

with the utmost gallantry, by the garrison. Discouraged by these repeated checks, General Arredondo proposed terms, which were acceded to by Major Sarda; and, after stipulating for the honours of war, liberty on parole for the officers, and the free departure of the men for their respective homes and countries, *thirty-seven* men and officers, (the little remnant of the garrison,) grounded their arms before fifteen hundred of the enemy. The Royalists lost three hundred men in the three assaults upon the fort, a circumstance which may explain, though it cannot excuse, their disgraceful violation of the capitulation. Instead of being treated as prisoners of war, and allowed to leave Mexico for the United States, Major Sarda and his men were transferred, in irons, by the most circuitous route, and amidst a thousand intentional aggravations of their sufferings, to the dungeons of the Castle of St. John, at Veracruz, where they were confined, with thirty others of Mina's men, taken afterwards in the Interior, until they were reduced to half their original number. The survivors were removed to Spain, where, by a special decree of the 11th of June 1818, they were condemned to the Presidios of Ceuta, Melilla, and Cadiz, where they all, I believe, have terminated their wretched existence, as convicts (*Presidarios*) linked with the refuse of Spanish gaols, and reduced to the lowest state of degradation, of which human nature is susceptible.

Mina was greatly affected by this reverse, the

news of which reached him at the time when his exertions to organize a respectable force, in the vicinity of Sombrero, were counteracted by the jealousy of the Padre Torres, who could not be induced to co-operate with a man, of whose superior abilities he was, at once, jealous, and afraid. The time which was lost by his procrastination, and bad faith, was turned by the Royalists to account. Apodaca gradually concentrated his forces, which he placed under the orders of the Mariscal de campo Don Pascual Liñan, who, about the middle of July, was known to be upon his route towards the Baxio, at the head of five thousand men. Mina's troops did not exceed five hundred in number, and these were diminished by an ill-judged attempt upon the town of León, by the occupation of which he wished to anticipate Liñan's arrival. The place was garrisoned, unexpectedly, by an advanced corps of the Royal army, and when Mina attacked it, he was repulsed with the loss of one hundred men. He retired immediately to Sombrero, which was invested, soon afterwards, by Liñan, who appeared before it, on the 30th of July, with a force of three thousand five hundred and forty-one men.

The garrison, which, (including women and children,) amounted to nine hundred, was soon reduced to the greatest distress by the want of water, the fort having previously drawn its supplies from a barranca, (ravine,) at the foot of the mountain, all communication with which was cut off by one of the

enemy's batteries. There was no well in the place, and, although in the midst of the rainy season, the clouds, which deluged the country around, passed over the rock, upon which this ill-fated fortress stood. At length, a few partial showers afforded some relief, and Mina seeing the spirits of his men revive, made an attempt on the entrenchments of the enemy, on the night of the 8th of August, in which he was unsuccessful. His good star seemed to have deserted him: eleven of the little band of foreigners, to whom he was indebted for his first successes, fell upon this occasion: some died upon the spot, and others were only wounded. The fate of the last was, perhaps, the most melancholy; for, on the following morning, they were carried to a spot immediately in sight of the walls of the fort, and there strangled in the sight of their old comrades.

On the 9th of August, Mina, finding that the reinforcements and supplies promised by the Padre Torres, did not appear, quitted the fortress, accompanied only by three companions, in order to concert measures with the Insurgents without, for collecting a force sufficient to raise the siege. In this he completely failed: the cause of the Insurrection was in much too low a state to admit of the organization of a body numerous enough to contend with Liñan's force, and Mina, as a last resource, was compelled to send orders to Colonel Young, to evacuate the place by night.

