FROM SEA TO SHINING SEA

FROM THE WAR OF 1812 TO THE MEXICAN WAR, THE SAGA OF AMERICA'S EXPANSION

ROBERT LECKIE

AUTHOR OF <u>DELIVERED FROM EVIL</u>, <u>NONE DIED IN VAIN</u>, AND GEORGE WASHINGTON'S WAR



"Informative, entertaining, and a pleasure to read."

—Winston-Salem Journal

FROM SEA ≈TO≈ SHINING SEA

From the War of 1812 to the Mexican War, the Saga of America's Expansion

ROBERT LECKIE



A hardcover edition of this book was published in 1993 by HarperCollins Publishers.

FROM SEA TO SHINING SEA, Copyright © 1993 by Robert Leckie. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used of reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022.

HarperCollins books may be purchased for educational, business, or sales promotional usc. For information please write: Special Markets Department, HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022.

First HarperPerennial edition published 1994.

Designed by Jessica Shatan Maps by Paul Pugliese

The Library of Congress has catalogued the hardcover edition as follows:

Leckie, Robert,

From sea to shining sea: from the War of 1812 to the Mexican War, the saga of America's expansion/Robert Leckie.

p. cm.

ISBN 0-06-016802-1

- 1. United States—History, Military—To 1900. 2. United States—History, Naval—To 1900.
- 3. United States—Territorial expansion.

I. Title.

E181.L439 1993

973-dc20

92-56243

ISBN 0-06-092254-0 (pbk.)

Books by Robert Leckie

HISTORY

From Sea to Shining Sea: From the War of 1812 to the Mexican War, the Saga of America's Expansion
George Washington's War: The Saga of the Revolution
None Died in Vain: The Saga of the American Civil War
Delivered from Evil: The Saga of World War II
The Wars of America: Updated and Revised, 1609–1991
American and Catholic: The Catholic Church in the U.S.
Challenge for the Pacific: The Struggle for Guadalcanal
With Fire and Sword (edited with Quentin Reynolds)
Strong Men Armed: U.S. Marines Against Japan
Conflict: The History of the Korean War
The March to Glory: 1st Marine Division's Breakout from Chosin

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Helmet for My Pillow Lord, What a Family!

BELLES LETTRES

These Are My Heroes: A Study of the Saints Warfare: A Study of War A Soldier-Priest Talks to Youth

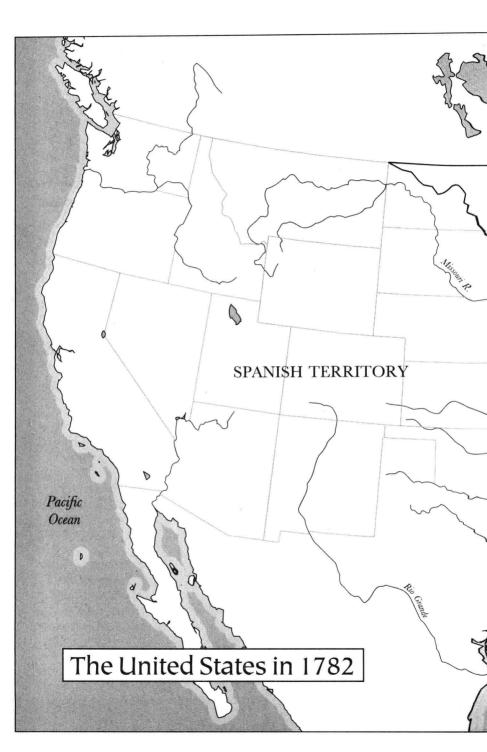
FICTION

Ordained
Marines!
The Bloodborn
Forged in Blood
Blood of the Seventeen Fires
The General

FOR YOUNGER READERS

The Battle for Iwo Jima
The Story of Football
The Story of World War Two
The Story of World War One
The War in Korea
Great American Battles
The World Turned Upside-Down
1812: The War Nobody Won
The Big Game
Keeper Play
Stormy Voyage

To the Glennons:
The Lovely Marguerite and
Old Reliable Joseph, My Dear Friend
for Sixty-one Years and
Still My Best Man









