will it not be a healthy growth, unless the immigrants take sober, earnest thought, and resolute action; to suppress vice and disorder, and to uphold law, morals, and religion. They must in these things be intrepid and resolute. But we hope they will also be true to the Union. Great disasters would follow in the long run, if they were not. Foreign influences are, in this respect, to be guarded against.

Advice to the immigrants.

1841.

Nine Indians
caused to be
shot.

“Although Capt. Suter is, in general, in the habit of treating the Indians with kindness, yet he related to one gentleman, instances in which he had been obliged to *fusilade nine of them* ; indeed, he does not seem to stand upon much ceremony with those who oppose him in any way.”*

The meagre
condition of
Sonoma.

Capt. Wilkes shows us what was, at this time, the meagre condition of Sonoma, a place which will hereafter be of much consequence, and which has already become celebrated, in the annals of American California, as the spot where the Bear flag was first raised. “On the opposite side,” says Capt. Wilkes, “of the Bay of San Pablo, (the northern portion of the Bay of San Francisco,) or to the west, are some of the finest tracts of country in California. One of these is that of Sonoma. In Sonoma is situated, in the town of the same name, the residence of General Vallejo, and the mission of San Rafael. Upon paper, Sonoma is a large city, and laid

* Of Capt. Suter’s farming, Capt. Wilkes says, he “has commenced extensive operations in farming ; but in the year of our visit, the drought had affected him, as well as others, and ruined all his crops. About forty Indians were at work for him, whom he had taught to make adobes. The agreement for their service is usually made with their chiefs, and in this way, as many as are wanted are readily obtained. These chiefs have far more authority over their tribes than those we had seen to the north ; and in the opinion of an intelligent American, they have more power over, and are more respected by their tribes, than those of any other North American Indians.”

out according to the most approved plan. In reality, 1841. however, it consists of only the following buildings: General Vallejo's house, built of adobes, of two stories, which fronts on the public square, and is said to be one of the best houses in California. On the right of this is the residence of the general's brother, Salvadore, and to the left, the barracks for the accommodation of the guard for the general, consisting of about twenty fusileers. Not far removed is the old dilapidated mission-house of San Francisco Solano, scarcely tenantable, though a small part of it is inhabited still by the Padre Kihias, who continues, notwithstanding the poverty of his mission, to entertain the stranger, and show him all the hospitality he can."

Mission
house dilapi-
dated.

Besides the buildings just enumerated, there were in the course of construction, in 1841, a neat little chapel, and a small building for a billiard-room. There are also three or four more houses and huts which are tenanted.

"General Vallejo," the Captain further says, "was one of those who figured in the revolution of 1836, and was then appointed Commandant-General of Alta California. He is now the owner of a large estate, and having chosen this part of the country for his residence, he is free from the opposition and broils that are continually growing out of the petty concerns of the custom-house and its duties. He is not over-scrupulous in demanding duties of the vessels entering the port of San Francisco, and until he has been seen and consulted, a

Gen. Vallejo
com^d andant.

1841. vessel trading here is liable to an indefinite amount of duties.

“I have already spoken of the unceremonious manner in which Capt. Suter officiated as administrator of the district to the east of the Sacramento. The anecdotes related to me of Vallejo, in like manner, show a striking disregard for the lives, as well as for the property and liberty of the Indians by the *gente de razon*. He is supreme, and acts with the same impunity as all his predecessors, with one or two exceptions, have done before him. As an instance of the lawless acts of the governors, it is said that one of them entertained the idea of training the Indians as soldiers, and a company of them had been brought together, drilled, and made such proficiency in the use of their arms, that his excellency became alarmed, and forthwith ordered them all to be shot! *I have little doubt that this story may be essentially true, for the value of an Indian's life, in the eye of the rulers, scarcely exceeds that of one of the wild cattle. The Commandant-General (Vallejo) is frequently said to hunt them, and by his prowess in these expeditions he has gained some reputation.*”

Great disregard of human rights in case of the Indians.

1824.

California a Mexican territory.

Concerning the affair of 1836, which has been dignified with the name of a revolution, it had its origin from the condition into which the country fell after the second Mexican revolution, which produced the federal republic, and the constitution of 1824. California not being found at that time sufficiently populous to constitute a state, was erected into a territory; and territorial

officers were sent from Mexico. The aged spiritual fathers who, as heads of the missions, had, with the military under their control, governed the country and kept the Indians in order, were either driven from the missions by the course pursued by Mexican officers placed over them; or they voluntarily abandoned their charge, rather than take the oath of allegiance to the new government. The property which had belonged to them, was taken into possession by the Mexican "*administradores*," and often dissipated. The buildings and gardens went to decay; and often the Indians—no longer allowed to feel that there was a hand to feed them, though poorly, from the common store which their labor had helped to accumulate—grew wild and ferocious. The lives and property of the whites became insecure from this cause, as well as from the universal prostration of all law and order. The Mexican authorities wished to renew the reign of the *padres*, and sent other priests; but they were, in so many cases, rapacious and dissolute, that their coming only made worse, what was bad before.

The best of the Mexican governors was Gen. Figuera. By his influence Mexico sent 200 laborers and agriculturists, who landed at Monterey. They proved bad inhabitants, and jealousies sprung up between Mexicans and Californians. The governor died in 1835, and his death was the signal for revolutionary movements; in which foreigners, who, from different countries, had settled there, took a part. "Among them," says Capt.

1834
TO
1836.

The old
Fathers driv-
en from their
Missions.

The tamed
Indians grow
wild.

1835.

Revolution-
ary move-
ments.

1835-6. Wilkes, "were to be found *Americans, who had led the lives of hunters and trappers, some of whom had been living in the Rocky Mountains, some on the Columbia River, while others came from Mexico.*† These restless spirits declared that California ought to be a free state, and they encouraged rebellion against the governor, Gutierrez. This party took advantage of a dispute between him and Alvarado, inspector of customs, and a popular man. Alvarado thus became the nominal head of the party, which declared the intention of making California independent, banishing all Mexicans, and adopting as citizens all foreigners then under arms. This armed party drew on their unwilling leader to attack Gutierrez at Monterey. "Who they were," says Capt. Wilkes, "is not well known, but the presumption is that various citi-

† No emigrants direct from the U. States.

Californians threaten to make themselves independent.

1836. and gave him (Alvarado) promises of aid. On the 2d of November, he arrived with his force at Monterey; it consisted of perhaps two hundred, (some say half that number,) of whom *twenty-five were American hunters, the only part of his force which was efficient.* Gutierrez shut himself up with sixty soldiers in the Presidio of Monterey, fearing, it is supposed, the far-dreaded rifles of the Americans. The insurgents obtained ammunition in the harbor from American vessels, which seemed to favor their enterprise. On the 4th, they sent Gutierrez a summons to surrender. While he was long consulting with his officers concerning the ceremonial, not doubting it seems, that the thing itself was to be done, an eighteen-

Nov. 2.
The revolvers at Monterey.

Nov. 4.
At the Presidio.

pound ball—the only shot fired in the revolution—struck the roof of the Presidio. The noise was astounding, though no one was injured ; and it was immediately followed by a flag of truce, and an unconditional surrender. The Mexican flag was then hauled down ; but when it came to the point of hoisting an independent one, the heart of Alvarado and his Californian brethren failed them ; nor could their foreign allies persuade them to the measure ; so they cried “ Long live free California ! ” and hoisted the Mexican flag again. But they turned out the Spanish officers, made Alvarado governor, Gen. Vallejo commandant-general, and José Castro, lieutenant-colonel of the militia. The new government satisfied the foreigners by diminishing the duties one-half, and made their peace with Mexico by acknowledging their allegiance, with the condition that they should choose their own rulers.

But the customs were unproductive, and the duties were soon renewed, and other means oppressive to foreigners, were used to obtain money. They thus became disaffected, and put the authorities in such fear that they secretly determined to cut them off—first contriving a story of their having secretly conspired, and next sending Castro with an armed party of eighteen to assassinate Graham, a resolute trapper of Kentucky. They barbarously wounded him, cast him into prison, and took from him all his goods and estate. Sixty other foreigners were taken and cast into prison, but they were afterwards released.

1836.

This might, to aid the memory, be called the *one-gun* Revolution.

A peaceful conclusion to a bloodless Revolution.

Plot of the Californians to cut off foreigners.

1836.

Capt. Wilkes thus speaks concerning the future prospects of California: "The situation of Upper California will cause its separation from Mexico before many years. The country between it and Mexico can never be any thing but a barren waste, which precludes all intercourse except that by sea, always more or less interrupted by the course of the winds, and the unhealthfulness of the lower or seaport towns of Mexico. It is very probable that this country will become united with Ore-

Capt. Wilkes' prophecies the separation of California from Mexico.

1841.

gon, with which it will perhaps form a state that is destined to control the destinies of the Pacific. This future state is admirably situated to become a powerful maritime nation, with two of the finest ports in the world—that within the straits of Juan de Fuca, and San Francisco. These two regions have, in fact, within themselves every thing to make them increase, and keep up an intercourse with the whole of Polynesia, as well as the countries of South America on the one side, and China, the Philippines, New Holland, and New Zealand, on the other. Among the latter, before many years, may be included Japan. Such various climates will furnish the materials for a beneficial interchange of products, and an intercourse that must, in time, become immense; while this western coast, enjoying a climate in many respects superior to any in the Pacific, possessed as it must be by the Anglo-Norman race, and having none to enter into rivalry with it but the indolent inhabitants of warm climates, is evidently destined to fill a large space in the world's future history."

Advantages of the American possessions on the Pacific.

CHAPTER VII.

Emigration to California begins in 1846.—Mr. Edwin Bryant finds many parties on the road.—The horrible sufferings of the belated party.—The Mormons.

THE travels of Mr. Edwin Bryant, in the summer of 1846. 1846, throw additional light on the progress of the settlement of Upper California, particularly as regards American emigration.

May 1.
Mr. Bryant
leaves Ft. In-
dependence.

June 23.
At Ft. Laramie, 672 m.

July 10.
At South
Pass, 311 m.
further.

July 17.
At Fort
Bridger.

The first part of Mr. Bryant's route was that of the ordinary wagon trail—from the mouth of the Kansas, along that river—along the Platte—by Fort Laramie—to the South Pass;—and thence to Fort Bridger. Mr. Bryant was bound for California, and here his route diverged from that of the emigrants to Oregon.

It was this year, 1846, that emigration from the United States to Upper California commenced in earnest; and that to Oregon, greatly increased. This emigration as it respects California, was irrespective of the American possession of the country; for the war with Mexico was not thought of, when the emigrants began their preparation; and it was not known—until the rumor of Tay-

1816. lor's battles on the Rio Grande, reached them on their journey. The beauty, salubrity, and advantages of the country, now beginning to be known, must have attracted them to seek it as a home.

June 18.
On the Platte.
430 wagons
of emigrants.

Mr. Bryant finds, this year, large parties of emigrants, about equally divided, in regard to their destination, between Oregon and California. Most of them travelled with wagons drawn by oxen, containing their furniture, their wives and children ;—and so had party after party fallen into the train, that on the 16th of June, on the South Fork of the Platte, the wagons amounted to no less than four hundred and thirty. Indeed so lively, social, and hospitable were these emigrants, though having many hardships to encounter, that it does not seem possible, that this is the solitary desert route, so lately passed over by Capt. Fremont.

July 17.
Leaves
Fort Bridger,
133 m. from
South Pass.

At Fort Bridger, (a name given to two or three trading-huts of logs,) “we determined,” says Mr. Bryant, (i. e. himself and a small party of mounted men,) “to take the new route via the south end of the great Salt Lake. Mr. Hudspeth, (well known as a guide and explorer,) who with a small party, on Monday, will start in advance of the emigrant companies which intend travelling by this route, for the purpose of making some further explorations, has volunteered to guide us as far as the Salt Plain—a day's journey west of the Lake. Although such was my own determination, I wrote several letters to my friends among the emigrant parties in the rear, advising them *not* to take this route, but to keep on the

Good advice
ill followed.

old trail, via Fort Hall. Our situation was different from theirs. We were mounted on mules, had no families, and could afford to hazard experiments, and make explorations. They could not. During the day, I visited several of the emigrant *corrals*.† * * * *
 Messrs. Curry and Holden left us to-day, having determined to go to Oregon instead of California. Circles of white-tented wagons may now be seen in every direction, and the smoke from the camp-fires is curling upwards, morning, noon, and evening. An immense number of oxen and horses are scattered over the entire valley, grazing upon the green grass. Parties of Indians, hunters, and emigrants are galloping to and fro, and the scene is one of almost holiday liveliness. It is difficult to realize that we are in a wilderness, a thousand miles from civilization.”

On the 28th, Lieut. Bryant was at the Great Salt Lake. His party then passed southerly and crossed the strait which connects the Salt with the Utah Lake. They were then, after a day's journey with Mr. Hudspeth, to cross without a guide the Great Salt Desert, where for seventy-five miles they were to find neither water nor food. Such an enterprise it is painful even to contemplate. “About eleven o'clock,” says Bryant, “we struck a vast white plain, uniformly level, and utterly destitute of vegetation, or any sign that shrub or plant had ever existed above its snow-like surface. Pausing a few moments to rest our mules, and moisten our mouths and throats from the scant supply of beverage in our

1846.

† A corral is several wagons, ranged together for shelter or defence.

Cheerful scene of emigrant life.

July 28.
 At the Salt Lake 106 m. from Fort Bridger.

August 13.
 A great day's travel; 75 miles over a desert without water.

1846. powder-keg, we entered upon this appalling field of sullen and hoary desolation. It was a scene so entirely new to us, so frightfully forbidding, and unearthly in its aspects, that all of us, I believe, though impressed with its sublimity, felt a slight shudder of apprehension. Our mules seemed to sympathize with us in the pervading sentiment, and moved forward with reluctance, several of them stubbornly setting their faces for a counter-march." The party, however, succeeded in making the dreaded distance in one day.

Aug. 9 to 18.
Mr. B. travels on Mary's River 275 m.

Sep. 10.
Reaches Suter's Fort, 23 m. from the Sink of Mary's River.

Mr. Bryant continued his route along Mary's or Humboldt's River, and came to the dreary pool called the Sink of the River, where the stream entirely disappears in the dry calcareous earth. He then crossed the Sierra Nevada by the Bear River Pass, and reached Suter's Fort by the first of September.

A history of the first emigrations from the more eastern states, would show many instances of great hardship; but there is one, which in regard to intensity of suffering, stands pre-eminent.

Emigrants at Ft. Bridger divide to Oregon and Cal.

We have introduced from Mr. Bryant's Journal, an account of the pleasant and cheerful camp at Fort Bridger, 133 miles from the South Pass, and where the route to California by the south end of the Salt Lake, leaves the wagon trail, to Oregon. A party of these emigrants, having sixty or more wagons, were bound to Oregon. Most of these finally arrived at their destination, although they suffered greatly; having lost their wagons and baggage in the Umqua mountains; but, men having

Oregon emigrants suffer.

been sent to their relief from the valley of the Willamath, their lives were preserved. 1846.

Of this party Mr. Newton of Virginia, whom, with his wife, Mr. Bryant met in the beginning of his route, was murdered by Indians for the spoils of his tent. Mrs. Newton escaped. Of the emigrants for California, there were eighty wagons, which were to take the new and yet untrodden route by the south end of the Salt Lake and Humboldt's or Mary's River. This company divided. The advance party, known as Mr. Harlan's, were fortunate in making their way speedily through the mountain passes near the Salt Lake ; and they reached California, in season to insure a safe crossing of the Sierra Nevada. But the rear party, known as that of Messrs. Reed and Donner, taking a different and more difficult route, were detained a month longer, in the vicinity of the Salt Lake ; and did not reach the Sierra until the last day of October, when they should have been there on the first. The snow fell early, and fell deep. Their dangerous plight became known at San Francisco ; and the sum of fifteen hundred dollars was meritoriously subscribed, to hire men to go to their relief. This showed how well the wintry terrors of the Sierra were there understood. Capt. Suter, prompt at the call of humanity, sent men and mules at his own cost. A little more than half their number, which was eighty-one, were thus saved ; but thirty-six perished. One of those who escaped, related their sufferings to Mr. Sinclair, who gave the narrative to the press. It is one of the

California company divide. Harlan's company arrive safely.

Reed and Donner's party are belated.

Generous efforts to aid them.

1846. darkest pages in the book of human misery. They became lost in the mountains; and not only men and women of mature strength, but aged persons, children, and delicate girls, were wandering through snows of eight feet deep, without a track to follow, or a guide to lead; and amidst mountain precipices of unknown depth. Their wagons can no longer be moved. They press forward for their lives; but new mountains rise before them, and they are involved, in yet deeper snows. Unsheltered by night, and unfed by day—the last morsel gone—pinching cold without, and gnawing hunger within, some sink and die; more happy than those who remain: for who, in the full possession of his faculties, would not choose to die, rather than to eat the frozen body of a dead friend; perhaps a parent, a bosom companion, or a child! What physical agonies must first be endured—what mental aberration—what moral oblivion! Those who were met and saved, were in body and mind but the wrecks of humanity. Nourishing food and kind care, however, in most cases proved restoratives.

Intensity of
their suffer-
ings.

36 out of 81
perish.

Gov. Boggs
and Col. Rus-
sel.

Among the distinguished emigrants to California from the United States in 1846, were Ex-Governor Boggs and Col. Russell. The latter had been a member of the Kentucky and the Missouri legislatures; and subsequently United States Marshal for Missouri. When the travelling emigrants, in June, organized for the preservation of order, they chose Col. Russell as their leader. He arrived at Suter's Fort in September.

This was also the year of the Mormon emigration.

Several thousands† of this sect of Socialists, left Nauvoo in Illinois in the spring and summer of 1846.* A battalion of 500 of the men enlisted into the army, as has been related, and followed Gen. Kearny to California under command of Col. Cooke; while the wagons with the furniture, women, and children, took the ordinary track to the South Pass. The Mormons have now made their abode in the pleasant region, south of the Salt Lake. We understand that the discoverer of the gold placers, Mr. Marshal, is one of their number; and that they are successful seekers of the precious metal. But they can-

1846.

(† Report says 10,000.)

Emigration of the Mormons.

* The writer was at Nauvoo, in June 1846, when the Mormons were just leaving their pleasant abodes, and their pompous temple which had been their pride—their leader slain, and themselves held in abhorrence. Some of their wagons with clean white tops were moving off toward the west, and some were halting on the western shore of the Mississippi. Bad as their principles are, and as their lives, conformably to them, have doubtless been—from my soul, I pitied them. The week before, at St. Louis, I had inquired concerning them, and heard much. Among other things, the commandant of Jefferson barracks told me, that he once called on Jo. Smith at his own home. He was at first denied; but Smith learning by the movements of this officer that his purpose was not hostile, came forth from his concealment, and himself attended him, and did the honors of the place; showing the Temple and his troops, and boasting of the military force he could command. In company of this gentleman, whose high, discerning character, the deceiver well knew, he made no pretence of any thing else, than that he played a game for his own aggrandizement; and was proud that he had played it so shrewdly.

June 9.
Mormons
moving from
Nauvoo.Visit of an of-
ficer to Jo.
Smith.

1846. not permanently prosper, until they change their principles. Polygamy is avowed, and will prove their bane.

The bad name of the Mormons precedes them.

The bad name of the Mormons went before them to California. The arrival of the Mormon battalion was dreaded, and had the whole company attempted to settle in the valley of the Franciscan Bay and waters, there is good reason to believe, that it would have caused a fresh revolt of the Californians.*

Lt. Minor's testimony concerning them.

* On the late trial of Col. Fremont, Lieut. Minor of the U. S. Navy being on the stand as a witness, this question was put by the Court: "You say that the approach of the Mormons caused a great alarm of the Californians in your district; what was apprehended by the Californians? and why?" To which Lieut. Minor (of course under oath) replied: "Report had preceded them to California, that they were a lawless and abandoned set. * * * * * I allude to the whole tribe of Mormons, not to Col. Cooke's command. A family that had seceded from that religion, threw themselves on my protection, and I assigned them their quarters near San Diego. When they heard of the approach of the Mormon battalion they became alarmed, and wished me to put them in greater security; they wished me to put them on board a ship, which I declined doing."—See also Col. Russell's testimony, pp. 259—60, 61.

CHAPTER VIII.

Fremont's third Expedition—Movements tending to place California under British Protection—Bear Revolution—American Possession.

WE have now brought these elements of the history of California, up to the time of the events, which led to its occupancy by the American government. 1845.

