

for several years stationed at West Point as instructor of tactics, and had subsequently commanded at the Water-vliet arsenal. He had distinguished himself by some exceptional successes in the Seminole war. His reputation in the army was that of a brave and gallant soldier, but impetuous, irritable, wanting in self-control, and of poor judgment.

While the army was first encamped opposite Matamoras in April a dispute arose between Twiggs and Worth, the former being the senior in lineal rank and the latter holding a higher brevet title. Worth declined to serve under Twiggs, went to Washington, and offered his resignation. Hardly had he done so, when the news arrived of the capture of Thornton and his dragoons, and Worth at once asked and obtained permission to withdraw his resignation and to rejoin Taylor's army. He of course missed the battles of May 8 and 9, but was in time to assist in organizing the army, and took the lead in the march toward Monterey, as he took the lead in almost every future operation during the war.

The division of volunteers under Major-General William O. Butler was divided into two brigades—the first, under Brigadier-General Hamer, consisting of the first Kentucky and the first Ohio regiments; the second, under Brigadier-General Quitman, consisting of the first Tennessee and the Mississippi rifle regiment.

General Butler's only military experience was as a volunteer in the War of 1812, when he was taken prisoner in the inglorious campaign which terminated at the River Raisin. He was, however, exchanged in time to fight under Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. For more than thirty years after that time he practised law and Democratic politics in the state of Ohio, and his appointment to the army in 1846 was a reward for political services.

William L. Hamer was a Democratic member of Congress, whose abilities were highly thought of by his friends and neighbors, but who had never made any conspicuous mark in public life. The most notable act of his career was

his nomination of Ulysses S. Grant as a cadet at West Point.<sup>1</sup>

John A. Quitman has already figured in this history as a leader of the Mississippi volunteers who went to Texas in 1836, just too late to take part in the battle of San Jacinto. Since that time he had been practising law near Natchez, had served as brigadier-general of Mississippi militia, and had been an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate in 1845. Apart from his march to Texas in 1836 he had had no experience in the practice of the art of war.

The Texas division, under Major-General J. Pinckney Henderson, the governor of the state, consisted of the two regiments of Texas mounted volunteers, or so many of them as had re-enlisted.

The numbers of the regulars and volunteers amounted to a little over three thousand men each, or about six thousand men in all.<sup>2</sup>

Taylor, having thus arranged for the advance from Camargo, started for the front and reached Cerralvo on September 9. By the twelfth of that month the regular troops were concentrated there with one brigade of the volunteer division, the remainder of the infantry were on the march, and the Texan mounted troops were following a road by China and Cadereyta, and were to rejoin the army at Marin. Taylor reported to Washington that the enemy was said to be in considerable force at Monterey and might give battle there, and that Santa Anna himself was said to be on his way from the interior and was expected in a few days. "The health of the army," Taylor added, "is much improved since approaching the mountains, and it is generally in excellent condition for service."<sup>3</sup>

By September 17 the army was at Marin, twenty-four miles from Monterey, where it was joined by the Texan mounted troops. The advance had been constantly in sight

<sup>1</sup> Hamer died of disease in the following December.

<sup>2</sup> Taylor to Adjutant-General, Sept. 3, 1846; H. R. Doc. 60, 30 Cong., 1 sess., 417.

<sup>3</sup> Same to same, Sept. 12, 1846; *ibid.*, 421.



of Torrejon's cavalry, who, however, made no attempt to cut off communications and retired, except at Ramos, where "a trifling affair took place between McCulloch's rangers and the enemy's rear guard." Vague reports of Santa Anna's advance with reinforcements were still received from time to time; but Taylor even yet thought it doubtful whether Ampudia would attempt to hold Monterey. He believed that the regular Mexican force was small—about three thousand men, eked out perhaps to six thousand by volunteers, "many of them forced." "I am gratified to state that our own force," he continued, "is in excellent condition fully prepared for the most active and arduous service."<sup>1</sup>

