

making his reply, he proceeded to Tacubaya, near the strong castle of Chapultepec. The guns from the castle were silent, and the headquarters of the American army were soon safely established in the palace of the archbishop, a huge pile of buildings, surrounded with beautiful gardens. Before him, in full view, rose the domes and spires of the famed city, environed by beautiful lakes, and the richest natural scenery. He was at the gates of the "Halls of the Montezumas," with an army flushed with victory, and impatient to be led to the assault. But neither the glory of military renown, nor the rich treasures which have been dug from the mines of Mexico, could dazzle the eye of the patriot soldier, or swerve him from the obligations to humanity.

Before the carnage of another battle, he must make one final effort to stay the iron arm of destruction, and reclaim warring nations to the paths of peace. Hence his beautiful letter, expressing the Christian sentiment, "Enough blood has been shed in this unnatural war." When the echoes of the cannon shall have died away, and the clangor of arms shall have ceased—when the steeled warrior shall have gone to his rest, and the conqueror and the vanquished shall lie down together—Christianity will weave her unfading chaplet for the soldier who has ever been true to her highest obligations and benign requirements.¹

¹ The following are the results of the battles of the 20th :—

American loss—killed, wounded, and missing, 1,053.

Mexican loss—3,500 prisoners; 1,500 killed, wounded, and missing; 37 pieces artillery captured; small-arms, ammunition, and equipments for an army.

CHAPTER XIII.

Peace Negotiations.—President Polk's Commission.—Mexican Conditions.—American Ultimatum.—Failure of Negotiations.—Scott's Notice to Santa Anna.—Trial and Execution of the Deserters.—Description of Chapultepec.—Of Molino del Rey.—Mexican Defences.—March of Worth.—Strength of his Corps.—Battle of Molino del Rey.—Mexican Loss.—Evacuation of Molino del Rey.—Preparations for the Attack of Chapultepec.—Erection of Batteries.—Storm of Chapultepec.—Action of the 13th.—Capture of Mexico.—Entrance into the City.—Scott's Address to the Soldiers.—Insurrection of the Leperos.—Appearance of the City.

In the last chapter we recorded the memorable events of the 20th of August, 1847, in the valley of Mexico,—events unequalled in their extraordinary character and their dramatic interest by any preceding part of the military history of America. Kearney had hardly been recalled from his adventurous charge to the gates of Mexico, when the shades of evening gathered round the bloody field of Churubusco. The battle had passed, and the vale lay as silent as the lonely bodies of the slain. Passed away are all the rolling thunders of the red artillery, and quenched their fires as the silent and quenched volcanoes of the snow-crowned Popocatepetl, rearing its cold head upon the distant horizon. Nature sleeps, and the dead sleep, and the weary soldier sleeps, while the sentry and the stars keep watch together. But though the fires of volcanoes may sleep, and the artillery may cease to flash, the events of time and providence will never sleep.

HISTORY MOVES ON. Its recording pen never ceases to write while man is an actor in the drama of providence, and humanity continues to develop its mighty and mysterious powers.

On the morning of the 21st, Scott, *en route* to Coyhoacan, was met by commissioners from Santa Anna, proposing an armistice. The time was not then agreed to, but Scott told them he should sleep that night at Tacubaya. The commissioners then told him that if he would delay his march a few hours, they would send an order to the fortress of Chapultepec not to fire on him! The general, however, did not delay his march, but entered Tacubaya early in the afternoon, attended by the dragoons alone; Worth's division did not arrive till late in the evening.¹ That night Scott occupied the Archbishopal Palace of Mexico. At this time it is unquestionably true that the American general might have entered the plaza of Mexico, or have demolished its splendid edifices by the fire of his bombs. He did not; but, in conformity with the dictates of humanity, on the following morning received the propositions of the Mexican commissioners for a truce. This he arranged on his own terms, when the negotiations commenced.

