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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

CHALMETTE UNIT,

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

By

Jerome A. Greene

September 1985

U.S. Department of the Interior / National Park Service

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank the following individuals and institutions for their assistance in the completion of this study: James L. Isenogle, Superintendent, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park; A. Wilson Greene, Denise Vickers, Thomas Tankersly, Daniel Abeel, Michael Livingston, and Michael Strock, of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park; Melody Webb and Ted Birkedal, National Park Service Southwest Regional Office, Santa Fe; Edwin C. Bearss, Chief Historian, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.; Betsy Swanson, Santa Fe; Rose Lambert and the late Joseph C. Castle, Louisiana State Museum Library, New Orleans; Jane Stevens, Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library; Historic New Orleans Collection; New Orleans Public Library; New Orleans Notarial Archives; Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., Co., New Orleans; Special Collections, Tulane University Library; Louisiana Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge; St. Bernard Parish courthouse, Chalmette, Louisiana; National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; Historical society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin; Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington; The Filson Club, Louisville; Cincinnati Historical Society; Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland; Chicago Historical Society; U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point; New-York Historical Society; New York Public Library; Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Tennessee State Library and Archives; Nashville; Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; Denver Public Library; and the University of Colorado Libraries, Boulder.

A special word of appreciation is due my colleagues at the Denver Service Center--Michael Bureman, John C. Paige, and Louis Torres--for their assistance in the timely completion of this project. Thanks, too, to Jill-Karen Yakubik, who provided the chapter on settlement and occupation of the Chalmette property.

To all these people, institutions, and organizations I extend my sincere gratitude.

Jerome A. Greene

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CHAPTER I:

THE HISTORIC SCENE

Southeastern Louisiana is a region composed of myriad waterways and landforms all mutually impacting one another. New Orleans has always been surrounded by wet lowlands fed by closely adjacent rivers, lakes, and canals. Historically, the presence of numerous watery approaches has affected the security of the city, making it ever vulnerable to enemy ships plying the Gulf of Mexico. Several routes have drawn the attention of offensive and defensive strategists, namely Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain north and east of the city; the Mississippi River; and Barataria Bay south of New Orleans. The fact that the intervening lowlands were intersected by a plethora of canals and bayous of varying depths made the country around the city appear even more accessible for potential enemies.

Especially inviting in 1814 seemed the route via Lake Borgne. Despite the shallowness of the water, a few deep channels existed that promoted navigation, particularly of flat-bottomed craft. Average depth of the lake was nine feet; its shores offered numerous passages in the form of bayous and inlets. Those located on the southeast shore afforded determined adversaries a more or less unobstructed approach to New Orleans. One of these, Bayou Dupré, twisted through the marshlands to a point within two miles of the Mississippi and but ten miles below the city. Yet another, Bayou Bienvenue, came within five miles of New Orleans, and approached the property on which the 1814-1815 Battles of New Orleans occurred.(1)

The area encompassing the Chalmette battlefield represents an old section of Louisiana formed of centuries of sediment as the Mississippi River sought to reclaim the region from the Gulf of Mexico. The cumulative deposits formed natural levees, ridges of terrain that bordered the stream and gently sloped away into swampland. Around Chalmette the natural levees rose

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1. See Samuel H. Lockett, Louisiana as It Is: A Geographical Topographical Description of the State. Ed. by Lauren C. Post (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), pp. 125-30.

to a height of approximately 10 feet with the ground behind extending for almost two miles--and sometimes farther--before reaching a belt of cypress swamp. At the battleground proper the extent of dry land was restricted to approximately 1,500 yards, a factor of profound significance in the course of events at that point. Beyond the cypress swamp lay the wet marshlands or "prairies" bordering Lake Borgne. In 1814 this variegated landscape was intersected by numerous canals and drainage ditches by which means overflow water was conducted from the Mississippi through bayous into Lake Borgne.(2)

The sedimentary mass composing the riverbanks, formed over eons by river deposition, consists of a variety of soils affected ultimately by the proximity of the Gulf of Mexico. Saline deposits, as well as marine fossils, exist in the soil of the area, indicative of the ever-present action of the water through the region. Texturally, the soils run from sands to clays, both possessing the high mineral and organic content conducive to good agricultural production. Geologists have identified six types in the country immediately adjacent to New Orleans. One of these, Yazoo Clay, has been indicated as the predominant soil in the vicinity of Chalmette and the battlefield. Characteristics of Yazoo Clay include its dark brown color and the loamy consistency of its topsoil. Six inches below the surface the loam turns into a brown clay of waxy texture. Because of the relative dearth of sand and silt, the topsoil of Yazoo Clay readily lends itself to being tilled. The soil type seems especially endemic to places where the Mississippi overflowed its banks and the water subsided with no current, making Yazoo Clay well-suited for agricultural pursuits.(3) Historical accounts bear out the existence of clay soil in the vicinity of the battleground. The British artillerist Alexander Dickson complained of it, noting that

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2. Lower Mississippi River Delta. Reports on the Geology of Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes. Geological Bulletin No. 8 (New Orleans: Department of Conservation, Louisiana Geological Survey, 1936), p. 25; Thomas D. Rice and Lewis Griswold, Soil Survey of the New Orleans Area, Louisiana (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 10-11. A. LaCarriere Latour, Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15 (Orig. pub. 1816; reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), p. 80.

3. Rice and Griswald, Soil Survey, pp. 11, 15-16.

> after a continuance of dry weather [the clay] becomes quite firm and hard, but the operation of only a few hours rain, renders it so soft and greasy, that in the Fields a man is over the shoes every step. Nor are the roads a bit better, for being all unpaved, the rain renders them deep and boggy.(4)

At the place where the Mississippi River fronted the battleground the stream was between 800 and 1,000 yards wide. In the winter of 1814-15 the river was high, so that it approximated the level of the adjoining terrain. Inundation, which occasionally occurred, was partly checked by the presence of a man-made levee, or low embankments of earth, raised along the bank.(5) "Should this yield to the increased pressure of the river," recorded an observer, "its waters rush with impetuosity through the break and sweep away every thing in their course."(6) At least two sources commented upon the presence of great numbers of immense tree trunks entangled along the banks of the Mississippi, these having originated far upstream and been carried down by the current.(7)

In 1814 the tracts bordering the river and encompassing the battleground were used for agricultural purposes. Few roads existed, and these mainly stretched along the high ground near the river. A major artery of land transport lay

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4. "Journal of Operations in Louisiana, 1814-1815" The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961), p. 39.

5. John Henry Cooke, A Narrative of Events in the South of France, and of the Attack on New Orleans, in 1814 and 1815 (London: T. and W. Boone, 1835), pp. 167-68; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815." (Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library), p. 49; Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 81; Major Forrest, "Journal of the Operations Against New Orleans in 1814 and 1815," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961), p. 116.

6. Abraham Redwood Ellery, "Notes and Comments upon the Subject of a Yankee Song entitled, 'The Retreat of English'" (unpublished manuscript dated 1815 in the Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library).

7. Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 167-68; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," p. 49.

next to the levee; this road followed the Mississippi southeast to the settlements at English Turn and northwest into New Orleans. Beyond the levee, the terrain was flat, gently sloping downward toward the cypress swamp for a distance of between 1,000 and 1,500 yards. This interval comprised the extent of cultivable ground and was intersected at places with drainage ditches and rail fences.(8) The ditches averaged 5 to 6 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet deep. They generally bordered either side of the small auxiliary roads, or lanes, that separated the plantation properties from each other. More ditches were situated to drain every three or four acres of the sugar cane fields which occupied most of the ground. Like those delineating property boundaries, these ran from the levee to the swamp, a distance of between 1,000 and 1,500 yards. Besides rail fences there were some made of pickets several feet high with points imbedded 2 or 3 feet into the earth. Fences were often raised to border the drainage ditches; along the lanes separating plantations they were erected on either side of the road.(9)

Several properties composed the acreage of the New Orleans battlefield and its environs. These were, from upstream, the Macarty, Rodriquez, Chalmette, Bienvenue, De La Ronde, Lacoste, and Villeré plantations. The engagement of December 23, 1814, occurred on the De La Ronde, Lacoste, and Villeré properties, while those of December 28, 1814, January 1, and January 8, 1815, took place on the Rodriquez, Chalmette, and Bienvenue holdings, although cognate operations occurred on all the tracts. Like most of the others, the Chalmette Plantation occupied a somewhat rectangular piece of

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8. Forrest, "Journal of the Operations," pp. 115-16.