Before these orders were received, that officer

had perished. He died in repulsing an assault made by the enemy, on the 18th of August, which he effected, although the previous sufferings of the garrison had reduced his numbers to one hundred and fifty effective men. Upon his death, the command devolved upon Lieutenant-colonel Bradburn, who attempted to abandon the fort on the night of the 19th of August. But, amidst such a multitude of women and children, to preserve order was impossible; their screams and cries alarmed the enemy, whose whole force was immediately put under arms: many of the fugitives were shot down, before they could cross the ravine: the rest, who, from their ignorance of the country, were wandering about the mountains in small parties of six and seven each, were cut off by the cavalry, which was detached for the purpose, on the following morning. Out of Mina's whole corps not *fifty* escaped. No quarter was given in the field, and the unfortunate wretches who had been left in the hospital wounded, were, by Liñan's orders, carried, or dragged along the ground, from their beds to the square, where they were stripped, and shot.

The result of the siege of Sombrero was fatal to all Mina's hopes. With his foreign officers, of whom only eleven ever rejoined him, he lost the means of disciplining his Creole recruits, and the men were all tried soldiers, on whom he could reckon in the hour of need. They were not to be replaced by numbers, and Mina attempted in vain, with his Mexi-

can allies, enterprizes, in which, with his original forces, (inconsiderable as they were) he would have been almost certain of success. It was not that the Creoles were deficient in personal courage: on the contrary, they possessed both that, and all the other elements of excellent soldiers; but, in a contest with disciplined troops, nothing could compensate the want of discipline, no sort of attention to which had been paid by the Padre Torres, or any of his subordinate chiefs. They indulged their men in all the licentiousness, in which they habitually indulged themselves; and thus, though individually formidable, they were totally inefficient when called upon to act in a body. Such were the tools with which Mina was compelled to work. At an interview with the Padre Torres, it was determined that, in the event of the fort of Los Remedios being besieged by Liñan, (as it was shortly afterwards,) Mina should take the field with a body of nine hundred Insurgent cavalry, and endeavour to harass the besieging army by cutting off its supplies, while the Padre, with the remnant of Mina's officers, conducted the defence of the place. This was conceived to be an easy task, as the fort was, in fact, a natural fortification, being one of a lofty chain of mountains which rise out of the plains of the Băxîŏ, between Sîlăŏ and Pĕnjămŏ, separated by precipices, and immensely-deep barrancas, from the rest. On one point alone it was vulnerable; but there, a wall three feet in thickness was erected,

and the approach enfiladed by three batteries, which rose in succession one above the other. So large a space was inclosed by the ravines, that the fort contained six hundred head of cattle, two thousand sheep or goats, and three hundred large hogs, with twenty thousand *fanegas* of Indian corn, ten thousand of wheat, and a large provision of flour. It was likewise well supplied with water and ammunition; so that the garrison, which consisted of fifteen hundred men, conceived that they might bid defiance to any force that could be brought by the Royalists against them.

On the approach of Liñan's army, which appeared before Los Remedios on the 27th of August, Mina quitted it, in order to take the field, and the place was immediately invested in due form. On the 30th, he was joined by Don Encarnacion Ortiz at the head of his cavalry, and with him he found nineteen of his old followers, of whom six were officers: these, with thirty more who had previously reached Los Remedios, and whom Mina left there to assist in the defence of the place, were the only survivors of the three hundred and fifty-nine men who landed with him at Sŏtŏ lă Măřînă in the preceding April: all the rest had perished; and but few of those who remained were destined to escape the fate of their comrades.

On the 31st of August, the siege of Los Remedios began, and with it, a desultory Guerrilla war, which was carried on, with but little success on Mina's side,

against a division of eight hundred men, under the command of Colonel Orrantia, which was detached to watch his motions, and to protect the supplies of the army. After passing nearly the whole month of September in this manner, Mina, convinced both of the impossibility of attacking Liñan's intrenchments with the troops under his command, and of the necessity of striking a blow of sufficient importance elsewhere, to induce the Royalists to raise the siege, resolved to attempt to surprise Guānājuātō, where, it is said, that he had received assurances of a disposition to assist him being entertained by several of the principal inhabitants. Not only his friends, but the members of the Junta of Jaūxillā, whom he consulted upon this occasion, remonstrated strongly against this enterprize, but in vain: Mina's mind was bent upon it, and, on the 24th of October, he succeeded, by secret and well-combined marches, in concentrating his whole force at a little mine called La Mina de la Luz, in the very midst of the mountains, and only four leagues from the town, without the Spanish Authorities being in the least aware of his approach. At nightfall, he attacked the gates, which were carried almost without opposition, and his troops penetrated into the very centre of the town; but there, their subordination and courage failed them at once. The men refused to advance; time was given for the garrison to be put under arms, and no sooner were a few shots exchanged, than Mina's whole division took to flight,

