

the co-operation of all is needed; and if we do not cast aside selfish interests, and petty passions, we can expect nothing but disaster. The army, and myself who have led it, have the satisfaction of knowing that we have demonstrated this truth."

CHAPTER IX.

Advance of the Army to Lobos; thence to Antonio Lizardo.—Siege and Capture of Vera Cruz.—Official Despatches.—March to the Interior.—Battle of Cerro Gordo.—Official Despatches.—apture of Puebla.

GENERAL Scott having been joined by the troops from the Upper Rio Grande, halted for a few days at the mouth of the river. Every thing being in readiness, they were taken on board transports, and proceeded to join others who had made their rendezvous at the island of Lobos, about 125 miles north and west of the city of Vera Cruz. The troops being thus collected, the whole armament proceeded to Antonio Lizardo.

On the morning of the 7th of March, General Scott, in a steamer, with Commodore Connor, reconnoitred the city, for the purpose of selecting the best landing-place for the army. The spot selected was the shore west of the island of Sacrificios. The anchorage was too narrow for a large number of vessels, and on the morning of the 9th of March the troops were removed from the transports to the ships of war. The fleet then set sail—General Scott in the steamship Massachusetts, leading the van. As he passed through the squadron, his tall form, conspicuous on the deck, attracted the eyes of soldier and of sailor; a cheer burst spontaneously forth, and from vessel to vessel was echoed, and answered through the line. The voices of veterans, and of new recruits—of those who had been victorious at Monterey, and of those who

hoped for victories in the future—were mingled in loud acclamation for him, whose character inspired confidence, and whose actions were already embodied in the glorious history of their country!

Near Sacrificios the landing commenced. It must be observed at this point, that every man expected to be met at the landing; for such, in military judgment, should have been the course of the enemy, and such would have been the case had the landing been made at the point where the enemy expected it, and where his forces were collected. Preparations were therefore made for any possible contingency. Two steamers and five gunboats, arranged in line, covered the landing. Five thousand five hundred troops embarked in sixty-seven surf-boats. The signal-gun was fired. The seamen bent to their oars, and in a magnificent semicircle the boats swept rapidly towards the beach. Every man is anxious to be first. They plunge into the water before they reach the shore! they rush through the sand-hills! and with loud shouts they press forward! They wave the flag of their country in the land of the Aztecs! Where are their comrades? They also soon embark—they hurry through the water—they land in safety—they rejoin their companions—they return shout for shout, to friends in the vessels and friends on shore. Safely, but hurriedly, they then pass through this exciting crisis.

In the meanwhile, the sun shines down in the brilliance of his light, the waters are but just ruffled by a breeze, while the deep waves are calm and the sky serene. Full in view lies the city of Vera Cruz, and near is the renowned castle of San Juan d'Ulloa! The harbor is crowded with foreign vessels, and decks and rigging are filled

with wondering spectators! Never, says one, shall I forget the excitement of that scene!

The first division of troops had landed a little before sunset, the second and third followed in succession, and before ten o'clock the whole army (numbering twelve thousand men) was landed, without the slightest accident and without the loss of a single life!

Thus, at the distance of more than three hundred years, was renewed the landing and march of Cortez! Both were brilliant, and remarkable in history and conduct. The Spanish hero came to encounter and subdue, on unknown shores, the Aztec-American civilization. The Anglo-American came to meet and prevail against the Spanish-Aztec combination. Both came with inferior numbers, to illustrate the higher order and vastly superior energies of moral power. Both came agents controlled by an invisible spirit, in carrying forward the drama of Divine Providence on earth. In vain do we speculate as to the end; it will be revealed only when the last curtain is drawn from the deep, mysterious Future.

