

assigned to him in the assault on Monterey a distinct and independent command.

The day passed without any active operations in the lower part of the city. The citadel and other works in possession of the enemy kept up a constant firing. Towards noon a strong demonstration was made upon the plain. May's dragoons, Webster's battery of artillery, the First, Third and Fourth Infantry, the Baltimore battalion, the Kentucky and Ohio regiments, appeared in battle array. Thus situated, they were passive spectators, although distant ones, of the taking of the Bishop's palace. The atmosphere was clear, and the incessant fire of musketry and cannon was distinctly heard, while our troops and the enemy's, in masses, could easily be distinguished. In the midst of the excitement naturally induced, a piece of artillery opened from the height above the palace, and by its rapid discharges showed it did good execution. "Was it the enemy," or "our friends?" was asked by a thousand anxious voices. An express from Gen. Worth explained the mystery. It was Roland's well-served piece.

CHAPTER X.

Morning of the 23d—Fort Diablo—Order of Battle—Gen. Quitman's division—Gen. Henderson's command—Gen. Lamar and Col. Wood—Terrible assault—Its effects—Letter from Governor Morales—The second division—Entrance into the city—East end of the city—Major Munroe—Gen. Ampudia—The plaza—Nightfall.

ON Tuesday night the enemy abandoned Fort "Diablo," which being discovered at daylight the following morning, (the 23d,) it was reported to the commander-in-chief, who immediately ordered Gen. Quitman to take possession of it, which was promptly done by a portion of the Mississippi and Tennessee regiments. The enemy having withdrawn their artillery during the night, nothing of value fell into our hands. A report at this time became prevalent that the enemy was retreating in great numbers by the Caderita road. Gen. Henderson was promptly ordered to mount the second Texan regiment for pursuit. Simultaneous with the march of the Texan regiment, Twiggs's division, composed of Wilson's and Garland's brigades, Hamer's brigade of volunteers, Bragg's artillery, and May's dragoons, moved in order of battle towards the town.

The moment Gen. Quitman's troops had taken possession of the abandoned fort, the enemy still holding possession of the strong houses in the vicinity, and particularly of a horn work, two hundred yards distant, giving them, under cover, an opportunity to fire into the gorge of the fort, it was found necessary to dislodge them. Gen. Taylor at this time arrived at the field of operations, and gave Gen. Quitman orders to advance in the direction of the horn work, and, if practicable, to occupy it. It was evident that the approaches to the city in that direction were all strongly fortified. Gen. Quitman proceeded with great prudence; he first sent out a party of riflemen under Lieut. Groves, to reconnoitre, sup-

ported by a company of Tennessee infantry, under Capt. McMur-ray. Some active movements on the part of the enemy induced Gen. Quitman to order out four more companies, two from each regiment, under command of Col. Davis. The Mississippians and Tennesseans approached under such cover as the houses casually presented; the enemy retreated precipitately from the redoubt, into which our troops rushed, only to be assailed in the most fierce manner from the strongly fortified houses in the vicinity. The troops were soon reinforced by riflemen and infantry; the contest soon grew warm, and became general in its character.

At this moment, Gen. Henderson returned from the Caderita road, having found no evidences of the enemy retreating. The regiment thus opportunely arrived was ordered by Gen. Taylor to dismount, and operate with Gen. Quitman's brigade.

The Texians had not as yet fired a gun, and they obeyed the order promptly. The officers and men (save Gen. Lamar) were on foot, led on by Gen. Henderson and Col. Woods. They moved up one or two streets under a galling fire, amidst which Col. Woods's voice was distinctly heard cheering on his men, bidding them remember the cruelties of Mier, Goliad, and the massacre of Fannin's men. The Texians sent up their war-whoop of defiance, and from that time fought like enraged tigers. Gen. Lamar mounted upon his white steed, seemed to loom up like a commanding spirit among his men, as he led them on to the charge. It was a terrible sight, even compared with all those exhibited in the two days of the sanguinary battle of Monterey, to witness the Texians; adopting their own mode of fighting, they soon broke into the shut up houses, scaled walls, and appeared on the housetops. Wherever a Mexican displayed himself, the deadly fire of the rifle brought him down. Thus wildly rushing on, they soon reached Gen. Quitman, when the fight became terrible in the extreme.