9. "Particulars in relation to Battle of N. Orleans furnished me by a French gentleman, in 1828--Summer." Oran Follett Papers, Box 2. Manuscript Division, Cincinnati Historical Society; Dagmar Renshaw Lebreton, "The Men Who Won the Battle of New Orleans," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (July, 1955), p. 28; Wilburt S. Brown, The Amphibious Campaign for West Florida and Louisiana, 1814-1815: A Critical Review of Strategy and Tactics at New Orleans (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1969), p. 141; Charles B. Brooks, The Siege of New Orleans (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), pp. 180-81.

ground that stretched more than 1,000 yards along the Mississippi and ranged between 1,000 and 1,500 yards inland to the cypress swamp. The neighboring Rodriquez property was a wedge-shaped tract of small proportion, bordered on the Chalmette side by an old millrace, or canal, that ran from the levee well into the swamp.(10) The flat terrain of Chalmette was interspersed by buildings and groves near the river, but the vast majority of land was given over to sugar cane, which in December, 1814, had been harvested so that most of the broad fields were filled with stubble. Farther downstream the river turned gently to the left, and the structures and groves of adjacent plantations could be seen along the Mississippi. On the north end of the Chalmette property stood the cypress swamp. At the Rodriquez side of the tract the swamp was closest to the river, about one-half mile distant. As it trended toward the Bienvenue Plantation, the swamp line arced radically inland, so that the plain between river and swamp became almost two miles across. Thereafter the line turned back toward the Mississippi, so that at Lacoste's and Villeré's the interval between stream and wood was approximately one mile.(11)

The Chalmette tract, like the others, was traversed by several wet ditches. Three proved significant in the course of the battles. A double ditch and fence ran perpendicular from Rodriquez Canal to skirt the swamp for 550 yards before the fence turned sharply into the woods. Approximately 400 yards east of the canal another ditch ran diagonally from the swamp to the river; 150 yards farther another ditch paralleled its course to the levee. As indicated, most of the cultivated land contained fields of sugar cane. Part of that at Chalmette was so planted, particularly the ground lying between the first and second ditches. Between Rodriquez Canal and the first ditch grew an abundance of weeds and sedge grass, most of which had been cut. Some tall sedge grass remained along the ditch

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10. Ignace de Lino de Chalmette owned the main battlefield property. An aged man, he died February 10, 1815, scarcely one month after the Battle of New Orleans. Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 38; Powell A. Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812 (Baton Rouge: Privately published, 1963), p. 105.

11. Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 180.

as did numerous bushes, serving to partly obscure the view eastward from Rodriquez Canal.(12)

Besides sugar cane, other staples grown in the area included corn, rice, indigo, cotton, and tobacco. Garden vegetables found in the region below New Orleans comprised lettuce, carrots, onions, sweet potatoes, turnips, and cabbages. The cypress swamp encompassed more than cypress trees, and included some of the following: sycamore, poplar, sweetgum, black willow, hackberry, tupelo, persimmon, pumpkin ash, red maple, box elder, American elm, winged elm, walnut, willow oak, and overcup oak. At least three species were encountered but rarely--American holly, honey locust, and red mulberry. In addition, domestic fruit-bearing trees, mostly peach, orange, and fig, abounded on the plantations.(13)

The Macarty property--that bordering the Rodriquez tract on the north (west)--held a profusion of ornamental garden growth, as several contemporary maps and pictures attest.(14) According to one source, the Macarty garden

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12. Ibid., pp. 180-81; "Particulars in relation to Battle of N. Orleans"; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," pp. 48-49; Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, Travels through North America, during the Years 1825 and 1826 (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Carey, 1828), I, 65; Lebreton, "Men Who Won the Battle of New Orleans," p. 28.

13. "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," p. 52; William Darby, A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana, the Southern Part of the State of Mississippi, and Territory of Alabama. . . . (New York: James Olmstead, 1817), p. 73.

14. See Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Impressions Respecting New Orleans. Dairy and Sketches, 1818-1820. Ed. by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941); Abraham Redwood Ellery, "Plan showing the disposition of the American Troops, when attacked by the British Army, on the morning of the 8th Jany, 1815." Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library; A. Lacarriere Latour, "Plan of the Attack and Defence of the American Lines below New Orleans on the 8th January, 1815," in Latour, Historical Memoir, plate VII; Hyacinthe Laclotte, "Defeat of the British Army, 12,000 strong, under the Command of Sir Edward Packenham in the attack of the American Lines defended by 3,600 Militia commanded by Major General Andrew Jackson, January 8th 1815, on Chalmette plain. . . ."

> covers not less than 4 acres, is laid out in square walks & flower beds in the old French style. It is entirely enclosed by a thick hedge of orange trees, which have been suffered to run up to 15 or 16 feet high [as of ca. 1818] on the flanks and rear, but which are shorn down to the highth [sic] of 4 or 5 feet along the [levee] road. The walks are bordered by very large myrtles cut into the shape of large hay cocks, about 8 feet high & as much in diameter. There are so many of them, and they are so exactly equal in size & form that the effect is curious if not elegant.(15)

The garden fronted the Macarty house, "a mansion surrounded entirely by a portico or gallery of two stories" with an exceptionally large roof.(16) The hedge bordered the front and sides of the Macarty property, and on the south side ran from the levee road back to the northwest corner of the Rodriquez house, which, judging from the maps, was devoid of such ornamental shrubbery. A few trees stood behind the Rodriquez house, however.(17)

Most of the historical maps do not show what kinds of ornamental vegetation surrounded the Chalmette mansion and outbuildings. The mansion was situated about 140 yards from the levee road. According to a sketch diagram prepared by the

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15. Latrobe, Impressions Respecting New Orleans, pp. 43-45.

16. Ibid., p. 45. Describing the mansions in the battlefield area, one visitor wrote generically of them: "The mansion-house, commonly, is situated about one hundred paces from the entrance, and an avenue of laurel trees, which are cut in a pyramidical form, and pride of China trees, leads to the door. The most of these houses are two stories high, and are surrounded with piazzas and covered galleries. Back of the elegant mansion-house stand the negro cabins, like a camp, and behind [them] the sugarcane fields, which extend to the marshy cypress woods about a mile back, called the cypress swamp." Bernhard, Travels through North America, I, 65.

17. Ellery, "Plan shewing the disposition of the American Troops"' Latour, "Plan of the Attack and Defence of the American Lines"' Laclotte, "Defeat of the British Army."

British artillerist Alexander Dickson, the land fronting the house to the levee road consisted of an ornamental garden divided by walkways into squares in a manner similar to that at Macarty's. The whole was encompassed by a "high Laurel Hedge."(18) An illustration of the battlefield by Hyacinthe Laclotte does not show all of the Chalmette buildings, and instead depicts only their ruins after their having been demolished by the American artillery. Nonetheless, Laclotte's drawing shows nothing of the hedge that Dickson reported, only a few trees and bushes near the chimney of the destroyed structure; a few more trees and bushes were depicted on the interval of terrain lying between Rodriquez Canal and the Chalmette complex.(19)

The next plantation below Chalmette was that of Bienvenue, which also stood on the ground occupied by the British army in 1814-15. Little is known about the decorative flora that surrounded it, but it, too, was presumably embraced within hedges of laurel in proximity to numerous orange trees. "We found oranges still on the trees," wrote one British soldier," and as the store houses which our troops occupied were full of sugar, we converted these oranges into good wholesome Marmalade."(20) Adjoining the Bienvenue plantation stood that of De la Ronde. Like the others, it consisted of a mansion house behind which were warehouses, outbuildings, and slavequarters. Maps of the De la Ronde property indicate that the plantation house had a garden with hedges bordering its front toward the river in a manner typical of all these houses. The next tract, that of LaCoste, had a similar, though by no

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18. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 25.

19. Laclotte, "Defeat of the British army."

20. "Aitchison Diary." Historic New Orleans Collection.

means identical, garden arrangement, as did LaCoste's eastward neighbor, Villeré, although the latter's complex of outbuildings stretched rather linearly along the road fronting the Mississippi.(21)

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21. For generalized descriptions of this area occupied by the British troops, see Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 167-68; Forrest, "Journal of Operations," p. 116. For diagrams of these respective properties, see Latour, "Plan of the Attack made by Major Gen. Jackson on a Division of the British Army commanded by Major Gen. Keane, on the 23rd December 1814, at 7 O'Clock at night," in Historical Memoir, plate VI. A sketch map of the Villere ground, somewhat at variance with Latour, appears in Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana, 1814-1815," p. 11.