The landing at Vera Cruz, as a military operation, deserves a credit which is seldom awarded to bloodless achievements. It is common to measure military operations by the current of blood which has flowed. But why? Is he not the best general who accomplishes the greatest results with the least loss? Or must we adopt the savage theory, that the greatest inhumanity is the greatest heroism? Mere animal bravery is a common quality. Why, then, should the exhibition of so common a quality, in an open battle, give distinction, when it is skill only that is valuable, and science only that is uncommon? This skill and science were exhibited in a

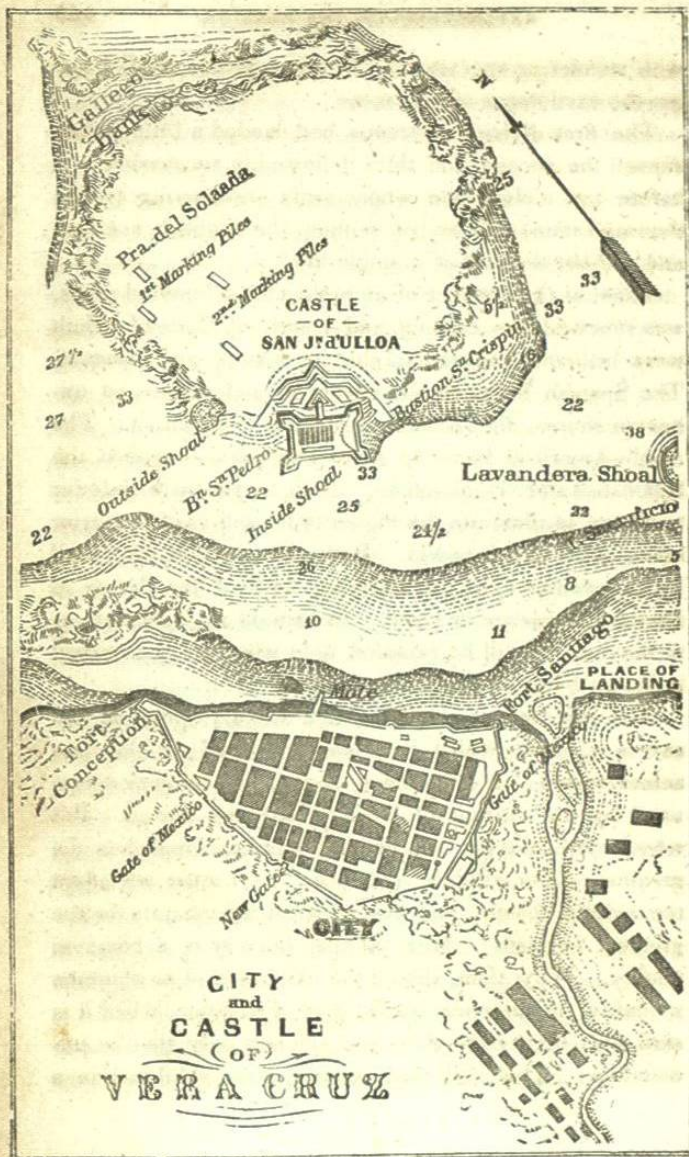
most singular and felicitous manner, in the pre-arrangements, combinations, and success, which attended the landing of the American army under the walls of Vera Cruz.

Of this landing, as compared with a similar one by the French at Algiers, the *New Orleans Bulletin*, of March 27th, makes the following correct and interesting remarks :

"The landing of the American army at Vera Cruz has been accomplished in a manner that reflects the highest credit on all concerned, and the regularity, precision, and promptness with which it was effected, has probably not been surpassed, if it has been equalled in modern warfare.

"The removal of a large body of troops from numerous transports into boats in an open sea—their subsequent disembarkation on the sea-beach, on an enemy's coast, through a surf, with all their arms and accoutrements, without a single error or accident, requires great exertion, skill, and sound judgment.

