

THE BATTLE OF SANTA CLARA

1845-1846



by

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for

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Table of Contents

I.	Preface	1
II.	The Battle-Site	6
III.	Spanish Exploration & Colonization	10
IV.	Foreigners (Extranjeros)	14
V.	The Early U.S. Navy in Santa Clara County	22
VI.	The Polk-Benton-Stockton- Fremont Scheme	31
VII.	The Battle of Santa Clara	44
VIII.	Epilogue: The Battalion of San Patricio	56
IX.	Select Bibliography	60
X.	Sources/Acknowledgments	65
	A. Appendix 1: Painting	65 [sic]
	B. Appendix 2: Map	66
	C. Appendix 3: Map	67
	D. Appendix 4: Map	68

Preface

Hunc librum de bello scribimus.¹

During the Mexican War in California, the **Battle of Santa Clara** (January 2, 1847) represented the last major combat-action between Californio and American forces in northern California.² The encounter (or the "**Battle of the Mustard Stalks**", as it is sometimes called) was the most significant event in the early military history of Santa Clara County. The battle-site bears many important historical associations. It is situated about halfway between the Ohlone village at Posolmi and Mission Santa Clara. This vicinage is an area now enclosed on the south by El Camino Real, on the west by the Lawrence Expressway, on the north by Kifer Road, and on the east by Scott Boulevard.³

The present monograph was actually inspired by a little-known, but powerfully compelling, work of art. A panoramic painting, "**The Battle of Santa Clara**", is prominently displayed at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York. The original watercolor by artist William H. Meyers was purchased by President Roosevelt.⁴ During the Mexican War,

¹N.B. I shall write this essay about another war.

²N.B. Californios were Hispanic citizens born in the territory.

³Mildred B. Hoover et. al., **Historic Spots in California**, Stanford, CA, 1932, p. 451.

⁴Robert J. Moskin, **The U.S. Marine Corps Story**, New York, 1977, p. 69

Meyers painted a number of battle-scenes and then assembled them in a sketchbook entitled **Naval Sketches of the War in California**. Evidently the thirty-second President, who was an avid naval historian, purchased a sketchbook of Meyers.⁵ Notwithstanding the site of the engagement in Santa Clara, the war in northern California was essentially a naval campaign. Therefore, the battle must be viewed in the context of U.S. naval history in Alta California.

The battle-panorama, painted in a primitive style, depicts the battle of Santa Clara and was one of the President's most prized possessions.⁶ Characteristic of 19th-century battle-scenes, Meyers' panorama features a spatial and temporal "telescoping" of many discrete actions and events, e.g. some individual acts of bravery.⁷ The panoramic overview of the painting shows the Marines (under the command of Capt. Ward Marston and 2nd Lt. Robert Tansill) massed in ranks.⁸ The Californios, on the other hand, were a mounted cavalry force, armed with lances, pikes, and swords.

William Meyers, the artist, was not actually present himself at the battle-action. He visually recreated the eyewitness account of James A. Forbes, the British Consul at

⁵Tex Parks, Curator, **Franklin D. Roosevelt Library**, Hyde Park, Interview: 23 FEB 04.

⁶Moskin, *op. cit.*

⁷Carl J. Guarneri, Professor of History, **Saint Mary's College of California**, Moraga, Lecture: 03 MAR 04.

⁸Moskin, *op. cit.*

Yerba Buena, who observed the battle and later wrote a full-account of the action.⁹ The cover-art on the title page of this monograph reproduces Meyers' **"The Battle of Santa Clara"**.¹⁰ H.H. Bancroft, the noted California historian, acquired the original Meyers watercolor. In fact, prior to its purchase by Roosevelt, the artwork was part of the collection of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley.¹¹ Only after the President had acquired the picture was Meyers' sketchbook finally published in 1939.¹²

The historiography of the battle of Santa Clara encompasses the fields of literature, painting, participant (or personal) history, romantic history, and academic history. David H. Fischer has noted that historic battle-paintings, e.g. Meyers' **"The Battle of Santa Clara"**, must be **"true to the scale of that event"** and create **"an atmosphere of high drama around the event"**.¹³

The Battle of Santa Clara was a key event in the northern California campaign of the Mexican War (1846-1847). Nonetheless it represents a discrete episode which occurred on a single day, i.e. January 2, 1847. The goal of this monograph

⁹Janet Newton, **Las Positas**, Livermore, 1969, p. 102.

¹⁰William H. Meyers, **Naval Sketches of the War in California**, New York, 1939, Plate #7.

¹¹Susan Snyder, Reference Librarian, **The Bancroft Library**, University of California, Berkeley, Interview: 24 FEB 04.

¹²Parks, *op. cit.*

¹³David H. Fischer, **Washington's Crossing**, New York, 2004, p. 5.

is to place the battle in the context of the European settlement of Alta California. Though sometimes dismissed as a mere "skirmish", the **Battle of Santa Clara** signified a conflict between large historical processes.¹⁴ The events that followed the battle had a surprising impact, not only in America but in Britain, Russia, France, and Ireland as well. The writer has striven to produce an essay which will attempt to contextualize the battle within the colonial history of the Santa Clara Valley, i.e. from the de Portola expedition of 1769 through to the end of the Mexican War in the Northern Department of California in 1847.

New scholarship has revealed the hitherto largely unexplored significance of ethnic European emigration in the period leading up to the Californio-American conflict.¹⁵ By 1846, California was a neglected Mexican province within the grasp of imperialist European powers.¹⁶ **The Battle of Santa Clara** was emblematic of the efforts by President James K. Polk, Democratic Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, Navy Commodore Robert F. Stockton, and Army Captain John C. Fremont to seize California for the American Government.¹⁷

¹⁴ Neal Harlow, **California Conquered**, Berkeley, 1982, p. 197.

¹⁵ **N.B.** Californios: The regional name for a non-Indian inhabitant of Alta California, i.e. California-born Mexicans.

¹⁶ Josiah Royce, **California**, Berkeley, p. 25.

¹⁷ Donald B. Chidsey, **The War with Mexico**, New York, 1968, p. 120

By the 1840s, the trans-Atlantic tension between the United States and the British Empire had been exacerbated by waves of Irish emigration triggered by the Irish Famine.¹⁸ Unless the United States moved with dispatch, Senator Benton feared that the British would acquire California (just as they had already established tentative control of the Pacific Northwest).¹⁹ Therefore, this monograph will also endeavor to cursorily explore the Irish dimension of the Mexican-American War in northern California, e.g. the exploits of the "San Patricios" and the "St. Patrick" battalions.²⁰

Interest in Santa Clara County history can be considerably increased by even a limited knowledge of some background details such as are traced in this brief essay. Finally, I am grateful to the **California Pioneers of Santa Clara County** for providing the opportunity to further explore the historical milieu of this significant military event. I am also indebted to the archivists, curators, reference librarians, and academic scholars who gave so generously of their time and expertise to assist in the researching of this essay.

¹⁸N.B. "The Great Hunger" (**An Gorta Mor**), 1845-1850.

¹⁹John Myers, **Bravos of the West**, Lincoln, NE, p. 199.

²⁰N.B. Irish Catholic U.S. Army soldiers who deserted and fought on the side of Mexico during the 1846-1848 war.

THE BATTLE OF SANTA CLARA

The Battle-Site

**Cum periculum magnum esset,
omnes copias et arma brevi²¹
tempore contulerunt.**

By the spring of 1846, a series of armed revolts had already ended effective Mexican control of California.²² In the winter of 1846-1847, the **Battle of Santa Clara** was fought on a broad alluvial plain located near the lower end of San Francisco Bay.²³ This littoral region had long been occupied by the Posolmi, a local Ohlone tribe.²⁴ The hostilities erupted on a level tract where portions of Rancho Posolmi and Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas adjoined Rancho Rincon de San Francisquito (on the north-west), Rancho San Antonio, and Rancho Agua Caliente, where Mision Santa Clara de Asis had been built in 1777.²⁵

For at least a millennium before the arrival of the

²¹**N.B.** Since the danger was great, they brought all their troops and arms together in a short time.

²²Harlow, **op. cit.**

²³David Alt, **Roadside Geology of Northern and Central California**, Missoula, MT, 2000, p. 127.

²⁴Stephen M. Payne, **Santa Clara County**, Northridge, CA, 1987, p. 12.

²⁵Janice Marschner, **California 1850**, Sacramento, 2000, p. 143.

Europeans, this littoral plain was the site of the main village, at Posolmi, of the Ohlone Pojoron tribelet.²⁶

(The first pueblo in Santa Clara, i.e. San Jose, was sited by Lieutenant Don Jose Moraga on November 29, 1777.²⁷)

The Rancho Posolmi, Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas, and Rancho El Portrero de Santa Clara ("Saint Claire's Colt Pasture") comprised ancillary portions of the battle-scene.²⁸

As a consequence of the topography, the aboriginal inhabitants, e.g. the Ohlone tribelets of Pojoron, to the south, and Tuibun at Oroysom, to the north (near Mission San Jose), experienced "the relative isolation of one tribelet from another".²⁹ For the Tuibun Ohlone, this site was an encampment called Oroysom, where Mission San Jose was later established in 1797.³⁰

Between the European discovery of California in 1542 and its settlement by Spanish Franciscan missionaries in 1769 more than two centuries had passed.³¹ During that time the isolation of the California Costanoan Indians was the

²⁶Payne, *op. cit.*

²⁷W.W. Robinson, *Land in California*, Berkeley, 1948, p. 37.

²⁸Marschner, *op. cit.*

²⁹Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, Berkeley, 1978, p. 63.

³⁰Carrie Carruthers, *Washington Township*, Fremont, 2000, p. 15.

