
★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN MEXICO CITY

BY EDWARD S. WALLACE

In April, 1846, spontaneous hostilities on the Rio Grande began our war with Mexico. Some 17 months later, just as dawn broke over the volcanoes to the east of Mexico City on the morning of September 14, 1847, Major General John Quitman of Mississippi led his battle-scarred division cautiously through the streets of the capital to the Grand Plaza where the troops formed into line on the east side before the old viceroy's palace. It was a unique entry for a triumphant army. Quitman and Brigadier General Persifor F. Smith marched at the head of the column on foot, Quitman limping along with only one shoe, and behind them, carrying their arms at all angles, wearily plodded Smith's brigade of volunteers, a detachment of Marines, the New York volunteers, and a battery of field artillery. All were in rags and covered with mud, crude bandages, and the red stains of battle, for they had literally fought their way through one of the city gates the previous evening, and, before that on the same day, had victoriously stormed Chapultepec Castle.¹

The sidewalks, balconies, windows, and housetops were jammed with people who watched in silence the despised *gringos* filling the vacuum left by General Santa Anna's evacuation of the city during the night.²

The American officers took their positions before their men and, as Captain Roberts

hoisted a tattered American flag on the flag pole of the palace, the battered bands played "The Star Spangled Banner," while the men presented arms and the officers saluted.³ This was the first and only time that our flag and ours alone has been raised over the capitol of a conquered enemy country.

A few minutes later the sound of approaching cheering was heard and the commanding general, Winfield Scott, galloped into the plaza escorted by a detachment of dragoons with drawn sabres. Scott cut a truly magnificent figure, even in his 61st year, being six feet four inches in height, wearing an immaculate blue dress uniform with gleaming gold epaulets and a cocked hat with flowing white plumes, and mounted on a tall and heavy bay charger, he looked every inch the handsome and superb soldier he was; his resplendent aura typifying the dirt covered glory of his army. Even the hostile Mexicans had cheered him as he dashed by. Uncovering, he rode down the line of his men and the bands played in succession, "Hail Columbia," "Washington's March," "Yankee Doodle," and "Hail to the Chief"; the men presenting arms as he passed and then breaking into such cheering and hurraing that it almost seemed as if another perennial earthquake was shaking the Hall of Montezuma.⁴

¹Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (New York, 1919), II, 163.

²*Ibid.*, II, 164.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*, II, 164; Winfield Scott, *Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott* (New York, 1864), II, 537.

Thus ended the real hostilities of the war; a conflict in which the American troops set a standard for courage and intelligent initiative against overwhelming odds which has never since been surpassed in our military history. West Point, reorganized after our military fiascoes during the War of 1812, had paid off in large dividends and the roster of the junior officers in this war, to whom a great part of the success was due, foreshadowed the desperate struggle of our later Civil War. Grant, Beauregard, McClellan, Meade, Hooker, Joseph Johnston, Stonewall Jackson, Lee, Jefferson Davis, and others received their baptism of fire on the battle-fields of Mexico and learned each other's weaknesses and strengths for future reference.

A possible gauge of the achievement is, that while it took General Scott about six months to fight his way into Mexico City from Vera Cruz with an army never exceeding 10,000 men, at least a half of whom were untrained volunteers, some fifteen years later in 1861-1863 it took an army of 30,000 French regulars, including the famous Foreign Legion, some 18 months to cover the route, during which time they suffered a decisive defeat at the Battle of Puebla on May 5, 1862; today celebrated as one of the great national holidays of Mexico. And the evidence inclines to the fact that the Mexicans were neither as well prepared nor armed during this later invasion.

Some interesting comments on the dash and *élan* of the Americans, as well as the lack of military formality among the volunteers, were made in a diary kept by Captain Otto Zirckel of the 4th Infantry, Ohio Volunteers. Captain Zirckel had formerly served as a lieutenant in the 3rd Royal Prussian Hussar Regiment, and publishing his diary in German after the war, he dedicated it to his former Brigadier-General, Prince Albrecht of Prussia. Zirckel said that, for example, the old colonel of a Mississippi regiment had

no military knowledge whatsoever and would simply shriek to his men before a battle "At 'em boys"; and that Colonel Jack Hays of the Texas Rangers would point with his finger at the enemy and yell "Give them hell"; both of which unconventional commands, however, seemed to have had the desired effect for Captain Zirckel noted that "the Americans are brave—brave as lions," and always swept the enemy off the field.⁵