"The French expedition against Algiers, in 1830, was said to be the most complete armament in every respect that ever left Europe; it had been prepared with labor, attention, and experience, and nothing had been omitted to ensure success, and particularly in the means and facilities for landing the troops. This disembarkation took place in a wide bay, which was more favorable than an open beach directly on the ocean, and (as in the present instance) without any resistance on the part of the enemy—yet, only nine thousand men were landed the first day, and from thirty to forty lives were lost by accidents, or upsetting of boats; whereas, on the present oc-



casions, twelve thousand men were landed in one day, without, so far as we have heard, the slightest accident or the loss of a single life."

No troops of the enemy made direct opposition to the American army on reaching the beach, but the guns of the castle and city kept up a constant firing with round-shot and thirteen-inch shells. The several corps immediately occupied the lines of investment to which they had been respectively assigned by General Scott's orders.¹ These orders pointed out the most minute particulars, and were based on *prior information*, obtained by the engineer and topographical departments, and carefully analyzed and thoroughly studied, by the commander-in-chief. This information was so accurate, and so well understood by the commander, the engineers, and the chief of the staff, that they made no mistakes. They found all as they anticipated: their arrangements resulted as they intended, and the regiments and companies took their respective places as quietly and orderly as if they were parading on the green banks of the Potomac! Parties of the enemy appeared, and skirmishes took place, but nothing seriously interrupted the progress of investment. On the 12th instant, the entire army had completely occupied its positions.²

All this was not done without labor, fatigue, and exposure of the severest kind. The carts, horses, and mules, except a very few,³ had not yet arrived. Innumerable

¹ General Orders, No. 47.

² General Scott's Official Report, dated 12th of March, 1847.

³ There had then arrived but fifteen carts and one hundred draught-horses.

hills of loose sand, and almost impassable thickets of chaparral, covered the ground of operations. Through these, by their own hands, and on their backs, soldiers, both regular and volunteer, dragged their provisions, their equipments, and munitions of war, under the rays of a sun already hot in a tropical climate. The sands of this peculiar region are so light, that during the existence of a "norther," (a so-called wind of the Gulf,) if a man would lie down for an hour or two, he would inevitably be buried in the floating drifts! He must therefore, at this season, seek shelter in chapparals. In such circumstances—under the distant fire of the enemy's fortresses, and in the midst of sharp skirmishes—the investment was completed. The lines of siege were five miles in length, and on that whole distance provisions must be carried and communications kept up with *dépôts*, and with ships at sea. In this the officers and seamen of the navy co-operated with those of the army in the most gallant and skilful manner.

During this part of the siege a "norther" prevailed, which rendered it impossible to land heavy ordnance. On the 17th a pause occurred in the storm, and ten mortars, four twenty-four-pound guns, and some howitzers were landed. On the night of the 18th the trenches were opened, and, the engineers with the sappers and miners leading the way, the army gradually closed in nearer the city.