³¹Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 3

"dominant characteristic" of their existence.³² Distinct from the Ohlone Indians who inhabited the peninsula, and the east and south San Francisco Bay areas (e.g. the Tuibuns and the Polosomi with their encampments at Oroy-som and Pojoron), the "contra costa" aboriginals belonged to the Saklan tribe.³³ Their remains and artifacts were discovered in 1927 during the excavation for the Chapel at Saint Mary's College in Moraga.³⁴ Beginning in 1797, the Saklans were removed from their ancestral lands and re-located to Mission San Jose.³⁵ None remains.

The Battle of Santa Clara unfolded on the "Bajio", an open alluvial plain overgrown with mustard plants and intersected by numerous marshy sloughs.³⁶ Because of the peculiar vegetation, the "Battle of the Mustard Stalks" is another name for the combat in the Santa Clara Valley.³⁷ The battle-field is today demarcated by El Camino Real, the Lawrence Expressway (formerly Lawrence Station Road), Kifer Road, and Scott Boulevard.³⁸ On the day of the battle (January 2,

³² Margolin, *op. cit.*

³³ Brother Dennis Goodman, F.S.C., *Moraga's Pride*, Moraga, 2002, p. 31.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

1847) the terrain was muddy, so the (American) Santa Clara Expeditionary Force followed the "deschecha" as well as marching along the "camino del dedio" (i.e. the dry, or winter, road).³⁹ While on the battle-road, approximately two miles from Mission Santa Clara, near the present-day intersection of El Camino Real and El Arroyo Quito, the lone American naval artillery-piece, a six-pound cannon and its makeshift gun-carriage became mired in the mud.⁴⁰

The topography of the battle-site was a salt-marsh bog, but most of the acreage was subsequently drained and reclaimed for farming purposes. To the north, in present-day Contra Costa County, reinforcements for the Californio forces mustered throughout Rancho Laguna de los Palos Colorados, the landgrant awarded to Joaquin Moraga (the grandson of Lieutenant Don Jose Moraga, the famed explorer of the DeAnza Expedition), and then quick-marched south to battle the Santa Clara Expeditionary Force.⁴¹ Geographically, Rancho Laguna de los Palos Colorados included parts of what are now the towns of Moraga, Lafayette, and Orinda.⁴²

³⁹Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

⁴⁰Payne, *op. cit.*

⁴¹Goodman, *op. cit.*

⁴²*Ibid.*

Spanish Exploration & Colonization

Multi ex agris in urbem venient.⁴³

In November 1769, the Gaspar de Portola Expedition, the first land-party to survey Upper California, traversed the future Santa Clara battle-site and encountered the Posolmi and a "rancheria" (village) of their small Pojoron tribelet.⁴⁴ Having separated from Portola's main party at the Pajaro River, Sergeant Jose Francisco Ortega and a group of scouts were dispatched northward to search for the expedition's supply ship. Thus, on November 1, 1769, from a peak of the Santa Cruz Mountains (between the present-day communities of Pacifica and Millbrae), Ortega became the first Spaniard to glimpse San Francisco Bay.⁴⁵ It was while heading southward once again that Ortega and his small party encamped in the Posolmi environs and patrolled the Pojoron village.

Seven years later, in 1776, Don Juan Bautista De Anza, with the first large overland party of California settlers, en route to San Francisco to establish a mission there, arrived in the Santa Clara valley. On March 26, 1776, De Anza's party, comprised of Fray Moraga, Fray Font, a Lieutenant, a Corporal, and ten soldiers, encamped in the vicinity of the fabled "Palo Alto" tree.⁴⁶ In the alluvial fan of the Guadalupe River, De

⁴³N.B. Many came from the country into the towns.

⁴⁴Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴⁵Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴⁶Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

Anza's expedition discovered three large Ohlone "rancherías". Following the course of a water channel that they named "Rio de Nuestra Senora De Guadalupe", these explorers skirted the Santa Clara battle-site and also met the Ohlone tribelet of the Pojoron at their village of Posolmi.

In a bizarre and little-known complication to the De Anza expedition, the party's supply-ship, "San Carlos" had departed Monterey on June 17, 1776 and arrived in San Francisco Bay on July 29, 1776.⁴⁷ Beset by storms and hampered by poor navigation, the vessel sailed some 2,000 miles over 42 days to cover the short distance between the two ports.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, the expedition's Lieutenant, Don Jose Moraga (a "soldado distinguido", therefore entitled to use the honorific "Don", in place of "Senor) was detached from the party to perform two historic tasks: 1) the selection of a site for Mission Dolores (where he himself was interred in 1785) and 2) the establishment of the first "pueblo" of San Jose on November 29, 1777.⁴⁹

Years later his grandson, Joaquin Moraga (the son of Gabriel Moraga and Ana Bernal and after whom a rancho, a valley, and a city would eventually be named), would contribute Californio contingents to battle the Americans at

⁴⁷Goodman, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Robinson, W.W., *op. cit.*

Santa Clara in 1847.⁵⁰ By 1821, Mexico (New Spain) had finally won its independence from Spanish rule.⁵¹ By 1836 the Catholic missions had been secularized.⁵²

The trail forged by De Anza ("The San Francisco Road") opened on March 30, 1776 and, from the Guadalupe River northwest, became a boundary between the various ranchos subsequently founded in the vicinity. The present Bayshore Freeway still follows the general line of the De Anza trail. Because the salt-marsh lowlands near the bay were impassable in winter, the trail would have swung first to the right of the freeway, then sharply to the left, or in an inland direction. Farther to the south, along the route of the present Mountain View-Alviso highway, the Ohlone trail connected the encampments of Sojorpi and Posolmi.⁵³

Of the large "rancherias" surveyed by the De Anza party, one, situated two miles to the north of the Guadalupe River, is the site where Chief Ynigo (i.e. a Mission Santa Clara Indian) later established his ranch ("Rancho Posolmi") in 1844.⁵⁴ Adjacent, on two sides, to Chief Ynigo's Rancho Posolmi land-grant, was one other vast land-

⁵⁰Goodman, *op. cit.*

⁵¹Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁵²Maria A. Osio, *The History of Alta California*, Madison, 1996, p. 324.

⁵³Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 425.

hold which would eventually border upon the Battle of Santa Clara site. The Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas site, which adjoined Rancho Rincon de San Francisquito on the northwest, and Ranchos San Antonio and La Purisimi to the west and southwest, then extended, in the direction of San Francisco Bay, encompassed two boundaries of the Rancho Posolmi tract.

Though the Spaniards (and the English too, for that matter) first discovered the northern California coast in the 16th-century, actual settlement did not begin until 1776. "For 80 years after the Spanish settled Alta California, they more or less clung to the coastal areas, seldom venturing inland."⁵⁵ Following Lieutenant Don Jose Moraga's site-selection, Padre Tomas de la Pena established Mission de Santa Clara de Asis at its original location on January 12, 1777.⁵⁶ Though Rancho Posolmi had been occupied, and subsequently sold, old Chief Ynigo continued to live at the site until his death in 1864.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Goodman, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵⁶Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names*, Berkeley, 1949, p. 148.

⁵⁷Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

Foreigners (Extranjeros)

Novus ordo seclorum.⁵⁸

Significantly, in 1822, there were only approximately 3,200 inhabitants of Spanish extraction, and 13 foreigners in all of Alta California.⁵⁹ (The first non-Spanish, non-Indian, settler in Alta California was John Gilroy, a Scottish sailor who came ashore in 1814.)⁶⁰ By the early 1840s, it is estimated that there were, in Alta California, 7,000 people of Spanish descent, 10,000 domesticated Indians, 700 Americans, 100 English, Scots, and Irish, and 100 German, French, and Italian settlers.⁶¹ The largest, by far, contingent of the foreign emigrants consisted of the Irish ethnics. The Irish were among the first settlers in the San Francisco Bay area.

As early as 1828, an Irishman who styled himself Don Timoteo Murphy acquired a land-grant, raised cattle, and maintained a kennel of Irish greyhounds.⁶² Soon afterward, a second Irish immigrant, John Read, moved into the area, took a Spanish wife, and commenced farming.⁶³ Martin Murphy

⁵⁸N.B. A new order for the ages.

⁵⁹Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁶²William V. Shannon, *The American Irish*, Amherst, MA, 1963, p. 87.

⁶³*Ibid.*

Sr. was nearly 60-years-old when he arrived in California in 1844. Born in Ireland in 1785, where he married and his elder children were born, Murphy and most of his family emigrated to Canada in 1820.⁶⁴ Murphy Sr., a co-leader of the Murphy-Stevens-Townsend party (which, in 1844, became the first overland emigrant wagon-train to penetrate California from the east, via the most practical trans-Sierra route), eventually settled at the Rancho Ojo de Agua de la Coche tract (near the present-day town of Morgan Hill).⁶⁵ His son, Martin Murphy, Jr., acquired ownership of most of the original Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas holdings.⁶⁶ The Martin Murphy, Jr. family actively participated in the historic growth of the South Bay area. The expansive 30-room white frame-house, brought around the Horn, and erected in 1851 in Sunnyvale, was occupied by the Martin family for well over a century.⁶⁷ Among his other achievements, Martin Murphy, Jr. contributed to the establishment of Santa Clara College and the founding of the Convent of Notre Dame.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 448.

⁶⁵Irving Stone, **Men To Match My Mountains**, New York, 1956, p. 65.

⁶⁶Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

⁶⁷Ibid.