In the winter of 1845-6, Capt. Fremont with sixty-two men, ostensibly sent by the Executive of the United States, with the sole object of peaceful explorations, approached the Pacific valley, by the south end of the Sierra Nevada. At this time the Californians, under the Mexican flag, had as their civil governor Don Pio Pico. He was of the most wealthy and influential family in the southern part of Upper California; and others of the family were eminent men. Gov. Pico resided in the government house at Los Angeles. Gen. José Castro, was military commandant, and resided at Monterey.

Summer of 1845, Fremont and his party cross the country to Cal.

A. Pico, civil gov., J. Castro, military commandant.

There was a person of much influence still residing in the valley, who appears to have been the agent for placing California under the protection of the British.

1846.

Mr. Forbes,
the British
vice-consul.

This was Mr. Forbes, who was there at the time of Capt. Wilkes' visit, as the factor of a British trading company ; but at this period he was vice-consul of the British government ; and had become, by means of the quicksilver mines, south of the Bay of Francisco, possessed of an estate of great value. His political and business operations, have manifested him to be an able and politic man.

Proof, direct and circumstantial, exists, that a plan was at this time on foot, which, had it succeeded, would have placed California beyond the reach of the United States—of which Mr. Forbes was the main agent.* It contemplated getting—first, a declaration from the Californians of Independence from Mexico—and second, a petition from a convention of Californians to Great Britain, to be taken by her under protection. At the same time, ten thousand of Great Britain's Irish subjects, were to have been transferred to the valley of the San Joaquin, to own and occupy, that most fertile portion of the country. Could Mr. Forbes have succeeded in getting up a convention of leading persons, who would first declare California independent, and then vote to place themselves under British protection, Great Britain might have controlled the country—and that, without nominal offence to Mexico, or any other power. The scheme of Irish emigration, was to be

A politic
plan to place
California
under British
protection.

The valley of
the San Joa-
quin to be ta-
ken with con-
sent of Mex-
ico.

* " We have had recent evidence," said Mr. Dix in his speech in the U. S. Senate, March 29, 1848, " of a deliberate design (on the part of Great Britain,) to obtain possession of the country (California), for the purpose of excluding us."

wrought with the sanction of Mexico, by appealing to two of her strongest passions—her love to the Roman Catholic faith, and her jealousy and hatred of America. 1845.

The agent in this service was a Catholic priest of Ireland, by the name of Macnamara. He went to Mexico as early as the year 1845, and, about the close of that year or the beginning of the next, he made an application to the supreme power of Mexico, in which he stated, that the subject of California was then attracting much public attention, that prompt and efficient measures must be adopted, or Mexico would soon lose that province, by means of the “usurpations of an anti-Catholic and irreligious nation,” meaning the United States. That for the hinderance of this, and the advantage of his countrymen, and especially the advancement of Catholicism, he asked to be enabled to carry forward a project of planting a colony of his countrymen in Upper California. The Mexicans, he said, should lose no time, or otherwise “within a year, California would become a part of the American nation; be inundated by cruel invaders, and their Catholic institutions the prey of Methodist wolves!” The Mexican government was moved, and made a grant to the Irish priest of 3,000 square leagues, in the rich valley of the San Joaquin.* Yet the patent was not to be perfected, until the Governor of California should have given it his sanction.

Macnamara
reviles the
Americans to
the Mexican
government.

Early in 1846,
Macnamara
obtains a pa-
tent—not per-
fected.

* His petition also embraced the Bay of San Francisco and the important stations of Monterey and Santa Barbara.

1846.

April.
Mr. Forbes
gets up a con-
vention.

Gov. Pico
it is said, ad-
vocated Brit-
ish protection.
Gen. Vallejo,
annexation to
the U. States.

Mr. Forbes, in the meantime, had a meeting in April, 1846, with Gov. Pico, Gen. Castro, Gen. Vallejo, and others, where the project was entertained of declaring Upper California independent of Mexico, and putting the country under British protection; and assurances were here given, that a British naval force would soon appear upon the coast. A junta was to meet on the 15th of June, to consult, concerning the perfecting of the Macnamara grants, and concert final measures.

Macnamara, who had resided in the house of a British public functionary at Mexico, was taken from that country in the *Juno*, a British sloop of war; and in June, he was landed at Santa Barbara. There was at this time lying at San Blas, a larger British squadron than had ever before been sent to the Pacific, commanded by rear admiral Sir George Seymour, his flag-ship being the *Collingwood* of 80 guns.† The *Juno*, which transported Macnamara, was of course a part of this squadron.

The British
naval force
on the coast,
was the *Col-
lingwood*, 80
guns; a *Ra-
zee*, 60; 4
sloops of war,
and 2 war-
steamers.
Force much
superior to
the American.

Commodore Sloat at this time commanded the American naval force in the Pacific, his flag being on board the *Savannah*. Early in the season he was lying at Mazatlan, with orders to attack California, if he should hear of actual war with Mexico, whether officially notified or not.

While Mr. Forbes, the planner of these schemes, was thus, with politic shrewdness, operating for the advantage of his government, the United States had also a faithful agent in California—Mr. Thomas O. Larkin, American consul at Monterey—formerly a resident of

Boston. All these plans could not be brewing without his having some knowledge concerning them.* The presumption is that he communicated what he knew to the American government—that it was too little to authorize any public action on the part of the Executive, but enough to lead to measures, which precipitated the war with Mexico. For if the American Executive was to have the war to conduct, which Mexico had declared she would make, if Texas was annexed, he might naturally prefer to have it, while there yet remained a guerdon, for which to fight; and, take away California, there was nothing else desirable. Capt. Fremont was sent out in the spring of 1845. Lieut. Gillespie was sent early in November, (his letter of credence being dated November 3,) as a special messenger from Washington, with verbal instructions to Fremont, to watch for American interests, and counteract foreign intrigues.†

Gillespie had come through Vera Cruz and Mexico,

* Mr. Larkin had accumulated, we understand, a handsome fortune in California—both that, and his life might have been the sacrifice, had he been known as communicating on these subjects to the American government. Yet from the excellent character of Mr. Larkin, we cannot doubt that he performed thoroughly his official duties. But his position might have constituted one reason why the American Executive should *act*, where he could not safely communicate.

† This we learn from Fremont's defence before the court-martial, and from Col. Benton's speech in the Senate; but *how* he was directed to watch, is not known, except by Fremont's course of action.

1845.

Mr. Larkin, American consul at Monterey, probably understands and communicates.

The Executive probably acts on his or other information.

Coincidences in time.

1845. via Mazatlan and Monterey, with orders to find Fremont wherever he might be. About the time when he would have completed his passage through Mexico, Gen. Taylor received orders to march to the mouth of the Rio Grande.

Orders were given to naval officers in reference to war in the Spring. Mr. Bancroft blames Com. Sloat, for a too conscientious inactivity.

Character of Fremont's corps.

We now return to Capt. Fremont, with his resolute corps—not of enlisted soldiers, but made up of “Kit Carson,” and such as he; men who with hardihood and electric activity, were ready at their leader’s word to dare or to do.*—He had in his equipment 200 horses. Having crossed the Sierra, Capt. Fremont, in order to avoid any suspicion of hostility, left his camp at 200 miles’ distance from Monterey. He then proceeded

* Capt. Fremont’s force appears to have been as large as could be ventured under the cognomen of an exploring expedition; and particular pains were taken on the one hand not to give it a military name or aspect, and on the other, to give it real efficient strength. Sixty such men, with a leader like Fremont—a number of the inhabitants being known to be favorable—might well be supposed capable of action; when according to recent reports of Capt. Wilkes, *twenty-five* American hunters, without a leader, constituted the efficiency of the insurgent force in the one-gun revolution, in 1836.

Gen. Kearny, at his camp near New Helvetia, June 14, 1847, wrote the following in reply to a note from Col. Fremont:

1847.

June 14
Gen. Kearny speaks of the topographical party as containing nineteen men.

“SIR—The request contained in your communication to me of this date, to be relieved from all connection with the topographical party (*nineteen men*), and be permitted to return to the United States with a small party made up by your private means, cannot be granted.” If nineteen men constituted the topographical party, why were forty others sent?

1846.

Jan. 29
Fremont at
Monterey.

almost alone to Suter's Fort, which was the nearest military station. Here he obtained from Capt. Suter a passport to Monterey, at which place he arrived, Jan. 27, 1846, and immediately repaired to Mr. Larkin at the American consular-house. The worthy consul accompanying him, he called on Gen. Castro, the military commandant; informed him that he had come to the country for peaceful explorations, and desired his permission to winter in the valley of the San Joaquin. This permission he received from Gen. Castro; and from the consul, he obtained supplies for his men. Resting only two days in Monterey, he returned to his camp.

He obtains
Castro's per-
mission to
winter in the
valley of San
Joaquin.

March 30.
He is ordered
away.

On the 3d of March, a sudden change occurred. Orders were sent from Mexico, directing Castro to drive the Americans out of the country; and Fremont now received a notice from that general to quit California, accompanied with such blustering threats, in case of non-obedience, as gave to the captain, an expectation of immediate attack. This officer then resolved, as Gen. Taylor did, when about to move from Point Isabel to his camp at the Rio Grande, that if the enemy opposed, in whatever force, he should fight him; and he accordingly raised the American flag. His camp, which he now fortified with a breastwork of logs, was pitched on the top of the Sierra, at the "Hawk's Peak," near the head waters of an affluent of the San Joaquin, which crossed the road to Monterey—distant sixty miles. With his spy-glass he could look from his eagle height, down upon the camp of his foe, at the mission of San Juan. Castro

March 5.
Fremont
raises the
American
flag, and
awaits an at-
tack.

1846. approached within four miles, with about 200 men, and was seen preparing cannon as if for an assault. But he did not attack. If he had, the Mexican war might perhaps have commenced, not on the Rio Grande, but on the Sierra Nevada; and California have belonged to the American Republic, some months earlier than it did. But said Mr. Larkin, afterwards writing on this subject, "Castro of himself had no wish to go after Col. Fremont," although with all the Californians to aid him; for Fremont "had verbal applications from the English and Americans to join his party, and he could have mustered as many men (in addition to his own party) as the natives."

Castro approaches within 4 miles but does not attack.

March 9.
(Mr. Larkin sent two messengers bearing duplicates of the same letter. One of these reaches Fremont.)

A Californian messenger on the 9th carried a letter from the judicious consul to Capt. Fremont, at his fortified camp. Travelling sixty miles in ten hours, the messenger carried back a letter from Fremont, in which he thus wrote to Mr. Larkin,* (saying that he did so before reading his letter,) "We have in no wise done wrong to the people, or the authority of the country, and if we are hemmed in and assaulted here, we will die, every man of us, under the flag of our country." Concerning the appearance of Fremont, his camp and his men, the Californian messenger on his return to Monterey said, that "two thousand of his countrymen would not be sufficient to compel him to leave the country, though his party was so small."

Opinion of a Californian respecting Fremont and his men.

* See Mr. Larkin's letter to the Secretary of State, April 3, 1846.

It was on the 9th that Fremont received Mr. Larkin's letter, of which we know not the contents. But we know that within a few hours† notwithstanding his willingness to die under his country's flag, Capt. Fremont broke up his encampment, and went north; declaring it to be his object to explore the southern part of Oregon, and survey a new route to the Walahmath by the way of the Hamath Lakes. He was then within Oregon, but on the confines of California; and the hostility of the savages in that vicinity made it a dangerous location.

1846.

(† See Mr. Larkin's letter to the Sec. of State.)

Fremont in the south part of Oregon.

On the evening of the 9th of May, two messengers found Capt. Fremont at the north end of the Hamath Lake, who informed him that an officer of the United States army was in search of him with dispatches, and that his danger from hostile Indians was imminent. At dawn of day, Fremont took with him nine men, of whom Kit Carson was one; four were of the fine old race of Delaware Indians, and one was Basil Lajeunesse, a young Frenchman, of whom Fremont speaks, in his descriptions, with affectionate reliance. Coasting the western shore of Hamath Lake—at night they providentially met the party whom they were seeking.

May 9.
Fremont hears of Gillespie.

The officer was Lieut. Gillespie, who, as before remarked, was sent from Washington in November, via Vera Cruz, Mexico, Mazatlan, and Monterey, with strict orders to find Capt. Fremont, and who had now travelled from Monterey 600 miles for that purpose. He bore a letter from the Secretary of State, indirectly accrediting

Gillespie has travelled over 600 miles to find Fremont.

1846. him, leaving the main points of his mission to oral communication. Exactly what this mission was, we know not, but we know the action which, on the part of Fremont, it produced. The administration, not without reason, placed confidence in him. In their service, he fearlessly took responsibility, and faithfully kept counsel.

Fremont was excited with hearing from his country and from his family,—one of his letters being from Senator Benton of Missouri, the father of his wife,—and at night, forgetting for an hour his ordinary watch, hostile Indians stole within the still camp, when all were asleep. A cry from Carson, and Fremont awoke to hear the death-groan of his favorite Basil Lajeunesse; and three Indians of his party were killed, before the murderers were subdued.

May 9.
Fremont's
camp attack-
ed, and mur-
ders commit-
ed by In-
dians.

Fremont re-
turning with
Gillespie, is in
the valley of
the Sacra-
mento.

(† We know
not how ma-
ny, nor who
were all
these male
and female
settlers, but
fancy the task
of taking
down their
names would
not be very
arduous.)

Capt. Fremont forthwith removed his whole party south into the unsettled parts of the Valley of the Sacramento. He encamped for a time at the Buttes, near the confluence of that stream with the Rio del Plumas. Here he learned that the friends of British protection had, as was supposed, excited the Indians against the American settlers. At any rate this dangerous race had assumed a hostile attitude. Gen. Castro had also published a proclamation requiring foreigners to leave the country; and he was, it was believed, collecting an army to enforce his orders. Women as well as men were in a state of excitement, and all looked to Fremont to unite with them in their defence.† “There was a good deal of correspondence,” says Capt. Owens, one of Fre-

mont's officers, “between the settlers and our camp; and as the danger seemed near at hand, and there was no other way to get out of it, it was finally agreed to join the settlers and fight the Californians. This is the way the revolution began. I do not think the settlers could have been united, without the aid and protection of Capt. Fremont. They *had not confidence enough in their strength to undertake the war* without support. Capt. Fremont's party was strong and well armed, and went together like one man.” Fremont's name too, and his position as an American officer, had great influence.

1841.

Letter of Capt. Owens, showing the way the revolution began.

Fremont now becoming openly the leader of the revolted Americans, he soon moved his camp farther south. The first overt act of hostility was on the part of the Americans, in seizing a number of horses, which Gen. Castro had ordered to be taken from Sonoma to his camp at Santa Clara. They were taken round by Suter's Fort, when a party of twelve American Californians, mostly hunters, (Mr. Merritt being their leader,) captured them; and sent word to Gen Castro, that if he wanted his property he must come and take it. Mr. Merritt's party increasing, at length amounted to more than thirty. They then took Sonoma, making prisoners, the Vallejos, and other principal persons. But they violated no private property.† Don Salvadore Vallejo, once having had Merritt in his power, struck him. Merritt now looked fiercely upon Vallejo, but restraining himself, he said, “You are now my prisoner, but I will not strike you.”

June 10.
Taking of Gen. Castro's horses the first overt act of hostility.

June 14.
Capture of Sonoma.

(† We take this account from Mr. Bryant, who gives, as his authority, R Semple, Editor of the Californian.)

A small garrison was left at Sonoma, commanded by

1834. Mr. Ide, who issued a proclamation, inviting all to come to his camp, and aid in forming a Republican government. About this time, two American young men† were brutally murdered in the neighborhood of Sonoma, and others were taken prisoners, by a party of Californians under one Padilla. Capt. Ford, with a part of the garrison of Sonoma, pursued Padilla to San Rafael, where he had been joined by Capt. Torr . An engagement took place in which the Americans were victorious, killing eight of their opponents. Cap. Fremont having heard that Castro was approaching with 200 men, joined the camp at Sonoma on the 25th of June. Torr  had now gone to the south, and no enemy remained on the north side of the Bay of Francisco. The Californians at Sonoma and the vicinity, seemed well pleased with the American ascendancy, and offered their property to aid in carrying on the war. Fremont took a number of horses of the Vallejoes and others; but anxious to fulfil the wishes of the government and conciliate the people, he promised that payment should be made, for whatever was taken.

(† Cowie and Fowler.)

San Rafael. Mexican force, 26; American, 18. Mex. loss, 10.

June 25. Fremont at Sonoma.

July 5. Independence declared, and the "Bear-flag" raised.

July 6. Goes to Suter's Fort, or New Helvetia

The fourth of July was duly celebrated. On the 5th, the Californian Americans declared their independence, and organized the Californian battalion; placing Capt. Fremont at its head; and for its standard emblem, they raised the figure of that unmanageable native of their woods, the grizzly bear.

Fremont, now at the head of the 160 men who composed the Californian battalion, moved his camp to New Helvetia. From this place he sent to San Francisco a detach-

ment of ten men, commanded by Robert Semple, Esq., 1841.
 who, in the course of the same summer, *became the Editor of the CALIFORNIAN, the first newspaper of the Territory.* The party performed the service, making prisoner Ridley, the captain of the port, and conveying him for safe keeping to Suter's Fort; of which Capt. Fremont had taken possession, placing in command Mr. Kern, one of his topographical party.*

July 8.
 Semple at
 New Hel-
 vetia.

The day after Capt. Fremont's arrival at Suter's Fort, as he was preparing to follow Gen. Castro to Santa Clara, he received the joyful news that Commodore Sloat had raised the American flag on the 7th, at Monterey, and that a state of war existed between the United States and Mexico. Instantly all united in pulling down the Californian bear, and raising the American eagle. The action of Sloat was, however, merely predicated upon that of Fremont.

July 7.
 Monterey.

* Whether with or without Capt. Suter's consent, we do not learn. He apologized in September to Mr. Bryant that he could not invite him to his fort, as he had not the control of his own property. A man with so much at stake might naturally seek to avoid collisions with all, and finally be found on the strongest side. We should suppose, however, that his preferences were on the side of the Americans; and also, that his shrewd, sagacious mind, would not be long in determining, which side would be the strongest.

CHAPTER IX.

Events of the War from the raising of the American Flag at Monterey.—The Californian Battalion.—Fremont's March.—Capitulation of Cowenga.

1845.

July 8.
Montgomery
takes
San Francis-
co.

AT San Francisco, Commander Montgomery, having been thus directed by Commodore Sloat, raised the American flag on the 8th; and soon after took possession of Sonoma.

July.
Am. force
in the Paci-
fic: the
Savannah,
Congress,
Portsmouth,
and Cyane.
The Warren
at Mazatlan,
and the store-
ship Erie, at
the Sandwich
Islands.)

Summoned by Commodore Sloat, Fremont repaired to Monterey with the Californian battalion of 160 mounted rifles. He, with Lieut. Gillespie, now his second in command, went on board the Commodore's ship. He was somewhat displeased, that they had not reported to him; but supposed that Fremont had been acting under the orders of the government, knowing that Gillespie had been sent out, a special messenger to him. "I want," said he, "to know by what authority you are acting. Mr. Gillespie has told me nothing. He came to Mazatlan, and I sent him to Monterey, but I know nothing. I want to know by what authority you are acting?" When Capt. Fremont told him he was acting on his own responsibility, the Commodore seemed much disturbed.

“I have acted,” said he, “upon the faith of your operations in the north. I would rather suffer from doing too much than too little.”† Commodore Sloat’s orders from Mr. Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, had been peremptory, that in case he learned that a state of war existed, he should act at once. He had heard, while lying at Mazatlan, of warlike movements on the Rio Grande, but was not possessed of certain information.

The proceedings respecting British protection and Irish emigration, had been, by these prompt measures of Fremont and his party, with the subsequent naval action, entirely disconcerted. The expected meeting on the 15th of June failed; the Macnamara grants were not perfected; and when, on the 16th of July, Admiral Sir George Seymour arrived in the Collingwood at the harbor of Monterey, the American flag was flying from every prominent point in the northern part of California. Besides this, the American naval force, which the day previous had been augmented by the arrival of the noble frigate Congress, now far exceeded his own. He took Macnamara on board his ship, and shortly after left the port. His visit proved the crisis,—and his departure put an end to the hopes of the British party; and for this reason operated favorably to the American cause.

Commodore Stockton, on board the Congress, at Norfolk, Oct. 1845, was sent to sea with sealed orders; not to be opened until he had passed the capes of Virginia. These orders directed him to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, then to Monterey, where he was first to deliver dis-

1846.

