

INTRODUCTION

Any country, whether strong or not, developed or underdeveloped, can never withstand and live in isolation from the outer world. Interactions between countries often involve diplomatic actions that determine foreign relations. Yet, when diplomacy between governments fails, conflicts are bound to arise. In any event, to avoid failure, diplomacy remains the only solution. For, different interactions might bring positive or negative movements that affect countries. That is, foreign relations are always established by governments so as to deal with any situation or problem their countries may encounter.

A country's foreign policy, called the international relations policy, consists of strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve its goals beyond its borders. In this respect, and for centuries, many nations have sought to protect their interests and tried to dominate the international scene. The United States of America, despite the fact that she is a newly born country, was among those nations that had spared no efforts to achieve its interests and become a world power in a short span of time. Yet, to attain this position, American foreign policy had been orchestrated along a series of events that involved the country within and outside the American continent.

The United States inaugurated her foreign policy in the midst of the war of independence. At the time the colonists declared their independence in 1776, the first essential step was an effort to gain external recognition of the new nation's independence, and the need of a powerful ally in the Revolutionary War. They looked to England's traditional enemy, France, to be that ally. The Continental Congress sent its diplomats to France to try to gain support for the Revolution. These envoys negotiated an alliance with the French government which not only

recognized the nation's independence but also provided military assistance that helped in achieving the goals of the American Revolution.

After the independence, however, this newly born nation needed to protect itself from external threats in order to achieve stability and build its economy. Peculiar to the United States was the need, within her foreign policy, to expand borders and acquire new territories for the sake of keeping out potential competitors and consolidating her domestic economy in search of resources and markets.

On the American continent, these concerns converged in the American relations with Mexico over the Texas issue. To review this bilateral history is virtually to call to mind decades of settlements, territory annexation, territory purchase and conflicts. From the early 1820s through the mid-1840s, the American - Mexican relations underwent a chequered period ranging from peaceful negotiations to a violent war.

The American - Mexican War that took place during the first half of the nineteenth century was the United States' first war to be waged outside the American border. This first major conflict was driven by the American desire to expand the country's borders from 'sea to shining sea' i.e. from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The American - Mexican War caused a great deal of suffering including casualties, ruins and the territorial acquisition of parts of Mexico, including Texas, California and New Mexico, by the United States.

The aim of this research work is to explore three aspects related to the American-Mexican War: causes, process, and aftermath. Through the first chapter, we will examine the American - Spanish relations and the focus of attention here will be devoted to the Spanish reaction toward the American Revolution and then to the relations between the two countries in the wake of the American independence. The Mexican process of independence, and the American relations in regard to Mexico following the latter's independence are also part of this chapter.

The second chapter is concerned with the root causes that led to the outbreak of the American - Mexican War. Though other subjects of dispute existed between the United States and Mexico before the annexation of Texas, the latter event was the immediate cause of the war between these two neighbouring countries. Reference will also be made to the war as the consequence of the policy of westward expansion and American claims over Mexico.

The last chapter describes the process of the war. In other words, we shall be concerned with the military preparations and the military process of the armed conflict. In any case, this war affected both belligerents at different levels. Therefore, this chapter is also devoted to the study of the impact of this war on both countries.

CHAPTER ONE:

Historical Background

The history of the Western Hemisphere witnessed a series of events during the previous centuries. One of these events was the war between the United States and Mexico, formerly British and Spanish colonies respectively, which took place in the first half of the eighteenth century. This conflict involved different powers, mainly the United States, Mexico, and Texas. These belligerents were supported directly or indirectly by the two European powers; Great Britain and Spain.

The involvement of the Spaniards and the British as rivals in the American continent, the former standing beside the United States and the former supporting Mexico, and the support that Great Britain, seeking economic interests, gave to the American Texans during their conflict with Mexico in 1836¹ can be understood in the light of a long history of conflictual relations between these two imperial powers.

Indeed, over three centuries, relations between Great Britain and Spain were most of the time conflictual and were marked by a series of confrontations for various reasons; religious, commercial and imperial. Among the most important conflicts in which both empires were involved were: the War of the League of Cognac (1526-1530), the Spanish - English War (1588-1603), the War of 1625, the Spanish – English War (1654-1660), the War of the Spanish succession (1701- 1714), the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718- 1720), the War of Jenkins’ Ear (1739- 1742), the War of the Austrian Succession (1742- 1748), and the Seven Years War (1756- 1763).

¹ - For this study, over 20 books and some papers written by specialists were consulted with no reference as to the Spanish involvement in the Texas War of Independence. Yet, humility requires that this may be due to the lack of further readings.

Therefore and before dealing with the origins of the United States – Mexican War, it is necessary to examine the relations between the United States and Spain and the focus of attention here, will be devoted to the Spanish reaction to the American Revolution and then to the relations between the two countries in the wake of the American independence. Then, some light will be shed on the Mexican process of independence. Finally, we will examine the relations between the United States and Mexico after the latter's independence.

I – American - Spanish Relations

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, relations between Great Britain and her thirteen colonies were carried in good manners. However, the period following the Seven Years War (1756- 1763)² witnessed the deterioration of these cordial relations and marked the beginning of the colonist's revolt against their mother country. This revolution would lead to the American War of Independence in which Britain's two main European enemies, namely France and Spain, seeking revenge and driven by self-interests, would ally themselves with the American revolutionaries.

During the Seven Years War, Great Britain defeated the French and the Spaniards³, captured some of their overseas territories, and compelled them to end the war and sign the Peace Treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763. Under the terms of this Treaty, France surrendered to Great Britain her positions in India, Canada, all

²- This war known also as the "French and Indian War" was waged between France and Great Britain, aided by the American colonists, over the control of territory in North America. This conflict extended to overseas territories in Asia and Africa where both British and French gained foothold. The war was also fought in Europe and involved most of the European powers mainly Prussia aided by Britain, and Austria with her French ally for the control of the territory of Silesia in Austria. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Delux Edition., U.K.,2001., CD Rom Edition.

³- Spain entered the Seven Years War on the side of France in January 1762. In response to Spain's entrance to the war, Great Britain attacked her dominions and successfully captured two of her colonies, namely Cuba in August 1762, and the Philippines in October 1762. Jeremy, Black., *The Cambridge Illustrated Atlas of Warfare : Renaissance to Revolution 1492 – 1792*., Cambridge University Press., London., 1996., p. 154.

the territory between the Allegheny Mountains and east of the Mississippi, Senegal, and some of her colonies in the West Indies⁴. At the same time, Spain yielded to the British the colony of Florida in return for Cuba and the Philippines. In compensation for the loss of Florida, France handed over to Spain the Louisiana Territory, west of the Mississippi, including New Orleans⁵.

Although the Treaty was advantageous to the British who added a vast territory and inaugurated their supremacy in North America, the war had been expensive and seriously affected the British financial situation. In fact, the Seven Years War cost £70 million to the British Treasury and left the government with a national debt that reached £140 million⁶.

In order to alleviate this financial crisis, the government looked to the American thirteen colonies to meet a portion of the burden by imposing taxes on the colonists. In addition, the government, which in the past years let the initiative of managing the colonies to the settlers themselves, decided to introduce an imperial policy to manage these colonies. The settlers became estranged from the imposed taxes and the government's meddling in their affairs. As a matter of fact, in July 1776, the thirteen colonies adopted collectively the Declaration of Independence by which they openly expressed their strong desire and determination to sever the ties that bound them to the mother country.

While the struggle for freedom was underway, the thirteen colonies directed their efforts towards the establishment of channels of contact with other European powers mainly France and Spain. The latter represented the most prominent enemies of Great Britain. The aim behind such American endeavour was, on the one hand to

⁴ - The main French possessions that were seized by the British in the West Indies were Martinique, Grenada, Tobago, and Guadeloupe., Ibid. p.155.

⁵ - Howard, Robinson., *Development of the British Empire.*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston., 1922., p. 96.

⁶ - Brendan, Simms., *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714–1783.*, Basic Books., New York., 2009., p. 535.

seek international recognition, and on the other hand to secure assistance in terms of money and munitions.

By the beginning of 1777, Continental Congress sent Arthur Lee to Madrid in order to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Spanish government, to secure American recognition, and to ask the Spaniards for financial help. In return, America would grant the Spanish government a favoured trade status. However, the Spanish King, Charles III (1759–1788) refused an alliance because he was unwilling to risk a war against Great Britain. Moreover, Charles III was aware that the American revolutionaries would extend and claim the territory west of the Mississippi which was actually Spanish. Nevertheless, the Spanish King granted the Americans \$170,000, war material, and allowed them to use New Orleans as a port of deposit for their product.⁷

In the meantime, Continental Congress sent Silas Dean to France with the same instructions that had been given to Lee. Comte de Vergennes, the then French foreign minister welcomed the American envoy and expressed his government's adherence and sympathy towards the American cause. France which desired to take a revenge for her defeat and losses she had suffered in the Seven Years War turned to Spain and proposed to the Spanish government the formation of a Franco-Spanish -American alliance that would strike the British.⁸

Yet, the Spanish Court, through its foreign minister Florida Blanca refused to involve Spain in a profitless war with England. Spanish reluctance to enter the war was prompted by two main reasons: First, Spain was aware that America, once independent, might be hostile and dangerous to the Spanish Empire in the New World. Then, a successful American Republic, recognized by Spain, might encourage the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere to follow the American

⁷ - Willis Fletcher, Johnson., *America's Foreign Relations.*, Volume One., The Century Co., New York., 1916., p. 110.

⁸ - John R., Alden., *A History of the American Revolution.*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York., 1969., p. 371.

example and would rise in revolt for their independence. This was clearly revealed by Florida Blanca who stated:

*“The king, my master, will never acknowledge their independence.... He fears the example which he should otherwise give to his own possessions”.*⁹

Nevertheless, the events that followed later on made Spain reconsider her policy towards the Americans and get involved in the war. Indeed, on February 6, 1778, France and the United States signed an important treaty of amity and alliance by which France recognized American Independence and declared war on the British. Meanwhile, The French foreign minister, Vergennes did not give up his hope to revive the principles of the Family Compact¹⁰, and promised the Spanish Court that if Spain entered the war, France would help her to gain Jamaica, Gibraltar, Minorca¹¹, and the Floridas¹². In addition, France would help Spain keep the Americans away from the territory west of the Mississippi.

The Spanish government could not stay indifferent towards Vergennes’ proposal, and on April 12, 1779, both countries signed the treaty of Aranjuez by which the Spanish government agreed to enter the American Revolutionary War.¹³ Though Spain officially entered the fray on June 21, she did not ally herself with the Americans, and the Spanish Foreign Minister clearly stated that Spain would not recognize their Independence if they did not give up their claims upon the territory west of the Mississippi.¹⁴

⁹- Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 88.

¹⁰ - Also called “Pactes de Famille”. An alliance between the two Bourbon kingdoms of France and Spain, which had the effect of involving Spain and France in a defensive alliance in European and colonial wars. The first pact was signed in 1733, the second in 1743 and the third was concluded in 1761. *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*, Delux Edition., U.K.,2001., CD Rom Edition.

¹¹ - Jamaica was seized by the British during the English Spanish War (1654- 1660). Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded by Spain to Great Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht which ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1701- 1714). John R., Alden., op. cit., p. 401.

¹² - When Great Britain gained Florida from the Spanish, the British government divided the territory into two parts: East Florida with its capital at St Augustine and West Florida with its capital at Pensacola. East Florida comprised the present state of Florida, and West Florida included the southern parts of today Alabama and Mississippi, and a little part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi River., *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*, Delux Edition., U.K.,2001., CD Rom Edition.

¹³ - Samuel Flagg, Bemis., *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution.*, Second Edition., Indiana University Press., Bloomington., 1957., p. 80.

¹⁴ - Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 88.

In that eight years war, Great Britain faced the coalition in the American continent as well as in Europe, and the British Army, which was outnumbered and dispersed throughout the two continents, was defeated. Great Britain was stripped of large parts of her colonial empire. Indeed, in America, the British were compelled to recognize the loss of the thirteen colonies, and the Spaniards captured West Florida. In Europe, although Spain failed to seize Gibraltar after a siege of more than three months, she successfully recaptured Minorca in 1782.

The war ended on September 3, 1783, when final treaties were signed between Great Britain and the United States, and between Great Britain and France and Spain respectively¹⁵. Among the main provisions of the treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain were:

- Great Britain recognized the United States as independent and conceded to the Americans the whole Northwest and Southwest territories, extending westward to the Mississippi River and southward to the Florida line.

- Both countries would have the right to the free navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to its mouth¹⁶.

- The withdrawal of the British forces from all the territory within the United States.

The treaty also included a secret clause concerning the southern boundary. The clause stated that if Great Britain would keep Florida for herself, the boundary between the United States and Florida would be drawn eastward from the mouth of the Yazoo River, in latitude to the 32 28' degrees. However, if the Spaniards had to hold on Florida, the boundary between Florida and the United States should be

¹⁵- In the treaty concluded with France and Spain, Britain lost Tobago and Senegal to the former, and Minorca and Florida to the latter. Jeremy, Black., op. cit., p. 159.

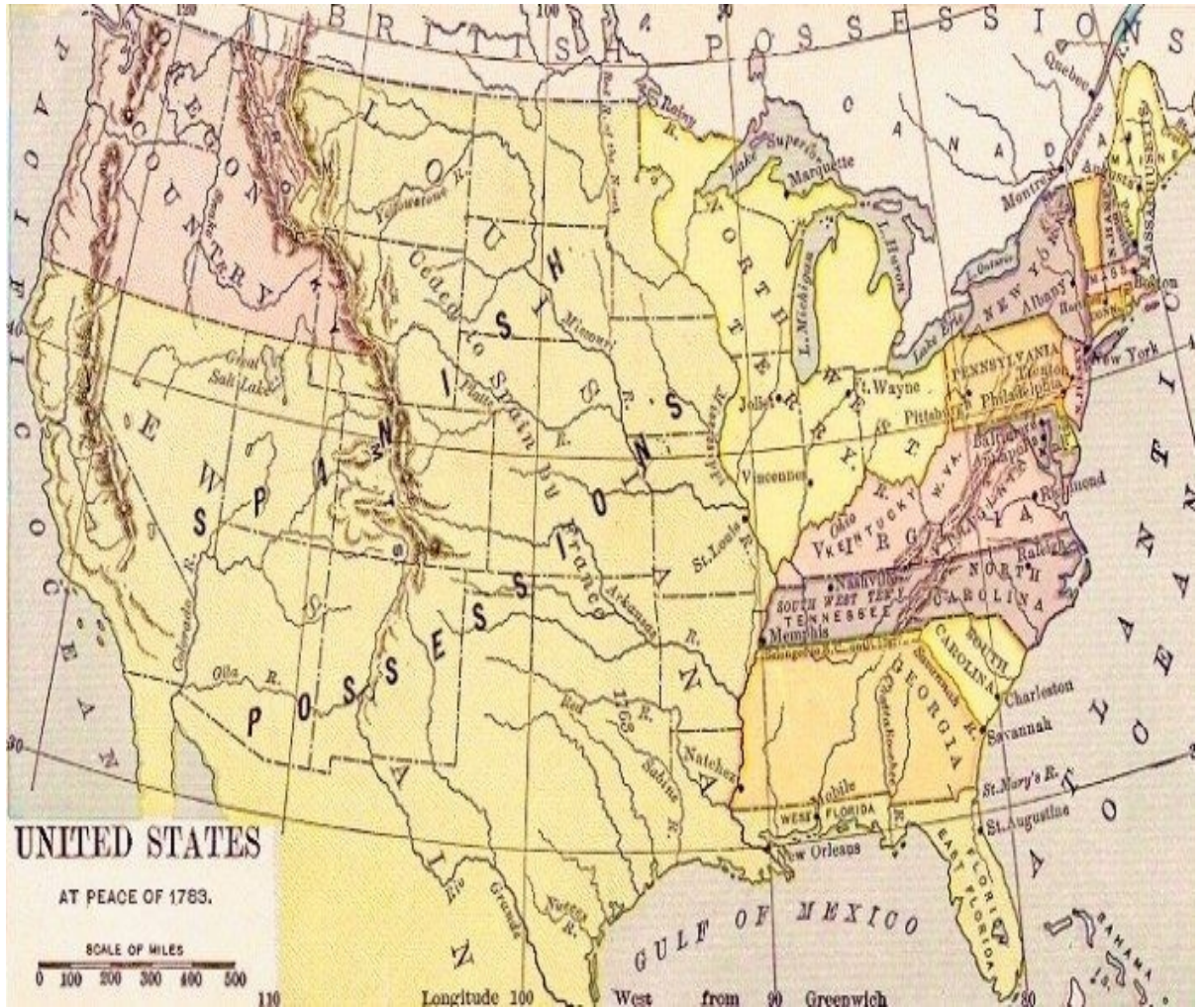
¹⁶- By the 1763 Treaty, France allowed the British to navigate the Mississippi. By the Treaty of 1783, the United States acceded to all the rights that Great Britain secured in the 1763 Treaty, including the right for the free navigation of the Mississippi. Antonio. R., Pena., *The Relations Between Spain and the United States: Louisiana and the Middle West Territories (1763- 1795)*, In: www.earlyamerica.com

drawn farther eastward from the mouth of the Red River in latitude 31 degrees ¹⁷. It is important to mention that between the Yazoo River and the Red River, there was a territory, known as the Yazoo lands, which was nearly a hundred miles and included the Mississippi Territory.

The treaty was considered satisfactory for both the Americans and Spaniards in the sense that the former had achieved their main goal and the latter recovered some of their possessions. However, the cordial relations that existed between the United States and Spain would soon deteriorate, as the two countries would compete for territory in the New World.

¹⁷- Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 127.

Map No 1: The United States and Her Neighbours in 1783.



Source : <http://www.earlyamerica.com/earlyamerica/maps/peace/enlargement.html>

In the summer of 1784, when news of the secret clause reached Madrid, the Spaniards, who claimed the Yazoo lands as their possession and were not ready to

cede it, immediately reacted and closed the Mississippi River. A year later, the Spanish government sent Don Diego de Gardoqui as the first Spanish Minister to the United States, and instructed him to notify the Americans that Spain would not recognize American claims on the Yazoo lands, and would seize and confiscate any American vessel that might navigate the lower part of the Mississippi. Nevertheless, Don Diego de Gardoqui was instructed to settle all the boundary disputes between the two countries and conclude a commercial treaty.

In 1786, Gardoqui reached Philadelphia the then American capital, and entered into negotiations with the American Secretary of State, John Jay. The latter, under instructions from Congress, insisted on the 31st parallel as the northern border between the United States and Spanish West Florida. Jay also insisted upon the free navigation of the Mississippi River. Gardoqui pointed out that Spain desired to make a commercial treaty, but strongly rejected Americans' proposal. For months, the negotiations were at a complete standstill, and Gardoqui ended the negotiations and left Philadelphia. In 1791, both countries renewed negotiations in Madrid, but the stubbornness of Gardoqui to conduct the negotiations on the same lines of the 1786 proposed treaty led to another failure.

This failure disappointed the American leaders who were aware of the commercial importance of the Mississippi River and the port of New Orleans mainly for the American farmers in the west. The latter needed to use the Mississippi and the port of New Orleans as outlets for their agricultural produce.¹⁸ In 1795, the first president of the United States George Washington (1789-1797) engaged Thomas Pinckney as Minister to Spain to make another attempt to secure American demands. Once in Madrid, the Spanish Prime Minister, Manuel de Godoy refused to treat with Pinckney. Disappointed by this rebuff, the American envoy warned that if

¹⁸ - Americans settlers of Kentucky, Tennessee relied on the Mississippi River to float their produce to the port of New Orleans from where it would be shipped to the eastern states, Europe, and to the West Indies., John M. Blum ,Edmund S. Morgan, Willie Lee Rose, Arthur M Schlesinger, Jr, Kenneth M. Stamp and C. Vann Woodward., *The National Experience: A History of the United States to 1877*, Fifth Edition, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc, New York., 1981., p. 128.

¹⁸ - Antonio. R., Pena., op. cit.

the negotiations were not concluded, he would leave Madrid and the United States would join England in an attack on Spanish possessions in North America. In fact, The Americans and the British had already signed a treaty of friendship and commerce in 1794¹⁹.

Godoy was aware that the British American alliance might result in the seizure of Spanish claims in North America. Subsequently, he changed his attitude and entered into negotiations with Pinckney. On October 27, 1795, both parties reached an agreement and signed the treaty of San Lorenzo which was also known as the Pinckney's Treaty²⁰. Under the terms of this treaty, the boundary of West Florida was fixed at the 31st parallel of latitude. The American citizens were granted free navigation of the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico, and the American traders were allowed to use, for a period of three years renewable, New Orleans as a port of deposit and transfer of their goods.

Although the Treaty alleviated the tension between both countries, it was not to last longer. In fact, the effect of the treaty could not hold firm beyond the early 1800's, that is, in the wake of the Louisiana Purchase. Indeed, in 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte who had come to power in France in 1799 wanted to recover the territory of Louisiana from Spain. The territory contained extensive fertile farmlands, prairies, and forests. It also held plenty of Buffalo and other wild game and offered an abundant food supply for the Indians as well as for the settlers. Napoleon's desire to acquire this territory was prompted by his hope to build a new French empire in

Map No 2: The treaty of San Lorenzo also known as the Pinckney's Treaty, 1795

¹⁹ - Robert V., Remini., *A Short History of the United States.*, Harper Collins Publishers Inc., New York, 2008., p. 61.

²⁰ - Antonio. R., Pena., op. cit.



Source: Alexander, De Conde., *A History of American Foreign Policy.*, Charles Scribner's Sons., New York.,1963., p. 27.

North America²¹.

Accordingly, the French Emperor entered into negotiations with King Charles IV (1788–1808) who accepted²² on condition that France should never transfer Louisiana to the United States or any other power. The king imposed such a condition so that France would keep that territory forever, and would become a buffer state between Spanish American possessions and the United States²³. Both countries agreed on the terms of the transfer, and on October 1, 1800, they signed the treaty of San Ildefonso. Both parties agreed to keep the treaty in secret and Spain would administer Louisiana until France would take it.

Seven months later, however, the secrecy of the San Ildefonso Treaty was revealed, and news of this transfer alarmed the Americans. The then American President, Thomas Jefferson (1801- 1809) considered that such a transaction would be a threat to the United States' security and growth. Furthermore, Jefferson received a letter from the American Minister at Paris, Robert R. Livingston, informing him that a force of 30.000 French soldiers was dispatched from France to Santo Domingo²⁴. The American minister stated that Bonaparte's real objective from this expedition was to re-establish French control over Santo Domingo and, then, to occupy Louisiana. Bonaparte's scheme frustrated Jefferson who wrote a letter to Livingston instructing him to report to the French government about American's attitude towards the transfer of Louisiana and towards the French. In that letter, Jefferson threatened war against the French declaring:

“The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the United States. ...There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is

²¹- The Louisiana territory amounted to 828,000 square miles (2,147,000 square km) and extended from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian border. It makes up the present day states of Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and South Dakota and parts of Colorado, Minnesota, and Wyoming. Richard, Sauer., *Key Concepts in American History: Expansionism.*, Chelsea House., New York., 2010., p. 46.

²²- In return for Louisiana, Bonaparte offered Charles IV the Italian kingdom of Tuscany, which France had already annexed after the invasion of Italy. Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 235.

²³- Ibid., p. 236.

²⁴- Napoleon wanted to restore order in the French island of Santo Domingo where the native population, under command of Toussaint Louverture, rose in revolt. Richard, Sauer., op.cit., p. 45.

our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans...France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance...The day that France takes possession of New Orleans... From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation'²⁵.

To add insult to injury, in October 1802, the Spanish government, without any notification, closed the port of New Orleans to the Americans. This Act was considered as a first step towards the transfer of Louisiana to France. This closure alarmed the American settlers of the western part of the country, mainly Kentucky and Tennessee. They realized that the treaty of 1795 that secured their rights to use New Orleans was revoked. Subsequently, they urged the government to wage a war against the Spaniards. Even some congressmen and senators pressed for the resort to force in order to seize New Orleans.

Nevertheless, Jefferson opposed such an action and sought to settle this crisis in a peaceful way. The American President appointed James Monroe as minister extraordinary to France and Spain to cooperate with Livingston in order to negotiate a settlement. The two commissioners were instructed to negotiate for the purchase of New Orleans, and if possible secure West Florida. The American agents were authorized to offer the French government the sum of \$ 2 million.²⁶

The American President also informed the two emissaries that if the negotiations with the French proved abortive, they would have to leave Paris for London and negotiate with the British government an aggressive alliance against France and Spain. Aware of the disastrous effect this probable alliance would have on Spanish America, the Spanish government reversed its attitude. In 1803, the Spanish minister at Washington was instructed to notify the American government that Spain was to make, without any delay, the port of New Orleans accessible to the Americans and would give them once again the right to use this port as a deposit.

²⁵ - Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., pp . 239 - 240.

²⁶ - Robert V., Remini., op. cit., p. 68.

Simultaneously, negotiations between the Americans and the French started in Paris. At the beginning, talks were at a deadlock because of France's eagerness to acquire the Louisiana Territory and to make of it a great Empire. After a short time, however, the situation completely changed. Indeed, the French forces were severely defeated in Santo Domingo and suffered many losses. Furthermore, the French Emperor realized the imminent threat of war with Great Britain. Under such circumstances, Bonaparte, besides being short of finance to fund his war with the English, he also needed all his soldiers at home and could not afford to send them in order to take possession of Louisiana.

Subsequently, Bonaparte instructed his Commissioners, Marbois, the then Minister of Treasury, and Talleyrand, the then Foreign Minister, to notify the American emissaries that he was ready to sell not only New Orleans, but also the whole territory of Louisiana for the sum of \$15 million. At First, Livingston and Monroe who were instructed to negotiate only for New Orleans and West Florida hesitated, but the next day, they agreed to purchase the whole territory. On May 2, 1803, after some bargaining, where the Americans vainly tried to get a reduction of price, both parties reached an agreement, and signed a treaty of cession. Although West Florida remained in the hands of the Spaniards, Monroe and Livingston felt exalted because, through this treaty, the United States would double her size.

The transfer of Louisiana to the United States brought about Spanish exasperation and disgust. The Spanish government strongly protested against this treaty, and instructed the Spanish Minister at Washington to tell the Americans that France was bound by the Treaty of San Ildefonso not to alienate the Louisiana Territory and to ask them to cancel the treaty. The American Secretary of State, James Madison replied that these protests were of no concern to the United States, and were private matters between France and Spain²⁷.

²⁷- Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 250.

Furthermore, the Louisiana Purchase would increase Spanish irritation towards the United States and would involve both countries in two boundary disputes. Indeed, when the Americans purchased Louisiana, the boundaries of the latter were not exactly known and were indefinite. The treaty signed between the French and the Americans, stipulated that the boundaries of Louisiana were to be the same as they had been when Spain possessed that territory²⁸.

Indeed, when the United States and France signed the treaty of the purchase, Monroe and Livingston asked Talleyrand about the boundary of Louisiana but got an unclear answer. Therefore, the American government claimed all of West Florida, as far as the Perdido River, as its eastern border. To the west, the Americans claimed that the border was the Rio Grande River. The Spanish government protested and asserted that the western boundary was the Sabine River, which divided Texas from Louisiana²⁹, and both Floridas were Spanish.

Concerning the western boundary, the American government did not want to insist upon Texas since the Americans did not have a strong claim to this territory. Besides, the United States was simply seeking the possession and control of the Mississippi and New Orleans. This aim was, therefore, achieved with the western boundary at the Sabine River. The case of the Floridas was, however, a different one.

Indeed, the Florida territory controlled access to the Mississippi River, the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and the southeastern portion of the North American continent. The fact that this region was in the hands of a foreign and hostile power was considered as intolerable, as it should be harmful for the security, peace, and welfare of the United States. Besides, the Floridas had become a refuge

²⁸ - Ibid

²⁹ - In fact, whether Louisiana included Texas to the west was not clear. There were arguments on both sides, but it was not possible to say with certainty which country's claim was valid., Ibid., p. 252.

Map No 3: The Louisiana Purchase, 1803



Source :

<http://www.earlyamerica.com/earlyamerica/maps/louisianapurchase/colormap.htm>

for runaway slaves, white outlaws, and Indian tribes which carried out raids against the people of Georgia³⁰.

Under such circumstances, and by the end of 1804, Jefferson sent James Monroe to Madrid in order to settle the boundary dispute with the Spaniards. Monroe was given two main instructions: First, he would secure Spanish recognition of Americans' right to West Florida as part of the Louisiana Territory. Second, he would offer the Spanish government \$ 2 million for the Purchase of East Florida³¹. Once at Madrid, Monroe was informed by Godoy that Spain refused to recognize American claims and would not yield any of her territories to the United States. Godoy's stubbornness exasperated Monroe who left Madrid at once.

By the beginning of the 1810's, however, Spain would start to witness a series of troubles with her colonies in the New World. This would arouse the United States' revival of interest in the Floridas. In fact, in 1810, many Spanish colonies in Central and South America, mainly Mexico, Nicaragua, Argentina, and Bolivia started a movement of revolts towards their independence. Simultaneously, Spain's weak garrison in the Floridas was unable to control the continuing Indian raids against American citizens, and to prevent the region from being a sanctuary for runaway slaves and criminals.

The new American President, James Monroe (1817 – 1825) considered these events as a strong alibi to take over the Floridas. In the autumn of 1817, Monroe instructed John Quincy Adams, the then Secretary of State, to enter into negotiations with Don Luis de Onis, the Spanish Minister at Washington, to purchase the Floridas. In the meantime, and in order to prevent Indian attacks on the American people, Monroe dispatched military troops under the leadership of General Andrew Jackson to retaliate against the Indians in the Floridas. Jackson invaded the Spanish

³⁰ - J. M. Blum, E. S. Morgan, W. Lee Rose, A. M. Schlesinger Jr, K. M. Stamp and C. Van Woodward., *op. cit.*, p. 189.

³¹ - Willis Fletcher, Johnson., *op. cit.*, p. 252.

territories, seized Pensacola and St. Marks, the respective capitals of West and East Florida, and deposed the Spanish governor.³²

News of this expedition alarmed de Onis who vigorously protested to Adams. He pointed out that negotiations would be suspended until Jackson was punished, the territories were restored to Spain, and apologies were made. The Americans agreed to restore the captured territories to the Spaniards, but refused to dismiss Jackson arguing that his action was legitimate. Furthermore, the American government refused to make apologies and threw the responsibility of that incident on the inability of the Spaniards to preserve order in the Floridas. The American government also warned the Spaniards that the United States would no longer tolerate Indian incursions into American territories from the Floridas, and Adams clearly declared:

“...Spain must immediately make her election, either to place a force in Florida, adequate at once to the protection of her territory and to the fulfilment of her engagements or cede to the United States a province of which she retained nothing but the nominal possession, but which was in fact a derelict, open to the occupancy of every enemy, civilized or savage, of the United States, and serving no other earthly purpose than as a point of annoyance to this country...”³³.

Meanwhile, Spain was busy with revolts in her American colonies and was unable to exercise her control upon the Floridas. Moreover, the Spanish government felt threatened by Adams’ declarations. As a matter of fact, Godoy instructed de Onis to resume negotiations. Accordingly, Adams and de Onis met again, and on February 22, 1819, both parties signed the Treaty of Amity, Settlements, and Limits³⁴. Under the terms of this Treaty, the Spanish government yielded the whole of Florida to the United States and, in return, the United States agreed to assume the

³²-Jackson’s expedition to the Floridas was known as the First Seminole War (1817-18), J. M., Blum, E. S., Morgan, W. Lee, Rose, A. M., Schlesinger Jr, K. M., Stamp and C., Van Woodward., op. cit., p. 189.

³³- Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 310.

³⁴- The treaty was given different appellations. It was known as the Adams- Onis Treaty, the Florida Purchase Treaty, or the Transcontinental Treaty. The latter name was given because the treaty fixed the boundaries between the United States and all Spanish possessions from the Atlantic to the Pacific., Robert V., Remini., op. cit., p. 80.

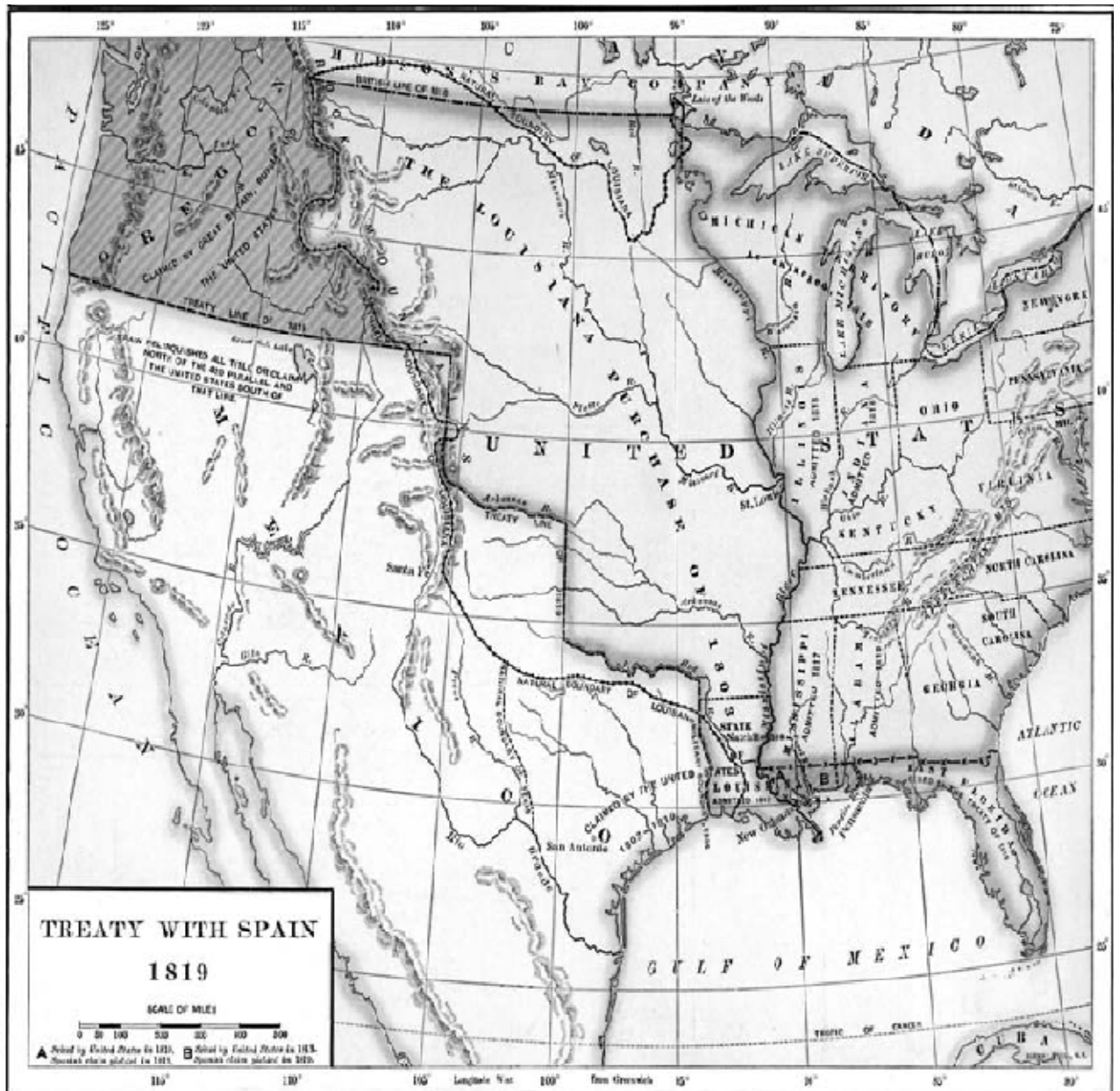
\$5 million claims of American citizens against Spain. The western boundary of Louisiana was fixed at the Sabine River and thence to the forty-second parallel stretching to the Pacific. Although the United States government secured right claims to the Pacific, it officially renounced to Texas.

Many politicians in both houses of Congress protested against the treaty for its failure to include Texas as part of American territory. Nevertheless, Congress unanimously ratified the treaty. However, Spain delayed the ratification for nearly two years during which the Spanish government wanted to ascertain that before giving up Florida, the United States would not recognize the revolting Spanish colonies in America³⁵. Disgusted by this delay, Secretary Adams took an aggressive attitude toward the Spaniards. Adams warned the Spanish government that unless they ratified the treaty quickly, the United States would refuse to assume the American claims. He also stated that the American government would reopen the question of Texas which would be seized by force. Adams' threat alarmed the Spanish government which, eager to hold Texas, ratified the treaty in October 1820³⁶.

³⁵ - James Morton, Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, p. 17

³⁶ - Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 311.

Map No 4: The Adams- Onis Treaty, or the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819.



Source : Robert V., Remini., op.cit., p. 81

II- Mexican Independence

The Mexican War of Independence (1810-1821), was led by Mexican-born Spaniards, known as Creoles, Mestizos, Afrotizos, and the native Indians.³⁷ Actually, this conflict started as a Creole revolution for social reform and against the colonial authorities presided by Spanish officials, known as peninsulares, in the viceroyalty of New Spain, rather than an action toward independence.³⁸ It started as an idealistic peasants' rebellion and began on September 16, 1810. It can be divided into three phases; "Hidalgo's Revolt", "Morelos Movement", and Iturbide's rebellion. In this part of work, some light will be shed on the origins of this war, its stages, and its outcome, that is, the independence of Mexico.

Most of the 300 years of Spanish rule that began in 1521, when Spanish conquistador Hernanando Cortéz conquered Mexico City, then called Tenochtitlan, were peaceful. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain started witnessing a turmoil that would pave the way for a Mexican movement toward independence. In fact, in 1808, French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte occupied Spain, deposed King Ferdinand VII and placed his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne. This action severed the ties between the Spanish Crown and its overseas possessions. As a matter of fact, people in Mexico started to think about alternatives as to the future of the colony. Among these people were a group of creoles who resented bitterness and disgust toward the Peninsulares as well as the handful Creole elite who supported them.

³⁷- Creoles refer to the Spaniards born in Mexico. Despite being considered second class people, some Creoles enjoyed access to respectable posts in the church and the local government. Yet, the failure of the Creoles to reach highest ranking positions brought them to disgust the Peninsulares. Mestizos refer to the offspring of Spanish Indian unions. Afrotizos refer to the offspring of Spanish and black parents. These two last groups formed, with the Indians, the lowest social group., Burton, Kirkwood, *The History of Mexico*, Greenwood Press Westport, Connecticut, 2000, p. 60.

³⁸- Peninsulares were Spanish born officials who represented the authority of the king in Mexico. They made up the majority of the upper hierarchy of the church, controlled the army, owned much of the land and the mines, and held most important bureaucratic posts. They regarded the creoles as being inferior and irresponsible., Ibid, p. 59.

In fact, the Creoles had already complained about their non involvement in the Mexican matters. They were, irritated by the fact that they could not participate in government affairs. They resented the fact that matters were handled by people who were new to the country and not in sympathy with its ideas³⁹. In addition, the Creoles as well as the Indians suffered bad economic and social conditions. The Creoles argued that while most people were powerless and were living in poverty and misery, the peninsulares held vast power and wealth, and owned much of the land, the mines, and other valuable resources⁴⁰. The Creoles also complained about the fact that although the viceroyalty was the richest colony in the New World, yet its economy remained undeveloped⁴¹. Actually, the bulk of the wealth either went to Spain, or was spent on the administration of the colonies.

Therefore, in July 1808, and seizing the opportunity of this turmoil, the Creoles proposed to Viceroy Jose de Iturrigaray, the establishment of a governing junta for New Spain. The latter would include both creoles and Peninsulares, and to be governed by Iturrigaray. The junta would act in the name of the imprisoned king Ferdinand VII. The Viceroy convened a series of meetings with the two groups to discuss the proposal as to establishing the governing junta. Rather than reaching an agreement, the meetings brought discord. Indeed, Peninsulares, who regarded this proposal as a threat to their own interests, and resented being governed by the Creoles, objected to it. Consequently, a venomous atmosphere reigned and animosity developed between the two groups.

In the midst of this division, the Peninsulares decided to act. On the night of September 15, 1809, the Spaniards rebelled against their own viceroy who was

³⁹- Of the sixty four viceroys who had represented the Crown only one was born in Mexico, and the same conditions prevailed as to other posts. E. D., Trowbridge., *Mexico To-Day and To-Morrow.*, New York., 1919, p. 53.

⁴⁰- Charles F., Gritzner., *Mexico*, Chelsea House Publishers, Philadelphia, 2003. p. 84.

⁴¹- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mexico was the richest of the Spanish colonial possessions. The government revenues were 20 million pesos a year, foreign commerce amounted to 32 million pesos, and mineral production exceeded 20 million pesos. In 1810, Mexico produced 75 percent of the profits from all of Spain's colonies. E. D., Trowbridge, op. cit., p. 52.

arrested⁴². Then, the Peninsulares set up a Junta and conferred the reign of power to interim Viceroy Francisco Xavier de Lizana. The Junta, fearing possible Creole uprising, mobilized the provincial militia regiments and battalions at the main cities of Mexico. Furthermore, interim Viceroy Lizana ordered the arrest of anyone agitating for reform⁴³. Many individuals were arrested and killed as a warning of what could happen to those who would oppose the Junta.

The Creoles rose in disgust and became determined to get rid of the arrogant Spaniards whom they called Gachupines⁴⁴. Furthermore, they realized that there was no hope that their political and social demands would improve through peaceful means. Thus, by mid-1810, the Creoles organized themselves in groups throughout the different provinces and held secret meetings to discuss the future of the colony⁴⁵. These meetings were organized under the cover of debating clubs or literary discussion societies. Individuals from different social groups, including Mestizos and Indians, took part in these meetings. Among these groups emerged the Literary and Social Club of Queretaro and one of its distinguishing leader Miguel Hidalgo Y Costilla⁴⁶. The latter was to play a significant role in the launching of the revolution.