The aforementioned Don Timoteo Murphy (who was born in Co. Wexford, Ireland, c. 1800) was one of the first **extranjeros** to receive a land-grant (in Marin) from the Mexican Government.⁶⁴ However, as a concomitant of the Irish Famine (1845-1850), there was an enormous stream of Irish emigration. The cataclysm of **An Gorta Mor** produced a minimum of 1,000,000 Irish refugees.⁶⁵ (In fact, Frederick Douglas, the African-American liberator and former slave, himself visited Ireland in the 1840s to determine the effects of such an out-migration upon a society, in the event that parallels could be made to a scheme for the resettlement of slaves from the American South.)⁶⁶

The Irish described their migration to America in Gaelige terms, e.g. **deorai** (exiles), **dithreabhach** (homeless), and **dibeartach** (banished people), or described their situation: **Dob eigeán dom imeacht go Meirice**. (I had to go to America.).⁶⁷

In the America of the 1840s, however, anti-Irish ethnic prejudice was rampant. Indeed, the dominant culture displayed anti-ethnic discrimination of all sorts. In a

⁶⁴Patrick J. Dowling, **Irish Californians**, San Francisco, 1998, p. xxxi.

⁶⁵**N.B. An Gorta Mor:** The Irish Famine (1845-1850).

⁶⁶Ronald Takaki, **A Different Mirror**, New York, 1993, p. 139.

⁶⁷**Ibid.**

sermon entitled "The Dangerous Classes", Reverend Theodore Parker of Boston identified the "inferior peoples in the world", claiming that some were "inferior in nature" [sic], some perhaps "only behind us in development", while others were on "a lower form in the great school of Providence--**negroes** [sic], **Indians, Mexicans, Irish,** and the like".⁶⁸

By 1846, as a consequence of events in British-ruled Ireland, the United States Government feared that Britain was prepared to act militarily in California.⁶⁹ There was considerable apprehension that Mexico was about to grant three-thousand square leagues of territory to Father Eugene McNamara, the Irish colonizer, who planned to settle three-thousand families fleeing from the Irish Famine, and who would then vote themselves into the British Empire.⁷⁰ In the 1840s, HM Government at Westminster was actively engaged in promoting emigration schemes from Ireland.

Among the European settlers who eventually controlled the original Rancho Posolmi grant was one Robert Wilkinshaw, a native of Scotland, who had arrived in California in 1847 to become superintendent of the New Almaden mines.⁷¹ Owning

⁶⁸Takaki, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁶⁹Harlow, *op. cit.*

⁷⁰Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁷¹Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

the largest of five tracts on the Rancho Posolmi grant, Wilkinshaw then purchased adjoining acreage extending to the Guadalupe Slough. He erected an elaborate frame-house which was situated close-by to the junction of the Alviso Road and the Bayshore Freeway. Walkinshaw returned to Scotland in 1858, where he died the following year.⁷² (The greater portion of his land was then acquired by Henry Curtner, the American pioneer who already owned vast holdings in both Santa Clara and Alameda Counties.)⁷³

Another Scot who farmed in the Santa Clara valley was James Alexander Forbes.⁷⁴ Born in Scotland in 1804, Forbes arrived in Alta California in 1831.⁷⁵ He married Ana Maria Galindo and by 1842 had been appointed the British Vice-Consul at Monterey.⁷⁶ After the conquest of California, most of his wealth was consumed by litigation concerning the New Almaden mine in San Jose.⁷⁷ He expired in Oakland in 1881.⁷⁸ Significantly, however, Forbes lived to have witnessed the **Battle of Santa Clara** in 1847. Indeed, it was

⁷²Hoover, *op. cit.*

⁷³Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁷⁴Osio, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

upon the basis of Forbes' first-hand account that artist William H. Meyers rendered his painting of the of the scene, "The Battle of Santa Clara".⁷⁹

Robert Livermore, a native of England, one of the early pioneers of Santa Clara County, arrived in northern California in 1823.⁸⁰ (Livermore was a seaman who had served in both the U.S. and Royal Navies, including having participated in the capture of the Spanish flagship, the frigate **ESMERALDA**, by Lord Cochrane's Allied Fleet in 1820.)⁸¹ He was, in fact (in accordance with the custom of the time), baptized into the Catholic faith at Mission Santa Clara on June 20, 1823.⁸² Because of the lack of women on board early trading vessels, most foreign emigrants married native Californians. By becoming Catholics and citizens of Mexico, pioneers like Gilroy and Livermore also became eligible for the privileges of residents, e.g. land-grants, etc.

It is not without irony that Thomas O. Larkin (who was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts and migrated to Monterey in 1832, at the age of thirty), later to become United States Consul in California in 1844, upon arrival, refused both Mexican citizenship and Church membership, though, had he

⁷⁹Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²*Ibid.*

done so, he could have had a land-grant of 20,000-acres practically anywhere in California.⁸³

The tensions which finally exploded into the only battle fought in northern California during the Mexican War were sparked by an **extranjero** and Santa Clara pioneer Charles Weber. Weber arrived in California as a 32-year-old Prussian emigrant in 1841, and settled in the Santa Clara Valley.⁸⁴ He had travelled to the Far West as a member of the original Bidwell-Bartelson Party, the first direct overland immigrant expedition. According to the custom of the time, Weber became a nationalized Mexican citizen and thereafter styled himself Carlos Maria Weber.⁸⁵ Somewhat of an entrepreneur, Charles Weber operated a general-store, a blacksmith shop, a flour mill, a bakery, a salt-works, a soap and candle business, and a saloon (which catered to foreigners).⁸⁶

Weber, who would later found the town of Stockton, travelled to San Jose, via Sutter's Fort, in 1842.⁸⁷ Upon arrival in San Jose, Weber established the first water-powered flour mill.⁸⁸ As a veteran of the Texas Revolution

⁸³Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁸⁴Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*

of 1836, Captain Weber (who had been awarded that title by Jose Castro for participating in the 1844 uprising against Governor Micheltorena) was appointed sergeant-in-command of the San Jose volunteer militia, on October 8, 1846, by Commodore Stockton.⁸⁹ Weber nicknamed his militia-forces the "Rangers", in commemoration of the "Texas Rangers" with whom he had earlier fought.⁹⁰ In fact, from April of the previous year, Weber had already been functioning as the de facto militia-captain in San Jose, having been chosen for that post by Castro.⁹¹

Therefore, by Fall 1846, California had become a much sought-after prize of the great powers and had experienced an influx of **extranjeros**. There were fears that, unless America moved in, the British Empire would acquire California.⁹² In his history, author Josiah Royce aptly describes the status of California at this time:

"California . . . was in 1846 an outlying and neglected Mexican province. Its missions, once prosperous, had had their estates in large part secularized during the later years, had fallen into decay, and were now helpless and sometimes in ruins. The mission Indians had in large part disappeared.⁹³ The church [sic] was no longer a power."

⁸⁹Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁹²Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁹³Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

The Early U.S. Navy in Santa Clara County

Virtus est militis decus.⁹⁴

Preliminarily, it must be noted that, though a land conflict, **The Battle of Santa Clara** was, in fact, a naval engagement. Notwithstanding the fact that the first U.S. Navy ship, the frigate **USS ESSEX**, ventured into Pacific waters in 1813, during the War of 1812, the United States Navy did not establish a permanent presence in California, and the Santa Clara county region in particular, until the time of the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848.⁹⁵ Throughout the 1820s, a period of considerable unrest in South and Latin America, the U.S. Navy's Pacific Squadron was deployed permanently in order to protect American whaling, trading, and commercial interests in the region.⁹⁶

Even by the time that the De Anza party first encamped in Santa Clara, in Spring of 1776, along the Atlantic seaboard, the fledgling Continental Navy, under the command of Esek Hopkins, had already been deployed at sea. In fact, shortly before the De Anza expedition departed Monterey for San Francisco, on February 18, 1776, only ten months following the Battles at Lexington and Concord, the

⁹⁴N.B. Valor is the soldier's honor.

⁹⁵CDR (USNR) Jerome O'Brien, ed., **A Concise History of the United States Navy in the Pacific**, San Francisco, 1983. p. 34.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 4.

ALFRED, the first flagship of the Continental Navy put to sea.⁹⁷

In early March 1776, just as the De Anza party surveyed future land-grant sites in Santa Clara, both Hopkins and the celebrated John Paul Jones were conducting naval operations, against the Royal Navy, in the Bahamas.⁹⁸ During the American Revolution, contemporaneous with De Anza's exploration of the Posolmi village, on March 17, 1776, the British Army evacuated Boston when General Washington's Continental Army seized the strategic Dorchester Heights overlooking the city. In his order of that day, countersigned by General John Sullivan, and in honor of the Irish troops (who comprised 38% of his command), Washington instructed that "Saint Patrick" should be the password of the day.⁹⁹ It is noteworthy to draw a parallel between the De Anza survey and, on the East Coast, a significant event, during the same month, in the history of the Continental Army.

The United States Navy was officially established, by Congress, by the Navy Act of May 27, 1794.¹⁰⁰ The Marine Corps, first formed by the Second Continental Congress on November 10, 1775, and later to play such a significant role in the early Naval history of Santa Clara County, was

⁹⁷Nathan Miller, **The U.S. Navy**, Annapolis, 1977, p. 11.

⁹⁸E.B. Potter, ed., **Sea Power**, Annapolis, 1981, p. 37.

⁹⁹Shannon, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁰Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

then re-established, by an Act of Congress, on July 11, 1798.¹⁰¹ During the "Quasi-War" (1798-1800) with France, Commodore John Barry was the senior officer of the new Navy. Born at Bally Sampson, Co. Wexford, Ireland, in 1745, Barry emigrated to Philadelphia in 1760, where he eventually became a successful sea captain and ship owner.¹⁰² When the American colonists declared their independence from British rule in 1776, Barry quickly offered his services to the new Continental Navy. Later that same year, Barry, in command of the **LEXINGTON**, captured **HMS EDWARD**, the first British warship to be seized in the War of Independence.¹⁰³ In March, 1783, in the frigate **ALLIANCE**, Barry fought the last naval engagement of the Revolutionary War at sea.¹⁰⁴ In 1797, Barry assumed command of the newly-built frigate **USS UNITED STATES**.