On the eighteenth of September the entire army marched from Marin, and on the next morning encamped before Monterey in a place known by the Mexicans as the wood of Santo Domingo, but called by the American soldiers the Walnut Springs. This camp was three miles northeasterly from Monterey, and was the nearest suitable position. By the time the camp was established it had been discovered that the enemy occupied the town in force, and had added greatly to its strength by fortifying the approaches and the commanding heights; and it had thus become evident that a vigorous resistance was to be expected.<sup>2</sup>

The city of Monterey lies fifteen hundred feet above the sea on the northerly bank of the Santa Catarina, or Little San Juan River, an erratic mountain stream capable of sudden freshets, rising west of the city, and emptying ultimately into the San Juan, which comes into the Rio Grande at Camargo. The site of the city is upon a plain open to the north, the other three sides being surrounded by mountains which rise abruptly and attain a considerable height.

Looking from the camp of the American troops to the left, or southeast, the most striking feature of the landscape is the picturesque peak known as the Silla—the Mexican saddle—which rises high above the other mountains of the

<sup>1</sup> Same to same, Sept. 17, 1846; *ibid.*, 422.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting account of the march from Camargo to Monterey will be found in Meade, I, 124-131.

Sierra. All along the southern horizon the lower mountains show their outlines—volcanic, contorted, and fantastically weathered by violent showers in a climate where no frost ever penetrates the ground. Over the town itself—flat-roofed and Oriental in aspect—towers the ancient Cathedral. Farther away, and to the west of the city, rises to the height of six or seven hundred feet above the plain an isolated and rather conspicuous hill, then known as the Loma de Independencia, upon the eastern slope of which stands the abandoned Bishop's Palace, a solid and ornate stone building surmounted by a dome, and looking more like a great church than a residence.<sup>1</sup>

In 1846 Monterey contained a population of ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. Like most Mexican towns, it was regularly laid out, with rather narrow, straight streets, generally running toward the cardinal points of the compass. The life of the city centred in its southeastern quarter not far from the river, about the great plaza, on the easterly side of which stood the Cathedral and on the westerly side the Palacio Municipal. Immediately on the farther, or western, side of the Palacio Municipal was another smaller plaza, from the north and south sides of which two streets proceeded westerly, uniting shortly beyond. Thence the street ran still westerly to a large open space, the centre of which was at that time occupied by a cemetery surrounded by stout stone-walls. West of the cemetery the street diverged toward the river, and, passing between the site of the Bishop's Palace and the river, became the high-road to Saltillo.

Hasty efforts to fortify the approaches to the town had been begun almost immediately after the retreat of the Mexican troops from Matamoros, and by the middle of September a number of guns were in position, affording formidable obstacles to an attacking force. Directly north of the town, upon the open plain, was the citadel, to which

<sup>1</sup> This structure was erected in 1785 by a certain Bishop Verger, but abandoned after his death, in 1790. It is said to have had a fine garden about it, and the cost of maintenance of such an establishment on that stony hill must have been enormous.