(† Yet Com. Sloat was blamed and a letter of recal written, Aug. 13, on acc’t of his inactivity in not sooner attacking. He had however left the station.)

July 16.
Admiral Sir George Seymour comes and finds California in possession of the Americans.

(July 19.
Fremont says Macnamara was on board the Collingwood.)

1845.

October,
Com. Stockton leaves the U. S. for the Pacific.

1846. patches to Mr. Larkin, and then report himself to his superior officer, Commodore Sloat. He arrived at Monterey on the 15th of July; doubtless prepared by his orders to enter into the spirit of the war.—Commodore Sloat was not well, and not, it appears, at ease in his mind. There seemed to him a mystery which he could not fathom. That a special messenger should be sent past him,—nay—he to forward him, to a young officer like Fremont, and he himself an older, and equally faithful servant of his country, left in the dark;—this appears to have preyed upon his spirits, and he told Stockton he intended to return.

July 15.
Com. Stockton arrives at Monterey.

When Fremont and Gillespie brought before Commodore Sloat the subject of the California battalion, he said it was not his intention to move from Monterey. He had no service for the troops, and would have nothing to do with them.† On the arrival of the Congress, Fremont and Gillespie called on Commodore Stockton, who thought differently, respecting the battalion. Being shortly to be left with the responsibility of holding and governing a country where many were disaffected, he persuaded Commodore Sloat to give him immediate command on land; and he invited those officers to take service under him. They consented; and he reorganized the battalion, and issued his commission to Fremont as Major, and to Gillespie as Captain—of this somewhat anomalous description of force; of which Fremont's original party was the nucleus, and the independent Californians of the "Bear Revolution" made up the

(† See Com. Stockton's testimony at Fremont's trial.)

remaining part, which, now amounting to 160 gallant men, ranked as an American "navy battalion." 1841.

Commodore Sloat sailed in the *Levant* for the United States on the 29th of July, leaving Stockton in full command.

May 29.
Com. Sloat
leaves Cal.

Neither Fremont nor Gillespie could have been thus commanded by Com. Stockton, but by their own consent. "The common voice of the people," says Fremont, "called me to the head of affairs, and I obeyed with alacrity. Lieut. Gillespie was of the marines, and was besides on *special* duty by orders of the President. We might have continued our independent position, and carried on the war by land." But they judged it best for their country, to take service under Stockton, and rank as a part of the forces of the naval commander.

See Fremont's defence, p. 375 of documents, &c.

Commodore Stockton now ordered a movement on *Ciudad de Los Angeles*, it being understood that Gen. Castro, in conjunction with Don Pico, the civil Governor, had there 600 men in arms. The Commodore and Fremont both embarked with their forces at Monterey, the former for San Pedro, the port of Los Angeles, and the latter for San Diego further south. Stockton with his marines first approached the enemy, who decamped at his approach. Fremont soon joined him, and together they took quiet possession of Los Angeles, with the public buildings, the archives, and all the public property. On the 17th of August, Commodore Stockton issued his proclamation, in which he informed the people of California, that, at his approach, Jose Castro, Commandant

Stockton and Fremont embark for San Pedro and San Diego.

August 13.
Com. Stockton and Maj. Fremont take possession of Los Angeles.

1846. General, buried his artillery, abandoned his fortified camp, and fled, as was believed, towards Mexico—that with the sailors, marines, and Californian battalion, they entered the city of Angeles on the 13th of August, and hoisted the North American flag, which was now flying from every commanding position in the territory—that California was now in the possession of the United States, and would soon be provided with a civil government; but till then, it was under military law, to be administered by himself, the commander-in-chief. In the meantime, the people were requested to assemble in their several towns, and choose their officers. Military men who chose to remain, would be required to take an oath to support the existing government.

August 17.
Com Stockton institutes government, directs elections, and requires an oath of allegiance from the military.

Com. S. appoints Fremont military commandant, and Gillespie secretary.

Having made this proclamation, Commodore Stockton, on the 24th, intending to go to sea, appointed Major Fremont, military commandant of California, and Lieut. Gillespie secretary. On the 28th of August, these proceedings were reported to the Navy Department, and Carson dispatched, via Santa Fé, to carry the reports public and private to Washington. Carson had proceeded to the valley of the Del Norte, when he was met by Gen. Kearny, with 300 men, coming to conquer California. Carson informed him that the work was already done by Fremont and Stockton. Gen. Kearny then sent back 200 of his soldiers, and proceeded with an escort of 100 dragoons; obliging the reluctant Carson to relinquish his mail, and return to California as a guide.

Gen. Kearny coming to conquer Cal. is met by Kit Carson with news that the conquest is made.

Carson's mail was sent forward to Washington, by 1816.
 Mr. Fitzpatrick. It reached its destination just in time for the President of the United States to use it in his annual message to Congress, and the Secretaries of War and the Navy in their reports to the President. In these three reports, the "gallant officer," Fremont, was most cordially commended, and the bloodless conquest of California by him and the naval officers related with much satisfaction. Some months before this, the President had sent forward to Fremont a Colonel's commission, which he received on the 27th of October.

Fremont and Stockton compliment'd by the President and Secretaries.

But ere this was known to him, changes were to take place. Early in September, Fremont left Los Angeles, to aid Com. Stockton, in collecting recruits for an expedition, which the valiant Commodore wished to undertake against Mazatlan. Thus occupied—the Commodore at San Francisco, and Fremont near Suter's Fort—news reached them from Gillespie, who was left in command at Angeles, that Castro had returned with a large Mexican force, headed by General Flores, or as he signed himself, Gov. Flores, and that Los Angeles and the adjacent region was in a state of open revolt; that the American garrison had been expelled, and the marines defeated. The Commodore had now other occupation on his hands, than the conquest of Mazatlan, and Fremont, other than that of playing governor-in-chief of California; it being the plan of Stockton, (forwarded by him to Washington,) to leave Fremont in this office, while he himself went to make conquests in Mexico. By great activity

September. Castro returns with a large Mex. force.

1846. and energy, Fremont succeeded in increasing his battalion to 428 men. The recruits were mostly from the emigrants who, as we have before seen, approached California this year in considerable numbers.

Fremont's battalion increased by the voluntary action of the emigrants.

Mr. Bryant informs us, that being at Suter's Fort, when news arrived from the south, of the disasters which had there occurred to the Americans, he immediately drew up a paper which was signed by himself and four other newly arrived Americans,† by which, with consent of Mr. Kern, commander of Fort Suter, they offered their services as volunteers, and agreed to make exertions to raise and equip a force of emigrants and Indians.

(† Messrs. Reed, Jacob, Lippincott, and Grayson.)

The disastrous news alluded to was the defeat of 400 marines, who landed at San Pedro, under Capt. Mervine, of the Savannah,—by a large force of Californians and Mexicans; the capitulation of Capt. Gillespie, who was left in command at Los Angeles, and the escape of the garrison of Santa Barbara, under Lieut. Talbot,—from a force too powerful to be resisted.

In the new organization of the battalion, Col. Russell became one of the officers, and Mr. Bryant another. Capt. Suter personally interested himself on this occasion, in procuring horses and provisions for the volunteers, which, with the condition of the country as it then existed, was a matter of great difficulty, and caused indispensable delays. Fremont once embarked to go by sea, but he learned after he had proceeded to Santa Barbara, that such was the hostility of the Californians at the south, that

it would be absolutely impossible to procure horses. He turned, and procured them in the vicinity of the Bay and at Suter's Fort; and with the resolute battalion, in the inclement season of December, he was to make a tedious march of 400 miles from Monterey to Los Angeles.

1846.

October.
Difficulties
and delays

While the volunteers were collecting at their two places of rendezvous, San José, and the Mission of San Juan, the worthy Mr. Larkin was made prisoner—as he was journeying, in the dangerous region of the marauders of the river Stanislaus—by an armed party of seventy Californians. They required of him to write an order to San Juan, requesting twenty of his countrymen to come to his relief, whom they meant to surprise and kill. Every threat was used to make him write the order. “Write”—said the consul. “I shall not—shoot as soon as you please!” When news of his captivity reached Suter's, a band of fifty, most of them the newly arrived emigrants, hastened to his relief, and effected it, though with the loss of two valuable men, Capt. Foster and Capt. Burroughs of St. Louis. Two of the Californians were killed and two wounded.

Mr. Larkin
made prisoner,
and rescued
by the
emigrants.

The march of the battalion to San Luis Obispo, between the mountain range and the ocean, was so secret, that the commandant of that military post was captured by surprise. This was Don Jesus Pico, cousin to the governor, and a man much beloved by his fellow citizens. But he had broken his parole; and he was, in that quarter, head of the insurrection. A court martial of Fremont's officers tried, and sentenced him to be shot. Fre-

Dec. 14.
San Luis
Obispo taken
by surprise.

1846. mont, in the spirit of obedience to repeated instructions of the government, given indeed to all American officers in California, wished to conciliate the inhabitants. A procession of women came to beg for the life of their beloved townsman.† Fremont freely pardoned him, and from that moment he and his friends were won.

(† This incident is related by Mr. Bryant, who witnessed the procession.)

Dec. 17.
Don J. Pico
pardoned by
Fremont.

He accompanied Fremont in his onward march. From the papers taken here, the action at San Pasqual was learned; by which it became known, that a small American force approached, but who was the commander was yet undiscovered.

Dec. 25.
The battalion
encounter a
storm on the
mountain of
Santa Bar-
bara.

On Christmas-day, amidst chilling winds and driving rain, the patient and hardy battalion struggled over the mountain of Santa Barbara; although so severe was the storm, that 100 horses and mules perished. At the long maritime Pass of the *Rincon* or *Pinta Gorda*, where their march was flanked by one of the vessels of the navy, the little army was threatened by mounted horsemen; but as they did not attack, Fremont would not allow them to be molested. In the same manner he restrained his troops, at the defile of San Fernando. Thus he entered the plain of Cowenga, where the enemy, as he was informed, had a force equal to his own. He sent a summons to surrender. The chiefs desired to hold a parley with the American commander; and Fremont went to them, accompanied only by Don Jesus Pico. The Californian officers were, they said, moved by his clemency, and they would capitulate to him, and to none other.

Jan. 13.
Fremont at
the plain of
Cowenga,
where the
Californians
capitulate to
him.

By the capitulation, the Californians agreed that their

entire force should deliver their artillery and public arms to Col. Fremont—that they would return peaceably to their homes, and conform to the laws of the United States; but that no Californians, until after a treaty should have been made between Mexico and the United States, should be bound to take an oath of allegiance. All prisoners on both sides were released. This agreement proved the final pacification of California.

1847.

Articles of
capitulation.

Jan. 13.
This capitulation the final
pacification.

CHAPTER X.

Commodore Stockton's Movements.—Gen. Kearny's March.—The Battle of San Pasqual.—Stockton sends Relief to Kearny.—Their March upon Los Angeles, and the Battle of San Gabriel.

1846.

Southern
Californians
revolt, and
Angeles re-
taken.

WE now go back in the order of time, following the movements of Commodore Stockton and Gen. Kearny. After Fremont had left Commodore Stockton, and during the period in which he was collecting and procuring supplies for his battalion, the Commodore was endeavoring to give aid to the exposed American garrisons at Monterey, and other places on or near the coast. Gillespie was besieged at Los Angeles, capitulated, and went on board the *Savannah*, then commanded by Capt. Mervine and lying at San Pedro. The Captain had debarked with his sailors and marines, and an affair occurring between him and the Californians, he met with some loss, and returned to the ship.

Dec. 3.
Com. Stock-
ton receives
a letter
from Gen.
Kearny.

While Commodore Stockton was at San Diego, awaiting the co-operation of Fremont to attack Los Angeles, he received on the 3d of Dec. a letter from Gen. Kearny, dated "Warner's Rancho," informing him that he

1846.

had taken New Mexico, "annexed it to the United States," established a civil government there, and was now, by order of the President, on his way to California; and he requested of Commodore Stockton to send back with Mr. Stokes, the messenger, who lived near Warner's Rancho, a party to open a communication with him, the General having learned the revolted and unsettled state of the country. Commodore Stockton immediately sent forward Capt. Gillespie with thirty-six men and a field-piece. He sent by him, information to Gen. Kearny, that the enemy, 150 strong, and commanded by Don Andreas Pico, were in the neighborhood.

Kearny finds himself on unsafe ground. Stockton sends an insufficient party to relieve him.

The march of Gen. Kearny, from Santa Fé by the river Gila—across the Colorado—to the neighborhood of San Diego, had occupied the months of October and November. Above the mouth of the Gila, Lieut. Emory, the well-known topographical engineer of the party, had captured a horseman with the Californian mail for Sonora. It was by this means that Gen. Kearny learned, that the southern part of California was no longer in the power of the Americans. The letters related with great exultation the affair at San Pedro, where Capt. Mervine was, with his marines, prevented from marching to Los Angeles, and turned back to his ship with loss. This, though true, was, by Gen. Kearny and his party, taken for an exaggeration. But they were a small and travel-worn company, and when they arrived at Warner's Rancho, about thirty-three miles from San Diego, Gen. Kearny sent to Com. Stockton, by the neutral Englishman.

Gen. Kearny's route.

Nov. 23. Lieut. Emory captures a mail and gets unpleasant news.

Warner's Rancho, 33 miles from San Diego.

1846. Mr. Stokes, whose ranche was the former Mission of Santa Isabella, with the letter already mentioned. On

Dec. 5.
Capt. Gillespie joins Kearny.

Dec. 6.
Battle of San Pasqual.

American loss—killed, 18; wounded, 13.

the 5th of December, Capt. Gillespie joined Gen. Kearny. They learned that a hostile force of mounted Californians, under Andreas Pico, barred their way. On the morning of the 6th, the combined parties moved forward before light, intending to surprise their foe. But they, freshly mounted, were awaiting the Americans; and they fought with great bravery. The Americans stood their ground; but it was at the expense of the lives of eighteen killed on the field, and thirteen wounded, among whom were Gen. Kearny, Captains Gillespie and Gibson, Lieut. Warner, and Mr. Robideau, the interpreter. Among the killed, were Captains Johnson and Moore, and Lieut. Hammond.

Night of the 6th.
Melancholy camp scene.

The camp of the Americans, the night after the battle, presented a scene of which private life affords little room for comparison. Their wounded—where should they procure them comforts? Their dead—where find them graves, so secret and so profound, that their bodies would not be exhumed and rifled? Mournfully, by the darkness of the night, the survivors made their resting place, deep beneath a solitary willow; while wolves howled a discordant requiem.

Dec. 7.
(† One of the most heroic deeds of the war.)

On the 7th, the Americans were intercepted by the enemy. A part of their little force was occupied with the ambulances of their wounded, as they attempted to move. But they charged,† and drove the Californian horsemen, wounding several. But they had only retired, to return

in greater numbers. The next day, the 8th, the Americans were besieged in their camp, on the hill of San Fernando. For the party to move, would be a deed of desperation, as it would take half their force to transport the wounded; and the enemy, fresh and well-mounted, and in superior numbers, were watching them in every direction. Fortunately, they found, by digging at the foot of a rock, a little water; but they were distressed for want of food. Then it was that Carson,* with Lieut. Beale

1846.

Dec. 8.
The Americans in danger—heroism of Carson and Beale.

* One of the most eloquent portions of Col. Fremont's defence, is where he speaks of Kit Carson. Wishing to invalidate the testimony of Gen. Kearny, Fremont thus alludes to the evidence given by him, that he did not recollect, indeed did not know, the person (who was Kit Carson) that brought him a certain letter, hereafter to be mentioned.

“For Gen. Kearny,” said Fremont, addressing the court, “not to know Kit Carson, not to remember him when he brought the letter on which this prosecution is based; to swear that he had never seen the man, before or since, who brought that letter, when that man was the same express from Commodore Stockton and myself from whom he got the dispatches; whom he turned back from the confines of New Mexico, and made his guide to California; the man who showed him the way, step by step, in that long and dreary march; who was with him in the fight of San Pasqual; with him on the besieged and desolate hill of San Fernando; who volunteered with Lieut. Beale and the Indians to go to San Diego for relief, and whose application to go was at first refused ‘because he could not spare him;’ who was afterwards the commander of the scouts on the march from San Diego to Los Angeles; not to know this man who had been his guide for so many months, and whom few see once without remembering, and not only not to know him, but to

Gen. Kearny forgetting Kit Carson, Fremont shows Kit's claims to be remembered.

1846. and an Indian, (his name should be told,) heroically volunteered to go to Com. Stockton at San Diego, and procure assistance. Most dangerous was the service, and forlorn the hope, that the messengers could escape the keen-eyed foe—but they did.—On the night of the 10th, the tramp of horses was heard in the melancholy camp, and soon the hearts of the soldiers were gladdened, and their hunger relieved, by their brethren from the American ships at San Diego.

Dec. 10.
A deliverance.

Dec. 9.
Com. Stockton's prompt action.

Not a moment had been lost after Carson and Lieut. Beale had made the condition of the party known to Com. Stockton, before measures were taken for their relief. Lieut. Grey, with a party of 180 sailors and marines, left San Diego on the night of the 9th. They hid themselves during the day of the 10th, and at night gave to their scarcely expecting countrymen, a joyful surprise. In the surprise, though not in the joy, their enemies participated; and forthwith decamped, not even removing their animals.

In two days, the party were at San Diego.* Com. swear that he had never seen him before or since;—this was indeed exhibiting an infirmity of memory, almost amounting to no memory at all.”

* Capt. Emory relates, that as they came upon a hill where they had their first view of the Pacific, one of the men from the interior, who had never seen an ocean, exclaimed, “Lord! there is a great prairie without a tree!”—The town of San Diego, says Capt. Emory, consists of a few houses of adobe, two or three of which only, have plank floors. The Mission is a fine large building, now deserted. (1846.)

Stockton, having sent all his horses to Gen. Kearny's relief, walked out to meet him, took him to his quarters ; and all possible attentions were shown by the officers of the navy, to him and his wayworn companions. 1847.

Fremont, now toiling on his long march, did not yet appear, nor was any thing heard of him or his battalion. They were anxious at San Diego for his fate, and Gen. Kearny, not probably relishing his subordinate position, and perhaps desirous to see Fremont before he should see Stockton, offered to go with a party to his relief. Com. Stockton, however, decided himself to move north immediately, with all the force which could be mustered.

Kearny wishes to go and meet Fremont. Stockton decides to go himself.

Gen. Kearny was now in a position, anomalous and unpleasant. He was sent to conquer and to govern. But he had by no means entered California as a conqueror ; and how was he to become governor, without an efficient force at his command, when Com. Stockton believed that he was, by right, governor of the country ? Yet he courteously offered to relinquish the command to Gen. Kearny, and go to Los Angeles as his aid. Gen. Kearny was, in truth, the superior officer, being a brigadier-general ; and—holding the order of the Secretary of War to that effect, he was really governor-in-chief. But Com. Stockton having been in the chief command, and having at risk to his own corps, saved that of Kearny—this far-off order of the War Department, made for one state of things, and now fallen upon another, seemed to him a nullity. There is nothing

Difficulties growing up between Kearny and Stockton respecting the chief authority.

1847. more precarious than the peace which exists between two persons thus situated—no matter how polite each may be. Who wants his right by courtesy? and besides, he who accepts it thus from the stronger party, may at any moment be displaced. Kearny knew, that, at the moment, Stockton commanded more men than he. Fremont was an important man to him, and he wrote him short affectionate notes; † while he declined the courteous offer of Gov. Stockton, to take the chief command of the expedition; and on his part, proposed to accompany Stockton to Los Angeles as his aid. This service the commodore accepted, and himself took the chief command, notwithstanding the little knowledge of land tactics, which he and his officers possessed. Before setting out, however, Kearny told Stockton that he must command the troops. Stockton agreed that he might, and introduced him to the marines as their commander—yet under him, as governor-in-chief.

(† Fremont received four, before writing by Col. Russell from Cowenga.)

Dec. 29.
The march begins.

They began their march on the 29th of December, with fifty-seven dragoons, officers and men, the remains of Gen. Kearny's escort—four hundred marines, and sixty volunteers. They had six heavy pieces of artillery and eleven heavy wagons. They had provided well against surprise, by organizing a scouting party, with Carson for its leader. Their march was along the coast —across the Solidad—by the deserted mission of San Luis Rey, and the small town of Flores:—thence by a narrow pass between the ocean and a neighboring moun-

1847.