The American army, in proportion to its numbers, was about the "fightingest" crowd we have ever assembled, and its excess pugnacity, when not united into common action against the enemy, vented itself in internecine quarrels. President Polk disliked and squabbled with his two ranking generals, Scott and Zachary Taylor. The general officers wrangled among themselves and preferred charges, demanded Courts of Inquiry, and conducted courts martial with ferocity and abandon. The Southerners hated the Yankees, and vice versa.⁶ Zirckel gives an account of a northern officer, at the height of the Battle of Buena Vista, being greeted by the Mississippi Rifles with howls of "Shoot that damned Yankee!"⁷ Nevertheless the volunteer troops of each state were willing to take on all comers, at the drop of the hat regardless of sectionalism, and fights were common between the Pennsylvania and New York regiments.⁸ To add to the general gayety, the regulars, of course, despised the volunteers and this feeling was, as usual, returned with interest.⁹ The sectional feeling was unquestionably worse than the healthy norm, due to the slavery question, but that is all a long and different story and has no place here.

⁵Otto Zirckel, *Tagebuch der Campagne* (Halle, 1849), pp. 9-11.

⁶Letters signed J. H. W., *The Boston Atlas*, April-June, 1848.

⁷Zirckel, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁸J. Jacob Oswald, *Notes of the Mexican War* (Philadelphia 1885), pp. 438, 512.

⁹Smith, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

The Americans occupied Mexico City for nine months, during the peace negotiations, until June 12, 1848. Years later a veteran who had been a young lieutenant during the war wrote, "The Mexican capitol, with its peerless climate and picturesque surroundings, its *alamedas*, *paseos*, theatres, bull fights, its darkeyed señoritas and voluptuous señoras, had many alluring attractions, though it did not prove a Capua for the American soldiers; nor did they, like Hannibal's braves, exchange amid its Circean fascinations the role of sturdy warriors for that of listless Sybarites."¹⁰ Flowery words, but on the whole true, for the discipline was strict, even harsh by our present-day standards, and there was but little looting or disorder on the part of the occupying army, and nearly all infractions of good behavior were quickly and severely punished. "Old Fuss and Feathers," as the men called Scott, had always been a real friend to the enlisted men but he was a disciplinarian to the core, especially in such a precarious position, cut off from his base of supplies, and his hand fell heavy upon the malingerer or trouble maker; doubly so if he happened to be an officer.

The disciplinary punishments were rugged! Mutiny and desertion were punished by death, and during this war a most curious mass example of the latter took place—the only case known in which a body of United States soldiers, after deserting, subsequently formed a distinct corps in the enemy's army. The deserters were seduced by religious propaganda and promises of bonuses by the enemy, and formed two companies of infantry known as the "Brigade of Saint Patrick" in the Mexican army, but which were called the "Irish Deserters" by the Americans.¹¹

A large number of these renegades, some eighty in all, were captured by the Americans, after a desperate resistance, in the fighting just outside Mexico City. After a court martial, fifty were hanged at various intervals, mostly in the suburb of San Angel. General Scott, taking a literal interpretation of the articles of war for the remainder because they had deserted before the actual declaration of war, remitted the death sentence to the following punishment, as per his General Order No. 340:

"... to forfeit all pay and allowances—to receive fifty lashes on the bare back, well laid on, to have the letter D indelibly branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, to be confined at hard labor, wearing about the neck an iron collar having three prongs each six inches long, the whole weighing eight pounds, for six months, and at the expiration of that time to have the head shaved and be drummed out of the service."¹²

Lesser infractions of a serious nature, such as drunkenness on guard, insubordination, and extreme disorderly conduct, were punished by "riding the wooden horse" from reveille to retreat, with a half hour out for meals, for periods up to sixty days. This was called being "bucked and gagged" by the men and consisted in being trussed on a sort of saw-horse and left in the broiling sun,¹³ a horribly painful procedure; so it can be seen that good behavior, at least among the regulars, had its own reward.

One of the first official acts of General Scott, after entering the city, was to establish a newspaper for the benefit of the soldiers. It was called the "American Star" and was soon published daily except Mondays in Spanish and English, carrying all the General Orders and Official Notices from headquarters. The editor was a Quartermaster Sergeant of the 9th Infantry (New England Volunteers) named John H. Warland who

¹⁰General Cadmus M. Wilcox, *History of the Mexican War* (Washington, 1892), p. 511.