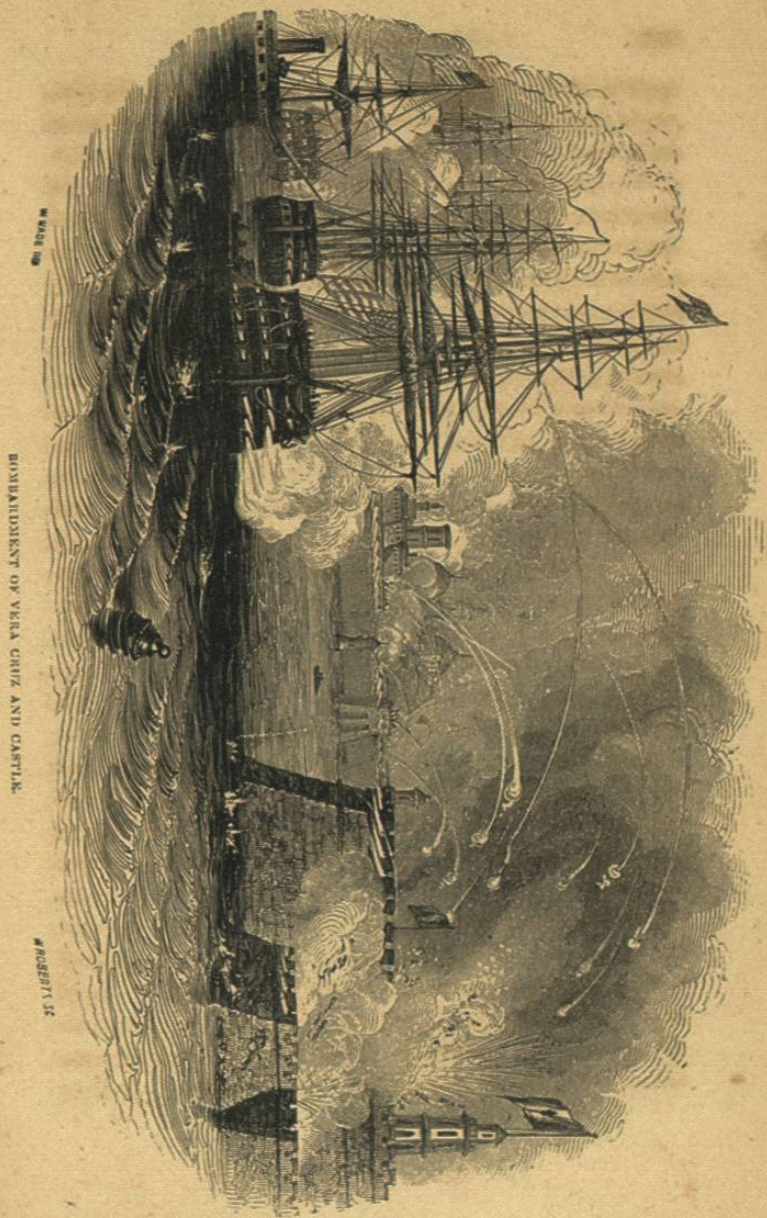
On the 22d of March—seven of the ten-inch mortars being in battery, and other works in progress—General Scott summoned the governor of Vera Cruz to surrender the city. The governor, who was also governor of the castle, chose to consider the summons to surrender that, as well as the city, and rejected the proposition. On the

return of the flag, the mortar-battery, at the distance of eight hundred yards from the city, opened its fire on the city, and continued to fire during the day and night.

On the 24th the batteries were reinforced with twenty-four-pounders and paixhan guns. On the 25th all the batteries were in "awful activity." Terrible was the scene! The darkness of night was illuminated with blazing shells circling through the air. The roar of artillery and the heavy fall of descending shot were heard through the streets of the besieged city. The roofs of buildings were on fire. The domes of churches reverberated with fearful explosions. The sea was reddened with the broadsides of ships. The castle of San Juan returned, from its heavy batteries, the fire, the light, the smoke, the noise of battle. Such was the sublime and awfully terrible scene, as beheld from the trenches of the army, from the 22d to the 25th of March, when the accumulated science of ages, applied to the military art, had, on the plains of Vera Cruz, aggregated and displayed the fulness of its destructive power.

On the evening of the 25th instant, the consuls of European powers residing in Vera Cruz, made application, by memorial, to General Scott for a truce, to enable them and the women and children of the city to retire. To this General Scott replied—that a *truce* could only be granted on application of General Morales, the governor, with a view to surrender;¹ that safeguards had already been sent to the foreign consuls, of which they had refused to avail themselves; that the blockade had been left open to consuls and neutrals to the 22d proximo; and

¹ Scott's Official Report of March 25, 1847.



OVERTURES FOR SURRENDER.

that the case of women and children, with their hardships and distresses, had been fully considered before one gun was fired.

The memorial represented that the batteries had already a terrible effect on the city—and by this, and other evidence, it was now clear that a crisis had arrived. The city must either be surrendered, or it must be consigned to inevitable and most melancholy destruction.