CHAPTER II

THE DEFENSE OF NEW ORLEANS, 1814

British strategy against New Orleans in the autumn of 1814 seemed but a natural course of action to complement previous military successes in the War of 1812. After their victory at Washington, British attention turned southward as London strategists sought to realize a grand plan for concluding the war that had been waged with the United States over the past two years. The southern design, if successful, would seal off the Mississippi River, thereby destroying interior commerce, while simultaneously militarily occupying a broad tract to be used for bargaining in any peace negotiations. Capturing the port city of New Orleans, the key to the British strategy, was left to the British military and naval command headquartered in North America.(1)

While the British high command deliberated over the best means to capture New Orleans, United States civil and military officials remained almost oblivious to the foreign threat on the southern coast. There the preoccupation had been with British- and Spanish-incited Indians, notably the Creeks, whose depredations in the region north of the Gulf of Mexico had caused widescale destruction in that area of American settlement. Sent to quell the Indian disturbances was Major General Andrew Jackson, formerly of the Tennessee Militia, but since May, 1814, and his return from subjugating the southern tribesmen, commander of the Seventh Military District embracing Louisiana, Mississippi Territory, and Tennessee. Jackson was not completely ignorant of British objectives, however, despite assurances from his government that British operations in the South posed no threat.(2)

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1. For factors bearing on the British southern strategy, see John K. Mahon, "British Command Decisions Relative to the Battle of New Orleans," Louisiana History, VI (Winter, 1965), pp. 55, 62. For an overview of the war, see John K. Mahon, The War of 1812 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1972).

2. Wilburt S. Brown, The Amphibious Campaign for West Florida and Louisiana, 1814-1815: A Critical Review of Strategy and Tactics at New Orleans (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1969), pp. 21, 23; David Lindsey, Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun (Woodbury, New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1973), pp. 22-23.

Anticipating military action of some kind, Jackson requisitioned munitions to be shipped to New Orleans during the summer of 1814, though they ultimately were delayed for several months. He also sought men for his command from the states that stood to lose most from an invasion of the lower Mississippi. From Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, Jackson by late November garnered 10,000 militia, some of whom went to garrison posts in the Creek country. Nearly 4,000 more were mustered from Mississippi and Louisiana, and Jackson ultimately had more than 2,300 regulars, making his aggregate force more than 16,000 strong.(3) In November, 1814, with 4,000 of these men, Jackson struck the Spanish post of Pensacola in Florida, capturing the place which had harbored renegade Creeks and which might yet serve as a point of British assembly preparatory to a strike against New Orleans. Three days after taking Pensacola, Jackson led his army west to defend Mobile and New Orleans.(4)

Most of the militia missed Jackson's victory at Pensacola; many were stationed at remote outposts while others were in the process of mustering in in their home states. Tennesseans under Brigadier General John Coffee fought at Pensacola and were enroute overland to Mobile despite pervasive sickness in the ranks. Though they were largely unarmed, other Tennessee troops under Brigadier General William Carroll moved south via the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers. And Kentuckians commanded by Major General John Thomas similarly journeyed south by river mostly unequipped. The interested regular army complement consisted of troops assigned to the Seventh Military District, notably the Second, Third, Seventh, Thirty-ninth, and Forty-fourth Infantry regiments, besides some artillerymen. In addition to the land forces, Jackson had limited naval resources at New Orleans: six gunboats, a sloop, and a few lesser vessels under Master Commander Daniel T. Patterson. But virtually all lower river traffic, including Patterson's flotilla, remained at a standstill because of a British naval blockade at the mouth of the

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3. John Spencer Bassett, The Life of Andrew Jackson (2 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), I, 163-64; A. Lacarriere Latour, Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15 (Orig. pub. 1816. Reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), pp. 66.

4. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 45, 48-51.

Mississippi.(5) With such an assortment of men at his disposal Jackson hoped to thwart the British designs on the southern coast, and specifically against New Orleans. There the British army would meet its strongest test, ending, wrote Secretary of War James Monroe "its inglorious career in such a repulse as will reflect new honor on the American army."(6)

New Orleans was particularly vulnerable to attack in the autumn of 1814. Situated near the mouth of the Mississippi, the city held prime importance to the interior states who shipped their produce through its port to the coastal states as well as to a growing world market.(7) These facts had long been known to the British, who as early as the 1770s schemed to block the mouth of the river and attack the city via Lake Pontchartrain and the Mississippi from the north. That plan, never executed, was predicated on the belief that the defenses of New Orleans were weak under the Spanish administration and that the populace would support Britain against Spain. Similarly, a detailed British strategem prepared in 1773 called for an attack on the city from above, although no defenses on the lower river could impede a naval squadron advancing by that route.(8) In 1782 the city's defenses consisted of "an old

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5. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 146-47; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 23; Charles B. Brooks, The Siege of New Orleans (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), pp. 36-37.

6. Monroe to Jackson, Dec. 10, 1814. Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division Chicago Historical Society. For a recent treatment of Jackson's performance during the New Orleans campaign as seen against the wider perspective of the War of 1812, see Robert V. Remini, Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821 (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1977), pp. 246-97.

7. James Stirling, "Memorandum regarding the Condition of Louisiana, 1813," p. 1. Melville Papers. Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans.

8. "Plan of Attack on New Orleans," ca. 1770. Manuscript Division. Historical Society of Pennyslvania. For details of the enterprise projected in 1773, see Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "British Spy Along the Mississippi: Thomas Hutchins and the Defenses of New Orleans, 1773," Louisiana History, VIII (Fall,

and ruinous stockade seven feet high without a ditch" with two dilapidated batteries and a few mounted guns scattered about elsewhere. With Great Britain and Spain at war with each other, New Orleans appeared as an easy target for a British force. Instead, the British post of Pensacola fell before Spain's soldiers and a British counterattack never materialized. Similar unfruitful plans for assaulting the city were prepared by the British in 1796. Thus, the 1814 British objective was not without precedent.(9)

Added incentives for the British to attack New Orleans were its relatively remote geographical location from the political center of the United States. Further, the diverse ethnic population was of doubtful loyalty to the central government and might easily be swayed to support a foreign invasion. By capturing the city, the interior states of Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, and parts of others might be held hostage to the dictates of Great Britain. In 1812 a British thrust against New Orleans was proposed as a diversion from military activities in Canada.(10) And in 1813 London proposed an assault that would send warships up the Mississippi to act in concert with an army debarking from vessels in Lake Pontchartrain. "The City," wrote an exponent of such an attack, "is not defended by works of any kind, and should our force be proportioned to that of the Enemy and the landing fortunately made good, there can be little apprehension of the consequences."(11)

Yet the Americans were cognizant of the state of the defenses of New Orleans, many of which had been allowed to deteriorate drastically during and following the Spanish administration. In 1813 efforts were geared toward improving

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8. (Cont.) 1967), pp. 321-26. The author makes a strong argument that the 1773 report provided the basis for the British campaign of 1814. Ibid., pp. 326-27.

9. Jack D.L. Holmes, "Robert Ross' Plan for an English Invasion of Louisiana in 1782," Louisiana History, V (Spring, 1964), pp. 161, 167, 176-77.

10. Stirling Memorandum; Mahon, "British Command Decisions," p. 53; Richard K. Murdoch, "A British Report on West Florida and Louisiana, November, 1812," Florida Historical Quarterly (July, 1964), pp. 49-50.

11. Stirling Memorandum.

fortifications at The Balize near the mouth of the Mississippi, at Fort St. Philip at Plaquemine Turn on the river, and in the bays and lakes around New Orleans. It was generally believed that the British army would land at Mobile where existing Spanish defenses might protect a debarkation. A movement up the Mississippi was viewed as unlikely because of the difficulty in holding and supplying a post along its banks. The most direct approach involved crossing Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain and establishing a foothold on the Mississippi above or below the city, although such a landing "would be attended with great difficulty and inconvenience."(12)

Any such planned approach, of course, had to consider the state of the city's defenses, which were indeed marginal in 1813-14. Little had been done to improve on the derelict fortifications built and maintained by the Spanish and turned over to American authorities in 1803. As of 1813 the permanent works defending New Orleans numbered six: the battery at The Balize, Fort St. Philip, Fort St. Leon at English Turn on the Mississippi, Fort St. John near the city on Lake Pontchartrain, Fort St. Charles at the lower edge of the city, and the partially completed Fort Petite Coquille guarding the Rigolets Pass between Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain. Most of the works were in disrepair, and lacked supplies, garrisons, and requisite artillery matériel. A flat-bottomed naval frigate designed to mount forty-two cannon and operate in the shallow waters around the city had been under construction, but this work was suspended by the Navy. Only Patterson's gunboats made up the naval defense of New Orleans in 1814.(13)

Fears of British intervention, preceded by fears of British-inspired Indian attack, caused Louisiana Governor

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12. "Lieutenant Carter, relative to the vulnerable points, and means of defense at Orleans, presented by the Hon. Allen B. McGruder, Jan. 26 1813. To the Honorable, The Secretary of the Navy." Manuscript Division. Historical Society of Pennyslvania.

13. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 146; Andrew Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson. Ed. by John Spencer Bassett (7 vols.; Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926-35), II, v; Powell A. Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812 (Baton Rouge: privately published, 1963), pp. 12, 13, 19; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 72.