¹¹Edward S. Wallace, "Deserters in the Mexican War," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, August, 1935, pp. 374-382.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Star*, Sept. 23, 1847.

came from Lowell, Massachusetts, and was a graduate of Harvard College, class of 1827. Warland was a newspaper man by profession and made the *Star* a readable and amusing sheet; that is when "the brass" didn't take up too much space with their general and special orders, and it is from this source that the best overall picture of the life of the American Soldier during the occupation can be obtained.¹⁴

Santa Anna had opened all the jails upon leaving the city and the Americans had considerable trouble with looting and sniping by the released felons for three days after their entrance, but order was finally established with an iron hand. Another bad element, which was a constant source of trouble throughout the occupation, was the *leperos*, as the swarms of semi-criminal, professional beggars were called, and it was never safe for a soldier to go out at night alone or for even small groups to go unarmed, and assassinations of drunken soldiers at night were frequent. Also, outside the city, the *guerillas* constantly harassed the supply trains going back and forth to Vera Cruz, or any small detachment of troops who wandered too far afield.¹⁵

The officers and men were billeted in the public buildings and barracks, the "gallant marines" occupying the national palace on the Grand Plaza which had been built on the site of the old Aztec palace and was known as the "Halls of Montezuma,"¹⁶ so that the first line of the Marine Anthem is literally true. Others were quartered in various monasteries where they found their hosts to be a pleasant and congenial lot. Later on, the

officers were allowed to find billets among private Mexican families but only at the owner's consent.¹⁷

General Scott then levied the reasonable sum of \$150,000 on the city which was used to purchase blankets and supplies for the sick and wounded; the balance being set aside as a nucleus for a fund for an old soldiers' home, which afterwards materialized in Washington, D. C. As soon as this money was received General Scott issued a proclamation promising religious freedom and full civil rights to all law-abiding Mexicans, and the city rapidly resumed its normal tone;¹⁸ and the Americans proceeded to find ways of spending their spare time profitably and pleasurably.

Everybody naturally went to a bullfight; usually once with the customary American reaction of disgust.¹⁹ The theatre, the opera, and the circus, with an occasional fling at the gaming tables, vied with the primary diversion of all soldiers since wars began—that of "fraternization," and many dance halls soon opened, so that balls and masquerades were held nightly with the sound of gay music, particularly the waltzes of Straus, lasting until daybreak in various sections of the City.²⁰

The señoritas quickly lost their fear of the northern barbarians and "surrendered unconditionally after trifling resistance," much to the fury of their former Mexican admirers who dubbed each girl with the nickname of an American victory; thus a pretty vivacious little brunette would be called "*Cerro Gordo*"; and a tall, lithesome blonde might become known as "*Palto-Alto*" (tall stick!).²¹

¹⁴A complete file of the *American Star* was given to Harvard College by John H. Warland, with an interesting explanatory letter discussing the sectional feeling in the 9th Infantry against their Southern officers. This file is now in the Houghton Library in Cambridge.

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁶Richard M'Sherry, M.D., U.S.N., *El Puchero or a Mixed Dish from Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 115.

¹⁷Scott, *Memoirs*, p. 580; *American Star*, Sept. 20, 1847.

¹⁸Scott, *Memoirs*, p. 581.

¹⁹U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1885), I, 167; *Star*, *passim*.

²⁰*Star*, *passim*.

²¹M'Sherry, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

Competition soon became keen between the various dance halls, and the proprietors of the National Theatre, Wm. Forest's Salon, the Bella Union, Z. Hubbard's Custom House, C. Wagner's Ball Room, and the Pinon Jockey Club filled the advertising columns of the *American Star* with enticing notices of a Grand Fandango, for officers only, at \$2 per ticket which admitted a gentleman and two ladies; or a ball at which real American ladies were admitted gratis; and one where a sumptuous supper was served up to 9 o'clock with efficient police in nightly attendance to preserve order.²² The most exclusive balls, however, were subscription affairs promoted by the younger officers which were held in an ex-convent near the Grand Plaza.²³

The G.I.'s of the period, especially the enlisted men of the volunteer regiments, resented the caste system implied by the balls advertised for "officers only" and on one occasion over a half of the men of the 1st Pennsylvania Volunteers sneaked out of their camp in the suburb of San Angel, after taps, and attended a masquerade for officers only in the city, dressed in borrowed native Mexican costumes obtained through the good offices of the local bartenders, and great was their indignation at the efforts of the recently arrived General Caleb Cushing (of China Treaty fame) to prevent such innocent diversions.²⁴ This regiment was a particularly unruly one which soon made the life of the politically appointed General Cushing miserable.