Accordingly, early on the morning of the 26th of March, General Landero, on whom the command had been devolved by General Morales, made overtures of surrender. Arrangements had been made by Scott for carrying the city by assault on that very day. The proposition of the Mexican general made this unnecessary, and Generals Worth and Pillow, with Colonel Totten, that distinguished officer of the engineer corps, who had conducted the siege, were appointed commissioners on the part of the American army, to treat with others appointed by the governor of Vera Cruz. Late on the night of the 27th the articles of capitulation were signed and exchanged.

On the 29th of March the official despatch of General Scott announced that the flag of the United States floated over the walls of Vera Cruz and the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. The regular siege of the city had continued from the day of *investment*, the 12th of March, to the day the articles of capitulation were signed, the 27th, making a period of *fifteen days*, in which active, continuous, and vigorous operations were carried on. During this time our army had thrown three thousand ten-inch shells, two hundred howitzer shells, one thousand paixhan shot, and two thousand five hundred round-shot, weighing on the whole about *half a million of pounds!* Most effective

and most terrible was the disaster and destruction they caused within the walls of the city, whose ruins and whose mourning attested both the energy and the sadness of war.

By some it was thought strange that the governor of Vera Cruz should have surrendered so soon; but, on a full exhibition of the facts of the siege, surprise gives place to admiration at the progress, power, and development of military science. The thirty years which had elapsed since the fall of Napoleon, had not been idly passed by military men. They had acquired and systematized new arts and new methods in the art of war. Nor were American officers inattentive to this progress. They had shared in it all, and when the siege of Vera Cruz was undertaken, this new power and method were fully displayed. The city was environed with cords of strength, in which all its defences must be folded and crushed. The result was inevitable. The officers of Vera Cruz saw this, and although the castle of San Juan might have held out a few days longer, for what purpose would it have been? There is no rule of military science which requires fighting when fighting is useless. There is no law of humanity which would not be violated by the wanton exposure of towns and inhabitants when defence was impossible. The surrender was, therefore, alike just to victors and defenders, both of whom had arrived at an inevitable end,—the result of progress in high civilization, and of the highest military skill and accomplishments.

By the terms of capitulation, all the arms and munitions of war were given up to the United States; five thousand prisoners surrendered on parole; near five hundred pieces of fine artillery were taken; the best port of Mexico captured and possessed; and the famed castle of San Juan,

said to be impregnable, and which had been refitted and equipped in the best possible manner, yielded its defences to the superior skill and energy of the Anglo-Americans. At 10 A. M., on the morning of the 29th, that people, who centuries before had, with a small band, marched through the Aztec empire, and, with the pride of power, supplanted its ancient dominion, struck their flags and quietly submitted to another and a newer race, who had come over the Atlantic later than themselves, but who had imbibed other principles, and been impelled by stronger energies, in the colder regions of the north. On the castle of San Juan, on the forts of Santiago and Conception, the banner of the American Union gracefully ascended, and, amidst the shouts and cheers of warriors on sea and shore, bent its folds to the breeze, and looked forth over the Mexican Gulf.

In this great and successful enterprise, the American arms met with but little loss. Two officers,¹ (valuable, however, to their corps and country,) with a few soldiers, were all the deaths. So great a result, obtained with so little loss, may be sought in vain among the best campaigns of the best generals of modern times. There are those who think victory brightest when achieved in the carnival of death, and the laurel greenest which is plucked from a crimson tree. But this is not the estimate of the humane, the honorable, or the intelligent. They, in this age of the world, will deem that achievement greatest which costs the least, where skill has been substituted for death, and science for the brave but often wasted energy of bodily force.

¹ Captains Alburis and Vinton, both distinguished officers, were killed, with several private soldiers.

Some incidents of this siege are related, which illustrate the character of General Scott and the nature of the war. On one occasion, when the general was walking along the trenches, the soldiers would frequently rise up and look over the parapet. The general cried out, "Down—down, men!—don't expose yourselves." "But, general," said one, "*you* are exposed." "Oh!" said Scott, "*generals*, now-a-days, can be made out of anybody, but *men* cannot be had."