Down the streets, where poured an enfilading fire, which the Texians had to cross, they would single out a house on the opposite side; a few of their number, armed with heavy axes, would concentratedly rush for the door, and at a united blow batter it down; then, into the opening thus made, would rush the remainder. All would

thus again be safely housed, and thus protected they would soon level the sides of the buildings, and work towards the centre of the city. The barricades of solid masonry that crossed the streets were thus made useless, and the showers of balls that swept in a continued stream through them, fell harmlessly against naked walls. The invading foe *was in the heart of the city*, gnawing out its vitals. The Mexican soldiers were terror-stricken; the sealed up domiciles of the city would suddenly open upon them, filled with the most deadly foes; the escopet gave way before the rifle, whose unerring aim dealt death on every side.

The effect of this strange assault upon the Mexicans exceeds the power of language to describe; huddled often in their retreat into masses, and mixed up with their own soldiers, their shrieks of terror were sometimes distinguishable above the din of battle. Defenceless women and children were often struck down by the brutal Mexicans for annoying them with their cries. The governor of New Leon, as the civil magistrate of the department, was besought by the inhabitants to succor them. Every yell of defiance or of exultation that was heard made them more desperate and more clamorous. Overcome by entreaty, and probably wishing to anticipate the future, the governor, early in the very commencement of the assault, despatched a flag of truce to Gen. Taylor, bearing the following note:

D. Franco D. P. Morales, Governor of New Leon, to Major General Taylor.

[Translated.]

MONTEREY, Sept. 23, 8 o'clock, A. M.

As you are resolved to occupy the place by force of arms, and the Mexican general-in-chief resolved to defend it at every cost, as his honor and duty require him to do, thousands of victims who, from indigence and want of means, find themselves now in the theatre of war, and who would be uselessly sacrificed, claim the rights which in all times and in all countries humanity extends. As governor of the state, and a legitimate representative of the people, I state their case to you, and hope, from your civilization

and refinement, that whatever may be the event of the present contest, you will issue orders that families shall be respected, or will grant a reasonable time for them to leave the capital.

I have the honor to salute you, general-in-chief of the army of occupation of the United States, and to assure you of my highest consideration. God and Liberty.

FRANCO DE P. MORALES.

GENERAL-IN-CHIEF

of the Army of Occupation of the United States.

To which Gen. Taylor replied, denying the privilege to the inhabitants of leaving the city. This fact being known, and joined with the terrible character of the assault, heightened the consternation, until towards evening it knew no bounds.

Approaches, towards 3 o'clock, were made, within the reach of the strong works immediately surrounding the plaza, upon which it was found no impression could successfully be made without heavy artillery. The troops had fought all day, as well as the previous one, without food or shelter, when Gen. Taylor ordered the forces to retire to the defences taken in the morning, not for food, but for the refreshment of a little rest from their severe labors. The withdrawal of the troops was effected in perfect order, and while being done, they were saluted with the noise occasioned by the attack from Gen. Worth's division, on the opposite side of the city.

The whole of the Second Division, except "the Fifth," which was stationed on the hill *Independencia*, was concentrated in and about the Bishop's palace, on the morning of the 23d. About 10 o'clock, Gen. Worth heard the heavy firing in the quarter that denoted the engagement of Quitman's command, which led him to believe that the general-in-chief was conducting a main attack; and presuming that orders for co-operation had been miscarried, owing to the immense numbers that filled the plain between him and the main army, he formed his division into two columns of attack, to move along two of the principal streets towards the main plaza.

Gen. Worth gave orders that the troops mask themselves as much as practicable, pass on to the first plaza, *la capella*, gain pos-

session of the heads of the streets beyond it, then enter the buildings, cut their way through the walls and ascend to the house-tops. Light artillery by sections, and single pieces under Duncan, Roland, Mackall, Martin, Hays, Irons, Clarke and Curd, followed at suitable intervals, covered by reserves to guard the pieces, and the whole operation, against the attack of cavalry that continually hovered on the left.