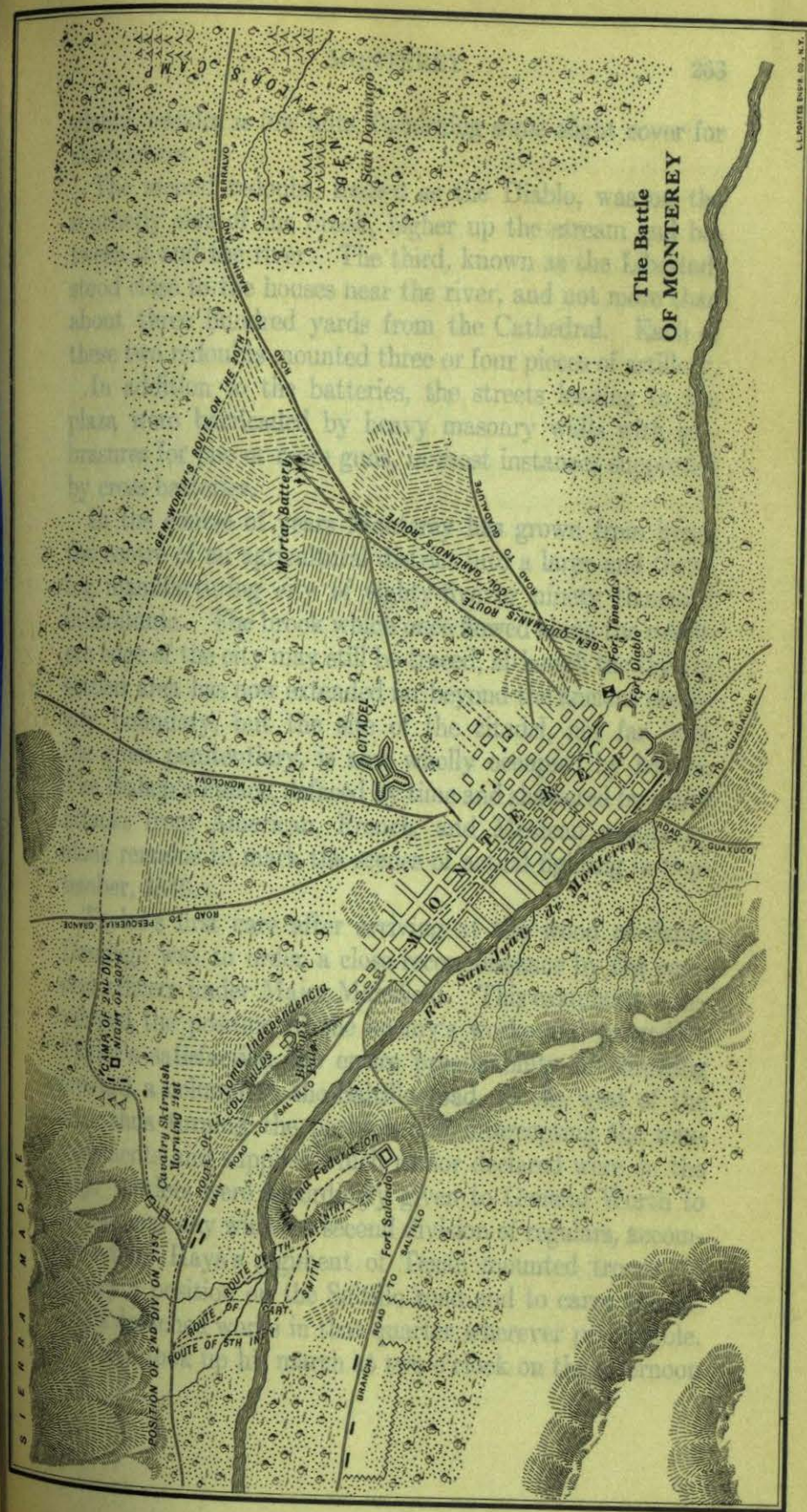


the American soldiers gave the name of the Black Fort. It was a small, square, bastioned work, with dry ditches and embrasures for thirty-four guns. There were, however, only ten or twelve guns mounted, of which the largest were eighteen-pounders.