Something has been severely said, as to the loss of women and children by the bombardment of the city; but this is unjustly said. Scott, as appears by the official papers, gave ample notice of the danger to consuls, neutrals, and non-combatants in the city, and ample time for them to remove. That they, or at least many of them, did not avail themselves of that notice, was their own fault; and, by the laws of war, it was both unnecessary and impossible that the siege should be delayed, or given up, on account of the inhabitants within, who had long known that the United States army would land there, and who had received from the commander full notice of danger.

We add General Scott's official despatches.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Camp Washington, before VERA CRUZ, }
March 12th, 1847.

SIR:—The colors of the United States were triumphantly planted ashore, in full view of this city and castle, and under the distant fire of both, in the afternoon of the 9th inst. Brevet Brigadier-general Worth's brigade of regulars led the descent, quickly followed by the division of United States volunteers under Major-general Patterson, and Brigadier-

general Twiggs' reserve brigade of regulars. The three lines successively landed in sixty-seven surf-boats, each boat conducted by a naval officer, and rowed by sailors from Commodore Connor's squadron, whose lighter vessels flanked the boats so as to be ready to protect the operation by their cross-fire. The whole army reached the shore in fine style, and without direct opposition, (on the beach,) accident, or loss, driving the enemy from the ground to be occupied.

The line of investment, according to General Orders, No. 47, was partially taken up the same night; but has only been completed to-day, owing to the most extraordinary difficulties: 1. The environs of the city, outside of the fire of its guns and those of the castle, are broken into innumerable hills of loose sand, from 20 to 250 feet in height, with almost impassable forests of chapporal between; and, 2. Of all our means of land-transportation—wagons, carts, pack-saddles, horses, and mules, expected to join us from Tampico and the Brazos, weeks ago—but 15 carts and about 100 draught-horses have yet arrived. Three hundred pack-mules are greatly needed to relieve the troops in taking subsistence alone, along the line of investment of more than five miles, as, at present, our only depot is south of the city. On the cessation of the present raging Norther, which almost stifles the troops with sand, sweeping away hills and creating new, I hope to establish a second depot north of the city, which will partially relieve the left wing of the army.

In extending the line of investment around the city, the troops for three days have performed the heaviest labors in getting over the hills and cutting through the intervening forests—all under the distant fire of the city and castle, and in the midst of many sharp skirmishes with the enemy. In these operations we have lost in killed and wounded several valuable officers and men. Among the killed I have to report Brevet Capt. Alburto, of the United States 2d Infantry,

much distinguished in the Florida war, and a most excellent officer. He fell on the 11th inst.; and Lieut. Col. Dickens, of the South Carolina Regiment, was badly wounded in a skirmish the day before. Two privates have been killed in these operations, and four or five wounded. As yet I have not been able to obtain their names.

As soon as the subsistence of the troops can be assured, and their positions are well established, I shall, by an organized movement, cause each brigade of regulars and volunteers to send detachments, with supports, to clear its front, including sub-bourgs, of the enemy's parties, so as to oblige them to confine themselves within the walls of the city.

I have heretofore reported that but two-sevenths of the siege-train and ammunition had reached me. The remainder is yet unheard of. We shall commence landing the heavy metal as soon as the storm subsides, and hope that the five-sevenths may be up in time.

The city being invested, would, no doubt, early surrender, but for the fear that, if occupied by us, it would immediately be fired upon by the castle. I am not altogether without hope of finding the means of coming to some compromise with the city on this subject.

So far, the principal skirmishing has fallen to the lot of Brigadier-general Pillow's and Quitman's brigades. Both old and new volunteer regiments have conducted themselves admirably. Indeed, the whole army is full of zeal and confidence, and cannot fail to acquire distinction in the impending operations.