William C.C. Claiborne to petition state citizens for assistance in defense of the state. Only about 470 men protected New Orleans proper in the summer of 1814, a force soon doubled by the arrival of U.S. regulars in the vicinity. In September, 1814, a Committee of Defense was organized in New Orleans to cooperate with state and national officials in improving defenses around the city. Fortifications were begun at key strategic points in the surrounding bays and bayous, and Claiborne stationed volunteer troops and artillery at English Turn, Barataria, and Bayou Lafourche, Fort St. Philip, and English Turn.(14) The Governor's preparation of the militia had occurred at Andrew Jackson's urging in response to entreaties made him at Mobile, where Jackson believed the British planned to land their army. Jackson further directed an inspection of all fortifications in the vicinity of New Orleans. Despite Claiborne's efforts, there arose much disagreement over defensive matters in the legislature, particularly between the memberships of the Committee of Defense and the Committee of Public Safety, and the Governor's attempts to achieve cohesion in purpose remained thwarted.(15) In November, one state legislator nonetheless addressed the issue of defense with renewed urgency, specifying proposals for immediate execution to defend the city against the British.(16) But mere recognition of obvious defensive needs did not ensure their fulfillment; in some instances undisciplined militiamen refused to do the hard labor needed for improving the works and were more interested in pillaging local inhabitants. Such was the case attending the raising of an earthen parapet at English Turn on the left bank of the Mississippi where Governor Claiborne had to personally address the soldiers to achieve

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14. LaTour, Historical Memoir, p. 29; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 13; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 73; Robin Reilly, The British at the Gates: The New Orleans Campaign in the War of 1812 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), p. 203.

15. Ibid., p. 210; Marquis James, Andrew Jackson, The Border Captain (New York: The Literary Guild, 1933), p. 212.

16. See "Opinion of Mr. Favrot upon the Principal Means of Defense to be Employed for the State of Louisiana Against the English, Nov. 19th 1814." Trans. from the French. Louisiana State Museum Library, New Orleans; "Don Pedro Favrot, A Creole Pepys," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXVIII (July, 1945), pp. 724-25.

their cooperation in erecting the defense.(17) In a series of general orders Claiborne had further sought to put his militia in readiness and to encourage the organization of veterans' units composed of men whose advanced age would normally exempt them from military duty. Other special units of cavalry were formed, along with a battalion of free men of color composed largely of refugees from Santo Domingo but including some former Louisiana slaves. But the state militia in November, 1814, represented a discordant element of heretofore unknown military potential.(18)

Existing defenses and defenders notwithstanding, Jackson, Claiborne, and others concerned over the prospects of an imminent enemy invasion had to ponder the probabilities of where such an assault would occur. Discounting the likelihood of an approach up the fortified Mississippi, the logical routes to the city from the east remained through Lake Borgne to the Gentilly Plain, a high, dry stretch of terrain that separated impenetrable cypress swamps and afforded a direct road into New Orleans; through Lake Pontchartrain to Bayou St. John immediately above the city; and across Lake Borgne to dank bayous leading to the Mississippi below the City and navigable only to small boats. Lesser approaches lay to the west, through Bayou Lafourche and the so-called Lake Barataria, the latter feeding into a labyrinth of bayous entering the Mississippi near the city that historically had served the interests of smugglers.(19)

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17. "Journal of an Officer, 1814-1815," DeBow's Review, XVI (1854), p. 643; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 17.

18. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 159; LaTour, Historical Memoir, pp. 25-28; 51-52; 66-67. See Jackson's proclamation to freed slaves of Louisiana, September 21, 1814, in ibid., pp. xxxi-xxxii.

19. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 144-146; Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 123; James, Border Captain, pp. 221-22; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 66; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 45; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 86. For a contemporary opinion on the unlikelihood of an enemy ascending the Mississippi, see Howell Tatum, "Major Howell Tatum's Journal While Acting Topographical Engineer (1814) to General Jackson commanding the Seventh Military District." Ed. by John Spencer Bassett. Smith College Studies in History, VII (October, 1921-April,

The advantages and disadvantages of these different approaches were in the mind of General Jackson when he arrived in New Orleans from Mobile on the morning of December 2, 1814. Responding to repeated requests for his presence, Jackson had traveled across Lake Pontchartrain to Bayou St. John, and so gained familiarity with that access route into the city. From the gallery of his improvised headquarters on Royal Street the General assured city residents of his determination to protect New Orleans and drive the British away while calling upon them for support during the emergency. Later that day he reviewed five companies of New Orleans militia and, evincing his concern over the city's safety, directed Governor Claiborne to obstruct all adjacent coastal bayous running inland from the sea. He still reasoned that if an assault came it would be from Mobile or nearby Pascagoula, resulting in a drive on the city from above, perhaps even from Baton Rouge. Existing defensive conditions of New Orleans worried him. Years later he recalled that he had found the place "destitute of every means of formidable defence." He particularly lamented the lack of artillery and munition supplies, a deficiency that could portend disaster if the British struck.(20)

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19. (Cont.) 1922), pp. 99-100. For a British intelligence report of November, 1814, discussing these routes, see "Observations Naval and Military for the benefit of the Commanders of His Britanic Majesties [sic] Forces destined for the Reduction of Louisiana." British Public Record Office (BPRO), London. War Office 1, Vol. 143. For the contemporary cartographic appearance of the region, see William Darby, "A Map of the State of Louisiana with Part of the Mssissippi Territory from Actual Survey." 1816. Copy in the Map Division, Historic New Orleans Collection.

20. Jackson to Hugh L. White, February 7, 1827, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, III, 338; Edward Livingston to Jackson, November 21, 1814, in ibid., VI, 443-44; Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 52, 54; Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, or the Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812. Concerning the Military Operations of the Americans, Creek Indians, British, and Spanish, 1813-1815 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 260; James, Border Captain, pp. 215-16; Jane Lucas DeGrummond, The Baratarians and the Battle of New Orleans (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), pp. 58-60; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 63-64. Most authorities place Jackson's arrival in New Orleans on

Two days after his arrival in New Orleans Jackson, plagued by dysentery, descended the river to inspect the defenses. Already he realized the great urgency of raising appropriate field works, and he appointed as his Principal Engineer A. Lacarriere Latour, who had formerly served Brigadier General James Wilkinson in the region. Lewis Livingston was appointed Assistant Engineer. Both men accompanied Jackson downriver. At Fort St. Philip, where the river's bend slowed upstream-bound traffic, he directed the placement of more ordnance along the rampart and the razing of an old wooden barracks that could easily catch fire from enemy hotshot. He also ordered work to begin on two new batteries, one across the river from the fort and the other a short distance upstream along the left bank. Each would contain 24-pounder cannon and with Fort St. Philip contribute to producing an effective cross-fire against ascending enemy craft. Jackson did not visit the works at The Balize, having earlier entrusted their visitation to his inspector general, Colonel Arthur P. Hayne. Enroute back to the city he stopped at English Turn where on the left bank work on an epaulement between the river and the swamp near Bayou Terre aux Boeufs was proceeding. Back in New Orleans, he proposed that the legislature urge planters to lend their slaves to help raise earthworks to defend the river. With Claiborne's assistance the request was honored.

On December 11 Jackson took his entourage east to inspect the defenses along Gentilly Plain. Here an enemy advance might easily be thwarted because of the narrowness of the road leading to the city and the dense cypress swampland on either side. At the junction of Bayou Sauvage with Chef Menteur Pass between the lakes he ordered the erection of a battery to be garrisoned by five companies of militia infantry and supported by one company of dragoons. Word went north to Generals Coffee and Carroll, and to Major Thomas Hinds with a contingent of Mississippi dragoons, to hasten their men toward New Orleans. Other troops were sent to augment the garrison of Fort St. Philip, and Jackson established express procedures for receiving intelligence of British movements off The Balize, accomplished through the strategic positioning of boats and messengers between the river's mouth and English Turn.

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20. (Cont.) December 2. However, Jackson wrote that he arrived in the city on December 1, 1814. Jackson to Brigadier General James Winchester, December 11, 1814. Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Presidential Papers Microfilm. Series 3, Vols. F-K, Reel 62.