Contents

Lis	xiii	
Pa	rt I ~ The New American Nation	
1	From Victory to Anarchy	3
2	United at Last	12
Pa	rt II ~ War with the Barbary Pirates	
3	Thomas Jefferson	23
4	The Barbary Pirates	29
5	Tripoli Declares War	38
6	The Funk of Commodore Dale	48
7	The "Commodoress" Takes Over	56
8	Edward Preble: A Fighting Commodore	61
9	Calamity on Kaliusa Reef	70
10	Decatur Singes the Bashaw's Beard	77
11	Preble Shivers the Bashaw's Timbers	86
12	To the Shores of Tripoli	98
13	Victory at Derna/Sellout at Home	110
Pa	rt III ~ The War of 1812	
14	Impressments/Embargo Boomerangs	123
15	James Madison/British Defiant	130
16	Tecumseh and William Henry Harrison	139
17	Tecumseh Challenges Harrison	154
18	Battle of Tippecanoe	160
19	The War Hawks	166
20	Madison Yields: War!	172
21	Baltimore Riot/Disaster at Detroit	181
22	Ignominy on the Niagara	194
23	Glory to "Preble's Boys"	200
24	Frenchtown: Canada Stays Canadian	206
25	"Don't Give Up the Ship!"	210
26	Oliver Hazard Perry	216
27	Canada Again	221
28	Battle of Lake Erie	225
29	The Thames: Tecumseh's Last Battle	229
30	Privateering/British Blockade	232

x ~ CONTENTS

	Armstrong-Monroe Rivalry	236
	James Wilkinson	242
	Two Old Cronies in Frontier Farce	250
34	Andrew Jackson	255
	The March South/More Duels	271
36	The Creek War	277
37	Winfield Scott	288
38	Frontier Victories at Last	297
39	Hostages/Prince Regent	301
40	Peace Feelers Fail/British War Plan	307
41	Ravaging the Chesapeake	311
42	Bladensburg "Races"/Washington Burns	318
43	Washington Aftermath	327
44	Battle of Lake Champlain	331
45	The Star-Spangled Banner	342
46	Ross Killed/Baltimore Holds	345
47	British Seize Pensacola/Jean Laffite	347
48	The Hartford Convention	361
49	Jackson Clears Gulf Coast	366
50	Peace of Christmas Eve	369
51	Battle of New Orleans	375
Pa	rt IV ~ The War with Mexico	
	Westward, Ho!	395
53	Mexico and Santa Anna	399
54	"Go-Aheads" and "GTTs"	406
55	Texas Rebels!	416
	Texas Repels.	410
	Santa Anna Marches North	423
56		
56 57	Santa Anna Marches North	423
56 57 58	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo	423 428
56 57 58 59	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares	423 428 434
56 57 58 59 60	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle	423 428 434 446
56 57 58 59 60 61	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad	423 428 434 446 462
56 57 58 59 60 61 62	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad Sam Houston Saves Texas	423 428 434 446 462 466
56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad Sam Houston Saves Texas Re-enter Santa Anna, Re-exit Same	423 428 434 446 462 466 483
56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad Sam Houston Saves Texas Re-enter Santa Anna, Re-exit Same James Knox Polk	423 428 434 446 462 466 483 489
56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad Sam Houston Saves Texas Re-enter Santa Anna, Re-exit Same James Knox Polk Polk Tries to Buy the West	423 428 434 446 462 466 483 489 503
56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad Sam Houston Saves Texas Re-enter Santa Anna, Re-exit Same James Knox Polk Polk Tries to Buy the West Zachary Taylor	423 428 434 446 462 466 483 489 503 510
56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad Sam Houston Saves Texas Re-enter Santa Anna, Re-exit Same James Knox Polk Polk Tries to Buy the West Zachary Taylor Stuffing the Powder Keg	423 428 434 446 462 466 483 489 503 510 518
56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad Sam Houston Saves Texas Re-enter Santa Anna, Re-exit Same James Knox Polk Polk Tries to Buy the West Zachary Taylor Stuffing the Powder Keg War! The Rival Armies	423 428 434 446 462 466 483 489 503 510 518
56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68	Santa Anna Marches North Anarchy at the Alamo The Alamo Prepares The Battle Massacre at Goliad Sam Houston Saves Texas Re-enter Santa Anna, Re-exit Same James Knox Polk Polk Tries to Buy the West Zachary Taylor Stuffing the Powder Keg War! The Rival Armies Battle! Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma	423 428 434 446 462 466 483 489 503 510 518 523