Magic shows by Herr Alexander and Signor Rossi, faro at *El Gran Sociedad del Progreso*, horse-racing at the Piñon Jockey Club, and the ballet, Spanish style by local danseuses, and American style by such im-

ported talent as Mme. Pautuet, Mme. Armand, and Señor Castaneda, who executed a new dance arranged to the tune of Yankee Doodle, helped pass many an idle hour, but the great attraction was the opera as given by a traveling Italian opera troupe at the National Theatre (formerly the *Gran Theatre de Santa Anna*); this establishment being advertised as "the most magnificent in the world."²⁵

Dramatic critic Sergeant Warland attended an opening performance of Bellini's *Los Puritanos (I Puritani)* and wrote a favorable review in the *American Star* the following day, which omitted mentioning that this particular opera is a satire on the manners and morals of all Anglo-Saxons, but which advised the soldiers that it would be unfashionable to yell in the theatre for it was so short a time since the storming of Chapultepec Castle that no reminder of it was needed, and that it was not customary for the box-holders to sit with their legs hanging over the railing.²⁶

For the more serious minded there were visits to the great cathedral, with its altar rail reputed to be of solid silver, or to the National Museum with its Aztec relics; excursions to the Shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe²⁷ (the patron saint of Mexico), or to the caves of Guernavaca, or the climbing of Mount Popocatepetl as accomplished by a party of young officers which included Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant,²⁸ or one could have a daguerreotype taken at the studio of C. S. Betts, possibly visited by Lieutenant Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson and resulting in the picture of a somber young officer.²⁹ Then there was the Reading Room opposite the post office which boasted of a circulating

²²*Star*, *passim*.

²³M'Sherry, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

²⁴Oswandel, *op. cit.*, pp. 464, 474.

²⁵*Star*, *passim*.

²⁶*Star*, Oct. 10, 1847.

²⁷M'Sherry, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 138.

²⁸Grant, *Memoirs*, pp. 162, 190.

²⁹*Pageant of America* (New Haven, 1927), VI, 328.

library in English, German, Spanish and French on moderate terms and offered to pay the highest price in cash for English books.³⁰ For the officers there was the Aztec Club, with General Franklin S. Pierce as its first president, which provided "good cheer at moderate rates."³¹

All of these educational trips and attractions possibly helped the bored young soldier to avoid such places as Thos. Laurent's which served "exquisite wines, cordials, spirits and old Cognac brandy" or the *Eagle Coffee House* which offered "wines, liquors, and segars of the choicest brand" with a side line of "celebrated Life Pills for the cure of Bilious and Intermittent affections, Liver Complaints, Dispepsia, Disentery, Impurities of the Blood, Headache, Costiveness, pains in the back, loins and side. Also Asiatic Tooth Wash, Bears Oil, and the famous Septentreal Oil for the growth of the hair, and black writing ink."³² General Scott limited these temptations by closing all liquor shops at 6 p.m. after October 22, 1847, mainly to prevent the assassination of drunken soldiers at night by the hated *leperos*.³³

Souvenirs were sought by the soldiers as eagerly as always and a general order was issued on October 1, 1847 directing that "all pieces of ordnance of whatever calibre and all colors, standards and guidons taken from the enemy and now in possession of individuals will be immediately sent in to ----- the ordnance office"³⁴ (probably with the usual results), and a Court of Inquiry was established on November 2 to ascertain who stole two Mexican howitzers out of the Chapultepec Castle after its capture.³⁵ The next spring, under date of May 6, an agent for Phineas T. Barnum inserted an advertisement

in the *Star* soliciting "relics of war, military trophies, etc." and promising that "the names of all donors will be affixed to articles presented and allowed free admittance for 3 years to the Museum." The all time high in gruesome souvenir hunting seems to have been attained by some of the men of the above mentioned, masquerade attending, 1st Pennsylvania Volunteers, as casually reported in the diary of Corporal Oswandel. He noted on May 23 that while on his way "into the city by way of the Tacubaya Road, saw several of our men digging up some of the deserters hung last Sept. The ropes were still around their necks. They are to cut their heads off, and then boil the meat off and take their skulls to the U. S. as souvenirs."³⁶