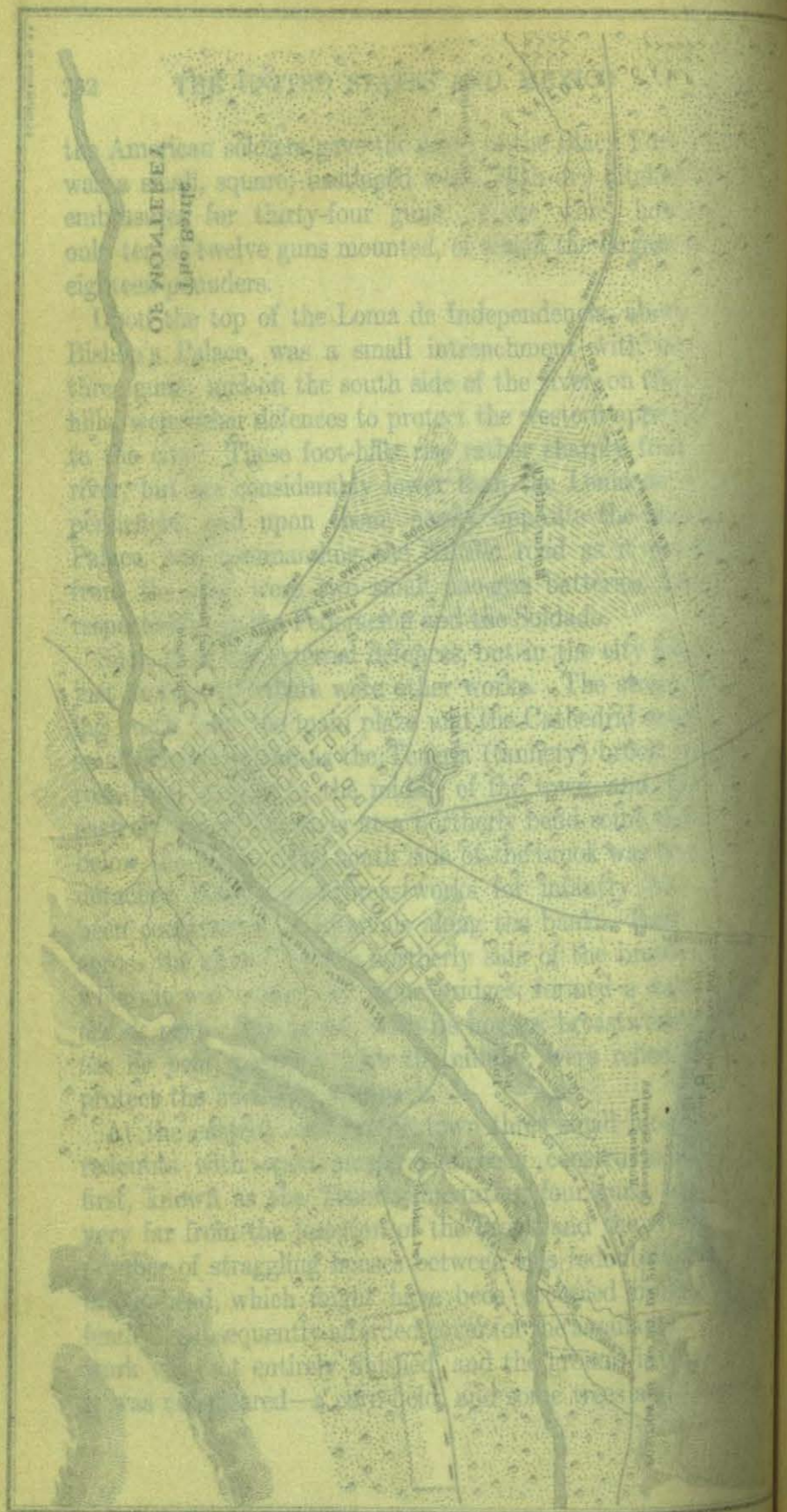
Upon the top of the Loma de Independencia, above the Bishop's Palace, was a small intrenchment with two or three guns; and on the south side of the river, on the foot-hills, were other defences to protect the western approaches to the city. These foot-hills rise rather sharply from the river, but are considerably lower than the Loma de Independencia; and upon them, nearly opposite the Bishop's Palace, and commanding the Saltillo road as it emerged from the city, were two small one-gun batteries, known, respectively, as the Federaci3n and the Soldado.

Such were the external defences, but in the city itself, or just at its edge, there were other works. The street leading north from the main plaza and the Cathedral crossed a small stream known as the Tenería (tannery) brook, which rose from springs in the middle of the town, and, flowing easterly, joined the river at a northerly bend some distance below the town. The south side of the brook was lined by detached houses, and breastworks for infantry had also been constructed at intervals along the bank. Barricades across the streets on the northerly side of the brook, near where it was crossed by stone bridges, formed a sufficient *tête de pont*. The brook, with its houses, breastworks, and *tête de pont*, together with the citadel, were relied on to protect the northerly approach.

At the easterly end of the town three small lunettes or redoubts with open gorges had been constructed. The first, known as the Tenería, mounting four guns, was not very far from the junction of the brook and the river. A number of straggling houses between this redoubt and the bridge-head, which might have been occupied by the defenders, subsequently afforded cover for the assailants. The work was not entirely finished, and the ground in front of it was not cleared—a corn-field, and some trees and cactus







plants, besides a few huts, furnishing some slight cover for skirmishers.