Miguel Hidalgo Y Costilla (1753–1811), a Creole parish Priest at the town of Dolores in Guanajuato, Central Mexico, was the first Mexican leader to organize the short-lived revolt against the Peninsulares. He belonged to the group of Queretaro which included Creole clerics, militia officers, bureaucrats, and landowners, as well as some Indians and mestizos. By mid 1810, the Literary Club promoted discussions to wrest power from the peninsulares and Creoles who were by their side. Hidalgo

⁴²- Virginia Guedea., *The Process of Mexican Independence.*, in: *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105 No. 1, Feb., 2000, American Historical Association, p. 118.

⁴³- Michael S. Werner, *Encyclopedia of Mexico: History, Society and Culture.*, Vol 2., Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers., Chicago., 1997., p. 1595.

⁴⁴- Gachupines which means “those with spurs” was used contemptuously by the Creoles to refer to the Peninsulares., *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*, Delux Edition., U.K.,2001., CD Rom Edition.

⁴⁵- Lynn V., Foster, *A Brief History of Mexico*, Checkmark Books, New York 2004, p. 109

⁴⁶- Queretaro is situated in Central Mexico. It is bounded by the state of Guanajuato to the west. *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*, Delux Edition., U.K.,2001., CD Rom Edition.

and his group started to gather arms and men for the beginning of an uprising which was set up for December 8, 1810⁴⁷.

But on September 13, 1810, Hidalgo was warned that royal officials heard about the conspiracy and were arresting those involved. Fearing his arrest, Hidalgo decided to launch the uprising. On September 16, 1810⁴⁸, Hidalgo assembled the people of Dolores and encouraged them to join him against the peninsulares in the famous Grito de Dolores (Cry of Dolores): “Long live our Lady of Guadalupe! Death to bad government! Death to the Gachupines!”⁴⁹ The crowd, made chiefly of Indian and Mestizo peasants and miners, responded enthusiastically. Soon, an angry mob estimated at 60,000 men armed with machetes, picks, bows, arrows, and some guns was marching toward the regional capital of Guanajuato⁵⁰.

When the rebels reached the city, they massacred the Governor and the small royalist force who had tried to defend the city. During the fight, the royalists killed 2,000 rebels⁵¹. In revenge for the suffering they endured, the rebels attacked furiously an *Alhondiga*⁵² where the Peninsulares gathered themselves for safety. An estimated number of 400 to 600 men, women, and children were slaughtered⁵³. Then, the mob, undisciplined and out of control, pillaged the city, plundered Peninsulares’ possessions, and sacked the shops. Lucas Alaman, a Mexican historian and politician, who witnessed this event, described the ferocity of the insurgents, stating:

“When the insurgents had taken the Alhondiga they gave rein to their vengeance. In vain, those who had surrendered begged on their knees for mercy. Most of the soldiers of the battalion were killed; others escaped by taking off their uniforms and mixing with the crowd.... the populace gave itself up to the pillaging

⁴⁷- Burton, Kirkwood., op. cit. p. 79.

⁴⁸- This day is celebrated every year as the Mexican Independence Day., Lynn V., Foster , op.cit, p. 110.

⁴⁹- The Lady of Guadalupe is, in Roman Catholicism, the Virgin Mary. She was considered as one of Mexico’s holy national symbols., Charles F. Gritzner., op. cit., p. 110.

⁵⁰- Lynn V., Foster , op. cit, p. 111.

⁵¹- Ibid., p. 112.

⁵²- An Alhondiga is a granary used as a fortress., *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*, Delux Edition., U.K.,2001., CD Rom Edition.

⁵³- Burton, Kirkwood., op. cit., p. 82.

everything that had been stored in the Alhondiga, and it was scattered in a few minutes."⁵⁴

Here, it is worth mentioning that even the leaders of the movement, including Hidalgo, were against the mobs' destruction of property and murder.

From Guanajuato, the rebels marched on to Mexico City after having captured Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, and Valladolid. On October 30, 1810, on the way to the city, Hidalgo's troops encountered royalist forces, under the command of General Félix Calleja and both forces clashed. Following the fight that took place 20 miles off the capital, the royalists, well organized and better equipped, defeated the insurgents. Realizing the heavy losses in his troops and fearing that the mob would react in the same manner as in Guanajuato, Hidalgo ordered his troops to retreat. The revolutionary forces moved to the province of Jalisco where they seized the capital city of Guadalajara, and killed 200 Peninsulares⁵⁵.

The royalist troops were determined to put an end to the violent, disorderly, and destructive rebellion. General Félix Calleja with 7,000 men proceeded to Guadalajara, and on January 17, 1811 attacked Hidalgo's force of 30,000 men and completely routed it⁵⁶. The leaders of the insurgents and the remaining rebels fled north toward Texas. The royalists carried on their advance and regained all the towns which were under Hidalgo's control. In March, Hidalgo and thirty other leaders were taken as prisoners in Texas. The insurgents faced court trial of the inquisition and found guilty of treason, and On July 31, 1811, Hidalgo and his compatriots were beheaded. The heads of the rebels were placed on pikes on the granary walls in Guanajuato to serve as a reminder to Mexican rebels. Such grisly warnings, however, did not discourage those who were committed to independence.

Indeed, after the death of Hidalgo, José Maria Morelos Pavon (1765- 1815), Hidalgo's fellow, assumed the leadership of the revolutionary movement. Unlike Hidalgo, whose rebellion was not directed toward independence but against the

⁵⁴ - Ibid.

⁵⁵ - Ibid., p. 55.

⁵⁶ - Ibid.

Peninsulares, Morelos aimed at breaking ties with Spain. Realizing that the failure of the insurrection was caused by the disorganization of the movement, Morelos decided to transform it into a unified and coherent one⁵⁷. The Creole leader surrounded himself with qualified military men such as Guadalupe Victoria and Vicente Guerrero. In addition, he organized the rebel force that included students, peasants, military officers, and Indians into small bands well trained in guerrilla warfare. In their effort, the revolutionary leaders gained the support of many individuals, including intellectuals, in all Mexican regions⁵⁸.

In June 1813, Morelos appealed for a national congress of representatives from all of the provinces met at Guadalajara, southwest of Mexico City, to discuss the future of Mexico as an independent nation. The established Congress issued a document which was signed in September 1813. Among the chief recommendations adopted by the movement were; the declaration of Mexican independence and the draft of a republican constitution, the adoption of Roman Catholicism as the official religion, abolition of slavery, and the achievement of social equality⁵⁹.

Following the declaration of independence, the insurgents launched different attacks against the royalist forces. Morelos' troops scored many victories, and seized many cities. However, this success was short lived. In fact, the royalist troops, which were reinforced by more soldiers from Spain, defeated the insurgents, and recovered all the regions that had been in Morelos' hands. On November 5, 1815, the revolutionary movement was shattered, and the royal troops captured Morelos and other leaders who had been accused of treason. On December 22, Morelos met the same fate as Hidalgo, and the movement for independence was almost annihilated⁶⁰.

⁵⁷- Virginia, Guedea., op. cit., p. 122.

⁵⁸- The insurgents began to receive more help. For example, they obtained a printing press, which enabled them to publish periodicals explaining their goals and to defend themselves from attacks by the regime. Some lawyers, who joined the insurgents, helped Morelos to form a more effective political organization. This helped to create an image of an organized political and military movement, which attracted much support throughout the viceroyalty., Ibid.

⁵⁹- Josefina Zoraida, Vázquez, *The Mexican Declaration of Independence*, in: The Journal of American History, Vol. 85, No. 4, March., 1999, Organization of American Historians., p. 1368.

⁶⁰- Burton, Kirkwood., op. cit., p. 84.

Despite this reverse, the rebels did not give up their efforts. From 1816 to 1821, the insurgents formed guerrilla bands and led raids against the royalist forces throughout the different provinces. Out of these bands rose two men, Guadalupe Victoria in Puebla, and Vicente Guerrero in Oaxaca. The latter waged several attacks on the royalists that caused panic among the colonial authorities. However, the lack of cohesion among the insurgents and the presence of more Spanish troops prevented the rebels from success. In 1821, however, another political upheaval took place in Spain and paved the way for a successful movement toward independence. Ironically, that time, the insurrection was led by a royalist officer and ended with no bloodshed.

In what was supposed to be the final government's campaign against the remnants of the insurgents, in January 1820, Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca sent a force of 85,000 men led by the royalist Creole officer, Agustín de Iturbide to subdue Guerrero's army in Oaxaca south of Mexico City⁶¹. Iturbide's assignment to this expedition coincided with a successful military coup in Spain against the new monarchy of Ferdinand VII. The coup leaders, who had been assembled as an expeditionary force with 25,000 soldiers to suppress the American independence movements, compelled King Ferdinand to restore the liberal constitution of 1812⁶².

In Mexico, Conservatives, including Iturbide, realized that the new established constitution would threaten their religious, economic, and social privileges. The Creole officer thought that only independence from Spain could prevent such changes. Accordingly, Iturbide switched allegiance and instead of going to war against the rebels, he suggested to Vicente Guerrero an alliance to fight for independence.

⁶¹- E. D. Trowbridge., op. cit., p. 56.

⁶²- The Constitution of 1812 was issued by the Spanish central junta during Napoleon's control of Spain and the imprisonment of Ferdinand. It was a liberal constitution that gave limited power to the monarchy, recognized the sovereignty of the parliament, and reduced the powers of the church. The constitution was abolished in 1814 when Ferdinand returned to power. W. C, Atkinson., *Histoire d'Espagne et du Portugal*, Editions Payot., Paris.,1965., pp. 314 - 317.

Both men entered into negotiation, and on February 24, 1821, they announced the Plan of Iguala. The latter provided for the independence of Mexico. The plan that Iturbide issued and supported by Guerrero proclaimed three principles, or "guarantees", for Mexican separation from Spain. First, Mexico would be a constitutional monarchy governed by King Ferdinand or another conservative European prince. Second, both Creoles and Peninsulares would enjoy equal rights and privileges. Finally, the Roman Catholic Church would retain its privileges and religious monopoly⁶³. Joined by Guerrero's troops, a new army, the Army of the Three Guarantees, was then organized under Iturbide's command to enforce the Plan of Iguala.

Accordingly, Iturbide and his army proceeded to Mexico City to convince the royalists so as to embrace his cause. On their way to the capital, the new rebels met no resistance as most Mexicans in cities and towns rapidly accepted the Plan of Iguala⁶⁴. When the rebels' victory became certain, viceroy Juan Apodaca resigned. In an attempt to stem the tide of the independence movement, the Spanish parliament appointed Juan O'Donoju, who upon his arrival, found himself without money, provisions, or troops to deal with the insurrection. The new viceroy quickly realized that independence was de facto.

O'Donoju entered into negotiations with Iturbide to ratify the Plan of Iguala. The two leaders met at the town of Cordoba in Verracruz. During the negotiations, Iturbide negotiated one modification. The latter left open the possibility for a Mexican monarch to be appointed if a member of the European royalty could not be found⁶⁵. On August 24, 1821, Iturbide and O'Donoju signed the Treaty of Cordoba which provided for the end of the hostilities and the independence of Mexico. On September 27, 1821, Iturbide, Guerrero, and O'Donoju entered Mexico City and presided over the festivities for the establishment of the new state⁶⁶.

⁶³- Lynn V., Foster., op. cit, p. 114.

⁶⁴- Virginia, Guedea., op. cit., p. 130.

⁶⁵- Lynn V., Foster , op. cit, p. 114.

⁶⁶- Spain refused to sanction the Treaty of Cordoba and did not recognize the Mexican independence until December 1836. James Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 24.

Mexicans hoped that independence from Spain would bring prosperity and equality to their country. However, such hopes would soon wane. In fact, the ten years war had left the Mexican economy in complete disarray. The production of silver, the prime source of wealth, was interrupted, fields were sacked, and the treasury was almost bankrupt. Besides, the Peninsulares who owned most of the Mexican capital, fearing probable persecutions, fled the country and took their money with them⁶⁷. Furthermore, Spain did not recognize the independence of Mexico and threatened to invade the country.

The period subsequent to independence was also full of political instability. The latter was caused by the conflict that arose from the quarrels between the two political factions that governed the country. In the one hand, the Centralists or Conservatives favoured the imposition of a strong central government that should dominate the provinces and states. On the other hand, the Federalists or Liberals claimed for the decentralization of power to the regions. Both of these groups were supported by military officers who looked only after their own interests. Therefore, and at each time the two parties were involved in political disputes, the military officers intervened to wrest the government of either party. The period between 1821 and 1846 was marked by frequent coups d'états, and more than 30 presidents and provisional presidents controlled the country⁶⁸.

As a result of these economic and political problems, Mexico failed to establish of a strong government with an effective policy that would bring progress and prosperity to the Mexican population. Owing to these instabilities, Mexico became also vulnerable to threats from international powers. According to Greenwood,

⁶⁷- Between 1821 and 1825, a large number of Peninsulares left for Cuba and Spain and their money went with them. About \$150,000,000 had been taken away. This fact affected terribly the Mexican Treasury. Lynn V., Foster., op. cit., p. 118.

⁶⁸- Mark, Crawford., *Encyclopaedia of the Mexican-American War.*, A B C Clío, Santa Barbara, California., 1999., p.181.

historians simply called this period of domestic quarrels and disorder “farical, or even like theatre of the absurd”⁶⁹.

III- American – Mexican Relations

Following her independence, Mexico realized the necessity of establishing channels of communications with other countries in order to secure recognition and mainly to seek financial help. The United States, the Mexican neighbouring republic to the north, was by logic the first country to which Mexico turned her attention. Mexican leaders believed that if they secured the recognition of their independence by the United States, the latter would protect them from any possible European aggression, mainly the Spaniards.

The United States on the other hand would be the first country that would develop close ties with Mexico in order to enforce its security and its growing economy. However, as the interests of the two countries diverged, they would soon be embroiled in a period of misunderstanding, suspicion and conflicting relations. This section is concerned mainly with the political aspects of the United States – Mexican relations that played a key role in the misunderstanding and the growing hate that would characterize their interaction.

American -Mexican relations were inaugurated by the official recognition of the independence of Mexico by the United States in December 1822, and President Monroe cordially welcomed Manuel Zozaya as Mexican minister at Washington. However, the American government did not take steps toward the appointment of an American minister to Mexico. This was due to two main reasons. First, Monroe’s administration was reluctant to approve the Mexican monarchical system that Iturbide had already set up by force and that was contrary to American

⁶⁹ - Burton, Kirkwood., op. cit., p. 89.

principles⁷⁰. Besides, the American government wanted to ascertain that Mexico would maintain her independence.

In the meantime, Zozaya began to suspect the intentions of the American government toward his country. This suspicion arose from newspapers articles and debate in American Congress that attacked the Adams Onis Treaty of 1819 by which the government renounced its claims to Texas. Zozaya's fears were strengthened by the publication, in the United States, of the memoirs of the former Spanish minister to Washington, Luis de Onis in which he stated the ambitions of the United States to extend to all the regions of the New World⁷¹. Accordingly, the Mexican minister wrote to his government stating that he had discovered ambitious views with reference to the province of Texas. Zozaya clearly declared:

*"In time they will be our sworn enemies, and foreseeing this we ought to treat them as such from the present day"*⁷²

Nevertheless, Iturbide's reign was short lived. Indeed, many Mexican politicians criticized the emperor and protested against his system of centralized government. Besides, most Mexican provinces claimed for a federal republic by which they would enjoy self-government. Under such circumstances, army leaders under the leadership of General Santa Anna deposed Iturbide, and declared the end of the monarchy in April 1823. Following this coup d'etat, Mexico adopted a federal constitution similar to that of the United States, and Guadalupe Victoria (1824-1829) was elected first president of the federal republic.

Simultaneously, Spain did not consent the loss of her American colonies and was seeking to restore her authority over them. The Spanish King turned to the Holy

⁷⁰ - In May 1822, and following a disagreement between the Mexican Congress and the established Junta over political matters, Iturbide intervened with force, dissolved Congress and proclaimed himself emperor. William R., Manning., *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico*, The Johns Hopkins Press., Baltimore., 1916., p.7.

⁷¹ - "Onis Memoirs" was published in Madrid in 1820, and was translated and published in Baltimore the following year. James Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 22.

⁷² - Ibid.

Alliance⁷³, which was made up of France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in order to secure military assistance. In early 1823, the Holy Alliance called a conference to consider the question of restoring to Spain her American colonies. Meanwhile, the Russian Tsar, Alexander I was seeking to extend Russian territory southward from Alaska to California⁷⁴. News of these European schemes alarmed the American government.

Subsequently, President Monroe decided to keep the European powers out of the American continent. In December 1823, he delivered a message to Congress in which he stated the American policy toward European countries. This message, which would become known as the ‘Monroe Doctrine’, was based on three essential principles. The first principle stated that the American continents, which had secured and maintained their independence, were no longer open to colonization by any European power. The second was a warning that any attempt by the Europeans to extend their monarchical system, which was different from that of America, to any portion of the western Hemisphere would be considered as a hostile act against the United States. The last principle stipulated that the United States would stay aloof from European wars and would not interfere in their political affairs⁷⁵.

On the American continent, as far as the Mexican relations were concerned, American policy was guided by westward expansion and the consequent desire for the acquisition of the Mexican territory of Texas. Indeed, the two American presidents who held office in the years that followed the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two neighbouring countries had centred their efforts toward the acquisition of Texas. American interest in this territory was prompted by four main reasons.

⁷³- The Holy Alliance was established for the purpose of maintaining monarchical government in Europe and to put down insurrections and revolutionary movements against European countries wherever they occurred. Carl C., Hodge and Cathal J., Nolan., *U.S. Presidents and Foreign Policy: From 1789 to the Present.*, ABC-CLIO, Inc., California., 2007., p. 50.

⁷⁴- Bradford, Perkins., *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations. Vol I: The Creation of a Republican Empire, 1776 – 1865.*, Cambridge University Press., New York., 1995., p. 159.

⁷⁵- Many political leaders in both America and Europe considered this doctrine as a justification for the United States ambition to dominate the Western Hemisphere. Ibid., pp. 159- 163.

First, most Americans believed that Texas had been part of the Louisiana territory which President Jefferson purchased from France in 1803. Yet, in 1819, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, was forced to sacrifice that territory to Spain in the Adams – Onis Treaty by which the United States gained the Florida territory and secured claims to the Pacific Ocean. At that time, many Americans attacked the treaty on the ground that it did not include Texas. Second, United States authorities were convinced that securing Texas would allow the Americans to guard their western frontier, protect New Orleans, and secure the possession of the valley of the Mississippi river with all its tributaries⁷⁶. Then, the Americans believed that the Mexican government, by granting tracts of land in Texas to American citizens, accorded a little value to that province⁷⁷ (see Chapter 2). Finally, the coveted territory enjoyed fertile soil, extensive resources, and waterways that would suit the Americans of the western and southern states⁷⁸.

However, when the American government started its diplomatic process to achieve this aim, it faced strong resistance from the Mexicans who were not desirous to see their territory dismembered. Therefore, American insistence to part with Texas, and Mexican stubbornness to refuse ceding her territory embroiled the two countries in a period of misunderstanding and suspicions.

American treatment of the Texas issue was carried by the two subsequent administrations, that of John Quincy Adams, and that of Andrew Jackson. However, the United States efforts and ambitions with regard to the purchase of Mexico were far from being fruitful diplomatically in the sense that none of the ministers that were charged to represent US interests succeeded in their mission.

The first American endeavour to secure the purchase of Texas was made by President John Quincy Adams (1825- 1829). The latter appointed Joel Poinsett as

⁷⁶ - William R. Manning., op. cit., p. 337

⁷⁷ - James Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 53.

⁷⁸ - William R. Manning., op. cit., p. 335.

minister to Mexico and empowered him to ask the Mexican government to modify the 1819 Treaty and fix the boundary between Louisiana and Mexico at the Rio Grande against \$1 million⁷⁹, which would imply the inclusion of Texas into the American borders. Apart from the boundary treaty, the American minister was also instructed to secure a treaty of commerce and navigation favourable to the United States.

Poinsett arrived in Mexico City in May 1825, and three months later, he initiated discussions relating to the commercial treaty with the Mexican minister for Foreign Relations, Lucas Alaman⁸⁰. Negotiations started in September 1825, but they soon came at a standstill because of disagreements as to some proposals⁸¹. It was not until July 1826, that both parties reached an agreement and signed the treaty.

A short time after the conclusion of the treaty, however, a troublesome event, namely the Fredonian Revolt of December 1826, took place in Texas (see Chapter 2). Mexican authorities viewed this rebellion as a confirmation of Zozaya's reports, and charged the American government with being behind this revolt.⁸²

Aware about American's designs, the Mexican government urged Poinsett to open negotiations as to the boundary treaty. During the talks, Poinsett, in accordance with Adams' instructions, proposed the modification of the boundary in return for compensation. The Mexicans refused maintaining that the boundary would be the same as that negotiated with Spain in 1819. Realizing that the Mexicans were not eager to cede Texas, Poinsett yielded to the Mexican demands. In January 1828,

⁷⁹- By the Florida Treaty of 1819, the United States recognized the Sabine River as the boundary between Louisiana and the Mexican territory of Texas., Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 132.

⁸⁰- Poinsett wanted to initiate talks on the boundary treaty, but Mexico refused stating that the latter would not be negotiated until a joint commission would survey the boundary line which was established by the 1819 Treaty. William R., Manning., op. cit., p. 291.

⁸¹- Poinsett wanted to secure a clause by which his country should be granted the status of the most favoured nation, and refused Alaman's insistence that this clause would also be extended to the other American states. Alaman also objected Poinsett's proposal that fugitive slaves who escaped to Mexico had to be delivered to the Americans., James Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 47.

⁸²- Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 139.

both parties signed the treaty of limits confirming the boundary that was established in 1819.

In Washington, these inconclusive efforts disappointed the newly elected president Andrew Jackson (1829- 1837) and his administration. Indeed, President Jackson was an advocate of territorial expansion, and was among the Americans who strongly denounced Adams for relinquishing American claims to Texas in the Florida Treaty of 1819⁸³. Therefore, the American President recalled the unsuccessful Poinsett and replaced him with Anthony Butler. The latter was asked to negotiate a new treaty by offering the Mexican government a new sum of \$5 million in return for Texas⁸⁴. Butler was also instructed to secure the settlement of pecuniary claims that Mexico owed to American citizens (see Chapter 2). Aware of Mexico's bad financial conditions, Jackson believed that offering an extensive amount of money, while pressing on American claims would induce the Mexican government to sell Texas⁸⁵.

Butler proceeded to Mexico in 1830, confident and eager to secure the purchase of Texas⁸⁶. However, a short time after his arrival, the American minister found himself in the same situation as his predecessor, and his hopes for a speedy settlement of the boundary treaty soon vanished. In fact, the short-lived rebellion in Texas increased Mexico's fears as to the American ambitions toward the province. Subsequently, the Mexican government enacted a series of restrictive measures, in April 1830, which aimed at asserting Mexican authority on Texas (see Chapter 2).

Nevertheless, Butler entered into negotiations with the Mexicans. Despite of his knowledge about the Mexican measures, which proved that Mexico was not eager to cede her territory, Butler exhibited, as Curt Lamar put it, "remarkable, even

⁸³- James Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 61.

⁸⁴- Curt, Lamar., *A Diplomatic Disaster: The Mexican Mission of Anthony Butler, 1829-1834.*, in : *The Americas*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Jul., 1988)., p. 7.

⁸⁵- William R., Manning., op. cit., p. 335.

⁸⁶- Besides being minister to Mexico, Butler was a slaveholder and land speculator in Texas. He hoped to secure the purchase, because he knew that once Texas was acquired for the United States, he would make personal financial gains., Curt, Lamar., op. cit., p. 5.

deluding, self-assurance”⁸⁷. The American minister proposed to Alaman the purchase of Texas. The Mexican minister, who according to Curt Lamar “amazed that Butler was not dismayed by the Mexican action taken regarding Texas”, promptly declined the offer and made it clear that his government would not cede any part of its territory⁸⁸.

Furthermore, Butler, who was also unsuccessful in securing American pecuniary claims, contributed to further disintegration of the American – Mexican relations. In fact, the restrictive measures that the Mexican government ensued in regard to Texas were bitterly protested by the American settlers who, in 1834, were plotting to rebel against the Mexican authorities. At that time, Butler made a journey to that province. A short time after his return to Mexico, the Texans rose in revolt (see Chapter 2). Accordingly, Butler was denounced as being responsible for the rebellion and the Mexican government requested his recall⁸⁹.

This second failure along with Mexican grievances precipitated Butler’s recall and his replacement by Powhatan Ellis. Simultaneously, events in Texas progressed quickly. Indeed, the movement that was initiated by American settlers as a protest against Mexican laws soon turned into an armed conflict and resulted in the independence of Texas (see Chapter 2). The loss of Texas was bitterly resented in Mexico, and the government refused to recognize the Texan independence. Besides, the Mexican government was convinced that both Jackson’s administration and American citizens supported the Texans.

In the meantime, Ellis arrived in Mexico in May 1836. He was instructed to negotiate the settlement of American claims, and notify the Mexican government of the policy of neutrality that the United States had observed during the war in Texas.

⁸⁷- Curt, Lamar., op. cit., p. 7.

⁸⁸- Ibid., p. 10.

⁸⁹- James Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 74.

Yet, the American minister not only faced distrustful authorities, but his negotiations for the claims proved also fruitless. Furthermore, the Mexican minister at Washington, who had strongly protested the American move toward the recognition of Texas, left the United States. In December 1836, the American minister also terminated his mission, and this act resulted in the suspension of diplomatic relations.

After two years of strained atmosphere, however, the two countries resumed their relations. In fact, President Martin Van Buren (1837- 1841) expressed his hopes that friendship and mutual respect could be re-established. Meanwhile, the Republic of Texas had applied for annexation to the United States but Van Buren objected. The latter wanted to avoid war with Mexico. In 1838, he sent an agent to the Mexican government who succeeded in reopening channels of communication between the two governments. Yet, these relations were carried out in the same context as that of the preceding years i.e. Texas and the claims issues. These issues were carried successively by two American presidents namely John Tyler and James Polk.

In August 1839, the American government received Francisco Pizarro Martinez a Mexican minister. The latter notified the American Secretary of State of the desire to settle the claims issue but insisted on the presence of a foreign mediator. The American government accepted the proposal and a commission was set up and began its work in 1840. In 1842, both parties reached an agreement and decided of the amount of money that Mexico would pay (see Chapter 2). However, the Mexican government, being short of funds, defaulted to pay⁹⁰.

In the meantime, the Mexican government dispatched two successive military expeditions to subdue the Texans, but both attacks proved abortive. American President John Tyler (1841 – 1845) who wanted to bring Texas into the American

⁹⁰ - Ibid., p. 98.

Union strongly protested. Furthermore, in 1843, Tyler, sensing that Great Britain was seeking to extend her political and economic influence into Texas, instructed his Secretary of State to initiate negotiations toward the annexation of that region.

In reaction to Tyler's plans, the Mexican government protested and warned that Mexico would consider the annexation of Texas as a declaration of war. In spite of this threat, the American government carried its efforts, and in 1845, the American Congress approved by a joint resolution the Annexation of Texas. On December 29, 1845, the newly elected President James Polk(1845- 1849) signed the Texas Admission Act by which Texas officially joined the Union as the 28th state.

The Mexican minister at Washington denounced this annexation as an aggression on Mexican territory and left the United States. Furthermore, when news of this resolution reached Mexico, the government notified the American minister at Mexico City that diplomatic relations would be severed. Besides, the Mexican government refused to acknowledge the Rio Grande as the boundary between Mexico and Texas.

President, Polk who endorsed the Texans claim that the Rio Grande was the border with Mexico, attempted to settle the existing differences with the Mexican government and re-establish diplomatic relations. The American President sent John Slidell to Mexico to negotiate the unsettled claims and settle the boundary issue. Slidell's mission proved abortive since he was not even received within this context of conflict and tension (see Chapter 2).

CHAPTER II

Causes of the American - Mexican War

The American government's purchase of the Louisiana Territory doubled the size of the United States. By 1819, The United States added five new states in addition to the Missouri and Arkansas territories that bordered the Spanish colony of Mexico⁹¹. Nevertheless, many land hunger settlers always looking for fertile lands, forests, and wildlife resources still looked westward. Following this westward movement, the Americans would soon enter and settle in territories, namely Mexican ones, not belonging to their jurisdiction.

This expansionist tendency on behalf of Mexico would be the root cause of misunderstanding between the United States and Mexico, and Texas was to be the main cause of the war in which the two neighbouring countries would be embroiled. Nevertheless, while the immediate reason for the war was the U.S. annexation of Texas, another factor had disturbed the peaceful relations between the two republics. In the United States, there was an increasing demand for the settlement of long-standing claims arising from injuries and property losses sustained by American citizens in Mexico. The settlement of this issue constituted a subject of disagreement that would be another motive for the war.

Thus, this chapter is devoted to the reasons that were behind the American Mexican War. First, a brief account on American expansionism will be given. Then, we will try to find out how American settlers penetrated the Mexican territory of Texas and involved themselves in problems with Mexico, how Texas gained

⁹¹- The five new states were: Indiana (1819), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821)., John M., Blum, Edmund S., Morgan, Willie Lee, Rose, Arthur M., Schlesinger, Jr, Kenneth M., Stamp and C. Vann, Woodward., op. cit., p. 274.

independence from Mexico and entered the American Union. Finally, some light will be shed on the American claims against Mexico, and how the governments of the two countries dealt with this issue

I- American Westward Expansion

Throughout American history, American geographical expansion had taken various forms and ways for the sake of gaining land and extending their control and power. Based on the belief that western land was rightfully theirs, Americans removed or exterminated the natives, purchased or annexed territories, or waged and won wars against neighbouring countries. In less than a century subsequent to independence, the United States grew from a union of thirteen former English colonies to a continental power, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

This conquest, that lasted less than a century, started in the wake of the American Revolution, and was prompted by many motives, including economic growth, security measures, and, as Rezé and Bowen put it, “religious dissension, population increase, soil exhaustion, personal ambition and a spirit of adventure”⁹². Moving westward, the frontiersmen left the area that gave birth to the thirteen colonies and went through the wilderness to make their home and start a new life.

The first wave of expansion took place after the Revolution when by the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the British handed over to the newly born country all the territories from the Great Lakes south to Spanish Floridas and from the Appalachians west to the Mississippi River⁹³. The settlers relied on their government, the army, and the legislative body that put westward expansion at the centre of their preoccupations by issuing a federal policy of colonisation. This policy

⁹²- Michel, Rezé, and Ralph, Bowen., *Key Words in American Life: Understanding the United States.*, Harmand Colin., paris., 1998. p. 55.

⁹³- This territory included the present day states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Tennessee, and part of Minnesota. Tom, Pendergast and Sara, Pendergast., *Westward Expansion: Almanac.*, U.X.L Publisher., U.S.A., 2000., p. 47.

was launched with the Land Ordinance of 1785. This decree provided for a systematic and continued occupation of unsettled western lands organised in portions named “townships”⁹⁴. For a better social and political organisation of life in these territories, another decree, known as the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, was enacted. This decree granted to the would-be Westerners the basic civil and political rights and allowed them to apply for statehood on an equal footing with the eastern states⁹⁵. The two ordinances had guaranteed a strong rush of migration that took the settlers beyond the Appalachian Mountains into the northwest and southwest territories⁹⁶.

However, and as the Americans began moving out into the fertile trans-Appalachian region, they would take over, by force of arms, a territory which had been inhabited by different Indian tribes centuries ago. Indeed, the American government which blamed these natives from allying with the British during the Revolutionary War and considered them as uncivilized spared no effort in subduing them⁹⁷. Therefore, at each time the white settlers encroached on land, any Indian resistance was interpreted as hostility and was soon followed by a military expedition. Of course, the Indians resisted and at each time the Americans coveted their territory, they fought bravely. But due to their small number, inferior weapons, and lack of unity among the different tribes, the Americans defeated them and drove them from their ancestral land.

The final misfortune for the Indians came during the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829- 1837). The latter signed the Removal Act of 1830 which provided for the removal, peacefully or by force, of all the Indians into a reservation west of

⁹⁴- Under the Land Ordinance of 1785, the acquired territory was to be divided into townships, each one six miles by six miles in size. Each township was divided into sections of 640 acres, or parcels of one square mile. Richard, Sauers., op. cit., p.5

⁹⁵- The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 stipulated that when 60,000 free inhabitants were counted in a given territory, the latter could petition for statehood., Ibid., p 06.

⁹⁶- Michel, Rezé, and Ralph, Bowen., op. cit. p. 56.

⁹⁷- Tom, Pendergast and Sara, Pendergast., op. cit., p.53.

the Mississippi to what would become the state of Oklahoma.⁹⁸ Most of the tribes accepted their fate and moved voluntarily. However, the Cherokees of Georgia refused to leave their land. In 1838, Jackson dispatched 7,000 soldiers to the Cherokees, burned their homes and crops, and forced them to move to the reservation. During this 1,000 - miles trek known as the “Trail of Tears” and, which lasted more than five months, nearly 4,000 died because of the forced march, disease, and exposure⁹⁹.

Another significant motivation to westward expansion came in 1803 when President Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809) purchased the Louisiana Territory¹⁰⁰ from France. This acquisition brought to the United States an extensive tract of land that amounted to 828,800 square miles (2,147,000 km²) and doubled her size. This territorial addition fulfilled Jefferson’s dream of American expansion. In fact, the American President was an advocate of territorial expansion and had already expressed his desire for more territory when, in 1801, he stated:

“...forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will... cover the whole northern if not the southern continent, with people speaking the same language, governed by similar forms, and by similar laws.”¹⁰¹

The Louisiana Purchase, being considered as the most important act of Jefferson’s presidency, was two-fold. First, it removed the threat to American security and expansion to the far west that might result from the French presence in North America. Second, it offered enough space to satiate the land hunger of the settlers and gave the Americans the control of the Mississippi river and the port of New Orleans.

⁹⁸ - The removal took place between 1832 and 1839. From the 125,000 Indians who moved to Oklahoma, Many died because of a long march, disease, starvation, and weather conditions., Ibid., p. 54.

⁹⁹ - Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁰⁰ - The Louisiana territory makes up the present day states of Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and South Dakota and parts of Colorado, Minnesota, and Wyoming. Richard, Sauer., op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁰¹ - Bradford, Perkins., op. cit., p. 170.

Yet, what really fuelled the settlers' interest in the far west was the exploring expeditions of the Louisiana Territory that were undertaken by commissioned soldiers and surveyors, mainly that of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (1804-1806) to the Pacific, and that of Zebulon Pike (1806- 1807) which inadvertently reached the Mexican territories of New Mexico and Texas¹⁰². These expeditions returned with defined maps of direct routes to the west, reaching areas where Americans had never travelled before, mainly Oregon, California and Texas. Furthermore, the explorers brought with them stories of potential trade, and accounts on the extensive value of the explored territories that would boost American's interest for these lands, mainly during the 1820's.

In 1819, in the same year that the American government concluded the Florida Treaty with Spain¹⁰³, thus securing American claims to the Pacific, the United States was stricken by a severe financial crisis that disrupted the American economy. This crisis, which was known as the "Panic of 1819", lasted until 1823. It was sparked off by the failure of the American banks to collect on loans which were made to farmers, manufacturers, and to speculators after the war of 1812¹⁰⁴. This panic affected most Americans in the sense that manufacturers went bankrupt and laid off their employees, prices of agricultural produce fell sharply, and many people find themselves indebted¹⁰⁵. Furthermore, the government issued the 1820 Act by which it suspended the sale of land on credit.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰²- Pike was instructed to explore the southern part of the Louisiana territory. the expedition accidentally crossed the Louisiana border into New Mexico. Pike and his men were captured, and were sent back to American territory across Texas. Tom, Pendergast and Sara, Pendergast., op. cit., p.78.

¹⁰³ - Under the terms of this treaty, the Spanish government ceded the whole of Florida to the United States, and the Boundary between Texas and the western boundary of Louisiana was fixed at the Sabine River and thence to the forty-second parallel stretching to the Pacific

Robert V., Remini., op. cit., p. 80

¹⁰⁴ - Randolph, Campbell., *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State.*, Oxford University Press., New York., 2003. p. 101.

¹⁰⁵ - The fall in prices was due to the fact that European countries, which recovered from the Napoleonic wars (1792- 1815), diminished their reliance on American goods. Daniel Walker., Howe., *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848.*, Oxford University Press, Inc., New York., 2007. p. 142.

¹⁰⁶ - Ibid., p. 143.

This panic incited the American people in all parts of the country to move westward. Simultaneously, Mexico, which had already achieved her independence from Spain, resolved to populate her northern territory that was almost sparsely settled. Therefore, the Mexican government started to welcome Americans who would obey Mexican laws to settle the northern part of the country. Seizing this opportunity, Americans poured to the Mexican territories mainly to Texas, New Mexico, and California. However, Americans' presence in these areas and their growing number would not remain without troublesome consequences as the settlers transgressed the laws of the Mexican government. Obviously, the latter had to intervene against the defiant Americans. However, the outcome of this intervention, as far as Texas is concerned, was to have disastrous effects and culminate in war with the United States.

II- Texas and the War of Independence

1- American Settlement in Texas

The first areas outside the United States' borders into which American settlers moved in an important number during the early 1800s was Texas, a province northern of Mexico. This region, being too far from Mexico City and isolated from the mining and commercial centres of the interior, was sparsely settled. Indeed, The Spanish authorities had tried for more than a century to populate this region but in vain¹⁰⁷. By 1820, Texas contained only three settlements, Nacogdoches, Goliad, and San Antonio, the capital of the province, and had a population of 2,000 Mexicans¹⁰⁸. Nevertheless, this province enjoyed extensive fertile land, forests, and a rich

¹⁰⁷ - The first Spanish settlement in Texas goes back to 1682 when several missions were established in the area. Yet, this settlement proved abortive, as the missions were usually attacked by the Indian tribes. Nevertheless, by the 1730's, more than 30 missions supported by the army were established in San Antonio, Goliad and Nacogdoches. *The Columbia Encyclopaedia*, Sixth Edition., Columbia University Press., New York., 2007., p. 47997.

¹⁰⁸ - Alan C., Huffines., *The Texas War of Independence 1835 – 1836: From the Outbreak to the Alamo to San Jacinto*, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, 2005. p. 19.

productive soil. Therefore, it became the most important focus for the American would - be settlers.

The way for American settlement in Texas was paved by the American banker Moses Austin (1761- 1821). Following the severe effects of the Panic of 1819, Austin's St Louis Bank in Missouri went bankrupt¹⁰⁹. As a matter of fact, Austin looked for another way to make new wealth. Early in 1821, Austin arrived to Mexico and solicited the Spanish authorities for a land grant at the mouth of Colorado River in Texas where he would found a colony of 300 American settlers. Austin planned to receive fees from the settlers and set a mercantile business to sell them supplies. On January 17, 1820, in the hope of populating the region and also preventing Indian raids and limiting U.S. expansion into its colonies¹¹⁰, the Spanish colonial authorities answered favourably to Austin and granted him free land. Yet Austin would not accomplish his plan for on his way home to Missouri to fulfil his plan, he contracted pneumonia and died shortly after.

His son Stephen Fuller Austin (1793- 1836) took over the job and decided to continue the colonization plan. In August 1821, Stephen Austin reached Texas to get his father's grant confirmed from Antonio Martinez the governor of the province. Austin's arrival coincided with the independence of Mexico from Spain. Thus, the new governor of Texas, Felix Trespalacios required from Stephen to submit a detailed plan of his settlement to the Mexican government. Accordingly, Austin began to explore the area between the lower Brazos and Colorado rivers where he would establish his colony. By the end of April 1822, Stephen reached Mexico City. Yet, the American impresario had to wait for nearly a year before getting an answer from the provisional government.

This delay was caused by the conflict that arose between Iturbide and Congress on political matters. In fact, Mexican politicians were opposed as to the form of the

¹⁰⁹ - Randolph, Campbell., op. cit., p. 101.

¹¹⁰ - Lynn V., Foster, op. cit, p. 124

government they would set up. Some favoured monarchy, some sought to establish a republic, and others wanted to give control to Iturbide. Furthermore, while some Mexicans urged for a completely centralized government, others wanted to establish a federal system with separate states. In the midst of this confusion, Iturbide's supporters forced the provisional Congress to declare him emperor on May 19, 1822¹¹¹.

On February 18, 1823, Iturbide issued a decree known as the Imperial Colonization Law by which Mexico sought to populate Texas¹¹². Under the provisions of this decree, the Governor of Texas was instructed to apportion land either directly to immigrant families or through entrepreneurs who should agree to bring more than two hundred families. The new settlers would also benefit from different advantages including the freedom of taxation, and the freedom from imposition of custom duties for a period of seven years¹¹³. In return, the new settlers were required to be good citizens, law abiding and would adopt Catholicism. As far as slavery was concerned, the law stated that slavery was permitted, but slave children born in Texas were to be free at the age of 14.

Following the new decree Austin was the first immigrant to be granted the right to establish his colony of three hundred families. Under the provisions of the decree, each family in Austin's colony was to receive a league (4,428 acres) if they were stock raisers or a labour (177 acres) if they were farmers¹¹⁴. Austin, being the first impresario, was awarded 97,416 acres. He was also allowed to receive a fee of \$ 60 from each family of settlers plus 12 and ½ cents per each acre granted¹¹⁵. Austin was instructed to find a town, organize his colonists as a militia, preserve

¹¹¹- Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.104.

¹¹²- Historians gave different reasons as to Mexican land grants for Americans. Some stated that it was a Mexican policy to populate Texas. For others, it was the willingness of the Mexican government to show its friendship for the Americans who aided the Mexicans during the war against Spain. Some others reported that it was to make Texas as a buffer zone against both US expansionism and Indian raids. The first motive was the one that was frequently stated.

¹¹³- Alan C., Huffines., op. cit., p.24.

¹¹⁴- Randolph, Campbell, op. cit ., p.105.

¹¹⁵- Ibid.

order and administer justice¹¹⁶. Yet, before he could enjoy this achievement, Austin faced another misfortune. In fact, a month after the issuance of the decree, Iturbide was overthrown but the new government which called into question all of Iturbide's actions left Austin's grant valid.