Jan. 2.
At San Luis Rey.

tain to another deserted mission—that of San Juan de Capistrano, now owned by the Pico family. Here had once been a fine cathedral, but a part of it was thrown down in 1822 by an earthquake, killing fifty persons within, who had fled to it for refuge. On the 6th of January, the troops passed the pleasant stream of the Santa Anna. On the 7th, when near the River San Gabriel, and nine miles distant from Los Angeles, they found the enemy in force, and prepared to dispute their passage; and they joined battle.

1847.

Jan. 5.
At San Juan
de Capistrano.

The enemy under Gen. Flores were superior in numbers. They were all mounted, and the best horsemen in the world. The great body of the American troops were sailors, little skilled in land operations; and they had two commanders. In two instances, at least, in the course of the battle, what was done by Gen. Kearny's command, was undone by Com. Stockton's.* Yet officers and men bore gallantly on, and won the field.

San Gabriel.
Americans
victorious.
Am. loss—
k. 1; w. 11.

But the enemy were still in force, and while the Americans, now within three miles of Los Angeles, were marching across the Mesa, a plain between the rivers San Gabriel and San Fernando, Flores appeared before them, opened his artillery, and deployed in crescent, his line of battle. After some fighting, and a small loss on both sides, the foe drew off. This was the force which capitulated to Fremont at Cowenga.†

Affair of the
Mesa.
Am. loss—
k. 0; w. 5.

(† Except
Flores, who
escaped to
Mexico.)

* One was the forming of a square, and the other, the unlimbering of the guns, as they were about to cross the San Gabriel. (See Fremont's trial.)

1846.

Jan. 10.
Stockton and
Kearny enter
Angeles.

The commanders judiciously forbore to enter the city at evening, lest during the night, excesses should be committed. The next morning they entered Los Angeles without material injury; but with unpleasant expressions of dislike from the inhabitants.

Col. Russell
sent by Fre-
mont to learn
who is gov-
ernor.

Immediately after the capitulation of Cowenga, Col. Fremont, who had now learned that Gen. Kearny was at Los Angeles, although he knew not in what capacity he had come, sent forward Col. Russell with directions carefully to inquire whether he or Stockton was in chief command, and to make his report of military operations accordingly. He bore a letter from Fremont to Gen. Kearny, in answer to his affectionate notes. Col. Russell, personally acquainted with the General, called first on him, and asked him whether he or Stockton was in chief command. Gen. Kearny informed him, that it was the Commodore who was in exercise of that function; but he claimed that, by his orders, the right to exercise it belonged to him.

CHAPTER XI.

Col. Fremont made Governor, by Com. Stockton.—Gen. Kearny's successful measures to obtain the ascendancy.

COL. FREMONT the next day after the capitulation of Cowenga marched at the head of his battalion; and when within five miles of Los Angeles, met his messenger Col. Russell; from whom he learned for the first time, that Gen. Kearny had been sent from Washington to conquer and to establish a government in California. He had previously been informed—while at the camp of the Willows, near San Barbara, by Capt. Hamlyn, a special messenger sent to him by sea from Stockton, while he with Kearny were lying at San Luis Rey, on their way to Angeles—that Kearny had, after a defeat at San Pasqual, been assisted to reach San Diego, by the naval forces sent by Stockton to his rescue. That coming thus, Stockton and himself, who had conquered California, were at once to defer to Kearny, he probably, in the flush of success, thought too unreasonable to merit much attention. Gen. Kearny, the elegant officer, and, when not moved by anger, the prepossessing man, he

1846.

Jan. 14.

(† The plain of Cowenga is 12 miles from Angeles.)

Fremont had information of Kearny's entrance into California.

His choice between Stockton and Kearny, not the effect of personal feeling.

1847. appears to have regarded with personal cordiality, as a former acquaintance, and as the friend of those he loved.

Fremont's
course previ-
ously laid.

Stockton and
Kearny
opposed to
each other.

Fremont an
important
man to each.

But every thing had been laid in a train between himself and Com. Stockton ; the latter to go to Mexico, and he to be left Governor-in-chief of California. The 25th of October had been the day appointed ; and the consummation was only prevented by the insurrection which both had been engaged in quelling. And not only this, but their whole plan had been transmitted to Washington, in the mail sent by Carson, and by Gen. Kearny transferred to Mr. Fitzpatrick ; so that it was without doubt there believed, that he was at the moment actually filling the post of Governor of California. From Col. Russell he further learned, that although the General and the Commodore had met as friends, they were now each chafed in mind,—each feeling that the other claimed what belonged to him. In this juncture Fremont, at the head of 400 efficient troops, was an important man. Whichever side he joined, would be the superior in military strength. Gen. Kearny, in case Fremont acknowledged his authority, would have the whole land force at his command ; but if he united with Stockton, then Kearny's position would, for the time, be mortifying to his pride ; and calculated to awaken his anger. Both he and Stockton, Russell said, offered Fremont the governorship ; though the offer from Kearny was not to take immediate effect. Col. Russell thought, that Kearny was the better friend of the two, to Fremont. Stockton had at first dis-

1847.

approved the capitulation of Cowenga. Kearny had put words into his mouth, wherewith to defend it. But Stockton was, as matter of fact, in chief command. This Kearny acknowledged; and allowed that he had served under him in the march from San Diego; but he showed orders from the government, by which he judged himself entitled to the chief command; and a military tribunal has since decided that he was right. Fremont, however, regarded those orders as obsolete—intended for a state of things no longer existing. He regarded Kearny's orders to govern as predicated upon a previous conquest, which himself, rather than Kearny, had made. He thought that his country owed it to his prompt and independent action, that California had not been lost to her, by the scheme of British protection. The fact that to him the American Executive had sent by sea and shore, a special messenger five thousand miles,* doubt-

Fremont regards Kearny's orders as obsolete.

* To *continue*, not to *commence* secret confidential intercourse and instructions. The message was verbal, not written. Capt. Gillespie was a worthy officer of marines, but not a Metternich, to explain, for the first time, a course of policy and the reasons for it. Fremont in his defence, uses this expression: "Knowing well the views of the Cabinet, and satisfied that it was a great national measure to unite California to us as a sister state, by a voluntary expression of the popular will." We cannot but think he was willing, that the crisis should have been met, at the Hawks' Peak.

Lieut. Revere, in his "Tour of Duty," an interesting book just issued from the press, speaks thus of the reasons for Fremont's not accepting the offered services of Californian Americans while at

1847. less had its weight ; and if he had successfully executed these confidential orders, without betraying the administration to the blame of their opponents, then this might naturally make him presume, that his course, if sanctioned by his own sense of duty, would be sustained by the government. But the Executive could not afford to offend the whole army ; and discipline is the right arm of its efficiency, and the sensitive nerve of every officer.—Fremont went forward to Angeles ; and was met both by Stockton and Kearny with cordiality. This was soon, in the latter, to be changed to stern unyielding resentment ; for Gen. Kearny soon found, that it was to Stockton, not to himself, that Fremont would adhere.

Jan. 14.
Fremont enters Angeles.

Jan. 16.
Stockton commissions Fremont as governor.

The day but one after their arrival at Los Angeles, Com. Stockton, then residing at the house of the governors of California, sent to Fremont and Russell, who came a little past noon, and received from him commissions, to act as governor and secretary of the province.

At the dusk of the evening, Capt. Emory, the accomplished adjutant of Gen. Kearny, came to Fremont's quarters, bearing a copy of the orders of the Secretary

Capt. Emory brings Fremont Gen. Kearny's written order.

that mountain camp. "Knowing, I imagine, that his own party was quite sufficient to compete with any force that Castro could bring against him, fearing perhaps to compromise his countrymen, in person and property, had Castro by any unexpected circumstance proved successful." Mr. Larkin is rich. Bryant says he will probably be the first American millionaire of California.

of War, giving to the General, the chief command in California ;—and a written order, directing Fremont to make no changes in the Californian battalion without Gen. Kearny's sanction.

1847.

The next morning the General sent him a line of request to come to him on business. Fremont was making his written answer, but he hastened at the summons, leaving his acting secretary, Lieut. Talbot, to copy the letter, and send it after him by Carson, to Gen. Kearny's quarters.

Carson soon brought it in, and Fremont signed and handed it to the General. It was the avowal of his determination, with his reasons, not, at that time, to change his military position. "Until you adjust between yourselves," he wrote, "the question of rank, I shall have to report and receive orders, as heretofore, from the Commodore."

Jan. 17.
Fremont re-
fuses to obey
Kearny's
order.

Gen. Kearny, on reading the letter, requested Fremont to take it back, and destroy it ; and with kindness remonstrated against his course. Fremont persisted ; and the same kindness, he never met again. From that time, Kearny determined to arrest, and bring him to punishment.

The next morning, the embittered General took his way from Angeles, with his small and diminished escort of now unmounted dragoons. He retraced his march to San Diego, to meet the expected Mormon battalion under Col. Cooke. That officer had already reached San Diego, leaving the Mormons in the vicinity. Subsequently they

Jan. 18 to 23.
Kearny
marches from
Angeles to
San Diego.

Jan. 20
Col. Cooke
arrives.

1847. were removed to the mission of San Luis Rey, 100 miles from Angeles.—Lieut. Emory was on the 25th sent to Washington with dispatches. Kearny had now a land force at his command. He next went by sea to commune with the naval authorities at Monterey, leaving Cooke in command of all the troops in that vicinity.

Jan. 20.
Stockton
leaves Ange-
les.
He goes to
sea.

Com. Stockton meantime left Los Angeles two days after Kearny's departure. At San Pedro, he embarked his marines, and sailed, as he had predetermined, to make conquests on the coast of Mexico.

Jan. 31.
Kearny sails
from San
Diego for
Monterey.

Jan. and Feb.
Fremont as
governor.
Lives respect-
ed and be-
loved without
a military
guard.

Fremont now occupied the gubernatorial mansion in Los Angeles, vacated for him by Com. Stockton. He appears to have administered the government with mildness, discretion, and dignity. His state papers are few, but such as no American need be ashamed of—in his own, or a foreign country. He mingled, as one among the people, having the intimate friendship of influential Californians. He sent his battalion for quarters to the deserted mission of San Gabriel, nine miles from Angeles, and kept with him, and in his family, but Col. Russell, the secretary, Capt. Owens, and another officer of the Californian battalion. But these fair and pleasant days were, to Gov. Fremont, soon to be succeeded, by months of darkness.

Feb. 8.
Gen. Kearny
reaches
Monterey.

Gen. Kearny, on arriving at Monterey, found Com. Shubrick, who had arrived in the Independence on the 27th of January. Shubrick had orders, originally directed to Com. Sloat, but now transferred to him, by which the government of the country seemed vested in

the commanding naval officer ; and although as he wrote in answer to a letter from Fremont (stating his course and his reasons) he was instructed by the government that Kearny was governor, yet he intimated that he should not interfere to break up present arrangements, until further orders from Washington.

A few days after receiving this letter, Fremont was astounded by public proclamations issued from Monterey. The first of these was signed by Com. Shubrick and Gen. Kearny, jointly ; and declared, that the President of the United States had assigned to the naval commander the regulation of the import trade, and all the conditions by which vessels were to enter and leave the harbors ; and to the commanding military officer, the direction of the operations on land, and the administrative functions of the government. The second proclamation—both of the same date, March 1,—was signed alone by Gen. Kearny. It set forth, that he, (the undersigned,) having been instructed to take charge of the civil government of California, he entered upon its duties, with every good desire and intention to promote the welfare of the people. He guaranteed freedom of conscience and protection of life and property. “ It is,” he said, “ the wish and design of the United States to provide for California, with the least possible delay, a free government, similar to those in her other territories, and the people will soon be called upon to exercise their rights as freemen, in electing their own representatives.” But in the meantime, the Mexican laws, when not conflicting

1847.

Feb. 17.
Fremont
writes to Shu-
brick.
The commo-
dore's reply,
dated the 23d.

March 1.
Joint procla-
mation of
Shubrick and
Kearny.

Gen. Kear-
ny's procla-
mation, and
annexation.

1847. with those of the United States, would be continued, and those persons who held office, continue; "provided *they swear† to support that constitution, and faithfully perform their duty.*—The undersigned hereby *absolves all the inhabitants of California from any further allegiance to the Republic of Mexico,* and will consider them as citizens of the United States." Entire annexation was declared. The Americans and Californians were now but one people. All difficulties were at an end. "The star-spangled banner floats over California, and as long as the sun continues to shine, so long will it float there."

(†The capitulation of Cowenga had provided that the taking of oaths should be deferred till the close of the war.)

Fremont placed by Kearny's proclamation in a mortifying predicament.

By this public proclamation, unknown and unexpected to Fremont, until the blow was struck, that young and high-spirited officer was held up to the people, after having been their leader and their hero, in a light the most intensely mortifying. And had he no power to sting back again? Holding the governorship at the old metropolis where the people were Mexican in feeling—having the friendship of the Pico family, the most powerful and influential among them—having the command of 400 men of the Californian battalion, a portion of which were his original party, and another part, those who had made him their independent leader, and who were as hostages from the valley of the Sacramento—he might, had he chosen to pursue the dictates of natural pride and resentment, have at least made a civil war, which would have wet the soil of California with kindred blood, and perhaps eventually lost that country to the United States. But Fremont

Fremont manifests true heroism in determining to submit.

resolved rather to submit to personal humiliation; nor had he intended to resist the orders of the government. 1847.

The change in the course of Com. Shubrick was brought about by orders, dated Nov. 5, 1847, received from Washington, and brought out by Col. Mason, who had been appointed to relieve Gen. Kearny—he having permission to return to the United States. Directions were also given, to allow Lieut. Col. Fremont, if he wished—to join his regiment, or pursue his explorations.

Capt. Turner, sent from Gen. Kearny to Los Angeles, arrived on the 11th of March, bearing orders to Fremont, dated March 1. He brought him also late orders of the government, by which he was convinced, for the first time, that Kearny, not himself, would be sustained at Washington. Gen. Kearny also advised Fremont that he had intrusted Col. St. George Cooke with the supervision of the southern military district; for the protection and defence of which, his Mormon battalion would be placed wherever he should deem most eligible. To Fremont, an order was given, as commander of the Californian battalion, to muster the men, if not already done, with a view to their regular payment and according to acts of Congress, into the regular service of the United States; (to remain doubtless with the Mormons, under the command of Col. Cooke,) while if there were any, who were unwilling thus to remain, Fremont was ordered to conduct them to San Francisco, via Monterey, to be there discharged.

March 11.
He receives
Kearny's
order by Capt.
Turner.

Col. Cooke
made by Gen.
Kearny mili-
tary com-
mandant.

The Mormons
approach Los
Angeles.

1847.

It was at first Fremont's intention to obey these orders, and thus he told Capt. Turner. But difficulties arose. The entire battalion, officers and men, refused to be mustered. Fremont regarded himself as responsible that they should be righted, as to payment for past services; and he had, in the course of his public acts, become personally responsible in large amounts. He further thought, that the American interest required that the Californian battalion should not be disbanded. Leaving orders to the officers, that the ordnance and stores should remain as they were until his return, he took with him, his friend, Don Jesus Pico, and one servant; and on horseback, they rode four hundred miles in three days and ten hours, and arrived on the 25th of February at Monterey. The particular object of Fremont was to discuss with Gen. Kearny the pecuniary liabilities incurred by himself individually, and as governor; and to devise some means by which they should be so met as to save his honor and that of his country.*

He went to the house of the kind Mr. Larkin, and from thence sent a note to Gen. Kearny, desiring to see him on business; and an hour that evening was appointed. Mr. Larkin accompanied him, but soon withdrew. Col. Mason was present, and when Fremont suggested that he wished to be alone with Gen. Kearny, he was told by him that he had nothing to hear or to

A cold reception.

* These pecuniary claims were not provided for, until by a law of Congress, passed in the winter of 1848.

communicate, to which Col. Mason, who was to succeed him, should not be a party. Thus repelled, Fremont wholly failed in the object of his journey. But when the question was peremptorily put, whether he would obey Kearny, he answered in the affirmative. He then received an order to send those of the battalion who refused to take service, by water to Monterey; and himself speedily to repair to that place by land.† Fremont and his little party then remounted, and rode back in the same rapid manner as they came, making their whole absence from Angeles but eight days.

1847.

(† This permission Gen. K. gave to Fremont on his telling him that sea-voyages disagreed with his health.)

New vexations awaited Fremont. Col. Cooke had arrived in his absence, and requiring, by virtue of his appointment, that the ordnance of the battalion at the mission of San Gabriel, should be turned over to him, the officers, acting under the directions of Fremont, had refused. Shortly after, Col. Mason came with orders from Kearny, dated three days after the interview at Monterey, by which, he was to be received as governor, and obeyed by Fremont; who was directed to appear in Monterey within twelve days after he should have embarked the volunteers.

March 23.
Date of Col.
Mason's orders.

The country in the meantime became convulsed. Parties of armed men were passing to and fro, and every thing wore the appearance of a fresh outbreak. Kearny's proclamation and annexation of California, had grated harshly upon the ears of those who loved their country, the Mexican Republic—and whose first wish it was, to return to her bosom; and not be held under

The vicinity of Angeles appears to be on the eve of an outbreak.

1847. the dominion of those, who in language, religion, and manners, were foreigners to them. The proclamation, abrogating the conditions of the capitulation of Cowenga, set them free from all honorary engagements. They were horror-stricken by the fear of being subjected to the Mormons; and of having, as they understood was to be the case, their whole society to come and settle among them—having heard of them, as a sect, blackened with foul and bloody crimes. “The American people make war upon them,” said they, “and why should not we?” and to encourage them, rumor was rife with the report, that Gen. Bustamente was shortly to appear in California with a large Mexican force.

The approach of the Mormons agitates the people.

In this disturbed state of the country, travelling became unsafe. Murders were committed, and the two officers whom Fremont had retained as travelling companions, after sending by sea the battalion to Monterey, remonstrated against attempting the journey. Fremont had prepared horses at San Gabriel to mount his original party, and proceed to Mexico, to join his regiment, or otherwise to pursue his explorations.

May 9.
Gen. Kearny arrives at Angeles.

The month of April thus passed, and Fremont not coming to Monterey, according to his orders, Gen. Kearny, early in May, appeared in person at Angeles. Having predetermined to arrest Fremont and bring him to trial for disobedience, he now refused to permit him to join his regiment; and the horses which he had prepared, were afterwards sold, some for three dollars apiece, as public property.

1847.

An important accession to the land force—which doubtless, by putting the Californians in fear, served to quiet the country—was now accruing, in the arrival of the New-York regiment of volunteers, under Col. Stevenson. They had been enlisted as those, who had no objection to settle in California, provided they found an agreeable country. They came, different companies in different vessels, by Cape Horn; and arrived successively at San Francisco, in the months of March and April. They brought mill-irons and various articles useful to settlers, as well as munitions of war. They were separated to different commands, and stationed at San Francisco, Sonoma, Monterey, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles.*

Mar. and Ap.
Col. Steven-
son's reg't
arrives at San
Francisco.

(Col. Steven-
son himself
arrived Mar.
5, 1847.)

Towards the last of May, Gen. Kearny and Col. Fremont being then at Monterey, the latter was required to

Fremont's
exploring in-
struments ta-
ken out of his
hands.

* A letter from Col. Stevenson, of Oct. 23, 1848, just published in the Albany Argus, gives a deplorable picture of California, at that date. He says it is without law, either civil or military; that there is not in Monterey, from whence he writes, either governor, or alcalde, or any military officer, except Capt. Burton, commanding the port, and some twenty soldiers. All the recruits sent out have deserted; and he believes, that in a short time, there will be no military force, except officers; and they have strong inducements to desert—if not to dig for gold, at least to find some place, where a common round jacket will not cost fifty dollars, and indifferent board, four dollars a day. “In short,” the letter concludes, “there is neither law, order, nor any kind of government in the country.”

1847. transmit to another's care, his exploring instruments. Com. Biddle, having arrived in the Columbus, was now in the chief naval command. In his presence, Fremont, with his reduced corps of about nineteen, was paraded, with circumstances, as he felt, of indignity.

Fremont obliged to accompany Kearny home. Kept close to the Mormons.