and that with such precipitation, that only *five* of the whole number were killed. A general dispersion ensued, by Mina's own order, who appears to have been too thoroughly disgusted with his new associates, to hope ever to effect any thing with their assistance; nor is it known what line he intended to take, had time been allowed him for deliberation. This, however, was not the case. On quitting Guanajuato, accompanied only by a very small escort, he took the road to the Rancho del Vēnādītō, in the direction of the Hacienda of La Tlāchjērā, which belonged to Don Mariano Herrera, a friend whom he probably wished to consult with regard to his future plans. He arrived at the Rancho on the 26th, and resolved to pass the night there, conceiving it impossible that Orrantia should have received intelligence of his route, as he had purposely avoided all beaten roads. His intentions, however, were discovered by a friar, whom he met at a little Indian village through which he passed, and who instantly conveyed the news to Orrantia, who detached, on receiving it, a party of five hundred horse, which invested the house at day-break on the 27th, and, after dispersing Mina's escort, seized the General himself, in the act of rushing out of the house, unarmed, and almost undressed, in order to ascertain the cause of the confusion without. Don Pedro Mōrēno, the Commandant of Sōmbrērō, was taken at the same time, and immediately shot.

Mina was conveyed pinioned to Īrāpūātō, where

he was presented to Orrantia, who had the meanness not only to revile his fallen enemy in the most opprobrious terms, but actually to strike him repeatedly with the flat of his sword. Mina's rebuke was dignified and striking: "I regret to have become a prisoner, but to have fallen into the hands of a man, regardless alike of the character of a Spaniard and a soldier, renders my misfortune doubly keen."

From the hands of this unworthy foe, he was removed to Liñan's head quarters, where he received the treatment due to a soldier, and a gentleman, though every precaution was taken to prevent the possibility of an escape.

On the 10th of November, the courier, whom Liñan had sent to the Capital, to take Āpōdācā's commands with regard to his prisoner's fate, returned with orders for his immediate execution; and, on the 11th, this sentence was carried into effect, in the presence of all the surgeons of the army, and the captains of each company, who were directed to certify the fact of his death.

Mina is said to have met his fate with great firmness. He appears, however, to have entertained, latterly, some doubts with regard to the cause which he had espoused, and an anxious wish to clear his memory, with his own countrymen, from the imputation of having wished to separate Mexico from Spain. With this view, I presume, he wrote a let-

ter to General Liñan, on the 3d of November, the authenticity of which, though denied by Robinson, has been established by the discovery of the original in Mina's hand, by Don Carlos Bustamante, in which he assures him, that "if he had ever ceased to be a good Spaniard, it was erroneously, and not intentionally, that he had done so;" and adds, "that he is convinced that the Independent party can never succeed in Mexico, and must occasion the ruin of the country." That such should have been Mina's sentiments, after the experience which he had of the men, by whom the Insurgent cause was *then* supported, is perfectly natural. He knew not how deeply the love of Independence was implanted in every Creole's heart, and, as I have already observed, he was precluded by his position as a *Spaniard* from ever awakening those feelings in the mass of the people, which alone could have ensured him success.

They watched his career with interest, and would gladly have availed themselves of his success; but the re-establishment of a Constitution, from which no one expected to derive any good, was not calculated to awaken enthusiasm, or inspire confidence. Independence, as a Spaniard, he could not, and did not proclaim.