To Commodore Connor, the officers and sailors of his squadron, the army is indebted for great and unceasing assistance, promptly and cheerfully rendered. Their co-operation is the constant theme of our gratitude and admiration. A handsome detachment of marines, under Capt. Edson, of that corps, landed with the first line, and is doing duty with the army.

March 13.—The enemy, at intervals, continues the fire of heavy ordnance, from the city and castle, upon our line of investment, both by day and night, but with little or no effect.

The norther has ceased, which has renewed our communication with the store-ships at anchor under Sacrificios. We shall immediately commence landing the few pieces of heavy ordnance, with ordnance stores, at hand, and hope soon to have the necessary draught-mules to take them to their positions. Any farther delay in the arrival of those means of transportation will be severely felt in our operations.

I have the honor to remain, sir, with high respect, your most obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Hon. Wm. L. MARCY, Secretary of War.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
Camp Washington, before Vera Cruz,
March 23, 1847.

SIR:—Yesterday, seven of our 10-inch mortars being in battery, and the labors for planting the remainder of our heavy metal being in progress, I addressed, at two o'clock, P. M. a summons to the Governor of Vera Cruz, and within the two hours limited by the bearer of the flag, received the Governor's answer. Copies of the two papers (marked respectively A and B) are herewith enclosed.

It will be perceived that the Governor, who, it turns out, is the commander of both places, chose, against the plain terms of the summons, to suppose me to have demanded the surrender of the castle and of the city; when in fact, from the non-arrival of our heavy metal—principally mortars—I was in no condition to threaten the former.

On the return of the flag with that reply, I at once ordered the seven mortars, in battery, to open upon the city. In a short time the smaller vessels of Commodore Perry's squadron—two steamers and five schooners—according to

previous arrangement with him, approached the city within about a mile and an eighth, whence, being partially covered from the castle—an essential condition to their safety—they also opened a brisk fire upon the city. This has been continued uninterruptedly by the mortars, and only with a few intermissions, by the vessels, up to 9 o'clock this morning, when the Commodore, very properly, called them off from a position too daringly assumed.

Our three remaining mortars are now (12 o'clock, A. M.) in battery, and the whole ten in activity. To-morrow, early, if the city should continue obstinate, batteries Nos. 4 and 5 will be ready to add their fire: No. 4, consisting of four 24-pounders and two 8-inch Paixhan guns, and No. 5 (naval battery) of three 32-pounders and three 8-inch Paixhans—the guns, officers, and sailors, landed from the squadron—our friends of the navy being unremitting in their zealous co-operation, in every mode and form.

So far, we know that our fire upon the city has been highly effective, particularly from the batteries of 10-inch mortars, planted at about 800 yards from the city. Including the preparation and defence of the batteries, from the beginning—now many days—and notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy, from city and castle, we have only had four or five men wounded and one officer and one man killed, in or near the trenches. That officer was Captain John R. Vinton, of the United States third artillery, one of the most talented, accomplished, and effective members of the army, and who was highly distinguished in the brilliant operations at Monterey. He fell last evening in the trenches, where he was on duty as field and commanding officer, universally regretted. I have just attended his honored remains to a soldier's grave—in full view of the enemy and within reach of his guns.

Thirteen of the long-needed mortars—leaving twenty-

seven, besides heavy guns, behind—have arrived, and two of them landed. A heavy norther then set in (at meridian) that stopped that operation, and also the landing of shells. Hence the fire of our mortar batteries has been slackened, since two o'clock to day, and cannot be reinvigorated until we shall again have a smooth sea. In the mean time I shall leave this report open for journalizing events that may occur up to the departure of the steam ship-of-war, the Princeton, with Com. Connor, who, I learn, expects to leave the anchorage of Sacrificios, for the United States, the 25th inst.

March 24.—The storm having subsided in the night, we commenced this forenoon, as soon as the sea became a little smooth, to land shot, shells, and mortars.