At the time of his death in 1803, by tradition, Commodore Barry, because of his skill in training younger officers, had already earned the title of "the father of the American Navy".¹⁰⁵ During the action between the **USS ALLIANCE** and **HMS ATALANTA**, on May 29, 1781, a frustrated,

¹⁰¹ Moskin, op. cit., p. 25.

¹⁰² Aidan McIvor, *A History of the Irish Naval Service*, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland, 1994, p. 24.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Potter, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁰⁵ Shannon, op. cit., p. 30.

and wounded, Barry had exclaimed, "If you cannot fight the enemy, carry me on deck and I will".¹⁰⁶ To this day, when U.S. Naval vessels make port-visits to Ireland, by both custom and tradition, special salutes are rendered to John Barry, and in honor of his home-country, along the Wexford coast. The Irish diplomatic historian, Ian McCabe, has recorded that, during his historic 1963 visit to Ireland, President Kennedy made a special visit to Wexford's Crescent Quay, where he solemnly laid a wreath at the statue of John Barry, and commented on his role as "the father of the American Navy".¹⁰⁷

During the 1840s the U.S. Naval presence in northern California was triggered by a number of political factors. Both Britain and Russia had imperial designs upon Mexican California early in the 19th-century. Between 1812 and 1840, the Russian presence in northern California represented a threat to both British and American commercial interests. By May of 1841, even the French had dispatched a diplomatic mission to survey California and report its findings back to Paris.¹⁰⁸ Later that same year, in the Fall of 1841, Commodore Charles Wilkes and his flotilla of four U.S. Navy vessels, the **USS VINCENNES**, **USS PORPOISE**, **USS**

¹⁰⁶COL (USMC, Ret.) Robert D. Heinl, Jr., **Dictionary of Military and Naval Quotations**, Annapolis, 1966, p. 275.

¹⁰⁷Ian McCabe, "JFK in Ireland", **History Ireland**, I, No. 4, (Winter 1993), 38-42.

¹⁰⁸Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

FLYING FISH, and **USS OREGON**, sailed into San Francisco Bay with orders to conduct a similar survey and charting of the region.¹⁰⁹

In the Fall of 1842, the California coast was filled with warships from various nations, each prepared to take full-advantage of the unsettled political conditions there. The U.S. Navy had deployed a fleet of five vessels (mounting 116 guns), the British were represented by a task force of four Royal Navy ships (featuring 104 guns), and the French had dispatched eight warships (containing 202 guns). Because the streams of American emigration were strongest, it was assumed that, for that reason, the Californios were predisposed to favor the American conquest of their land.

It was into this confused atmosphere that the U.S. Navy Commodore Thomas ap Catesby-Jones, the commander of the East Pacific Squadron, on board the flagship **USS UNITED STATES**, sailed his flotilla into Monterey on October 19, 1842.¹¹⁰ Catesby-Jones had been issued an ambiguous set of orders from the Secretary of the Navy, advising him that:

The unsettled state of the nations bordering on the coast included in your command, renders it necessary to protect the interests of the

¹⁰⁹Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹¹⁰Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

United States in that quarter. Nothing but the necessity of prompt and effectual protection of the honor and interests of the United States will justify you in committing¹¹¹ any act of hostility.

Commodore Jones acted upon these instructions based upon a number of factors.

He was fearful of British and French designs on California; knowing, for example, that the Royal Navy was sailing toward California under sealed orders. Furthermore, the U.S. Consul in Mazatlan informed Catesby-Jones that war between the United States and Mexico was imminent.^{112A} Boston newspaper, conveyed to him, contained a false report that Mexico was about to cede California to British control. Following consultation with the U.S. Consul in Lima, Commodore Jones conferred with the captains of the three warships in his East Pacific Squadron.¹¹³ With the agreement of his commanders, Catesby-Jones slipped his flotilla out of Callao, Peru, and sailed northward to Monterey, intent upon seizing northern California in the name of the United States.¹¹⁴

The warships of the East Pacific Squadron anchored in Monterey Bay on October 19, 1842. The impetuous Jones,

¹¹¹Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹¹²Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹¹³Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹¹⁴Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

who as a young Lieutenant in 1814, with a fleet of five gunboats and in command of 147 sailors and 35 Marines, had successfully delayed the British invasion of New Orleans during the War of 1812, thus buying time for General Jackson to marshal his forces for a defense of the city, assumed he now faced a similar task.¹¹⁵ Catesby-Jones was also under the impression that Mexican California's newly-appointed Governor, the soldier Jose Manuel Micheltorena, who had arrived in California in September 1842, with a directive to discourage further American immigration into the territory, was marching with a large land army toward the capital at Monterey.¹¹⁶ In fact, when the Marines were landed on the morning of October 20, Micheltorena's army was still encamped in Los Angeles. Micheltorena had not even taken the oath of office from his predecessor, incumbent Governor Juan B. Alvarado, when Jones seized the port-capital of Monterey.¹¹⁷

On the afternoon of his arrival, Commodore Jones dispatched one of his captains ashore to demand the surrender of the Government of Alta California. As there were no armed Californio troops garrisoned in the capital, both Governor Alvarado and Thomas Larkin, the American merchant-

¹¹⁵Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹¹⁶Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 83.

majordomo in Monterey, were astonished by the abortive invasion. By midnight, Larkin, serving as the interpreter, escorted two California commissioners on board the flagship **USS UNITED STATES**, where the articles of surrender were drafted. At nine o'clock on the morning of October 20, the capitulation instrument was signed. By eleven o'clock, a landing-party of 150 Marines and sailors had swarmed ashore, to the bemusement and consternation of local residents and the ungarrisoned presidio.¹¹⁸ Significantly though, when the Mexican flag was lowered and replaced by the American, the occasion marked the first time that the Stars & Stripes ensign would fly in the Far West. The event, though three and a half years premature, did mark the first presence of U.S. Naval and Marine Corps units in California history and was a prelude to later Naval events in Santa Clara County.

Commodore Jones' short-lived occupation of northern California lasted for about thirty-hours. Thomas Larkin was eventually able to establish, through proper documentation, that the United States and Mexico were not, in fact, engaged in official hostilities. A contrite Catesby-Jones ordered the American flag hauled down and

¹¹⁸Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

directed his gunnery officers to fire honorary salutes to his Mexican hosts. Jones and a group of his officers then journeyed to Sonoma to meet with Colonel Vallejo, the Mexican military commander of northern California, to render a formal apology for the precipitate action.¹¹⁹ Finally, in January 1843, Governor Micheltorena allowed the commodore to offer his official apology for the incident. As reparations, Micheltorena was also awarded \$10,000 US, eighty new military uniforms, and a collection of musical instruments from the band on board the **USS UNITED STATES**.¹²⁰ With some prescience, Commodore Jones noted in his journal, "I may forfeit my commission and all that I have acquired in seven and thirty years' devotion to my country's service".¹²¹ Indeed, the mis-adventure led to his eventual dismissal from the U.S. Naval Service.¹²²

¹¹⁹Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹²²O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

The Polk-Benton-Stockton-Fremont Scheme

Nemo solus satis sapit.¹²³

In 1844, James Knox Polk was elected President of the United States.¹²⁴ James K. Polk (1795-1849) of Tennessee, the 11th President of the United States (1845-1849), was dedicated to a policy of American expansionism.¹²⁵ Only 49-years-old when inaugurated, the acquisition of California was one of his major goals. ("It was California that James K. Polk had his eye on all the time.")¹²⁶ President Truman once remarked of Polk, a Democrat, "A great President. Said what he intended to do and did it."¹²⁷

Polk's annexation of California was actively encouraged by his friend and fellow Democrat, Senator Thomas Hart Benton. The Missouri senator was apprehensive that Britain had imperial designs on California.¹²⁸ Polk and Benton then enlisted the aid of a politically-ambitious Naval officer, Commodore Robert F. Stockton, to achieve their goal. Stockton belonged to one of the most influential and wealthiest families in New Jersey.¹²⁹ (In fact, his grandfather, Richard,

¹²³N.B. Plautus: No one by himself is sufficiently wise.

¹²⁴Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹²⁵James McPherson, *To The Best of My Ability*, New York, 2001, p. 153.

¹²⁶Chidsey, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹²⁷McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹²⁸Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

¹²⁹Glenn W. Price, *Origins of the War with Mexico*, Austin, 1967, p. 50.

was a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.)¹³⁰ Remarkably, Stockton had also acquired a ranch near San Jose, California.¹³¹

During the Tyler Administration, on February 28, 1844, Stockton commanded the **USS PRINCETON** when a catastrophic gun explosion on board killed several prominent members of the President's Cabinet.¹³² President Tyler and his Cabinet, several senators, and other leading citizens of Washington, including James Madison's widow, Dolly, were on board.¹³³ Those killed were the Secretary of State, Abel P. Upshur; the Secretary of the Navy, Thomas W. Gilmer; Captain Beverly Kennon, of the Navy; Virgil Maxey, of Maryland, former solicitor of the Treasury and charge d'affaires at Brussels; and David Gardiner, of New York, who was a personal guest of the President.¹³⁴ Though the victims were horribly atomized, Stockton survived this incident (both personally and professionally) and was later assigned command of naval forces in California.¹³⁵

John Charles Fremont, of the U.S. Army, was the son-in-law of Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton. During

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 49.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 55.

¹³²Ibid., p. 75.