To understand this negotiation, we must recur to the events in the order of time. In the first place, we must note the commission of President Polk to Mr. N. P. Trist. It seems that on the 15th day of April, 1847, the President gave a formal commission to Mr. Trist, in which he states that he has "invested him, in the fullest and most complete manner, with ample power and authority, in the

¹ Letter in the Journal of Commerce.

name of the United States, to meet and confer with any person or persons, who shall have similar authority from the republic of Mexico, and between them to negotiate and conclude an arrangement of the differences which exist between the two countries—a treaty of peace, amity, and lasting boundaries."¹ The President had no power by the Constitution, to constitute a mission to a foreign country, nor would he have power to make a treaty without the advice and consent of the Senate. Mr. Trist, then, notwithstanding his commission, was in fact the mere agent of the President, and no more. Accordingly, he carried out with him from the department of state a "project of a treaty" to be presented to the Mexican government.² The inference from this transaction is, that the cabinet at Washington supposed that the Mexican people were anxious for peace, and there was nothing for the President of the United States to do but to say on what terms peace should be made. The opposite of this idea appears to have been the state of the Mexican mind, for they met the American agent with instructions to their commissioners that the treaty should be made on the basis that they had triumphed, and as if the war could be prosecuted by them with advantage.³ In this spirit met the commissioners. Mr. Trist, the agent of President Polk, at two thousand miles from his principal, tied down to the letter and detail of a treaty drawn up by the Secretary of State, without the power to change it; and the Mexican

¹ See copy of Mr. Trist's commission.

² See official copy of the "Project of a Treaty.

³ See conditions for the Mexican commissioners drawn up by Santa Anna, Pacheco, &c., &c.

commissioners meeting him, as if their country was intact, and their arms invulnerable to conquest.

On the 25th of August, Mr. Trist addressed a note to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations, informing him that he is ready to treat with commissioners on the part of Mexico. On the 26th, Mr. Pacheco replies, that he is engaged in appointing commissioners for that purpose, who would assemble the following evening at the village of Atzacopozalco, an intermediate point between the two armies.

The invitation and appointment Mr. Trist accepted in a note of the same date.

Among the commissioners appointed by the Mexican secretary was General Herrera, formerly president of the republic. This distinguished man promptly declined the appointment. The grounds on which he declined are worthy of note. He was president in 1845, when the mission of Slidell occurred. He was willing to hear Slidell state his terms; but that person, as we have already stated, had neither the patience nor temper to wait and watch events, but impetuously demanded that he should be immediately received. The downfall of Herrera immediately took place; and Herrera now says: "For the single act of being willing to listen to his propositions, my administration was calumniated in the most atrocious manner, this act alone causing the revolution which deprived me of the command; and to take part in the same question, at this day, would cause a renewal of the calumnies which then assailed me." Mr. Pacheco, however, insisted upon his acceptance, and he finally acted on the commission. The Mexican commission was composed of the following persons:

Don Jose Joaquin de Herrera, general of division.
 Don Bernardo Conto, general of brigade.
 Don Ignacio Mora y Villamil, general.
 Don Miguel Atristain,
 Don Jose Miguel Arroyo, Secretary.

The great points of negotiation were the boundaries to be drawn between Mexico and the United States, one party insisting upon territory to be taken from the other. The boundaries in the "project" of Mr. Trist were chiefly these:

Article 4th of the "project" requires that the boundary line should commence in front of the mouth of the Rio Grande, and should follow the middle of that river to the southern boundary of New Mexico; thence west with the southern line of New Mexico to the western boundary; thence north with the river Gila till it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence down the Colorado and the gulf of Mexico to the Pacific.

Article 8th required the free right of way forever over the isthmus of Tehuantepec.

An examination of the map will show that our government demanded, 1st, The cession of the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande; 2d, Of New Mexico; 3d, Of both Upper and Lower California.

The Mexican commissioners presented a counter-project, which contained the following definition of boundary:

1st, The dividing line between the two republics shall commence in the bay of Corpus Christi; thence to the mouth of the Nueces; thence with the middle of said stream to its source; thence west to the eastern boundary

of New Mexico; thence north with that boundary to the 37th degree of latitude; thence west with that parallel to the Pacific. 2d, That the government of Mexico would found no settlement or colony between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, leaving that country as an uninhabited frontier.

The map shows that this proposition grants to the United States the best part of California, while it proposes to leave the territory in dispute an uninhabited region. Barren by nature, it is not likely to invite inhabitants till the better parts of the continent are settled. In a subsequent oral discussion between Mr. Trist and the Mexican commissioners, it appears that the former was willing to abandon the claim to Lower California, and to refer the decision on the Nueces territory to the cabinet at Washington.¹ As between Mr. Trist and the Mexican commissioners, the failure of the negotiation turned wholly on the claim of the south part of New Mexico; for, above the 37th degree Mexico had conceded every thing, and Mr. Trist, in the name of the United States, was willing to concede Lower California. New Mexico had never been claimed by the United States at all, previous to this negotiation, nor had we any plausible claim to it except that which President Polk had formally disclaimed,—that of conquest.²

The formal report made by the Mexican commissioners to the secretary for foreign relations, the 7th of September, 1847, announced that the discussions had closed and

¹ The Mexican commissioners' statement to the secretary of foreign affairs, dated Sept. 7th, 1847.