Command of English Turn was given to Brigadier General David Morgan, who had been placed in charge of Louisiana and Mississippi forces by Governor Claiborne. The commander of the fort at Petite Coquilles was advised to spike his guns and blow up the post should the British threaten to overrun him. Meantime, the obstruction of all bayous leading from the lakes to the Mississippi proceeded according to Jackson's instructions. Under the direction of Colonel Pierre de la Ronde, a local planter and militia commander, and later under Major General Jacques Villeré, who commanded a division of Louisiana militia and was also a plantation owner, trees were felled across the entrances of bayous and earth-filled frames were sunk in the beds of any that appeared navigable for small craft. In some instances small batteries were erected and guard detachments posted. Finally, to prevent the unlikely approach of the British through Lake Barataria, the bayous reaching the Mississippi from the west were likewise blocked and small batteries placed at prominent points, such as at the shell midden known as The Temple. Despite Jackson's personal direction, much of the construction proceeded slowly and haphazardly and some details were overlooked altogether. Three important watercourses running into Lake Borgne--Bayous Sauvage, Terre aux Boeufs, and Bienvenue--remained free of obstruction.(21)

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21. Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson, December 1, 1814, in Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 107-08; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 54-57, 64-65, 69, 71, 74; Tatum, "Journal," pp. 97-104; Jackson to Claiborne, December 10, 1814. Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Presidential Papers Microfilm. Series 3, Vols. F-K, Reel 62; Jackson to Monroe, December 10, 1814, ibid. Jackson to Captain Trudeau, December 20, 1814, ibid.; Jackson to Major Reynolds, December 22, 1814, ibid.; Reilly, British at the Gates, pp. 211-12, 214; John Reid and John Henry Eaton, The Life of Andrew Jackson. Ed. by Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr. (Orig. pub. 1817. Reprint, University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1974), pp. 252-55, 264-65, 510-11; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 90; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 264-65; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 61, 62-63, 77-78; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 74-75, 86, 99, 111, 114-15; Robert V. Remini, Andrew Jackson (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1966), pp. 63-64; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 167; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812i, p. 44; James, Border Captain, pp. 223-25. Latour recommended that special attention be paid to the entrance of Bayous Dupre and Bienvenue off Lake

Such oversights could perhaps have been avoided had Jackson obtained all the men and supplies he had earlier requested. As of December 12 the troops at his disposal in the immediate vicinity of New Orleans were placed as follows:

> In Fort St. Charles Capt. Humphreys[']s Company Corps of Artillery.
> In Barracks 7th Regiment U.S. Infantry.
> On Marignys Canal. Capt. Gordons Company of Volunteer Infantry from Rapide[s].
> In the Fauxburgh St. Mary. Capt. Smith[']s Dragoons and Capt. Griffith[']s Company of Mounted Volunteer Rangers from Feliciana.
> At Declouets house lower Fauxburgh, Captain Dubuchet[']s Hussars from Tech[e].
> At Fort St. John a Detachment from the 7th Infantry of 1 Sub. 1 Sergt. 1 Corporal and 19 privates.
> On the Lafourche Capt. Hicks[']s Company of Louisiana drafted Militia.
> At Barataria Capt. Dupas[']s Company of Louisiana drafted Militia.
> At English Turn a Detachment of the Louisiana drafted Militia. Under Col. Alexander Declouet.(22)

In addition, guards composed of various units of local militia were stationed at all bayous determined to be accessible to the British. Most of these men were ill-supplied, some were without arms, and many were undisciplined. Contrary to popular conception, Jackson did not immediately meld the diverse ethnic populations to his support. Many resisted his imposition of new restrictions on free commerce as well as his stubbornness and intolerance of their work performance. The diversity in language and culture was not easily to be overcome, and there existed much resentment toward the free black militia units. Consequently, disciplining and training troops with little inclination to the physical labor required for erecting defenses proved difficult at best. Their numbers, together with those of the available regulars, totaled about

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21. (Cont.) Borgne. Latour to Jackson, ca. early December, 1814. Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division. Chicago Historical Society.

22. Lieutenant Colonel William MacRea to Jackson, Dec. 12, 1814, in Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 120.

2,000. Still enroute to the city were the Tennesseans under Coffee and Carroll and the Mississippi dragoons, four troops commanded by Major Hinds. So, too, were General Thomas and 2,300 Kentuckians. The continued absence of these reinforcements agitated Jackson, as did his lack of arms and ammunition. A supply scheduled to reach New Orleans from Pittsburgh had not yet arrived; in fact, Carroll's troops descending the Mississippi on flatboats reached Natchez on December 13 to find a keelboat laden with arms for Jackson. He outfitted his command with some of the weapons and ammunition.(23)

Besides these conventional forces, Jackson also attracted unconventional ones in the form of the Baratarian privateers led by the redoubtable Jean Laffite. Laffite had his headquarters at Grand Terre Island at the entrance of Barataria Bay. From there he and his followers had managed a lucrative trade in smuggling that only recently had been threatened by a destructive raid led by Commander Patterson. Having spurned a British offer promising reward for his intimate knowledge of the bayou country and for the services of his men and equipment, Laffite approached a dubious Jackson and succeeded in cementing a working relationship that would end further government action against the Baratarians and legally absolve them for past wrongs. "Mr. Lafitte [sic] solicited for himself and for all the Baratarians," wrote Lacarriere Latour, "the honour of serving under our banners, that they might have an opportunity of proving that if they had infringed the revenue laws, yet none was more ready than they to defend the country and combat its enemies."(24) The Baratarians brought to Jackson's forces knowledgeable, trained, and seasoned fighters, many of whom were skilled artillerists. Some formed units of their own under designated Baratarian leaders; others

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23. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 68-69; Remini, Andrew Jackson, pp. 64-65; Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, v-vi; Tatum, "Journal," p. 103; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 298-99; James, Border Captain, pp. 230-31; DeGrummond, Baratarians, 60, 63, 79. See also, "Copy of Muster Roll of the Battalion, Orleans Volunteers during the invasion of Louisiana by the English Army in 1814-1815." (Unpublished, undated typescript in the Louisiana State Museum Library).

24. Historical Memoir, p. 71.

joined existing companies for service at Petite Coquilles, Fort St. Philip, and Fort St. John. They also furnished valuable munitions and war matériel. In particular, wrote Jackson later, "I procured from them 7500 flints for pistols and boarding peaces [sic], which was solely the supply of flints for all my militia and if it had not been for this providential aid the country must have fallen."(25) Laffite claimed to have had enough ammunition to furnish an army 30,000 strong. During the crisis, he was able to provide powder from his own munitions depot in Barataria.(26)

Jackson's anticipated land forces easily outnumbered his naval component at New Orleans. Only six small gunboats and several smaller craft guarded the waterways. The gunboats, a survival of former President Thomas Jefferson's "Mosquito Fleet" naval policy, were in the charge of Commander Patterson, who on Jackson's advice dispatched one to Fort St. Philip and the remaining five to ply the waters of Lake Borgne. These latter boats mounted twenty-three guns and carried 182 sailors. Two other vessels, presently unmanned, guarded the river before New Orleans--a schooner, Carolina, and a ship, Louisiana.(27) The gunboats on Lake Borgne formed the first line of defense for the city. The principal mission of the force was one of reconnaissance and intelligence--to discover and report on the approach of the enemy. Secondly, the boats

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25. Jackson to Hugh L. White, February 7, 1827, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, III, 339.

26. For more about Laffite, the British offer, and the Baratarian situation in 1814, see Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 13-14, 18-20, 22-23, 72, xiii-xiv, 253-55; John Snyder, "Jean Lafitte and the British Offer of 1814," Louisiana History, XX (Spring, 1979), pp. 159-67; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 81, 82, 122; James, Border Captain, p. 229; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 85-86. A biography of Laffite is in Stanley Clisby Arthur, Jean Laffite, Gentleman Rover (New Orleans: Harmonson, Publisher, 1952).

27. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 63; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 165-66; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 34-35; Theodore Roosevelt, The Naval War of 1812; or, the History of the United States Navy during the Last War with Great Britain, to which is Appended an Account of the Battle of New Orleans (Orig. pub. 1882. Reprint, New York: Haskell House Publishers, Ltd., 1968), p. 343.

were to defend the post of Petite Coquilles, which in turn guarded the strait from Lake Borgne into Lake Pontchartrain. They were also to guard against British attempts to gain entrance into any of the bayous bordering Lake Borgne's western and southwestern shores. If, in spite of their limited capabilities, the gunboats failed, then the British would assuredly gain a foothold within striking distance of New Orleans.(28)

Although he anticipated the approach of the British presently, Jackson did not know precisely where the enemy fleet was located. He still expected the attack to come via Mobile, but he did not know the size of his opposing army. In fact, nearly 9,000 British soldiers were enroute to New Orleans, a force constituted from troops already in service in America augmented by troops from Ireland and France as well as black regiments brought from the West Indies. Vice Admiral Alexander Cochrane commanded the fleet of well-armed warships and transports bringing the soldiers to Louisiana. Overall command of the New Orleans campaign rested with Lieutenant General Sir Edward Pakenham, who was enroute from London. The original plan of attack, as devised by the British cabinet, called for secretly assembling the troops at Barbados, then striking in diversion at the Carolina coast while the main force converged on New Orleans. But through a variety of circumstances this strategy changed and Cochrane's fleet of fifty ships sailed instead from Jamaica, reaching the Chandeleur Islands in Mississippi Sound on December 8.(29)

Commander Patterson was apprised of the British position and word went directly to Jackson in New Orleans. As the fleet rested the British officers weighed the different

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28. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 34; James, Border Captain, p. 223.

29. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 25; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 161; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 343; James, Border Captain, p. 207; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 75-76; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 82. For overview maps showing the location of the British fleet approaching New Orleans, see Latour, "A General Map of the seat of War in Louisiana and West Florida. . . ," in Historical Memoir; and Abraham R. Ellery, "Map of the seat of the War in Louisiana in the years 1814 and 1815." Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

approaches to the city, finally determining that an ascent of the Mississippi was unfeasible because of the unmanageable current of its high water. Other routes were deemed difficult and time consuming, and defensive works protected the Rigolets and Bayou St. John. Instead, the approach would be made across Lake Borgne and through the bayous to the Mississippi below the city. On December 13 Jackson received news that the British had gun barges with which to maneuver on the lakes, and that it appeared they intended to land their troops soon. At the time, the city was defended by less than 2,000 men.(30)

The first action between the British and Americans occurred, not unexpectedly, on Lake Borgne on December 14. Two days earlier British sloops and frigates had anchored outside the shallow lake-inlet in preparation for landing troops. That night forty-two heavily armed launches and three unarmed gigs with nearly one thousand seamen aboard advanced in three divisions into the waters of Lake Borgne. Next morning the advancing flotilla was sighted by the Americans under Lieutenant Thomas Ap Catesby Jones who, on instructions from Commander Patterson, had anchored his gunboats near the Malheureux Islands. Jones's command totaled 182 seamen; his gunboats mounted twenty-three pieces of ordnance. Since the 9th the American vessels had watched British warships maneuvering near Dauphine Island and between Ship and Cat Islands. Jones at once directed a boat to Bay St. Louis to destroy supplies stored there, but the British attacked and nearly captured it. The brief diversion allowed Jones to head his gunboats toward the Rigolets to protect the post at Petite Coquilles. But dying winds prevented the passage. Lacking maneuverability, Jones abandoned his plan, taking anchor instead near Malheureux Island Pass.

On the morning of the 14th the British launches closed in on the American position, capturing the tender, Alligator. Jones aligned his gunboats in the channel, preparing to meet the invaders, but forceful currents caused several to drift away. The British closed to just beyond gun range then stopped for a time before advancing. At the approach, the

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30. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. xxxii; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 459; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 168-69; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 80, 106-07; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 64-65. For discussion of the reasons for the British rejection of alternative approaches, see Mahon, "British Command Decisions," pp. 69-71.

American craft unleashed a powerful artillery fire which the British vessels quickly answered. Within an hour one British barge collided with an American gunboat and hand-to-hand combat ensued with the British suffering severe casualties. Two other barges were sunk in the melee before the British temporarily pulled back. But when Lieutenant Jones received a disabling wound the enemy pressed the attack and succeeded in capturing all of the boats. American casualties in the Battle of Lake Borgne numbered six killed and thirty-five wounded; the British suffered seventeen killed and seventy-seven wounded, many of whom died later. The capture of the American craft left the coast without naval defense and allowed the British to freely choose their point of debarkation. The defeat also ended Jackson's primary means of gaining intelligence of British movements.(31)

After the Lake Borgne battle Jackson made judicious distribution of his available forces. He notified Coffee, Carroll, and Thomas of what had transpired, then sent a regiment of militia to bolster the battalion on Gentilly Road, the most likely point, he believed, for the British to strike. He ordered Major Lacoste at Chef Menteur to erect a redoubt with ditch and to arm it with two field guns. Two regiments would stay to defend the city, but another was posted downriver on the right bank while more volunteers took station among the plantations on the left side of the Mississippi. At English Turn Morgan commanded still other volunteers, while additional militia units

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31. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 55, 57-58, 59-61, 64; Jackson to Secretary of War James Monroe, December 27, 1814, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 126-27; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 77-81; William James, The Naval History of Great Britain, from the Declaration of War by France in 1793, to the Accession of George IV (6 vols.; London: Richard Bentley, 1837), VI, 357-60; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, pp. 343-46; Alfred T. Mahan, Sea Power in Its Relations to the War of 1812 (2 vols. orig. pub. 1905. Reprint, New York: Haskell House Publishers, Ltd., 1969), II, 389-90; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 270-74; Reilly, British at the Gates, p. 225. For correspondence relative to the Lake Borgne battle, including a report by Jones, see Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. xxxii-xxxvi, cxl-cxliii. Report of a court of inquiry absolving Jones from blame in the defeat is in ibid., pp. cxxxii-cxxxv.

were being organized above New Orleans. Two artillery units, one Baratarian, the other composed of volunteers from the city, augmented a garrison at Fort St. John commanded by Major I.B. Plauche. On December 17, three days after the naval defeat, work began on two batteries of 24-pounders along Bayou St. John. At Fort St. Charles Jackson posted his regulars plus another Baratarian company. On December 17 he learned that Major Walter H. Overton was progressing with the works at Fort St. Philip, improvements all the more urgent with news that the British had captured the defenses at The Balize. Overton reported that British spies had been operating on the river around his post.(32)

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32. Jackson to Monroe, December 16, 1814, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 116; Tatum, "Journal," p. 113; Latour, Historical Memoir, 64, 65, 66; Overton to Jackson, December 17, 1814. Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division, Chicago Historical Society; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 113-14; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 12. On December 15 two of Patterson's officers were sent under flag of truce to the British fleet to determine the condition of Jones's men taken from the gunboats. The two officers were likewise incarcerated and held until mid-January. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 74-77.

CHAPTER III

THE BRITISH ADVANCE AND THE NIGHT BATTLE OF DECEMBER 23, 1814

The British wasted little time in pressing their advantage following the defeat of the gunboats, but they were clearly not interested in approaching New Orleans up the Mississippi. Although British reconnaissances occurred in the area of Chef Menteur, they were advised of an unobstructed waterway along the southwestern shore of Lake Borgne that was navigable for barge-sized craft. Exploring Bayou Bienvenue, British officers aided by local fishermen determined that it proceeded toward the Mississippi, eventually joining several plantation canals that ran near the river. At the river, moreover, was a road leading directly into New Orleans. On this information, Admiral Cochrane and Major General John Keane, army commander pending Pakenham's arrival, decided to debark their troops at the mouth of Bayou Bienvenue. For reasons then unknown and never since determined the bayou had been overlooked by Jackson's men and was not blocked, although a small picket guard was posted there. Meantime, the British advance vessels had anchored off Pea Island in preparation for landing the command and on the evening of the 19th the troops were quartered in makeshift huts on the island. With insufficient craft, plans were made to carry the men in relays from Pea Island, and on the 21st they began boarding launches and barges for the trip to Bayou Bienvenue (called Bayou Catalon by the British). Next morning the troops pulled out, accompanied by some artillery. Landing was made without incident, and a body of royal engineers prepared the way through the glades and ditches bordering the bayou.(1) Latour offered the following description of Bayou Bienvenue:

> This bayou, formerly called the river St. Francis, under which designation it is laid down in some

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1. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. clx, cxliii-cxlv; Sir Alexander Cochrane, "Narrative of the British Attack on New Orleans, 1814-15." Manuscript Division, New York Historical Society; Jackson to Monroe, December 27, 1814, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 126-27; James, Border Captain, p. 237; DeGrummond, Baratarians, 64, 65, 69, 71; Augustus C. Buell, History of Andrew Jackson: Pioneer, Patriot, Soldier, Politician,President (2 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), I, 372; Mahon, "British Command Decisions," pp. 71-73.

> old maps, is the creek through which run all the waters of a large basin, of a triangular form, about eighty square miles in surface, bounded on the south by the Mississippi, on the west by New Orleans, by bayou Sauvage or Chef-Menteur on the northwest, and on the east by lake Borgne, into which it empties. It receives the waters of several other bayous, formed by those of the surrounding cypress swamps and prairies, and of innumerable little streams from the low grounds along the river. It commences behind the suburb Marigny, at New Orleans, divides the triangle nearly into two equal parts from the summit to the lake which forms its basis, and runs in a south-easterly direction. It is navigable for vessels of one hundred tons as far as the forks of the canal of Piernas' plantation, twelve miles from its mouth. Its breadth is from one hundred and ten to one hundred and fifty yards, and it has six feet water on the bar, at common tides, and nine feet at spring tides. Within the bar, there is for a considerable extent, sufficient water for vessels of from two to three hundred tons. Its principal branch is that which is called bayou Mazant, which runs towards the southwest, and receives the waters of the canals of the plantations of Villere, Lacoste, and Laronde.(2)

Colonel William Thornton led the first body of British into Bayou Bienvenue accompanied by General Keane. Crossing the lake the vessels were crowded and difficult to row and a heavy rain fell on the men and flooded the bottoms of the boats. By midnight the wind-tossed craft ferrying the advance of 1,800 troops out of 2,400 comprising the first division reached the mouth of the bayou. The approach alarmed the American picket guard which was ultimately captured, whereupon the flotilla passed down Bayou Bienvenue six miles to its confluence with Bayou Mazant. Then it bore left down the latter course, passing from the trembling marshlands into the broad cypress swamp and wooded tracts along the high ground bordering the Mississippi. At 4 a.m. the first barges approached Villere's canal, which ran to within two miles of the Mississippi. There the men debarked to rest before proceeding on, and a Union Jack was raised in a tree while the band gave forth with "God Save the King." At 10 the troops pressed forward, cutting seven-foot reeds as they went to broaden the trail along the canal for those who followed. The advance reached Villere's

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2. Historical Memoir, pp. 78-79.

plantation house soon after, almost capturing Villere's son who escaped across the river to sound the alarm. Several American pickets were apprehended on the plantation, however.