¹³³Ibid., p. 74.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 75.

¹³⁵Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

the annexation of California, Stockton would demonstrate that his blanket powers were such that he offered John C. Fremont a lieutenant-colonelcy in a joint sea and land force.¹³⁶ Stockton mustered Fremont's band of riflemen into a "California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen" with Fremont, i.e. "The Pathfinder", in charge.¹³⁷ Commodore Stockton then officially took the "California Battalion" of volunteers into the Navy.¹³⁸

In terms of the Naval history of Santa Clara County, a confluence of three events in 1846 led to the permanent U.S. Naval presence there: the John C. Fremont expedition, the mission of Marine Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, and the arrival of the invasion fleet of Commodore John D. Sloat. On July 4, 1845, concomitant with the admission of Texas to the Union, President Polk realized that war with Mexico was virtually inevitable.¹³⁹ Polk spoke of the dispatch of American troops as a necessary measure of defense. ("Indeed, the reverse was true; President Polk had incited war by sending American soldiers into what was disputed territory, historically controlled and inhabited by Mexicans.")¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

¹³⁷Geoffrey C. Ward, *The West*, New York, 1996, p. 97.

¹³⁸Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹³⁹Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁴⁰Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*, New York, 1980, p. 152.

In 1844, for the first time since Commodore Jones' ill-timed invasion of 1842, the U.S. Armed Forces, under the command of Lieutenant John Charles Fremont of the United States Topographical Corps, had once again made an unauthorized incursion into California. Dispatched by Congress and President Tyler to survey a route to the Oregon Territory in 1842, Fremont embarked upon second and third expeditions into the Far West in 1843 and 1844.¹⁴¹

Acting upon the recommendation of Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft, on October 30, 1845, President Polk held a secret meeting in the White House with Marine 1st Lieutenant Gillespie. In the event of a war with Mexico, the President wanted to be certain that California could be seized and held. Gillespie was furnished with secret instructions, a special commission, and dispatches for the U.S. Consul at Monterey, Thomas O. Larkin, Commodore John D. Sloat on the Mexican west coast, and Army Captain John C. Fremont, then exploring the Far West for the Topographical Corps.¹⁴² Gillespie travelled, via Vera Cruz, to both Mexico City and Mazatlan, where he delivered Secretary of State Buchanan's instructions to Commodore Sloat. He then embarked on the warship **USS CYANE** and journeyed, via Honolulu, to Monterey, where, on April 17, 1846, he

¹⁴¹Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 47

¹⁴²Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

met with Consul Larkin.¹⁴³ Recording his October 30, 1845 meeting with the Marine Lieutenant, President Polk had observed:

I held a confidential conversation with Gillespie of the Marine Corps about eight o'clock P.M. on the subject of the secret mission on which he was about to go to California. His secret instructions and the letter to Mr. Larkin, United States consul [sic] at Monterey, in the Department of State, will explain the object of his mission.¹⁴⁴

After delivering his messages to Consul Larkin, and informing him that he was now designated as a Confidential Agent in California, LT Gillespie then proceeded northward where he met Fremont on May 9, then encamped at the southern tip of Klamath Lake.¹⁴⁵ The nature of the dispatches that Gillespie conveyed to Fremont has long been the subject of considerable dispute and controversy. Though LT Gillespie overtook Fremont's party at Klamath Lake, the two men then made their way back down the Sacramento Valley. Captain Fremont subsequently claimed that Gillespie carried specific orders directing him to advance into northern California.¹⁴⁶ The evidence, on this point, is uneven and inconclusive. Secretary of the Navy Bancroft later averred that he had directed:

¹⁴³Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁴⁶Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Being absolved from any duty as an explorer, Captain Fremont was left to his duty as an officer in the service of the United States, with the further authoritative knowledge that the government [sic] intended to take possession of California.¹⁴⁷

In the Spring of 1846, Mexican governance of California had been eroded by a series of armed insurrections. The two chief officials were Californios who were virtually self-appointed to office. The civil governor, Pio Pico, ruled southern California from Los Angeles; while the military commandant, Jose Castro, was marshalling his forces at Santa Clara.¹⁴⁸ The two leaders were mutually antagonistic and the Californios themselves were rift by factionalism.

On May 12, 1846, only days after Gillespie's rendezvous with Fremont, Congress officially declared war on Mexico. Nearly a year before, Secretary of the Navy Bancroft had already alerted Commodore Sloat that, in the event of war with Mexico, " . . . you will at once . . . possess yourself of the port of San Francisco and blockade or occupy . . . other ports".¹⁴⁹ While maintaining his own headquarters at Mazatlan, Sloat had taken the precaution of pre-positioning vessels at strategic points along the California coast. In June 1846, three weeks after learning of the outbreak of hostilities along the Rio Grande, Sloat set sail for Monterey.

¹⁴⁷Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁴⁸Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁴⁹Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

Sloat's flagship, the frigate **USS SAVANNAH**, arrived in Monterey Harbor on July 1, 1846. Although the other U.S. Naval vessels, the **USS LEVANT** and **USS CYANE**, had already arrived at Monterey ahead of him, Commodore Sloat's action was timely. A Royal Navy warship, **HMS COLLINGWOOD**, poised to advance British interests in the region, sailed into Monterey Bay on July 7, 1846, just as Sloat was landing his Marine detachments to seize the town.¹⁵⁰ While Sloat's flotilla was in transit from Mazatlan to Monterey, a small group of American settlers in Sonoma, fearful of a British intrusion, and needing to legitimize their theft of livestock, had declared the California Bear Flag Republic on June 15, 1846.¹⁵¹

The twenty-four day tenure of the California Republic ended on the morning of July 7, 1846 when Navy Captain William Mervine came ashore at Monterey with 165 sailors and 85 Marines and seized the capital in the name of the United States.¹⁵² The Marine Detachment was commanded by CAPT Ward Marston, who, after raising the American flag over the Custom House, ordered 2nd LT William A.T. Maddox to establish a garrison there, in effect the first Marine Corps post on the West Coast.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁵¹Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁵²Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*

On July 6, 1846, as he had done nearly three-and-a-half years earlier, during the premature Catesby-Jones raid, Consul Larkin boarded the **USS SAVANNAH** to oversee the drafting of the diplomatic protocols with Commodore Sloat.¹⁵⁴ To the north, a second U.S. Navy flotilla, in command of Commodore John B. Montgomery, on board the sloop-of-war **USS PORTSMOUTH**, had meanwhile sailed into San Francisco Bay.¹⁵⁵ Copies of the proclamations and orders drafted by Sloat and Larkin were dispatched to Montgomery.

While Mexican General Castro was still bivouacked in Santa Clara, Captain Fremont's Bear Flag forces, with the assistance of the crew from the merchant vessel **MOSCOW**, seized the port of Yerba Buena. Two days after the Monterey landings, on July 9, 1846, Commodore Montgomery landed a small contingent of Marines to occupy Yerba Buena (San Francisco). An ordinary seaman on board the **PORTSMOUTH**, Joseph T. Downey (whose journal was only discovered in 1955), witnessed the seizure of Yerba Buena when the landing-party under Marine 2nd LT Henry B. Watson came ashore.¹⁵⁶ Yerba Buena (which was only named in 1827), at the time, was little more than an anchorage at the foot

¹⁵⁴Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁵⁵Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁵⁶Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

of Telegraph Hill.¹⁵⁷ Its presidio had already been abandoned and Downey ascribes a comic-opera quality to the hamlet's official seizure:

By 7 bells matters were all arranged, and the party of Marines and Carbineers [sic] landed on the Bank, and after being marshalled in due order, the Band, consisting of one drum and one fife, struck up Yankee Doodle, and off we marched keeping time as best we might, to conquer the redoubtable town of Yerba Buena.¹⁵⁸

News of the Congressional Declaration of War with Mexico not yet having been communicated to him, relations between Commodore Sloat and Captain Fremont grew increasingly strained.¹⁵⁹ On July 19, 1846, Sloat summoned Fremont into his cabin on board the **SAVANNAH**. The Commodore had been instructed to maintain, if possible, fairly peaceful terms with the Californios. In this respect, he felt that his efforts had been hampered by some of Fremont's extra-legal exploits.¹⁶⁰ The harsh treatment which had been afforded to Commandant Mariano Vallejo, for example, following his capture by Bear Flag insurgents led by Fremont, exasperated the courtly Sloat. The Commodore castigated Fremont for having acted precipitately and

¹⁵⁷Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁵⁸Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹⁵⁹N.B. It was 12 August before word of official hostilities reached California.

¹⁶⁰Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

without official U.S. Army orders.¹⁶¹ (Indeed, in November 1847, Fremont was court-martialed for his conduct before and during the conquest of California, and, in fact, found guilty on all counts.)¹⁶²

However, on July 15, 1846, another warship, the **USS CONGRESS**, bearing Commodore Robert F. Stockton, hove into Monterey Bay.¹⁶³ By July 29 the ailing Sloat relinquished his command of the squadron to the energetic Captain Stockton and sailed out of California waters.¹⁶⁴ Sharing similar temperments, Stockton and Fremont agreed to conduct a series of aggressive and offensive military operations throughout California. By the mid-summer of 1846, Fremont had assembled a "California Battalion" and Stockton, with a considerable Marine force in his squadron, was prepared to conduct joint Navy and Army campaigns. Even as General Stephen W. Kearny's army was advancing toward southern California, Commodore Stockton's fleet departed for San Pedro, via Yerba, on August 1, 1846.