Austin proceeded to Texas where he founded the town of San Felipe de Austin on the banks of the Brazos River in the eastern part of Texas. He divided land titles among the settlers and explained them their responsibilities. As to the good working of the colony, Austin organized the colonists as a militia and issued a set of civil and criminal regulations that would serve as a code of laws. By the end of 1824, Austin fulfilled his contract and the 300 families had all settled the land¹¹⁷.

Having heard about Austin's success, other American entrepreneurs, attracted by the abundance of fertile land and great prairies of Texas at lower prices¹¹⁸, arrived into the region and sought to secure land grants. Simultaneously, the newly established republic of Mexico under the leadership of President Guadalupe Victoria (1824 – 1829) reorganized the country. Under the provisions of the 1824 Federal Constitution, the government organized the former Spanish districts into nineteen states, four territories, and a federal district. Texas was united to Coahuila to form the state of Coahuila y Texas.

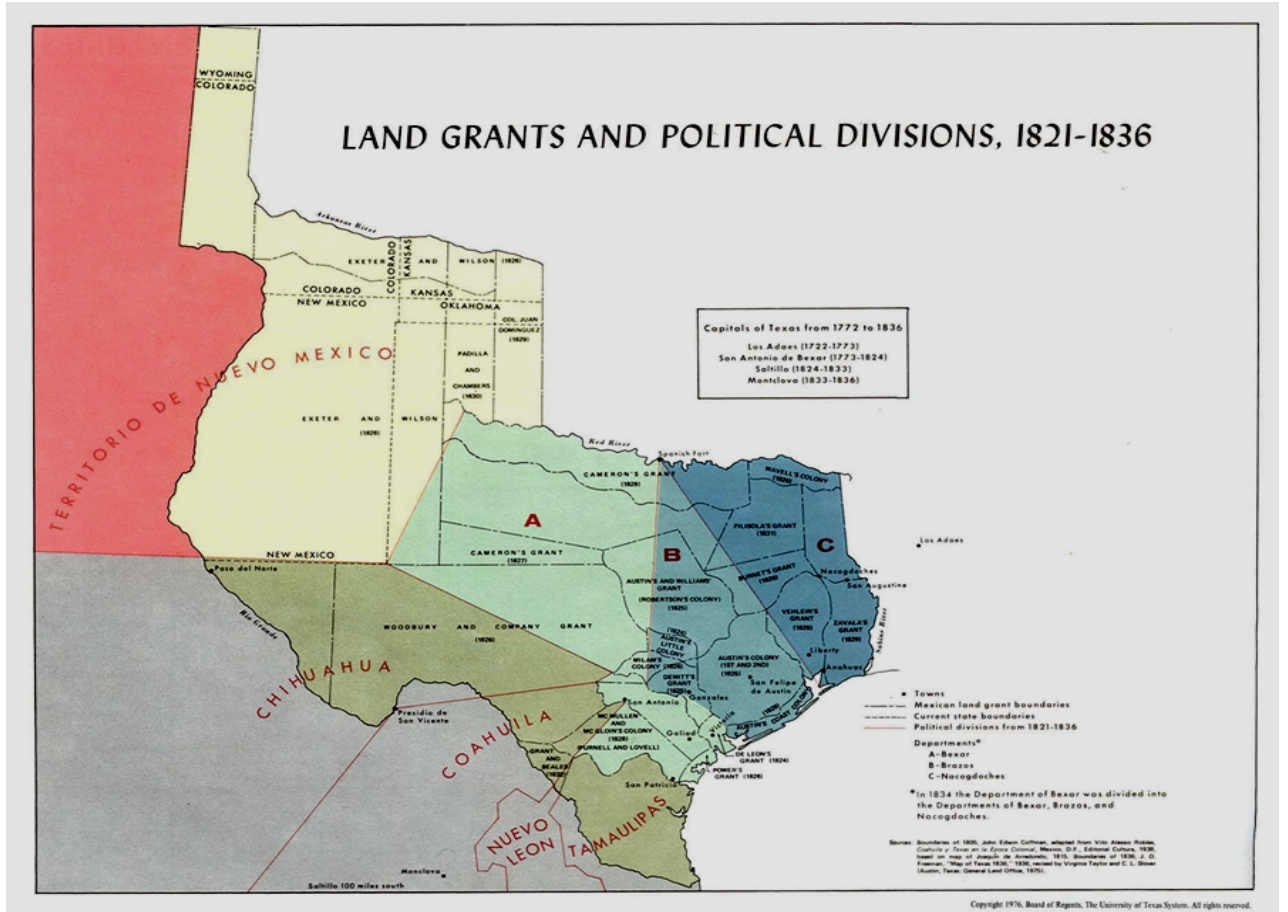
On March 25, 1825, the Mexican Congress enacted the Colonization Law, which offered the settlers a league and a labour of land for less than \$ 100 in fees. The fees could be paid over six years with nothing due for the first four years, and impresario contracts would be valid for six years but they would be cancelled if 100 families had not been settled in the colony. Successful impresarios would receive

¹¹⁶- Nathaniel W., Stephenson, *Texas and the Mexican War: A Chronicle of the Winning of the Southwest*, Yale University Press, New Haven CT, 1921, p. 7

¹¹⁷- Randolph Campbell, op. cit., p.105

¹¹⁸ - By 1820, land in the United States was sold at \$ 2 an acre, relatively higher compared as that of Mexico. Nathaniel W., Stephenson, op. cit., p. 10.

Map No 5: Mexican Land Grants to American Settlers



Source: <http://www.sonofthesouth.net/texas>

five leagues of grazing land and five labours of farming land each one¹¹⁹. In return, the new settlers were bound to the same conditions as in Austin's colony and were required to use only the Spanish language in public transactions.

These provisions soon created American rush for Texas land. This was illustrated by one settler who declared later on:

“What the discovery of gold was to California, the Colonization Act was to Texas”.¹²⁰

Many American impresarios secured land grants and established their colonies chiefly in east Texas¹²¹. Among the land contractors, who played a great role in bringing settlers to Texas, were Austin who got additional grants, Green Dewitt, and Hayden Edwards¹²². Yet, the latter would embroil the American settlers in their first incident with the Mexican government.

2- Early Clashes between the Settlers and the Mexican Government

In 1825, Edwards obtained a contract to settle 800 families in Nacogdoches, but the territory where he founded his colony had already been filled by Mexican settlers¹²³. Edward started to persecute the Mexicans who complained to the state legislature. The latter intervened in the summer of 1826 and cancelled Edward's grant, and ordered him to leave the country. Irritated by the governor's action in cancelling his contract and expulsing him, Edwards prepared for armed resistance. In December, Edwards with thirty-six armed men seized the Mexican small garrison of Nacogdoches and arrested the local officers. Furthermore, Edwards raised an army of 200 men, representing the newly arrived settlers, and in December 21,

¹¹⁹ - Ibid

¹²⁰ - Randolph Campbell, op. cit ., p.107

¹²¹ - There was only one Mexican, Martin de Leon, who applied and got a land grant in 1825. Leon brought into Texas 41 Mexican families and 16 Anglo and Irish families and continued to bring more families until his death in 1832. Ibid, p.108.

¹²² - Some of the contractors did not succeed to bring settlers and their contracts were cancelled., Ibid

¹²³ - Twenty years before, the native Mexican land owners fled Nacogdoches because of Indian attacks. Nevertheless, the Mexican policy to people Texas encouraged them to return to their lands. Nathaniel W., Stephenson, op. cit, p. 14.

signed a declaration of independence creating the Republic of Fredonia which stretched from the Sabine River to the Rio Grande¹²⁴. In order to increase their number, the rebels signed an alliance with the Cherokee Indians promising them half of the territory of Texas.

Meanwhile, Edwards, hoping that American colonists would stand by his side, sent a letter to Austin for assistance. The latter refused and urged the rebels to give up their scheme. When news of this rebellion reached San Antonio, the authorities immediately dispatched a force of 300 men to put down the revolt.¹²⁵ In January 1827, the Mexican troops, aided by Austin and his militiamen attacked Nacogdoches and put an end to the Fredonian revolt. Most of the rebels were arrested, and Edwards and some of his men fled to Louisiana.

Although the American settlers had denounced the Fredonian revolt and helped in its overthrowing, the Mexican government began to view their presence and their growing number with suspicion¹²⁶. Furthermore, and although the American Secretary of State Henry Clay was quick to express his regret, the authorities in Mexico believed that the American government was behind this revolt. What increased Mexican suspicion was the fact that President John Quincy Adams ((1825–29), through his minister to Mexico, proposed to purchase the province offering \$1 million¹²⁷.

Under such circumstances, the Mexican government started to strengthen its control over the area. In 1828, President Guadalupe Victoria (1824 –1829) instructed General Simeon de Mier y Teran to survey Texas and make recommendations for its future development. In January 1830, Teran submitted his

¹²⁴ - Albert A. Nofi , *The Alamo and the Texas War of Independence, September 30, 1835 to April 21, 1836: Heroes, Myths, and History*. Combined Books, Conshohocken, PA. 1994. p. 16.

¹²⁵ - Ibid.

¹²⁶ - By 1830, the number of Texan Americans reached nearly 20,000 whites and a thousand slaves, and out numbered the native Mexicans by four to one. , John M. Blum ,Edmund S. Morgan, Willie Lee Rose, Arthur M Schlesinger, Jr, Kenneth M. Stamp and C. Vann Woodward, op. cit p. 276.

¹²⁷ - B, Tindall., *America : A Narrative History*, W.W.Nortonand Company, New York, 1988, p. 541.

report including fourteen recommendations to the new Mexican President, Anastasio Bustamante (1830- 1832). Among the chief recommendations¹²⁸ that Teran made as to assert Mexican authority in Texas were:

- Encouraging Mexican and European settlements through land grants while prohibiting further emigration from the United States.¹²⁹
- Increasing the coastal trade between Texas and the other Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico and forbidding trade with the United States.
- Establishing fortifications and reinforcing the province with more Mexican soldiers.

Consequently, Teran's recommendations became the basis for the Law of Colonisation that was enacted by the Mexican Congress on April 6, 1830. It is worth mentioning that before voting this law, Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lucas Alaman had warned the Mexicans about American desire to take Texas and clearly stated:

*“Texas will be lost for this Republic if adequate measures to save it are not taken.... Colonists were linked to a United States scheme to acquire Texas in the same manner that it had obtained Louisiana and Florida.... Where others send invading armies... the Americans send their colonists.”*¹³⁰

Under the provisions of this law, Mexico prohibited further immigration from the United States to Texas and rescinded all the impresario contracts that had not been completed. Yet, it is essential to mention that Americans were allowed to settle elsewhere in Mexico. The law prohibited further introduction of slaves into Texas¹³¹. To sever the commercial ties between the Texans and the United States, the law

¹²⁸ - Teran reported that among the newly arrived settlers, many of them violated Mexican laws. Largely Protestants, the new settlers rejected Catholicism and started to build their own churches. Many of them entered Texas illegally and not through impresarios. They also made no effort to learn the Spanish language and felt no loyalty to Mexico. Alan C. Huffines., op. cit, p. 20.

¹²⁹ - Teran proposed that 5,000 Mexican settlers would be drawn from a quota assigned to every state of the republic. However, the states failed to cooperate. David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1982., p.171.

¹³⁰ - Ibid., p. 170.

¹³¹ - On September 15, 1829, in honour of Mexican Independence Day, President Guerrero (April 1, 1829- Dec 27, 1829) issued a decree emancipating all slaves in Mexico. Texans strongly protested the decree and made appeals to Guerrero who, on December 2, exempted Texas from the decree. Randolph Campbell, op. cit., p. 113

prohibited the importation of many agricultural items from the United States and called for the collection of custom duties on imports and exports. This provision put an end to the Act of 1823 that exempted the settlers from duties for seven years.

As to the reinforcement of this law, the Mexican government acted without delay. It dispatched military troops to strengthen the garrisons across the borderlands to prevent further entrance of illegal immigrants, and ordered the building of new forts at strategic points in the province mainly in San Antonio, Goliad and Nacogdoches. The government also made more land grants to Mexicans, including Mier y Teran and several other soldiers. Besides, the government dispatched a small military force for the collection of import duties on goods shipped to Texas.

If, for the Mexican government, these measures were essential to meet the threat of losing their province, the Texans, on the other hand, regarded them as an insult with disastrous consequences to their prosperity. This would obviously lead to protest and efforts to counteract the April Law.

Indeed, this took place soon after. In fact, in 1832 and 1833, the Texans held two conventions to discuss the future of their province. Fifty-eight delegates representing every Texan municipality met at San Felipe and prepared a petition for the Mexican government. Through this petition, the Texans claimed for the annulations of Article 11 of the law of April 1830 that prohibited immigration from the United States. They also claimed for the exemption of Texas from custom duties for another period of three years. More important, the Texans petitioned for the separation of Texas from Coahuila and proposed a constitution, similar to that of the American states, for Texas¹³².

To present this appeal to the Mexican government, the delegates appointed Austin. The latter arrived to Mexico City on April 13, 1833. Vice President, Gomez

¹³² This proposition was made during the second convention. The Texan Constitution was merely a copy of that of the American southern states., Nathaniel W., Stephenson, op. cit, p.50.

Farias, received Austin and after six months of harsh negotiations, the two parties reached an agreement. Farias promised to Austin that all the Texan demands would be satisfied except for the separation from Coahuila¹³³.

Having accomplished what he could, Austin left Mexico City. However, in January 24, 1834, on his way home, Austin was arrested by the Mexican authorities for treason and was put in prison. In fact, in October 1833, while in the capital, Austin had written a letter, which the Mexican troops intercepted, to the delegates of Texas stating that the government would not approve the Texans' appeals, and urged the Texans to unite themselves and to declare the province as a separate state. Though the Texans were alarmed, Austin sent letters, from his cell, urging them to remain loyal to Mexico and not to revolt. Notwithstanding Austin's appeal for calm, the Mexican government grew more suspicious as to the Texans' intentions.

In the meantime, in April 1834, Santa Anna declared himself dictator, and took complete control of the government. He reversed the federal system into a centralist one, and abolished the 1824 Constitution. He also deposed Farias from power, dissolved the Congress and state legislatures, and dismissed all cabinet ministers. As far as Texas was concerned, Santa Anna cancelled all the privileges that Farias had made to the Texans.

Meanwhile, Santa Anna sent General Martin Perfecto Cos with military troops into the state of Coahuila y Texas. Cos was instructed to close the legislature of Coahuila y Texas and to take command of the province. Furthermore, the Mexican general was empowered to prohibit further American entrance to Texas¹³⁴ and to confiscate the militias' arms. When word of Santa Anna's actions reached Texas, the settlers, who feared the loss of self-government, rose in disgust and called for a convention which was held in March 1835. During the debates, some Texans

¹³³-Ibid

¹³⁴- Notwithstanding the 1830 Law, many Americans, with their slaves, continued to pour illegally into Texas. By 1834, the number of Americans was estimated at 20,000, and two years later, it climbed to around 40,000., Randolph Campbell., op. cit., p. 127.

favoured rebellion while others recommended direct negotiations with General Cos. The second proposal prevailed, and the Texans decided that no action would be taken until they met with Cos.

3- The Road to Independence

A Committee of Safety was established under the leadership of Austin who returned to Texas after 18 months in prison¹³⁵. The Committee was given power to conduct negotiations with General Cos. In August, Austin and his collaborators met General Cos at San Antonio where he established his headquarters. The Mexican officer refused to treat with them and warned Austin that they must submit themselves to the newly established system and should accept military occupation¹³⁶. Disgusted, Austin saw little choice but to rise in revolt and the Committee called for a convention for November to discuss the matter.

Simultaneously, General Cos dispatched a small force of soldiers to the town of Gonzales, sixty miles east of San Antonio, to take possession of a six pound brass cannon that the town possessed¹³⁷. The Texans refused and the Mexican force returned back. The Texans, expecting that the Mexicans would return to take the weapon by force organized themselves: they took their families to a safe place, mobilized the available men and called the other settlers for help. Volunteers converged on Gonzales and an army of 150 Texans was raised to defend the town¹³⁸. In september1835, as expected, General Cos dispatched Captain Francisco Castaneda with a force of 100 cavalrymen. In the short-lived fight that followed, the

¹³⁵- Austin was released in July 1835 by a general amnesty proclaimed by Santa Anna. Albert A. Nofi , op. cit., p.32.

¹³⁶- Randolph Campbell., op. cit., p. 133.

¹³⁷- The canon was given to the Texans of Gonzales in 1831 for use against Indian attacks. Albert A. Nofi, op. cit., p.34.

¹³⁸- Ibid.

Texans defeated the Mexicans who fled after suffering several casualties¹³⁹. This fight inaugurated what was to be known as the Texas war of independence.

Word of the fight quickly spread among the settlers, and soon a force of 500 other volunteers from the other settlements rushed to join the men who had defended Gonzales¹⁴⁰. Accordingly, the Texans organized themselves as the Army of the People and made Austin Commander. Then, the rebels who were determined to oust the Mexican troops from all of Texas attacked a Mexican garrison in Goliad and forced the 40 Mexican soldiers to surrender.

This victory rendered the Texan troops overconfident that they decided to attack San Antonio, where the stronghold of the Mexican Army under the leadership of General Cos established its headquarters. After leaving 100 Texans in Goliad, the Army of the People marched into San Antonio, and upon their arrival on November 1, 300 Texans immediately imposed a blockade on the town, and forced Cos and his 1,000 men to withdraw to the Alamo Mission on the outskirts of the town¹⁴¹. The siege lasted for more than a month, and the Texans attacked the Mexican troops on December 5. The fight lasted for five days and ended on December 9, with a Texan victory and the surrender of Cos¹⁴². 400 Mexicans were killed and many others were injured. Texans' losses amounted to only 30 killed, and few wounded.¹⁴³ This victory was decisive since it marked the end of Mexican military occupation of Texas.

While the Mexican Army was being besieged in San Antonio, the Convention, which was called for two months later, was held at San Felipe de Austin on November 3. After debate, the delegates although expressing loyalty to Mexico, opposed the nullification of the 1824 Constitution. They established a provisional

¹³⁹- Two Mexicans were killed and many others were injured. Only one Texan was injured., *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁰- Alan C. Huffines., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁴¹- The Alamo Mission was a former Spanish religious outpost that had been converted into a makeshift fort., Albert A. Nofi, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁴²- Cos and his men were paroled and promised never to take arms against Texas again before they were released and allowed to leave Texas., Alan C. Huffines., *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹⁴³- Albert A. Nofi., *op. cit.*, p. 49.

government for the state of Texas, elected Henry Smith as governor, and set up a council to serve as a legislature. Since the Texan troops were made up only of volunteers, steps were taken to create a regular army of 5,000 men. The latter would be under the command of Sam Houston¹⁴⁴. In addition, the Convention appointed Austin and William H. Wharton as commissioners to the United States with instructions to borrow money and seek support¹⁴⁵. The Convention adjourned on November 14 and convened for March 1, at the town of Washington on the Brazos.

In Mexico City, news of the Mexican defeat irritated the officials who demanded severe reprisals. Besides, President Santa Anna was so furious that he decided for a strong military response. Subsequently, he left his duties as president and gathered a force of 6,000 men to retake Texas¹⁴⁶. On February 16, 1836, the Mexican Army crossed the Rio Grande and reached the outskirts of San Antonio. When word of this unexpected arrival reached the town, the Texans including 183 volunteers under the command of James Bowie, and a dozen of families got into panic¹⁴⁷. Bowie dispatched some of his men to seek help from the other settlements, and ordered the others to withdraw to the Alamo fortress.

On February 23, Santa Anna and his army entered San Antonio and immediately laid siege to the Alamo. The Mexican President ordered the Texans to surrender, but the latter refused. Therefore, and after 13 days siege, Santa Anna decided to exterminate the defenders of the Alamo. On the predawn of March 6, the Mexican troops stormed the walls of the fortress, and defeated the rebels. Most of the Texans were killed, and Santa Anna ordered the execution of the prisoners. Only few children and women were spared and were sent to Gonzales. A short time after

¹⁴⁴ - As money was not enough and more land was available, people who would enlist in the army were to receive generous land grants. Randolph Campbell., op. cit, p. 139.

¹⁴⁵ - While the Mexican force was besieged in San Antonio, Austin held the command of the army to James Bowie and proceeded to San Felipe to participate in the meeting. Albert A. Nofi, op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁴⁶ - Alan C. Huffines., op. cit, p. 37.

¹⁴⁷ - Following their victory on Cos, and because of the rude winter most of the volunteers left San Antonio. D. C, King., *United States History*, Addison - Wesley Publishing Company., California., 1986., p. 240.

the fall of the Alamo, Santa Anna was informed that a force of more than 300 Texans was garrisoned at Goliad. Subsequently, he dispatched General Jose Urrea with 1,500 men and ordered him to crush the rebels. Few days later, Urea's troops reached Goliad, captured the 365 Texans, and executed them¹⁴⁸.

Unbeknown to the siege of the Alamo, the delegates met at the Convention on March 1, in the town of "Washington on the Brazos". During the debate, most delegates agreed on the fact that the Mexican government had acted tyrannically in canceling the Constitution of 1824, and rejecting the petition for separate statehood. They also rejected the imposition of military authority in Texas. On the second day, the delegates, by a unanimous vote, declared Texas a free, sovereign, and independent republic. The delegates established a provisional government with David Burnet as interim president, and re-nominated Houston as the commander -in - chief of the army. Then, the Convention framed a constitution modeled on that of the United States¹⁴⁹. Four days later, a dispatch from Travis warning of his critical situation at the Alamo reached the convention. Accordingly, Houston proceeded for Gonzales to take command of the army and to help Travis.

Delayed by bad weather and high rivers, Houston and his 300 men did not arrive to Gonzales until March 11. There, another force of 300 volunteers under the command of Edward Burleson joined Houston. However, word of the tragic fate of the defenders of Alamo and Goliad soon reached the Texans. Furthermore, news of an estimated force of 5,000 Mexicans advancing on the town reached the rebels¹⁵⁰.

Aware that his small army could not resist the Mexicans, the Texan General ordered his troops as well as the inhabitants to retreat eastward to Harrisburg. On their retreat, Houston, who was joined by other volunteers, burned the towns and fields as to deny the Mexican Army the ability to plunder and get supply. However, once in Harrisburg, many Texans complained against Houston asserting that they had volunteered to fight and not to run away from the enemy. As a matter of fact,

¹⁴⁸ - Santa Anna ordered General Urrea not to take prisoners, but to kill all the Texans. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁹ - Randolph Campbell., *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹⁵⁰ - *Ibid.*, p.149.

hundreds of volunteers, disappointed at Houston's attitude, left the army, thus decreasing the rebel force to 500 men¹⁵¹. Even interim President David Burnet, who could not contain his anger, sent a message to Houston and protested against his retreat stating:

*"You must fight them. You must retreat no further. The country expects you to fight. The salvation of the country depends on you doing so."*¹⁵²

In the meantime, news of the approach of the Mexican Army reached the Texans. Indeed, Santa Anna had been notified that the bulk of the Texan Army led by Houston, and joined by the provisional government were on their way to Galveston Bay, to the border of the United States¹⁵³. Consequently, Santa Anna left the bulk of his army to seize the other towns, and led a force of 860 men on the wheels of the Texans¹⁵⁴. He also ordered General Urrea, who was in Goliad, to join him along the coast at Galveston.

Meanwhile, the Texans arrived at San Jacinto River, in Galveston, in the morning of April 20. Joined by volunteers from the United States, the Texan Army now counted 950 men¹⁵⁵. Houston again received news of the Mexican arrival. The Texan General, who realized that his soldiers were still tired of running away, decided to stop and to fight the Mexicans. The Texan forces made camp in the trees lining the banks of Buffalo Bayou, took position and placed the two canons into position¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵¹ - Alan C., Huffines., op. cit., p. 55.

¹⁵² - Randolph, Campbell., op. cit., p.151.

¹⁵³ - Soon after their arrival, members of the provisional government proceeded to the coast of Galveston and fled to the United States. Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁵⁴ - Santa Anna had divided his army into three columns. An army commanded by General Antonio Gaona was to swing north and proceed to Nacogdoches. Another force under General Vicente Filisola was to move directly into the Texan settlements. Santa Anna led the other troops toward Galveston. Alan C., Huffines., op. cit, p. 49.

¹⁵⁵ - The struggle of the Texans for independence aroused sympathy in the United States and hundreds of volunteers joined their army. Americans also helped the Texans with money, arms, and ammunition., Nathaniel W., Stephenson, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁵⁶ - The spot that Houston chose was covered with oaks, huge magnolias 25 metres high, and great masses of laurel and rhododendron. Thus, it was to screen the Texans from Santa Anna's troops. Ibid., p.84.

In the afternoon of the same day, Santa Anna's troops arrived at San Jacinto. Soon both forces were at sight. The Mexican troops set their camp about a thousand yards (915 meters) from the Texans' position and Santa Anna ordered his men to construct breastworks composed of packsaddles, sacks of hard bread, and baggage¹⁵⁷. Early in the next morning, General Urrea and his 500 soldiers joined Santa Anna, thus raising the Mexican force to 1360 men¹⁵⁸.

At about noon, Houston held a war council and asked the other leaders to know what plan they should adopt. Most of the leaders favoured an attack upon the Mexicans. In the meantime, Houston was aware that more Mexican troops would probably reinforce Santa Anna. As a matter of fact, he instructed a group of men to destroy a bridge which gave access to the battlefield to prevent Santa Anna from receiving additional troops. Then, he ordered some of his mounted men to lead a reconnaissance party so as to get information about the enemy. Meanwhile, Houston gathered his men and began to prepare for the attack.

On the other side, Santa Anna's camp was quiet. The Mexican President did not intend to lead an immediate attack. Indeed, his men were too tired to launch an attack. In fact, the Mexican soldiers became exhausted after long days of march, and after the night they spent in building breastworks. Santa Anna also believed that the Texans, being outnumbered, would not attack his force. Consequently, and neglecting to take precautions, the Mexican President decided to take a siesta and told his men to do so¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁷ - Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁵⁸ - Alan C., Huffines., op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁵⁹ - Randolph, Campbell., op. cit., p. 156.

Map No 6: The Texan Revolution: Movements of the Mexican and Texan Armies



Source: Daniel Walker, Howe., op.cit., p. 668.

At 3: 30 that afternoon, Houston decided to launch what was to be known as the Battle of San Jacinto. The Texan troops began to advance toward the Mexican camp. The artillerymen hurried the two canons forward to within 200 yards (182 metres), and the rest of the army moved silently to take the enemy in surprise. When Houston troops came within 60 yards (55 metres) of the breastworks, the Mexican sentries detected them and opened fire. Accordingly, the Texans acting out of revenge and shouting, “*Remember the Alamo, remember Goliad*” charged at the surprised and unprepared Mexican forces. The Texans stormed over the breastworks, seized the enemy’s artillery, and as Stephenson put it, “shot the Mexicans like a running game”¹⁶⁰. Within twenty minutes, the Mexican force was shattered, and the battle was over. The Mexicans suffered enormous losses in the sense that 630 were killed and 730 were captured, including Santa Anna. The cost of this battle to Texas was only two killed and six wounded, including Sam Houston.

¹⁶¹

The following day, Santa Anna was brought to Houston. Many Texans wanted to execute the Mexican President. Yet, in spite of his anger, Houston knew that Santa Anna was worth great deal alive than dead. As a matter of fact, he decided to take him to the temporary capital Valesco, in Galveston, so as to negotiate with the provisional government. Upon reaching Valesco, interim President Burnet initiated negotiations with Santa Anna. The latter realized that his freedom depended upon his acceptance of Texans’ conditions and accepted Burnet’s conditions.

Consequently, and on May 14, the two presidents reached an agreement and signed two treaties, one public, and the other secret. The public Treaty contained ten articles. The most significant among these were the pledge made by Santa Anna not

¹⁶⁰ - Nathaniel W., Stephenson, op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁶¹ - Randolph, Campbell., op. cit., p. 157.

to take up arms again against the Texans, and his promise that all Mexican forces would retreat south of the Rio Grande¹⁶².

The secret Treaty consisted of six articles. Among these articles, two were of great importance. First, Santa Anna promised to exert his influence upon his government in order to recognize the independence of Texas with her boundary at the Rio Grande, stretching from its mouth to its source and thence northward to the forty-second parallel of latitude. Here it is worth noting that the actual southern boundary of Texas was the Nueces River (see map No 7). Second, upon his return to Mexico City, the Mexican President would summon the Mexican Congress to ratify the public Treaty¹⁶³.

News of the defeat and Santa Anna's treaties with Texas enraged Mexican officials. The Congress disavowed the peace treaties, declaring that they were concluded by the President while a prisoner, thus null and void. Most congressmen pleaded for the prosecution of the war. Furthermore, most Mexicans blamed the American government and charged President Jackson and his administration with assisting the Texans. Besides when Santa Anna returned to Mexico, he betrayed the Texans and renounced to the promises made in the Treaties of Velasco.

4- Annexation to the United States

In June 1836, after the end of the war and the retreat of the Mexican Army, Interim President Burnet called for a general election which was scheduled to take place in September and in which the Texans would express themselves on three subjects. First, they were to ratify the constitution that had been written by the convention. Second, they would elect a president, a vice-president, congressmen, senators, and other officials. Finally, they had to say whether they wanted to be annexed to the United States or not.

¹⁶²- Alan C., Huffines., op. cit., p. 80.

¹⁶³- Ibid., p. 81.

Therefore, in September, the Texans went to the polls, approved the constitution, elected General Sam Houston president, and by an overwhelming majority expressed their desire for annexation to the United States. Different reasons were behind Texans endeavour toward annexation. In fact, the war had been disastrous to the Texans in the sense that towns were burned, agricultural products were destroyed, and the treasury was empty while the government was \$1.25 million in debt¹⁶⁴. Moreover, the threat of Mexico to reconquer Texas was always present. Given this situation, the annexation to the United States appeared to be the best way for the Texans to overcome all these burdens.

Following his investiture, Sam Houston (1836- 1838) who realized the strong wish of his people to join the American Union sought to fulfil this matter without delay. Accordingly, the Texan President, through Secretary of State Stephen Austin, appointed William H. Wharton as minister to Washington and instructed him to fulfil two main objectives: first, to secure the recognition of independence, then to negotiate a treaty of annexation. Houston thought that both recognition and annexation would be achieved easily and quickly given the fact that most Americans, mainly in the southern states, had enthusiastically supported the Texan war and were largely in favour of bringing Texas under the American flag¹⁶⁵.

Furthermore, Houston believed that Wharton would be of a great value on the ground that he had already been in Washington and was, as Houston himself, a close friend of Democratic President Andrew Jackson (1829 – 1837). Houston also wrote to Jackson informing him about Wharton’s selection and expressing his eagerness toward annexation. In his letter, Houston declared:

¹⁶⁴- Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.162.

¹⁶⁵- When the war for Texas independence was underway, many petitions for recognition and annexation were presented to congress from members of the Democratic Party. Besides, a strong popular demand for annexation arose mainly in the South. However, and aware of a probable troubles with Mexico, American Congress refused to take immediate steps toward the Texan issue. Nevertheless, in July 1836, Congress passed a resolution calling for recognition in case the Texans proved their ability to maintain their independence. Willis. Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 381.

“ My great desire is that our country Texas shall be annexed to the United States on a footing of justice and reciprocity to the parties ”¹⁶⁶

Soon after receiving his instructions, Wharton proceeded to Washington, but once he arrived there in December, and following a meeting with President Jackson, his hopes to secure Texans’ demands quickly faded. In fact, Jackson, who had tried, but in vain, to purchase Texas from Mexico, reversed his attitude toward the Texans. The American President informed Wharton that giving the political circumstances in the United States, he was not ready to take individual steps toward the recognition of the new republic and had to transfer the matter to Congress.

Jackson’s reluctance toward recognition was motivated by three main reasons. First, after the end of the war, Jackson sent Henry M. Morfit on an investigating mission to Texas in order to report about domestic conditions for a probable recognition. Six months later, the American investigator sent many reports in which he notified Jackson about the bad financial state of Texas, the instability of the army, and the existence of the Mexican threat to reconquer her rebellious province. Although sympathetic with the Texans, Morfit concluded that he could not recommend the recognition of Texas because he was not completely convinced for the time being that she could maintain her independence from Mexico.

Second, members of the Whig Party, both from the northern and southern states in Congress stood strongly against annexation arguing that such a measure would lead directly to war with Mexico which did not recognize Texas and still referred to her as a Mexican province. In addition, Whig politicians, mainly from the North realized that bringing Texas into the Union would increase the power of the southern states in Congress, thus threatening the balance of power between the North and the South¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁶ - Randolph, Campbell., op. cit., p.163.

¹⁶⁷ - At that time, there were 26 states in the United States divided into 13 free states and 13 slave states. Both sections were equally represented in the Senate. George. Pierce, Garrison., *Westward Extension, 1841- 1850.*, Harper & Brothers., New York., 1906., p. 20.

Finally, the Texan issue provoked bitter sectional controversy between the abolitionists in the Northern states and the proslavery Southern ones which supported the Texan annexation. Abolitionists in the North were determined to put an end to further spread of slavery and protested against recognition and annexation. Former President, John Quincy Adams who was now member in Congress and spokesperson of the Abolitionist Movement clearly argued that the settlement of Texas and the war that resulted from was nothing but a plot from the slaveholders to enlarge their empire. Abolitionists went farther and warned that annexation was unconstitutional and would justify the secession of the states that had abolished slavery from the Union¹⁶⁸.

On December 21, Jackson realized that the Texan issue would increase the tensions between the North and the South. Besides, the American President sought to maintain a policy of neutrality towards Mexico. Subsequently, he submitted Morfit's reports to Congress along with a message in which he advised against immediate recognition. However, and notwithstanding Jackson's recommendation, supporters of the Texan cause, mainly southerners statesmen argued that annexation was essential to southern political and economic interests, as well as to the security of the slave states¹⁶⁹. Therefore, they became determined to secure the recognition of the republic as a first step toward annexation¹⁷⁰.

Indeed, in February 1837, Senator Robert Walker, of Mississippi, introduced a resolution in Congress stating that that the republic of Texas should be recognized. Walker argued that Mr. Morfit's information relating to Mexicans attempt to invade

¹⁶⁸- Objection to US annexation began before the independence of Texas. In 1836, a Quaker abolitionist, Benjamin Lundy and a northern preacher, William Ellery Channing opened a campaign against this issue arguing that annexation had been the aim of southern slaveholders from the time of the first migrations to Texas, and maintaining that the revolution had been a southern conspiracy to extend the area of slavery. Frederick, Merk., *A Safety Valve Thesis and Texan Annexation.*, in: The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 49, No. 3., December., 1962., p. 414.

¹⁶⁹ -Southern states' economy was mostly devoted to cotton rising, and slaves constituted the main labour force in the cotton plantations. Therefore, the South regarded slavery as necessary for its prosperity, and desired its extension to more territory. Willis. Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p 385.

¹⁷⁰ - John H., Schroeder., *The Texas Issue in American Politics, 1836-1845.*, in: The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vol. 89, No. 2 October, 1985, p. 138.

Texas was not founded. Congress debated on the matter for nearly a month, and on March 1, it passed a resolution recognizing Texas as an independent republic¹⁷¹. Two days later, and on his last day in office, Jackson officially recognized the independence of Texas.

When news of this recognition reached Mexico, the government, which had already severed its diplomatic relations with the United States, strongly protested. The Mexicans blamed the American authorities for their violation of the principles of neutrality. However, Secretary of State, John Forsyth replied that the American government had acted in accord with the same policy it had adopted earlier with all the countries that solicited the United States recognition. Nevertheless, Forsyth assured the Mexicans that this recognition was by no means an unfriendly act against Mexico¹⁷².

Following the recognition, Wharton resigned his post and returned to Texas satisfied to have secured recognition but disappointed that he could not negotiate for the annexation. Like Wharton, most of the Texans expressed the same feeling. Houston and his administration realized that recognition would not be sufficient to relieve Texas from her problems. Nevertheless, Houston and Secretary of State James Pinckney Henderson, who had replaced Austin on his death, did not give up their hopes to achieve the desire of the Texans and decided to make another demand for annexation to the newly elected American President Martin Van Buren(1837-1841).

In July 1837, Memucan Hunt was named minister to Washington and was directed to make another proposal for annexation. This time however, Henderson, who wanted to alarm the Americans and persuade them to act positively, instructed Hunt that in case Buren's administration declined the proposal, he would use the

¹⁷¹ - The resolution passed in the Senate by a vote of 23 to 19 and in the House of Representatives by a vote of 98 to 86. Willis. Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 383.

¹⁷² - James. Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 90.

threat of a Texas alliance with other European powers mainly Great Britain and France.

On August 4, and in accordance with Henderson's instructions, Hunt held a meeting with Forsyth and tried to advance different arguments as to the necessity of negotiating a treaty of annexation. On the one hand, Hunt pleaded for annexation on the ground that Texans shared the same blood and language with the Americans, adopted the same constitution, and had the same form of government. Hunt also argued that annexation would give the United States the great natural resources of Texas, would benefit the American manufacturers of the North, and would strengthen American control of the Gulf of Mexico¹⁷³. On the other hand, Hunt warned Forsyth that in case annexation was refused, Texas would be compelled to conclude treaties of amity and commerce with England or other European nations. Hunt added that, once this fact would be achieved, the Republic would remain independent and might be a political as well as a commercial rival for the United States¹⁷⁴.

Three weeks later, Forsyth replied to Hunt apprising him of President Van Buren's refusal to enter into negotiations. The American Secretary of State argued that the annexation of an independent country was unconstitutional and would involve the United States in a conflict with Mexico. In addition, Forsyth declared that the government did not want to increase the tensions between the Northern and Southern states. Another reason that caused Van Buren to evade negotiations was the fact that his administration was more concerned to find solutions to the crisis which struck the United States at home and which was caused by the financial panic of May 1837¹⁷⁵. Furthermore, Van Buren who wanted to secure his re-election at the

¹⁷³ - Eugene C., Barker., *The Annexation of Texas.*, in: The Southwestern Historical Quarterly, Vol. 50, No. 1 July, 1946., p. 53.

¹⁷⁴ - Ibid

¹⁷⁵ - The Panic of 1837 was a financial crisis that lasted until 1843. This depression was caused by a wave of land speculation, fueled by cheap and easy credit. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Delux Edition., U.K.,2001., CD Rom Edition.

1840 election did not want to compromise his chances by accepting the proposal of annexation that would be considered as offensive for the free states which would not support him¹⁷⁶.

When news of this failure reached Texas, Houston became so disappointed and upset to American attitude. In May 1838, when Houston realized that Van Buren was not inclined to consider the annexation issue, he instructed Anson Jones, who succeeded Hunt as minister to Washington, to withdraw the annexation request¹⁷⁷. Although the Texan President maintained his optimism to join the American Union, he concluded that the time had arrived to dispatch an agent to solicit European recognition which would be of a great value for the existence of Texas as an independent Republic. As a matter of fact, Houston appointed his Secretary of State Henderson as a Texan representative to Great Britain and France with the task of securing recognition and negotiating commercial treaties.

Henderson proceeded for London where Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, accorded him an interview. The Texan envoy informed Palmerston that the objective of his mission was to procure recognition of the independence of Texas. In order to persuade the British Foreign Secretary, Henderson declared that Texas was capable of maintaining her independence and of performing her duties as an independent power. Besides and knowing that Britain was a fervent opponent of slave trade, the Texan commissioner informed Palmerston that the constitution of Texas forbade the African slave trade and the only slaves that existed in Texas were brought from the United States. Henderson concluded his arguments by emphasizing on the economic aspects of Texas stating that his nation possessed enough cotton to satisfy British needs, and the British manufacturers and merchants would find a new market for their products.

¹⁷⁶- James Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 90.

¹⁷⁷ - Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 159.

At the end of the discussion, Palmerston informed Henderson that he could not take a decision alone but promised that he would submit the request to the Cabinet. In October 1838, Palmerston replied to Henderson stating that Great Britain needed time to discuss the subject and could not give her answer immediately. The British minister argued that his government was not fully convinced that Texas could maintain her independence from Mexico and needed more time to assure that Texas might really maintain her position.

Palmerston's argument did not convince Henderson who believed that this refusal was prompted by other reasons. In fact, the British had established strong commercial and friendly relations with Mexico and by extending recognition to Texas, they might offend the Mexicans who were opposed to such an act. The British government was also aware of the unfavourable impact recognition would have on British abolitionists who were opposed to the creation of a new slaveholding power¹⁷⁸. Besides, the British government considered it unnecessary to recognize the independence of Texas, since that country was seeking annexation to the United States.

Frustrated at the fact that he had not been able to achieve the recognition for his Republic, Henderson left Great Britain for France but with little hope to secure recognition. Nevertheless, once in Paris in December 1838, circumstances played in favour of Henderson. In fact, a dispute which arose out from Mexico's refusal to adjust unpaid claims to French citizens culminated in the suspension of relations between the two nations and France had dispatched a fleet to blockade the Mexican ports. Henderson seized this opportunity and opened negotiations with the French Foreign Minister, Count Mole in which the Texan agent, after advancing the same arguments as those made to the British Foreign Secretary, presented his application for recognition.

¹⁷⁸- Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p. 121.

Meanwhile, a presidential election took place in Texas in November 1838, and Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar (1838 - 1841) was elected as the second president of the Republic. Unlike his predecessor, Lamar, who was greatly shocked by Americans' indifference toward Texas, showed no interest in annexation and, as Randolph Campbell wrote, "*preferred to think of Texas as a future empire that would rival the United States*"¹⁷⁹. Indeed, Lamar clearly declared during his campaign that his efforts would be directed toward securing recognition from European powers and establishing peace with Mexico. Soon after his inauguration, the Texan President sent James Hamilton to Europe in order to assist Henderson in his negotiations and to try securing a \$ 5 million loan¹⁸⁰.

In Paris, Henderson's arguments brought the French government to send the Secretary of the French Legation at Washington, Alphonse de Saligny in an investigating mission to Texas. Meanwhile, Mole informed the Texan agent that the government could not pronounce on the recognition until it received Saligny's reports. In June 1839, after receiving Saligny's favourable reports on Texas, Mole informed Henderson that his government had appointed two commissioners to renew negotiations. After two months of talks, both parties reached an agreement and on September 25, 1839, France officially recognized the Republic of Texas, and the two countries concluded a treaty of amity and commerce.