The first British forces to reach the proximity of the Mississippi one-half mile west of Villere's composed members of the Fourth, Ninety-fifth, and Eighty-fifth infantry regiments. More than 2,500 additional troops of the Twenty-first, Forty-fourth, and Ninety-Third regiments of fusiliers, plus additional artillery, were yet enroute and awaiting the return of the barges down the bayou. Advance pickets stretched back over several hundred yards between the river and a dense wood that fell away into swampland to the right. Other pickets assumed posts behind the line. Instead of immediately marching down the road to the city, Keane decided to let his chilled command rest, thereby, according to most opinion, missing an opportunity to boldly strike New Orleans a devastating blow. The troops assumed a leisurely bivouac some 300 yards behind a four-foot high levee on the river approximately halfway between the plantation buildings of Villere and those of LaCoste. As they worked to fashion crude huts from sugar cane stubble near the Villere mansion some of Thornton's command labored to place two 3-pounder field guns on carriages.(3) The British position at evening, December 23, was described in some detail by Abraham R. Ellery, a New Orleans attorney:

> Their extreme left rested on the River near which the levee not only served as a strong flanking entrenchment, but from its being also in many places double, left a convenient inter one, for pushing

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3. Ibid., pp. 77-78, 84-85, 86-87, 92, 93-94, 230-31, clxi; Cochrane, "Narrative"; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815." Manuscript Division. New York Public Library; Alexander Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961), p. 7. Major Forrest, "Journal of the operations Against New Orleans in 1814 and 1815," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961), p. 115; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 171, 177-178; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 293, 300-01; Carson I.A. Ritchie, "The Lousiana Campaign," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961), pp. 34-35; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 460; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 44, 45, 46; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 122-23, 124-25, 131-32, 135-36; James, Border Captain, p. 239; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 71-73. See also Latour, "Map Shewing the Landing of the British Army. . .," in Historical Memoir.

> forward advanced parties, & laying ambuscades. Their extreme right was protected by the swamp, & their right partially covered by the standing cane & high herbage of the different plantations, where they could sort of conceal their riflemen & sharp shooters. Their centre occupied the open fields & the road. In front there was ground enough upon which to form & fight an army of twenty thousand men, presenting an area containing about two miles square intersected only by a few small ditches & open fences. There they had a fine field, upon which to form & maneuvre their troops. . . .(4)

Ellery described the cultivable land along the river as frequently being subjected to the flooding of the Mississippi. The ground was inclined toward the swamp and averaged about one mile wide. The ground occupied at Villere's was depicted as being "unusually wide, and no position upon the river could have been better taken for either defensive or offensive operations."(5)

Andrew Jackson learned of the British position seven miles below New Orleans on the afternoon of their arrival. While initially suspecting the movement as a feint to divert attention from a landing at Chef Menteur, he soon comprehended the reality of the British presence. He wasted no time in bringing all his available forces together, determining to march immediately and strike the enemy before the advance proceeded. Reviewing the troops at old Fort St. Charles, Jackson called out his regulars, the Seventh and Forty-fourth infantry regiments, also Lieutenant Samuel Spotts's artillery contingent, a party of marines, a corps of New Orleans volunteers, and a corps of freedmen of color. He called in Coffee's recently arrived Tennesseans from above the city, and Carroll's brigade camped to the east. Jackson counted on these militia, plus Hinds's Mississippi dragoons and two units of riflemen and Louisiana mounted gunmen, to bolster his command. Still worried lest the British attack on two fronts, Jackson supported his defenses on the Gentilly Plain with three regiments of Louisiana militia commanded by Governor Claiborne.

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4. Abraham Redwood Ellery, "Notes and Comments upon the Subject of a Yankee Song entitled, 'The Retreat of the English'" (Unpublished manuscript dated 1815 in the Manuscript Division, New York Public Library).

5. Ibid.

Some of Carroll's Tennesseans were sent to offer additional support. The remaining troops gathered below New Orleans at the Montreuil plantation. They came from all around the city, from Fort St. John and Fort St. Charles and from camps on the right bank. Once assembled, the army marched downstream along the levee road, Coffee and the van reaching the area of Rodriguez Canal between the Chalmette and Macarty Plantations about 4 p.m. At the approach, General Keane sent a skirmish line forward from Villere's to protect his front. An American reconnoitering party advanced cautiously, but retired when fired upon by the British with two of Jackson's men being wounded and a horse killed. The British remained in bivouac, the troops building fires for cooking and for countering the evening chill. A slow fog enveloped the camp stretched out between an area some distance back from the levee on the left and the cypress swamp on the right. The right of the line angled back from the swamp as if anticipating attack from that quarter. Slowly Jackson's force occupied the de la Ronde plantation grounds between the canal and the enemy bivouac. Keane's army did not move.

Near 6 o'clock Jackson began maneuvering part of his command to flank the British right. He sent Coffee's riflemen, together with the New Orleans sharpshooters under Captain Thomas Beale and the Mississippi dragoons by a circuitous route to the edge of the swamp behind de la Ronde's where they might turn and charge the British, pressing them toward the river. Coffee's riflemen advanced in the growing darkness, then stationed themselves along the line separating the de la Ronde and La Coste properties. Meantime, Jackson arrayed his remaining soldiers nearer the river. He placed his artillery, marines, and part of the Seventh regiment along the levee road with the balance of the Seventh and the Forty-fourth regiments to their left, followed by the militia battalions of Plauche and Daquin on across the level ground to the de la Ronde home. He directed the schooner Carolina, Commander Patterson in charge, to pull up along the left bank of the river opposite the British camp and at the appropriate time deliver broadsides of grapeshot against the bivouac. Once Carolina began her barrage, the other forces were to close quickly on the camp. Meanwhile, Morgan's command at English Turn was instructed to cause a disturbance downriver during the night to divert the attention of the British.(6)

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6. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 87-88, 89-90, 91-92, 97-98; Vincent Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres or, Reminiscences of the Life of a Former Merchant (Orig. pub. 1854. Reprint, Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries

At dusk, December 23, the opposing forces consisted as follows:

Americans

Regular Light Artillery	62
Seventh U.S. Infantry	460
Forty-fourth U.S. Infantry	335
Detachment U.S. Marines	66
Major Jean Baptiste Plauche's Battalion Louisiana Militia	289
Major Louis Daquin's Battalion of Free colored	212
Captain Pierre Jugeat's Company of Choctaws	52
Brigadier General John Coffee's Mounted Rifles	625
Captain Thomas Hinds's Mississippi Dragoons	118
Captain Thomas Beale's New Orleans Rifles	68
Total	2287(7)

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6. (Cont.) Press, 1972), pp. 210-11; "General Carroll's Expedition to New Orleans" (Unpublished manuscript, ca. 1815, in the Special Collections Division, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans), p. 49; Tatum, "Journal," p. 107; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 382, 385, 386; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 83, 85-86; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 170-71, 176, 178; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 83-84, 86, 88-89; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 98-99; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 135.

7. These figures are taken from Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 376-77, and are based upon the report of Jackson's inspector general, Colonel Hayne. For slight variants on these figures, see Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 104-05; Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 303; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 304-305; and Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 46-47. The Mississippi dragoons, occupying the rear of the Lacoste tract, took no part in the action. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 105-06.

British

Fourth Regiment of Foot	916
Eighty-fifth Regiment of Light Infantry	797
Ninety-fifth Regiment (Rifle Corps)	717
Detachment Sappers and Miners	100
Detachment Rocket Brigade	80
Total	2610(8)

As directed by Jackson Carolina and two subordinate gunboats opened the unusual nighttime engagement. The schooner carried ninety men, many of them Baratarians, and fourteen guns. Carolina reached a position opposite the British camp when at 7:30 p.m. Patterson opened his artillery, roaring forth one broadside of grape after another into the bivouacked command. The British responded with confusion, trying to extinguish their fires and throwing forward their artillery and Congreve rocket detachment to meet the threat. But rockets and musketry did no good, the artillery was deemed too ineffective to use, and the troops were forced to pull back beyond range of the vessel's discharges. Some took positions behind the low levee; already many men were wounded by the onslaught.