Stockton's "California Battalion" (with Fremont as major and Gillespie as a captain and second-in-command) conformed to no law governing volunteer organizations and ultimately required a special act of Congress to pay

¹⁶¹Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁶²Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

¹⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹⁶⁴Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

for its expenses.¹⁶⁵ In addition to a field force, Stockton arranged for volunteer garrisons to be established at Sonoma, San Juan Bautista, Santa Clara, and Sutter's Fort.¹⁶⁶

While the hostilities were pursued in southern California, the first democratic institutions in northern California were implemented. Reverend Walter Colton, a U.S. Navy chaplain on the **USS CONGRESS**, came ashore at Monterey on July 16, 1846. He had been commissioned by Stockton to serve as the first American alcade, or chief magistrate, of Monterey. Among the innovations established by Colton during his magistracy were humane penal reforms, California's first newspaper, and the first juries to be impanelled in California.¹⁶⁷ Interestingly, Colton's juries were not only judicially novel, but they were ethnically-balanced as well (consisting of one-third Mexican-born, one-third California-born, and one-third American-born jurors). Indeed, Colton asserted the belief that, "If there is anything on earth besides religion for which I would die, it is the right of trial by jury".¹⁶⁸

Before Stockton's forces finally deployed from Yerba Buena on October 19, 1846, Fremont had already recruited a small army and embarked for Santa Barbara on board the

¹⁶⁵ Jack K. Bauer, **The Mexican War, 1846-1848**, New York, 1974, p. 173.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

USS STERLING. Upon learning the Navy Captain Mervine, and his forces from the **USS SAVANNAH**, and Marine Captain Gillespie, who had earlier been dispatched to southern California, had been ousted from their garrisons, Fremont cautiously returned to Monterey, an act for which he was criticized by Stockton in an official report to the Navy Department. Following an abortive attempt to recapture LOS Angeles on October 7, 1846, during which Stockton dispatched Captain Mervine ashore with a force of 310 sailors and Marines, to join-up with Captain Gillespie (who, by this time, had been appointed "Commandant" of the Southern District; Fremont having been designated Military Governor of California), Commodore Stockton himself arrived in southern California and landed additional sailors and Marines to hold San Pedro.¹⁶⁹ Kearny's troopers were just finishing their long overland march when they were attacked by a superior Mexican force. The Battle of San Pasqual which ensued comprised one of the worst military defeats for an American force since the War of 1812. The bulk of the combat was between Mexican lances and American sabers. Kearny himself was lanced twice

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 63.

and Gillespie was also wounded.¹⁷⁰ Twenty-one Americans were killed in the action. However, by January 10, 1847, Kearny had prevailed in the more significant Battle of San Gabriel and California was finally conquered.

Yet, while the Californios in the south had surrendered, a brouhaha then erupted between Commodore Stockton (who had championed Fremont's ambitions) and General Kearny as to whom should exercise over-all command in California. Fremont chose to side with Commodore Stockton. Meanwhile, Commodore Shubrick, in command of the frigates **USS INDEPENDENCE** and **USS LEXINGTON**, sailed into Monterey bearing orders terminating Stockton's command and designating Kearny as the commander-in-chief of all U.S. forces in California. A disgraced Fremont was made a military prisoner and transported back to Washington, DC for court-martial.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 63.

The Battle of Santa Clara

Flagrante bello.¹⁷¹

In the winter of 1846-1847, with most United States military forces already deployed in southern California, the San Francisco Bay area was relatively unprotected.¹⁷² In Santa Clara, in particular, local Californio ranchers were still incensed over the peremptory manner with which their livestock had been seized, ostensibly by agents acting on behalf of the Fremont military expedition. The tensions which finally exploded into the **Battle of Santa Clara** were sparked by Santa Clara pioneer Charles M. Weber.

The revolt in northern California was caused by the harsh treatment meted out by the Americans stationed there.¹⁷³ According to Harlow in **California Conquered**:

There was one other local disturbance, the "Battle of Santa Clara", in January, after Fremont's departure from San Juan. Perhaps a hundred Californians under Francisco Sanchez dramatized their resentment over the plundering of the ranchos, begun by Weber and Fremont's men, by capturing Alcade Washington A. Bartlett of Yerba Buena (and the **PORTSMOUTH**) and five or six Americans on a foraging expedition. With Captain Marston's marines [sic] and volunteers in pursuit, there was some rapid marching about by night and day and one brief skirmish on January 2 on the plain of Santa Clara.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹N.B. In the midst of hostilities.

¹⁷²Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁷³David Nevin, **The Mexican War**, Alexandria, 1978, p. 115.

¹⁷⁴Harlow, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

Fremont himself was openly critical of Weber's tactics. He arraigned them as "little honorable to the United States", and he pronounced them as "disgraceful".¹⁷⁵ Harlow decried the irony of the livestock seizures: "They [i.e. Weber et. al.] plundered the Californians to procure the means of fighting them".¹⁷⁶

The Battle of Santa Clara was triggered by Weber's overzealousness in requisitioning livestock, particularly horses, from Californio ranchos throughout the San Francisco Bay area. Having been directed only "to take charge of all arms found in possession of Californians residing in the towns of San Jose and Santa Clara", Weber egregiously exceeded his mandate by ordering his militia to expropriate entire herds of horses, work mules, and even saddles from the Californios.¹⁷⁷ In this respect, Weber faced much the same dilemma as the Bear Flaggers who had seized horses in Sonoma earlier in the year, i.e. either he was leading a band of horse-thieves, or else he was engaged in a legitimate act of warfare. Though he later claimed to have authority to conduct the raids from both Fremont and Stockton, no evidence has been produced to corroborate that contention.¹⁷⁸ The Californios in the

¹⁷⁵Ibid., p. 222.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 221.

¹⁷⁷Payne, op. cit., p. 53.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

Santa Clara Valley had complained, without effect, about Weber's raids to the U.S. military authorities at Yerba Buena. A British diplomat in Yerba Buena, James Alexander Forbes, also tried, without success, to alert the military governor of the havoc caused by Weber's actions.¹⁷⁹

Ironically, one direct result of these "Rangers" raids was a shortage of meat to supply the troops garrisoned in San Francisco. Without their mounts, the Californios had no means by which to collect, or drive, the remaining cattle. One of the ranchos raided by the "Rangers" was Buri-Buri (near the present-day town of Woodside), belonging to the Sanchez family.¹⁸⁰ On December 11, 1846, Manuel Sanchez was arrested on an espionage charge and detained on board the **USS SAVANNAH** in San Francisco Bay. Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, Manuel's older brother from the Rancho Buri-Buri, understandably distraught by the conduct of the Americans, then mobilized his vaqueros.

The military alcade of Yerba Buena, U.S. Navy Lieutenant Washington A. Bartlett, and a party of six sailors, rode out from San Francisco on December 14, 1846. Their ostensible mission was to scout the South Bay countryside

¹⁷⁹Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*

for signs of a Californio army, then rumored to be forming. In fact, owing to the garrison's meat-shortage, they were endeavoring to requisition cattle. Bartlett met with Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, whose brother he had imprisoned, to negotiate a cattle-purchase from Rancho Buri-Buri. However, upon reaching the region of what is now San Mateo, Bartlett's party encountered a group of Californios overseeing some cattle on a rancho owned by the (American) commercial firm of Mellus & Howard.¹⁸¹ These vaqueros objected to the seizure of animals entrusted to their care. On the morning of December 16, Bartlett ordered his men to stack their arms so that they could drive the small herd of cattle, consisting of twenty or so animals, into a stone enclosure.¹⁸²

With Bartlett's small force effectively disarmed, Sanchez and his followers arrested the Navy men and took them as hostages. At this juncture, when news of Bartlett's capture spread to other Californio rancheros, three additional companies of vaqueros enlisted in Sanchez's small army. With most of their weapons and ammunition having been seized in earlier raids by Weber's Rangers, the Californios only gathered thirty-eight

¹⁸¹Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁸²Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

rifles and one pistol between them.¹⁸³ These small-arms, though, in effect, were useless without powder. The vaqueros were excellent horsemen, however; at least ten of whom had served in the Mexican Army and carried swords. With their hostages in tow, the Californio force moved first to Half Moon Bay, then re-crossed the mountains near the present-day Woodside (close-by south Crystal Springs Lake, near the present-day "Filoli" estate). They then skirted to the south of Pueblo de San Jose and turned northward to Jose Higuera's Rancho los Tular-citos, near present-day Milpitas.

There the Sanchez army was joined by additional Californio reinforcements from Contra Costa.¹⁸⁴ As the Californio army moved eastward from Half Moon Bay, they generated popular support in terms of men and materials.¹⁸⁵ In many respects, the accretion of forces under Sanchez's banner was not unlike the dynamic of the opening day of the American Revolution, April 19, 1775, when Minutemen of Lexington and Concord were joined by colonial militiamen from outlying towns (e.g. Lincoln, Acton, Marblehead, etc.).

¹⁸³Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁸⁴Goodman, *op. cit.*

¹⁸⁵Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 102

As these events were unfolding, Lieutenant Robert F. Pinkney was the U.S. military officer in command of the garrison in San Jose.¹⁸⁶ In fact, he had assumed command from Captain Thomas Fallon who, on July 13, 1846, hoisted the first U.S. flag at San Jose. News of LT Bartlett's abduction did not reach Yerba Buena until December 17, 1846. Captain William Mervine (who had led the first landing-party ashore at Monterey the previous summer) immediately alerted Pinkney to be vigilant "day and night".¹⁸⁷ LT Pinkney then sought the assistance of Marine Corps 2nd Lieutenant William Maddox, commander of the Middle Department at Monterey. Maddox had already established the first Marine Corps garrison on the West Coast.¹⁸⁸ While 2nd LT Maddox and fifty Marines marched northward from Monterey on December 22, LT Pinkney requested additional reinforcements from Captain Joseph B. Hull of the **USS WARREN**. His plan was to organize a mission to capture Sanchez's army and rescue the hostages. However, Captain Mervine disapproved of the mission, primarily because it had been conceived by a Junior Officer acting without the authority of his commanders, and ordered it

¹⁸⁶Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

rescinded.