The next day, Henderson wrote to Lamar informing him about this diplomatic success. Furthermore and believing that the British government would follow the French example, the Texan agent notified the President about his determination to return to London for another attempt to secure recognition. In October, Henderson arrived in London where he was joined by Hamilton and both men entered into negotiation with Palmerston. The latter, however, still reluctant to give a favourable hearing to the Texans, refused to negotiate stating the same reasons that he uttered a

¹⁷⁹- Lamar envisioned to expand Texas to the Pacific Ocean by conquering New Mexico and California., Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.173

¹⁸⁰- During Lamar's administration, the financial situation in Texas worsened and the debts increased from \$ 2 million to \$ 7 million., Ibid.

year before. Frustrated at the British refusal to acknowledge Texas and suffering health problems, Henderson returned to Texas and left Hamilton in London to secure financial help.

Soon after Henderson's departure, however, the British Foreign minister reversed his attitude towards Texas. In fact, in 1839, Palmerston had instructed the British minister in Mexico, Richard Pakenham to observe conditions in Mexico and her relation to Texas. In his report, Pakenham stated that the political turmoil and the bad financial conditions that the Mexican government was undergoing stood against any attempt to reconquer Texas. Besides, the British minister concluded that Mexico was too weak to stand as a barrier against American westward expansion, but by extending recognition, the British could gain sufficient influence so as to use Texas as a barrier against American expansionism¹⁸¹. Apart from that, Pakenham concluded that the Texan government strongly opposed annexation and Congress had just approved the withdrawal of the annexation request to the United States¹⁸². Finally, Pakenham emphasized on the economic advantages that the British could gain from Texas.

Pakenham's report caused the British Foreign Minister to alter his position. In October 1840, when Hamilton tried once again to solicit recognition, Palmerston responded favourably, and both men entered into negotiations which culminated in a treaty of commerce and friendship that was signed on November 14, 1840. However, and in order to secure the treaty, Hamilton was bound to accept two clauses which were made by Palmerston as a condition for the acknowledgment of Texas. The first provided for the mutual right of search of each other's vessels in order to limit the

¹⁸¹- In the beginning of 1840, Palmerston instructed Pakenham to mediate between Mexico and Texas and to convince the Mexican President Bustamente to acknowledge the independence of Texas. Pakenham notified his minister that if Mexico did not respond to mediation, his government would then acknowledge the independence of Texas. However, Pakenham was not successful since Bustamente refused his offer. Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p. 105.

¹⁸²- On January 23, 1839, Texas Congress passed a joint resolution by which it approved Houston's withdrawal of the annexation proposal. Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.170.

African slave trade¹⁸³. The second allowed Great Britain to mediate a peaceful settlement between Texas and Mexico. Although Hamilton did not succeed to secure the financial loan for which he was instructed, he achieved one of the most important objectives of President Lamar¹⁸⁴.

Having secured European recognition, Lamar turned his efforts toward the Mexicans with whom he sought to make peace in order to gain international status and bring security to Texas. Subsequently, Lamar made two successive attempts to reach a peaceful settlement with the Mexicans. First, in December 1840, Texan Secretary of State, Barnard Bee, was sent to Mexico City to negotiate the independence of Texas with her boundary at the Rio Grande. Yet, this attempt came to grief, since the Mexican government did not even dare to receive him¹⁸⁵. Second, in March 1841, Lamar sent the newly appointed Secretary of State, James Webb to Mexico City authorizing him to bribe the new Mexican President Santa Anna (1841-1844) in return for recognition¹⁸⁶. Like the first attempt, however, this one also proved abortive, and Webb was not even allowed to enter the Mexican territory.

Disgusted by the Mexican refusal for a peaceful agreement, Lamar resolved to be more aggressive toward the Mexicans. Indeed, in 1841, the Mexican province of Yucatan, which wanted to restore the federal constitution of 1824, rose in revolt against the central government of Santa Anna and declared her independence. In October 1841, and seizing the opportunity of this uprising, Lamar dispatched six ships under the command of Edwin Moore to assist the Yucatan rebels against

¹⁸³ - The treaty was not ratified until July 1842. This delay was caused by the hesitation of the Texan government to accept the British clause concerning slavery. George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit., p. 102.

¹⁸⁴ - Soon after the treaty with the British, Hamilton signed two other treaties with the Netherlands in December 1840, and Belgium in February 1841. Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.173.

¹⁸⁵ - Barnard Bee was empowered by President Lamar to offer the Mexican government the sum of \$ 5 million in case it would accept to recognize the independence of Texas and agree on the Rio Grande as the boundary between the two states. Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p. 111.

¹⁸⁶ - Randolph, Campbell., op. cit., p.174.

Mexican invasion¹⁸⁷. In addition, Lamar sent a force of 270 men to Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, northeast of the Rio Grande, in order to incorporate this province within Texas. However, this expedition was a complete fiasco in the sense that a large Mexican Army of 1,200 men captured the Texans, killed two of them and imprisoned the others¹⁸⁸.

While the expedition set out for Santa Fe, a presidential election took place in Texas and Sam Houston (1841- 1844) was again elected to hold the reign of the Republic. Soon after his inauguration, however, Houston found the situation of the country in great despair. In fact, the financial situation worsened, Hamilton's endeavour to secure loans from England and France was unsuccessful, and the army ceased to exist because of lack of funds. Furthermore, Houston blamed Lamar's aggressive policy toward Mexico and feared a probable Mexican reprisal in response to the Santa Fe expedition and the Texan assistance to the Yucatan rebels. Under such circumstances, the Texan President was aware that the Republic could not stand alone for a long time and would probably lose her independence.

Unlike Lamar who strongly opposed annexation, Houston was always nourishing his desire for joining the American Union, and now that serious troubles were looming on the horizon, he decided to make another attempt to secure annexation. The President instructed the Texan Chargé d'affaires at Washington, James Reily to try to obtain U. S military assistance and to work for a possibility to reopen the subject of annexation that had remained dormant since 1837.

Houston wanted to renew his request for annexation because he believed that

¹⁸⁷- In September 1841, a treaty was signed between the rebelling state of Yucatan and Texas. Among the provisions of the treaty was a clause by which the Texan Navy would prevent an invasion of Yucatan by the central government of Mexico in return for the payment of \$8,000 a month by the rebels. Ibid.

¹⁸⁸-George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit. p. 108.

the new American President John Tyler¹⁸⁹ (1841 – 1845) would give a good hearing to the issue. Indeed, Tyler was a southerner and slaveholder who was committed to the defence of slavery, and to the protection of southern interests. Moreover, he was an ardent advocate of expansionism and supported the addition of Texas to the United States on the ground that it would promote the nation's economic power, by expanding the domain of cotton growing which was the nation's greatest economic resource¹⁹⁰.

In February 1842, Reily met with Secretary of State, Daniel Webster¹⁹¹ and notified him of the desire of the Texan President to reopen negotiations for annexation. Notwithstanding Tyler's desire to bring Texas under the American flag¹⁹², Webster, like most of his friends in the Whig Party, was not inclined toward the annexation that he had been opposing since 1837 when he was Senator. Therefore, he refused Reily's proposal arguing that the government was desiring to preserve its policy of neutrality toward the two countries, but suggested that the United States might attempt to mediate, in cooperation with Britain and France, for a peaceful settlement between Texas and Mexico¹⁹³. Webster's refusal was so disappointing and discouraging that the Texan chargé wrote to his Secretary of State, Anson Jones, requesting his departure from the United States. Reily's fury was clearly expressed in his letter where he said:

¹⁸⁹- In the 1840 elections, Whig candidate, William Harrison was elected president and Tyler was elected vice president. The latter succeeded to the presidency after the death of Harrison on April 4, 1841. Tyler was a former Democrat but switched sides in 1836 after a dispute with Jackson. He, then, joined the Whig Party which nominated him candidate for the vice-presidency. Soon after taking office, Tyler was embroiled in a conflict with the Whig leaders, mainly Henry Clay over political issues, and was expelled from the party. Tyler became to be known as "a president without a party". Eugene C., Barker., op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁹⁰- Carl C., Hodge and Cathal J., Nolan., op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁹¹- In September 1841, after the dispute between Tyler and the Whigs, Tyler's Cabinet resigned. Only the Secretary of State Daniel Webster remained because he was engaged in negotiations with the British to resolve the dispute over the northeastern border between Maine and New Brunswick in Canada. Webster resigned in May 1843, after the settlement of that boundary dispute. Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 164.

¹⁹²- In October 1841, Tyler informed Webster about his desire to annex Texas but hesitated to open the subject because of his conflict with the Whigs in Congress over domestic policy. Tyler was also aware of the reaction of the abolitionists in the Northern states., John H. Schroeder., op. cit., p. 149.

¹⁹³- In June 1842, Webster, through the American Minister in Mexico, Waddy Thompson, proposed to the Mexican government a mediation to end the war between Texas and Mexico, but the Mexican government refused. James Morton., Callahan., op. cit., p. 106.

*“I would rather die than to remain here. . . You can see from my official letter that nothing can be done here in the way of any negotiation for Texas.”*¹⁹⁴

Meanwhile and as expected, the Mexican government did not wait a long time to retaliate against the Santa Fe expedition, and the Mexican Army invaded Texas two times during the first year of Houston’s administration. The first attack took place on March 5, 1842 when a Mexican force of 500 men under the command of General Rafael Vasquez carried a raid on the towns of San Antonio, Goliad and El Refugio. General Rafael warned the Texans that the continuation of their struggle for independence was hopeless and they had to admit the authority of the Mexican government. After plundering and sacking the towns, the Mexican troops left Texas. On September 10, another Mexican force of 1,200 men once again invaded the town of San Antonio, and after a short fighting with a force of Texan volunteers, the Mexicans withdrew taking with them a number of prisoners¹⁹⁵.

News of the Mexican attacks aroused the sympathy of the American people for the Texans. Public meetings were held in many states to aid the Texans with money and weapons. Even the government expressed its opposition to Mexican acts, and in December 1842, Webster strongly protested to the Mexican Minister at Washington and warned him that Mexico had to cease her attacks against Texas. Simultaneously, southern political leaders began to appeal for annexation and many articles, promoting this issue, were published in newspapers.

Among these articles was a letter of the Governor of Virginia, Thomas W. Gilmer which was published in the “Madisonian Newspaper” in January 1843 and in which he claimed that annexation would benefit both the North and South. Gilmer argued that the North would benefit from the addition of a rich new market for its manufactures, and would enjoy a vast new market for its growing agricultural

¹⁹⁴- George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit. p.109.

¹⁹⁵- In retaliation for Mexican attacks, Houston ordered a force of 270 volunteers who attacked the town of Mier, in Matamoros, in December. However, the expedition turned into a disaster and most of the volunteers were captured. Seventeen of them were executed, and the others were taken to prison in Mexico City. Eugene C. Barker., op. cit., p. 58.

surpluses. As far as the South was concerned, Gilmer stated that annexation would bring security for its domestic institutions by preventing potential English or European efforts to abolish slavery or interfere politically in Texas¹⁹⁶.

In Texas, where the situation was still chaotic and the threat of another Mexican invasion was imminent¹⁹⁷, the later events in the United States revived Houston's vanished hopes in annexation. Subsequently, in January 1843, he empowered Isaac Van Zandt who replaced Reily as a minister to Washington to approach Webster in another attempt to negotiate a treaty of annexation, but the American Secretary of State reiterated his position toward the issue. Van Zandt also conversed with Tyler who revealed his strong desire for annexation. Yet, Taylor pointed to the difficulties he was facing because of the lack of support he had in Congress from both Whigs and Democrats, and the agitation of the abolitionists over this issue. The American President clearly expressed his frustration declaring:

*"I wish you to be assured, that I feel the deepest interest in the affairs of your country, and wish . . . if possible to annex you to us; but you see how I am situated."*¹⁹⁸

This umpteenth rebuff from the U.S government made Houston hardly furious that he decided to reverse his attitude toward the United States and began to rely on the friendship of Great Britain. In February 1843, through the British Minister in Texas, Charles Elliot, Houston informed the new British Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen that although most of the Texans favoured annexation to the United States, the Texan government desired to remain independent and wanted to strengthen ties with Great Britain¹⁹⁹. The Texan President made an appeal to Aberdeen for assistance in securing recognition from Mexico and establishing

¹⁹⁶- John H., Schroeder., op. cit., p. 150.

¹⁹⁷- In December 1842, Santa Anna developed a general plan by which he intended to subdue the rebels in Yucatan and then to launch an attack against Texas. Ray T., Shurbutt.,op. cit., p. 168.

¹⁹⁸- Ibid., p.151.

¹⁹⁹ - Houston stated that nine-tenths of the Texans supported annexation. Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.182.

peace. In return, Houston promised to grant the British favourable commercial concessions.

Elliot forwarded Houston's request to Aberdeen along with a report containing his observations. In his report, Elliot asserted that voices in favour of annexation were being heard in the United States. Nevertheless, Elliot apprised the Foreign Secretary of Houston's willingness to accept British protection. Therefore, and in order to counteract the annexation design and bring Texas under British influence, Elliot made to Aberdeen three suggestions as to the policy that the British government should assume. First, British bankers should grant loans to Houston's government. Second, the British government had to induce the Texan government to abolish slavery in return for compensation. Finally, London had to put pressure on the Mexican government to recognize Texas independence²⁰⁰.

Lord Aberdeen who wanted to see both Mexico and Texas at peace approved Elliot's propositions. It is worth noting that most historians agree that Aberdeen's desire for peace was not prompted by humanitarian considerations but by purely economic interests. In this respect, Nathaniel Stephenson stated that some historians considered Aberdeen as "*a diplomatic ogre seeking to devour the world in the interests of British business*"²⁰¹.

Aberdeen realized that both countries would be of a great importance to British economic interests. On the one hand, the Mexican government owed a significant amount of money to British subjects²⁰². The latter clamoured for a British policy that would bring peace and stability so that Mexico might pay her debts. On the other hand, Britain's economy was going through a state of depression in the sense that British cotton trade in her colonies in the West Indies was suffering from the

²⁰⁰ - Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 169.

²⁰¹ - Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p 132.

²⁰² - The total amount of money that Mexico owed to British citizens was approximately nine million pounds., Ibid.

abolition of slavery²⁰³. Therefore, Aberdeen believed that an independent and a prosperous Texas would become an alternative source of cotton for the English factories and might function as a market for British manufactured goods.

Subsequently, and as a first step toward the accomplishment of Elliot's scheme, Aberdeen instructed the British Minister in Mexico, Pakenham to make every effort to secure Mexican recognition of Texas independence. Pakenham's efforts to induce Mexico to negotiate with Texas proved successful in May 1843, when Santa Anna proposed to negotiate a treaty on grounds that Texas would accept Mexican sovereignty but would enjoy a large autonomy²⁰⁴. Houston, although thankful to the British efforts, did not give his assent to the proposal but suggested an armistice, which was secured by Pakenham on June 15, 1843, during which both countries could get to the negotiating table²⁰⁵. Three weeks later, Houston ordered Van Zandt to give up any other attempt to reopen the annexation issue with the American government arguing that Texas would be happy to remain independent.

However, many Texans, mainly those who were still hoping annexation, protested against Houston's consent to bargain with the Mexicans and accused him of succumbing under British influence. Even in the United States, dissenting voices against Houston's attitude were heard, and newspapers charged him of agreeing to end slavery in return for financial help from London²⁰⁶. Furthermore, in September, Duff Green, Tyler's confidential agent in London, wrote home that the British government, through Aberdeen, was willing to prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States in return for enticing loans and promised to grant the Texan slaveholders financial compensation for the abolition of slavery²⁰⁷.

²⁰³ - Ibid.

²⁰⁴ - Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.183.

²⁰⁵ - George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit., p.110.

²⁰⁶ - Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.183.

²⁰⁷ -The British promise to extend loans to Texas was given by Lord Aberdeen to the Texan abolitionist, Stephen Pearl Andrews who attended an international meeting against slavery. The latter was organized in London by The British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society from June 13th to June 20th 1843., Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p. 142.

These events alarmed most Americans mainly President Tyler and his administration who felt the danger of British meddling in the affairs of Texas. Hence, the indifference that characterized the attitude of the United States' government as to the Texan issue began to change into great distress. This was well illustrated by the then Texan Secretary of State, Anson Jones who stated later on:

*“This aroused all the dormant jealousies and fears of that government, the apathy of seven years' sleep over the question was shaken off....”*²⁰⁸

Here, it is worth noting that the panic that these events created in the United States was all that Houston needed. Historians who dealt with this subject stated that Houston had never thought of breaking away from the United States nor was he inclined to accept British interference, but he had turned to Great Britain only to alarm the Americans and induce their government to annex Texas. According to George Pierce Garrison, Houston stated later on that he had “*coquetted a little with Great Britain*” to make the United States jealous²⁰⁹.

Therefore and having scented the danger that might result from losing Texas to Great Britain and the impact it would have on the United States, Tyler decided to counteract the British and started to press upon annexation. In October 1843, and under instructions from the American President, Abel Upshur²¹⁰ who had replaced Webster at the head of the State Department approached Van Zandt and proposed him to open secret negotiations for a treaty of annexation arguing that efforts were made to secure the necessary two-thirds vote that was needed for ratification in the Senate²¹¹. The Texan agent replied that his instructions concerning the annexation issue had already been withdrawn, and he had to submit the proposal to Houston.

Upon receipt of the proposal, Houston accepted but instructed Van Zandt to secure American military protection of Texas as a sine qua non condition to

²⁰⁸- George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit., p.110.

²⁰⁹- Ibid.

²¹⁰- Upshur, a Southerner Democrat from Virginia, was a strong defender of slavery, and an ardent annexationist., Ray T., Shurbutt.,op. cit., p. 170.

²¹¹- John H., Schroeder., op. cit., p. 154.

negotiate²¹². In fact, the Texan President expected nothing to come of the negotiations that were initiated with the Mexicans but was aware of the consequences that would result in case Mexico and Great Britain knew about American Texan negotiations. Indeed, Houston feared that the British would be offended by such action and would give up their support for the Republic. Moreover, Mexico would break off the armistice and certainly invade Texas.

In January 1844, when Upshur gave assurance that an American military force was ready to be sent to defend Texas²¹³, Houston sent Henderson to conduct negotiations with Van Zandt and on January 24, both commissioners initiated talks with the American Secretary of State. Few days later, however, the secrecy of negotiations was revealed and led to protest in both America and Mexico. In the United States, Whigs and Abolitionists strongly denounced Upshur's action. Congressman Adams and twelve of his friends signed an appeal to the people of the Free states protesting against annexation warning that it would lead to the dissolution of the Union²¹⁴.

Furthermore, the Mexican government suspended negotiations with Texas, and President Santa Anna warned the American minister in Mexico that annexation would be regarded as a declaration of war against Mexico. Santa Anna clearly stated:

*“The Mexican government will consider equivalent to a declaration of war against the Mexican Republic the passage of an act for the incorporation of Texas with the territory of the United States; the certainty of the fact being sufficient for the immediate proclamation of war, leaving to the civilized world to determine with regard to the justice of the cause of the Mexican Nation, in a struggle which it has been so far from provoking.”*²¹⁵

²¹² - Houston was doubtful that the American Senate would approve ratification and demanded that U.S troops had to be dispatched to the American - Texan border to protect Texas against Mexico in case of invasion. George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit., p.113.

²¹³ - The American force arrived at Fort Jesup in Louisiana, near the Texan border in April 1844. It was composed of 1.150 men. In addition, six vessels of the Navy were dispatched to the Gulf of Mexico and near the Mexican port of Vera Cruz. Ibid., p.116.

²¹⁴ - Eugene C. Barker., op. cit., p. 61.

²¹⁵ - George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit., p.198.

Besides, the Mexican Minister at Washington warned Upshur that Mexico would regard the annexation of Texas as a hostile act stating that he would leave the country as soon as the treaty was ratified²¹⁶.

Despite this stormy protest, negotiations were progressing favourably, but were soon suspended because of the death of Upshur on February 28²¹⁷. Nevertheless, President Tyler soon appointed the southern Democrat, John C. Calhoun, another supporter of slavery and annexation, to replace Upshur and continue the effort to bring Texas into the Union. Calhoun immediately resumed negotiations, and on April 12, the two parties signed the Treaty of annexation. By the terms of this Treaty, Texas would become a territory of the United States. The Texan public lands and property would be relinquished to the American government which, in return, would assume the Republic's debt not exceeding \$10 million²¹⁸. Under the terms of this Treaty, the southwestern boundary between Mexico and Texas was to be settled by the U.S government and Mexico²¹⁹.

Ten days later, Tyler submitted the Treaty to the Senate along with different supporting documents by which he sought to persuade both Democrats²²⁰ and Whigs who opposed annexation. On the one hand, Tyler stressed on the advantages that all the sections of the country would gain from annexation. On the other hand, The American President warned that if annexation failed, and Britain became increasingly involved in Texan affairs, the security of the United States would be seriously menaced. Tyler stated that if Britain, which had already had the control of Canada in the north, might gain the control of Texas, the United States would find herself encircled by this country and in case of war, the United States might be

²¹⁶- Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p 152.

²¹⁷- On February 28, 1844, the secretary of state and several members of the presidential party were killed in an explosion of a gun during a reception on the U.S. warship Princeton. Ibid. p. 153

²¹⁸- Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.184.

²¹⁹- Ibid.

²²⁰- Although Southern Democrat senators were in favour of annexation, Northern democrats were divided as to the issue. Some of them were against slavery and opposed immediate annexation. Some others were indifferent to slavery and were hesitant to accept annexation on the grounds that it would lead to the break of the Union. Frederick, Merk., op.cit., p. 416.

certainly overruled²²¹. Among the documents was also a letter of Calhoun in which he appealed for the necessity of annexation to preserve slavery in the South on the ground that it would be beneficial to both the North and South and to prevent British interference in Texas.²²²

In the Senate²²³ where the Treaty was laid for debate, pro annexation senators tried to exert their influence so as to the necessity of annexation, and opponents of slavery bitterly protested arguing that Calhoun's letter was a mere proof that annexation was nothing but a plot from the pro slavery elements. Simultaneously and while the Senate was debating the Treaty, Whig and Democratic parties held their conventions in May to choose their respective candidates for the 1844 presidential election. While the Whigs had easily nominated Henry Clay who opposed annexation on the grounds that it would lead to war with Mexico, the Democrats were divided as to the selection of their candidate. Some favoured former President Van Buren whose opposition to annexation was well known and who was considered as the favourite for the post. Others supported James K. Polk., an advocate of annexation and a fervent expansionist. During the vote, no candidate was able to win the majority required for nomination and it was not until the ninth ballot that Polk was chosen after most southern delegates had opposed van Buren's nomination²²⁴.

Simultaneously, debate over annexation, in the Senate, was still underway and on June 8, a vote was finally taken and by which the treaty was defeated by thirty-five votes to sixteen. According to George Pierce Garrison, the vote was taken on partisan rather than on sectional grounds. Indeed, the Whig candidate for the presidency, Henry Clay was against annexation. Therefore, all the Whig senators but one followed his view and rejected the Treaty. As far as the Democrats were

²²¹ - Ibid., p. 417.

²²² - Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p. 156.

²²³ - The Senate was composed of 29 Whig members and 23 democrats. George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit., p.120.

²²⁴ - Ibid., p. 130.

concerned, seven senators voted against annexation in revenge for the defeat of their friend Van Buren for the presidential nomination²²⁵.

In spite of this non-success, Tyler did not give up his efforts, and two days after the vote in the Senate, he sent the rejected Treaty and all the documents in relation with it to the House of Representatives suggesting annexation by an act of Congress. However, no action was taken immediately since Congress adjourned a week later. In the meantime, President Tyler, through Calhoun, assured Van Zandt that the United States would continue to protect Texas against Mexican aggression. Besides, Tyler instructed the American minister in Texas, Andrew Jackson Donelson, to persuade the disappointed Houston that the failure of the Treaty was only temporary and efforts were made to secure annexation through an act of Congress²²⁶.

When news of the failure of the Treaty reached London, Aberdeen sought to continue his efforts to prevent annexation. He proposed to the Mexican government to acknowledge the independence of Texas arguing that any attempt to prevent Texan independence would probably involve Mexico in a disastrous war with the United States. Aberdeen also instructed Elliot who suggested that Mexico would acknowledge the independence of Texas which in return would promise not to join any other power.

Meanwhile, the campaign for the forthcoming presidential election was launched, and the annexation of Texas became the central issue for both parties. In this respect, George Pierce Garrison stated that in the history of the United States, no political campaign had been dominated by a single issue than that of 1844²²⁷. On the one hand, Democrat James Polk frankly declared, in his platform, for the re-

²²⁵ - One Democrat senator from Indiana did not take part in the vote., *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²²⁶ - Eugene C. Barker., *op. cit.*, p. 66.

²²⁷ - George. Pierce, Garrison., *op. cit.*, p. 136.

annexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon²²⁸. In fact, The Democrat candidate was among those American statesmen who strongly believed that Texas was part of the Louisiana territory, which was purchased from France in 1803 and had been sacrificed to Spain by the Treaty of 1819.

On the other hand, the Whig candidate, Henry Clay inaugurated his campaign by declaring against annexation arguing that it would involve the United States in war and would disrupt the Union because of the slavery controversy. However, in July, and in order to gain support in the South, Clay altered his position stating that he would not oppose annexation if it might be achieved without war and with the approval of the American people²²⁹.

During the elections that took place in November 1844, Polk (1845 – 1849) defeated Clay and became the eleventh president of the United States. Most historians agree on the fact that Clay's Shift in his position toward annexation cost him the defeat in the election because of his statement which angered many Whigs. The latter turned against him and voted for the Liberty Party²³⁰.

Tyler considered the outcome of the election as a desire of the American people to annex Texas. Subsequently, He addressed Congress in December, at the opening of the 1844-1845 session, suggesting annexation by a joint resolution. By the latter, annexation could be accomplished with a simple majority in both Houses

²²⁸ - Oregon was a territory lying along the North Pacific Ocean from the forty-second parallel of latitude to that of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes and reaching inward to the Rocky Mountains. It was claimed by both the United States and Great Britain. In 1827, as the two countries refused to relinquish their claims on the territory, they agreed on a policy of joint occupation. In 1845, James Polk strongly protested against British claims on the territory and threatened war if the British did not yield it to the United States., Carl C., Hodge and Cathal J., Nolan.,op. cit., p. 95.

²²⁹ - Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p. 165.

²³⁰ - During the elections, Polk received 1,337,000 popular votes and carried fifteen states with 170 electoral votes, while Clay gained 1,299,000 popular votes and carried eleven states with 105 electoral votes. Clay was defeated because many northerners voted for the Liberty Party which was made up of abolitionists under the leadership of James G. Birney., John H., Schroeder., op. cit., p. 160.

rather than the two-thirds vote that was required for ratification in the Senate²³¹. On January 25, 1845, the House of Representatives adopted the annexation resolution by a vote of 120 to 98. The resolution provided for the admission of Texas as a state and the settlement of the boundary dispute between Texas and Mexico by the United States. It also provided, in case the Texan government would accept, for the subdivision of the Texan territory to create three additional states²³². On February 27, the Senate followed the House and approved the resolution by a vote of 27 to 25, and on March 1, Tyler signed the joint resolution into a law²³³.

Two days later, on his last day in office, Tyler sent a dispatch to instruct the American minister in Texas to submit the resolution to the newly elected Texan President Anson Jones (1844- 1846) for approval. Meanwhile and following the adoption of the resolution, the Mexican Minister at Washington, General Almonte vigorously protested. On March 6, he declared that the annexation was illegal and considered it as an aggression against Mexico²³⁴. Furthermore, Almonte notified Calhoun of the end of his mission and left the United States.

The next month, the Mexican Foreign Minister Cuevas protested to the American Minister in Mexico, Wilson Shannon stating that Mexico would spare no effort to oppose annexation. Besides, Cuevas clearly informed him that diplomatic relations could not be pursued in the wake of annexation. Furthermore, President Jose Herrera (1844- 1845) who replaced Santa Anna issued a proclamation by which he declared that Mexico would resist the proposed annexation by arms. Under such circumstances, Shannon realized that his presence in Mexico City was unnecessary, and in June, he left for the United States. Subsequently, the relations between the two countries were severed.

²³¹- By the congressional elections of 1843, Democrats overwhelmed Whigs in the House of Representatives by a majority of seventy congressmen. In the Senate, Whigs outnumbered Democrats by only three senators. George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit., p.123.

²³²- Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.185.

²³³- Ibid.

²³⁴- D. C, King., op. cit, p. 244.

In the meantime, Great Britain was still working to prevent annexation and her efforts to induce the Mexican government to acknowledge Texas finally brought positive results. In fact, on March 29, and before the news of the adoption of the joint resolution became known, the British minister at Mexico City, Pakenham secured from President Herrera a treaty by which Mexico would recognize the independence of Texas in case Texas was to remain independent and not become annexed to the United States. Without losing time, the British minister submitted the treaty to the Texan government for ratification²³⁵.

As a matter of fact, President Jones found himself in front of two different choices. Therefore, the Texan President called for a special session of Congress and a Convention to act upon the proposals. Both Congress and the Convention voted for annexation and rejected the treaty with Mexico. The Convention also drafted a state constitution similar to that of the other southern states for joining the United States. In October, the question was submitted to a popular vote in which the overwhelming majority of the Texans voted in favour of annexation and approved the constitution²³⁶.

Consequently, the Texan President sent the drafted constitution to the United States for approval. The U.S. Congress accepted it and voted to admit Texas the following month. On December 29, 1845, President Polk signed the Texas Admission Act by which Texas officially joined the Union as the 28th state²³⁷. On February 19, 1846, a ceremony took place in the Texan capital in which President Anson Jones turned over the reins of Texas to the state governor James Henderson. In this ceremony, Jones delivered his last speech as president declaring:

*“The final act in this great drama is now performed; the Republic of Texas is no more.”*²³⁸

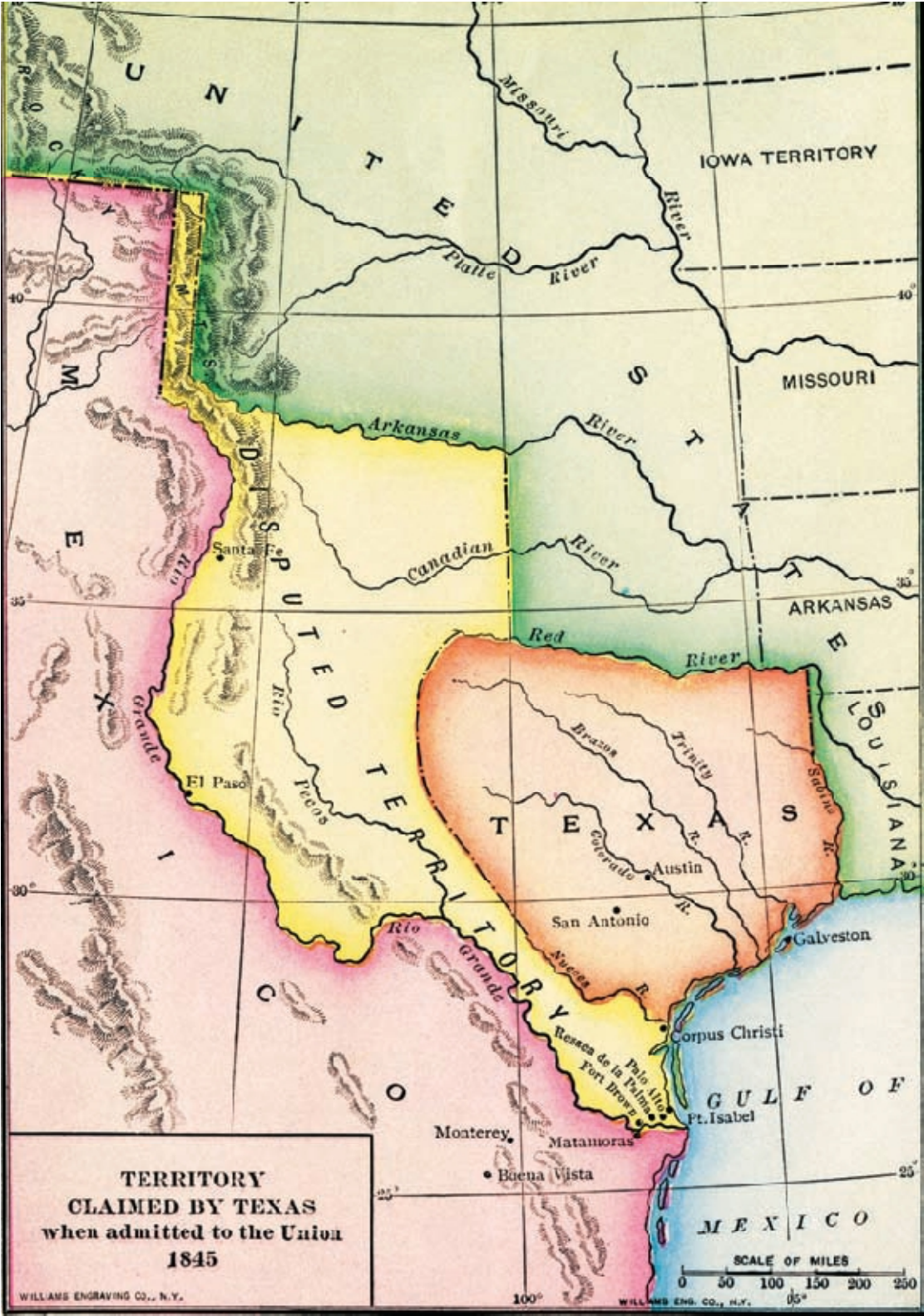
²³⁵- Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 174.

²³⁶- Texan citizens approved annexation by a vote of 4.254 to 267, and accepted the constitution by a vote of 4.174 to 312. Randolph, Campbell, op. cit., p.186.

²³⁷- Ibid.

²³⁸- Ibid

Map No 7: Texas Annexed to the United States, 1845



Source: <http://www.sonofthesouth.net/texas/annexation-texas.htm>

In Mexico, the annexation of Texas brought a great feeling of resentment, and the Mexican government, which maintained its protest, still refused to acknowledge the American claim as to the southwestern boundary of Texas. In fact, while the Mexicans insisted that the actual border was the Nueces River, the Texans, referring to the Treaty of Valesco of 1836, claimed the Rio Grande, about 150 miles (240 km) farther west and south, as the boundary. However, and given the unstable political and financial situation, the Mexican government was unable to put into practice its threat of war and no action was taken.

III- American Claims against Mexico

While the immediate cause of the war was the U.S. annexation of Texas, another factor had disturbed the peaceful relations between the two Republics. In the United States, there was an increasing demand for the settlement of long-standing claims arising from injuries and property losses sustained by American citizens in Mexico. These claims against the Mexican government constituted a subject of disagreement that would be another motive for the war. Our concern here is to find out the nature of these claims: how did the American Administration and the various ministers to Mexico deal with these claims and how was the Mexican reaction? This often reached dead-end and eventually culminated in the worsening of the relations between the two countries.

American claims on the Mexican government were mainly based on aggressions, actual or alleged²³⁹, on the people and property of the United States²⁴⁰. They were also based on the supplies that American citizens furnished to Mexican

²³⁹ - Many of the historians who wrote about this subject agree on the fact that some of the claims were either ill founded or exaggerated.

²⁴⁰ - The United States was not the only country that held claims against Mexico. There were also other countries mainly Spain, France, Holland, and Britain. Peter M. Jonas., *William Parrott, American Claims, and the Mexican War.*, in: The Journal of the Early Republic, Vol. 12, No. 2., Society for Historians of the Early American Republic., (Summer, 1992)., p. 221

rebels during their war against Spain²⁴¹. In addition, the war of Mexican independence had had a disastrous impact on the country. In fact, shortly after her independence, Mexico faced a bankrupt treasury, an interruption in the trading industry, and an economy in complete disorder.

In order to reorganize and improve the country's economic institutions, the Mexican government resorted to forced loans, confiscation of property, and higher taxes. Furthermore, some customs officials in the trading ports of Mexico were corrupt and resorted to the illegal seizure of goods belonging to foreign merchants and unjust imprisonment of foreign people²⁴². American citizens living in Mexico and those trading with that country were victims of this situation.

The first American attempt toward the adjustment of the claims of its citizens against Mexico goes back to 1826. However, the American government did not press upon this issue and it was soon abandoned. In fact, at that time the American government was more concerned with the settlement of other issues mainly a treaty of boundary and of commerce²⁴³. Furthermore, although the Mexican government recognized the claims as being valid, it rejected negotiations on the claims. This was sparked off by the disturbed economic conditions and financial burden of the Mexican Treasury.

However, American citizens became frustrated and considered that their government did not support their cause. Henceforth, by the beginning of the 1830's they started to put pressure on the government in order to get compensation for their loss. Hence, now that the two countries had concluded a Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and of Limits in 1832, the then President Andrew Jackson (1829 – 1837) turned his efforts toward the settlement of these pecuniary claims.

²⁴¹ - George Pierce, Garrison, op. cit., p. 189

²⁴² - Douglas V., Meed., *The Mexican War 1846 – 1848*, Osprey Publishing., Oxford., UK., 2002., p.17.

²⁴³ - James Morton , Callahan., op. cit., p. 91

Subsequently, he instructed the American minister at Mexico, Anthony Butler to resume negotiations on claims²⁴⁴. In 1833, Butler met with Juan Jose Maria Ortiz Monasterio, the acting Mexican minister for Foreign Relations, and presented many claims for sums of money, munitions, and services advanced to help the Mexican revolutionists. Butler also made a demand for redress for illegal seizure and sale of vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States²⁴⁵.

But at that time, the Mexican government was much preoccupied with an attempt to suppress the Texan revolt which had just began, and Mexico was still lacking money. In order to evade negotiations and delay payment, Monasterio responded that his government was ready to adjust the claims but on condition that the claimants should be present in person and with documents and proofs. Butler, aware of the bad financial condition of Mexico, realized that the Mexican government imposed such conditions only to evade negotiations. Nevertheless, the American minister notified American Secretary of State Louis McLane (1833 – 1835) of this unsatisfactory situation.

Therefore, in July 1834 and upon instruction from President Jackson who was outraged with this continuing delay, McLane instructed Butler to press the Mexican government as to obtain a clear and definite answer concerning the settlement of the claims. Furthermore, Butler was instructed to object Mexican conditions requiring the submission of the demands by the claimants themselves. The American minister submitted the new instructions to Monasterio urging him to give a clear and prompt response. However, the Mexican Minister objected the American demand maintaining that negotiations would be carried on the conditions that had been decided before.

When news of Butler's misfortune reached Washington, President Jackson grew disappointed. Accordingly, the American President decided to exert more

²⁴⁴ - Peter M. Jonas., op. cit., p. 219.

²⁴⁵ - James Morton, Callahan., op. cit., p. 92.

pressure, and in a threatening tone on the Mexican government. Upon Jackson's instructions, the newly Secretary of State, John Forsyth (1835 – 1841) recalled, as Callahan put it, "the unsuccessful Butler and replaced him by the more experienced public man, Powhatan Ellis"²⁴⁶.

On September 26, 1836, Ellis met with the Mexican minister for Foreign Relations to whom he presented a list of claims and urged him for an immediate payment. Ellis informed Monasterio that the American government had been patient and that policy of courtesy and forbearance encouraged more injuries upon American citizens and their property²⁴⁷. Furthermore, the American minister Warned Monasterio that in case the Mexican government did not give a satisfactory answer in five weeks, he would terminate his mission and leave Mexico.

On October 20, Ellis realized that there was little hope to get a favourable settlement for his demands. In fact, Mexico had just come out of a costly war with Texas and the Treasury was at a worst state. Besides, this war brought another political turmoil to the country, and the newly established government was trying to bring order at home. Notwithstanding Mexican's difficulties, Ellis addressed a note to Monasterio stating that his stay at Mexico City was useless, and informing him that he would leave the capital if an immediate answer concerning the claims was not given²⁴⁸.

On November 4, having received no answer, Ellis renewed his threat through another note in which he warned Monasterio that if he did not receive a satisfactory answer in two weeks, he would quit Mexico. Ten days later, Monasterio replied by informing the American minister that the Mexican government had agreed to satisfy all the claims that were evident and requested further details for other cases. Although Ellis was not convinced by this reply, he decided to wait for the settlement of the claims. Meanwhile, the Mexican authorities at the port of Vera Cruz seized

²⁴⁶ - Ibid., p.93.

²⁴⁷ - Ibid.

²⁴⁸ - George Pierce Garrison, op. cit., p. 190

two American ships: The American merchant brig “Fourth of July” and the sloop of war “Natchez”²⁴⁹.

This act along with the unsatisfactory response of the Mexican minister irritated Ellis who sent a note to Monasterio condemning the Mexican act in Vera Cruz and notifying him of the termination of his mission. Ellis left Mexico on December 27, and his departure made a complete breach in the diplomatic relations between the two Republics. In fact, the Mexican minister at Washington, Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza, blaming the American government for assisting the Texans in the war against Mexico, had already left the United States²⁵⁰.

In January 1837, President Jackson Received Ellis who gave him full information of his fruitless negotiations to secure adjustment of American claims because of Mexican’s dishonesty and delay. Mexican stubbornness to settle the claims and Gorostiza’s attitude toward the government exasperated Jackson. In February, the latter sent to Congress the reports of Ellis along with a note blaming the Mexican government for its refusal to adjust the claims, and recommended a naval attack. In his note, Jackson stated:

*“Mexico had heaped upon this country, its citizens, its officers, its government, and its flag....There is ample cause for declaring war and a warship should be sent to the Mexican coast with a peremptory demand for redress, and that if Mexico did not give a satisfactory response our navy should begin a violent reprisal”.*²⁵¹

The House and the Senate debated Jackson’s recommendation. While both Houses agreed with Jackson’s declaration, yet they did not want to precipitate the two countries into war. The Senate voted to give Mexico another chance by the presentation of a new demand accompanied with proofs. The House also voted for a last demand that should be made by a diplomatic official of highest rank.

²⁴⁹ - James Morton , Callahan., op. cit., p. 93

²⁵⁰ - Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 150.

²⁵¹ - Willis Fletcher, Johnson., op. cit., p. 383.

Consequently, Jackson left office without accomplishing any progress concerning the claims.