Gen. Kearny had been preparing to return to the United States, by way of the South Pass. He still rejected every proposition of Fremont, to be permitted to travel by himself, though at his own expense; directing him to accompany his route. At night he would not permit him to choose his own encampment, but obliged him to encamp in the rear of a guard of Mormons. Thus was marched from the foot of the Sierra Nevada, to Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri, the man whose discoveries had opened to view the geography of that new country—and whose fearless action, had perhaps preserved it to the American Republic. At Fort Leavenworth, August 22, he was arrested; and at Fort Monroe, November 3, he appeared before a highly respectable court-martial, charged with mutiny, disobedience, and disorderly conduct. After a long trial, the court pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him to the loss of his commission; but the majority of his judges, in consequence of his professional services, and the peculiarity of his position, arising from the disagreement of his two superiors, recommended him to the clemency of the President.

August 22
Fremont arrested, tried
Nov. 3.

1848.

Jan. 31.
Found guilty, and condemned to lose his commission.

To these petitions, Mr. Polk replied, that he was not satisfied, that the first charge had been proved against

Feb. 16.
The President pardons him.

the accused ; but he was of opinion that the second and third were sustained by proof, and that the conviction on these charges warranted the sentence of the court. The President therefore approved the decision, but on account of the peculiarities of the case, and of his previous meritorious and valuable services, the penalty was remitted ; he discharged from arrest, and directed to report for duty.

Fremont, in his defence, had manifested an embittered feeling against the administration ; chiefly that the charges against him had been sustained, and the prosecution ordered. He now refused to accept of clemency, on the ground, that this would be admitting the justice of the sentence. His connection with the army was therefore at an end.

There is no passage in American history which, in some respects, compares with the preceding. The three principal actors were high in station ; and each possessing peculiar characters, and peculiar claims to our admiration. They were thrown together, under circumstances to operate powerfully on human passions ; and the wonder is, that no more tragic consequences ensued. Gen. Kearny doubtless felt, that the dignity and discipline of the army was outraged in his person. His fellow officers sympathized in his feelings, and will honor him for the efficiency of the measures by which he established his authority, and brought to trial the second in the offence, since he could not reach the principal. But the common mind will sympathize with Fremont ; and his

1841.

Feb. 19.
He refuses to
accept of cle-
mency.

The forego-
ing a singular
passage of
Am. history.

The military
will sympa-
thize with
Kearny, the
common
mind with
Fremont.

1841. services will be the better remembered, and the more highly appreciated, because they were followed, with humiliation.*

(† Not by Gen. Kearny, but by Gov. Mason, for alleged insolence.)

* On one occasion Fremont was, it seems, threatened with being put in irons.† If, instead of challenging for this threat, he could have actually received irons upon his limbs, and worn them home, escorted by a Mormon guard—then there would have been a cry of a second Columbus, brought in chains from a new world, which he had discovered and secured, for his country; and (he meantime guilty of no vice or folly) it might, in coming years, have made him President of the Union. Such is the spirit of the times, and of the people. It is well to take note of it; for thus, patience may be taught to the vexed, and forbearance to the angry.

CHAPTER XII.

1846.

COL. MASON, whom Gen. Kearny left as governor of California, appears, from the result of his administration, to have managed its affairs with great discretion.

After the incidents, which we have detailed, had passed by, the public mind was, in 1848, occupied with Scott's invasion, and capture of Mexico; and with the consequent treaty of peace with that Republic.

In the month of February, 1848, while the treaty was yet pending, a private discovery of gold was made on the grounds of Capt. Suter. Mr. Marshall, his agent, was sent by him twenty-five miles up the South Fork of the American, to build a saw-mill. He observed gold existing in scales, washed down with dirt, in the mill-race. The discovery became known. The precious metal was found in other localities. The Mormons—other American settlers—and all of every race and nation, who heard and could labor, hastened to dig for it, in the upper "placers," or to wash it, from the sands of the river-beds. Rumors of Californian gold reached the Atlantic shores. These were converted to certainty by the message of President Polk to Congress, at the

Feb.
Discovery of
the gold plac-
ers.

President's
message.

1848. opening of the session, December, 1848. Among the documents accompanying the message, was a letter from the governor of California, to the American Executive, from which we draw these remarkable facts.

Gov. Mason went in person to the gold "diggings" and "washings," called placers. They are also called mines; but since no gold seemed yet to have been found in its original position, this term is not properly applied.

Gov. Mason
visits the gold
region.

On the 4th of July—while, at Washington, the President was proclaiming peace under the new treaty, by which California passed from Mexico to the American Republic—the governor of the province was at Suter's Fort on his way to the gold region. As he passed along he found houses deserted, and fields of wheat going to ruin; their owners having left them to dig for gold. Such had been the quantities already found, that labor, and all the comforts and necessaries of life bore an enormous price. Capt. Suter paid his wagon-maker and blacksmith ten dollars per day; and received 500 dollars per month for the rent of a two-story house within his fort.

Gov. Mason next followed the South Fork of the American, to the mill where the discovery was first made, and where two hundred persons were employed in gathering gold. He then pursued the course of the stream further into the mountains, where other parties were similarly engaged. He next crossed over to Weber's Creek, an affluent of the South Fork. Through

all the way, gold was found by the hundreds who were seeking it; especially in the beds of the streams, and in the dry ravines, where water-courses had once existed. In a little gutter two men had found 17,000 dollars worth. Two ounces were an ordinary yield for a day's work.

1848.

Gold found in abundance.

Other public functionaries of California, and private individuals, have given similar, or still more glowing accounts. The mint at Philadelphia assayed some of the specimens, and found them rich. The region over which this mineral wealth exists, is said to pass over some hundreds of miles. California has therefore become the central point of attraction, both to our own citizens, and to those of other nations.

Over an extensive region.

Between the 7th of December, 1848, and the 20th of January, 1849, *ninety-nine* vessels are said to have left the ports of the United States for California. Of these, eighty went by the way of Cape Horn, fourteen by Chagres and Panama, and the remainder stopped at more northern ports; the emigrants to pass through Mexico and Texas. Fifty-two of the vessels sailed from New-York, and twenty-nine from the ports of New England. From the newspapers of the day we learn that a number of vessels are now ready to sail. A great many emigrants from the older states, will go the land route†—taking families, provisions, tools, and furniture, in large wagons, drawn by oxen. Most of these will go by the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains—the Mormon settlement at the south end of the Salt Lake

(† It is estimated that 10,000 will go, in 1849, by the South Pass.)

1849. —by Humboldt's River, and thence through the Bear

Emigrant
routes.

Pass of the Sierra Nevada. For this journey, ninety days are calculated. Other emigrants will take the southern route by Santa Fé, the Rio del Norte, and the Gila, around the southern extremity of the Sierra Nevada. It is supposed that the emigrants from the western states, will exceed in number those from the eastern.

The founders
of a state.

Whether this is true or not, it is certain that many of our ablest and most enterprising citizens are now on the wing, of whom numbers are intending to settle in that salubrious clime. God grant that nobler views than the mere love of gold, accompany them thither. May they feel, with a deep sense of responsibility, that they are going to lay the foundations of a new and an important state. Let them look back for an example to their forefathers. Like them, may they be temperate, virtuous, and public-spirited. They will find that trials await them, which will call forth all their fortitude. Let their faces be sternly set against anarchy, the scourge, and too often the destroyer of free governments. To this end, let them UPHOLD LAW, FOUND SCHOOLS, OBSERVE THE SABBATH, AND MAINTAIN PURE CHRISTIANITY.

LAST LEAVES
OF
AMERICAN HISTORY.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

Oregon—Minnesota—Taylor's Inauguration—Close of the 30th Congress—California—Unexampled Wealth and Increase—Establishment of Civil Government—Exemplary Political De-meanor—Difficulty with Texas.

OREGON.—In the valley of the Wallah-wallah, the worthy Presbyterian missionary, Dr. Whitman, with his wife and twelve others, were barbarously murdered by the Cayuse Indians. The people petitioned Congress for protection and a territorial government. The northern members desired that slavery should be prohibited; the southern, that it should be recognized. The day before the session closed, the territorial bill was passed, with a clause forbidding slavery; this having been consented to by some southern members, and sanctioned by the president, on the ground that Oregon lies wholly north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$; that being the line of the Missouri compromise.

1847.

Nov. 2.
Murder of
Dr. Whitman
and family.

1848.

August 13.
Oregon a ter-
ritory.

1849. MINNESOTA, adjacent to the head waters of the Mississippi, was erected into a territory on the 3d of March, 1849.

March 3.
Minnesota a
territory.

March 4.
Inauguration
of Taylor
and Fillmore.

At the election in 1848, Gen. ZACHARY TAYLOR, the hero of the Rio Grande, was chosen president; and Millard Fillmore of New York, vice-president. Their inauguration occurred on the 4th of March, 1849, when, by the constitution, the 30th Congress was dissolved.

New depart-
ment.

The increase of labor devolving on the executive departments, particularly that of state, in consequence of the growth of the nation, caused Congress to authorize a separate bureau, called "*The Department of the Interior.*" One of the duties assigned to this department was the taking of the census.* Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, was appointed by the president its first secretary, and John M. Clayton, of Delaware, was made secretary of state.

**1848
TO
1850.**

With such exactness were the different parties balanced, in regard to the slavery question, that in the Congress of 1848-9, all that could be obtained for California was a law, by which her revenue was to be collected and placed in the coffers of the republic. Happily, the exemplary political conduct of California, under these trying circumstances, relieved the anxious forebodings of American patriots, that she might take

* *December 28, 1852.*—When, in 1850, an attempt was made to take the census of California, its unsettled state was such as to render it impossible. On an estimate, made upon the best data to be found, the census bureau judged the population to be 200,000. Lately it has been said that this estimate was too high, and that the population does not exceed 160,000. It is since much increased; some say doubled.

Oregon for an ally, and then set up for herself. To prevent any such disaster, Gen. Taylor gave the Californians the timely assurance, that "whatever can be done to afford the people of the Territories the benefits of civil government, and the protection that is due them, will be anxiously considered and attempted by the executive." He suggested to them the expediency of forming a state government for themselves, thereafter to be submitted to Congress.

These counsels tended to keep the leading politicians of California true to the Union. Indeed, they loved their native land, and confided in her ultimate justice. But while waiting for future protection, the exciting present was upon them. THERE, were the gathered and gathering thousands, attracted from every land by the sovereign power of gold; and government, in addition to that exercised by Gen. Mason, the military commandant, the citizens found it necessary to exercise among themselves. At first it was informal; and he who was found guilty of high crimes, was put to death, with little ceremony or delay. Gen. Riley, the hero of Contreras, who succeeded Gen. Mason as military governor, issued his proclamation August 1st, 1849, establishing a species of judiciary, at the head of which was placed Peter H. Burnet. Subsequently, he issued another proclamation, inviting the citizens to choose delegates to form a constitution for a state government. Delegates were consequently chosen; who met at Monterey, September 1st, 1849, and there formed a constitution, which was accepted by the people. Slavery had, in the mean time, been decided against, by a special convention holden at

1849.

April 3.
 (See Sec'y Clayton's letter to T. B. King, who was sent to California by the President.)

1848.

(Aug. 7.
 Mason now a brevet brigadier-general.)

1849.

April 13.
 Riley succeeds Mason.

Aug. 1.

A sort of judiciary established.

Sept. 1.

At Monterey, delegates meet to form a state government.

1849. San Francisco, and it was accordingly excluded by the constitution.

Dec. 20.
At San José,
first legisla-
ture meet.

Gov. Burnet's eloquent
address.

An example
for older
states.

The first legislature convened at San José, December 20th, 1849. Peter H. Burnet, who was elected chief magistrate, addressed to the senate and assembly a message of extraordinary interest. "How rapid," he exclaims—"how astonishing have been the changes in California! Twenty months ago, inhabited by a sparse population—a pastoral people, deriving a mere subsistence from their flocks and herds, and a scanty cultivation of the soil;—now,—the inexhaustible gold mines discovered,—our ports are filled with shipping from every clime; our beautiful bays and placid rivers are navigated by steam; and commercial cities have sprung up as if by enchantment. . . . Now we are here assembled for the sublime task of organizing a new state. But should our constitution conflict with the constitution of our common country, that must prevail. That great instrument, which now governs more than twenty millions of people, and links in one common destiny thirty states, demands our purest affections, and our first and highest duty. . . . We would leave our people to suffer on, rather than violate one single principle of that great fundamental law of the land." Gov. Burnet believed, however, that there would be no such violation, and the members accordingly proceeded to legislative action. He had the wisdom and the courage to recommend direct taxation, rather than indebtedness.

The choice of senators to Congress fell upon John C. Fremont and William M. Gwin. The constitution of California, and her petition for admittance into the Union,

were carried by them to Washington, and by the president transmitted to Congress, with a commendatory message. The clause prohibiting slavery was, in Congress, as a torch applied to explosives; some southern members declaring that its adoption by Congress would be the cause of the immediate secession from the Union by the slaveholding states.

Other subjects of appalling difficulty pressed upon Congress;—all, however, implicated in the one absorbing topic of slavery. Texas claimed that her territory extended to the Rio Grande; but the New Mexicans in and around Santa Fé, east of that river, had never submitted, and were utterly averse to her rule. In January, 1849, her legislature passed laws, dividing the disputed region into counties. To organize in these counties a Texan government, Gov. Bell, the executive, sent an agent, Major Neighbours, to Santa Fé, who warned Col. Monroe, the United States military commandant, against all “interference.” Colonel Monroe, finding the New Mexicans enraged, and being instructed from Washington, called a convention, which framed a state constitution; and, while Texas was making preparations to seize this territory by force, the petition of New Mexico to be admitted into the union was introduced into Congress. President Taylor, aware of the high-handed movements on the part of Texas, had prepared a military force to send thither.* The south maintained the claim of Texas,

1850.

Feb. 13.
President Taylor sends to Congress the constitution of California.

1849.

Jan.
Texas makes laws to assert her power over New Mexico.

1850.

April 18.
Major Neighbours at Santa Fé. Texas and United States governments interfere.

* The course of the Texans was, as some suppose, a *ruse* to bring Congress to give them money for the relinquishment of their claim. But the well-grounded fear was, that the disunionists of the south would unite with Texas, and thus begin a civil war in earnest.

1850. since, if it prevailed, the disputed territory would go to increase the area of slavery; and, for the same reason, the north opposed it.

Jan. 16.
Senator Foote
introduces a
bill for the
government
of Desert—
i. e., Utah.

While New Mexico was petitioning Congress for a government, another remarkable people were at their doors with the same request. These were the enterprising Mormons, who had found a resting-place on the borders of the Salt Lake,—where, collecting their scattered bands, and sending out their leaders to return with proselytes, they had now a flourishing settlement, numbering some thousands.

Another exciting subject was a bill introduced by Senator Butler, of South Carolina, for a new law, to enable the masters of fugitive slaves to recover them from other states.

Gen. Taylor, we are informed, previous to his death, ordered 800 men to proceed to Santa Fé, to defend the New Mexicans from the Texans. The New Mexican judge, Hughson, had told Major Neighbours that he would imprison any one who attempted, in Santa Fé, to execute certain laws of Texas. In a speech made at Albany, May 30, 1851, Mr. Webster said that this was the most immediately dangerous of any part of the slavery agitation. The ultra disunionists of the south had a desire that the north should begin to shed the blood of the south, believing this would unite the south in unappeasable hostility, and thus secure the dissolution of the Union.

CHAPTER II.

Meeting of southern delegates—Critical position of the country
—XXXI. Congress—Congressional eloquence—Speeches of
Messrs. DICKINSON, PHELPS, CLAY, and WEBSTER.

THE first session of the Thirty-first Congress was the longest, the most stormy, and the most important in its results, of any since the organization of the government; and in it, by the strife and power of words, were settled more important issues, than those of any battle-field since the Revolution.

**1849-
'50.**

(One Congress each two years. There have been 31 from the adoption of the federal constitution.)

The southern delegation in Congress from the fifteen slaveholding states met, on the 22d of December, in the Senate-chamber, to concert measures for the preservation of their common rights; which they regarded as menaced by the Wilmot proviso, a resolution which had passed the House of Representatives declaring against extending the area of slavery, and also by a proposition introduced into the House, by Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. In an address prepared for the occasion by Mr. Calhoun, he stated to the meeting his view of the grievances of the south, and the aggressions of the north,—complaining of the action of states as well as that of individuals, especially in regard to fugitive slaves; and he maintained that these aggressions, if suffered to remain unchecked,

1848.

Dec. 22.
Meeting of
the southern
delegates.

Mr. Calhoun's
address to the
southern dele-
gation.

1849. would soon end in informal emancipation ; or otherwise, the same object would, if the north acquired the power, be attained by an amendment of the constitution. He finally exhorted the southern members to union among themselves—perhaps the north might pause—otherwise the south should be prepared to defend her rights, without looking to the consequences.

Jan. 22.
Adjourned
meeting.
Mr. Berrien's
address re-
ceives 27
votes, Mr.
Calhoun's 34.

Mr. Calhoun and his friends were disappointed, that this anti-national address was not at once and unani- mously adopted. The meeting was adjourned to the 22d of January, when Mr. Berrien, a senator from Georgia, offered, as a substitute, an address, which, while it was southern, was yet national in its tone. Although Mr. Calhoun's was adopted by a majority, yet the failure of absolute unanimity was grievous to those, who had wrought themselves into a determination to push on their project of disunion to its final consummation.

The hostile feeling between the north and the south was now at its culminating point, and Washington the focus of its baleful rays. Members of Congress from Florida and other slaveholding states were sending ad- dresses to their constituents, enjoining them to send dele- gates to a convention, which had been appointed to be holden in Nashville, on the 2d day of the following June. This was the fruit of Mr. Calhoun's address.* The pro- ject was first moved by Judge Sharkie of Mississippi ; then matured at a convention of that state, held at its capital. The ultraists gloried in believing that arrange-

* *May*, 1851.—We have it on the authority of Senator Foote, that a constitution was prepared by Mr. Calhoun, for "The United States South."

ments would be made at Nashville for dividing the Union, and forming a southern confederacy. 1850.

In the discussions of Congress, the Senate took the lead; and never had that body presented more able statesmen, or more powerful orators. The two first northern senators who broke in upon the sullen gloom of uncharitableness and discontent, with which the southern members met the northern, were DICKINSON of New York, and PHELPS of Vermont. The former, in the course of his speech, solemnly assured his southern brethren that the north, as a body, regarded the guaranties of the constitution as sacred. "Sir," said he, "take a small number out of the northern and also out of the southern sections of the Union, or silence their clamor, and this accursed agitation would be settled in less than a week. . . . The constitution throws its broad ægis over the whole of this mighty republic. Its people bow before it, with more than eastern devotion. They will adhere to this Union; and although the northern people are opposed to the institution of slavery, the great mass of them have no intention or disposition to trench upon constitutional rights. And this they will prove to the south, should the occasion arise, even though they should sell their lives in her defence."

Jan. 17.
Mr. Dickinson's speech.

In the speech of Senator Phelps, logical argument was complacently mingled with an original vein of wit. Without taking serious ground against the southern threat of secession, he showed that the time had not yet come. The supreme judiciary of the United States were the proper court to try constitutional questions; and unless the south, before proceeding to action, appealed to that

Jan. 23.
Speech of Mr. Phelps.

1850. tribunal, she would put herself in the wrong. In so important a matter, she should not be in too much haste, but take the proper steps, and bide her time. As to what had been offensively said at the north, this was a land of free speech; and what was to be done with people "who believed themselves charged with a mission, not only to amend the constitution framed by the wisdom of our fathers, but also to assist the Almighty in the correction of sundry mistakes which they had discovered in his works?" The brows of the southern members unbent, and they cordially greeted the orator when the speech was ended; and an observer remarked, "He has thrown the first bucket of water, which has reached the fire."

Jan. 25.
Mr. Clay's
eight compromise
resolutions.

On the 25th of January, Mr. CLAY offered his memorable plan of compromise. On the 5th of February, amidst such a crowd of both sexes as the Senate-chamber had never before witnessed, he came forward to speak in their defence. He was now venerable in years, but his intellect retained its soundness, and his heart its deep well-spring of patriotic feeling. His voice, his eye, his grace of action and gift of words, which made him regarded as the first orator who speaks the English tongue, were yet preserved, that he might succor, and perhaps save his country, in this her hour of peril. In the preamble to his eight resolutions, he stated the reason of their introduction to be, that it was "for the peace, harmony, and concord of the Union to settle, and adjust amicably, all exciting questions of controversy between them, arising out of the institution of slavery, upon a fair, equitable, and just basis." The compromise proposed

was substantially the same, as that which passed after months of debate, and is hereafter to be explained. 1850.