² President Polk disclaimed conquest in his messages.

the negotiations failed. In the mean time, various documents had been issued by the Mexican authorities, which disclosed the fact that Mexico was not ready for peace. One was a protest of the representatives of the states of Mexico, Jalisco, and Zacatecas, signed by Valentin Gomez Farias and his colleague deputies, declaring that, under existing circumstances, "the city of Mexico would not allow the necessary freedom in its discussions and deliberations, if Congress should assemble in that city, and that it would not comport with the dignity of the republic that its representatives should deliberate there on this matter." They also declared that any arrangement in regard to external relations, "without the ratification of Congress," would be null and unconstitutional. They further affirm, that this step is taken with the express view to save the republic "from the ignominy which would inevitably attach to a treaty concluded and ratified under the guns of the enemy, and on the day succeeding unlooked-for reverses."¹ At the same time, the secretary of state issued a circular to the states of Puebla and Mexico, calling for a levy *en masse*, "in order that they may attack and harass the enemy with whatever weapons each may conveniently procure, whether good or bad, by fire and sword, and by every practicable means which it is possible to employ in the annihilating of an invading army." These and other declarations and documents, prove conclusively that, however fairly and sincerely General Herrera and his colleagues may have conducted the negotiations, yet, in fact, the Mexican population were indisposed to peace.

¹ There is no evidence that any considerable number of Mexicans have ever been for peace.

On the 6th of September, Scott had given General Santa Anna notice of certain breaches of the armistice. To this the Mexican chief replied with similar complaints. On the 7th, the failure of the negotiations became known, and General Scott took his measures for the recommencement of hostilities.

Before we proceed, however, to narrate events of new and extraordinary interest in the valley of Mexico, we must turn aside to witness another and a sadder tragedy—one in which no rays of glory light up the darkness of death, but the gloomy curtains of despair and shame are drawn round the unpitied and unhonored CRIMINAL. Desertion in the face of an enemy, and during the existence of actual war, has been, among all nations and in all time, punished with death. It is treason—disloyalty—in its worst, least excusable, and most dangerous form. Of this crime, were “the companies of St. Patrick”¹ palpably and undeniably guilty. They had fought in the ranks of the Mexican army, at the batteries of Churubusco; they had fought longest and hardest against those very colors which they had sworn to defend; they were deserters, and many of them were taken prisoners. Soon after the battles of the 20th, and while the negotiations were pending, *twenty-nine* of these men were tried by a general court-martial, of which Colonel Riley of the 2d infantry was president. The court found these men guilty, (two-thirds of the whole court concurring in each several case,) and sentenced each one of them to hang by the neck till dead. In a general order, dated the 8th of September, General Scott approved the sentence, with

¹ See the Report of General Rincon.

the exception of three, who had deserted previous to the commencement of the war, and two others, who were recommended to favor by the court; and four, in whose palliation there appeared some mitigating circumstances. The remainder were executed according to the sentence. *Sixteen* were executed at San Angel, on the 10th of September. *Six* of the whole number tried were deserters from the 3d infantry, *three* from the 5th infantry, *four* from the 7th infantry, *two* from the 2d infantry, *five* from the 3d artillery, *six* from the 4th artillery, *one* from the 1st artillery, and *two* from the 2d dragoons. General Scott, in examining the proceedings of the court, appears to have released every man from the penalty of death, in whose favor any reason or mitigation could be pleaded. Among the three whom he found were not legally subject to the penalty of death, because they had deserted previous to the commencement of the war, was the notorious Riley, the commander of the deserters' company. His sentence was commuted, so that he was lashed and branded. The lesson given by this terrible execution was undoubtedly a severe one, but one which war necessarily carries with it, and without which the discipline of the army could not be maintained.