Such was the situation when Martin Van Buren (1837 – 1841) was elected as the eighth president of the United States. Nevertheless, Once Van Buren took office in March 1837, he sought to re-establish the diplomatic relations that had been broken a year before, and directed his efforts toward the settlement of all the questions of discord that were pending. In 1838, He appointed Robert Greenhow, as a special agent to Mexico in an attempt to the renewal of diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile, the number of claimants escalated mainly after the Texas revolution. Indeed, many American merchants complained that their ships had been attacked during the war. Others complained to the government that they were illegally arrested, and physically abused. Besides, many others complained that the Mexican authorities had confiscated their property²⁵².

As the grievances increased, Van Buren empowered Secretary of State John Forsyth (1837- 1841) to press upon the Mexican government in order to make an adjustment. Forsyth sent for the archives of the American legation in Mexico and from the latter's records, he prepared a list of 57 unadjusted claims which were considered as proved²⁵³. Meanwhile, diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico, broken in the latter part of President Jackson's Administration, had been renewed. By August 1839, Francisco Pizarro Martinez, the newly appointed Mexican minister to the United states, arrived at Washington, and two months later Ellis returned to his post in Mexico. Martinez informed Forsyth that his government instructed him to begin negotiations for the settlement of the claims. Nevertheless, Martinez expressed his government's desire for the necessity of the presence of an arbiter.

²⁵²- Peter M., Jonas., op. cit., p. 224.

²⁵³- Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 161.

In 1840, a commission including two Mexican officials, two Americans, and Von Roenne, the Prussian minister at Washington was established to settle the issue. The commission met from August 25, 1840 to February 25, 1842. It discussed claims amounting to \$11,850,589.49. After eighteen months of debate, disagreements, compromises, and an extremely heavy workload²⁵⁴, the commissioners awarded \$439,393.82 in judgment of eleven cases, while Von Roenne decided fifty-three cases for a total of \$1,586,745.86; thus, making a total sum of \$ 2,026,149²⁵⁵. This was too much for the Mexican Treasury. Nevertheless, the two countries agreed on the decision. Yet, the then American president, John Tyler (1841- 1844)²⁵⁶ instructed his Secretary of State, Daniel Webster to enter into further negotiations for the adjustment of the unsatisfied claims.

This partial adjustment of the claims along with the renewal of the diplomatic relations seemed to remove the causes of friction between the two countries. However, this was to be short lived. In fact, although Mexico agreed to pay for the American claims, yet after almost one year the Mexican government whose Treasury was bankrupt failed to meet its obligation. In the meantime, American claimants were not satisfied with the work of the commission. As a result, they organized themselves to form a stronger and more unified group in order to exert continuous pressure on the State Department²⁵⁷. It is important to mention that at that time, Taylor's Administration was more inclined to the question of Texas annexation and considered the question of claims as secondary in importance. Nevertheless, and due to the claimants' increasing protests, John Tyler instructed the American minister to Mexico, Waddy Thompson (1842- 1844) to urge the Mexican government to decide on another convention to examine the unsettled claims.

²⁵⁴ - The work of the commission was delayed by controversies concerning methods of procedure, the order of the examination of the claims whether alphabetical or chronological, and whether claimants had the right of access to the board., James Morton , Callahan., op. cit., p. 98.

²⁵⁵ - Ibid.

²⁵⁶ - During the 1840 election, Tyler was nominated Vice president. However, William H Harrison who was elected president died a month after his inauguration. Thus, Tyler became president. Ibid.

²⁵⁷ - Peter M., Jonas., op. cit., p. 228.

Thus, a second meeting took place on January 30, 1843, and ended in March by the signing of a convention for the settlement of the unadjusted claims. The convention provided for payment of the settled claims in equal quarterly instalments beginning in April 30 and continuing for a period of five years²⁵⁸. The convention also provided for another convention that should examine and decide not only all the unadjusted claims of the government and people of the United States against the Republic of Mexico, but also all the claims of the government and citizens of Mexico against the United States²⁵⁹.

A short time after this convention, Mexico started to make the first payments of the sum awarded. Yet, after the satisfaction of only three instalments, Mexico suspended payment. This was due to another change in government, and the poverty of the Mexican Treasury²⁶⁰. Furthermore, Mexico's willingness to pay was destroyed by American steps towards the annexation of Texas.

Subsequently, a new convention for the settlement of the unadjusted claims was signed on November 20, 1843. However, during this convention, the Mexicans insisted that the commission should meet in Mexico on the ground that the last one was held in the United States. The Mexican government also stated that the claims of the two governments against each other should be referred to it. The United States Senate refused the Mexican conditions. The Senate insisted upon Washington as the meeting place on grounds of convenience and justice. It also rejected the provision concerning claims of the governments arguing that Mexico had no claims against the United States²⁶¹. The Mexican government was too stubborn to accept American proposal, and refused to ratify the convention. Therefore, this lack of compromise put an end to the settlement of the claims, and Taylor left office without achieving progress as to the satisfaction of the growing American claims.

²⁵⁸ - George Pierce, Garrison, op. cit., p. 195.

²⁵⁹ - Ibid., p. 196.

²⁶⁰ - Ray T., Shurbutt., op. cit., p. 177.

²⁶¹ - George Pierce, Garrison, op. cit., p. 196.

Following the annexation of Texas, American President James Polk (1845 - 1849) decided to renew dialogue with the Mexican government. In October 1845, he appointed John Slidell as minister to Mexico to re-establish diplomatic relations between the two countries. Slidell was also asked to secure Mexican acknowledgment of the Rio Grande as the boundary between the two countries. In return, the American government would assume the unpaid claims that Mexico owed to American citizens.²⁶² However, Polk empowered Slidell to warn the Mexicans that in case they objected the boundary settlement and refused to redress the pecuniary claims, the American government should adopt coercive measures²⁶³.

Slidell arrived in Mexico City on December 6, 1845, and found Mexico in the midst of another political unrest. In fact, Mexican politicians were aware about Slidell's arrival and it was rumoured that Mexican President, Jose Joaquin Herrera intended to renew the diplomatic relations. Consequently, many politicians and military officers, whose anti American feeling was growing, disposed Herrera, and made General Mariano Paredes a new president.

. Notwithstanding this Mexican turmoil, Slidell sent a copy of his credentials to the new Minister of Foreign Relations Pena Y Pena informing him about the object of his mission and asking for an interview. By the mid of January, Pena Y Pena replied to Slidell notifying him of the Mexican government's refusal to receive him. In his note, the Mexican minister argued that the United States had violated the rights of Mexico by annexing Texas and declared that the Mexican government refused to make any concession. Slidell retired to Jalapa where he decided to remain in case the Mexican government would be inclined to negotiate. On March 15, Slidell realized that his continuing presence in Mexico was unnecessary since the Mexican government was unwilling to negotiate and to resume the broken diplomatic relations. Accordingly, he left Mexico and returned to the United States.

²⁶²- George. Pierce, Garrison., op. cit., p. 213.

²⁶³- James Morton , Callahan., op. cit., p. 152.

News of Mexico's refusal to receive and negotiate with Slidell aroused Polk's indignation. He realized that the Mexican government not only refused to settle the boundary issue but was also committing great injustices against American citizens by refusing to satisfy their claims. Therefore, Polk was aware that reparation was not to be made unless the United States government resorted to the use of force.

CHAPTER THREE

The War and Its Aftermath

The war came at a last resort after all diplomatic means had reached their ends without achieving any success. If war was the only option between both sides, to what extent were both sides better prepared so as to perform well in their military operations? This Chapter focuses on three main issues. First, some light will be shed on the armies of the United States and Mexico, their organisation, weapons, and tactics on the eve of the war, and the changes that both armies would adopt when they came to fight each other. Then we will try to discuss the conduct of war by the two countries and how the United States worked to achieve successfully her military operations. Finally, we will be concerned with the consequences of this war and its different impacts on both countries.

I- Americans and Mexicans' War Preparations

1- The American Army

Before coming at sword's point, the American Army appeared to be an insignificant force compared to that of Mexico and was unprepared for the war. In fact, after the peace that followed the 1812 War, the size of the army had been reduced because of the distrust of a standing army that was prevalent among the people²⁶⁴. Besides, the pay of \$ 7 per month for five years enlistment was far from attracting men to sign up²⁶⁵ and most of those who joined the army were poor, uneducated and had no other prospects in civil life. They came particularly from the southern states. Besides, almost 50 % of the recruits were foreign-born people mainly

²⁶⁴ - Anton, Adams., *The War in Mexico*, The Emperor's Press, Illinois., 1998., p. 150.

²⁶⁵ - Ron, Field., *Mexican – American War 1846 – 1848*, Brassey's Ltd, UK., 1997., p. 14.

from Ireland, Germany, France, and Italy who saw the army as their only prospect in life²⁶⁶.

In 1846, the army was authorized to have 8,619 men including 734 officers and 7,885 other ranks. However, this authorized strength was never reached due to recruiting difficulties, desertion, and sickness²⁶⁷. A month before the beginning of hostilities, the American Army had only 637 officers and 5,925 enlisted men²⁶⁸ directed by President James K. Polk, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and under the supervision and control of the Department of War. This small force was organized into eight regiments of infantry, four regiments of artillery and two regiments of cavalry or dragoons. During most of the time, most of the military troops were deployed in small detachments or isolated companies throughout the country in order to protect thousands of miles of frontier, to protect white settlers against Indian incursions and to man the seacoast forts²⁶⁹.

Supplementing these three branches of the regular army, there were other branches existing before the war namely the U.S Navy and the Ordnance Department. When the war broke out, Congress, which sought to improve the poor state of the army and meet the needs of the war, authorized the increase of the army strength through enlistment, increased the number of regiments, enlarged the strength of companies to 100 men, established a company of Sappers, Miners and Pontoniers. Congress also called the different governors of the American states to contribute with volunteers.

The leadership of the army fell into two general categories. On the one hand, there were the older and senior officers who were mostly experienced and self-

²⁶⁶ - Of the 50% of the foreign born soldiers, 24 %were of Irish origin., Christon I. Archer., *Discord, Disjunction, and Reveries of Past and Future Glories: Mexico's First Decades of Independence, 1810-1853.*, Mexican Studies., Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter, 2000)., University of California Press., p. 207.

²⁶⁷ - Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 14.

²⁶⁸ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 150.

²⁶⁹ - Ibid.

taught in the principles of warfare gained on the frontier posts and during the War of 1812, and the Seminole War of 1830's²⁷⁰. The second category was made up of the junior officers who were graduates of the U.S Military Academy at West point²⁷¹. These officers were better educated and trained in the art of war and were skilful in the fields of engineering, ordnance, topography and leadership. Although these officers had gained some experience when fighting Indians, they still did not prove themselves in war.

The internal organisation of the three main corps of the regular army which were the infantry, the cavalry, and the artillery, was managed in the same line. Each regiment in these three corps consisted of ten companies and was commanded by a colonel, and his staff which included a lieutenant colonel, a major, an adjutant, a quartermaster, a quartermaster sergeant, a sergeant major and two musicians²⁷².

1-1- The Infantry

a) Organisation

The infantry consisted of eight regiments numbered 1st to 8th and each regiment was made up of ten companies; eight of these were called battalion companies, and the other two were called flank companies. One of the flank companies was designated as grenadiers, to be posted on the right side of the regiment and the other flank company was light infantry or rifles to be posted on the left side of the regiment. On August 23, 1842, Congress issued an act by which it reduced the authorized strength of a company to fifty-five men including forty-two

²⁷⁰ - The second Seminole War was fought between 1835 and 1842. It was caused by the refusal of most Seminole Indians to abandon the reservation that had been specifically established for them north of Lake Okeechobee in Florida and to relocate west of the Mississippi River. Many of the senior officers took part to this war mainly General Zachary Taylor, General Winfield Scott., *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*, Delux Edition., U.K.,2001., CD Rom Edition.

²⁷¹ - Wet Point Academy, New York, is an institution of higher education for the training of commissioned officers for the U.S. Army. It was founded as a school for the U.S. Corps of Engineers on March 16, 1802, and is one of the oldest service academies in the world. Ibid.

²⁷² - The staff of each cavalry regiment had also two chief Buglers and a principal Teamster. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 156.

privates, with a staff of three commissioned officers and ten non commissioned officers²⁷³.

When war was declared, Congress which was conferred the power to declare war, raise and support armies, issued many acts so as to strengthen the infantry regiments. The first act was issued along with the declaration of war on May 13, 1846, when Congress authorized the raising of the number of privates in infantry companies to one hundred men. On January 12, 1847, another act was passed by Congress to encourage more recruits into the army. In fact, a \$12 bounty was offered for anyone who would enlist for five years or during the war, with half of the money to be paid up front and the other half when the recruit actually joined his regiment. On February 11, 1847, Congress authorized the establishment of nine new infantry regiments for the duration of war to be organized, as eight regular infantry regiments numbered 9th to 16th and one regiment of voltigeurs and foot riflemen.²⁷⁴. These new regiments were organized in the same line as the old ones.

b) Weapons

Infantry regiments were equipped in the same way and were issued three types of muskets. The most common weapon issued to infantrymen was the Model 1835 flintlock musket, which was a copy of the French Model 1822 musket. It was a smoothbore musket that was 0.69 calibre, was 57.75 inches long, weighed about ten pounds and it fired a cartridge that contained one round ball and three buckshot. In 1842, the army adopted two new model flintlock muskets. The first was identical in size and appearance to the 1835 model. It was a smoothbore musket which was equipped with a percussion cap system of firing which made the weapon easier to

²⁷³-The commissioned officers included a captain, a lieutenant and a second lieutenant. The non-commissioned officers consisted of four sergeants, four corporals and two musicians. Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 34.

²⁷⁴- The regiment of Voltigeurs and Foot Riflemen was made up of infantrymen, dragoons and artillerymen, but served as an infantry regiment., Donald P., Boyer., *The Infantry of the Regular Army*, in: Military Affairs, Vol. 11., No 2., Summer, 1947., p.104.

load and a bit more reliable²⁷⁵. The second was a musket generally known as the 'Windsor' or 'Jager' rifle. This weapon was quicker and easier to load, weighed 9 1/2 pounds and was 49 inches long with a 33 inch rifled barrel of 0.54²⁷⁶. All these weapons were accommodated to have a bayonet which was a 22 1/2 inches long sabre with a brass hilt that was fixed at the end of the barrel²⁷⁷. In addition to these muskets, soldiers of the infantry regiments carried also flintlock pistols, short swords and the 5- shot Colt revolvers.

c) Tactics

As far as tactics were concerned, the manual of instruction used by the American Army was General Winfield Scott's own "Infantry Tactics". This manual originated from the French "Reglement Concernant l'Exercice et les Manœuvres d'Infanterie du 1^{er} Aout 1791" which Napoleon had used to train his army, and to which Scott added some of his own material resulting in the latest version which was published in 1840²⁷⁸. The regulations were used to drill and train the troops in the basics of Napoleonic style of formations and manoeuvres.

One feature of these tactics was that two companies would constitute a division for purposes of performing evolution, since the regiments had to use columns for manoeuvring before deploying into a line formation for firing. The interval between regiments was from six yards up to twenty-four yards, and the distance between the regiments when formed in lines one behind the other could vary according to the nature of the battlefield and the type of action being fought. Another feature of the tactics stated that once on offensive actions, the second line of the corps was to be held close to be able to support the front line, and when on defensive position, the

²⁷⁵ - This model was not used widely because most of high officers complained that drill manuals taking into account this weapon were inexistent. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 153

²⁷⁶ - This model saw widespread use by both regulars and volunteers during the war and more than 38, 000 muskets were issued. This musket was also known, after the war, as the "Mississippi rifle" due to its use by the 1st Mississippi volunteers under command of Colonel Jefferson Davis., Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 37

²⁷⁷ - Philip, Katcher, and G. A., Embleton., *The Mexican American War 1846 – 1848.*, Osprey Publishing Ltd., Great Britain., 2000., p. 12.

²⁷⁸ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 154.

second line would provide a rallying point far enough in the rear to allow the first line to reform behind it in case it was driven back.

When in action, the tactics stipulated that skirmishers were to screen the movements of friendly troops and engage the enemy while the infantry moved into position of fire. The deployed skirmish lines could cause confusion and harass formed bodies of the enemy to allow their own formations to come up. Then, infantry columns would deploy into line formation and prepare for close range firefight to be followed by a decisive bayonet charge on the disordered enemy troops.

Another remarkable tactics stated that when the enemy was entrenched or in built up fortifications in cities, an entirely different plan of attack was to be used. Small detachments called storming parties would be prepared for the assault, and while the artillery would prepare the way with bombardment, smaller groups of the infantry, often carrying scaling ladders or other tools would try to enter to their objectives²⁷⁹.

1- 2- The Cavalry

a) Organisation

By the beginning of 1846, the United States had only two regiments of cavalry or Dragoons²⁸⁰ known as the 1st and 2nd Dragoons which were formed in the 1830's²⁸¹. Although inferior in manpower when comparing to the other branches of the army, the Dragoons were well mounted on large horses, had fewer immigrants in their ranks, and were well trained. They were considered to be superior to the

²⁷⁹ - Ibid., p. 155.

²⁸⁰ - 'Dragoons' was a form of light cavalry. Dragoons were essentially mounted infantrymen who would fight either on horseback as cavalry or as dismounted infantrymen. Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p.104.

²⁸¹ - The 1st regiment was formed in 1833, and the 2nd regiment in 1836. Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 45.

infantry and artillery men. Samuel E Chamberlain, a private in the cavalry corps, illustrated this superiority and stated:

*“...the Dragoons were far superior in materials to any other arm of the service. No man... would join the “Doughboys” when he could ride a fine horse and wear spurs like a gentleman...”*²⁸²

Each regiment was organized with ten identical companies like the infantry with each company having a staff of three commissioned officers, eleven non commissioned officers and fifty privates. On February 11, 1847, eight months after the beginning of hostilities, Congress passed an act which called for an additional regiment of cavalry that was to become known as the 3rd Dragoons.

b) Weapons

The primary weapon of the U. S. Dragoons was the Model 1840 cavalry sabre which had polished steel blade about 1^{1/4} inch wide at the hilt and was little less than 36 inches long. This sabre was commonly known as the "Old Wristbreaker" and was patterned after the French light cavalry sabre of 1822. Along with the sabres, the Dragoons carried three types of fire guns. These were the Johnson Model 1836 flintlock pistol, the U. S. Model 1842 smoothbore percussion pistol which varied only in size and shape from the Model 1836, and the U. S. Model 1843 Hall breechloader carbine²⁸³.

c) Tactics

As far as cavalry tactics were concerned, the War Department issued the first extensive manual of cavalry tactics in 1841. It provided for the training of troopers in every aspect of horsemanship and the evolution of cavalry. The tactics were based on the French manual which called for the drilling of cavalry in two ranks. The regiment of ten companies was formed into five squadrons with a captain commanding each one.

²⁸²- ‘Doughboys’ refers to the infantrymen. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p.155.

²⁸³- Ibid., p.157.

Cavalrymen were made responsible for a series of duties. The primary task of the dragoons was to scout for the army to discover enemy positions and movements. Second, when on the battlefield, the cavalry would guard the flanks of the infantry in line of battle as well as the rear areas. Then, they were ordered to attack and defeat enemy cavalry in order to keep it from posing any kind of threat to the army. At last, cavalry was to threaten the enemy infantry and line of supply as well as the defeated enemy²⁸⁴. Dragoons were also trained to fight mounted and dismounted; when dismounted, one out of every four men would be assigned as horse holders and sent to the rear with horses until they were needed again. When dismounted, the cavalry generally fought as skirmishers in an open formation and making use of cover if possible²⁸⁵.

1- 3- The Artillery

a) Organisation

During the 1830's, many officers realized that this branch of the army was far behind that of European nations in the use of light or "Flying" artillery and was lacking developed weapons. In 1839, and in order to improve the artillery, the then Secretary of War Joel Poinsett converted one company from each regiment into a light battery, known also as field battery or flying artillery, and established a camp of instruction, under the leadership of Major Samuel Ringgold, where the companies would train²⁸⁶. He also sent a board of officers to different European countries and after studying the artillery arm, they returned with samples of various types of cannons that were studied by the Ordnance Department²⁸⁷. In the first years of the 1840's and following these improvements and some reorganisation, the American

²⁸⁴ - Ibid

²⁸⁵ - Ibid

²⁸⁶ - Before the establishment of this school, artillerymen had been trained and fought as infantry against the Indians and became unaccustomed to the artillery techniques. Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 37.

²⁸⁷ - John. S. D., Eisenhower., *So Far from God: The U. S. War with Mexico 1846 – 1848.*, University of Oklahoma Press, U. S. A., 2000., p. 379

artillery became the most updated corps, and as John Eisenhower described it: “was the equal if not the superior of any artillery in the world”²⁸⁸.

In 1846, the U. S. artillery consisted of four regiments numbered 1st to 4th and were mostly confined to garrison duty in the different coastal fortifications. Each regiment had ten companies among which one company from each regiment served as field battery or light artillery with guns, and the other companies serving as infantry. Each artillery company was composed of three commissioned officers, twelve non commissioned officers, and fifty-four privates²⁸⁹. By an act of Congress dated March 3, 1847, Congress authorized the formation of a second light battery in each regiment.

b) Weapons

The few years that preceded the Mexican War had witnessed the modernization of the weapons of the artillery. The old iron pieces were replaced in 1840 with new cannon made of bronze. The obsolete gun carriages used since the Revolution were replaced with lighter and more mobile English style box trails²⁹⁰. There were three types of cannon with different pounders in use, guns, howitzers, and mortars²⁹¹. All these weapons were designed either for field use, siege purposes, or garrison duty. The artillery regiments also used different types of rockets. In addition, foot artillerymen were armed with a two-edged thrusting swords short model 1834, and light artillerymen carried long curved sabres²⁹².

²⁸⁸ - Ibid

²⁸⁹ - In addition to the eleven non commissioned officers existing in the infantry and cavalry companies, artillery companies added two artificers. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 159.

²⁹⁰ - Ibid., p. 160.

²⁹¹ - Guns are long barrelled and usually fire projectiles in a flat trajectory at high velocity. Howitzers are shorter barrelled and usually of lighter weight, but they can lob heavy projectiles in an arcing trajectory. Mortars are short barrelled and fire projectiles in a very steep trajectory. Ibid.

²⁹² - Philip, Katcher and G. A, Embleton., op. cit., p. 14.

There were several types of ammunition available to the gunners. “*Solid Shot*” was a traditional solid cannon ball. “*Shells*” were hollow iron projectiles filled with a fused powder charge. “*Spherical Case Shot*” was a hollow ball filled with a load scarp metal along with a powder charge. “*Canister*” was a tin cylinder filled with small shot and an exploding charge mainly used as an anti - personnel round. “*Grape Shot*” was also an anti-personnel weapon consisting of a cluster of solid balls between wooden blocks called sabots, held together by a cloth cover²⁹³. Ammunition supplies for these weapons were carried with the slow and heavy supply trains for the army, and a covered battery wagon, carrying tools and spare parts for equipment, and a travelling forge accompanied each artillery company into the field.

C) Tactics

Before the declaration of war, the U. S. artillery regiments proved to be well trained and better prepared for battle, and their tactics were original and efficient. The training manual for the artillery was divided into three sections including the “School of Piece”, which was based on tactics for manoeuvres for preparing for battle; “the School of the Cannoneer”, and the “School of the Field Battery”. The cannoneers were divided into groups of eight men and each group formed a platoon. These platoons were instructed how to be quick and efficient in moving, pointing, loading and firing the guns. The men were referred to as numbers one through six and right and left gunners. Number One and Two worked together to handle the sponge; number Three fired the piece using port-fire and linstock; numbers Four, Five, and Six supplied number Two with ammunition. The gunner on the right pointed the piece, and the gunner on the left tended to the vent²⁹⁴.

Artillery companies that served as field battery were allowed two hundred blank cartridges and one-third that number of shot or shell a year in order to practice

²⁹³ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 161.

²⁹⁴ - Ibid.

firing and were supervised by their commanders who recorded the results of their training. The purpose of these exercises was to give the officers and men the necessary knowledge so as to get ready to make effective use of their weapons and to determine the condition of readiness of their guns and carriages. Besides, artillerymen who served as infantrymen were taught with the same manual of the infantry regiments.

1-4- The Navy

The American Navy strong with its 72 ships and Corps of Marines played a significant role in the war on both land and at sea. On August 10, 1846, President Polk authorized the U.S. Navy to increase its strength from 7,500 men to 10,000 men for the duration of the war²⁹⁵. In May 1847, President Polk instructed Commandant of Marines Corps, Brigadier General Archibald Henderson to raise a Marine regiment to assist General Scott in his landing at Vera Cruz.

1- 5- The Ordnance Department

The Ordnance Department that was established in May 1812 consisted of officers, a limited number of enlisted men including sergeants who served as caretakers of ordnance and other stores at army installations. There were also some civilian employees in the different armouries and arsenals of the country. The Ordnance Department was responsible for the supply of weapons, ammunition, horses, and maintenance of tools and equipment²⁹⁶.

1- 6- U.S. Company of Sappers, Miners and Pontoniers

Congress authorized the U. S. Company of Sappers, Miners and Pontoniers in May 1846 as part of the Regular Army. Sappers were engineer soldiers, Miners were

²⁹⁵- Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 196

²⁹⁶- Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 59.

supposed to be elite engineers specialized in subterranean siege warfare of mines and countermines with tunnels for siege operations, and Pontoniers were made responsible for handling and building pontoon bridges and the improvement of roads. The company was composed of 100 men, and since it was considered to be an elite unit, recruits who enlisted for a five- year term service were drawn from native born Americans²⁹⁷ and were better paid. Lieutenant G. W. Smith, the Company's second commander stated:

“. . . With two exceptions, the enlisted men of the engineer company were native born, and all but four of them were raw recruits. Each of these four had served with credit during one or more terms of enlistment in the regular army. Three of them were promptly made sergeants, and the fourth was a musician (bugler).”²⁹⁸

1- 7- The Volunteers

In the United States, there existed a state militia whose establishment goes back to 1792. At that time, Congress issued a law stating that all men between the age of eighteen and forty-five were required to enrol into the militia. This law stipulated that the militiamen were to serve for only three months and their task was to execute the laws of the United States, to suppress insurrection, and repel invasions²⁹⁹. This meant that the militia was raised as a home defence and was not asked to participate in military operations on foreign soil. Subsequently, when the hostilities began, President Polk realized that such troops could not be employed for foreign excursions into Mexico, and subsequently, asked Congress the calling up of volunteers from the different states to reinforce the regular army.

When President Polk addressed Congress announcing the state of war between the United States and Mexico, both Houses of Congress passed a bill authorizing the various states to provide, in quotas, the army with 50,000 volunteers and

²⁹⁷ - Most of the recruits came from New York and other eastern states. Ibid., p. 52.

²⁹⁸ - Philip, Katcher and G. A., Embleton., op. cit., p. 17.

²⁹⁹ - Wayne, Cutler., *Essays on the Mexican War.*, Texas A&M University Press, Texas., 1986., p. 38.

appropriating \$10 million to meet the expenses³⁰⁰. For immediate service, 20,000 men were called from the western and southwestern states which were nearest to Mexico, and the other 30,000 volunteers would be raised by the other states and were to be held in readiness and await for call³⁰¹. The volunteers would be enlisted as companies, battalions, or regiments and organized in the same line as the regulars and were to serve for a period of twelve months or for the duration of war³⁰².

There was an overwhelming response to the call for volunteers, and few days following the act of Congress, governors of the different states put out the call for arms. Subsequently, men, most of them young in their late teens and early twenties from the different states and representing the various social backgrounds, including few foreign born men and many recent immigrants, flocked to the colours and soon the number of the volunteers went beyond 50,000 men that thousands of them had to be turned back³⁰³. This was illustrated by a volunteer from Illinois who declared:

*“Lead-miners from Galena; wharf rats and dock loafers from Chicago; farmers on unpurchased lands from the interior; small pattern politicians; village statesmen; briefless lawyers and patientless physicians; and a liberal allowance of honest, hard-fisted Suckers...Whatever their background or occupation, the volunteers were united by a spirit of adventure, eagerly anticipating a “grand jubilee in the halls of the Montezumas””*³⁰⁴.

Different reasons were behind the volunteers’ enthusiasm for joining the army. Some had a desire for personal glory and foreign adventure; others volunteered to avenge their friends or relatives who had lost their lives in the Texas Revolution of 1836. Some others were farmers and labourers who saw the army as a better job than what was available in the current weak economy, while some joined

³⁰⁰ - Philip, Katcher and G. A., Embleton., op. cit., p. 06.

³⁰¹ - Lee A., Wallace., *The First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers, 1846 – 1848.*, in: The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography., Vol. 77, No 1 Jan 1969. p. 46.

³⁰² - The first act of Congress stipulated that volunteers would enlist only for a period of 12 months, but by the end of 1846, the American government realized that the war would not end in a short time. Subsequently, Congress issued another act in February 1847 requiring from the volunteers to serve for a 12- month period or for the duration of war. Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 74.

³⁰³ - In many states, the number of the regiments that were called for were oversubscribed in few weeks. Illinois, for example, provided enough men for 14 regiments when only four were called, and Ohio took only two weeks to fill its 3,000 man quota. Robert W., Johannsen., *America's Forgotten War.*, in: The Wilson Quarterly. Volume. 20 Issue. 2. Spring 1996.

³⁰⁴ - Ibid.

simply to do something memorable and to have a break from routine³⁰⁵. The foreign-born volunteers saw the military service as a way to learn the language and customs of the new country so as to find employment in civilian life when they went out. The volunteers were to furnish their own uniforms and equipment and the United States government provided them with weapons. In return, volunteers would receive compensation for clothing and the same rate of pay as the regulars³⁰⁶

2- The Mexican Army

Unlike the American Army, though the Mexican Army on the eve of the war had never been tested when confronting with a foreign army, it was highly regarded by most historians who thought that it would win the war against the United States. This was illustrated by a “London Times” correspondent who in 1845 reported that the Mexican soldiers were superior to those of the United States³⁰⁷. It gained much experience fighting the war of independence, the Texan war, peasants, guerrillas, and Indians during decades of insurrections and revolutions, and among itself during the various coups d’etats that Mexico underwent³⁰⁸.

In 1846, The Mexican Regular Army counted 24,550 men, four times larger than that of the United States³⁰⁹. In 1845, following instructions from the then Mexican president and Commander-in- Chief of the Army, José Joaquín Herrera, the Minister of War Pedro Garcia Conde reorganized the army organically and geographically. Conde reorganized the twenty-two existing commandancies general³¹⁰ that had military authority throughout the country into six territorial divisions covering the various states and territories, and four commandancies

³⁰⁵ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p.152.

³⁰⁶ - Ibid.

³⁰⁷ - Ibid., p. 129.

³⁰⁸ - Ron, Field., op. cit. p. 104.

³⁰⁹ - René, Chartrand., *Santa Anna's Mexican Army 1821 – 1848.*, Osprey Publishing Ltd., Oxford., 2004., p. 07.

³¹⁰ - The four commandancies were: Mexico City, Yucatan, Chiapas, and the Californias., Ibid., p. 06.

general³¹¹. Organically, the Mexican Army was organized to consist of fifteen infantry regiments among which twelve were regular line infantry regiments, and three regular light infantry regiments; nine cavalry regiments; and three artillery regiments. Mexico had also a small navy and a Corps of Engineers.

The Mexican rank and files upon which the army depended a great deal were filled through conscription and most of the conscripts were drawn from the Indians and Mestizos who formed the lower classes of Mexico. The draft Law of January 26, 1839 stipulated that each department had to contribute its quota to the army. Men from 18 to 40 years old, who were single, childless, widowers, married not living with their wives, or childless married men were, at least 60 inches (1.52 metre) tall were all subject to compulsory military service for a six – year period. Exception was made to previous veterans, priests, college students, teachers, doctors, attorneys, elected officials and men engaged to be married³¹².

Supplementing the Regular Army was the Active Militia³¹³ that was composed of three infantry regiments, six cavalry regiments, twelve presidial cavalry companies³¹⁴ and units of coast guards. Commanded by permanent army officers, the militia was supposed to be activated only in times of emergency; but in reality, most units were retained on active duty indefinitely because of the undisturbed conditions of Mexico. There were also various units of the National Guard³¹⁵. The whole number of these organizations was estimated at more than 15,000 men³¹⁶.

³¹¹ - At the beginning of the hostilities, Mexico was made up of 19 states and 5 territories., Ibid.

³¹² - People who had money can be excepted from service in return for a payment. Ibid., p. 07.

³¹³ - The Active Militia is a territorial militia raised by the different Mexican states. It was not part of the Regular Army but was a semi permanent establishment. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 185.

³¹⁴ - These companies were part of the Active Militia and were posted in the frontier forts called "Presidios" which extended from Texas to California. Their duty was to prevent Indian incursions to the wealthy ranches in central Mexico. René, Chartrand., op. cit., p. 20.

³¹⁵ - The National Guard was established in 1845 when, after the annexation of Texas, the government realized that war was becoming possible. It consisted of unpaid volunteers who would be called on active service in case of war. These units were raised by the states and were under the authority of the state governors., Ibid., p. 53.

³¹⁶ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 141.

As far as the command of the Mexican Army is concerned, infantry and artillery corps of the Regular Army and the Active Militia were under control of the Chief Staff of the Army, who also commanded the Medical Corps. The corps of cavalry and that of the engineers were under the command of their respective directors and the National Guard units were under the control of their respective Mexican states.

2- 1- Infantry

a) Organisation

The infantry regiment was the basic unit of the Mexican Army. There were twelve infantry regiments divided into eight line infantry regiments numbered 1st to 8th and four light infantry regiment numbered 1st to 4th. These regiments were organized in the same lines. Each regiment was led by a colonel, and had two battalions; one commanded by a lieutenant colonel of the regiment and the other one was led by a commandant. The headquarters staff of the infantry regiment consisted of a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, commandant, two second adjutants, two lieutenants, two ensign sub- lieutenants as commissioned officers, and two sergeants, two chaplains, a drum major and bugle corporal, two pioneer corporals, sixteen sappers and two armourers as non commissioned officers. Besides, each regiment had a second sergeant as a tailor and three corporals acting respectively as blacksmith, mason and baker³¹⁷.

The battalion consisted of six fusilier companies, one rifle company known as Voltigeurs, and one company of Grenadiers. Each of the battalion's company had four commissioned officers, fourteen non commissioned officers, and eighty-three

³¹⁷ - Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 115.

privates³¹⁸. In addition, the fusilier and grenadier companies had a drummer, a bugler and a fifer, while the riflemen had four buglers³¹⁹.

Along with these permanent troops, there was the Grenadier Guards of the Supreme Powers, the largest unit organisation of the Active Militia. It was established in December 1841, and constituted of 1,200 men divided into companies of 150 men each³²⁰. The Active Militia also supplied the army with a number of regional and reserve units which were used for garrisons and other varied duties³²¹. In September 1846, when war was raging, four special militia battalions were raised in order to protect the wealth and interests of the people of Mexico City³²². Besides these various organisations, a Foreign Legion, acting as part of the army was created by a presidential decree in June 1847. This two- company infantry battalion was made part of the Active Militia and consisted from those foreign-born soldiers who deserted the American Army.³²³

b) Weapons

The armament situation in Mexico on the eve of the war was very poor, and although Mexico had produced excellent quality of muskets and pistols before getting independence from Spain, the machinery was no longer in use as early as 1834³²⁴. Furthermore, most of the weapons that were in Mexico were bought from Spain and Great Britain and were considered out of date. To remedy to this situation, the Mexican government resorted to get loans from Great Britain in order to purchase weapons from Europe, and between 1842 and 1844, Mexico purchased

³¹⁸ - Philip, Katcher and G. A, Embleton., op. cit., p. 23

³¹⁹ - René, Chartrand., op. cit., p.27.

³²⁰ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 132.

³²¹ - René, Chartrand., op. cit., p. 50.

³²² - These were the Victoria Battalion which was composed of merchants and professional men, the Hidalgo Battalion made up of clerks, and the Bravo and Independencia Battalions which were made up of artisans. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 132.

³²³ - The Foreign Legion originated from the San Patricio Battalion which entered the war as an artillery unit before it was merged into the Infantry Corps., Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 132

³²⁴ - Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 111.

some 20,000 muskets, 3,000 carbines, 6,000 infantry sabres and 3,000 cavalry sabres³²⁵.

Infantrymen were outfitted with various weapons. The fusiliers and grenadiers companies were supplied with the 0.75 calibre smoothbore flintlock Brown Bess muskets that were made in Great Britain. These muskets weighed nine and a half pounds with barrels from thirty nine to forty two inches in length and their range was less than 100 yards. These muskets were provided with bayonets of about 15 inches in length with a triangular- sectioned blade attached to a cylindrical socket that would fit on the end of the musket barrel³²⁶.

Rifle companies were armed with British Baker rifles, a weapon similar to the Brown Bess, but with a rifled bore, a pistol grip, sights and a brass patch box in the stock used to store tools and spare flints. It was a flintlock weapon, 46 inches long with 13 inches barrel weighing nine and one-half pounds with a 0.62 bore and accurate to several hundred yards. It took a brass-hilted sabre bayonet³²⁷. Light infantries were issued British light infantry muskets known as carbines, which were lighter and of smaller calibre than the standard musket. The powder used by the infantry was locally made and was of poor quality and to make it up, an extra powder was added to each cartridge³²⁸. All infantrymen were also equipped with short sabres with curved blades.

c) Tactics

The tactics that were used by the Mexican infantry were based on two manuals, the light infantry tactical manual that was issued in 1841, and the Line Infantry manual of 1843. The line infantry tactics was written by a headquarters staff attaché, Captain Juan Ordonez and was copied from Spanish and French sources.

³²⁵ - Fire arms were imported from Great Britain and the sabres were from France. René, Chartrand., op. cit., p. 07.

³²⁶ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 133.

³²⁷ - Philip, Katcher and G. A, Embleton., op. cit., p. 24.

³²⁸ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 134.

The main tactics stated that once in a battlefield, the infantry had to use a frontal attack with the soldiers firing the muskets as they advanced and then closing with the bayonet. This manual was also based on the use of flexible tactics combining infantry, cavalry and artillery.

The main tactics used in the light infantry manual stated that the mission of the light infantry was to clear the way for the line infantry units and then follow them. At the end of the battle, they were to follow up a victory by pursuing the enemy but if defeated, they would act as a rear guard to cover the retreat of the army³²⁹. In 1844, a system of bayonet drill developed by the French Army in 1836 was also adapted for tactical use in the Mexican Army by Lieutenant Colonel Jose Lopez Uraga who added some new manoeuvres that were not in the original document. This system of bayonet drill which contained twenty two basic positions to be learned would give the individual soldier more agility and confidence with his weapon³³⁰. There was also a manual of arms for teaching infantrymen the skills of musketry.

2-2 The Cavalry

a) Organisation

The Mexican permanent Army cavalry that would face the Americans was the favourite arm of service of the Mexican officers and was considered as the most colourful and impressive corps of the army. Its riders were skilled horsemen and included soldiers who excelled in fighting with lances and lassos. The cavalry corps was reorganized in 1839 to consist of eight line regiments numbered 1st through 8th, and a light cavalry regiment which was established in 1841³³¹. Along with the

³²⁹ - Ibid

³³⁰ - Ibid., p. 135.

³³¹ - The cavalry corps was brought from twelve numbered regiment in 1826, to six regiments bearing the the names of the notable sieges and battles against Spain in 1833, and then to eight in 1839. René, Chartrand., op. cit., p. 13.

regiments, many cavalry units such as the Tulancingo Cuirassier squadron, the Jalisco Lancers two squadrons, and the Hussars of the Guard of the Supreme Powers two squadrons³³² were raised in 1843. The headquarters staff of the cavalry regiment was made up of a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, two squadron commandants, four adjutant lieutenants, four guidonbearer ensigns, and a chaplain. It had also a surgeon, a first sergeant marshall, one cornet major and one cornet corporal, three grooms, two second sergeants as saddler and armourer, two corporals as tailor and carpenter, and three trouperers as shoemaker, mason and baker.

A cavalry regiment was made up of four squadrons, each one having two troops or companies. A company consisted of a three commissioned officers, fifteen non commissioned officers, and fifty-two troopers including eight dismounted³³³. Supporting the permanent cavalry regiments was the Active Militia that consisted of six regiments³³⁴, which were organised in the same line as the regular cavalry, seventeen squadrons, six companies of coast guards cavalry, and twelve presidial companies³³⁵.

b) Weapons

The Mexican cavalrymen were armed with swords, sabres, carbines, and pistols. The carbine the cavalry used was a British made short, smooth-bare looking musket. It weighed six and one-half pounds with a twenty inch long barrel³³⁶. In addition to these weapons, each company had twelve men armed with lances. The lance was a long, wooden-shafted spear with an iron point and cross toggles. It was

³³² - These units, which were originally established as part of the Active Militia, were incorporated into the regular army by President Santa Anna. The Hussars of the Guard of the Supreme Powers served as presidential escort of Santa Anna, and was made regiment in July 1846. Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 123.

³³³ - René, Chartrand., op. cit., p. 14.

³³⁴ - These were the regiments of Queretaro, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Oaxaca, Morelia, and the Light Mounted Regiment of Mexico., Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 136.

³³⁵ - Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 131.

³³⁶ - Ibid., p. 136.

about eight feet in length and had a small red pennon on its end, designed to flutter in an enemy horse's eyes and unnerve it³³⁷. Officers of the cavalry carried swords.

c) Tactics

As it was the case for the infantry, the Mexican cavalry used the Spanish outdated tactics from manuals printed in Mexico in 1814 and 1824. These tactics were mostly based on teaching troops how to move and how to keep positions in different terrains, and soldiers were trained to respond to trumpet calls. Mexican cavalrymen were also provided with carbine drill that was similar to that of the infantry³³⁸.

2- 3- The Artillery

a) Organisation

On the eve of war, the Mexican permanent artillery which was attached to the Corps of Engineers was made up of 266 officers and 4,989 men organized into three brigades of foot artillery and one brigade of horse or mounted artillery, along with three artificer companies, two train companies, and five standing foot companies for garrison duties. Besides the regular troops, there were eleven companies of Active Militia artillery totalling 1,152 men and deployed in the larger provincial towns and seaports³³⁹. The artillery corps headquarters consisted of twenty-five senior officers with the insignia of squadron or battalion commanders, a paymaster section, and a company of arsenal workers. This corps was under the command of a brigadier general who served as director.