Mr. Clay opened his speech by the affecting declaration, that never, on any former occasion, had he risen with feelings of such deep solicitude. He had witnessed many periods of great anxiety, of peril, and of danger to the country; but never before had he risen "to address an assembly, so oppressed, so appalled, so anxious." He looked to God to give him the strength and the ability to perform the work before him. He attributed the danger of the country to the unprincipled selfishness of party men. "They caught at every passing and floating plank, and thus brought into consequence pernicious agitators. At the moment when the White House was on fire, instead of uniting to extinguish the flames, they were contending about who should be its next occupant! While a dreadful crevasse menaced inundation, they were contesting the profits of the estate, which was threatened with total submersion! . . . All now is uproar, confusion, and menace to this Union." . . . The speaker, after imploring senators to listen to reason, explained, with clearness, his plan of settling the several difficulties, which arose from slavery. He denounced secession. None had a right to secede. He belonged to the Union. Within the Union he took his stand, and there he meant to stand and die,—fighting, if necessary; but no power on earth should force him out of the Union. At the close, he dwelt on the ruin which would spring from the dissolution of the Union. "War would be inevitable; and such a war,—so furious, so bloody, so implacable, so exterminating,—could not be found upon the

Feb. 5.
Mr. Clay's
great speech.

Mr. Clay's
view of the
dangerous
position of
the country.

1850. pages of history. He entreated members to pause on the brink of the precipice, before they took the fearful leap into the yawning abyss. But if that direful event, the dissolution of the Union, were to happen, he implored of heaven that he might not survive to behold it.*

Of the consequences of disunion.

The words of this beloved patriot thrilled, not only through the halls of the capital, but to the farthest limits of the republic.

March 7.
Mr. Webster's great speech.

To similar effect was the eloquence of Daniel Webster, the great "expounder of the constitution." "Mr. President," he said, "I hear with pain, and anguish, and distress, the word secession falling from the lips of the eminent and patriotic. Secession! Peaceable secession! The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, without ruffling the surface! . . . Peaceable secession! what would be the result? What would become of the army, the navy, and the public lands? Where is the line to be drawn? What states are to be associated? What is to remain American? Where am I to be? . . . Where is the flag to remain? Is the eagle still to tower? or is he to cower, to shrink, and fall to the ground?"

Mr. Webster on secession.

* *January 1, 1853.*—The writer of this history heard Mr. Clay deliver this great speech—the crowning action of his useful life. After making this synopsis, in exactly the words here used, she sent it to Mr. Clay, before adding it to her history, begging to know if he was satisfied with it. His written answer to this question is a sentence in a word—"Perfectly."

CHAPTER III.

Beneficial effects of the collision of opinions in Congress—The Committee of Thirteen—The “Omnibus bill”—Death of President Taylor—Separate passage of the compromise measures.

NOT only was there in Congress eloquence in favor of the Union, but against it ;—and there was violent clamor and degrading personality. Every phase of popular opinion had its stormy advocate, and wrathful opponent. Yet, in the tempest, it is the lightning, not the thunder, which kills ; but as, peal by peal, the dangerous element explodes, the atmosphere becomes cleared. Thus the impassioned eloquence and fiery declamation of the capitol, gave wholesome vent to dangerous feeling, and inspired a healthier tone of public sentiment ; which, beginning at Washington, spread throughout the Union. And it produced a reflux wave, which threw back upon the members of Congress, instead of a seditious, a conservative public opinion ;—which required of them to cease from mere words,—to compromise their difficulties, and perform the indispensable business of the nation.

Mr. Clay had ably defended his plan of compromise. Senator Bell, of Kentucky, introduced and advocated another. Senator Foote, of Mississippi, made a motion, which was finally carried, for the appointment of a committee of the Senate, to be composed of six members from the north,

1850.

April 19.
Committee of
Thirteen
appointed.

1850. six from the south, and a thirteenth to be chosen by the first twelve; to whom should be referred the different plans for compromise;—with directions, however, that the committee report, according to their own judgment, a plan of settlement for the different branches of the slavery question. Of this honored committee, Mr. Clay was chairman, by choice of the Senate; and he made their report to that body, on the 8th of May.

May 8.
Report of the
committee.

The "Omni-
bus Bill."

Four months of jarring debate ensued; much of which referred to the point, whether the several proposed laws should be voted for separately, or in one "Omnibus Bill," as reported from the committee by Mr. Clay. Mr. Benton urged the former course, on account of its fairness, and especially in behalf of suffering yet dutiful California; while Mr. Clay maintained the latter; urging that if the different parts of the bill were presented together, both parties would concede some things, for the sake of gaining others.

June 2.
Nashville
Convention.

In the mean time the Nashville convention, which, had it assembled in January, might have led to civil war and national destruction,* met harmlessly on the 2d of June; partaking of the country's calmer mood and renewed devotion to the Union. Judge Sharkie, its projector, was made president of the convention. In his

* *January 4, 1853.*—In the last addition, made in 1851, to my larger history of the Republic of America, I have stated, with as many of my reasons as my limits would allow, the opinions above expressed. Since that period my views have only been confirmed. A letter from Mr. Stevenson, our former minister in England, published more than a year ago, is, on the subject of foreign interference to sow disunion, a document of great weight.

initiatory address, he said, that its members had met, **1850.**
 “because the constitution, which gave equal rights to the south, had been violated; and that was a shock which the government could not stand.” They had assembled to devise a remedy, and thus to preserve the Union. It was a slander of enemies, that they had met to dissolve the Union. For his part, he hoped that “the Union would be the last thing to perish amidst the wreck of matter.”

June 3.
 Judge Shar-
 kie's address.

Pending the debates on the compromise measures, the nation was called to deep and sincere mourning for the loss of her beloved chief magistrate. Gen. Taylor expired at the presidential mansion on the 9th of July, and MILLARD FILLMORE, of New York, immediately succeeded him in the presidency; happily well fitted, by moral, intellectual, and physical soundness, for the exalted and difficult place. Mr. KING, of Alabama, was chosen president of the senate. The cabinet of Gen. Taylor resigned. Mr. Fillmore appointed able successors, Mr. Webster filling the department of state.

July 9,
 Death of the
 President.

Inauguration
 of Mr.
 Fillmore, the
 vice-president.

In the early part of September, the measures reported by the committee of thirteen passed—separately—but they had been considered together, and were agreed to, as mutual concessions and compromises for the sake of union. By them, 1st, California, with her constitution excluding slavery, and her boundaries extending from Oregon to the Mexican possessions, was admitted into the Union as a state.—2d, The Great Basin east of California, containing the Mormon settlement near the Salt Lake, was erected, without mention of slavery, into a territory, by the Indian appellation of Utah.—3d, New

Sept. 7.
 The compro-
 mise mea-
 sures.

Utah erected
 into a terri-
 tory (esti-
 mated popu-
 lation, 25,000).

1850. Mexico, with a boundary which satisfied her inhabitants, was also erected, without mention of slavery, into a territory; Congress giving Texas, for the relinquishment of her claims, ten millions of dollars; Texas to pay with the money, former debts, for which the United States were bound,—not legally, but in honor.—4th, A law was passed, abolishing, not slavery, but the slave-trade,* in the District of Columbia;—and 5th, the fugitive-slave law was passed; whose object is, the more effectually to secure the prompt delivery of persons bound to service or labor in one state, and escaping into another.†

New Mexico made a territory (estimated population, 61,504).

The passage of the compromise measures proved the quieting of the fearful storm. In their success, patriotism rejoiced in “the re-union of the Union;” and in a triumph over that foreign influence, which probably was the generating cause of the dangerous commotion; and, certainly, was ever at work, to foment, and bring it to the one issue of national destruction by disunion.

* By the slave-trade is here meant the transferring of American slaves, in the way of trade.

† A fugitive law was passed in 1793; but being found or made difficult of execution, it had become obsolete.

CHAPTER IV.

First Cuban expedition in 1850—Second in 1851—Crittenden with 50 men shot at Havana—Death of Lopez.

THE American people, highly appreciating their own free institutions, ardently sympathize with those of other nations, whom they believe to be oppressed. Flattered by demagogues, who want their votes, they have been too much made to believe, that their own wishes and opinions are the measure of right and expediency. Their general character, as drawn by enemies, has in it an active and feverish desire of making new acquisitions, not only as individuals, but as a nation.* If this accusation has ever been in any measure true, we trust that the mortifying lessons received from the history of recent events may prove an efficient corrective.

The fertile and beautiful island of Cuba lies contiguous to our southern shores. Americans in Cuba writing to friends at home, and native Cubans in America, some banished for political offences, complained of the rigors of the Spanish government, and made stirring appeals for sympathy and aid. With these were joined heartless speculators. It was asserted that the inhabitants of Cuba, groaning under oppression, were prepared to rise in arms, and co-operate with a liberating force; and such it was the unlawful object of the "fillibusters"—those engaged in the movement—to raise in America.

* As to the past territorial acquisitions of America, they have been honestly made; as is ably shown in a late letter by Mr. Everett, successor to Mr. Webster.

1850.

Circumstances which led to the piratical expedition against Cuba.

The "fillibusters."

1850.

A base cur-
rency.

In order to procure the necessary funds, they assumed to make a paper currency,—to be redeemed by a sale of the estates of royalists in Cuba, which was to be made under the anticipated new government. The deceivers thus prevailed over the enthusiasm of the sanguine, and the cupidity of the avaricious, and persuaded many to enlist. A military organization was thus effected at New Orleans, whose leader was the Cuban general, Narciso Lopez.

Although warned by the proclamation of President Taylor, they cleared about the middle of May, from New Orleans;—pretended emigrants in vessels bound for Chagres. They made their rendezvous in the island of Contoy, on the coast of Yucatan. On the night of the 18th of May, Lopez, with 609 men, approached the coast of Cuba in the steamship Creole. He landed at the little town of Cardenas; expecting that the inhabitants would join him. He intended to possess himself of the railroad, and then proceed fifteen miles west to Matanzas. But the people seemed only moved to rage by the inflated proclamation of the leader, which invited them “to uphold the banner of liberty;” and pointed to “the sublime North American government as the arbiter of their fate.” The alarm spread rapidly, and the country rose against the invaders. These made themselves masters of Cardenas;—carrying off bags of specie,—burning the governor’s house, and making him and four of his officers prisoners. To prevent their enemies using the railroad, the Cubans tore up the rails. Lopez learned that hostile bands were approaching; and on the evening of the 19th, he re-embarked;—a bloody skir-

May 18, 19.
The invaders
land at Car-
denas.

mish occurring on his way to the ship. Sending his prisoners ashore in a boat, he put out to sea, intending to attack in another place. The Creole ran aground; and to get her off, he was obliged to throw overboard his ammunition. The men then compelled the officers to carry them to Key West, the nearest port on the American coast. Just as they entered, the Spanish war-steamer, Pizarro, overtook them. The high honor of the old Spanish character appeared in the conduct of its commander. The enemy he sought was within his grasp; yet being within a neutral port, he forbore to take even the bags of stolen specie, which were unloaded before his eyes. He asked of the American authorities its restoration, and the persons of the invaders; which not obtaining, he on his return to Havana, represented the facts to his government. Gen. Taylor had sent a strong naval force to Cuba, which unfortunately arrived too late to prevent the invasion. Lopez not having embarked all his troops at Contoy, the Pizarro took from thence 100 prisoners, and carried them to Cuba. The Spanish governor-general, Count de Alcoy, being much exasperated, these men were in great danger of suffering death as pirates; the pitiable fate of a few, who were left at Cardenas by Lopez. When Mr. Webster became secretary of state he negotiated their release.

Notwithstanding the ill success of this wrong enterprise, still the hopes of its friends were not extinguished. Lopez, though arrested at Savannah, was soon liberated amidst the shouts of the populace. With a zeal for his native land, not seconded by a proper moral balance of mind, or by those intellectual talents which command

1850.

May 19.
Cardenas.
American loss
about 30.
Cuban loss
not known.
Stated by the
invaders as
probably 100.

May 22.
Arrival at
Key West.

Spanish
honor.
(The Creole
was seized,
and arrests
were made,
but nothing
proved on
trial.)

1850. success, he immediately commenced plotting another expedition; and he found honorable names to second his projects. Gen. Quitman who on his return from Mexico, had been chosen governor of Mississippi, was on the second of July indicted at New Orleans, with several other persons, by the grand jury of the U. S. District court, and on the 3d of February, 1851, he was arrested

July 21.
Gen. Quitman and others indicted.

1851.
They are arrested at New Orleans, (but were never convicted.)

(John O. Sullivan, Capt. Rogers, of the Cleopatra, &c., are arrested.)

by the United States marshal, on the charge of unlawfully setting on foot an expedition against Cuba;—whereupon he resigned the office of governor. But though generally regarded as guilty, he was never convicted. On the 25th of April, President Fillmore issued his proclamation, warning all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States not to engage in, or aid any expedition against Cuba. On the 26th of April several arrests of suspected persons were made in New York, and a vessel which they had procured was seized.

Eluding the watchfulness of the government, Lopez sailed from New Orleans, on the 3d of August, in the steamer Pampero, with about 400 men. On the eleventh they were off the coast of Cuba, and in sight of the Moro, the castle of Havana. Turning at this time in a western direction, Lopez advanced a few miles beyond Bahia Honda, when the steamer ran aground upon a coral reef. Meeting but slight resistance, he debarked upon the island at Playtas with all his troops. Taking 300 of his men, he marched inland 10 miles to Las Posas; leaving 100, with Col. Crittenden, his principal officer. He was an amiable member of one of the first families in Kentucky; and had been deluded with the idea that the oppressed Cubans were everywhere ready

August 12.
Lopez debarks.

to co-operate with their deliverers. Having procured two carts to convey the stores and ammunition which he had been left to guard, he was hastening to join Lopez, when within four miles of Las Posas, he was met by 500 men,—not friends—but foes in arms. His little band was routed and in part destroyed. A few fled to Lopez. Crittenden with 50 retreated to the coast. Lopez at Las Posas was in the mean time attacked by 800 Spanish troops under Gen. Enna. He fought them valiantly, and killed, it is said, 200 of their number. He then retreated, leaving upon the battle-field 30 of his men killed, and 13 wounded, who were put to death by the Spaniards.

1851.

August 13.
Col. Crittenden attempts to join him.

Col. Crittenden found his way to the coast, and put out to sea in boats. He and his party were taken on the 15th,—carried into Havana, and condemned to die. He was permitted in the interim to write to his friends. Bitterly did he deplore the deception by which he had been himself misled, and had become the misleader of others. On the 16th he and his party were shot.

August 15.
Col. Crittenden taken prisoner.

16.
He is shot.

On the same day Lopez retreating toward the mountains was attacked by 900 Spanish troops, whom it is said he repulsed, with the loss of one-third of their number. In the mean time his own were wasting, and he was retreating from the shore to the mountains. His ammunition was destroyed by a rain-storm, and his provisions failed. His men in seeking to escape, were taken prisoners in detail, and he was left with only seven. The unhappy man, hunted by bloodhounds, was discovered and taken by a party of those native Cubans, of whom he had proudly thought to be the liberator. He

1851. was carried by them to Havana, and on the 26th of August suffered the death of a malefactor by the garrote.

August 26.
Lopez garroted.

The Spanish authorities no longer in fear of the invaders, and appealed to for mercy by American and English residents, spared the lives of those remaining in their power. They took care of the wounded, and soon sent about 100 of them to Spain. Mr. Webster, still secretary of state, appealed to the Queen of Spain for mercy in their behalf, and they were pardoned and sent home.

1852.
(March 13.
95 released
prisoners ar-
rive from
Spain at
New York.)

Since these events, a secret diplomatic correspondence has, by request of Congress, been laid before that body by the president; by which it appears that during Mr. Polk's administration, the executive offered to Spain a hundred millions of dollars for Cuba; but the Spanish government utterly refused to treat upon the subject.

Spain refuses
to sell Cuba.

England and France both sent ships of war to aid Spain in defending Cuba against the American "fillibusters;" believing, or affecting to believe, that their own government could not control them. Thus did these rash enthusiasts, and wicked speculators, by acts which the law of nations condemns as piratical, not only bring destruction upon themselves, but unmerited disgrace upon their country, and injury to the cause of human liberty.

Dec. 6.
Commences
the 2d session
of the
XXXII. Con-
gress.

From the message of President Fillmore, Dec. 6, 1852, we learn that he had been invited to unite in a convention with England and France, to guarantee to Spain the possession of Cuba; but he declined: he does not say, whether on the ground of its being, in the language of Europe, a "holy alliance" of rulers against the people, or an "entangling alliance," such as our political fathers have warned us against.

CHAPTER V.

Remains of the slavery agitation—Treaties—Sandwich Islands—
Chevalier Hulseman—Kossuth.

THE remains of the great agitation appeared at the north by opposition to the fugitive-slave law, (which, however, was upheld by the national and state judiciaries) and at the south by a convention of delegates, from the anti-union party, held April, 1851, in Charleston, S. C.; where, notwithstanding the counsels of Senator Butler and others, the majority recommended separate secession. But the mingled tide of national prosperity and returning confidence sets against sectional discontent and animosity. The network of railroads, which more and more intersects the country, promotes the intercourse of trade and civility, and this and other influences tend to harmonize its different parts. Charleston will soon be connected by railroad with the interior of Tennessee, and thus a competitor for the trade of the great valley of the Mississippi.

1851.

Remains of
the great agi-
tation at the
south.

The whole length of railroad in the United States, Jan. 1, 1853, is 13,000 miles; and this amount is increasing at the rate of 10 miles a day. The great project of the country, which all desire to see speedily accomplished, is the building of a railway across the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, to California and Oregon.

1853.

Jan. 1.
13,000 miles
of railroad.

The restoration of confidence between good and

1850. patriotic citizens of the north and the south, will be full of prosperity and happiness to both. The colored race, as they were the first to suffer by the loss of such confidence, so they will be the first to benefit by its return. Already we hear more and more of efforts at the south to improve them, as intellectual, moral, and religious beings. They are, by the generality of planters, allowed a degree of independence in the disposal of time and the holding of property, and so many personal comforts, that their condition, except in name, is preferable to that of a large proportion of the peasantry of Europe, much more, to that of the wild tribes of Africa.*

Condition of
the slaves
contrasted.

The southern planters furnish the article of cotton, to the manufacturers of Europe, as well as to those of America, which gives great value to slave labor.

1849.
Jan. 27.
Treaty with
Brazil.

TREATIES.—In 1849, a treaty was negotiated at Rio Janeiro by Mr. Tod, the American minister, with the Viscount Olinda, on the part of the Brazilian emperor; the latter agreeing to pay a specified sum to the Americans for spoliations. . . . A temporary treaty

* The contrast between the condition of the negroes in Africa and their kindred in the southern states of America, formed the main feature of the able speech delivered by Mr. Webster at the anniversary of the Colonization Society, Jan. 20, 1852. To point out that Providence overrules even the bad passions of men to purposes of good—he showed how almost infinitely, the blacks had improved by a contact with the whites; which there seemed no other method of accomplishing, but that of their being held in bondage for a time. He hoped that the improvement already made might be made available, by means of the Colonization Society, to the breaking up of the slave-trade, and the ultimate civilization of the colored race in Africa.

was negotiated at Washington, by the Austrian minister, Mr. Hulseman, and Secretary Buchanan, by which certain privileges were granted to the subjects of each contracting power, residing in the other's country.

1819.

August 29.
Treaty with
Austria.

On the 16th of December, the National Assembly of the Republic of Switzerland, in open session at Berne, ratified, with extraordinary tokens of high satisfaction, a treaty of amity and commerce, which had been previously negotiated between the two republics of America and Switzerland.

1850.

Dec. 16.
America hon-
ored by Swit-
zerland.

Of all the triumphs of Christianity in our day, there is none more signal, than the conversion and civilization of the Sandwich Islands. They are a feeble power, but England and America have with policy and justice made treaties with their king; acknowledging his independence, which has been threatened by serious aggressions on the part of France.

Sandwich
Islands.

Dec. 20.
French ships
of war make
arbitrary de-
mands.

During the summer of 1852, by an order of the British foreign secretary, Lord Malmesbury, Americans engaged in the fisheries off the coast of British America, were restricted, on the alleged ground of treaty violation, from privileges heretofore enjoyed. President Fillmore sent the frigate *Mississippi*—Commodore Perry—to the fishing banks, not only to protect the fishermen against injury, but to restrain them from lawlessness; while Mr. Webster's statesmanship was called into action in diplomatic correspondence. The difficulty, on investigation, resolved itself into the understanding to be given to certain expressions in the existing treaty, concerning what is to be regarded as three miles from the British possessions. Is this line, up to which the Amer-

1852.