On the 7th September, Scott, having determined to carry the city of Mexico by assault, accompanied by General Worth, made a *reconnaissance* of the formidable defences of the enemy immediately in front of Tacubaya, and commanding the principal causeway and the aqueduct supplying the city with water. This observation determined the general-in-chief to attack what may be called the defences of Chapultepec. These were several, colaterally supporting one another, and constituting on the whole a very strong *point d'appui* and support for the

Mexican army; the larger part (if not the whole) was now assembled at this point. We must now take a view of these defences to understand the actions which ensued. Early on the same morning, Captain Mason of the engineers made a close and daring *reconnaissance* of the enemy's line, round and on Chapultepec. The results of this investigation may be thus stated:

The little village of Tacubaya, at which General Scott's headquarters had been now established nearly three weeks, is about two miles and a half from the city of Mexico. About twelve hundred yards north of it, just *point-blank* range for twelve-pounders, is the hill and fortified buildings of Chapultepec. At this point, the causeway branches off to the east, being about two miles in length to the city. The Tacubaya road passed on till, in two miles more, it entered the San Cosme causeway. These causeways are the avenues to the city; and bombs and cannon of heavy calibre, placed on the hill of Chapultepec, *could command them, and the city itself*. The knowledge of this fact informs us, at once, why General Scott deemed it necessary to possess this castle, in order to take the city. Once possessed, the city must fall of course. Without it, the avenues to the city, and the city itself, would be exposed to the bombardment of the enemy's batteries.

Let us now examine in detail, the particular points of the defence.

CHAPULTEPEC is a porphyritic rock, called in the Aztec language, "Grasshopper's Hill." It rose from the former margin of the lake—was the resort of the Aztec princes, and is the real site of the much-sought Halls of the Montezumas. Here are the remains of gardens, groves,

and grottoes—the lingering remnants of that magnificence which adorned the ancient city of Mexico. Here also, the Spanish viceroys selected their residence, as the most beautiful spot in the valley of Mexico. And here was now placed the Military college. The cadets of the institution were now among its defenders. The buildings on the top were well fortified, and the base of the hill was nearly surrounded by a thick stone-wall. On the north, east, and south, this hill was abrupt and stony. On the west only (from the city) it seemed to permit any approach. On this side, down the slope, was a heavy forest. On this side, the American commander determined to assault it; but here also, were formidable defences.

EL MOLINO DEL REY is just at the foot of this hill—adjoins the grove of trees, and is a stone building of thick and high walls, with towers at the end. This was strongly garrisoned, and made a sort of depot, and was supposed to have been used as a foundry recently, though really built for mills, and called, "the King's Mill."

CASA DE MATA is another massive, thick-walled stone building, standing about four hundred yards to the west of Molino del Rey, and in a straight line with that and the castle of Chapultepec. It is also at the foot of a gentle declivity or ridge, descending from the village of Tacubaya.

It follows then, from this topographical survey, that Chapultepec is a position commanding all the roads around, and that this position can be approached only on one side, on which is a grove of trees; and that at the foot of this slope, lie Molino del Rey and Casa de Mata, well defended, so that the first attack must necessarily

be made on Molino del Rey, or Chapultepec could not be taken; and if not taken, there was no safe passage to the city. The first thing to be done then, was the storming of Molino del Rey.

Accordingly, after the reconnaissance of the 7th, General Scott ordered General Worth with the 1st division, reinforced by Cadwallader's brigade, and a detachment of dragoons and artillery, to attack and carry the lines and defences of the enemy at the foot of the hill; capture Molino del Rey; destroy the supposed *materiel* there; and then withdraw again to the village of Tacubaya.¹

The position of the enemy was well selected to defend the naturally strong grounds they had assumed. His left rested upon and occupied the stone building, Molino del Rey; his right, in the same manner, rested upon the stone building called Casa de Mata. Midway between these was his field-battery, and on each side of it was his lines of infantry.² The Mexican account of the position of their army does not differ essentially from that given by our officers. It states, that the left wing of their army rested on Molino del Rey, close to the forest of Chapultepec; that this point was commanded by General Leon, who had the battalion of Miná, and the battalions of Union and La Patria of Oaxaca, the companies of Puebla, and a body from Queretaro, all composed of National Guards. The right wing rested on the Casa de Mata, and was composed of the brigade of General Perez, fifteen

¹ Official Despatch of General Worth, dated Sept. 10th, 1847.

² General Worth's Report.

hundred of the regular army.¹ Independent of these strongly-garrisoned fortresses, the Mexican army, to the number of at least ten thousand men, under the command of Santa Anna, were posted as above described, in a line with a field-battery between posts. The corps ordered by General Scott to the attack of this line was composed as follows:

1st division, (General Worth,) . . .	about 2,000
Cadwallader's brigade, (11th, 14th, and Voltigeurs)	784
Three squadrons of dragoons and company of mounted riflemen, under Major Sumner, . . .	270
Drum's battery, (three field-pieces,) }	100
Huger's battery, (two 24-pounders,) }	

Total corps of General Worth,² . . . men 3,154

It must be recollected, however, that when this arrangement was made, no one in the American army knew the real strength of the fortified posts occupied by the Mexican army. Worth made the most judicious arrangements for the attack. The object in view was to break up, 1st, the enemy's lines of intrenchments, and, 2dly, to destroy the munitions in Molino del Rey, after which the troops were to retire. Those defences being completely under the guns of the castle of Chapultepec, it may be assumed that the commanding-general deemed it unnecessary to retain the troops in that exposed situation, when the ob-

¹ Extract from the *Boletin*, Mexican newspaper.