The second redoubt, known as the Diablo, was on the southerly side of the brook, higher up the stream and between it and the river. The third, known as the Libertad, stood close to the houses near the river, and not more than about three hundred yards from the Cathedral. Each of these two redoubts mounted three or four pieces of artillery.

In addition to the batteries, the streets leading to the plaza were barricaded by heavy masonry walls with embrasures for one or more guns, in most instances supported by cross batteries.

In the course of years Monterey has grown from being the centre of an agricultural district into a large and thriving manufacturing city of eighty-five or ninety thousand inhabitants. The brook which once flowed along the northern edge of the city may still be traced, although the thickly settled area has now extended far beyond the ancient northerly boundary, but the site of the citadel, not far from the great penitentiary, is now wholly occupied by houses. The Bishop's Palace, defaced by time and shattered by many attacks from American, French, and Mexican assailants, alone remains to mark the scenes of actual fighting in September, 1846.

Taylor's first care after arriving at the wood of Santo Domingo was to order a close reconnoissance by the engineer officers under Major Mansfield. This examination developed the position of the enemy's works and proved to Taylor's satisfaction the entire practicability of throwing forward a column to the Saltillo road, to the west of the city, thus turning the position and intercepting the reinforcements and supplies which rumor declared were on the way. Orders were accordingly given to General Worth to march next day with the second division of regulars, accompanied by Hays's regiment of Texan mounted troops, to occupy a position on the Saltillo road and to carry the enemy's detached works in that quarter wherever practicable.

Worth took up his march at two o'clock on the afternoon



of Sunday, the twentieth of September, but was greatly delayed because of the necessity of making the route practicable for artillery. By six o'clock in the evening he had advanced only six miles, and he halted for the night north of and just out of range of the battery at the summit of the Independencia hill. Detachments of the Texan cavalry were then sent forward to reconnoitre the position as far as the Saltillo road.

"This examination," said Worth in his report, "resulted in the conviction that the ground in our front and on our left, in advance, constituted at the same time the weak and the strong points of the enemy's position and entered mainly into the defences of the city—the weak point, because commanding the only lines of retreat and of supply in the direction of Saltillo, and controlling that in the direction of Pesqueria Grande; the strong point, because of the peculiarly defensive character of the hills and gorges, and of the very careful and skilful manner with which they had been fortified and guarded."

On the next morning, Monday, the twenty-first, the division was put in motion, and at six o'clock the advance—consisting of Hays's Texans, supported by a part of the infantry and closely followed by a battery of light artillery—on turning an angle of the mountain came upon a strong force of cavalry and infantry, mostly the former. The Mexicans charged, but the American force held its ground, and the combat lasted only fifteen minutes. The Mexicans then retired in disorder upon the Saltillo road, being closely pursued by Worth until he got possession of the gorge where all the roads from Monterey to Saltillo united. At this point the division was halted; but it was soon discovered that the troops were within effective range of the Mexican batteries, and they were moved half a mile further west on the Saltillo road.

Worth by this time was convinced that any effective operations against the city were impracticable unless he was possessed of the exterior batteries, and moreover that the occupation of the heights was indispensable to the restoration of his line of communication with head-quarters. Accordingly, at noon of the twenty-first, a force consisting

of four companies of the artillery battalion and six companies of Texans—in all about three hundred effectives—was detached to storm the batteries on the crest of the hills on the south side of the river. The river, though rapid, was only about waist-deep, and the Americans easily waded it, under a noisy but ineffectual fire.

As they approached the base of the hills Worth could see numerous light Mexican troops descending the slope and arranging themselves at favorable points. Perceiving these indications of determined resistance, the seventh infantry was sent to support the first detachment. "In a short time," says Worth, "the fire became general, the enemy gradually yielding and retiring up the rugged declivity and our men steadily pursuing." Further support appearing necessary, the fifth regiment and Blanchard's company of Louisiana volunteers were detached, accompanied by General P. F. Smith, who was instructed to take command.

The moment the American troops gained the summit, which they did with little or no loss, the Mexicans fled, and, having thus carried the first point of attack, Smith promptly turned the captured gun upon the second and advanced to participate in the assault of the further battery. Before he could reach it, it had been carried with similar ease by the Texans, and the guns of both batteries were immediately brought to bear upon the Bishop's Palace, six hundred yards away. By this time night was closing in and a violent storm ensued. Operations for the day then ceased.