(July 6.
Mr. Web-
ster's first let-
ter respecting
the fisheries.)

1852. icans have a right to fish, to follow the indentations of the coast? or are straight and exclusive lines to be drawn, as the British now contend, from headland to headland? This is not yet settled; but we hope and believe that it will be discussed, as heretofore, in an amicable spirit.

On the uninhabited islands of Lobos, near Peru, has been discovered a concentrated manure, the deposit of birds, called guano; and vessels from the United States had freely taken it. The Peruvians now came forward with a claim to the islands, and their valuable production; and though, at first, Mr. Webster expressed a written opinion that it was an unfounded assumption, yet, on investigation, he was led to change his views, and concur in their right. The government of Peru were gratified with this candor, and immediately made special arrangements for the accommodation of the American traders in guano.

Mr. Webster's letter on the Lobos question.

During the revolt of Hungary, Gen. Taylor sent by Mr. Mann a message of inquiry to Kossuth, the patriotic leader of the revolted Hungarians. Of this, the Austrian government, by Mr. Hulseman, in a letter to Mr. Clayton, complained, with threats. After Gen. Taylor's death, Mr. Webster made an able and popular reply; showing that the act of the president was not an interference in the affairs of Austria, but only a natural manifestation of the sympathy, which this nation must be expected to feel, for those whose struggles for freedom are similar to our own.

1850.
Austria takes offence.
Mr. Webster replies to Mr. Hulseman.

When, by the aid of Russia, Austria had overcome the Hungarians, Kossuth, condemned to death, found

a shelter at Katuyah, with the Sultan of Turkey. By **1851.**
 the solicitation of the English and Americans, he was
 permitted to embark in a public American vessel,
 provided for the purpose, by the President of the
 United States—by whom, in the name of the na-
 tion, the homeless exile had been invited to a resi-
 dence in free America. He arrived at New York on
 the 15th of October, 1851. Since the visit of La Fay-
 ette, no reception had been so enthusiastic. Such were
 the admiring crowds which surrounded him, that he was
 led, for a time, to hope, that the energies of the nation
 were within his control ; and he would have set to Amer-
 ica, hoping for the aid of England, the difficult task, to
 keep Russia in check, while Hungary fought and con-
 quered the Austrians. He wanted, too, contributions in
 money to aid his “suffering and down-trodden father-
 land.” There was a magical pathos in his poetic and
 sometimes tearful eloquence, and in his earnest and ex-
 pressive countenance, which, together with the prestige
 of his great name, took captive the hearts of his hear-
 ers. Everywhere on his journey through the northern
 and western states, he was followed and listened to by
 throngs. But at Washington he experienced a disap-
 pointment. Neither from the President, his cabinet, nor
 congress, although they overwhelmed him with public
 and private attentions, did he receive any official encour-
 agement. His cause was, however, eloquently plead by
 Senators Cass and Seward, and others. Mr. Clay, then
 at Washington, and confined to his room with a fatal
 pulmonary disease, received him with his wonted cour-
 tesy ; but he told him with plainness, what it was which

Oct. 15.
 Kossuth ar-
 rives in New
 York.

1852.

Jan. 7.
 (Kossuth is in
 the capital,
 Congress hav-
 ing adjourned
 for the occa-
 sion.)

1852. barred his way. Our country's policy was regarded by the nation as settled, and it admitted not of interference in the affairs of foreign nations.

Senator Bell, of Tennessee, in the last speech made in Congress on the Kossuth "intervention," expressed his opinion, that in conferring public honors upon him, while, in his reported speeches, he was using towards the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia the scathing language of hatred and contempt, we were making ourselves a party to the insult; and we ought, therefore, to hold ourselves prepared, to meet whatever their united hostility might inflict.

May 16.
Kossuth
leaves Amer-
ica.

Kossuth, after collecting nearly \$100,000 for the cause of Hungary, left the country, May 16, 1852, and proceeded to England, where he now resides.

1850.
Emigration
from Europe.

(See message
of Gov. Sey-
mour, of N.
Y., Jan. 4,
1853.)

The Commissioners of European Emigration in New York, report that from May 5, 1847, to December 15, in 1852, there had arrived at that port no less than 1,336,960. Some are of the bone and sinew of Europe, attracted hither by our republican institutions; while another portion is sent to our shores from jails and poor-houses; and as we have reason to believe, for the purpose of hastening on that ruin by anarchy, which European foes to freedom predict and desire. Crime accordingly increases; but within the last few years, the determination on the part of the Americans to resist anarchy, by inflicting the penalties of crime, increases also. In New York, a riot at the Astor-place theatre, was promptly put down by the legal action of the military; several of the rioters losing their lives upon the spot. In Boston, John White Webster, a professor of

1849.
May 15.
Astor-place
riot.

Harvard College, expiated upon the gallows the crime of **1850.**
murder.

But in this battle with crime, much yet remains to be done ; and while thus overwhelmed with an unsound foreign population, it were ruin to pause—either from cowardice, from false philanthropy, or from a mean spirit of seeking office, or of fearing to lose it. Whatever makes life and property insecure, tends both to individual and to national destruction. In the years 1851-2, riot, murder, and robbery have been too often the sad themes of our public journals.

(March 23.
Prof. Webster convicted
of the murder
of Dr. Park
man.)

CHAPTER VI.

Liberia—Death of Henry Clay—Of Daniel Webster—Their obsequies—Presidential election—Sound condition of public feeling—Remarkable state of the political relations between Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster.

1852.

LIBERIA, in Africa, now comprises 520 miles of Atlantic coast. It has been colonized by American-born Africans, of whom eight thousand have been carried over by the Colonization Society. These have extended their influence far inland and over 200,000 native inhabitants. They have now established a republican government, their officers being all men of color,—of whom the worthy President Roberts is chief. Different Protestant denominations in the United States have supplied them with some of the most devoted of missionaries of both sexes; several of whom have died martyrs to a climate, which, though salubrious to the black, is often fatal to the white. A regular Christian ministry, Sunday and week-day schools are established; and the slave-trade throughout the whole coast from Gallinas to Cape Palmas is broken up. The enterprise is fast growing in favor, not only as a safety-valve for drawing off our surplus colored population, but as a means of changing the present degradation of Africa into Christian civilization.

For these facts, see address of Hon. J. R. Ingersoll, Pres. of the A. Col. Society of Penn.

(Forty African nations have made treaties with Liberia, abjuring the slave-trade.)

HENRY CLAY was active in establishing the Colonization Society, and at his death was its president. At its

annual meeting, held at Washington, Jan. 20, 1852, he was wasting with hopeless consumption, and Daniel Webster was chosen, for the occasion, to preside. Pathetically did he, on his introduction to the chair, refer to the cause of his being called to fill the place of Mr. Clay,* and nobly did he pronounce the panegyric of his great rival. He enumerated the grand objects of the association, and then with deep solemnity, addressing Dr. Butler, chaplain of the Senate, he desired that, in behalf of the society and its beloved president, prayer might be offered at the "throne of grace." Before Him who sitteth upon that throne, the disembodied spirits both of Clay and Webster were soon called to appear.

Mr. Clay died at the seat of government on the 29th of June, and Mr. Webster at his residence in Marshfield, Mass., on the 24th of October.† Mr. Clay was at the time a member of the U. S. Senate, and Mr. Webster

1852.
Jan. 20.
Colonization
meeting at
Washington.

June 29.
Mr. Clay dies,
aged 72.

Oct. 24.
Mr. Webster
dies, aged 70.

* The writer of this history was present at this meeting. She was to have the melancholy pleasure of seeing Mr. Clay in his room the next morning. From a previous conversation, she knew that he neither dreaded nor shunned the subject of his approaching death. She treasured in her memory the language of Mr. Webster,—and of Dr. Butler, as he fervently prayed for the man he loved. Finding, on her visit to Mr. Clay, that he desired to be informed concerning the meeting, she repeated their language concerning him. Never will the deep expression of Mr. Clay's countenance be forgotten, as he listened, sitting in his chair, and raising his wasted hand to hide the rising tears, which soon trickled from between his fingers.

† Mr. Webster, on the 8th of May, received a serious injury, by being thrown from his carriage at Marshfield. Subsequently, it was ascertained to be one of the leading causes of his death.

1852. Secretary of State. For forty years, their names and acts have been prominently before the public. Both died in the full faith of the Christian religion, and in the same love for their country—its constitution, and its union—in which they had so conspicuously lived.

Parallel between Clay and Webster, as orators.

The eloquence of these two great men belongs to history, for it has had a powerful influence on the destinies of America. But their oratory was as different as were their noble and peculiar forms. Mr. Clay was tall, commanding, and graceful; Mr. Webster, large, majestic, firmly knit, and justly proportioned. Mr. Clay's mind was original and comprehensive. He saw things to come, as if they were already present; and he threw forward all his energies to meet and avert the evils which he foresaw. When thus excited, the whole compass of language seemed within his full and easy control; and every gesture, look, and tone had its own impassioned and fascinating significance. Mr. Webster was ordinarily more argumentative; drawing the supplies of his greater knowledge, from more intense study, and more various reading. Perfect in his choice of words and arrangement of sentences, he, at the same time, so clothed his vast and logical ideas with beautiful imagery, that it was, as if Doric pillars were wreathed with flowers;—not artificial and dead, but instinct with the life of his warm affections, and sometimes watered by his tears. If Mr. Clay,—more mastering the minds of the men around him,—was more the orator of the present; Mr. Webster,—leaving behind him a greater quantity of model compositions, will be more the orator of the future.

Clay more the orator of the present, Webster of the future.

The remains of Mr. Clay, in their removal from

Washington to his home in Lexington, Kentucky, passed through Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York ;—from thence through Albany, to Lake Erie, Cincinnati, and Louisville. No conqueror's car, had ever a more triumphal career, than that poor coffin. The nation pressed around it, not with a tongue to talk, but with a heart to weep. At New York, while the corpse lay for a few hours in the City Hall—the features not exposed—the guard suffered the people to defile, one by one, past the body. Fifty thousand thus moved by, in silence and in tears.

1852.

The love of the people manifested towards Henry Clay.

Both Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster were, according to custom, officially mourned at the seat of government. The great name of Calhoun, so long their beloved fellow-patriot, was united with theirs, in many of the public demonstrations of sorrow, which, without distinction of party, were made throughout the Republic,—from Boston on the east, to San Francisco on the west. In fine, they received funeral honors, such as had never before been paid in America, except to the memory of Washington.

(Dec., 1852. In New Orleans, a great public mourning for Calhoun, Clay, and Webster.)

The close of the year 1852 finds the Republic of America, though not without some local disorders, yet generally in a healthy condition. The past year has afforded full evidence of the attachment of our people to that constitution and union of the states, by which we are ONE NATION. Each of the two great political parties, assembling by their delegates at Baltimore to propose candidates for the presidency, adopted a political creed called "a platform," in which the leading article was the profession of their belief in the justice of the late con-

1852. gressional measures called "the compromise." The democratic party was unanimous in the approval of the platform, while that of the whigs contained a resolute minority who opposed it. Gen. Scott, with all the fame of his great military services, was nominated by the whig party; while Gen. Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, favorably, though not so extensively known, was brought forward by the democratic,—in connection with William R. King of Alabama, for vice-president. These gentlemen carried the election, by an overwhelming majority.

(Whig vote on the Baltimore platform—ayes 272, noes 76.)

Dec. 6.
Opening of the last session of the XXXI. Congress.

We hope that a new era of "good feeling" is once more dawning upon our country. The admission to his seat in the Senate of the United States, of Mr. Dixon of Kentucky, in opposition to Mr. Merriwether, a democrat, and of the same party with a majority in both branches of Congress, is, we hope, an indication, not only of an era of "good feeling," but of a coming time, when that righteousness which "exalteth a nation," shall take the place of the one-sided views, and often unjust action, of party spirit.*

December.
Good disposition of the whigs.

The more prominent of the whig journals, now that the election is passed, seem not to have taken the ungen-

* In this remark, we take no note of the right or the wrong of Mr. Dixon's case. Highly honorable gentlemen maintained that Mr. Merriwether, not Mr. Dixon, had the just claim. But whoever has watched the strife of party, knows that in similar cases, not merely in Congress, but in State Legislatures, scarce has there been an honest inquiry—what is the right; although men, predetermined to vote according to party, have spent the public's time in talking about it.

erous attitude of lying in wait to seek occasion against the incoming administration ; but they appear patriotically desirous, that the executive should so administer the affairs of the nation, as to do honor to himself, in promoting the public prosperity. **1852.**

A remarkable demonstration of patriotic virtue is shown to the world by the relation, which, for more than two years, subsisted between the President of the United States, Mr. Fillmore, and his first secretary, Mr. Webster—they both being candidates for the whig vote in the coming presidential election, though, from divisions in the party, neither obtained the nomination. Yet did they in the mean time labor on harmoniously together, for their country's good. Credit is due to Mr. Fillmore ; for he might at any time, either directly or indirectly, have displaced Mr. Webster, when he found that his overwhelming popularity was such, that approved acts of the executive were attributed to the secretary. On the other hand, credit is due to Mr. Webster, that, at the nation's call, he brought, with his wonted unostentatious dignity, his fame, his talents, and his statesmanship, to give success and honor to the administration of his rival.

**Remarkable
instance of
public virtue.**

CHAPTER VII.

Historical account current—Changes in the immediate Past of Europe and America, bearing upon the future of the American Republic—Late improvements, and their Tendencies to promote PEACE.

1848.

Grand republican movements in Europe.

CHANGES in Europe affect America. In 1848, republicanism seemed in the ascendant. France expelled Louis Philippe, and declared a republic. Hungary threw off the Austrian yoke, and Rome expelled the Pope. But the gold of freedom had in it the base alloy of socialism; and good men preferred the family unbroken, with despotism in the state, rather than liberty in the state without the family union. This, with other causes combining, has brought Europe back to utter subjugation. By the aid of Russia, Hungary fell before Austria. By the shrewd policy of Louis Napoleon, France has restored the empire, and placed him at its head. He, while President of the French republic, restored the Pope; and has since, by his troops, guarded him in Rome.

That the success and popularity of our republican institutions have been the primary cause of uprisings against the divine right of kings, none will dispute. Our institutions are therefore necessarily objects of the dread and animosity of those sovereigns.

Opinion rules.

The fact that opinion now rules, where once it was force, makes the task of the historian more difficult;

1852.

while, to the casual observer, his labors become less interesting. But important national changes must be recorded, although they afford no striking narratives of war; and the historian is bound not merely to give facts with their dates, but to use his best judgment to trace out their causes and their consequences. "History," says Noah Webster, in his definition of the word, "is a narrative of events, in the order in which they happened, *with their causes and effects.*" Having shown its cause, we assume the fact, denied by none, of the hostility of European absolutists to American free institutions. One of the consequences of this is, that they encourage, in slander against us, a subjugated press; in hopes thus to counteract those republican tendencies of their people, by which they are threatened with change; and by which also European monarchs now lose, every year, nearly half a million of their subjects, who emigrate hither.

The historian's duty.

Causes of the slanders to which America is subject in Europe.

Prompt to believe what they desired, and probably, in a measure, themselves deceived by slanders got up to deceive others, the absolutists of Europe have been in the constant expectation, that the American government would, through its feebleness, fall into anarchy and subsequent despotism;† and to aid the supposed natural tendency, they have disgorged upon us their convicts and their paupers. The majority of the inmates of our states' prisons are foreigners. But there is room for more, and we trust there is still efficiency in law, to punish offenders of every name, whenever they deserve it. We hope, that not yet will the foes of freedom be gratified, by seeing its boasted area, become the area of crime, "unwhipped of justice."

(† The historian Allison and others have asserted that our government had already proved a failure.)

1852.

Tendency of
free govern-
ments to
anarchy.

Our enemies sometimes do us service by helping us to understand our true position. WE ARE IN DANGER OF ANARCHY. It is the rock on which free governments have heretofore been wrecked; and it is that breaker for which American statesmen should keep up a sleepless watch. Riots, robberies, and assassinations are too frequent in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other places; and during the two last years, they have increased. The unsound part of the emigration which we receive from Europe accounts only in part for the fact. There is reason to fear, that bribery of one kind or another is creeping into our elections. Those, who thus buy a seat in any legislative body, whether in city, state, or nation, may not be too good to work for themselves and sell their vote when there. The mass of the people, however, especially the independent farmers of the country, are wholly above being bribed with money. But they are sovereigns; and they share the common fate of sovereigns, to be deceived by flatterers, who teach that sovereign power and sovereign wisdom are ever identical; and the nearer to themselves they keep the power, and the more they control their agents, the safer will be the nation.* Hence arrangements have been made in some of our states, which, by destroying or weakening the independence of the judiciary, have increased the tendency to anarchy.

An important feature of the present time is that of

* Does a man act on this principle in his private affairs? Because he has power over his mind, body, and estate, does he suppose that the less he trusts his minister, doctor, and lawyer, and the oftener he changes them, the better it will be for him?

voluntary associations for specified good objects. Many of these societies, as their members collect to celebrate their anniversaries—and especially as the several religious communions meet by their delegates in convention, synod, or convocation—present delightful spectacles of legislative bodies, engaged in high debate. These are so many fountains of conservative influence, which operate to keep the under-current of American public sentiment, favorable to public virtue and obedience to law.

1852.

Voluntary associations.

Some of the most prominent of these are the Missionary, the Bible, the Tract, the Temperance, and Female Guardian Societies.

The national judiciary remains permanent and independent,—the stay, support, and regulator of the American government. Its decisions are paramount to those of any other court. They are final, and they command obedience; and the persons of the judges are held in high and deserved respect. So long as this remains, anarchy, though it may visit, will not find a home in America.

It was confidently expected in Europe that our great republic would come to an end by division whenever the slavery question had its crisis. It came in 1850, and we stood the shock.* In the mean time, the splendid

* Some suppose the crisis not yet past. From the London Times of Jan. 12, 1853, we quote the following:—“*The federal union of America is at this moment only preserved by the Fugitive Slave-law—a desperate expedient. * * * By this frail thread hangs the American Union.*” Now if those British politicians who hold such opinions concerning our Union mean to do the fair thing, and in reality wish us well, let them inquire what have been, and what ought to be, their measures, direct and indirect, in regard to this Fugitive Slave-law, upon which, as they profess to be-

1853. achievements of the war with Mexico vindicated our military prowess. The peace quieted us in the possession of Texas, and added to our territory the wilds of New Mexico and California. Gold was discovered; and those wilds rose up before us, a great commercial empire on the Pacific. While we were fearing, on account of the influx of British convicts, they were kept at home, by the discovery of gold in Australia. The transit between the new and old states has been facilitated by a railroad over a part of the isthmus of Panama; and things are now in a train which promises to open, within ten years, a direct communication by railroad and telegraph from the Atlantic to the Pacific; a passage to the East Indies such as Columbus never dreamed of! And thus by a good Providence, and against all evil machinations and prognostics, our eagle standard yet floats unrent; and now, from ocean to ocean.

(Gold discovered in Australia—51 millions already brought to England. Jan. 1, 1853.)

Whether or not the absolutists of Europe will change their course with these changing circumstances, it behooves American politicians well to consider; and not to rest in the expectation that the future will remain as the past.

1852. In regard to the southern and central powers of Europe, unless they succeed in utterly defaming us, any armies they might send to invade us, would, as the ships whose iron spikes were drawn out by the fabled magnetic island, fall to pieces by the attraction of our free and popular institutions. Their soldiers would desert,

This year, the German emigration greater than the Irish.)

lieve, our national existence depends. It depends rather on this—OUR PEOPLE LOVE THE UNION, and will preserve it.

and join their friends already here by voluntary emigration. 1853.

It is not so with Russia,—whose dominions in Asia approach those in America, and those our own. Her citizens hold their Czar in religious veneration, and regard the soil of their own country as too sacred to be abandoned.

In the account current of America with England, there is much on each side of the ledger. America credits England with being her mother, but she charges her with having given her too frequent cause to use to her the language of her poet Savage, “Thou mother and no mother.” We derive our literature from her; and however she may vilify, contemn, and irritate us,* still her very soil—her battle-fields, whereon our forefathers fought—her streams and mountains, made classic by her noble poets, whose blood perchance we share—that soil is dear to us, as no other land but our own can ever be.

In regard to commercial relations, America is England’s best customer; and, as a statesman of her own remarked,† “England could as little afford to destroy New York as Liverpool.” Again, in the condemnation for liberalism, England shares with America; and she has reason to believe, that if our republic could be overborne, the free representative portion of her own government must soon follow. But then Britain has monarchi-

Proofs that America loves England, though she be little loved in return.