² General Worth's Report.

ject for which they had gone there had been accomplished.

Worth divided his corps into three columns, with a reserve, to act respectively against the wings and centre of the enemy. 1st. The right column (opposite the enemy's left, Molino del Rey) was composed of Garland's brigade, to look at and in time attack El Molino. This column was accompanied by Captain Drum, and two pieces of artillery. To attack with this column, and to keep in check Chapultepec and its defences, Captain Huger's battery of 24-pounders was placed on the ridge descending from Tacubaya, and at about six hundred yards from El Molino. 2d. A storming party of five hundred picked men was placed to the left of this battery, under the command of Major Wright of the 8th infantry, to assail the enemy's centre, and capture his field-battery. 3d. The second brigade (now under the command of Colonel McIntosh) was placed higher up the ridge, accompanied by Duncan's battery, to watch the enemy's left, support Major Wright, or assail, as circumstances might require. Cadwallader's brigade was held in reserve, in a position between the last column (McIntosh's) and the battering guns, that they might support either column, as they might need. Sumner's dragoons were on the extreme left, guarding that flank. Such were the dispositions made by Worth¹ on the night of the 7th of September. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the columns were put in motion, and at daylight they were all in their respective positions. At half-past 4 A. M., when things could be distinctly seen, the battle

¹ See Worth's Official Report.

began by the firing of Huger's battery (24-pounders) on Molino del Rey, which continued till that strong point was sensibly shaken.¹ At this time, the storming party under Major Wright rushed forward, under the guidance of Captain Mason of the engineers, and Lieut. Foster. They were received unexpectedly with a tremendous fire of artillery. They still dashed on, drove the artillerymen from their pieces, and had actually taken the battery, when the enemy, perceiving how small was the body of men by whom he was dispossessed, re-rallied, and the infantry of their whole line poured in a destructive fire. Here no less than *eleven* out of only fourteen officers were either killed or wounded! The column was driven back for a moment, and the Mexican troops regained possession of the disputed point. They are said to have killed nearly all the wounded left on the field.² The light battalion left to cover Huger's battery, and the right wing of Cadwallader's brigade, under Captain Kirby Smith, were now ordered forward. They came gallantly into action: The enemy's line was defeated. The contested point was carried, and the two wings of the enemy, Molino del Rey and Casa de Mata, were left isolated.

On our right the battle raged with equal fury and with equal success. Garland's brigade, sustained by Drum's artillery, assaulted the left of the enemy at Molino del Rey, and after a hot conflict drove him from that apparently impregnable position under the guns of Chapultepec. On the left of our army, at Casa de Mata, another fearful and bloody action was maintained. The brigade

¹ General Worth's Official Report.

² Letter from an officer in the New York Courier and Enquirer

of Colonel M'Intosh moved on, till by coming in front of Duncan's battery, that was for a time silent, and the advancing column assaulted Casa de Mata. Again the enemy's defences proved stronger than had been anticipated. Instead of field intrenchments, or an old house, it was a strong stone citadel, with bastions and ditches. Within musket range, a deadly fire of musketry was opened upon the advancing column. Still the column rushed on till it reached the very verge of the parapet! Again did the heroes of Mexico fall within sight of victory. M'Intosh, Scott, Waite, had now fallen, and the column fell back to the left of Duncan's battery, again to rally, and again to charge. Just as this attack was made, a heavy column of cavalry and infantry was seen defiling round the enemy's right upon our extreme left. Thousands of the Mexican lancers in bright uniform now came to crush apparently the small band who were storming Casa de Mata. Then it was that Duncan's battery, silent by the interposition of our storming column, moved rapidly to the extreme left, supported by the Voltigeurs, under Colonel Andrews. As the Mexican column came within range of canister-shot, the battery opened an effective fire, which soon scattered its columns. At the same moment, Major Sumner's cavalry, formed on the left, charged and completed the rout. The retreat of our assaulting infantry had again opened Casa de Mata to the fire of our artillery. It was opened upon it. The Mexican infantry was already defeated. Their cavalry was already in flight. A few shots more from our artillery, and Casa de Mata was abandoned. All was now done that was attempted. Molino del Rey was taken. Casa de Mata was taken. Fourteen thousand of the Mexican army,



CHARGE AT MOLINO DEL REY.

thus strongly posted, had been defeated by one-fourth their numbers. Fifty-two commissioned officers and eight hundred prisoners were captured. Great quantities of arms and ammunition were also taken.