At three o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, the twenty-second, a storming party was formed to attack the Bishop's Palace. Six companies of regulars with two hundred Texan riflemen constituted the party. They scrambled up the steep western face of the hill without being discovered until dawn of day, when they had reached a point within about one hundred yards of the crest of the hill, in which position a body of the enemy had been stationed the previous evening, in apparent anticipation of attack. The Mexican picket gave the alarm and fell back, but their fire was



ineffectual and was not returned until the American troops had reached within a few yards of the summit, "when a well-directed and destructive fire, followed by the bayonet of the regulars and rush of the Texans, placed us in possession of the work," which was the small battery placed on the top of the hill, from which, however, the cannon had been previously withdrawn.

There still remained to be taken the Bishop's Palace, a strong building upon which no impression could be made without artillery. Accordingly a twelve-pound howitzer was painfully dragged up the hill, about seven hundred feet high, and opened fire upon the Palace at a distance of four hundred yards. Meanwhile most of the American troops who had taken the heights on the south side of the river were brought over to take part in the coming operations.

By this time Ampudia thought it necessary to reinforce the men in the Palace, who were becoming restive under the artillery fire. A heavy sortie from the Palace, sustained by a strong corps of cavalry, was then made. The American troops had been drawn up in anticipation of such an attack; "the enemy advanced boldly; was repulsed by one general discharge from all arms; fled in confusion, closely pressed by Childs and Hays, preceded by the light troops under Vinton; and, while they fled past, our troops entered the palace and fort." The captured guns, four in number, together with the two American field-batteries which now came up at a gallop, fired on the retreating and confused masses of Mexicans that filled the street leading to the nearest plaza, inflicting heavy loss.

Worth, therefore, by Tuesday afternoon had accomplished the object of investing the city on the western side. With the exception of the force necessary to hold the summit of the hills and serve the guns, the division was concentrated around the Palace, and preparation was made to assault the city on the following day.

About ten o'clock in the morning of Wednesday a heavy fire was heard on the opposite side of the city, which led Worth to the conclusion that General Taylor was conduct-

ing an attack at that end, although no information from Taylor had as yet reached Worth's division. Under these convictions, Worth's troops were ordered to begin the operation which he had first designed to execute in part at night. Two columns of attack were organized to move along the two principal streets leading easterly from the Bishop's Palace toward the Cathedral, with instructions to press forward to the first plaza (the cemetery) and get hold of the ends of streets beyond, and then to enter the buildings, break through the walls, and work from house to house and ascend the roofs. The light artillery was to follow at intervals, covered by reserves to guard the pieces and to afford protection against probable enterprises of cavalry from the left. This was done by seizing and commanding the head of every cross-street.

As Worth's division advanced in the afternoon toward the centre of the city they found the streets strongly barricaded.

"These arrangements of defence," he reported, "gave to our operations at this moment a complicated character, demanding much care and precaution; but the work went on steadily, simultaneously and successfully. About the time our assault commenced the fire ceased from our force in the opposite quarter. Disengaged on the one side, the enemy was enabled to shift men and guns to our quarter, as was soon manifested by an accumulation of fire. At dark we had worked through the walls and floors and reached to within one block of the great plaza, leaving a covered way in our rear; carried a large building which towered over the principal defences, and during the night and ensuing morning crowned the roof with two howitzers and a 6-pounder. All things were now prepared to renew the assault at dawn of day when a flag was sent in asking a momentary suspension of fire."<sup>1</sup>

While Worth was thus successfully carrying the various points of defence on the westerly side of the city, the American troops were meeting with a very much more severe resistance, and suffering a far greater loss at the easterly end. Worth had begun his march at two o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, and it was soon perceived from the American head-quarters that reinforcements were being sent toward

<sup>1</sup> Worth's Report, Sept. 28, 1846; H. R. Doc. 4, 29 Cong., 2 sess., 102-108. See also Reid, 149-168, 181-194; Meade, I, 132-137.