Mina died in his twenty-eighth year. He was shot on a rock in sight of Los Remedios, and his fate contributed, not a little, to strike the garrison with

discouragement. The siege was, however, protracted until the end of December, (a general assault made on the 16th. of November having been successfully repulsed,) when, from the total want of ammunition, the evacuation of the fort was resolved upon. The 1st of January, 1818, was fixed for the attempt, which was attended with much the same results as that of Sombrero. Indeed, it proved more generally fatal; for the Spaniards, taught by experience, had raised immense piles of wood in every direction, which were fired on the first alarm, and enabled the Royalist soldiers to follow their flying enemies through all the intricacies of the ravines around. With the exception of Padre Torres, and twelve of Mina's division, few or none of the fugitives escaped. The fate of the women, of whom there were great numbers in the fort, was too horrible to be mentioned. The wounded were not excepted from the general proscription: the hospital in which they lay was fired at all the four corners at once, and those who attempted to escape the flames, were bayoneted as soon as they reached the square without: the few prisoners to whom the soldiers had given quarter in the first instance, were compelled to demolish the works of the fort, and then all shot. Amongst them was Colonel Nöböä, Mina's second in command, and two other officers, who had been in all his actions.

The fort of Jäuxillä had been invested before the fall of Los Rëmëdïös, (15th December, 1817,) by a

detachment of Liñan's army, commanded by Colonel Agüirre. The defence, conducted principally by two of Mina's officers, Lawrence Christie and James Dewers, was maintained with spirit until the first week in March, 1818, when the two Americans were treacherously seized by the Creole Commandant, Lopez de Lara, and delivered over bound, as a peace offering, to Aguirre. To his honour, be it said, that he was so disgusted with the perfidy of Lärä, that he exerted his whole influence with the Viceroy, in order to obtain the pardon of the Americans, and succeeded. Of all those who fell into the hands of the Spaniards, they alone were spared.

The fortress surrendered on the 6th of March, 1818, and with it the Insurgents lost their last strong-hold in the centre of the country. The members of the Government escaped, before the place was fully invested, and sought a refuge in Guerrero's camp, in the *Tierra Caliente* of Valladolid. This was soon the only place in which even a shadow of resistance was kept up. The tyranny of Torres, which seemed to increase with his misfortunes, soon became intolerable to his associates in the Baxio, and urged by their remonstrances, the Government deprived him of his commission, as General-in-chief, with which they invested Colonel Ärägö, who, in conjunction with Don Andres Dëlgädö, (better known under the name of Ël Girö,) endeavoured to compel Torres to submission.

The contest between them would not have been

decided without an appeal to arms, had not the approach of a Royalist Division terminated the dispute; Torres's friends soon afterwards gave in their submission to Arago, and the Padre himself, after leading a fugitive life for some months in the mountains of Pēnjāmō, was run through the body with a lance by one of his own captains, Don Juan Zāmōrā, whom he had attempted to deprive of a favourite horse. Ēl Gīrō was surprised, about the same time, (July, 1819,) by some soldiers of the Royalist Colonel, Bustamante, and killed, after a gallant defence, in which he slew three of his adversaries with his own hand. Don Jose Mariā Līcē-āgā, one of the oldest Insurgent chiefs, and the colleague of Rayon in the Junta of Zītācūarō, was killed at the commencement of the year by an Insurgent officer, belonging to the district of Guanajuato; so that of all those, who had taken any lead in the Revolution, not one remained in July, 1819, when the Insurgent cause may be said to have reached its lowest ebb. Guērrērō, indeed, maintained himself on the right bank of the river Zācātūlā, (near Cōlīmā, on the Pacific,) but he was cut off from all communication with the Interior, and had little hope of assistance from without; so that, notwithstanding his military talents, his little force was not formidable to the Royalists, who were in undisturbed possession of almost all the interior of the country, with the whole of the Eastern coast.

So confident, indeed, was the Viceroy, that the Revolution was at an end, that he wrote to Madrid, to state that he would answer for the safety of Mexico without a single additional soldier being sent out; the kingdom being again tranquil, and perfectly submissive to the Royal authority.