(† Sir Joseph Le fan de Hovey sent over, about 1844, by the Queen, to visit prisons, schools, &c.)

* A friend who has just returned from England writes thus, under date Jan. 7, 1853:—Having had constant access to all the leading newspapers of that country, I find there is nearly as much difference of opinion as with us, and their papers are full of mutual recriminations; *all, however, agree in vilifying us.*

1851. cal and aristocratical elements ; and the popularity of our institutions among her own people is such, that yearly a number equal to a great city's population leave their land, and make this their country. Yet in her general tone of feeling, England, as America, sympathizes with the oppressed, and hates the oppressor.

1850.
(Haynau nearly killed by the workmen and others at the brewery of Messrs. Barclay & Perkins, London.)

The treatment which the Hungarian Marshal Haynau received in a London brewery, September, 1850, and the ardent satisfaction of the whole populace, came near to breeding a quarrel between Great Britain and Austria, as shown in the subsequent correspondence of Prince Schwartzenburg and Lord Palmerston. Should England be attacked in earnest, and the battle of freedom begin there, she would doubtless be defended by her western daughter. And should America be called to suffer for the sake of human rights and human liberty, we believe that she would stand by us. Yet,—would she not willingly check our rising strength, and, to prevent the possibility that it might, especially on the ocean, hereafter overshadow her,—divide us among ourselves, regardless of the evils she would thus entail upon us ?*

* The editor of the London Times, commenting on the fact disclosed by the Cuban papers (communicated to Congress by Pres. Fillmore), that American statesmen have all along been jealous of England, has a special exclamation that the name of Wellington should have occurred in this connection. Perhaps his amazement would be less, if he should examine the John Henry papers made public by Mr. Madison in 1812, and now in the archives at Washington. In the plot to divide this country, therein disclosed, is the name of him who has since been called, from his inflexibility, "The Iron Duke." So a late article in the National Intelligencer affirms.

EVENTS HAVE RECENTLY PASSED, AND ARE NOW IN PROGRESS, WHICH TEND TO PEACE. 1853.

The earnest religious faith in Christ, to which this country owes its first settlement, its free institutions, its noble free schools open to all, and the strength of its original stamina of character, has now in a great degree emerged from the mist of Gallic infidelity, which, about the time of the French revolution in 1790, began to sweep over this land. For a time, the political journals of the United States, and the halls of legislation, so far from exhibiting reverence to the Lord that bought them, scarce made mention of God and his providence;—ever piously referred to by Washington and his compatriots. Thus it was with the rulers, and the mass of the people were well pleased. But in the mean time, *our free system of religion* was working well. A clergy, generally of pure and holy men—poor, yet making many rich—furnished with nothing for the moral combat but the sword of the spirit and the helmet of salvation, met and fought this infidelity; and now it covers, and, comparatively speaking, hides its diminished head.

Excellent influence of the American clergy.

Within the range of this consecrated influence, *there is a society especially devoted to peace*, who are united in the great object with good men in Europe, and whose doctrines have made no inconsiderable impression. Elishu Burritt in this country, and Mr. Cobden in England, are prominent members. The last Congress of the Peace Society was held in Germany, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

Peace Congress at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

Among the conservative influences of America stands that of the mass of her intelligent women; and the pro-

1853. portion of such, is greater in this nation, than in any other, of ancient or modern times. Public opinion has here sanctioned improved seminaries for their learning, where their intellect is developed; while their moral, physical, and feminine qualities are not neglected. Women control much property. From these causes, female influence here is great, though generally noiseless; and as the influence of the gentler sex increases, a tendency to war, other things being equal, will diminish.

Sound influence of the generality of American women.

Improvements in the art of war tend to peace.

Improvements have been made in weapons of destruction; and *men become less willing to fight, as death by fighting becomes more probable.* Of these improvements, the most prominent is the revolver, invented in this country. There are others in abeyance, such as the torpedo, which the pressure of an invasion would bring forth, from "Yankee ingenuity;" an arm which the United States are well known to possess.

Diffusion of knowledge by the increase of newspapers.

Steam, and electricity, and cheap postage have afforded facilities for the collection and diffusion of knowledge which no former period has enjoyed. Newspapers have grown in number, in size, in editorial labor and ability (several editors being required for one great paper), almost as fast as that known world whose news they daily chronicle,—and they print their news with almost the lightning rapidity with which they collect it. These papers are sold for little, and conveyed by the mails almost gratuitously; and they disseminate a vast amount of knowledge. *As man's intellect expands, he will become less and less willing to submit questions of right and justice, to the blind arbitration of brute force and indiscriminate carnage.*

1853.

The natural selfishness of man, which leads to animosity and war, is best opposed by whatever promotes its counter principle,—which is what our Saviour made the essence of his religion,—LOVE TO GOD AND LOVE TO MAN.

Of the influence of direct religious instruction we have already spoken. All those improvements of the times, such as telegraphic communication, cheap postage, and railroad travelling, which tend to increase *amity and a quick sympathy among men*, promote a temper of mind which seeks peace, and not war. Close affinities, whether of business or of friendship, between individuals of different states and nations,—not only by association, make those states and nations dear,—but they elevate the general tone of moral feeling, and thus raise man above the savage thirst for blood. The rapid communication of the daily news of the world produces sympathy with the distresses of all;—and whom we pity we love.

Tendencies of the circumstances of the times to peace.

Locomotion by steam and cheap postage tends to keep in life the natural and friendly affections. Families among us are divided by long distances throughout our far-reaching states; and when, in former times, a man would write from the west, describing his hardships to his brother in the east, “Every letter from you costs me a bushel of corn,” his relatives would naturally wait long before they wrote. Then it took weeks to visit; and often those of the same family, once parted, saw each other no more; and their children grew up as entire strangers. Thus the tender charities of blood and kindred died out, and gave place to a more concentrated

1849. selfishness. Now, the depressing tax on written affection is taken off; and we go rapidly by steam, wherever our affections may carry us.

Jan. 26.
Postal con-
vention with
England rati-
fied.

And by means of modern improvements in navigation,* and arrangements respecting transatlantic postage, the same things happen in regard to our adopted citizens, and the relatives they leave behind them in Europe. Locomotion has come to be reckoned not by miles, but by time; and that is not now the half of what it was twenty years ago. A postal convention with England was ratified in London, Jan. 26, 1849, by which written correspondence is greatly facilitated. There have been among our Irish citizens distinguished professional men; but generally, they labor, and are often the kind domestics on whom our family comforts depend. These have not the means of visiting their friends, but they send their earnings to Ireland to bring them here; and they gladly come when sent for. When our minister to England, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, visited the Irish in their own island, that warm-hearted people received and treated him as a father. It is computed, that, of money earned

* On the 11th of January, 1853 (since these last pages have been in the hands of the printer), occurred at New York the successful trial of the caloric ship Ericsson; by which the fact is established, that *atmospheric air*, operated on by a machinery wrought with great skill, by which it is *suddenly condensed and then suddenly expanded by heat, is a motive power*; and it is hoped by all, and confidently believed by Capt. Ericsson, its inventor, a native Swede, that it will possess all the efficiency of steam, without its danger and expense. If this should, after the trial of ocean voyages, prove to be the case, its introduction will, like that of steam, become a memorable epoch.

by the laboring Irish in America, *five millions* have already been sent to Ireland to bring over their relations. Next to Ireland, Germany has furnished to this country the greatest number of emigrants. Many of them are persons of education, who come not empty-handed. They also communicate with their friends in Germany, and what they say will be believed, and whom they love will be beloved.

1853.

Five millions
sent by Irish
servants to
bring over
their rela-
tives.

Thus we see that by the good Providence of God, arrangements made chiefly in reference to business, operate to increase man's home-bred happiness, enlarge his private affections, and promote political concord among states and nations.



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THIS history, now brought down to July, 1851, has been before the public twenty-three years. During that period the record of current historical events has been made as they occurred, or while they were fresh in the writer's mind; and at different times added to the work, which has thus been kept up to present time. That this history has been written with an unprejudiced, a conscientious, and, in the main, a successful research for truth, is evident from the fact, that it is now used, and quoted as authority, by the pulpit, the press, and the bar,—in legislative halls, and courts of justice.

When cotemporary history circulates unchallenged, amidst the actors of the scenes it narrates,—that is evidence of its veracity. When we go a step further, and produce the positive endorsement of some among those actors, of the most eminent and best qualified to judge, and that given while yet the events are fresh in their memories, our history, thus endorsed, may fearlessly claim to be settled upon a foundation which the future can never shake. Such evidence we now produce. Our first authority is DANIEL WEBSTER, than whom no man living better understands the whole history of his country; and it is thus written in a letter to the author, dated from that Senate Chamber, whence his words went forth to the confines of civilization, "I cannot better express my sense of the value of your history of the United States, than by saying I keep it near me, as a book of reference, accurate in facts and dates." The next presented, is the unimpeachable testimony of an eminent patriot of New York, Mr. DICKENSON, late of the United States Senate. He says, in a letter to the author, "I have given your sheets an attentive perusal, and can find no suggestion of error to communicate. Having been an actor in the scenes so vividly sketched, I am cheerful to declare, that I find them truthful and complete."

LAFAYETTE himself read and criticised my history of the Revolution; and HENRY CLAY, a name worthy to be mentioned in the same connection, has read and given some corrections on parts of the history in which he was an actor; and the slightest suggestions by either have been carried out by the author.

JOHN WILLARD, of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, whose upright and fearless decisions are known far beyond its limits, thus writes to the author: "So far as my recollection serves me, these chapters are in conformity with the first great law of historic composition, TRUTH. JOHN McLEAN, whose least merit is, that he occupies one of the first judicial positions of the nation, writes what is sufficient to affix to this portion of our history the stamp of reliability: "I have looked over your sketches, forwarded for my perusal and examination, and I FIND NO ERRORS TO CORRECT."

WILLARD'S
AMERICAN CHRONOGRAPHER,

DESIGNED TO ACCOMPANY WILLARD'S HISTORY OF
THE UNITED STATES.

To measure time by space is universal among civilized nations; and as the hours, and minutes, and seconds of a clock measure the time of a day, so do the centuries, tens, and single years of this Chronographer, measure the time of American History. A general knowledge of chronology is as indispensable to history, as a general knowledge of latitude and longitude is to geography. But to learn single dates, *apart* from a general plan of chronology addressed to the eye, is as useless as to learn latitudes and longitudes without reference to a map. The eye is the only medium of permanent impression. The essential point in a date, is to know the *relative* place of an event, or how it stands in time compared with other important events. The scholar in the school-room, or the gentleman in his study, wants such a *visible plan of time* for the study of history, the same as he wants the visible plan of space, viz., a map for the study of geography, or of books of travels. Such is the object of *Willard's Chronographer of American History*.

*Extract from a Report of the Ward School Teachers' Association
of the City of New York.*

The Committee on Books of the Ward School Association respectfully report :

That they have examined Mrs. Willard's History of the United States with peculiar interest, and are free to say, that it is in their opinion decidedly the best treatise on this interesting subject that they have seen. * *

As a school-book, its proper place is among the first. The language is remarkable for simplicity, perspicuity, and neatness; youth could not be trained to a better taste for language than this is calculated to impart. The history is so written as to lead to geographical examinations, and impresses by practice the habit to read history with maps. It places at once, in the hands of American youth, the history of their country from the day of its discovery to the present time, and exhibits a clear arrangement of all the great and good deeds of their ancestors, of which they now enjoy the benefits, and inherit the renown. The struggles, sufferings, firmness, and piety of the first settlers are delineated with a masterly hand.

The gradual enlargement of our dominions, and the development of our national energies, are traced with a minute accuracy, which the general plan of the work indicates.

The events and achievements of the Revolution and of the last war, are brought out in a clear light, and the subsequent history of our national policy and advancement strikingly portrayed, without being disfigured by that tinge

of party bias which is so difficult to be guarded against by historians of their own times.

The details of the discovery of this continent by Columbus, and of the early settlements by the Spaniards, Portuguese, and other European nations, are all of essential interest to the student of American history, and will be found sufficiently minute to render the history of the continent full and complete. The different periods of time, together with the particular dates, are distinctly set forth with statistical notes on the margin of each page,—and these afford much information without perusing the pages.

The maps are beautifully executed, with the locality of places where particular events occurred, and the surrounding country particularly delineated. These are admirably calculated to make lasting impressions on the mind.

The day has now arrived when every child should be acquainted with the history of his country; and your Committee rejoice that a work so full and clear can be placed within the reach of every one.

The student will learn, by reading a few pages, how much reason he has to be proud of his country—of its institutions—of its founders—of its heroes and statesmen: and by such lessons are we not to hope that those who come after us will be instructed in their duties as citizens, and their obligations as patriots?

Your Committee are anxious to see this work extensively used in all the schools in the United States.

(Signed,)

SENECA DURAND,
EDWARD McELROY,
JOHN WALSH.

The Committee would respectfully offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That Mrs. Emma Willard's History of the United States be adopted by this Association, and its introduction into our schools earnestly recommended.

At a meeting of the Board of the Ward School Teachers' Association, January 20th, 1847, the above Resolution was adopted.—(Copied from the Minutes.)

From the Boston Traveller.

We consider the work a remarkable one, in that it forms the best book for general reading and reference published, and at the same time has no equal, in our opinion, as a text-book. On this latter point, the profession which its author has so long followed with such signal success, rendered her peculiarly a fitting person to prepare a text-book. None but a practical teacher is capable of preparing a *good* school-book; and as woman has so much to do in forming our early character, why should her influence cease at the fireside—why not encourage her to exert her talents still, in preparing school and other books for after years? No hand can do it better.

The typography of this work is altogether in good taste.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

Mrs. WILLARD'S SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.—It is one of those rare things, a good school-book; infinitely better than any of the United States Histories fitted for schools, which we have at present. It is quite full enough, and yet condensed with great care and skill. The style is clear and simple—Mrs. Willard having avoided those immense Johnsonian words which Grimsnaw and other writers for children love to put into their works, while, at the same time there is nothing of the *pap* style about it. The arrangement is excellent.

the chapters of a good length; every page is dated, and a marginal index makes reference easy. But the best feature in the work is its series of maps; we have the country as it was when filled with Indians; as granted to Gilbert; as divided at the time the Pilgrims came over; as apportioned in 1643; the West while in possession of France; the Atlantic coast in 1733; in 1763; as in the Revolution, with the position of the army at various points; at the close of the Revolutionary War; during the war of 1812-15; and in 1840: making eleven most excellent maps, such as every school history should have. When we think of the unintelligible, incomplete, badly written, badly arranged, worthless work of Grimshaw which has been so long used in our schools, we feel that every scholar and teacher owes a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Willard. Miss Robins has done for English History, what Mrs. Willard has now done for American, and we trust these two works will be followed by others of as high or higher character. We recommend Mrs. Willard's work as better than any we know of on the same subject; not excepting Bancroft's abridgment. This work, followed by the careful reading of Mr. Bancroft's full work, is all that would be needed up to the point where Bancroft stops; from that point, Pitkin and Marshall imperfectly supply the place, which Bancroft and Sparks will soon fill.

From the United States Gazette.

Mrs. Willard is well known throughout the country as a lady of high attainments, who has distinguished herself as the Principal of Female Academies, that have sent abroad some of the most accomplished females of the land.

The plan of the authoress is to divide the time into periods, of which the beginning and the end are marked by some important event, and then care has been taken to make plain the events of intermediate periods. The style is clear, and there appears no confusion in the narrative. In looking through the work, we do not discover that the author has any early prejudices to gratify. The book, therefore, so far as we have been able to judge, may be safely recommended as one of great merit, and the maps and marginal notes, and series of questions, give additional value to the work.

From the Newburyport Watchman.

AN ABRIDGED HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES: By Emma Willard.—We think we are warranted in saying, that it is better adapted to meet the wants of our schools and academies in which history is pursued, than any other work of the kind now before the public.

The style is perspicuous and flowing, and the prominent points of our history are presented in such a manner as to make a deep and lasting impression on the mind.

We could conscientiously say much more in praise of this book, but must content ourselves by heartily commending it to the attention of those who are anxious to find a good text-book of American history for the use of schools.

From the Albany Evening Journal.

WILLARD'S UNITED STATES.—This work is well printed on strong white paper, and is bound in a plain substantial manner—all-important requisites in a school-book. The text is prepared with equal skill and judgment. The memory of the youthful student is aided by a number of spirited illustrations—no means unimportant auxiliaries—while to lighten the labors of the teacher, a series of questions is adapted to each chapter. Nor is its usefulness limited to the school-room. As a book of reference for editors, lawyers, politicians, and others, where dates and facts connected with every important event in American History may be readily found, this little book is truly valuable.

**WILLARD'S
UNIVERSAL HISTORY IN PERSPECTIVE.**

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

THIS WORK IS ARRANGED IN THREE PARTS, VIZ:

ANCIENT, MIDDLE, AND MODERN HISTORY.

1. **ANCIENT HISTORY** is divided into six periods—comprising events from the Creation, to the Birth of our Saviour.

2. **MIDDLE HISTORY**, into five periods,—from the Christian Era, to the Discovery of America.

3. **MODERN HISTORY**, into nine periods,—from the Discovery of America, to the present time. Each period marked by some important event and illustrated by maps or engravings.

The following resolution was offered and adopted at a meeting of the Ward School Teachers' Association of the City of New York, January 20th, 1847.

Resolved, That the Ward School Teachers' Association of New York considers Willard's Universal History as a book essentially adapted to the higher classes of schools on account of its vivacity, lucidness, and intelligent mode of arrangement, of dates and questions, and that such a work has long been wanted and as such will endeavor to introduce it into their respective schools, and warmly recommend it to public patronage.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Elbridge Smith, late Principal of the English High School of Worcester, Mass.

I have recently introduced "Willard's Universal History in Perspective," into the school under my care. I am much pleased with it, and think it superior to any other work of the kind.

(Signed,)

ELBRIDGE SMITH

Worcester, June 5, 1847.

From Professor Charles B. Haddock of Dartmouth College, and School Commissioner of the State of New Hampshire.

I am acquainted with Mrs. Willard's Histories, and entertain a high opinion of them. They are happily executed, and worthy of the long experience and eminent character of their author.

(Signed,)

CHARLES B. HADDOCK

Dartmouth College, Hanover, Dec. 11, 1846

WILLARD'S
TEMPLE OF TIME,

DESIGNED TO ACCOMPANY WILLARD'S UNIVERSAL HISTORY

This Temple exhibits at one view the whole scheme of Universal Chronology, from the Creation to the present time. Each pillar represents the century corresponding to the number at its base. The pillars are in groups of tens, four groups before Christ, and two after, the last thousand years being deficient by a part of the nineteenth and the whole of the twentieth century. As pillars in building are begun at the bottom, so the time of the century represented by each pillar, is reckoned upwards. (See pillar for the eighteenth century.)

The names on the pillars are of those sovereigns by which the age is chiefly distinguished. The floor-work shows what have been the principal nations of the world, through the several centuries, which may be known by tracing to the bases of the pillars on each side. Of the principal nations of Europe, the names of all the sovereigns now reigning, and of those who have reigned since the discovery of America, are inserted; but antecedent to that period, only the names of the principal sovereigns are set down.

The roof of the Temple contains, in five compartments, the names of the most celebrated persons of the age to which they belonged. The Temple, in so far as the pillars and the roof are concerned, might be called the Temple of Time and of Fame. All the names inserted on those parts are of persons not now living. Along the right margin of the floor-work and next the base of the pillars, are set down some of the most important battles. On the left corresponding margin, are placed the epochs of Willard's Universal History. They are selected with care, as the best by which to divide this great subject. This brings the Temple of Time into closer connection with Willard's History than with any other; but it may accompany any system of Universal History; or it may be used to advantage by itself, with the aid of a Dictionary of Universal Biography.

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"The work of Dr. Gregory is admitted by European reviews to be the ablest exposition of the doctrines of Chemistry which has ever appeared."—*Ec. Med. Journal*.

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"We look upon Prof. Sanders' edition of Dr. Gregory's work as decidedly the *first* work upon the science of Chemistry; and we would advise any person who wishes a thorough knowledge of the science as it at present exists, to procure a copy."—*Ec. Med. Journal*.

"I have the honor to acknowledge your polite gift of a copy of your edition of Gregory's Chemistry. I am glad that this excellent book is placed within the reach of American students, and I shall, with pleasure, commend it to my class.

Yours,

LOUISVILLE UNIVERSITY, October 20.

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