Within days, however, Captain Weber (whose Rangers had set these events in train) held a meeting with Captain Mervine and convinced him to proceed with a military rescue-mission. Accordingly, on December 26, 1846, Mervine issued another set of orders, based essentially upon LT Pinkney's original strategy. At the same time that the "Santa Clara Expeditionary Force" was officially authorized, on the day after Christmas, Sanchez was still bivouacked with his troops, and prisoners, at the Don Higuera house on Rancho Los Tularcitos.¹⁸⁹ Captain Hull was instructed to muster a force of 101 Marines and enlisted sailors, who were then placed under the command of Marine Captain Ward Marston.¹⁹⁰ Captain Marston had distinguished himself earlier in the year by having led the 85-man Marine contingent during the landings at Monterey.¹⁹¹

The **Santa Clara Expeditionary Force**, joined by Captain Weber and his Rangers, then marched out from Yerba Buena toward Santa Clara on December 29, 1846. Due to the lack of horses, only about half of the company were mounted.¹⁹² The Naval force of sailors and Marines pro-

¹⁸⁹Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

¹⁹⁰Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁹¹Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

ceeded on foot. They were further encumbered by having to haul a six-pound (shot) cannon through the muddy mire. On January 2, 1847, Weber's scouts and advance party had penetrated as far as the main village at Posolmi. Meanwhile, the main party of sailors and Marines approached toward Mission Santa Clara, apprehended the presence of the Californios, and fired warning shots to summon Weber and his Rangers to their aid.

Following the route of the "deschecha" through present-day Sunnyvale and Mountain View, as well as the "camino del dedio" (dry, or winter, road), the **Santa Clara Expeditionary Force** then pursued the rancheros in a classic pincer-movement, with Weber's Rangers advancing along the right-flank, while the Yerba Buena forces closed-in from the left.¹⁹² Besides Weber, the leaders of the militia-forces included Captains Joseph Aram and John W. Murphy.¹⁹³ The sailors approached down the road, dragging the cannon behind them, and preceded by an advance party of Marines led by 2nd Lieutenant Robert Tansill.¹⁹⁴ The Californios attempted to evade their pursuers and remain beyond the range of their gunfire. Near the present-day intersection of El Camino Real and El Arroyo Quito, approximately two miles from the mission, the six-pound cannon

¹⁹²Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 451.

¹⁹⁴Moskin, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

and its makeshift gun-carriage became mired in the mud.¹⁹⁵ Observing that the Americans were thus disadvantaged, the Californios then closed for battle with the Naval, Marine, and volunteer militia-forces.

A British consul at Yerba Buena, James A. Forbes, was an eye-witness to the battle and later wrote a full-account of the action.¹⁹⁶ The Californios, of course, were a mounted force, armed with lances, pikes, and swords. The Americans, on the other hand, were primarily arrayed as foot-infantry, though they had formed in close-ranks in order to concentrate their fire-power. Though the sequence of events remains unclear, the Americans fired upon the Californios with both their rifles and at least three discharges of grapeshot from the small cannon. After having made a cavalry charge against the Americans, the Californios eventually dispersed.¹⁹⁷

According to Forbes, several Americans were killed and wounded in the encounter.¹⁹⁸ Other sources aver that the casualties consisted of four Californios killed and four wounded, while the Americans suffered two wounded. The California historian, H.H. Bancroft, reports that none was mortally wounded on either side.¹⁹⁹ The battle-

¹⁹⁵Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁹⁶Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁹⁷Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹⁹⁸Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*

site itself was popularly known as the "Bajio", i.e. an open alluvial plain overgrown with mustard stalks and flooded by numerous marshy sloughs.²⁰⁰ Following this initial encounter, an armistice of five days ensued, during which the Sanchez forces retreated westward into the Santa Cruz Mountains.

Under a flag of truce, Marine Captain Marston, Consul Forbes, and Marius Duvall (a U.S. Navy surgeon who could speak Spanish and serve as an interpreter) proceeded to Mission Santa Clara to negotiate a cessation of hostilities with the two Sanchez brothers, Francisco and Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, who were accompanied by their brother-in-law, Domingo Feliz.²⁰¹ According to Forbes' version of the meeting, the Californios were able to achieve their objective, an agreement that the Americans would abandon their foraging raids onto rancho properties.²⁰² The ranchero leaders averred that they carried no flag, were not in rebellion, and had no wish to see Mexico sovereign in Alta California.²⁰³ A tacit agreement having been concluded, Marston arranged for an extension of the truce and dispatched a letter outlining its terms to Captain Mervine, at Yerba Buena, for his approval. As a sign of good faith, the Californio leaders then released LT Bartlett, though

²⁰⁰Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

²⁰¹Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁰²Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁰³Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

they remained encamped in the vicinity with the remaining six Naval prisoners.

Later that same afternoon, however, the fragile armistice was nearly shattered. For 2nd Lieutenant Maddox, with his force of fifty Marines, had arrived from Monterey and, being unaware of the truce, promptly charged the Californio encampment.²⁰⁴ Before further hostilities could be fully joined, Maddox was intercepted by messengers from the Naval forces. Consul Forbes was then called upon to calm the suspicions of the Californios, who believed that an act of treachery had been planned. On January 7, 1847, a party comprised of Marston, Duvall, Forbes, Bartlett, and William Smith left Mission Santa Clara under another flag of truce.²⁰⁵ The Americans then presented the Californio leaders, represented by Francisco Sanchez, Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, Domingo Feliz, and Julio Valencia, with a virtual ultimatum from Captain Mervine. The Californios were to release the remaining prisoners, cease all further hostilities, and surrender all weapons. In exchange, the U.S. Government would provide script for any further livestock that the military forces might require, to be honored and paid at some future time.²⁰⁶

On January 8, 1847, at a site not far from Mission

²⁰⁴Ibid., p. 56.

²⁰⁵Ibid.

²⁰⁶Ibid.

Santa Clara (at the present-day intersection of El Camino Real and Lawrence Station Road, in Santa Clara), where the so-called "Armistice Oak Tree" once stood (today marked by a California State Historical Landmark plaque, No. 260), Francisco Sanchez signed the treaty-instrument in a special ceremony.²⁰⁷ He formally surrendered his forces to Lieutenant Grayson and released the six remaining American prisoners. With this action, both the **Battle of Santa Clara** and the war in the Northern Department of California were brought to a formal conclusion.

²⁰⁷ California Historical Landmarks, Sacramento, p. 49.

Epilogue: The Battalion of San Patricio

Vae, Victis.²⁰⁸

In the ethnology of war, the Mexican-American conflict of 1846-1848 is not without parallels. A weak Catholic country is intimidated by a powerful Protestant neighbor. In the case of Ireland, the Protestant nation was England; in the case of Mexico, it was the United States.²⁰⁹ The **Battle of Santa Clara** was emblematic of the struggle between a Protestant Anglicized country and a Catholic Latin culture. Mexico-like Ireland-was a land of cathedrals, churches, and roadside shrines.²¹⁰

This is the story of a group of men, predominantly Irish and mostly Catholic, who fought under the banner of St. Patrick ("San Patricio") on the losing side of the Mexican-American War.²¹¹ By April, 1846, John Riley (born in County Galway, Ireland) had organized a company of 48 Irishmen who agreed to serve under the Mexican flag.²¹²

In an important (but little-known) episode of the Mexican-American War, Irish-born Captain John Reilly (aka Riley), from Clifden, Co. Galway, of the U.S. Army and a group of Irish emigrant soldiers deserted, formed their own company, known as the **Saint Patrick's Battalion**

²⁰⁸N.B. Woe to the conquered.

²⁰⁹Michael Hogan, *The Irish Soldiers of Mexico*, Guadalajara, 1943, p. 241.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 147.

²¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 21.

²¹²*Ibid.*, p. 41.

(or the "San Patricios"), fought on behalf of Mexico as artillerymen in all the major battles of the war, were captured following the decisive **Battle of Churubusco**, court-martialed under the direction of General Winfield Scott, USA, and most of whom were sentenced to death.²¹³

John Riley (aka Reilly) was a native of County Galway, who had served in the British Army attached to the Royal Artillery. By 1843, he had emigrated to Michigan and, in September 1845, enlisted in the U.S. Army, joining as a Private in Company K of the Fifth Regiment of Infantry. Shortly before the outbreak of the war with Mexico in 1846, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant and described as "the best Artillerist of his time".²¹⁴

The core of the "San Patricio" unit was formed in the Mexican town of Metamoros, on the banks of the Rio Grande, in April, 1846. The Irish emigrant soldiers in General Zachary Taylor's army, many of whom had been hastily recruited from the newly-arrived emigrant ships in East Coast ports, were appalled by the anti-Catholicism, brutal discipline, and sadistic punishments then

²¹³Rory Lavelle, "John Reilly and the San Patricios", Connemara, II, No. 1 (1995), pp. 14-27.

²¹⁴Con Howard, "The San Patricios", Ireland of the Welcomes, L, No. 2 (2001), pp. 28-29.

rife in the U.S. Army. Moreover, during the Mexican campaign, they witnessed the robbing of Mexican chapels, the ridicule of Catholic ritual, and the disruption of religious processions. Among other reasons which may have impelled the mutiny was the promise of a land-grant, as much as 200-acres for a Private, which the Mexican authorities offered to the U.S. soldiers who would join with them.