Diaries and letters naturally give a more personal slant on affairs than would an official publication like the *American Star*, or memoirs written by prominent men with an eye on the public reaction. Richard M'Sherry, a Navy Surgeon serving with the U. S. Marines, afterwards published a volume of his letters home (*El Puchero or a Mixed Dish from Mexico*) and from this it is possible to obtain the impressions of an educated officer. M'Sherry was much concerned over the high mortality rate of the American wounded in the Mexico City hospitals during the month following the city's occupation and ascribes this to the result of too much and too rough traveling in the hospital wagons as Scott's attacking column moved forward, cut off from its base. Also there were many raw days in October as the rainy season had begun.³⁷ He later blamed excessive sickness among the troops to the fact that most of the men were from farms and not used to city life.³⁸ At the time of entry he estimated there were only about 5,000 men on the duty list.³⁹

³⁰*Star*, Nov. 9, 1847.

³¹M'Sherry, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³²*Star*, Sept. 23, 1847, and *passim*.

³³*Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1847.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1847.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1847.

³⁶Oswandel, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

³⁷M'Sherry, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 133.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 163.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 127.

Surgeon M'Sherry was socially inclined and made an effort to meet some of the upper-class Mexicans, with considerable success. He gained an entree at a *tertulia* (reception) given by an English-woman in December where there was dancing, music, and cards; and he admired the natural ability of the Mexican girls for dancing, although he did not consider them up to the Americans in looks, and decided that their Mamas aged quickly. He gained an invitation to the house of a Mexican family, and, from this, others to their friends' and relations'. He noted that there seemed to be no general society, and the groups were formed of blood relations sticking closely to their own company. He spent Christmas Eve with some of his new friends and had a pleasant and temperate time eating *dulces*, sipping chocolate, smoking paper segars (cigarettes), listening to music and occasionally drinking a toast in old sherry.⁴⁰

For the rest of his stay in Mexico City he made a point of calling on his Mexican friends at least two evenings a week, and was always cordially received and offered a cup of chocolate and a case of "paper segars." He believed that the better classes wanted the United States to annex Mexico and dreaded the anarchy which would follow the evacuation after the peace was ratified;⁴¹ a fear which later proved all too prophetic.

In contrast to the somewhat sedate and conventional life of Surgeon M'Sherry in Mexico City was that led by the G.I.'s of the 1st Pennsylvania Volunteers mentioned above, as shown in the diary kept by Corporal J. Jacob Oswandel. This regiment had been mainly recruited in Lancaster and York counties and contained a large proportion of Pennsylvania Dutch. A great part of the

diary is given to normal and healthy gripes about rations, lack of mail, delinquencies in pay, too much "chicken" in some of the officers, too much drilling and "spit-n polish," impatience at the slowness of the peace negotiations, and general homesickness; and if the dates were changed to about 97 years later, the comments could be placed *verbatim* in the columns of *Yank* or *Stars and Stripes* without causing a ripple of unusual interest.

Corporal Oswandel wrote that when the army first entered the city, it was impossible to get a lady to go to any place of amusement but that this feeling changed almost over-night and that all was shortly in good order. In fact the 1st Pennsylvania was soon giving dances at its bivouac area in the suburb of San Angel, for which various committees were appointed to buy food, liquor, and engage the company of as many attractive señoritas as possible. One such gala affair was given on the night of March 20, 1848 (pay day), at which a bevy of beautiful señoritas were in attendance, and there was much singing, drinking of toasts, speeches, and then dancing to music furnished by the band of the brother regiment, the 2nd Pennsylvania Volunteers. The corporal also noted the hangovers and stiffness from dancing the next day.⁴²

The men of this regiment sought relaxation in imbibing the cheap native drink of *pulque* at several nearby *cantinas* which they called *pulque tub haciendas*, a diversion shared by the New York and South Carolina volunteers who were encamped in the same area. The Pennsylvanians seemed to fraternize well enough with their southern neighbors but fist-fights with the New Yorkers were a common occurrence in the *pulque* house with a resulting toll of many black eyes at assembly the next morning.⁴³ They also