CONTENTS ~ xi

72 Battle of Monterrey	564
73 Polk and His Generals Squabble	571
74 War Opposed/Santa Anna Fields New Army	575
75 Battle of Buena Vista	579
76 Vera Cruz Besieged/"Polko" Rebellion	584
77 Scott Gets a "Shadow"/Wins a Battle	590
78 Scott Burns His Bridges	598
79 Battle of Padierna-Contreras	601
80 St. Patrick's Battalion	606
81 Churubusco and the Molino del Rey	609
82 To the Halls of Montezuma!	613
83 A Noose for the Patricios	617
84 Mexico Capitulates	621
Selected Bibliography	625
Index	629

Maps

The United States in 1782	xiv-xv
The United States in 1847	xvi–xvii
The War with the Barbary Pirates	53
The U.S.–Canadian Border During the War of 1812	183
The Creek War	278
Ravaging the Chesapeake	312
The Texas War of Independence	430
The Northern Theater of the Mexican War	532
The Southern Theater of the Mexican War	592
The Battle for Mexico City	602

1

From Victory to Anarchy

➣ IN THE SPRING OF 1781, GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON HEARD alarming reports—later proven to be true—that Charles Gravier, the Comte de Vergennes and King Louis XVI's foreign minister, was planning to end the war with Great Britain by abandoning the American ally and convening a peace conference of European powers friendly to France that would leave the British in possession of land they now occupied—the modern Midwest—thus blocking any westward expansion by the rebellious colonists. French withdrawal from the war would sound the death knell of American independence. Instead of the arrival of a great French fleet as promised, there would come to America only transports to take King Louis's white-coated regulars home. After them King George III's commissioners would probably appear to administer the oath of allegiance to a conquered people, and to take "Mr." Washington along with John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and other signers of the Declaration of Independence, to London, there to stand trial for treason.

This plan, contained in a secret memorandum to himself drawn up by Vergennes, was never made public at the time, although Vergennes had sounded out the British on the proposal and received enthusiastic support. With Washington, it had the effect of making him yearn more desperately for a single decisive victory that would destroy the British Crown's will to continue the war. So on May 21 in Wethersfield, Connecticut, he met with General Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, the Comte de Rochambeau, to plan a summer campaign.

In spite of the Vergennes plan, of which Rochambeau was unaware, the promise of the great French West Indian fleet for use against the British had not been withdrawn. Both Washington and Rochambeau expected it to appear under the Comte Francois Joseph Paul de Grasse, and the American commander wanted desperately to use it in a campaign against New York City held by General Sir Henry Clinton. New York was an obsession with Washington. He had been defeated in and around there three times: on Long Island, in the city itself and at White Plains. Each time, he had saved his army-truly notable feats of generalship, much as successful withdrawals do not excite the public and would continue to do so throughout five years of defeat and retreat brightened only by such rallies as the brilliant raids on Trenton and Princeton. In May of 1781 it seemed to Washington that his time for vengeance had come, for between them he and the French general commanded 16.600 men: 8.800 Americans and 7.800 French. With de Grasse's powerful fleet this should be enough to overwhelm Clinton.

But then Washington and Rochambeau made an armed reconnaissance of Sir Henry Clinton's New York defenses, finding to their dismay that they were much too strong to be stormed. Their dejection turned to joy, however, when on August 14 they received the electrifying news that de Grasse was enroute to the Chesapeake with twentyeight big ships and three thousand men!

The Chesapeake! Lord Charles Cornwallis's southern army was there! General Nathanael Greene and the aroused Patriots of the Carolinas had disabused His Lordship of his conviction that he could win the South for King George III. Hastening north to Virginia, with Greene snapping at his heels, he had halted in the little tobacco-trading port of Yorktown, and there taken up a defensive position expecting reinforcements from Clinton in New York and a rescuing British fleet under Sir Samuel Graves.

George Washington now forgot the New York operation and prepared to march south, first notifying the Marquis de Lafayette to keep Cornwallis cornered in Yorktown. Next, efforts were made to convince Clinton that New York was still the Franco-American objective. Staten Island was made to appear the staging area for an assault. Roads toward it were improved. A party of French in nearby Chatham, New Jersey, began making bake ovens as though for a siege. Leaving three thousand men above New York, Washington sent two thousand across the Hudson into New Jersey. The French followed. A leisurely march