Each of the three foot artillery brigades consisted of six companies and was commanded by a headquarters staff consisting of five senior and six junior officers,

³³⁷ - Philip, Katcher and G. A, Embleton., op. cit., p. 29.

³³⁸ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., pp. 137- 138.

³³⁹ - The Active Militia artillerymen were trained by the regular artillery personnel., Ibid.

a captain paymaster, a chaplain, a surgeon, a first brigade sergeant, a drum major, a bugle major, an armourer, eight pioneers with one corporal, twelve musicians and two bandmasters. Each company of the foot artillery brigade consisted of six companies having three officers, sixty-six artilleryists, twenty non-commissioned officers, two buglers, two drummers and sixty-six artilleryists³⁴⁰. The mounted brigade had the same staff as for foot, but with an addition of a trumpet major, a groom marshal, an armourer, and two saddlers³⁴¹. The mounted brigade consisted of six companies, each with four officers, twenty non-commissioned officers, two trumpeters, sixty-six gunners, eighty-eight saddle horses and fifty draft horses.

b) Weapons

When independence was achieved in 1821, Mexico found herself with a sizeable artillery park including guns and field batteries which were mostly made by Spain. Rene Chartrand estimated the number of guns fit for service in Mexico in 1846 at about 150 gun fields of different size and types, a number of mortars, few Congreve rockets³⁴², and some locally manufactured cannons³⁴³. The powder for these guns was locally produced.

c) Tactics

Artillerymen were considered to be well trained since most of their officers were professionally educated and attended the prestigious Military Academy of Chapultepec³⁴⁴ where they were taught by foreigners who did their service in European armies. In December 1843, a presidential decree was issued aiming at the

³⁴⁰ - Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 128.

³⁴¹ - This company's strength was authorized in peacetime. In wartime, it was to rise to five officers, twenty-two non-commissioned officers, two buglers, two drummers, and eighty-six artilleryists. Ibid.

³⁴² - The rockets were British made and bore the name of their inventor, Sir William Congreve (1772 – 1828). Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 240.

³⁴³ - René, Chartrand., op. cit., p. 45.

³⁴⁴ - The Military Academy was formed in 1823 in Perote, Vera Cruz and then moved to Chapultepec in 1841. Graduates of this Academy followed a three year curriculum studies including mathematics, chemistry, physics, artillery, fortification, architecture, astronomy, and land surveying. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 139.

creation of a special school for artillery, but it was never established because of lack of money³⁴⁵. Artillerymen learned tactics of manoeuvring, pointing, and firing the guns.³⁴⁶ However, the lack of guns in the army prevented men of this corps to be able to use them effectively.

2-4- The Navy

At the beginning of the Mexican-American War, the Mexican Navy consisted of fewer than a dozen small vessels. Mexico's navy consisted of sixteen vessels: eleven schooners, three brigs, and two steamers. Most of these ships were purchased from Great Britain or the United States. In 1845, Mexico purchased two other British-built steamers, the "*Montezuma*" and the "*Guadalupe*", but the Mexican government defaulted on their contracts, and in April 1846, these ships were returned to their manufacturers³⁴⁷. The navy had a corps of Marines including seven infantry companies and one company of artillery which were detached in the main seaports of Mexico³⁴⁸.

2- 5- The Corps of Engineers and Sappers

The Corps of Engineers and Sappers was founded on June 30, 1838. Its headquarters consisted of a brigadier general who served as director and who was assisted by three lieutenant colonels, four captains, two lieutenants and eighteen sub-lieutenants³⁴⁹. This corps, which was considered as the elite of the Mexican Army,³⁵⁰ consisted of ten senior and forty junior officers and a sapper battalion of 600 men organized into six companies. The first and second companies were of miners and

³⁴⁵ - René, Chartrand., op. cit, p. 45.

³⁴⁶ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 139.

³⁴⁷ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 195.

³⁴⁸ - René, Chartrand., op. cit., p. 50.

³⁴⁹ - Ibid., p. 48.

³⁵⁰ - Most of the engineers of this corps graduated from the Military Academy. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 139.

pontoniers, and served as infantry or artillery³⁵¹. The other four companies were designated sappers and had three officers, five non-commissioned officers, two drummers, a fifer, and seventy-eight sappers³⁵². The main task of this corps consisted in clearing obstacles from the path of the army, repairing and opening roads, constructing bridges and fortifications, laying mines, and conducting siege operations³⁵³.

II- The Military Operations

1- Prelude to the War

Before Polk addressed his war message to Congress, skirmishes had already begun. In January 1846, soon after the state of Texas was officially admitted into the United States, and following the Mexican government's refusal to receive and negotiate with Slidell, the American President decided to act. He ordered General Zachary Taylor, then commanding troops of the Army of Observation in Louisiana³⁵⁴, to lead his army into the disputed area of the Rio Grande, 150 miles south of the Nueces River in order to protect Texas from any Mexican probable negative reaction. Although Polk ordered Taylor to keep a peaceful attitude and not to treat Mexico as an enemy unless her army committed an open act of hostility, his main objective, according to some historians, was, actually, to provoke the

³⁵¹ - Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 129.

³⁵² - Ibid

³⁵³ - Ibid

³⁵⁴ - In April 1844, President Tyler, at the demand of Texan President Sam Houston who expected that the annexation of Texas would result in a conflict with Mexico, ordered General Taylor with two infantry regiments and a regiment of cavalry to be called The Army of Observation to Fort Jesup in Louisiana to watch for a probable Mexican hostile reaction. When this army was strengthened and ordered to the Rio Grande, it became known as "The Army of Occupation". John. Edward, Weems., *To Conquer a Peace: The War Between The United States And Mexico.*, Doubleday& Company, INC., New York., 1974., p. 29.

Mexicans to begin the war. This was even illustrated by Ulysses Grant, then Lieutenant in Taylor's army, who declared later on:

*"...The presence of United States troops on the edge of the disputed territory furthest from the Mexican settlements was not sufficient to provoke hostilities. We were sent to provoke a fight, but it was essential that Mexico should commence it."*³⁵⁵

In March, Taylor and his 3,500 men, including four infantry regiments, four artillery regiments, and one regiment of dragoons, and representing almost half of the entire United States Regular Army, reached the town of Point Isabel where they established a supply base in the coast so as to have a supply link with the navy³⁵⁶. Then, Taylor and his men moved 30 miles southward, and on March 28, reached the north bank of the Rio Grande, opposite to the Mexican town of Matamoros, where they built a strong fort called Fort Texas.

News of the U.S. troops' arrival to the north bank of the Rio Grande disappointed the Mexican officials who claimed that the Nueces River was the boundary between Texas and Mexico. President Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga considered this fact as an act of aggression, and immediately issued a War Message on April 12, declaring that Mexican troops would defend the Mexican territory in a "defensive war" against the United States, and ordered the strengthening of the Mexican Army at Matamoros, along the Rio Grande.

Accordingly, a force of more than 6,000 men including various regiments and active militia units under the leadership of General Mariano Arista arrived to Matamoros. On April 20, General Arista, sent a message to Taylor ordering him to withdraw to the Nueces River, but the U.S. General politely refused arguing that he could not withdraw without orders from his government. Accordingly, the Mexican commander on the Rio Grande notified Taylor that hostilities had commenced and both armies were prepared to fight, and few days later the first clash between the two forces would take place.

³⁵⁵- <http://www.militaryhistoryonline.com/19thcentury/articles/mexicanamericanwar>.

³⁵⁶- John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 35

Here, it is noteworthy to mention that before skirmishes began, Taylor's army witnessed depletion in its ranks because of desertion. In fact, many foreign born soldiers, mainly Irish born soldiers resented the harsh conditions they were living in the army and the anti-foreigner feelings of the Americans toward them. Subsequently, many of these soldiers, who were encouraged by Mexican officers from the opposite side of the Rio Grande, promising them extensive land grants, deserted the American camp and joined the Mexican side.³⁵⁷

The first fight took place on April 25, when Captain Seth Thornton with two cavalry companies including sixty-three men were sent by General Taylor on a reconnaissance party a few miles upstream from Fort Texas. On their way, the Americans were ambushed by a Mexican force of 1,600 cavalymen under the command of General Anastasio Torrejon who had crossed the Rio Grande the night before. In the skirmish that followed, 12 Americans were killed, 4 were injured, and the rest including Seth Thornton were arrested³⁵⁸. When, the next day, word of Thornton's fate reached the American camp, Taylor immediately reported the action to Washington stating that:

*“ . . . I regret to report that a party of dragoons sent out by me... became engaged with a very large force of the enemy, and after a short affair in which sixteen were killed and wounded, [the party] appears to have been surrounded and compelled to surrender. Not one in the party has returned, except a wounded man sent in this morning by the Mexican commander. . . . Hostilities may now be considered as commenced. . . ”*³⁵⁹

On May 01, after Thornton's downfall and fearing that the Mexicans would attack the Americans' main supply base of Point Isabel, Taylor left Major Jacob Brown with a force of 500 men, consisting of two artillery batteries and the 7th infantry regiment to defend Fort Texas and led the main body of his army to protect Point Isabel³⁶⁰. However, when Taylor's men were at Point Isabel, General Arista crossed the river with all his men and occupied the road between Taylor and Fort

³⁵⁷ - Throughout the course of the war, the total number of men that deserted the American army, both regulars and volunteers was more than 9,200. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 19.

³⁵⁸ - Ibid., p. 64.

³⁵⁹ - Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 731.

³⁶⁰ - J, Frost., *The Mexican war and Its Warriors*, H. Mansfield, New Haven, U.S.A., 1848. p. 30.

Texas. Upon crossing the Rio Grande on May 3, Arista ordered General Ampudia to attack Fort Texas. The attack lasted for five days, but due to the effective techniques in building and fortification, the fort resisted the assault³⁶¹. The siege of the fort, in which only two Americans were killed including Major Brown, and 13 were injured, ended on the evening of May 8, when General Ampudia received orders from General Arista to withdraw from the fort and join him to attack Taylor³⁶².

Simultaneously, General Taylor and his men who were reinforcing the fort at Point Isabel were able to hear the beginning of the cannon bombardment of Fort Texas, about 25 miles away. On May 8, after securing Point Isabel, Taylor with 2,288 soldiers including infantry, cavalry and artillery regiments along with 200 wagons of the supply train and two 18- pound guns left Point Isabel back to Fort Texas so as to relieve their friends³⁶³. On the road back to Fort Texas, the U.S. Army would engage the Mexicans in the two first battles of the war.

The first one took place on May 8, at Palo Alto between Fort Texas and Point Isabel. In this battle that lasted all the afternoon, the outnumbered Americans strongly resisted Arista's army of more than 4,000 men thanks to Major Samuel Ringgold's developed artillery which shredded the Mexican ranks and inflicted heavy losses to the enemy³⁶⁴. The battle ended in the night when Arista's troops demoralized by the unexpected strength of the U.S. Army and its deadly artillery withdrew southward after suffering enormous casualties including more than 200 killed and 400 wounded and 26 missing*. Although the result of this battle was indecisive, the American troops claimed victory, since they pulled back the Mexican troops. The cost to the American Army was only 9 killed, 44 wounded, and 2 missing³⁶⁵.

³⁶¹ - John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 75.

³⁶² - Matt M., Matthews., *The U.S Army on the Mexican Border: A Historical Perspective.*, Combat Studies Institute Press, Kansas., 1959., p. 19.

³⁶³ - J, Frost., op. cit. 34.

³⁶⁴ - Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 745.

*- The number of Mexican loss differs from one source to another. According to some sources, between 400 and 500 Mexican soldiers may have died on the battlefield.

³⁶⁵ - Major Ringgold who established the light artillery was among the dead. J, Frost., op.cit. p. 45.

The second battle occurred the next day, when Taylor and his 2,222 men³⁶⁶, decided to follow Arista's troops who had occupied an advantageous defensive position at a dry creek bed called Resaca de la Palma, 3 miles north of the Rio Grande³⁶⁷. Notwithstanding Arista's strong position, Taylor launched an immediate assault and the U.S. troops attacked the unprepared Mexicans³⁶⁸ with a mixed force of infantrymen, cavalrymen, and mobile artillerymen. Three hours after the beginning of the fighting, the Mexicans suffered grievous losses, as their line was completely broken, and their artillery had been captured³⁶⁹. Subsequently, the defeated and panicked Mexicans started to flee southward across the Rio Grande to Matamoros, and as they hurried to cross the Rio Grande in order to escape the Americans who were pursuing them, many soldiers drowned in the river.

While the American casualties had been lighter with 49 dead, and 83 injured³⁷⁰, Mexican loss was greater in the sense that 700 men were killed and 400 were wounded³⁷¹. In addition, the Americans took many prisoners, and seized an impressive amount of artillery, ammunition, small arms, mules, horses, and oxen³⁷². This battle was a complete and decisive victory for the U.S. Army, since the defeated Mexican troops were no longer north of the Rio Grande³⁷³. The next day,

³⁶⁶- Before taking his decision, Taylor called a council of war with his senior officers and although seven officers of ten did not recommend an attack from fear of being outnumbered by the Mexicans, Taylor decided to pursue Arista in order to help the Americans at Fort Texas. John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 81.

³⁶⁷- The ground that Arista chose was a dry riverbed with heavy chaparral before it. This new location would protect his troops from the kind of artillery fire they had endured in Palo Alto. Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 745.

³⁶⁸- According to Nathaniel Stephenson, Arista had made no preparation, since he did not expect the Americans to attack that day. Nathaniel W., Stephenson., op. cit., p. 196.

³⁶⁹- John. Edward, Weems., op. cit. p. 140.

³⁷⁰- Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 29.

³⁷¹- Lieutenant George G. Meade, an engineering officer under Taylor Meade also estimated that 1,000 to 2,000 Mexican soldiers deserted the army during this battle. Matt M., Matthews., op. cit., p.21.

³⁷²- On May 11, the two armies exchanged the prisoners and the wounded. The American prisoners consisted of Captain Seth Thornton and his men. Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 233.

³⁷³- Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 29.

the Americans proceeded to Fort Texas³⁷⁴ where they joined the troops that had withstood the Mexican bombardment and where Taylor and his officers began to plan an immediate attack on Matamoros, to where the Mexicans fled.

2- Official Declaration

In the meantime, on the evening of May 9, the dispatch that Taylor sent to Washington reached President Polk who, still unaware of Taylor's victory, immediately prepared a war message that he presented to Congress on May 11 (see Appendix I.). In his address to Congress, the U.S. President put the blame on Mexico declaring that the Mexicans had trespassed American territory and shed American blood upon the American soil. Polk urged Congress for a declaration of war against Mexico. Accordingly, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 173 to 14 declared for war, and the following day, the Senate voted 40 to 2 in favour of war with Mexico.

Yet, it is important to mention that during the vote some Congressmen and Senators, mainly abolitionists and members of the Whig Party opposed the war. Congressman and former president John Quincy Adams argued that the war on Mexico was wished by Polk only to gain new territory in order to expand slavery. Therefore, he voted against this war and declared it as "a most unrighteous war"³⁷⁵. Another Congressman, Joshua Giddings who opposed the war clearly declared:

*"In the murder of Mexicans upon their own soil, or in robbing them of their country, I can take no part either now or hereafter. The guilt of these crimes must rest on others... I will not participate in them".*³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴- Taylor issued a General Order No 62 by which Fort Texas was renamed "Fort Brown", in honour of its commander, Major Jacob Brown who had been killed during the siege. John. Edward, Weems., op. cit. p. 143.

³⁷⁵- D. C., King., op. cit., p. 245.

³⁷⁶- Patricia, Kaufman., *Opposition to the Mexican War of 1846.*, Magazine of History., Vol. 8, No. 3, Peacemaking in American History., Organization of American Historians., Spring, 1994., p. 46.

Another war dissenter, the Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, Thomas Hart Benton argued that the United States was the aggressor and stated:

*“...the war should not take place...the border of Texas was actually the Nueces River and not the Rio Grande”.*³⁷⁷

Furthermore, the abolitionists strongly argued that the war was unjustified and was waged solely to extend and perpetuate the institution of slavery. However, the group that opposed the war was minor and the majority of the members of Congress approved Polk’s Bill, and on May 13, 1846, the United States officially declared war on Mexico³⁷⁸.

The next day, Polk held a meeting with Secretary of War William Marcy, and the officer in Chief of the U.S. Army, General Winfield Scott to discuss a plan of war he had drawn himself. Polk revealed to his officers that he desired a short war in which the main objectives were to seize California which Polk wanted to acquire in return for the unadjusted claims³⁷⁹, and New Mexico. In the meantime, Polk suggested that an American force would march into the northern provinces of Mexico and hold them so as to demonstrate to the Mexican authorities the vulnerability of their country and to oblige them to come to favorable terms quickly and put an end to the war³⁸⁰. Marcy and Scott agreed with Polk’s plan and, subsequently, an outline including three phases emerged.

The first stage would be performed by General Taylor and his men. The latter would advance westward from Matamoros to seize the city of Monterrey, the capital of the state of Nuevo Leone, which was a strategic point to further progress in northern Mexico. The second and third stages would be carried on by Colonel Stephen W. Kearny’s Army of the West which would start an expedition from Fort

³⁷⁷ - Ibid., p 48.

³⁷⁸ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 291.

³⁷⁹ - George Pierce, Garrison., op. cit. p. 229.

³⁸⁰ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 36.

Leavenworth, Kansas to occupy the province of New Mexico, and then to continue westward to California³⁸¹.

Along with these expeditions, Polk made Secretary of Navy George Bancroft responsible for two missions. First, he was to send The Home Squadron under command of Commodore David E. Conner to blockade the main Mexican ports in the Gulf coast in order to prevent the enemy from importing munitions. Then, he would order The Pacific Squadron, under command of Commodores John D. Sloat and Robert Stockton who would support General Kearny's land operation³⁸². Following Polk's strategy, the U.S. Army would engage the Mexicans in nine different battles through northern and western Mexico.

a) The Northern Campaign

The first battle was inaugurated by General Taylor and his Army of Occupation. Following Polk's instructions dated June 12, and aiming at the occupation of Monterrey, Taylor's men crossed the Rio Grande and entered the town of Matamoros on June 18. There, the American troops found that the Mexican Army had fled westward to Monterrey, the capital state of Nuevo Leon. Taylor was received by the defenseless civilian authorities who informed him about the retreat of the Mexican Army, and offered him the surrender of the city³⁸³.

A short time after the occupation of Matamoros, Taylor was joined by the first wave of reinforcement including 3,000 regulars and 3,000 volunteers under the command of Brigadier General William Wool³⁸⁴. On August 12, when the training of the newly arrived force was completed, Taylor headed for Monterrey. In the

³⁸¹ - John. Edward, Weems., op. cit. p. 154.

³⁸² - Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 753.

³⁸³ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 30.

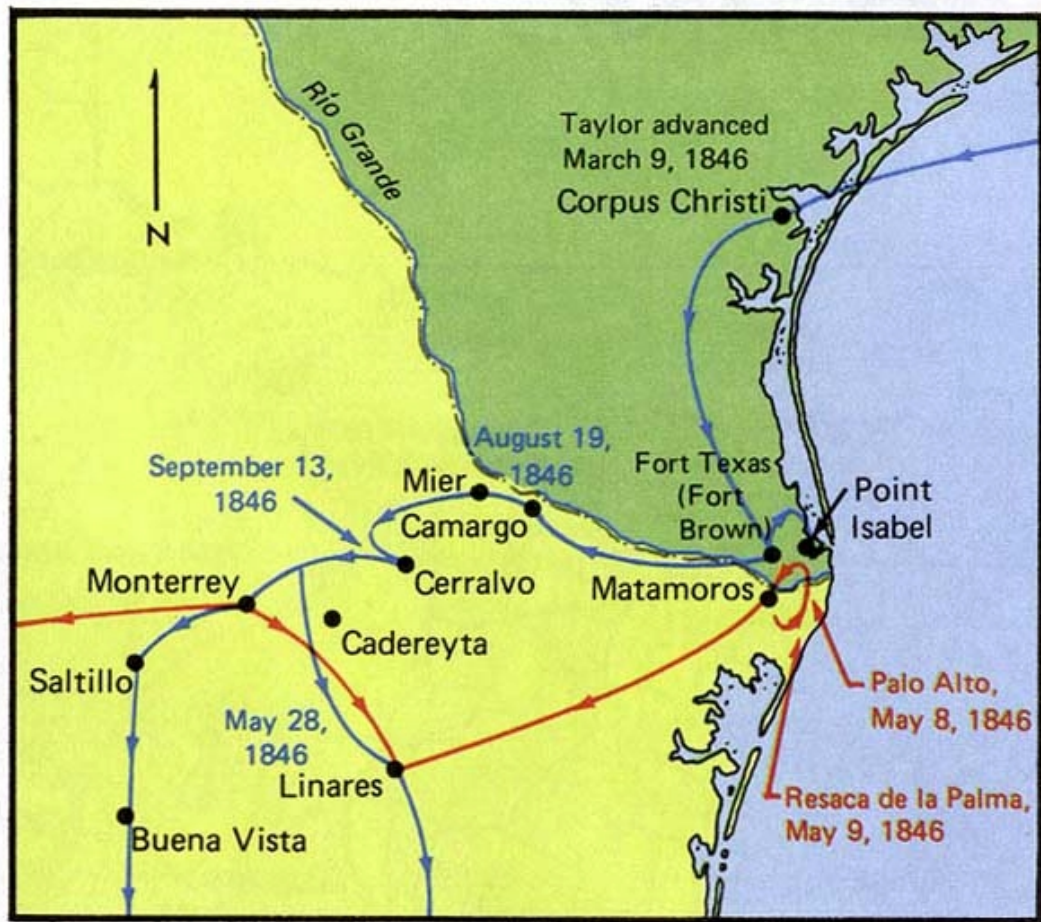
³⁸⁴ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 24.

afternoon of September 19, the American force of 7,000³⁸⁵ men including infantry, cavalry, and artillery reached the outskirts of Monterrey where General Pedro de Ampudia, who had replaced General Arista, with his force of 10,000 men had barricaded and fortified the approaches of the city³⁸⁶.

³⁸⁵ - while in Matamoros, the climate and bad camp conditions led to epidemics of sickness that affected many Americans killing about 1,500 soldiers. When Taylor marched to Monterrey, he left 4,700 men behind because they were either too ill to march or had no way to transport their supplies. Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 772.

³⁸⁶ - Arista was replaced because of his failure to defeat the Americans in the preceding battles. Ibid.

Map No 8: Taylor's Campaign



TAYLOR'S CAMPAIGN, MARCH 1846–FEBRUARY 1847

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Source :
www.emersonkent.com/wars_and_battles_in_history/mexican_american_war.htm

Taylor established camp a few miles outside the city, where he debated a plan of action with his council of war. The American officers decided to split the army into two groups. The first group of 2,000 men under the command of General William Worth was instructed to capture the southern road to Saltillo, so as to prevent the garrison of Monterrey from either supplies or reinforcements, and then to attack the fortified positions of the Mexicans from the west and the south. The remaining troops under the command of Taylor would create a diversion in Ampudia's front, and would attack from the northwest³⁸⁷.

The next day in the afternoon, The American troops launched their attack, and following a two- day siege and bombardment forced the Mexicans back into the city center. There followed two days of fierce fighting in which the Americans who fought their first door-to-door combat defeated the Mexicans. The battle, which cost 120 killed and 386 injured to the Americans, and 367 dead and more than 300 wounded to the Mexicans³⁸⁸, ended on September 24, when Ampudia who withdrew to the cathedral of the city sent a messenger to General Taylor requesting a truce.

At first, Taylor refused the Mexican offer, but realizing that his men were exhausted for more immediate fight and believing that the armistice might give the Mexican government an opportunity to consider a peace settlement, changed his mind and accepted the proposal³⁸⁹. Accordingly, a commission was set up in order to debate the terms of the truce, and on September 28, the two generals agreed on an eight-week armistice under which the Mexican troops retreated from Monterrey.

Receiving the news from Monterrey on October 11, President Polk grew furious. He realized that if Taylor had captured the entire army, the Mexican government would be forced to end the war. Polk strongly condemned Taylor who allowed the Mexican Army to escape and declared to Congress:

³⁸⁷ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 189.

³⁸⁸ - John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 169.

³⁸⁹ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 187.

*“In agreeing to this armistice General Taylor violated his express orders and I regret that I cannot approve his course. He had the enemy in his power. . . It will enable the Mexican Army to reorganize and recruit so as to make another stand.”*³⁹⁰

Accordingly, the American President ordered Taylor to put an end to the armistice and to go on the wheel of the Mexican troops. On November 13, and following Polk’s orders, Taylor ordered his men to move 68 miles southwestward to occupy the strategic capital of Coahuila, Saltillo, whose important road center commanded the only way to Mexico City from the north³⁹¹. The U.S. troops entered Saltillo on November 15, without a shot being fired since the Mexican force had headed southward to San Luis Potosi.

In January 1847, While the Americans established their camp at a site known as Agua Nueva, 16 miles south of Saltillo, and were establishing a supply base, Taylor received two other orders from President Polk. First, he had to release the bulk of his men to join General Scott who was preparing for a move at Vera Cruz. Then, Taylor would lead the remaining troops including 4,700 men back towards Monterrey on a defensive position.

In fact, President Polk realized that the occupation of Mexico's Northern provinces did not bring the Mexican government to seek peace and decided to reassess his war strategy. Polk, Marcy, and Scott redirected their efforts toward the occupation of Mexico City by way of Vera Cruz as the only way to force the Mexicans to end the war and instructed General Scott to command the operation. Taylor considered Polk’s decision unfair and believed that it was a plot to destroy his popularity, which he gained through his victories, in the United States³⁹². As a matter of fact, Taylor ordered General Worth to lead the main army to Vera Cruz, but refused to return to Monterrey and instead, decided to keep his 4,7000 men,

³⁹⁰ - Wayne, Cutler., op. cit., p. 56.

³⁹¹ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 42.

³⁹²-Taylor was nominated by the Whig Party to run for the presidential elections of 1848., Douglass V., Meed. op. cit ., p. 46.

most of them volunteers³⁹³ in Saltillo, and planned an attack on San Luis Potosi, 250 miles southward.

In the meantime, former Mexican President Santa Anna who had been living in exile in Cuba returned to Mexico in August 1846 and was proclaimed president³⁹⁴. Soon after his nomination, Santa Anna resolved to oust the Americans from Mexico. To achieve this goal, the Mexican President held the command of the army, established his headquarters at San Luis Potosi and started to strengthen and reorganize his troops which by January 1847, amounted to 20,000 men. Meanwhile, his scouts intercepted an American courier bearing the instructions for the transfer of Taylor's troops. Therefore, Santa Anna, who according to Daniel Walker Howe was eager to show his people a victory, instead of leading his troops to defend Vera Cruz, moved them north to surprise and crush Taylor's depleted army in Saltillo³⁹⁵.

Santa Anna left his headquarters on January 28, 1847, and after a three-week harsh march through desert heat, in which 5,000 of his men either died or deserted, the Mexicans reached a position, about 35 miles south of the U.S. encampment in the evening of February 21. Warned of Santa Anna's approach by a scout, Taylor immediately ordered his troops to retreat into a hacienda called Buena Vista. Taylor realized that this hacienda was a good defensive position since it contained mountains and hills that could be fortified, and ravines that would restrict the movement of the enemy³⁹⁶. According to Mark Crawford, this retreat proved the only American one during the war³⁹⁷

³⁹³ - Of the total American troops under the command of Taylor, only 453 men were regulars. J. Frost., op. cit. p.119.

³⁹⁴ - Santa Anna was exiled to Cuba in 1845. In August 1846, he sent an emissary to President Polk informing him that if he were allowed to pass through the U.S. naval blockade to Vera Cruz, he would easily regain the presidency, negotiate with the United States the purchase of the western lands, and sign a peace treaty. However, once in Mexico, Santa Anna betrayed the American President, and rallied the Mexicans to support the war. Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 766.

³⁹⁵ - Ibid., p. 776

³⁹⁶ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 42

³⁹⁷ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 54.

Following Taylor's prompt refusal of Mexican demand to surrender³⁹⁸, Santa Anna, without allowing his exhausted troops to rest, ordered the attack of the small American force. The battle lasted for two days, and the Americans who were outnumbered three to one desperately withstood several attacks by Santa Anna's army. During the first day, the Mexicans overran the American battle lines inflicting many casualties to Taylor's troops. However, the second day, and although the Mexicans intensified their attacks, the Americans were successful in resisting the Mexicans and forced them to their positions all day long.

In the night, both of the armies withdrew to their camps and the battle seemed a stalemate for each side. However, the following morning and to the U.S troops' surprise and joy, the Mexican troops had withdrawn from the battlefield, thus putting an end to the fight. In fact, Santa Anna whose forces suffered 591 killed, 1,048 wounded, and 1,894 missing decided to give up fighting Taylor's men. The Mexican General who needed to keep his army intact in order to stop General Scott's advance to the capital gave up northern Mexico and proceeded to Mexico City³⁹⁹. Although the Americans suffered heavy casualties including 280 killed and 450 wounded⁴⁰⁰, they considered the retreat of the Mexican Army as a great victory.

The victory of the American at Buena Vista and the retreat of the Mexicans to Mexico City brought an end to the Northern campaign and subsequently the first phase of Polk's plan. In November 1847, and following Polk's orders, Taylor left some of his men to occupy the various supply bases and returned with the remaining troops to the United States where they were triumphantly received.

³⁹⁸ - Santa Anna was confident that he would easily crush the Americans. In his message to Taylor, demanding his surrender, Santa Anna declared: "You...cannot in any human probability avoid suffering a rout, and being cut to pieces with your troops; but as you deserve consideration and particular esteem, I wish to save you from a catastrophe....", John Edward, Weems., op.cit., p. 296.

³⁹⁹ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 26.

⁴⁰⁰ - Ibid.

b) Conquest of New Mexico and California

Just as General Zachary Taylor had been sent to assert American sovereignty over northern Mexico, Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny was ordered to occupy New Mexico and California. These two provinces, in which many Americans were living, were too far from Mexico City and were weakly governed. By the end of May 1846, Stephen Kearny assembled his Army of the West that included 648 regulars and 1,000 Missouri volunteers, with 16 cannons and supply trains consisting of 1,556 wagons, horses, mules, and oxen and cattle, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and was waiting for orders from the government so as to start his expedition⁴⁰¹.

On June 5, when orders to move reached Fort Leavenworth, Kearny and his men headed westward along the Santa Fe trail⁴⁰² toward New Mexico, and on August 5, after a 900 miles exhausting westward trek through desert, reached the village of San Miguel, less than two days march from Santa Fe, the capital city of New Mexico. There, General Kearny, who learned that most of the inhabitants of the province appeared to accept American occupation, and hoped to seize New Mexico without fighting, sent a dispatch to the governor of New Mexico informing him about the approach of the U.S. Army. In this dispatch, Kearny sought to convince the New Mexicans of his peaceful intentions but at the same time warning them about his determination to crush them if they tried to resist. Kearney stated:

“The undersigned enters New Mexico with a large military force for the purpose of seeking union with, and ameliorating the condition of its inhabitants.....It is enjoined on the citizens of New Mexico to...pursue uninterruptedly their peaceful avocations... they will be respected in their rights...”⁴⁰³

The local Governor, Manuel Armijo, who was at the command of 3,000 men most of them volunteers, realized that resisting the American troops would be

⁴⁰¹ - Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 758.

⁴⁰² - The Santa Fe Trail had served as a vital trade route between the United States and Mexico from the early days of Mexican Independence. Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 251.

⁴⁰³ - John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 208.

useless⁴⁰⁴. Therefore and upon receiving Kearny's dispatch, Armijo led his troops and fled southward to Chihuahua. On August 18, the Army of the West entered Santa Fe without firing a shot, took possession of the governor's Palace, and hoisted the American flag. Kearny announced the annexation of New Mexico to the United States and declared himself military governor of the province⁴⁰⁵.

After having remained more than a month in New Mexico drafting a constitution and establishing a civil government with Charles Bent at its head⁴⁰⁶, General Kearny decided to resume the march toward California. Before departing for California, Kearny split his army into three groups. First, a detachment of 400 men under the command of Colonel Sterling Price was to assert American control of New Mexico. Then, General Alexander Doniphan at the head of the 924 volunteers of the First Missouri Regiment would proceed and capture Chihuahua, more than five hundred miles to the south. Finally, a force of 300 Dragoons under his command would set for California.⁴⁰⁷

On September 25, Kearny's troops continued the overland trek to California and after a 230- mile march met with a group of nine American frontiersmen led by Kit Carson, who informed Kearny that the conquest of California had already been accomplished. In fact, unaware that the war had started, a group of 60 Americans, who had settled in Sonoma 50 miles northeast of San Francisco, rose in revolt against the disgusted Mexican authorities.

⁴⁰⁴ - Most of Armijo's force was made from New Mexican and Indian volunteers who had assembled after the beginning of the war to resist the American advance. However, these men were not trained, lacked weapons, and most of them were armed with arrows, machetes, picks, and some guns., Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 54.

⁴⁰⁵ - Before departing from the U.S at the head of the Army of the West, Kearny was awarded the title of Military Governor of New Mexico and California., Douglass V., Meed. op.cit ., p. 39.

⁴⁰⁶ - Polk had instructed Kearny to leave as many Mexican officials as possible in office, but Kearny went beyond this instruction, because most of the officials he appointed to the government were Americans. The native New Mexicans resented this imposed authority, and on January 24, 1847, they rose in a rebellion which was quickly suppressed by Colonel Sterling Price in early February. During this revolt, 15 Americans including Charles Bent were killed., Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 267.

⁴⁰⁷ - John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 233.

On June 20, this group which was led by John C. Fremont⁴⁰⁸ issued a declaration of independence for California where the Americans expressed their intention to establish a republican form of government in Upper California, and hoisted a homemade flag decorated with a star and a grizzly and the words “California Republic” in the city Plaza⁴⁰⁹. On June 24, the Bear Flaggers, as they were to be known, proceeded to occupy San Francisco, and on their way, skirmished with a small Mexican force of 50 men that they easily defeated and compelled to flee. Accordingly, the rebels pushed southward, recruiting more volunteers on their way, and on July 4, entered San Francisco without resistance, destroyed two old canons, captured supplies and returned to Sonoma. At this city, Fremont organized his 250 men into the California Battalion⁴¹⁰ and started to plan for a general expedition to conquer all California.

Simultaneously, on July 7, three ships from the Pacific Squadron, under the command of Commodore John D. Sloat landed near the harbour of the city of Monterey south of San Francisco, and after the refusal of the military governor Captain Mariano Silva to surrender, Sloat debarked a force of 250 marines who seized the city without bloodshed. Two days after Monterey, Commodore Sloat sent another detachment which occupied San Francisco.

On July 19, Fremont arrived at Monterey and joined his battalion with the U.S. troops, and by mid August, the Americans occupied the main port cities of Upper California from including Santa Barbara and Los Angeles, with little or no resistance. Therefore, Sloat⁴¹¹ proclaimed a wartime occupation and notified the Californians of the annexation of California to the United States. It is important to

⁴⁰⁸ - In the spring of 1846, Captain John. C Fremont was sent with 61 men in the service of the U. S topographical corps to make an exploration of Upper California. Fremont was secretly instructed by Polk to use his men as a military force to seize California in case war would be declared., J, Frost., op. cit. p. 221.

⁴⁰⁹ - Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 755.

⁴¹⁰ - In addition to the 60 men that constituted Fremont’s force, 160 other volunteers including some Indians joined the battalion., John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 214.

⁴¹¹ - Three days after the occupation of California, Sloat fell ill and returned to the United States after leaving Commodore Robert F. Stockton in charge of the American troops., Ibid., p. 215.

mention that the easiness by which the U.S Army conquered California was due to the fact that the Mexican government was too weak to govern this territory which was sparsely settled⁴¹² and too remote from the capital city. Furthermore, the Mexican Army was almost inexistent, and only a small militia force managed the few garrisons that existed⁴¹³.

However, American hold on Los Angeles was short lived. Indeed, after its capture Commodore Stockton made Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, commander of the 48 men who were in charge of the garrison at Los Angeles. Apparently, Gillespie disliked the Californians, and imposed on them severe martial laws⁴¹⁴. Therefore, the citizens of the city, who were promised prosperity and freedom by Stockton, grew disappointed at Gillespie harsh measures. In late September, a group of 150 Californians led by Jose Maria Flores armed with all kinds of weapons they could find, rose in revolt, and besieged the American garrison forcing Lieutenant Gillespie and his men out of the city. On October 8, when news of this uprising spread, Stockton mobilized his men to retake the city but the rebels who were reinforced by more volunteers strongly resisted, and, through guerrilla warfare, succeeded in keeping the U.S troops on the coast thus controlling the inland areas⁴¹⁵.

Meanwhile, General Kearny, notwithstanding the news that California was in American hands, ordered 200 of his men back to Santa Fe and continued his trek with Kit Carson and 100 of his Dragoons. On December 6, after a long march that lasted two months, Kearny and his Dragoons arrived at a village called San Pasqual 40 miles northeast of San Diego. There, the small American force encountered a Mexican force of 160 men, many of them armed with lances⁴¹⁶. Accordingly, the Mexicans opened fire on the Americans who, although exhausted and outnumbered, resisted the attack and in less than twenty minutes forced the Mexicans to withdraw

⁴¹²- By 1846, the population of California was less than 14,000 inhabitants most of them of European ancestry along with 1,000 Americans who settled there illegally. Douglass V., Meed., op.cit., p. 36.

⁴¹³- Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 59.

⁴¹⁴- John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 216.

⁴¹⁵- Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 62.

⁴¹⁶- John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 223.

leaving behind them 3 killed and 12 wounded. In this brief battle, the Americans lost 18 men killed and 13 wounded including Kearny.

The Mexicans, however, did not flee far from the battlefield. In fact, knowing that Kearny's force was depleted and had retreated to a rocky mountain, Captain Andres Pico, the leader of the Mexican troops, wanted to exterminate the Americans. Therefore, Pico and his force pursued Kearny and his men to their retreat and besieged them until December 10 when an American force that was dispatched to relieve the Americans arrived, forced Pico and his men to leave, and accompanied Kearny and his men to San Diego⁴¹⁷.

By the end of December, after the wounded men had recovered, Kearny joined his force with Stockton and both men decided to reoccupy Los Angeles from inland. On January 8, the American force of more than 600 men reached the San Gabriel River, about 12 miles south of Los Angeles. There, Stockton's scouts discovered that Flores and about 400 of his men had taken a defensive position at a ridge where the Americans would pass. Stockton, ordered his men to attack and after a brief skirmish, the U.S troops crushed the poorly armed and outnumbered Californians, killing and injuring more than 20 men and compelling the others to flee. American casualties were far lighter and amounted to only two killed and nine wounded⁴¹⁸.

On the following day, the U.S. force advanced toward Los Angeles, and after travelling about 6 miles, met with Flores and his remaining force of 300 men. The skirmish that followed this encounter was quick and the Americans easily defeated the Californians who withdrew. U.S. losses were one killed and five wounded and Californians' losses were one killed and ten wounded.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ - In the night of December 8, Kit Carson and two of Kearny's men crept ,undetected, through the Mexican defences and hurried to San Diego where they asked for reinforcement. Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 192.

⁴¹⁸ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 64.

⁴¹⁹ - Ibid.

Map No 9: The Conquest of California



Source: Douglas V., Meed., op.cit., p. 39

Following these two successive victories, the American troops reoccupied Los Angeles on January 10. Three days later Captain John C. Fremont, the newly appointed governor of California and Jesus Pico⁴²⁰ signed the Treaty of Cahuenga which officially ended the resistance in California. Under the terms of this Treaty, the rebels were allowed to return home on parole and those who surrendered would be protected. In addition, all Californians were granted the rights of American citizens⁴²¹.

While California was witnessing its first revolution and Kearny was pushing southwestward, Doniphan led his army southward down the Rio Grande River towards Chihuahua. On December 25, after a 250-mile exhausting trek, the American troops reached the hamlet of El Brazito, 30 miles from the city of El Paso, where they suddenly came face to face with a Mexican force of 1,100 men under the command of Colonel Ponce de Leon⁴²². The latter sent an order for Doniphan to surrender, and when the American General refused both armies clashed. The ensuing battle ended in forty minutes with the flight of the Mexicans who sustained heavy losses including 63 killed and 150 wounded. The whole American Army was safe except for seven soldiers who were slightly injured.⁴²³ Two days later, the U.S. troops crossed the Rio Grande, entered without facing resistance to El Paso, and raised the U.S flag in the city Plaza.

Doniphan and his men rested at El Paso until February 8, when they resumed their move for another 300-mile trek southward toward the state of Chihuahua. On February 27, and after an arduous march through the desert, the Americans came within few days march of Chihuahua where they learned that a Mexican force of approximately 3,500 men led by General José A. Heredia had established its defensive positions at the Sacramento River, 15 miles north of Chihuahua, and was

⁴²⁰ - Jesus Pico was the cousin of the Captain Andres Pico, the leader of the Californian armed troops. Jesus was governor of California on the eve of the American invasion San Francisco. John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 229.

⁴²¹ - Ibid., p. 230.

⁴²² - J, Frost., op. cit. p. 220.

⁴²³ - Ibid.