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁴²Oswandel, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 438, 512.

got on famously with the native bartenders as instanced by the latter's aid in securing Mexican costumes to attend the officers' masquerade ball; and when the regiment marched out for good, homeward bound, on May 30, 1848, a delegation of saloonkeepers and bartenders came to bid them goodbye and brought a little *pulque* to treat some of their regular customers; and also to try and collect a few little bills which had been overlooked. The *pulque* delegation cheered the regiment heartily as they marched off and a few walked along with them for miles.⁴⁴

The relations of the volunteers with the officers varied, to say the least. There was considerable griping at Colonel Wynkoop, commanding the Pennsylvania volunteers, for his alleged mania for reviews and dress parades in honor of visiting general officers, and all agreed that he was "bucking" hard for brigadier general.⁴⁵ On one occasion the men of the 2nd Pennsylvania "rotten-egged" a Massachusetts officer who undertook to "buck and gag" one of their men for a trifling offense on guard duty.⁴⁶ When official announcement of the ratification of peace was received on the evening of May 27, "the camp went wild with joy and all the bands of the regiments, supported by a singing and cheering mob of soldiers, serenaded the different good officers and a few prominent Mexicans."⁴⁷

The one general officer whose life was really made miserable by this brigade was Brigadier-General Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts. He had come up from Vera Cruz in November, 1847, after the fighting was over, and was assigned to duty with the volunteers at San Angel. Corporal Oswandel wrote that at first he was considered an inexperienced but rather good-hearted officer as he paid a

Mexican muleteer \$12 out of his own pocket for oranges and bread which the men had looted off some pack-mules. The next day, however, some of the men who had furnished their tents with furniture from some deserted ranch-houses by "midnight requisitions" were all put in the guard house and the feeling began to change,⁴⁸ and was intensified when the General stopped one of the stages running into Mexico City and put off all except the officers, and that evening "when he rode past the quarters nearly all the men mocked and hooted at him."⁴⁹ A week later, on January 31, 1848, Oswandel wrote "some of our regiment and the New Yorkers have stolen Genl. Cushing's horse last night from quarters of the 2nd. Pa. Vol. An ad out saying any one supplying information leading to return gets pass to city. Everyone that read this went away with a hearty laugh saying it was a pity that they didn't steal the general. The cry is who stole the horse?"⁵⁰

Another outburst of the men was directed at Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan who probably never knew anything about it. On the evening of March 23rd an announcement was read at retreat that Congress had deducted \$1 per month from the \$7 clothing allowance. As a private's (one grade only) pay was only \$7 per month, this was a serious matter. The bill to this effect was said to have been introduced by Cass and so great was the resentment that he was hung in effigy by the troops. "Then a fire was built under him although some officers ordered it cut down, and a committee was appointed to present Mr. Cass with a leather medal and also nominate him for the next office as dog-catcher."⁵¹ Lewis Cass ran for president in November of this same year on the Democratic ticket and was defeated, due to the

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 572-573.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 513.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 536.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 559.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 463.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 471.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 474.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 514-515.

defection of Pennsylvania and New York, and it seems that the returned volunteers of these two states may have had some influence in the matter.

The volunteers left for home on rather an appealing note. Although some of the states had made arrangements for the return of the bodies of the fallen officers, notably New York,⁵² nothing was officially done for those of the enlisted men, except at the initiative of their own comrades, and the men of all the regiments were busy digging up the bodies of their friends and buying lead coffins to transport them home, as advertised for sale in the *American Star*.⁵³ A collection was taken up in Corporal Oswandel's company, to which he contributed \$10, to pay the ex-

penses of bringing home the bodies of William Enrick and Jacob Dauner of Little York, Pennsylvania,⁵⁴ and it is to be hoped that both of these soldiers lie peacefully in York County today.

On June 12, 1848, Mexico City was formally relinquished to the Mexicans in a ceremony held in the Grand Plaza. Before detachments of troops of both nations the American flag was lowered to a salute of thirty guns and the Mexican standard raised in its place. An American band broke into a gay march and the last of the conquerors followed it out of the city and took the long trail to Vera Cruz. On the last day of July the final American soldier embarked for home from that port.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 545.

⁵³*Star*, Oct. 14, and *passim*.

⁵⁴Oswandel, *op. cit.*, p. 572