Nothing could exceed the complicated character of the defences of the city passed by our troops as they advanced: heavy masonry walls crossed the streets in every direction, pierced with embrasures and defended by cross batteries. But the work went steadily on, the inhabitants retiring towards the eastern extremity of the city. The assault had hardly begun before the firing ceased in that direction. The strength of the place was a constant theme of remark and admiration. It seemed as if the defences could have held out against any number of troops, and that preparations had been made never to yield. But the possession of the commanding heights had paralyzed opposition, and no serious resistance was met with, until near the principal buildings about the main plaza. Here a raking fire opened from the barricades, and every further attempt to advance was met by showers of balls of every kind, and our troops were forced to seek the protection of the houses. Soon they broke into the buildings, got into the gardens, broke down walls, and finally appeared on the house-tops. Now, upon an equality with the enemy, the galling fire so long received was returned. The deadly effect was soon perceivable, in the retreat of the Mexicans, many of whom threw themselves, in the agony of death or in despair, headlong from the parapets to the streets below. Darkness began to set in, when it was discovered that the division was within a square of the main plaza, the Texians in the advance, having been in the van all day, destroying the enemy with their unerring rifles, or filling them with terror by their war cry. Hostilities ceased, with the occupation of all the large buildings that towered over those about the plaza; upon the roof of one of which were carried, with infinite labor, two howitzers and a six pounder, ready at a moment's warning to throw down the walls that masked

them from the enemy, and pour a continued fire into the solid masses of human beings that had been congregated in the great square of the city.

Gen. Hamer's brigade relieved that of Gen. Quitman in the forts "Tienaria" and "Diablo;" Capt. Webster's howitzers relieved Capt. Ridgely in the former work. As soon as the howitzers were in a situation to be used, the captain busied himself in ascertaining the range for his shells to do the most execution upon the plaza; and the occasional reports of his pieces were heard during the night.

Thus ended the memorable 23d, in the assault upon Monterey. The First and Second Divisions had penetrated about equal distances towards its very centre, and needed but the morning light to have, by a simultaneous attack, come together as joint victors in the very heart of the Saragossa of our continent.

About sunset, the ten-inch mortar under Major Munroe had been so advanced as to reach the main plaza. The distance was conjectural, and the few shells that were projected were for practice. One of the shells, however, went hissing into the square, struck one of the wings of the splendid cathedral, rattling down the stone and mortar, then, glancing off, fell and burst among a mass of human beings, blowing many into fragments, wounding others, killing horses, and turning all who witnessed its effects pale with terror. The interior of the building was filled, almost mountain high, with powder!

Gen. Ampudia, whose head-quarters were in the square, saw that his hour was approaching. His scouts had, throughout the day, constantly reported the progress of our troops towards the centre of the city. Another shell, more happily aimed, might enter the formidable magazine and hurl the building, with its desecrated altars, not only upon the soldiery, but also upon the heads of thousands of innocent women and children. The citizens were now in an ecstasy of sorrow. The refusal of Gen. Taylor to grant the request of the civil governor to let them depart, had recalled all the exaggerated stories of the cruelties of American troops, of the dreaded Texians, the "terrible volunta-

rios." Gen. Ampudia himself was inspired with terror; his cowardly spirit had quailed throughout the contest; and ere the cathedral clock had tolled forth the hour of nine, he had written and sealed, and given orders for the conveyance of a letter to Gen. Taylor, which he intended should precede the surrender of the city.

CHAPTER XI.

Morning of the 24th—Flag of truce—Letter accompanying it, and answer—Incidents of the day previous—Meeting of the chiefs—Their appearance—Deception on the part of the Mexican commissioners—Terms of the capitulation—Gen. Taylor—Final agreement.

EARLY on the morning of the 24th, the ripe preparations for the renewal of the assault were about to commence, when hostilities were arrested by a bugle, accompanying a flag of truce, approaching the upper forts. The flag was accompanied by Col. Moreno, inspector general of the Mexican army, bearing a letter to the "General-in-chief" of the American forces. Col. Moreno was met at the fort Diablo, by Lieut. Col. Rogers, by whom he was conducted to Brig. Gen. Hamer's head-quarters, Tienaria, where he was furnished with an escort to Gen. Taylor, then at the main camp, Saint Domingo Grove. All offensive operations were for the time arrested. Col. Moreno bore to Gen. Taylor the following:

D. Pedro Ampudia, general-in-chief, to Major Gen. Taylor.

[Translated.]