Casa de Mata was blown up, and the ammunition and other *materiel* of war found in Molino del Rey destroyed. When this was accomplished, these places were evacuated by the orders of the commander-in-chief. It is evident to all intelligent minds that they could not be held unless Chapultepec had also been carried; for that, the corps under Worth were inadequate, and were not detached for that purpose. The testimony of General Worth, furnished in his official report, proves that after the most accurate and daring reconnaissance on the part of the engineers, and also by general officers, the impression was left on the minds of all those officers, that the defences of Molino del Rey, and especially of Casa de Mata, were less strong than they really proved to be. They were thought likewise to be more important and valuable to the Mexican army than they really were, as depositories of munitions. General Scott, therefore, had detached an ample force to carry outposts of such a kind as were anticipated, but insufficient to carry, without too much loss, the castle of Chapultepec. The movement was necessary, however, for another and a different reason from those which have been given. Chapultepec *must* be carried. To do this, the destruction of the defences at the foot of the hill, and covering the Mexican army, was essential to success. The strength of those defences, unknown and impossible to know, was the only cause of the extraordinary loss, which rendered this proportionably the bloodiest battle of the war. One-fourth of Worth's

entire force were either killed or wounded! Nor were the Mexicans less sorely injured. Desperately did they fight. Leon, their bravest general; Balderez, the gallant colonel of the battalion of Mina; Huerta, Moteos, and other distinguished officers, were lost on that fatal field.

Such was the battle of MOLINO DEL REY; long to be remembered as the scene of extraordinary actions, and long grieved, as that which made the graves of brave and noble men.

On the afternoon of the 8th, the corps of Worth, having accomplished the purpose of the battle, retired to Tacubaya, and the commander-in-chief directed his inquiries to the defences of Mexico and the modes of overcoming them. On the 9th and 10th, reconnaissances were made in every practicable direction, especially by the engineers Lee, Beauregard, Stevens, and Tower, and also by the commander-in-chief. These reconnaissances were especially directed to the south and west. The San Antonia road (on which lay Antonia and Churubusco) came in on the south. This is the road, the reader will recollect, by which the army had advanced till after the battle of Churubusco. Then it diverged to the northwest, through Coyhoacan, San Angel, and Tacubaya. This road was, in fact, the great Acapulco road, passing southwest from the city of Mexico to the Pacific ocean, and which the army had reached by its bold and successful march round the Lake Chalco. The general-in-chief and engineer now sought, whether by this or any other route, they could most successfully approach and enter the city. The observations disclosed these facts, that there were 1st, Five great roads leading to the city of

Mexico, viz. ¹ the road to Vera Cruz, which the army had followed to Ayotla; the road to Acapulco, by which it advanced to Antonia and Churubusco; the road to Toluca, on which it now was, at Tacubaya; the road to Guadalupe, by which Santa Anna finally retreated; and the road to Tampico, which went northeast round Lake Tezcoco. 2d, These roads terminated in eight gates. Three of these gates were approached by causeways from the Acapulco road, viz.: the San Antonia, Perdido, and Piedad; two by the Toluca road, by Tacubaya, viz.: Chapultepec and San Cosme. Each of the other three roads had a gate also. These gateways were small forts mounting cannon, which, in time of peace, were used as a sort of custom-houses, the city being unapproachable from any other quarter than these causeways. They were now converted into a sort of bastions for the city, or enfilading forts. Around the greater part of the city, especially where these great roads approached, there was a great ditch, or canal, which it was almost impossible to bridge in face of the enemy's cannon and small-arms.

Let the reader now conceive the city and defences of Mexico, as we have described their features. A large, regular, solid-built city, at the very bottom of a large, oblong valley, surrounded by a lofty range of mountains. These mountains turn the water into the valley below, forming great lakes, occupying no small part of the entire surface of the valley. The city is partially drained from these inundating waters; but only partially so. Much the greatest part of the land between these lakes is, in the rainy season, a marsh, too wet and

¹ Stealey's map of the environs of Mexico.