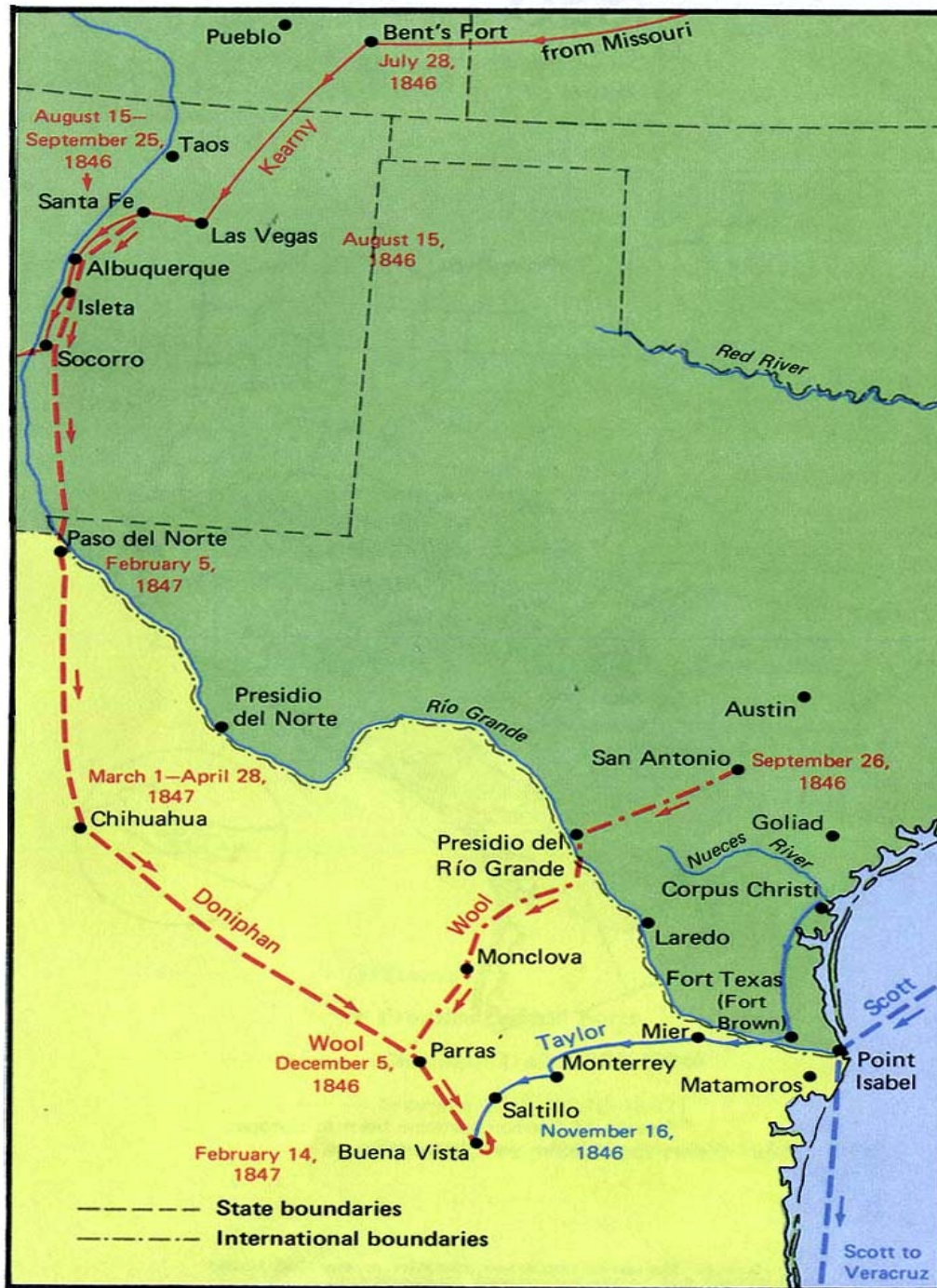
decided to fight⁴²⁴. The next day, The U.S troops advanced to the position of the enemy and immediately launched their attack with artillery bombardments that killed many Mexicans and brought disorder in their ranks. Then, the two forces engaged in a hand-to-hand fighting that ended some four hours later with an American victory. General Heredia and his troops fled in confusion leaving behind them 300 killed, 300 wounded along with their weapons. The American Army lost only nine men including one killed⁴²⁵.

Following the Sacramento battle, Doniphan's troops entered Chihuahua on March 1, and took possession of the city without bloodshed, thus bringing the entire northern part of Mexico under the military control of the United States. The Americans occupied the city until April when they finally received orders from Washington to join Taylor who sent them back home in June 1847, after the end of their enlistment term.

⁴²⁴- Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 56.

⁴²⁵- J, Frost., op. cit. p 221.

Map No10: Stephen Kearney and Alexander Doniphan's Campaigns



**STEPHEN KEARNEY'S CAMPAIGN IN NEW MEXICO AND
A. W. DONIPHAN'S CAMPAIGN IN CHIHUAHUA**

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Source : http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/atlas_texas/kearney_doniphan_campaigns.

c) The Occupation of Mexico City

When the strategy of occupying northern Mexico failed to bring the Mexicans to terms, Polk realized that the only way to end the war was to occupy Mexico City. Therefore, and after consultation with Marcy, Scott, and Bancroft, Polk resolved to open a third front. After months of planning that required the careful coordination of military and naval operations Scott was chosen to perform what would be known as the first major amphibious landing in the history of the U.S. Army. According to Anton Adams, the concept of this operation, which had been worked out by General Scott, was to approach Mexico City from the east by landing at, and seizing, the port city of Vera Cruz and then marching inland by the most direct route to the capital⁴²⁶.

By February 1847, General Scott assembled his new Army of Occupation of 9,000 men including ten volunteer regiments at Point Isabel preparing for the expedition. On March 2, and following the arrival of General Worth and his 4,000 men who had been with General Taylor, the U.S. troops boarded the ships of the Home Squadron and set sail for Vera Cruz⁴²⁷.

On March 9, in the afternoon, the Americans reached Collado Beach, 3 miles south of Vera Cruz, where they landed in order to avoid the range of Mexican guns at the fort. That evening, Scott met with his generals to explain his plan of attack. The next day, Scott began to deploy his men all round the city without any resistance from Generals Juan Morales and Juan Landero and their 5,000 men who were deployed through the city and its five forts that surrounded it⁴²⁸. Ten days later, when the American soldiers finished the emplacement of guns around the city, Scott sent word to General Morales to surrender the city.

⁴²⁶ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 76.

⁴²⁷ - Ibid., p. 77.

⁴²⁸ - The Mexican force at Vera Cruz was not reinforced because a revolt had broken out in Mexico City against the government, preventing the latter from sending troops to relieve General Morales, Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 286.

On March 22, when Morales declined Scott's summons to surrender, the American Army launched its attack and the U.S. mortars began firing shells over the walls of Vera Cruz and down into the city. The bombardment continued for four days with 7,000 projectiles landed in the city, inflicting over a thousand casualties to both military troops and civilians including about 180 deaths⁴²⁹. The offensive ended on March 26, when under pressure from the terrified citizens, General Landero called for a truce and surrendered the city. The next day, both parties signed the terms of surrender by which the Mexican troops surrendered their weapons and marched out of the city⁴³⁰. Accordingly, the Americans who had lost only 13 killed and 55 five wounded started to establish a base of supply and prepared their move inland to the capital.

On April 2, after leaving a small force to garrison the city, General Scott and a force of 8,500 men started their march toward Mexico City along the National Road⁴³¹ where the Americans would engage the Mexicans in a series of victorious battles before they could enter the capital city. The first of these series of battles took place on April 18, at the town of Cerro Gordo, 60 miles northwest of Vera Cruz. In fact, once word of Vera Cruz capitulation reached Mexico City, General Santa Anna⁴³² quickly assembled a force of 12,000 men and left Mexico City on April 3, to command the army at Cerro Gordo⁴³³.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Army marched unopposed until it reached the Mexican force at Cerro Gordo in the afternoon of April 17. General Scott sent some of his engineers to assess Santa Anna's positions and to identify any weaknesses within his

⁴²⁹ - Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 781.

⁴³⁰ - Mexican weapons included 400 muskets and 16 piece of artillery. John Edward, Weems., op. cit., p. 340.

⁴³¹ - The path that General Scott chose to proceed to Mexico City was the same that the Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortes had taken in 1519 to seize Mexico City., Douglass V., Meed., op. cit., p. 53.

⁴³² - Santa Anna and his men who had fought the battle of Buena Vista reached Mexico City on March 9, the same day that the Americans landed at Vera Cruz, and since Santa Anna was busy suppressing opposition and restoring order in the Capital, he delayed his move to resist the Americans., Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 82.

⁴³³ - The site where Santa Anna concentrated his troops was a mountain pass surrounded by hills and through which the highway to Mexico City passed. Ibid., p. 83.

lines and in the same time preparing a plan of attack. The next day at 7:00 am, and following the attack plan, General Twiggs artillery surrounded the fortified Mexican position and destroyed their batteries while Scott with the main body of his troops stuck the Mexicans at their both front and rear lines. In no more than 3 hours, the Mexicans were routed and Santa Anna, having lost 1,200 men between either killed or injured and more than 3,000 captured, fled with the rest of his troops to the capital where they would reorganize and prepare themselves to defend the capital⁴³⁴.

General Scott was proud at having achieved a great victory at a cost of few casualties including only 63 killed and 368 wounded⁴³⁵. However, General Scott who wanted to take Mexico City by June, before the rainy season began was compelled to delay his move. In fact, the one –year enlistment period of the ten volunteer regiments consisting of more than 4,000 men expired in May, and most of the volunteers refused to re-enlist and went back to the United States, thus reducing the size of Scott’s army⁴³⁶.

By the end of May, Scott marched the remaining of his regular troops toward the state of Puebla where they spent nearly two months, training, and waiting for reinforcement. In early August, when a force of more than 8,000 new recruits arrived, Scott left a garrison force of 400 men under Colonel Thomas Childs to occupy the city and immediately resumed the march upon the capital. All along the 200 miles that separated Puebla from Mexico City, Scott’s army of 10,738 set out through mountain passes unopposed, but when it came 10 miles from the capital, it would engage the Mexican troops in four more battles before entering the Halls of the Montezumas⁴³⁷.

⁴³⁴ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 73.

⁴³⁵ - Ibid.

⁴³⁶ - Only 10 percent of the volunteers chose to reenlist. Daniel Walker, Howe., op.cit., p. 784.

⁴³⁷ - “Halls of the Montezumas” was the name given by U.S soldiers to Mexico City’s National Palace. “Montezumas” refers to Montezuma I and II, two great Aztec emperors in the 1400s and early 1500s. Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 134.

The first of these four battles took place on August 19, when the American force arrived within ten miles southwest of the capital city, and found itself confronted to Santa Anna who, according to Daniel Walker, “had recovered, phoenix-like, from the disgrace of defeat”, raised an army of 20,000 men and decided to defeat the invaders at once⁴³⁸. Knowing from his scouts that the Americans were advancing to the capital from the south⁴³⁹, Santa Anna discussed with his council of war and established a plan to stop American advance. Subsequently, Santa Anna deployed his troops south so as to occupy the two main roads leading to the capital city. He ordered General Gabriel Valencia and 6,000 men to proceed southward and establish a defensive position in the town of Contreras, while most of the men under his command established a headquarters at the town of Churubusco, five miles north of Contreras⁴⁴⁰. Between these two essential positions for getting into Mexico City laid a vast and impenetrable lava field called the Pedregal⁴⁴¹.

On May 18, the American Army arrived at the town of San Agustin, nine miles south of Mexico City, and General Scott sent a scouting party under the command of Captain Robert E. Lee who found out the Mexican positions. Lee also explored the Pedregal and found a path through the lava field that lead to the enemy’s camps. Scott held a war council, discussed a plan of attack, and decided that the first task was to crush the Mexican detachment located at Contreras. On the night of August 19, Scott ordered General Persifor Smith with a force of 4,000 men to launch an attack on Valencia’s troops. Despite being initially repulsed, the Americans led another attack early in the morning of August 20, and in less than 20 minutes, Smith’s men routed the Mexicans and inflicted on them heavy casualties

⁴³⁸- Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 785.

⁴³⁹- Before arriving at San Agustin, Scott had sent a reconnaissance party who reported that there were four possible approaches to Mexico City; one from the north, two from the east, and one from the south. General Scott chose to advance from the latter because that direction was not well defended as were the three other approaches., John. Edward, Weems., op. cit., pp.394- 395.

⁴⁴⁰- Ibid., p. 397.

⁴⁴¹- John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 116

including 700 killed, 300 wounded, and 800 were taken as prisoners⁴⁴². Smith's troops suffered only few losses including 100 men either killed or wounded⁴⁴³.

With the defeat of Valencia's troops and their retreat northward towards Santa Anna's position, the road to Churubusco was now open. Accordingly, General Scott decided to pursue the fleeing Mexicans and attacked Santa Anna's headquarters. In this second engagement of the day, the two armies fought a hard battle, and the Americans suffered for more than three hours and sustained huge losses before defeating the Mexicans. Most historians agree on the fact that the Mexicans strongly and heroically resisted the enemy, and it was not until they had run out of ammunition that they were overcome. In this battle, both armies paid heavy loads in human lives, as the Americans casualties were 1,053 killed and 139 wounded including many officers, and the Mexican losses were far greater and amounted to 3,000 killed and injured and more than 3,000 were captured⁴⁴⁴.

Following his defeat in this battle, Santa Ana asked for a truce and offered to open peace talks, and General Scott, whose men were exhausted from the battles and needed to rest, accepted a two - week armistice treaty that was signed on August 24⁴⁴⁵. On August 27, negotiations were inaugurated between the American peace commissioner, Nicholas Trist⁴⁴⁶ and representatives of the Mexican government. During the talks, Trist, following Polk's instruction, negotiated the purchase of New Mexico and Upper California. He also insisted upon the Rio Grande as the boundary between Texas and Mexico. In return, Trist informed the Mexicans that the U.S. government would offer \$20 million as compensation⁴⁴⁷. After days of talks, no improvement was made because the Mexicans agreed only to sell Upper California

⁴⁴² - Douglass V., Meed., op. cit., p. 57.

⁴⁴³ - Ibid

⁴⁴⁴ - J, Frost., op. cit., p.180.

⁴⁴⁵ - The provisions of the armistice included an exchange of prisoners, and the prohibition for both sides to reinforce their armies with troops, weapons, or ammunition during the negotiations. Another provision stipulated that each side could cancel the armistice within two days notification. John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 331.

⁴⁴⁶ - Trist had been with General Scott since the landing at Vera Cruz. He was authorized by President Polk to open peace negotiations whenever the Mexicans would be willing to do so., Ibid., p.291.

⁴⁴⁷ - Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 801.

and rejected all the other propositions. Trist's insistence upon the satisfaction of the American demands and the Mexican stubbornness to refuse them quickly led the negotiations to an impasse.

In the meantime, General Scott learned that Santa Anna had violated the truce and had used it merely as a fake in order to gain time, organize his army, and strengthen the defences of the capital city. Therefore, and realizing that the negotiations were at a standstill, General Scott immediately ordered the cessation of the armistice on September 6. In addition, President Polk, who was informed that the negotiations were unsuccessful, realized that the continuation of war was the only way to make the Mexicans beg for peace. Subsequently, he sent a dispatch to Nicolas Trist ordering him to end the talks and to return home⁴⁴⁸.

Meanwhile and upon the termination of the truce, General Scott decided to resume the war and prepared his army for an advance towards the capital. On September 8, and following reports that a church, situated at Molino del Rey 2 miles southwest of the capital and guarded by more than 10,000 Mexicans, was converting church bells into cannons, General Scott ordered General William Worth's division of 3,000 men for an immediate assault. The offensive began in the early morning, and after four hours of fierce struggle, Worth's troops stormed the church and the buildings surrounding it, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mexican Army whose losses amounted to more than 2,000 killed and wounded and 680 were captured⁴⁴⁹. However, this umpteenth American victory was achieved at a large expense of lives in the sense that General Worth lost a quarter of his force including 200 killed and 680 wounded⁴⁵⁰. Moreover, the reports on which the attack was based proved to be erroneous, as the American soldiers who searched the church and the surrounding buildings found no canon foundry.

⁴⁴⁸- President Polk decided to recall Trist because he feared that his presence in Mexico would be considered as a willingness of the US government to sue for peace, and would encourage the Mexican officials to press upon Trist to conclude a treaty favourable to Mexico., *Ibid.*, p. 802.

⁴⁴⁹- Mark, Crawford., *op. cit.*, p.109.

⁴⁵⁰- *Ibid.*

Following the Battle of El Molino del Rey, the Mexican Army fell back to Chapultepec, a mile west of Mexico City. This hill rising 200 feet above a marshy plain and which was the last defensive position outside Mexico City was heavily fortified and was surrounded by more than 1,500 men. At the top of the hill was a castle serving as the Mexican Military Academy and from which 892 soldiers including 59 cadets⁴⁵¹, under the command of General Nicolas Bravo, guarded the capital's western approaches⁴⁵². On September 11, General Scott, whose intelligence reported that the hill of Chapultepec was the key to the city, decided to make his advance through it. That night, Scott held a war council in which the senior officers agreed to his plan to reduce the Chapultepec castle before entering the capital⁴⁵³. The next day in the morning, Scott ordered an artillery attack in order to demolish the castle.

The American artillery bombarded the castle for fourteen hours damaging some walls and killing many soldiers. The Mexicans tried to riposte but their artillery proved ineffective. When the Americans ceased fire that night, General Scott ordered Generals John Quitman and Gideon Pillow with more than 700 men for an infantry assault which was launched the next day at 8:00 in the morning.

At first, the American soldiers faced difficulties to climb the walls, exposed themselves to heavy fire, and suffered many casualties. Nevertheless, when the ladders arrived, the U.S. troops quickly scaled the walls and entered the castle. Once inside the fortress, the Americans engaged the Mexicans in a fierce hand-to-hand combat, and after an hour and a half, the U.S troops defeated the Mexicans, who although had been fewer than the Americans, resisted bravely and died as heroes⁴⁵⁴.

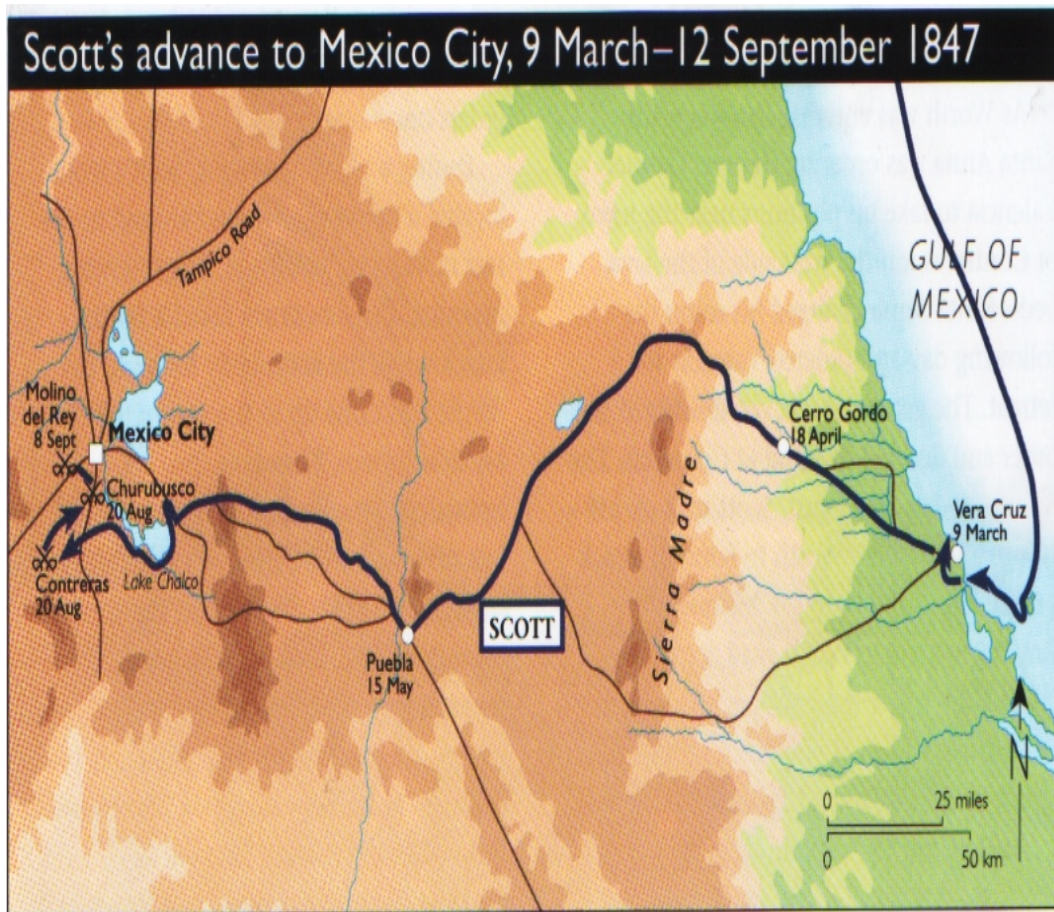
⁴⁵¹ - The cadets were young boys ranging in age from thirteen to nineteen who had insisted to participate in the defence of their academy. Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 788.

⁴⁵² - Douglass V., Meed., op. cit., p. 82.

⁴⁵³ - At first, the council suggested bypassing Chapultepec and proceeding directly to the capital, but realizing that leaving the fortified castle at the rear would cause a problem for the U.S. troops, General Scott decided to attack it., John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 337.

⁴⁵⁴ - In the afternoon of September 12, General Bravo had lost many men in the bombardment and asked Santa Anna, who was at the National Palace of the capital, for reinforcement, but the latter, fearing to expose his troops to American shells, refused. John. Edward, Weems., op. cit., p. 422.

Map No11: Scott's Advance to Mexico City



Source: Douglass V., Meed., op.cit., p. 58.

In this battle, the U.S Army lost 500 men among whom 130 killed, and the Mexicans' suffered more than 1.500 casualties.⁴⁵⁵

After taking Chapultepec, the American Army whose total strength had decreased to less than 8,000 men immediately continued to push toward the capital. Following Scott's instructions, the U.S troops were split into two main forces and advanced through the two causeways that led to the gates of the city⁴⁵⁶. On their advance, the two forces encountered some resistance, but by the end of the day, they took control of the two causeways and forced the Mexicans into the city. While the Americans were camping at the gates of the capital, Santa Anna held a meeting with the other officials. The Mexican President, who realized that resisting the Americans was impossible, decided to spare the lives of the civilians and the destruction of the city, resigned the presidency, and fled with the remaining 6,000 soldiers northward toward Guadalupe Hidalgo.

In the early hours of the next day, the Mexican government decided to capitulate, and a Mexican delegation went to General Scott's headquarters and surrendered the city. Accordingly, the U.S Army triumphantly entered the city, moved into the Halls of the Montezumas, lowered the Mexican flag and raised the Stars and Strips. An hour later, General Scott, on his best dress uniform and accompanied by his staff, rode proudly into the Palace, thus, as the historian Daniel Howe wrote, achieving one of the monumental military victories of the nineteenth century⁴⁵⁷.

⁴⁵⁵ - Douglass V., Meed., op. cit., p. 83.

⁴⁵⁶ - A force under command of General Worth was ordered to advance northwest to the San Cosme Gate, and the other force under the leadership of General Quitman was to proceed to Belen Gate, south west of the city., John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 342.

⁴⁵⁷ - Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 790.

Once in full control of the capital, General Scott issued a General Order appointing General Quitman to the post of civil and military governor of Mexico City. Three days later, Scott declared martial law and set up disciplinary measures over both American troops and Mexican citizens so as to establish a peaceful coexistence within the city⁴⁵⁸.

Meanwhile, Santa Anna and his men, who had fled the capital city, were not ready to end the war. In fact, soon after their retreat to Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Mexican troops knew that the garrison at Puebla was guarded by only a small force of 400 men, under the command of Colonel Childs. Santa Anna realized that by taking the city, he would cut Scott's line of supply with the coast, and would force the Americans to fight again. Santa Anna believed that he would turn his defeat into a victory⁴⁵⁹.

Subsequently, the Mexican General left Hidalgo and led his men southeast, and soon after their arrival at Puebla on September 21, Santa Anna ordered Colonel Childs and his men to surrender. Following Childs' refusal to capitulate, the Mexicans besieged the American garrison. For many days, the Mexican troops attempted to breach the American defenses and defeat Child's troops but in vain. The siege in which 94 Americans were either killed or wounded lasted until October 12, when a reinforcement force arrived from Vera Cruz and compelled the Mexicans to retreat, thus ending the last action of the war⁴⁶⁰.

⁴⁵⁸ - John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 346.

⁴⁵⁹ - Ibid., p. 147.

⁴⁶⁰ - Although, Mexican organized resistance was over, attacks on U.S. troops continued through guerrilla campaigns along the national road between Vera Cruz and Mexico City. It was not until June 1848 that the guerrilla bands were finally suppressed., Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p.129.

3- Reasons behind the Mexican Defeat and the American Victory

a) Mexico

The Mexican Army looked formidable and stronger on paper. The European military system that the Mexican Army had adopted convinced most European observers that the American Army would not make a stand against the Mexicans. The Mexicans entered the war with greater unity since they had realized that war was the only way to get down with the American aggression, and their sense of superiority. Moreover, and knowing that their army was vastly superior in size to the American one, all Mexicans were confident that they could easily crush the Yankee invaders. Therefore, some people will wonder why Mexico lost the war despite its power. In fact, the assumption stated above revealed false since the Mexican Army suffered many shortcomings that played against it and led to its defeat

First, Mexicans were embroiled in several economic crises and political chaos that prevented unity within the Mexican leaders. Then, the Mexican Army was subject to the weak leadership exercised by the highest-ranking officers who were in a great number in the army⁴⁶¹. Indeed, Most of these leaders came from the ruling class aristocracy including the Peninsulares and the Creoles who had entered the army for social and political reasons, and for self-enrichment rather than military motives.⁴⁶² Besides, the corps of officers lacked leadership skills where the generals were described as being unable to manage a small division and most of the colonels could not lead a regiment in a battlefield. In 1846, Charles Bankhead, the then British minister to Mexico, described the Mexican officer corps as:

*“The officers ...are as, a corps, the worst perhaps to be found in any part of the world...They are totally ignorant, incapable, and insubordinate...and their personal courage, I fear, is of a very negative character”*⁴⁶³.

⁴⁶¹ - There were 160 generals for an army of more than 30,000 thousand men, or about one general for approximately 200 soldiers. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 130.

⁴⁶² - Ibid.

⁴⁶³ - Ibid.

Besides the officers' weaknesses, the soldiers who made the bulk of the army suffered many problems. Indeed, the authorized strength had never been reached and most of the soldiers in the Regular Army, the Active Militia and the National Guard had an average height below medium stature and many suffered physical health. They were, badly paid⁴⁶⁴, underfed, poorly clothed, undisciplined, and were usually subject to maltreatment and punishment by their officials⁴⁶⁵. Moreover, the soldiers endured the effects of a poor system of logistics and medical care that was almost inexistent. Nevertheless and notwithstanding these hurdles, the soldiers managed to resist the rude conditions of army life, and when brought into battlefield, they faced the Americans with courage and without fear. Roswell Ripley, Lieutenant in the 2nd U.S. artillery during the war noticed the heroism and bravery of the Mexican soldiers, and stated:

*“...The Mexican army was characterized by many of the necessary qualities of a good soldiery. Patient under suffering, requiring but little subsistence, with extraordinary capacity for enduring fatigue, and with enough physical courage to enable them to encounter danger without fear...”*⁴⁶⁶

As far as military equipment and weapons were concerned, the Mexican soldiers went into battles poorly armed. In fact, Mexico was handicapped by the lack of factories to produce arms and ammunitions. Most of the weapons that the Mexican Army used were the outdated Spanish weapons, and the British ones that were purchased at low prices and which were unreliable and unserviceable⁴⁶⁷. In addition, the powder used by the infantry was locally made and was of poor quality. This was illustrated by George Ballentine, an English soldier in the US Army, who, after the Battle of Cerro Gordo, commented:

⁴⁶⁴ - The pay scale established under the law of 1839, was small for the conscripts. For instance, a drummer was paid 14 pesos per month, and a private earned 15 pesos, while a general earned 500 pesos and a colonel 325 pesos. Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ - Many conscripts did not tolerate these harsh conditions and deserted the army. Mark Crawford estimated the number of deserters during the war at 10,000 soldiers. Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 98.

⁴⁶⁶ - Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 106.

⁴⁶⁷ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 294

“We found the road strewed with the muskets and bayonets which the Mexicans had thrown.... All of these muskets were of British manufacture... They were old and worn out, having evidently been condemned as unserviceable in the British army and then sold to the Mexicans at a low price...”⁴⁶⁸

The guns of the artillery were also outdated and existed since the Spanish occupation. Many of them were honeycombed and useless. Besides, the powder used as ammunition for the guns was of an inferior quality that the guns had a reduced range and a lessened effect when they were fired. The train company to carry the weapons did not really exist and ammunition wagons consisted of carts that the Mexicans rented when needed⁴⁶⁹. Furthermore, Mexican guns were designed to be fixed in one position and were impossible to move, thus putting the artillery at a great disadvantage.

The tactics in which the Mexican troops were trained were outdated and were based on the old European military system except for the artillery corps which was trained in some improved techniques. Besides, the soldiers were not given enough musketry training as the Mexican Army lacked ammunition to afford for target practice. Apart from that, many recruits entered their first battle without ever having fired their weapons. The American minister to Mexico, Waddy Thompson noticed this lack of effective tactics and pointed out:

“.... They were drilled only occasionally... and drilling consists mainly in teaching them to march in column through the streets... Only one soldier in ten had ever seen a gun, and probably only one in hundred had actually ever fired one”⁴⁷⁰.

The other corps of the Mexican Army also faced the same hurdles. The Navy was weak and unable to protect the Mexican ports due to the lack of funds, a shortage of spare parts, and the incompetence of its officers and crew. The lack of a strong Mexican Navy allowed the U.S. Navy to control the sea-routes, blockade the coast, and move men and material easily. In addition to the navy, the Company of

⁴⁶⁸ - Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 138.

⁴⁷⁰ - Ron, Field., op. cit., p. 128.

Engineers suffered many setbacks. Although there were several well-trained engineer officers within the Mexican Army, yet there was a lack in properly trained engineering troops since the Company of Engineers served actually as infantrymen or artillerymen.

Another serious problem that faced the Mexicans during the war was the lack of a medical staff. The Mexican Army had a medical corps, which was established in 1836 and was attached to the regular army in February 1846. However, this corps lacked experienced personnel and was so poorly equipped that many of the injured soldiers died of simple injuries because they were not treated.

b) The United States

The American Army that entered the fray was small and unprepared. While Congress had authorized a strength of 8,619 men and officers, the actual number of soldiers in uniform was far behind. Companies of the different corps were far below their authorized strength and many consisted only of half that number. Besides, many of the regimental commanders who had entered the service before the War of 1812 were too elderly and infirm for active duty. Nevertheless, when these men were put into test, they appeared as one of the best soldiers and achieved an easy victory over the Mexicans. The U.S. Army won all its battles in Mexico as a result of superior leadership, weaponry, and effective training.

Unlike the Mexican high officers, the American Army leaders were very experienced, and the junior officers, who graduated from West Point Academy, were better educated, and well trained in the art of warfare. Indeed, the West Pointers, as they were called, had played a prominent role in the quick and easy U.S. victory. This was clearly admitted by General Scott when he addressed the Senate later on declaring:

“I give it as my fixed opinion that but for our graduated cadets the war... might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, with, in its first half, more defeats than victories falling to our share...”⁴⁷¹

In addition to the superior organization of the officers, regulars of the American Army were also well organized, better trained and disciplined. Furthermore, they were well entertained and had everything that they needed; a good pay, good provisions, weapons, horses and medicines. Moreover, the Quartermaster Department succeeded in meeting their needs. In most of the battles that were fought, the regulars strictly obeyed to the instructions, and American victory owed much to their organization, courage, and efficiency. Besides the regulars, the volunteers, who constituted the bulk of the U.S troops, contributed largely in the output of the war. Although these amateurs were unprepared for the war and were not well trained, they performed efficiently in the battles thanks to their courage and heroism.

Concerning the armament situation, The U.S Army had no lack of weapons. The major weapons of the three corps had undergone modernization since the end of the 1830's, and the government encouraged the manufacturing of new arms. The infantry and artillery corps entered the fray with better weapons including some guns that were used for the first time and which fired farther, faster and more accurately⁴⁷². Along with these two corps, the artillery regiments were equipped with new and superior and various guns, canons, and a large quantity of ammunition higher in quality. Historian Anton Adams stated that the U.S Artillery was equipped with some of the best weapons in the world.⁴⁷³

Like the improvements which were made in both organization and weaponry, the U.S Army had also developed its tactics. Although the main tactics that were performed by the American troops originated from the French drill manuals,

⁴⁷¹ - Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 163.

⁴⁷² - Dragoons and Texas Rangers were equipped with the new five - shot Colt revolvers, the Whitneyville – Walker colt revolvers, and the breech-loading Hall rifles that were introduced for the first time. Anton, Adams., op. cit., p. 153.

⁴⁷³ - Ibid., p. 158.

American officers such as Secretary of War Joel Poinsett (1837- 1841) and General Winfield Scott spared no effort to bring modifications and additional characteristics which resulted in new and more sophisticated drill manuals. According to John Frost, the tactics which were displayed in the campaign against Mexico had far surpassed even the boasted military perfection of the French schools⁴⁷⁴.

III- The Aftermath of the War

1- The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

Following the fall of Mexico City, the Americans under the command of General Scott spent the next two months running the capital's affairs, collecting revenues, suppressing disorder, administering justice, and performing all the duties of governing the country. Meanwhile, Mexican officials started to reorganize themselves at the city of Queretaro, some 125 miles northwest of Mexico City, and a new Mexican government was formed in November, under the leadership of Manuel Peña y Peña who was named provisional president. On November 22, the Mexican President announced to the American peace commissioner Nicolas Trist about his willingness to enter into peace negotiations declaring that he had appointed commissioners for this purpose.

In the meantime, Trist had already received Polk's letter dated October 6, and in which he ordered his recall. However, the American commissioner realized that abandoning negotiations might be disastrous in the sense that many Mexican politicians known as "Puros" wanted to continue the war which might make Mexico

⁴⁷⁴- J, Frost., op. cit. p. 332.

sink into anarchy⁴⁷⁵. Therefore and in spite of his recall, Trist accepted to negotiate with the Mexican commissioners.

Negotiations started in early January 1848 at the town of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the Mexican commissioners Luis G. Cuevas, Jose Bernardo Conto, and Miguel Atristain, and Nicoals Trist. The latter offered to make peace on the same basis of the unsuccessful treaty negotiated with Santa Anna in August 1847, and by which Mexico would acknowledge the Rio Grande as the southern boundary of Texas, cede Upper California, and New Mexico. Talks went on for nearly a month and on February 2, 1848, both parties agreed on the terms of negotiations and signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Accordingly, Trist dispatched a copy of the Treaty to President Polk who although was disappointed at Trist's defiance to official orders, realized that the provisions of the Treaty met all his objectives. Accordingly, Polk submitted the document to the Senate for confirmation. After some opposition, the Treaty was ratified on March 10, 1848, by a vote of 38 to 14⁴⁷⁶, and six days later Polk approved it. Accordingly, the American President sent a commission to Mexico City to carry the Treaty that was approved by the Senate on May 25. The Mexican Congress also ratified the treaty by an overwhelming majority, thus officially concluding the war between the two neighbouring countries and inaugurating a new era in their existence.

By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the two neighbouring Republics officially ended all the calamities that existed between them, established a universal peace and expressed their desire and willingness to establish a strong relationship based on peace and friendship. This Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement included twenty three articles that were designed to settle the political, economic,

⁴⁷⁵- "Puros" referred to a faction of the liberal political group in Mexico which wanted to continue the war in opposition to the "Moderados" who sought peace. Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 802.

⁴⁷⁶- Some senators opposed ratification on the ground that it was signed by an unofficial commissioner, and some others wanted to continue the war and acquire the whole Mexican territory. George Pierce, Garrison, op. cit., p.253.

military, and social divergences (see Appendix II). Among the most essential provisions included in this Treaty were:

- The Mexican Government recognized the Rio Grande as the boundary between the American state of Texas and Mexico.
- Mexico ceded to the United States New Mexico, California, and the whole territory that would become the states of Arizona, Nevada and Utah, and parts of Wyoming and Colorado.

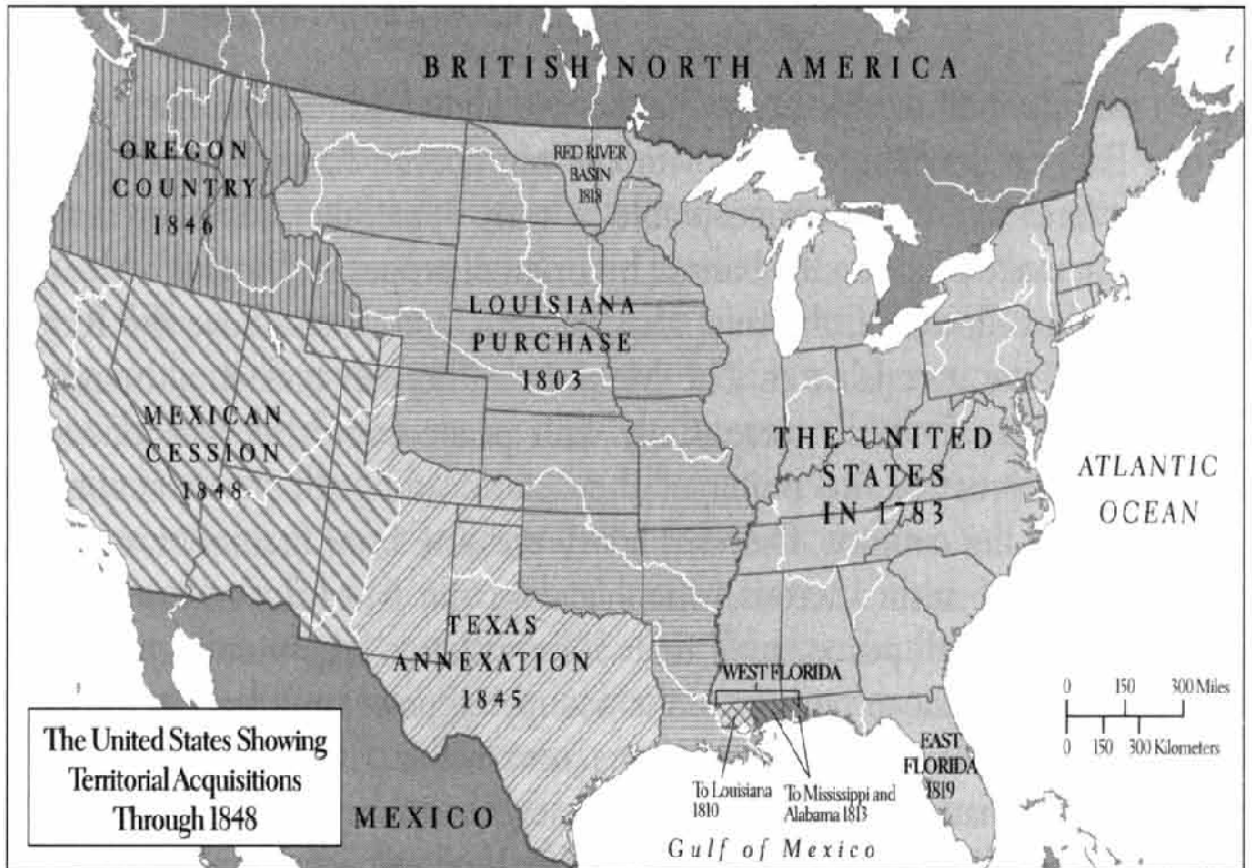
- All the Mexicans living in the territory acquired by the United States were given the choice either to remain in their lands and retain their title to them and become American citizens, or to remove to the Mexican Republic. In case, they remained in the United States, the Mexicans would enjoy the same rights as the Americans⁴⁷⁷.

- The United States Government would pay Mexico \$15 million and would assume the responsibility of paying all the claims of American citizens against Mexico which were valued at \$ 3.25 million⁴⁷⁸.

⁴⁷⁷ - In case the Mexicans didn't declare their choice after a year, they would become automatically American citizens., Iris H. W, Engstrand, Richard Griswold, Del Castillo, and Elena, Poniatowska., *Culture y Cultura: Consequences of the U.S. – Mexican War, 1846 – 1848.*, Autry Museum of Western Heritage, California, 1998., p. 23.

⁴⁷⁸ - Ibid.

Map No12: The United States after the Mexican War



Source: Daniel Walker, Howe., op.cit., p.804

2- Political Impact

Besides the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the war had other impacts on both countries, some positive and others negative. In political matters, the acquisition of the huge Mexican territory whose surface was more than 500,000 square miles expanded the American boundaries, thus stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. However, this acquisition was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it would pave the way for the United States to enter the scene of international affairs as a new world power⁴⁷⁹. It would also whet the appetite of Americans for expansionism and imperialism. On the other hand, it would involve the United States in an internal crisis, sparked off by the conflict between southerners and northerners over slavery issue as to the future of the territory acquired. This controversy would culminate in the famous American Civil War that would take place thirteen years later and which would be costly to the United States.

Apart from this, some of those military figures who participated in the war would become famous in the United States. For instance General Taylor, the hero of Buena Vista, became so famous that he quickly shadowed the popularity of Polk and easily won the presidential elections of 1848. Four years later, another Veteran of the war, General Franklin Pierce would succeed to Taylor. Some others, mainly junior officers such as Ulysses Grant and Robert Lee, would enter the Civil War as great and experienced leaders in the sense that the war against Mexico, According to Daniel Walker Howe, had been a rehearsal for the Civil War⁴⁸⁰.

As far as Mexico was concerned, that country went from the war exhausted and humiliated since it was easily defeated and lost more than half of its territory. Although most of the Mexicans endorsed the responsibility of this tragedy to their leaders, the latter did not make efforts to correct their mistakes, and the political

⁴⁷⁹ - Ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁸⁰ - More than 130 veterans of the Mexican War became generals in the Civil War., Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 747.

situation remained the same if not worse than it had been before the war. In fact, Mexico would witness political unrest resulting from the continuation of division among Mexican military and political leaders who sought to obtain the control of the government by force.

This political conflict culminated in the civil war which began in 1858 and lasted for three years and followed, in 1863, by the French intervention and occupation which lasted for four years. It was not until the 20th century that a stable government could emerge. Nevertheless, and according to John Weems, the loss of this territory, which was far from the capital, benefited the Mexican government in the sense that it resolved some problems of administration⁴⁸¹.