HEAD-QUARTERS AT MONTEREY,
Sept. 23, 1846, 9 o'clock, P. M.

SENOR GENERAL:—Having made the defence of which I believe this city susceptible, I have fulfilled my duty, and have satisfied that military honor which, in a certain manner, is common to all armies of the civilized world.

To prosecute the defence, therefore, would only result in distress to the population who have already suffered enough from the misfortune consequent on war; and taking it for granted that the American government has manifested a disposition to negotiate, I propose to you, to evacuate the city and its fort, taking with me

the *personelle* and *materielle* which have remained, and under the assurance that no harm shall ensue to the inhabitants who have taken a part in the defence.

Be pleased to accept the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

PEDRO DE AMPUDIA.

To SENOR DON Z. TAYLOR,

General-in-chief of the American Army.

Gen. Taylor received the above, a little before 7 o'clock, and immediately expressed himself unwilling to accede to Gen. Ampudia's wishes, returning for his answer the following denial:

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
Camp before Monterey, Sept. 24, 1846, 7 o'clock, A. M.

SIR:—Your communication, bearing date at 9 o'clock, P. M., on the 23d instant, has just been received by the hands of Col. Moreno.

In answer to your proposition to evacuate the city and fort, with all the *personel* and *materiel* of war, I have to state that my duty compels me to decline acceding to it. A complete surrender of the town and garrison, the latter as prisoners of war, is now demanded. But such surrender will be upon terms, and the gallant defence of the place, creditable alike to the Mexican troops and nation, will prompt me to make those terms as liberal as possible. The garrison will be allowed, at your option, after laying down its arms, to retire to the interior on condition of not serving again during the war, or until regularly exchanged. I need hardly say that the rights of non-combatants will be respected.

An answer to this communication is required by 12 o'clock. If you assent to an accommodation, an officer will be despatched at once, under instructions to arrange the conditions.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant, Z. TAYLOR,

Major Gen. U. S. A. Commanding.

SENOR D. PEDRO AMPUDIA,

General-in-chief, Monterey.

The prospect of the surrender of the city without further fighting gave universal satisfaction. On the morning of the day previous, a report had got out, that a large body of our troops were rapidly advancing as a reinforcement; this spread from company to company and from man to man, and was received with the liveliest marks of joy. On the evening still previous, soon after the Bishop's palace was taken, the guns of the citadel suspended firing, and a report ensued that a white flag was flying upon its walls. Late in the afternoon, many officers, from Gen. Taylor down, with hundreds of soldiers and camp followers, were scattered over the plain to see if the report were correct. The wind scarce breathed, the tri-color hugged to its staff, and the red and blue could not be distinguished except through a glass, while the *white* relieved tolerably clear against the dark blue mountains in the back ground. The Texan regiment coming in from their scout, while the stragglers, perhaps a thousand strong, were thus engaged, joined in the curious crowd, when, suddenly, three light clouds of smoke whiffed up from the citadel, a whizzing sound of balls was heard over head, and ere the reports reached the ears of the curious multitude, it was scattering in every direction. A second discharge of a greater number of pieces accelerated the motions of all. Gen. Taylor, as a twelve pounder passed directly over the group around him, quietly remarked, it was as well to gain a less exposed situation, and trotted off.

Gen. Ampudia received Gen. Taylor's letter with any other feelings than those of pleasure. The current of events was setting in a different channel from what he had anticipated. A few days previously, he had ridden among the fortifications of Monterey, and viewed them exultingly from the heights of the Bishop's palace, and felt that, beneath them, the little army of Americans approaching would be annihilated; now, the stars and stripes already waved at the east and west, and its defenders were fast winning their way where they could plant them over the great square of the city; he could defer that hour, perhaps, but he felt he could not stay its approach. Trusting to accomplish by duplicity, what he could not by honorable means; long before

the hour of twelve, he sought an interview with Gen. Taylor, which was granted.