The naval battery No. 5, was opened with great activity, under Capt. Aulick, the second in rank of the squadron, at about 10 A. M. His fire was continued to 2 o'clock, P. M., a little before he was relieved by Capt. Mayo, who landed with a fresh supply of ammunition, Capt. A. having exhausted the supply he had brought with him. He lost four sailors, killed, and had one officer, Lieut. Baldwin, slightly hurt.

The mortar batteries, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, have fired but languidly during the day for want of shells, which are now going out from the beach.

The two reports of Col. Bankhead, chief of artillery, both of this date, copies of which I enclose, give the incidents of those three batteries.

Battery No. 4, which will mount four 24-pounders and two 8-inch Paixhan guns, has been much delayed in the hands of the indefatigable engineers by the norther that filled up the work with sand nearly as fast as it could be opened by the half-blinded laborers. It will, however, doubtless be in full activity early to-morrow morning.

March 25.—The Princeton being about to start for Philadelphia, I have but a moment to continue this report.

All the batteries, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, are in awful activity this morning. The effect is, no doubt, very great, and I think the city cannot hold out beyond to-day. To-morrow morning many of the new mortars will be in a position to add their fire, when, or after the delay of some twelve hours, if no proposition to surrender should be received, I shall organize parties for carrying the city by assault. So far the defence has been spirited and obstinate.

I enclose a copy of a memorial received last night signed by the consuls of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Prussia, within Vera Cruz, asking me to grant a truce to enable the neutrals, together with Mexican women and children, to withdraw from the scene of havoc about them. I shall reply, the moment that an opportunity may be taken, to say—1. That a truce can only be granted on the application of Gov. Morales, with a view to surrender. 2. That in sending safeguards to the different consuls, beginning so far back as the 13th inst., I distinctly admonished them—particularly the French and Spanish consuls—and of course, through the two, the other consuls, of the dangers that have followed. 3. That although at that date I had already refused to allow any person whatsoever to pass the line of investment either way, yet the blockade had been left open to the consuls and other neutrals to pass out to their respective ships of war up to the 22d instant; and, 4. I shall enclose to the memorialists a copy of my summons to the Governor, to show that I had fully considered the impending hardships and distresses of the place, including those of women and children, before one gun had been fired in that direction. The intercourse between the neutral ships of war and the city was stopped at the last-mentioned date by Commodore Perry, with my concurrence, which I placed on the ground that that intercourse could not fail to give to the enemy *moral aid and comfort*.

It will be seen from the memorial, that our batteries have

already had a terrible effect on the city, (also known through other sources,) and hence the inference that a surrender must soon be proposed. In haste,

I have the honor to remain, sir, with respect, your most obedient servant,

WINFIELD SCOTT.

Hon. Wm. L. MARCY, Secretary of War.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
VERA CRUZ, March 29, 1847. }

SIR—The flag of the United States of America floats triumphantly over the walls of this city and the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa.

Our troops have garrisoned both since 10 o'clock: it is now noon. Brig. Gen. Worth is in command of the two places.

Articles of capitulation were signed and exchanged at a late hour night before last. I enclose a copy of the document.

I have heretofore reported the principal incidents of the siege up to the 25th instant. Nothing of striking interest occurred till early in the morning of the next day, when I received overtures from General Landero, on whom General Morales had devolved the principal command. A terrible storm of wind and sand made it difficult to communicate with the city, and impossible to refer to Commodore Perry. I was obliged to entertain the proposition alone, or to continue the fire upon a place that had shown a disposition to surrender; for the loss of a day, or perhaps several, could not be permitted. The accompanying papers will show the proceedings and results.

Yesterday, after the norther had abated, and the commissioners appointed by me early the morning before had again met those appointed by General Landero, Commodore Perry sent ashore his second in command, Captain Aulick, as a commissioner on the part of the navy. Although not included