On the other hand, Santa Anna, who was in exile, was once again solicited and became president in 1853. Soon after taking office, The Mexican President faced a bankrupt treasury. Meanwhile, the Americans wanted to purchase a portion of Mexican territory of 30,000 square miles located in what is now southern Arizona and New Mexico in order to construct a transcontinental railroad that would reach California. Therefore, the American Government seized the opportunity of Mexican's financial burden and proposed its purchase to the Mexican President. The latter, needing funds and fearing another war, accepted and the two countries signed the Gadsden Treaty in December 1853, by which the United States acquired the coveted territory in exchange of \$10 million⁴⁸². This purchase disappointed both Mexican politicians and citizens, and culminated in Santa Anna's overthrow in the following year.

⁴⁸¹ - John. Edward, Weems., op. cit., p. 452.

⁴⁸² - Iris H. W, Engstrand, Richard Griswold, Del Castillo, and Elena, Poniatowska., op. cit., p. 24.

3- Economic Impact

One of the most considerable by-product of the war was the discovery of gold in California. This would boost the American Treasury which had spent the massive fortune of \$100 million to finance the war cost. Indeed, during the first decade following the gold discovery, the state produced quantities valued at more than \$ 500 million⁴⁸³. In addition, with the ports of California in American hands, the government would turn its eyes to the lucrative markets of Asia. In the wake of the war, American commerce boomed as new canals were built, and railroads inaugurated. These improvements increased commercial traffic between the American states, and between the United States and Europe. The American economy would also benefit from the acquired territory which was rich in natural resources, and the Mexicans who were living in this territory would constitute an essential labour force in the agricultural field.

Unlike the United States, Mexico emerged as an economically broken nation in the sense that the Treasury was in a state of bankruptcy, most industries were destroyed and ruined, and means of transportation hardly disrupted. Moreover, and as historian Richard Griswold del Castillo put it “in losing the rich lands that were part of her territory, Mexico was assuredly handicapped in the race toward developing a modern economy⁴⁸⁴. Besides, the different Mexican governments which had managed the country contracted huge debts from other countries mainly Spain, France, and England, which pressed upon the Mexicans for reimbursement, and the \$15 million that were paid by the United States as part of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were quickly consumed⁴⁸⁵. This financial fiasco would constitute the major barrier against the development of the Mexican economy.

⁴⁸³ - Douglass V., Meed. op. cit., p. 90.

⁴⁸⁴ - Iris H. W, Engstrand, Richard Griswold, Del Castillo, and Elena, Poniatowska., op.cit., p.76.

⁴⁸⁵ - Burton Kirkwood, op. cit., p. 100.

4- Social Impact

In the social sphere, the outcome of the war brought different fortunes as to the future of both states. As far as the United States was concerned, the war affected the Americans both negatively and positively. On the one hand, the most direct impact of the war was the loss in lives that the Americans sustained. In fact, out of the 106,566 soldiers, both regulars and volunteers who participated in the war, 13, 780 died and thousands more were injured⁴⁸⁶. Here, it is worth noting that most of the dead were killed by disease and only 1,551 lost their lives in battles⁴⁸⁷.

On the other hand, the acquisition of more territory provided enough space for the Americans and also for the Europeans who emigrated to the United States in great numbers after the war⁴⁸⁸. This fact would of course benefit the United States in different fields. Besides, the discovery of gold in California caused what would become known as the ‘Gold Rush’, and the Americans who were seeking wealth in the gold mines poured into the area in great numbers. In the two years following the war, the population of California jumped to more than 125,000⁴⁸⁹.

For the Mexicans, the social impact of the war was far disastrous. Although the exact figure of casualties that was sustained by Mexico was not known, the number of the Mexicans who perished in this war was greater than that of the Americans. Mark Crawford estimates the number of Mexican casualties at 26,700 killed and wounded⁴⁹⁰. In addition, a thousand of civilians were killed or wounded, and thousands died from starvation and disease⁴⁹¹.

⁴⁸⁶ - John. S. D., Eisenhower., op. cit., p. 369.

⁴⁸⁷ - Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ - In 1844, the total immigration into the United States was less than 8,000, but in 1850, it had risen to more than 300,000. Most of the emigrants were Irish farmers who fled their country because of the Potato Famine crisis that took place in Ireland between 1845 and 1849. Others came mainly from Germany in order to flee from the oppression of the monarchical system. Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 760.

⁴⁸⁹ - Douglass V., Meed., op. cit., p. 90.

⁴⁹⁰ - Mark, Crawford., op. cit., p. 68.

⁴⁹¹ - Douglass V., Meed., op. cit., p. 88.

Another significant effect on the Mexicans, mainly those who remained within the United States, both in short and long terms, was the discrimination and the unequal treatment they would live in America⁴⁹². In fact, most of the Mexicans who were living in the territory gained by the United States chose to stay in their lands. However, these people would be subject to serious problems, since the American people were unprepared to accept a multicultural society, and regarded these Mexicans as foreigners and uncivilized and exercised cruel atrocities on them⁴⁹³. Furthermore, and because of their racial, linguistic, and cultural differences, the Mexicans would become subject to unequal treatment in schools, public facilities and in the justice system.⁴⁹⁴

Last but not least, most of the Mexicans were spoiled from their lands and their claims were ignored. In spite of Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which clearly stated that the property of any kind, belonging to the Mexicans shall be respected, the Americans who emigrated to the newly acquired territories simply removed the Mexicans and settled in their lands. Although, the Mexicans had tried through judicial issues to regain their lands, and referred to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo as an argument, they did not succeed. In fact, the state and federal courts did not defend their rights.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹²- 100,000 Mexicans stayed in the United States after the war., Iris H. W, Engstrand, Richard Griswold, Del Castillo, and Elena, Poniatowska., op. cit., p.76.

⁴⁹³- This discrimination continued until the 20th century when a new concept of cultural pluralism began to encourage respect for the Mexican as well as for other minorities. John M. Blum ,Edmund S. Morgan, Willie Lee Rose, Arthur M Schlesinger, Jr, Kenneth M. Stamp and C. Vann Woodward, op. cit p. 288.

⁴⁹⁴- Iris H. W, Engstrand, Richard Griswold, Del Castillo, and Elena, Poniatowska., op.cit., p.76.

⁴⁹⁵- Daniel Walker, Howe., op. cit., p. 810.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the nature, the root causes, as well as the impact of the American - Mexican War which took place between 1846 and 1848. The findings reveal that at the core of this war, an extremely violent and costly conflict for both countries, were the expansionist tendencies on which the American foreign policy was founded from the early period of the existence of this young Republic and which subsisted over its whole history.

The war resulted, in the main, from the Americans' determination to bring under their control more territories in the New World, most particularly Texas. This determination sprang partly from the need to expand more and more at the expense of the neighbouring countries and of the European imperial powers that dominated the region. Such territorial expansion would, in a way or another, satiate Americans' land hunger, bolster their economy, and mainly remove any external threat that would hinder the security and growth of the fledgling Republic.

Besides that, the other element, which was of no less importance, was the failure of the successive Mexican governments to satisfy the Americans' pecuniary claims despite the American government's constant insistence. In other words, due to shortage of finance and resources, caused by enduring political instability, the Mexican government was unable to pay back the American citizens the sums owed to them. The failure of American government's

constant efforts to bring a peaceful solution to the dispute precipitated an armed confrontation that would leave marks on both sides for generations.

The course of the war as well as its aftermath, for various reasons, among which military might and efficiency, brought victory to the United States. Probably the first significant outcome of this war was the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo by both parties. Among the contents of the latter was the confirmation of the boundaries of the already annexed state of Texas and the bringing under control of the huge territory lying to the west of this state. It is noteworthy to mention the fact that this recent acquisition would prove very beneficial to the American economy as gold was discovered in California, in addition to the strategic seaports located in this region that the Americans would exploit to trade with Asia. In addition, the Mexican - American War was an important event that whetted the Americans' appetite for more territories. This could be reflected in the series of annexations that took place afterwards.

Nevertheless, these annexations were not always a positive endeavour since few years later, these newly acquired territories would be at the origin of a serious fratricidal conflict that brought the American young Republic to the verge of disintegration. As a matter of fact, bringing together large groups of communities of different faiths, languages and origins would constitute the most extraordinary challenge to this growing Union.

However, the end of the war and its conclusion in favour of the United States has not terminated the conflicting nature of the relations between the two countries. Although the boundaries between the two states are now clearly delimited, Mexican population mobility northward continues to pose serious and, sometimes, dramatic problems. In this respect, Historian Davenport points out that the barbed wire that separates the two countries, as well as the unwelcoming natural barrier represented by the dangerous desert, are often stages for determined Mexicans escaping misery at home and searching for their American

Dream⁴⁹⁶. This has induced the development of a large community of Mexicans living in the United States whether as legal or as illegal immigrants.

The Mexican illegal immigration has become today a Number One issue in the United States both at a state and at federal levels. It occupies a major place in the American foreign policy on the Continent, in local and national elections. Therefore, American-Mexican relations will remain a topical concern in the future and will deserve further study and research on the part of scholars in different fields of study.

⁴⁹⁶ - From 1993 to 1996, 1,185 Mexicans died trying to cross the border ., John C., Davenport., *The U.S.– Mexico Border.*, Chelsea House Publishers, Philadelphia., U.S. A., 2005., p. 101.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

James K. Polk
Message on War with Mexico
May 11, 1846

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The existing state of the relations between the United States and Mexico renders it proper that I should bring the subject to the consideration of Congress:

The strong desire to establish peace with Mexico on liberal and honorable terms, and the readiness of this Government to regulate and adjust our boundary and other causes of difference with that power on such fair and equitable principles as would lead to permanent relations of the most friendly nature, induced me in September last to seek the reopening of diplomatic relations between the two countries.... An envoy of the United States repaired to Mexico with full powers to adjust every existing difference. But though present on the Mexican soil by agreement between the two Governments, invested with full powers, and bearing evidence of the most friendly dispositions, his mission has been unavailing. The Mexican Government not only refused to receive him or listen to his propositions, but after a long-continued series of menaces have at last invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow-citizens on our own soil.

It now becomes my duty to state more in detail the origin, progress, and failure of that mission. In pursuance of the instructions given in September last, an inquiry was made on the 13th of October, 1845, in the most friendly terms, through our consul in Mexico, of the minister for foreign affairs, whether the Mexican Government "would receive an envoy from the United States intrusted with full

powers to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two Governments," with the assurance that "should the answer be in the affirmative such an envoy would be immediately dispatched to Mexico." The Mexican minister on the 15th of October gave an affirmative answer to this inquiry.... On the 10th of November, 1845, Mr. John Slidell, of Louisiana, was commissioned by me as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Mexico, and was intrusted with full powers to adjust both the questions of the Texas boundary and of indemnification to our citizens. The redress of the wrongs of our citizens naturally and inseparably blended itself with the question of boundary. The settlement of the one question in any correct view of the subject involves that of the other. I could not for a moment entertain the idea that the claims of our much-injured and long-suffering citizens, many of which had existed for more than twenty years, should be postponed or separated from the settlement of the boundary question.

Mr. Slidell arrived at Vera Cruz on the 30th of November, and was courteously received by the authorities of that city. But the Government of General Herrera was then tottering to its fall. The revolutionary party had seized upon the Texas question to effect or hasten its overthrow. Its determination to restore friendly relations with the United States, and to receive our minister to negotiate for the settlement of this question, was violently assailed, and was made the great theme of denunciation against it. The Government of General Herrera, there is good reason to believe, was sincerely desirous to receive our minister; but it yielded to the storm raised by its enemies, and on the 21st of December refused to accredit Mr. Slidell upon the most frivolous pretexts. These are so fully and ably exposed in the note of Mr. Slidell of the 24th of December last to the Mexican minister of foreign relations, herewith transmitted, that I deem it unnecessary to enter into further detail on this portion of the subject.

Five days after the date of Mr. Slidell's note General Herrera yielded the Government to General Paredes without a struggle, and on the 30th of December resigned the Presidency. This revolution was accomplished solely by the army, the

people having taken little part in the contest; and thus the supreme power in Mexico passed into the hands of a military leader.

Determined to leave no effort untried to effect an amicable adjustment with Mexico, I directed Mr. Slidell to present his credentials to the Government of General Paredes and ask to be officially received by him. There would have been less ground for taking this step had General Paredes come into power by a regular constitutional succession. In that event his administration would have been considered but a mere constitutional continuance of the Government of General Herrera, and the refusal of the latter to receive our minister would have been deemed conclusive unless an intimation had been given by General Paredes of his desire to reverse the decision of his predecessor. But the Government of General Paredes owes its existence to a military revolution, by which the subsisting constitutional authorities had been subverted. The form of government was entirely changed, as well as all the high functionaries by whom it was administered.

Under these circumstances Mr. Slidell, in obedience to my direction, addressed a note to the Mexican minister of foreign relations, under date of the 1st of March last, asking to be received by that Government in the diplomatic character to which he had been appointed. This minister in his reply, under date of the 12th of March, reiterated the arguments of his predecessor, and in terms that may be considered as giving just grounds of offense to the Government and people of the United States denied the application of Mr. Slidell. Nothing therefore remained for our envoy but to demand his passports and return to his own country.

Thus the Government of Mexico, though solemnly pledged by official acts in October last to receive and accredit an American envoy, violated their plighted faith and refused the offer of a peaceful adjustment of our difficulties. Not only was the offer rejected, but the indignity of its rejection was enhanced by the manifest breach of faith in refusing to admit the envoy who came because they had bound themselves to receive him. Nor can it be said that the offer was fruitless from the want of opportunity of discussing it; our envoy was present on their own soil. Nor

can it be ascribed to a want of sufficient powers; our envoy had full powers to adjust every question of difference. Nor was there room for complaint that our propositions for settlement were unreasonable; permission was not even given our envoy to make any proposition whatever. Nor can it be objected that we, on our part, would not listen to any reasonable terms of their suggestion; the Mexican Government refused all negotiation, and have made no proposition of any kind.

In my message at the commencement of the present session I informed you that upon the earnest appeal both of the Congress and convention of Texas I had ordered an efficient military force to take a position "between the Nueces and the Del Norte." This had become necessary to meet a threatened invasion of Texas by the Mexican forces, for which extensive military preparations had been made. The invasion was threatened solely because Texas had determined, in accordance with a solemn resolution of the Congress of the United States, to annex herself to our Union, and under these circumstances it was plainly our duty to extend our protection over her citizens and soil.

This force was concentrated at Corpus Christi, and remained there until after I had received such information from Mexico as rendered it probable, if not certain, that the Mexican Government would refuse to receive our envoy.

Meantime Texas, by the final action of our Congress, had become an integral part of our Union. The Congress of Texas, by its act of December 19, 1836, had declared the Rio del Norte to be the boundary of that Republic. Its jurisdiction had been extended and exercised beyond the Nueces. The country between that river and the Del Norte had been represented in the Congress and in the convention of Texas, had thus taken part in the act of annexation itself, and is now included within one of our Congressional districts. Our own Congress had, moreover, with great unanimity, by the act approved December 31, 1845, recognized the country beyond the Nueces as a part of our territory by including it within our own revenue system, and a revenue officer to reside within that district has been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. It became, therefore, of urgent necessity to provide

for the defense of that portion of our country. Accordingly, on the 13th of January last instructions were issued to the general in command of these troops to occupy the left bank of the Del Norte. This river, which is the southwestern boundary of the State of Texas, is an exposed frontier.

From this quarter invasion was threatened; upon it and in its immediate vicinity, in the judgment of high military experience, are the proper stations for the protecting forces of the Government. In addition to this important consideration, several others occurred to induce this movement. Among these are the facilities afforded by the ports at Brazos Santiago and the mouth of the Del Norte for the reception of supplies by sea, the stronger and more healthful military positions, the convenience for obtaining a ready and a more abundant supply of provisions, water, fuel, and forage, and the advantages which are afforded by the Del Norte in forwarding supplies to such posts as may be established in the interior and upon the Indian frontier.

The movement of the troops to the Del Norte was made by the commanding general under positive instructions to abstain from all aggressive acts toward Mexico or Mexican citizens and to regard the relations between that Republic and the United States as peaceful unless she should declare war or commit acts of hostility indicative of a state of war. He was specially directed to protect private property and respect personal rights.

The Army moved from Corpus Christi on the 11th of March, and on the 28th of that month arrived on the left bank of the Del Norte opposite to Matamoras, where it encamped on a commanding position, which has since been strengthened by the erection of fieldworks. A depot has also been established at Point Isabel, near the Brazos Santiago, 30 miles in the rear of the encampment. The selection of his position was necessarily confided to the judgment of the general in command.

The Mexican forces at Matamoras assumed a belligerent attitude, and on the 12th of April General Ampudia, then in command, notified General Taylor to break

up his camp within twenty-four hours and to retire beyond the Nueces River, and in the event of his failure to comply with these demands announced that arms, and arms alone, must decide the question. But no open act of hostility was committed until the 24th of April. On that day General Arista, who had succeeded to the command of the Mexican forces, communicated to General Taylor that "he considered hostilities commenced and should prosecute them." A party of dragoons of 63 men and officers were on the same day dispatched from the American camp up the Rio del Norte, on its left bank, to ascertain whether the Mexican troops had crossed or were preparing to cross the river, "became engaged with a large body of these troops, and after a short affair, in which some 16 were killed and wounded, appear to have been surrounded and compelled to surrender."

The grievous wrongs perpetrated by Mexico upon our citizens throughout a long period of years remain unredressed, and solemn treaties pledging her public faith for this redress have been disregarded. A government either unable or unwilling to enforce the execution of such treaties fails to perform one of its plainest duties.

Our commerce with Mexico has been almost annihilated. It was formerly highly beneficial to both nations, but our merchants have been deterred from prosecuting it by the system of outrage and extortion which the Mexican authorities have pursued against them, whilst their appeals through their own Government for indemnity have been made in vain. Our forbearance has gone to such an extreme as to be mistaken in its character. Had we acted with vigor in repelling the insults and redressing the injuries inflicted by Mexico at the commencement, we should doubtless have escaped all the difficulties in which we are now involved.

Instead of this, however, we have been exerting our best efforts to propitiate her good will. Upon the pretext that Texas, a nation as independent as herself, thought proper to unite its destinies with our own she has affected to believe that we have severed her rightful territory, and in official proclamations and manifestoes has repeatedly threatened to make war upon us for the purpose of reconquering Texas.

In the meantime we have tried every effort at reconciliation. The cup of forbearance had been exhausted even before the recent information from the frontier of the Del Norte. But now, after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon the American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war.

As war exists, and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself, we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country.

In further vindication of our rights and defense of our territory, I invoke the prompt action of Congress to recognize the existence of the war, and to place at the disposition of the Executive the means of prosecuting the war with vigor, and thus hastening the restoration of peace.

Source : <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/polkswar.htm>

APPENDIX II

**TREATY
OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, LIMITS, AND SETTLEMENT.
BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND
THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC.**

Concluded at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, and Ratified, with the Amendments, by the American Senate, March 10, 1848; also Ratified by the Mexican Congress, May 25, 1848.

THE TREATY

In the Name of Almighty God:

The United States of America and the United Mexican States, animated by a sincere desire to put an end to the calamities of the war which unhappily exists between the two Republics, and to establish on a solid basis relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits on the citizens of both, and assure the concord, harmony and mutual confidence wherein the two people should live as good neighbors, have, for the purpose, appointed their respective Plenipotentiaries; that is to say, the President of the United States has appointed N. P. Trist, a citizen of the United States, and the President of the Mexican Republic has appointed Don Louis Gonzaga Cuevas, Don Bernardo Couto, and Don Miguel Atristain, citizens of the said Republic, who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective powers,

have, under the protection of Almighty God, the Author of Peace, arranged, agreed upon and signed the following Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement, between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic.

ARTICLE I

There shall be a firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns and people, without exception of places or persons.

ARTICLE II

Immediately on the signature of this Treaty, a Convention shall be entered into between a Commissioner or Commissioners appointed by the General-in-Chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican Government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place; and that in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be re-established, as regards the political, administrative and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation.

ARTICLE III

Immediately upon the ratification of the present Treaty, by the Government of the United States, orders shall be transmitted to the commanders of their land and naval forces, requiring the latter (provided this Treaty shall then have been ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic) immediately to desist from blockading the Mexican ports and requiring the former (under the same condition) to commence, at the earliest moment practicable, withdrawing all troops of the United States then in the interior of the Mexican Republic, to points that shall be selected by common agreement, at a distance from the sea-ports not exceeding thirty leagues ; and such evacuation of the interior of the Republic shall be completed with the least possible delay; the Mexican Government hereby binding itself to afford every facility in its power for rendering the same convenient to the troops, on their march, and in their new positions, and for promoting a good understanding between them

and the inhabitants. In like manner, orders shall be dispatched to the persons in charge of the Custom Houses at all ports occupied by the forces of the United States, requiring them (under the same condition) immediately to deliver possession of the same to the person authorized by the Mexican Government to receive it, together with all bonds and evidences of debts for duties on importations and exportations, not yet fallen due. Moreover, a faithful and exact account shall be made out, showing the entire amount of all duties on imports and on exports, collected at such Custom Houses, or elsewhere in Mexico, by authority of the United States, from and after the day of the ratification of this Treaty by the Government of the Mexican Republic; and also an account of the cost of collection; and such entire amount, deducting only the cost of collection, shall be delivered to the Mexican Government, at the City of Mexico, within three months after the exchange of ratifications.

The evacuation of the Capital of the Mexican Republic by the troops of the United States, in virtue of the above stipulation, shall be completed in one month after the orders there stipulated for shall have been received by the Commander of the said troops, or sooner if possible.

ARTICLE IV

Immediately after the exchange of ratifications of the present Treaty, all castles, forts, territories, places and possessions, which have been taken and occupied by the forces of the United States during the present war, within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as about to be established by the following article, shall be definitely restored to the said Republic, together with all the artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions and other public property, which were in the said castles and forts when captured, and which shall remain there at the time when this Treaty shall be duly ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic. To this end, immediately upon the signature of this Treaty, orders shall be dispatched to the American officer commanding such castles and ports, securing against the removal or destruction of any such artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, or other public property. The City of Mexico, within the inner line of entrenchments

surrounding the said city, is comprehended in the above stipulations, as regards the restoration of artillery, apparatus of war, &c.

The final evacuation of the territory of the Mexican Republic by the forces of the United States shall be completed within three months from the said exchange of ratifications, or sooner if possible; the Mexican Republic hereby engages, as in the foregoing Article, to use all means in its power for facilitating such evacuation, and rendering it convenient to the troops, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants.

If, however, the ratification of this Treaty by both parties should not take place in time to allow the embarkation of the troops of the United States to be completed before the commencement of the sickly season, at the Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico, in such case a friendly arrangement shall be entered into between the General-in-Chief of the said troops and the Mexican Government, whereby healthy and otherwise suitable places, at a distance from the ports not exceeding thirty leagues, shall be designated for the residence of such troops as may not yet have embarked, until the return of the healthy season. And the space of time here referred to as comprehending the sickly season, shall be understood to extend from the first day of May to the first day of November.

All prisoners of war taken on either side, on land or on sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty. It is also agreed that if any Mexicans should now be held as captives by any savage tribe within the limits of the United States, as about to be established by the following article, the Government of the said United States will exact the release of such captives, and cause them to be restored to their country.

ARTICLE V

The boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called the Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea ; thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico, which runs north of the town called Paso, to its western termination ; thence northward along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the River Gila ; or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same, thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean.

The southern and western limits of New Mexico, mentioned in this article, are those laid down in the map entitled "*Map of the United Mexican States, as organized and defined by various acts of the Congress of said Republic and constructed according to the best authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York in 1847, by J. Disturnell.*" Of which map a copy is added to this treaty, bearing the signatures and seals of the undersigned Plenipotentiaries. And in order to preclude all difficulty in tracing upon the ground the limit separating Upper from Lower California, it is agreed that the said limits shall consist of a straight line, drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port of San Diego, according to the plan of said port, made in the year 1782, by Don Juan Pantoja, second sailing master of the Spanish fleet, and published at Madrid in the year 1802, in the Atlas to the voyage of the schooners Sutil and Mexicana, of which plan a copy is hereunto added, signed and sealed by the respective Plenipotentiaries.

In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish on the ground landmarks which shall show the limits of both Republics, as described in the present article, the Governments shall each appoint a Commissioner and Surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratification of this Treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte. They shall keep journals and make out plans of their operations; and the result agreed upon by them shall be deemed a part of this Treaty, and shall have the same force as if it were inserted therein. The two Governments will amicably agree regarding what may be necessary to these persons, also as to their respective escorts, should such be necessary.

The boundary line established by this article shall be religiously respected by each of the two Republics, and no change shall be made therein, except by the express and free consent of both Nations, lawfully given by the General Government of each, in conformity with its own Constitution.

ARTICLE VI

The vessels and citizens of the United States shall, in all time, have a free and uninterrupted passage by the Gulf of California, and by the river Colorado; and not by land, without the express consent of the Mexican Government.

If, by the examinations that may be made, it should be ascertained to be practicable and advantageous to construct a Road, Canal, or Railway, which should, in whole or in part, run upon the river Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river, the Governments of both Republics will form an agreement regarding its construction, in order that it may serve equally for the use and advantage of both countries.

ARTICLE VII

The river Gila, and the part of the Rio del Norte lying below the southern boundary of New Mexico, being agreeably to the Fifth Article, divided in the middle between the two Republics, the navigation of the Gila and the Bravo, below said boundary shall be free and common to the vessels and citizens of both countries; and neither shall, without the consent of the other construct any work that may impede or interrupt in whole or in part, the exercise of this right: not even for the purpose of favoring new methods of navigation. Nor shall any tax or contribution, under any denomination or title be levied upon vessels or persons navigating the same, or upon merchandize, or effects transported thereon, except in the case of landing upon one of their shores. If, for the purpose of making said rivers navigable, or for maintaining them in such a state, it should be necessary or advantageous to establish any tax or contribution, this shall not be done without the consent of both Governments.

The stipulations contained in the present article shall not impair the territorial rights of either Republic, within its established limits.

ARTICLE VIII

Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future, within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present Treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove, at any time, to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected on this account, to any contribution, or tax whatever.

Those who shall prefer to remain in said territories, may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their selection within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories, after the expiration of that year, without having declared their

intention to retain the character of Mexicans shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

In the said territories, property of any kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract shall enjoy, with respect to it, guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX

The Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States. In the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, their property, and the civil rights now vested in them, according to the Mexican laws. With respect to political rights, their condition shall be on an equality with that of the inhabitants of other territories of the United States, and at least equally good as that of the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Floridas, when these provinces, by transfer from the French Republic, and the Crown of Spain, became territories of the United States.

The most ample guaranty shall be enjoyed by all ecclesiastics and religious corporations, or communities, as well in the discharge of the offices of their ministry, as in the enjoyment of their property of every kind whether individual or corporate. This guaranty shall embrace all temples, houses and edifices dedicated to the Roman Catholic worship ; as well as all property destined to its support, or to that of schools, hospitals or other foundations for charitable or beneficent purposes. No property of this nature shall be considered as having become the property of the

American Government, or as subject to be by it disposed of, or diverted to other causes.

Finally, the relations and communications between Catholics living in the territories aforesaid, and their respective ecclesiastic authorities, shall be open, free and exempt from all hindrance whatever, even although such authorities should reside within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as defined by this Treaty; and this freedom shall continue so long as a new debarcation of ecclesiastical districts shall not have been made, conformably with the laws of the Roman Catholic Church.

ARTICLE X

All grants of land made by the Mexican Government, or by the competent authorities, in territories previously appertaining to Mexico, and remaining for the future within the limits of the United States, shall be respected as valid, to the same extent that the same grants would be valid if the territories had remained within the limits of Mexico. But the grantees of land in Texas put in possession thereof, who by reason of the circumstances of the country, since the beginning of the troubles between Texas and the Mexican Government, may have been prevented from fulfilling all the conditions of their grants, shall be under the obligation to fulfil the said conditions within the periods limited in the same respectively, such periods to be now counted from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty ; in default of which, said grants shall not be obligatory on the State of Texas, in virtue of the stipulations contained in this Article.

The foregoing stipulation in regard to grantees of land in Texas, is extended to all grantees of land in the territories aforesaid, elsewhere than in Texas, put in possession under such grants; and in default of the fulfillment of the conditions of any such grants, within the new period which, as is above stipulated, begins with the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, the same shall be null and void.

The Mexican Government declares that no grant whatever of lands in Texas has been made since the second day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty six; and that no grant whatever of lands in any of the territories aforesaid, has been made since the thirteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

ARTICLE XI

Considering that a great part of the territories which, by the present Treaty, are to be comprehended for the future within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes, who will hereafter be under the control of the Government of the United States, and whose incursions within the territory of Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the Government of the United States, whensoever this may be necessary ; and that when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished by the said Government, and satisfaction for the same shall be exacted all in the same way, and with equal diligence and energy as if the same incursions were committed in its own territory, against its own citizens.

It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican, or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the Republics, nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle or property of any kind, stolen within the Mexican territory, by such Indians; nor to provide such Indians with fire-arms or ammunition by sale or otherwise.

And in the event of any person or persons captured within Mexican territory by Indians, being carried into the territory of the United States, the Government of the latter engages and binds itself in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within its territory, and shall be able so to do, through the faithful exercise of its influence and power to rescue them and return them to their country, or deliver them to the agent or representative of the Mexican Government.

The Mexican authorities will, as far as practicable, give to the Government of the United States notice of such captures; and its expenses incurred in the maintenance and transmission of the rescued captives; who, in the meantime, shall be treated with the utmost hospitality by the American authorities at the place where they may be. But if the Government of the United States, before receiving such notice from Mexico, should obtain intelligence, through any other channel, of the existence of Mexican captives within its territory, it will proceed forthwith to effect their release and delivery to the Mexican agent, as above stipulated.

For the purpose of giving to these stipulations the fullest possible efficacy, thereby affording the security and redress demanded by their true spirit and intent, the Government of the United States will now and hereafter pass, without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject may require. And finally, the sacredness of this obligation shall never be lost sight of by the said Government, when providing for the removal of Indians from any portion of said territories, or for its being settled by the citizens of the United States; but, on the contrary, special care then shall be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes, by committing those invasions which the United States have solemnly obliged themselves to restrain.

ARTICLE XII

In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States, as defined in the fifth article of the present Treaty, the Government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of fifteen millions of dollars in the one or the other of the two modes below specified.

The Mexican Government shall at the time of ratifying this Treaty, declare which of these two modes of payment it prefers ; and the mode so selected by it shall be conformed to by that of the United States. First mode of payment: Immediately after this Treaty shall have been duly ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said

Government by that of the United States, at the City of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. For the remaining twelve millions of dollars the United States shall create a stock, bearing an interest of six per centum per annum, commencing on the day of the ratification of this Treaty by the Government of the Mexican Republic, and payable annually at the City of Washington; the principal of said stock to be redeemable there, at the pleasure of the Government of the United States, at any time after two years from the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty ; six month's public notice of the intention to redeem the same being previously given. Certificates of such stock, in proper form, for such sums as shall be specified by the Mexican Government, shall be delivered, and transferable by the said Government to the same by that of the United States.

Second mode of payment: Immediately after this Treaty shall have been duly ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said Government by that of the United State's, at the City of Mexico, in the god cr silver coin of Mexico. The remaining twelve millions of dollars shall be paid at the same place, and in the same coin, in annual instalments of three millions of dollars each, together with interest on the same, at the rate of six per centum per annum. This interest shall begin to run upon the whole sum of twelve millions from the day of the ratification of the present Treaty by the Mexican Government, and the first of the instalments shall be paid at the expiration of one year from the same day. Together with each annual instalment, as it falls due, the whole interest accruing on such instalment from the beginning shall also be paid.

ARTICLE XIII

The United States engage, moreover, to assume and pay to the claimants all the amounts now due them, and these hereafter to become due, by reason of the claims already liquidated and decided against the Mexican Republic, under the Conventions between the two republics severally concluded on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and on the thirtieth day of January, eighteen

hundred and forty-three; so that the Mexican Republic shall be absolutely exempt, for the future, from all expense whatever on account of the said claims.

ARTICLE XIV

The United States do furthermore discharge the Mexican Republic from all claims of citizens of the United States, not heretofore decided against the Mexican Government, which may have arisen previously to the date of the signature of this Treaty: which discharge shall be final and perpetual, whether the said claims be rejected or be allowed by the Board of Commissioners provided for in the following article, and whatever shall be the total amount of those allowed.

ARTICLE XV

The United States, exonerating Mexico from all demands on account of the claims of their citizens mentioned in the preceding article, and considering them entirely and forever canceled whatever their amount may be, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding three and one-quarter millions of dollars. To ascertain the validity and amount of those claims, a Board of Commissioners shall be established by the Government of the United States, whose awards shall be final and conclusive; provided, that in deciding upon the validity of each claim, the Board shall be guided and governed by the principles and rules of decision prescribed by the first and fifth articles of the unratified Convention, concluded at the City of Mexico on the twentieth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three; and in no case shall an award be made in favor of any claim not embraced by these principles and rules.

If, in the opinion of the said Board of Commissioners, or of the claimants, any books, records, or documents in the possession or power of the Government of the Mexican Republic, shall be deemed necessary to the just decision of any claim, the Commissioners, or the claimants through them, shall, within such period as Congress may designate, make an application in writing for the same, be assessed to the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be transmitted by the Secretary of State

of the United States; and the Mexican Government engages, at the earliest possible moment after the receipt of such demand, to cause any of the books, records, or documents so specified, which shall be in their possession or power (or authenticated copies or extracts of the same) to be transmitted to the said Secretary of State, who shall immediately deliver them over to the said Board of Commissioners; provided that no such application shall be made, by, or at the instance of any claimant, until the facts which it is expected to prove by such books, records, or documents, shall have been stated under oath or affirmation.

ARTICLE XVI

Each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the entire right to fortify whatever point within its territory it may judge proper so to fortify, for its security.

ARTICLE XVII

The Treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at the City of Mexico on the fifth day of April, A. D. 1831, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, except the additional article, and except so far as the stipulations of the said Treaty may not be incompatible with any stipulation contained in the present Treaty, is hereby revived for the period of eight years from the day of the exchange of ratifications of this Treaty, with the same force and virtue as if incorporated therein; it being understood that each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the right, at any time after the said period of eight years shall have expired, to terminate the same by giving one year's notice of such intention to the other party.

ARTICLE XVIII

All supplies whatever of troops of the United States in Mexico, arriving at ports in the occupation of such troops previous to the final evacuation thereof, although subsequently to the restoration of the Custom-Houses at such ports, shall be entirely exempt from duties and charges of any kind; the Government of the United States hereby engaging and pledging its faith to establish, and vigilantly to

enforce all possible guards for securing the revenue of Mexico, by preventing the importation, under cover of this stipulation, of any articles other than such, both in kind and in quality, as shall really be wanted for the use and consumption of the forces of the United States during the time they may remain in Mexico. To this end it shall be the duty of all officers and agents of the United States to announce to the Mexican authorities, at the respective ports, any attempts at a fraudulent abuse of this stipulation which they may know of or may have reason to suspect, and to give to such authorities all the aid in their power with regard thereto; and every such attempt, when duly proved and established by sentence of a competent tribunal, shall be punished by the confiscation of the property so attempted to be fraudulently introduced.

ARTICLE XIX

With respect to all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, imported into ports of Mexico while in the occupation of the forces of the United States, whether by citizens of either republic, or by citizens or subjects of any neutral nation, the following rules shall be observed:

I. All such merchandise, effects, and property, if imported previously to the restoration of the Custom-Houses to the Mexican authorities, as stipulated for in the third article of this Treaty, shall be exempt from confiscation, although the importation of the same be prohibited by the Mexican Tariff.

II. The same perfect exemption shall be enjoyed by all such merchandise, effects, and property, imported subsequently to the restoration of the Custom-Houses, and previously to the sixty days fixed in the following article for the coming into force of the Mexican Tariff, at such ports respectively; the said merchandise, effects, and property being, however, at the time of their importation, subject to the payment of duties, as provided for in the said following article.

III. All merchandise, effects, and property described in the two rules foregoing, shall, during their continuance at the place of importation, or upon their leaving such place for the interior, be exempt from all duty, tax or impost of every kind, under whatsoever title or denomination. Nor shall they be there subject to any charge whatsoever upon the sale thereof.

IV. All merchandise, effects, and property, described in the first and second rules, which shall have been removed to any place in the interior while such place was in the occupation of the forces of the United States, shall, during their continuance therein, be exempt from all tax upon the sale of consumption thereof, and from every kind of impost or contribution, under whatsoever title or denomination.

V. But if any merchandise, effects, or property, described in the first and second rules shall be removed to any place not occupied at the time by the forces of the United States, they shall, upon their introduction into such place, or upon their sale or consumption there, be subject to the same duties which, under the Mexican laws, they would be required to pay in such cases if they had been imported in time of peace, through the maritime Custom-Houses, and had there paid the duties conformably with the Mexican Tariff.

VI. The owners of all merchandise, effects, or property described in the first and second rules and existing in any port of Mexico, shall have the right to re-ship the same, exempt from all tax, impost, or contribution whatever.

With respect to the metals, or other property, exported from any Mexican port while in the occupation of the forces of the United States, and previously to the restoration of the Custom-House at such port, no person shall be required by the Mexican authorities, whether general or State, to pay any tax, duty, or contribution upon any such exportation, or in any manner to account for the same to the said authorities.

ARTICLE XX

Through consideration for the interests of commerce generally, it is agreed that if less than sixty days should elapse between the date of the signature of this Treaty and the restoration of the custom-houses, conformably with a stipulation in the third Article, in such case, all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, arriving at the Mexican ports after the restoration of the said custom-houses, and previously to the expiration of sixty days after the signature of this Treaty, shall be admitted to entry; and no other duties shall be levied thereon than the duties established by the Tariff found in force at such custom-houses at the time of the restoration of the same. And to all such merchandise, effects and property, the rules established in the preceding Article shall apply.

ARTICLE XXI

If, unhappily, any disagreement should hereafter arise between the Governments of the two Republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this Treaty or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said Governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavor, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the difference so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves; using, for this end, mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had in reprisals, aggressions, or hostility of any kind by the one Republic against the other, until the Government of that which deems itself aggrieved shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborhood, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of Commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference, or the circumstances of the case.

ARTICLE XXII

If (which is not to be expected, and which God forbid!) war shall unhappily break out between the two Republics, they do now, with a view to such calamity, pledge themselves to each other and to the world, to observe the following rules, absolutely, where the nature of the subject permits, and as closely as possible in all cases where such absolute observance shall be impossible.

I. The merchants of either Republic then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain twelve months, (for those dwelling in the interior) and six months, (for those dwelling at the sea-ports) to collect their debts and settle their affairs ; during which periods, they shall enjoy the same protection, and be on the same footing, in all respects, as the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations ; and, at the expiration thereof, or at any time before, they shall have full liberty to depart, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance ; conforming therein to the same laws which the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations are required to conform to. Upon the entrance of the armies of either nation into the territories of the other, women and children, ecclesiastics, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed, and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages or places, and in general all persons whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments unmolested in their persons. Nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their cattle taken, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but if the necessity arise to take any thing from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at an equitable price. All churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, libraries, and other establishments, for charitable and beneficent purposes, shall be respected, and all persons connected with the same protected in the discharge of their duties, and the pursuits of their vocations.

II. In order that the fate of prisoners of war may be alleviated, all such practices as those of sending them into distant, inclement, or unwholesome districts, or crowding them into close and noxious places, shall be studiously avoided. They shall not be confined in dungeons, prison-ships or prisons; nor be put in irons, or bound, or otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs. The officers shall enjoy liberty on their paroles, within convenient districts, and have comfortable quarters; and the common soldiers shall be disposed in cantonments, open and extensive enough for air and exercise, and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are for its own troops. But if any officer shall break his parole by leaving the district so assigned him, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment, after they shall have been designated to him, such individual, officer, or other prisoner shall forfeit so much of the benefit of this Article as provides for his liberty on parole or in cantonment. And if an officer so breaking his parole, or any common soldier so escaping from the limits assigned him, shall afterward be found in arms, previously to his being regularly exchanged, the person so offending shall be dealt with according to the established laws of war. The officers shall be daily furnished by the party in whose power they are, with as many rations, and of the same articles, as are allowed, either in kind or by computation, to officers of equal rank in its own army; and all others shall be daily furnished with such ration as is allowed to a common soldier in its own service ; the value of all which supplies shall, at the close of the war, or at periods to be agreed upon between the respective commanders, be paid by the other party, on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners; and such accounts shall not be mingled with or set off against any others, nor the balance due on them withheld, as a compensation or reprisal for any cause whatever, real or pretended. Each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners, appointed by itself, with every cantonment of prisoners, in possession of the other; which commissary shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases; shall be allowed to receive, exempt from all duties or taxes, and to distribute, whatever comforts may be sent to them by their friends; and shall be free to transmit his reports in open letters to the party by whom he is employed.

And it is declared that neither the pretense that war dissolves all Treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending the solemn covenant contained in this article. On the contrary, the state of war is precisely that for which it is provided; and during which, its stipulations are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged obligations under the law of nature or nations.

ARTICLE XXIII

This Treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and by the President of the Mexican Republic with the previous approbation of its General Congress; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the city of Washington, in four months from the date of the signature hereof, or sooner, if practicable.

In faith whereof, we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement; and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in Quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

N. P. TRIST,	[L. S.]
LUIS G. CUEVAS,	[L. S.]
BERNARDO COUTO,	[L. S.]
MIG. ATRISTAIN,	[L. S.]

And whereas, the said Treaty, as amended, has been duly ratified on both parts, and the respective ratifications of the same were exchanged at Queretaro, on the thirtieth day of May last, by Ambrose H. Sevier and Nathan Clifford, commissioners on the part of the Government of the United States, and by Senor Don Luis de la Rosa, Minister of Relations of the Mexican Republic, on the part of that Government:

Now, therefore, be it known, that I, James K. Polk, President of the United States of America, have caused the said Treaty to be made public, to the end that the same, and every clause and article thereof, may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, on this fourth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States the seventy-third.

By the President,

James K. Polk.

James Buchanan, Secretary of State.

Source: J, Frost., *The Mexican war and Its Warriors.*, H. Mansfield, New Haven, U.S.A., 1848. pp 333 - 343.