The chiefs met; the contrast was characteristic not only of the men but of the governments. Gen. Ampudia, who is a large fleshy man, and his attendants were dressed in barbaric splendor. Upon green coats and red pantaloons were profuse and intricate tracteries of gold embroidery; upon the shoulders trembled the pendent fringe of huge epaulettes; and upon the breasts of nearly all dangled the gew-gaws of medals and parti-colored ribands. Ampudia was exceedingly polite, verbose, and often grandiloquent. He added to his command of language the most profuse gesticulation; his nervous eye, however, denied the pleasure expressed by his tongue, and betrayed that he felt not the confidence and ease he so glibly expressed.

Gen. Ampudia opened the meeting by stating that his forces were too large to be conquered by Gen. Taylor's army; he claimed to hold the citadel, the strongest position in Monterey; that he had a powerful artillery, a strong force of cavalry and infantry, with the best artillerists in the world; he represented that his loss was small, and that he could, in spite of all appearances, hold the city. He put his willingness to capitulate on the ground of a wish to spare a farther effusion of blood; of feelings of humanity towards the inhabitants of the city; for their sake he was willing to compromise the honor of the magnanimous Mexican nation, provided he was permitted to evacuate with all his forces; take all the public stores, together with the arms and munitions of war; concluding with a great deal of the bombast so particularly distinguishable in his despatches and proclamations.

Gen. Taylor listened; replied bluntly and to the point; refused the terms proposed in a direct manner, and insisted upon naming them himself, remarking, among other strong expressions, "that he felt that he had the city in his hand."

Gen. Ampudia, as a last reason urged for receiving lenient terms, stated that he had received official information from Mexico, that the offer of peace from the President of the United States to his government had been accepted; and he enlarged

upon the bad effect the exaction of rigorous or humiliating terms might have upon the feelings of the Mexican executive and people. This last reason weighed much with Gen. Taylor; he abated considerably from his first named terms, but no agreement could be made; and the conference was really broken off by Gen. Taylor, when Don M. Llano, the governor of the department of New Leon, proposed the appointment of a commission of three from each side, to arrange terms. This proposition, after some hesitation, was consented to by Gen. Taylor, and the following commissioners were named: on the American side, Brig. Gen. Worth, U. S. A., Gen. Henderson, of Texas, and Col. J. Davis, of the First Mississippi Volunteers; on the Mexican side, Gens. Ortega and Requena, and the governor of New Leon.

Gen. Taylor gave his instructions to his commissioners in a brief manner, and verbally; from which instructions the American commissioners prepared the following conditions, or demands upon the Mexican forces.

1. As a legitimate result of the operations before this place, and the present position of the contending armies, we demand the surrender of the town, the arms and munitions of war, and all other public property within the place.
2. That the Mexican armed force retire beyond the Riconada, Linares, and San Fernando, on the coast.
3. The commanding general of the army of the United States agrees, that the Mexican officers reserve their side-arms and private baggage; and the troops be allowed to retire under their officers and without parole, a reasonable time being allowed to withdraw the forces.
4. The immediate delivery of the main work, now occupied, to the army of the United States.
5. To avoid collisions, and for mutual convenience, that the troops of the United States shall not occupy the town until the Mexican forces are withdrawn, except for hospital purposes, store-houses, &c.
6. The commanding general of the United States agrees, not to advance beyond the line specified in the second section, before

the expiration of eight weeks, or until the respective governments can be heard from.

The terms of the demand were refused by the Mexican commissioners, and they drew up a counter proposition, in which it was demanded that the enemy should retire with their arms. This was urged as a matter of soldierly pride, and as only an ordinary courtesy. The American commissioners felt unauthorized to grant such a privilege, and reported to General Taylor the disagreement. Upon Gen. Ampudia's learning that the commissioners could not agree, he entered at length upon the question, treating the point of disagreement as one that involved the honor of his country. He again spoke of his desire to avoid the further shedding of blood, consenting to surrender the artillery which he had in the city. Gen. Taylor responded to the wish to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. It was agreed that the commission should re-assemble, with instructions to concede the small arms, it being understood there would be no question raised as to the abandonment of the artillery. The Mexicans, however, were still importunate, and urged that the artillery should not alone be unrepresented with their arm of service, and they stated that they had a battery of light artillery, manœuvred and equipped as such. The American commissioners again rose and announced the disagreement on the subject of the artillery.