Fighting under a green banner, emblazoned with its harp, shamrocks, and silver cross, the St. Patrick's Battalion scored numerous victories and, by 1847, then numbered more than two-hundred deserters. At Chapultepec Heights, the "San Patricios" were cut-off from the main Mexican force and finally over-run by the American troops.²¹⁵ Fifty-two surviving members of the Irish Battalion were taken prisoner and condemned to death. General Scott confirmed the death-sentences (though he later commuted the sentences of one 15-year-old and one 16-year-old) and, in full view of captured Mexican troopers who were compelled to watch, the condemned were hanged in three separate mass-executions, at least one of which was staged to coincide with the raising of the American flag upon the battlements of Chapultepec, when that fortress was finally seized in September, 1847.

²¹⁵Howard Fast, "Inglorious Tale from the Mexican War", *Americana*, XX, No. 6 (1993), pp. 6-7, 75.

The exploits of the "San Patricios" are well-established in both Irish and Mexican folklore. Though Riley himself was spared (having been sentenced to be publicly horse-whipped and branded with the letter "D" [i.e. for "deserter"] on his cheek), the last of the executions occurred on September 9, 1847.

In 1930 the Mexican Government arranged for the remains of the executed "San Patricios" to be re-interred at a ceremonial gravesite. In 1959, in Mexico City's San Jacinto Plaza, the Mexican Government erected yet another memorial to honor the St. Patrick's Battalion. On September 13, 1993, in a dual-ceremony, held both in Mexico City and Clifden, Co. Galway, both the Irish and Mexican Governments organized official ceremonies to further commemorate the "San Patricios".²¹⁶ Now each September the Irish Ambassador to Mexico and the Mexican Ambassador to Ireland take part in annual commemorations (in both capitals, Dublin and Mexico City) in honor of the "San Patricios".²¹⁷

Finis coronat opus.-Ovid

²¹⁶Lavelle, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²¹⁷Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 29

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Appendix I

"The Battle of Santa Clara", January 2, 1847

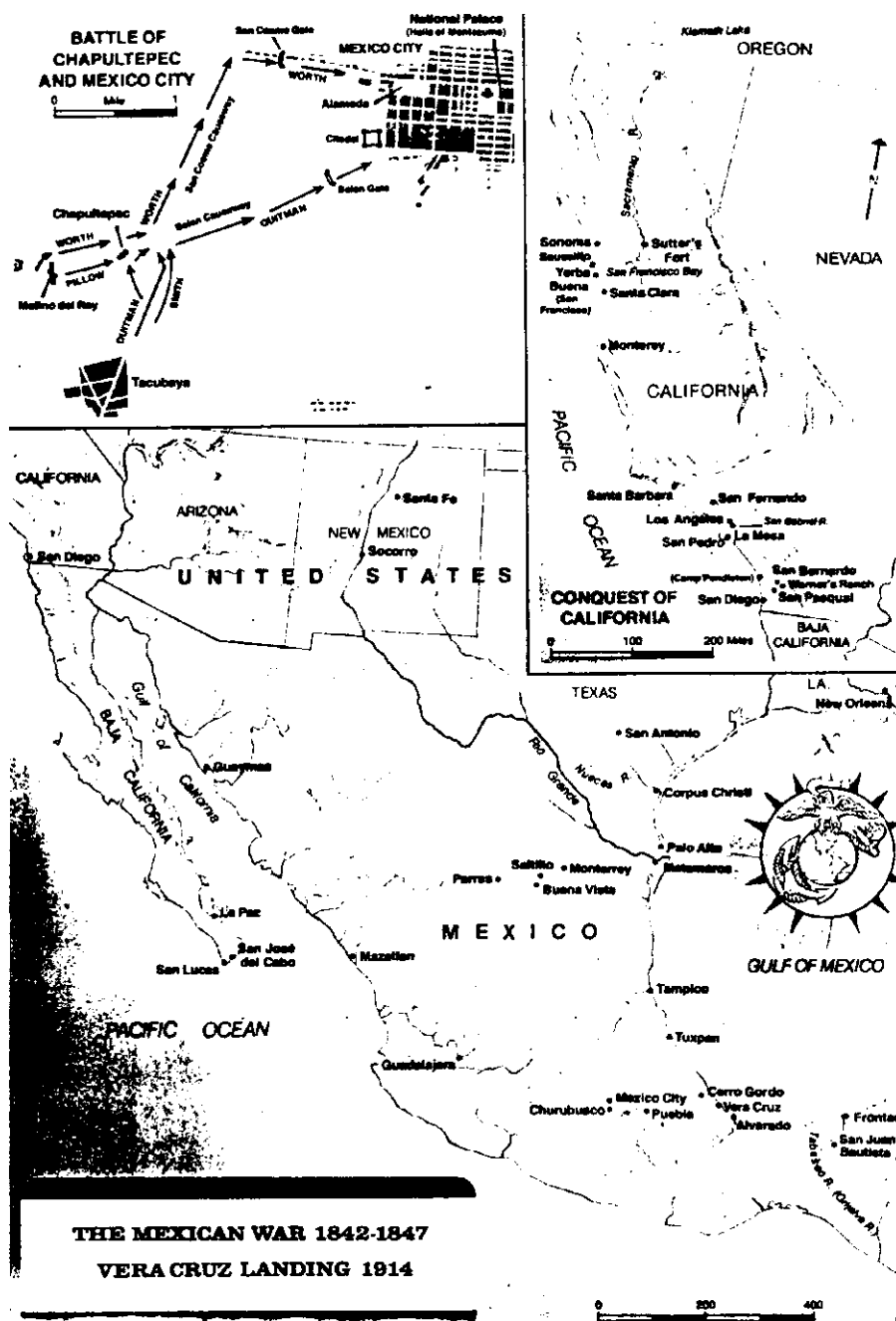


¹ Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 4079 Albany Road, Hyde Park, NY 12538.

William H. Meyers watercolor of the Battle of Santa Clara.

Plate 7, Naval Sketches of the War in California, by William H. Meyers, Random House, c. 1939.

Appendix II

The Mexican War in California (1842-1847)

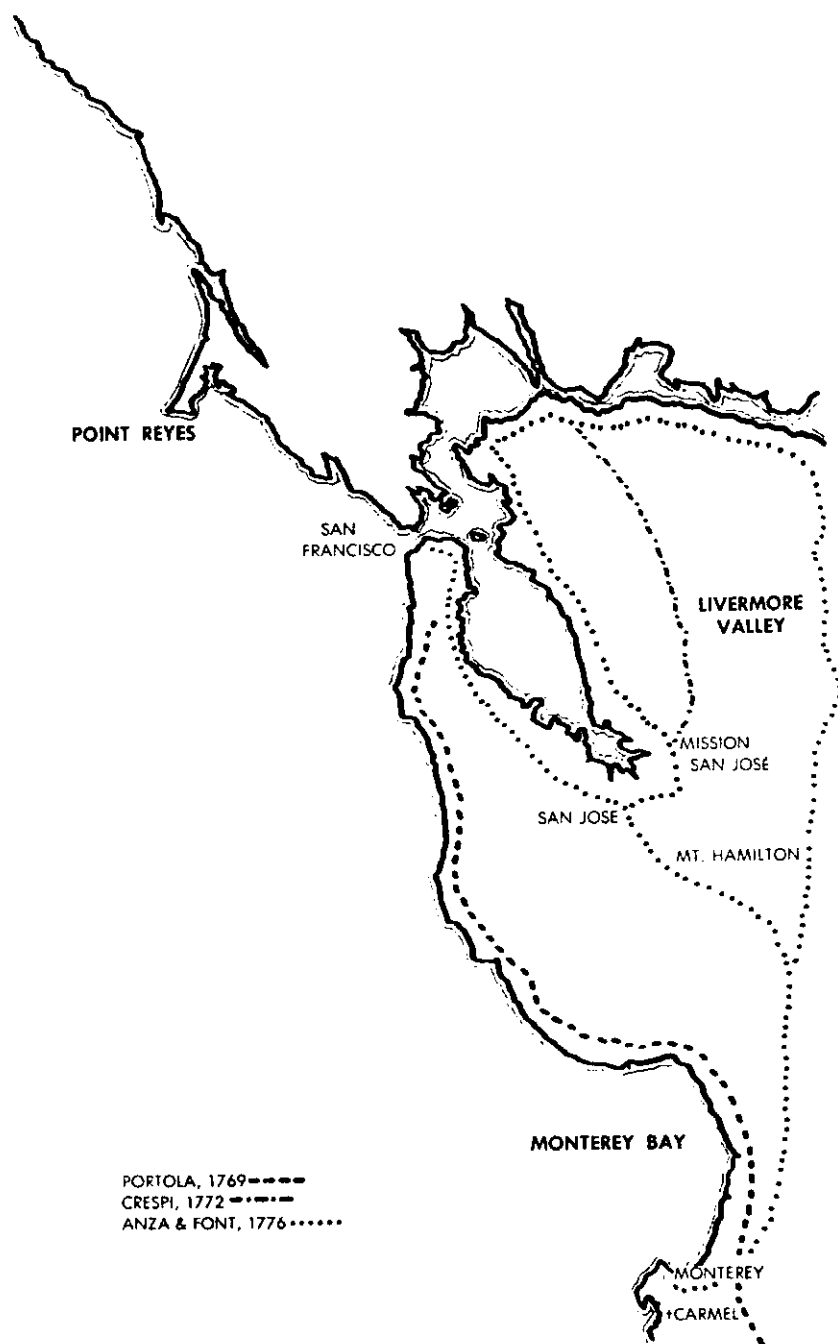
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³Janet Newton, Las Positas, Livermore, c. 1969.

Appendix IV

The Portola, Crespi, and De Anza Expeditions



⁴Janet Newton, Las Positas, c. 1969.