General Taylor, upon learning that more was demanded than the middle ground justified, which he had in the spirit of generosity accepted, rose from his seat and announced the conference at an end, and showed by his manner that he intended to talk no more. As he was leaving the room, one of the Mexican commissioners addressed him. In the detention of the moment Gen. Worth asked permission to speak to Gen. Ampudia. The result was the commission again assembled, and the terms of capitulation were agreed upon. A short recess was taken previous to the final arrangement. The American commissioners, promptly, as agreed, assembled; but the Mexican commissioners were tardy in arriving, and slow in executing the instrument of capitulation. The seventh, eighth, and ninth articles were added during this session. At a

late hour, the English original was handed to Gen. Taylor for his examination; the Spanish original having been sent to Gen. Ampudia. Gen. Taylor signed and delivered, to Col. Davis, the instrument as it was submitted to him; Col. Davis returned to the conference room to receive the Spanish original with Gen. Ampudia's signature, that they might be respectively countersigned, the originals to be retained by the parties originating them.

Gen. Ampudia did not sign the Spanish instrument, as was expected, but came himself to meet the commissioners. He raised many points that had been previously discussed and settled; and showed a disposition to have the copy of the Spanish capitulation very different from the English one. Gen. Worth was absent. He, Gen. Ampudia, was finally required to sign the instrument prepared for his own commissioners, and the English original was left with him, that he might have it translated, (which he promised to do that night,) and be ready the next morning with a Spanish duplicate of the English instrument left with him. By this means the two instruments would have been made to correspond, and Gen. Ampudia be compelled to admit his knowledge of its contents before he signed it. Late that night a heavy tramp of horsemen was heard coming out of the city, and winding towards "head-quarters." It was Mexican cavalry escorting Gen. Taylor to his tent. The treaty had been completed, and Monterey had surrendered.

CHAPTER XII.

Morning of the 25th—Difficulties of wording of the terms of capitulation—Its consummation—Effects on the citizens—Surrender of the Citadel—Appearance of the enemy—Description of the Citadel—Interior of the city—The Montereyans—Marching out of the Mexican troops—Ampudia's departure.

ON the morning of the 25th, the commissioners again met; and again the attempt was made, on the part of the Mexican commissioners, to gain by extraordinary solicitation some favorable additions to this compact. Already had the American commissioners adopted the word *capitulation* in lieu of *surrender*; the effort was now made to have the word *stipulation* used instead of *capitulation*. It finally became necessary to make a peremptory demand for the immediate signing of the English instrument by Gen. Ampudia, and the literal translation (now perfected) by the commissioners and their general. The Spanish instrument, first signed by Gen.

Memoranda of the transactions in connection with the Capitulation of Monterey, capital of Nueva Leon, Mexico.

By invitation of Gen. Ampudia, commanding the Mexican army, Gen. Taylor, accompanied by a number of his officers, proceeded on the 24th of September, 1846, to a house designated as the place at which Gen. Ampudia requested an interview. The party being convened, Gen. Ampudia announced, as official information, that commissioners from the United States had been received by the government of Mexico; and that the orders under which he had prepared to defend the city of Monterey, had lost their force by the subsequent change of his own government. A brief conversation between the commanding generals showed their views to be so opposite as to leave little reason to expect an amicable arrangement between them.

Gen. Taylor said he would not delay to receive such propositions as Gen. Ampudia indicated. One of Gen. Ampudia's party, I think the governor of the city, suggested the appointment of a mixed commission; this was acceded to, and Gen. W. J. Worth, of the United States army, Gen. J. Pinkney Henderson, of the Texan volunteers, and Col. Jefferson Davis, of the Mississippi riflemen, on the part of Gen. Taylor, and Gen. J. Ma Ortega, Gen. P. Requena and Señor, the governor, M. Ma Llano, on the part of Gen. Ampudia, were appointed.

Gen. Taylor gave instructions to his commissioners, which, as understood, for they were brief and verbal, will be best shown by a copy of the demand which