One half hour after Caroline began the attack her guns fell silent. Then the red, white, and blue trail from a rocket dashed across the sky. To the west Jackson's command began closing, the marines pressing forward along the moonlit road running along the levee, the Seventh and Forty-fourth infantry regiments marching in column to their left. As the river curved to the left, pushing the men of the Seventh farther inland, they pressed Plauche's and Daquin's battalions to the rear of the formation. Approaching the still-flickering campfires of the British, Jackson abruptly brought his force into line and directed the charge. The two 6-pounders on the road began firing, causing the British to try to take them, but troops of the Seventh Infantry responded to save the guns and the marines, although one of the pieces overturned during the melee. The American troops surged ahead toward the British encampment, the Seventh and Forty-fourth regiments making initial contact and routing the British from behind a hedge and

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8. These figures represent an amalgamation from Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 374-75; and Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 103-04. Latour's compilation, made within a year of the battle, was largely based on guesswork, he acknowledging that "the precise amount of the enemy's forces in this action cannot be exactly ascertained. . . ." Ibid., p. 103.

ditch. Once again, Caroline opened her guns to rake the levee. Meantime, Coffee's brigade drove swiftly forward from its position 1,000 yards from Jackson's command near the woods and swamp in a movement that caught the right flank of the British unaware and succeeded in capturing the commanding officer of the Ninety-fifth Rifles and about fifty soldiers. Almost simultaneously, Plauche's New Orleans battalion rushed onto the ground and shattered the line held near the river by the newly arrived British Forty-fourth Regiment of Foot. The Fourth Regiment of Foot was held in reserve throughout the conflict.

The swift stroke succeeded and the British fell back, complete in their surprise over the attack. Jackson's Forty-fourth Infantry continued forcing the flank of the British as Plauche's battalion pressed its advantage. In the close fighting friend and foe became indistinguishable and, reportedly, some Americans fell at the hands of their own troops. As Jackson consolidated his position toward the river, Coffee attended to matters on the left with certain difficulty. The British at that end of the field, principally members of the Eighty-fifth and Ninety-fifth regiments, had not been intimidated by the schooner and they offered keener resistance to the Americans. Coffee's men drove the Eighty-fifth back, but the regiment regrouped and charged forward again and again. Coffee committed several tactical errors, too, that threatened his previous gains. For one thing, he had opened the action somewhat prematurely and found himself having to extend his line farther left, a movement that spread his command thinly and permitted gaps in his front through which large numbers of the enemy passed. Meantime, additional reinforcements of four companies of the Twenty-first Fusiliers arrived to help beat the Tennesseans back, finally securing the right flank. Consequently, the British captured nearly half of Beale's riflemen while the fighting under Coffee degenerated into a host of small encounters in the smoky darkness between bayonet-thrusting British soldiers and ax-wielding Tennesseans. Four hours after the struggle began the British held a line on the Lacoste Plantation bordering Lacoste's canal. By then Coffee's command had merged with Jackson's and was pushing toward the levee. Many of the Eighty-fifth had withdrawn behind an abandoned secondary levee from whence they directed a stiff musketry against Coffee's men. Near 11 p.m. the British suddenly closed the encounter, pulling back in the direction of the Villere mansion. Despite the arrival of General Carroll and his Tennesseans, Jackson decided not to pursue but to reassemble his scattered command. He yet feared the British might strike New Orleans by an alternative approach and did not want to commit his army to a prolonged engagement after

dawn. He ordered Coffee to withdraw to the de la Ronde plantation where his troops had first joined the battle. Soon more British reinforcements arrived at Villere's canal, notably the remaining men of the Twenty-first and Ninety-third, and Keane ordered them out in skirmish order, advancing toward the former British encampment area. The movement provoked additional shooting between the reinforcements and Coffee's Tennesseans, but the larger engagement was over. The British took up a line consisting of the Ninety-fifth next to the Mississippi, followed by the Eighty-fifth, the Twenty-first, the Ninety-third, and the Forty-fourth, the latter posted in the woods adjoining the swamp. Later, to protect the troops from the still-firing Carolina, Keane withdrew some of them to near the debarking point at Villere's Canal. It became clear that the British must somehow destroy the potent schooner.(9)

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9. This account of the December 23 battle is drawn essentially from the following sources: "M. Gen. Keane's Report," December 26, 1815. BPRO, London, War Office 1, Vol. 141; "General Carroll's Expedition to New Orleans," pp. 49-50; Cochrane, "Narrative of the British Attack on New Orleans, 1814-15"; Ellery, "Notes and Comments"; Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemisphere, pp. 211-12; "Particulars in relation to Battle of New Orleans furnished me by a French gentleman, in 1828--Summer." Oran Follett Papers. Box 2. Manuscript Division. Cincinnati Historical Society; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 95-100, 106, 107, 108-10, 112; Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 129; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 179-80, 182; Powell A. Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans" (Unpublished manuscript in the J. Fair Hardin Collection, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge), pp. 4, 6; Tatum, "Journal," pp. 107-11; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, pp. 347, 465-68; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 390-93; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 307-09; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," pp. 35-37, 38; James, Border Captain, pp. 242, 243-44; Reilly, British at the Gates, pp. 244-45; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 91-93; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 47, 48-49; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 101-06. Official reports of the encounter appear in Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. xlii-xliv, xlv-xlvii. For historical troop movement maps of the encounter, see Latour, "Plan of the Attack made by Major Gen. Jackson on a Division of the British Army commanded by Major Gen. J. Keane, on the 23rd December 1814 at 7 o'clock at night," in Historical Memoir; and "Sketch of an Attack made by Majr. Genl. Jackson on a Division of the British Army commanded by Majr. Genl. Kean [sic] on the evening of 23 Decr. 1814," in Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson.

Casualties in the December 23 night engagement would probably have been much greater had the event occurred in daylight. Twenty-four Americans died and 115 men were wounded, while 74 were declared missing and presumably were captives of the British. The British themselves lost 46 killed, 167 wounded, and 64 missing, the latter captured by Jackson's command.(10) During the fighting the American command of General Morgan stationed at English Turn advanced to a point at Jumonville's plantation just below the British at Villere's. Some of Morgan's scouts exchanged musketry with British rearguard pickets on a muddy tract east of the main fighting, but no injuries occurred. After the battle died Morgan waited until 3 a.m. before turning his 350 troops back toward English Turn.(11)

There was much significance to the battle of December 23. Jackson's surprise attack dulled the British reflexes and inclined their leaders toward caution giving the Americans the necessary time to assume and consolidate a strong defensive position. Jackson had hoped to bloody the enemy and drive him into precipitate retreat, but in this he did not succeed. The assault nonetheless deluded General Keane and his subordinates into thinking that American troops and resources were far greater than they were. Latour stated that "the result of the affair . . . was the saving of Louisiana," because it stalled a British approach that would likely have marched next day on New Orleans with highly disciplined troops encountering only what little impediment the militia could provide. Further, the engagement gave confidence to Jackson's command and enhanced their confidence in his leadership.(12) As a contemporary observer noted, "the battle of the eight of

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10. Ibid., pp. 102-03, lviii-lix; Diary of a British Officer, in Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 109; Jackson to Monroe, December 27, 1814, in ibid., 128; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 180; Tatum, "Journal," p. 110; John Henry Cooke, A Narrative of Events in the South of France, and of the Attack on New Orleans in 1814 and 1815 (London: T. and W. Boone, 1835), pp. 196-97.

11. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 101-02; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 94; Reilly, British at the Gates, p. 245.

12. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 112; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 396-97; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 180; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, p. 314; Mahon, "British Command Decisions," pp. 73-74.

Jan'y was won on the 23d of Dec'r."(13) On the other hand, the British regarded the outcome as a victory for them, since they managed to withstand the shock of Jackson's surprise and ward off his troops under trying conditions.(14)

Following the cessation of firing near midnight, Jackson withdrew his army back to the de la Ronde plantation buildings where they remained until 4 a.m. Then he pulled back one and one-half miles across the plains of the de la Ronde, Bienvenue, Chalmette, and Rodriguez plantations and took up a position he had occupied the previous afternoon behind Rodriguez Canal next to the Macarty plantation. The withdrawal was orderly, covered by Plauche's battalion. The artillery was ordered to assume a position on the levee road near its juncture with Rodriguez Canal so that it might sweep the front should the British decide to advance. Jackson left the Seventh Infantry, Hinds's Dragoons, and a unit of Feliciana cavalry posted on the de la Ronde land to keep abreast of developments in the British camp. While desirous of renewing the attack during daylight, Jackson learned of the arriving British reinforcements from his scouts and decided not to risk another encounter. The decision seems to have been made in consultation with Captain Henri de St. Geme, who had earlier made a personal study of the defense of the city. St. Geme advised Jackson not to reopen the battle because Keane's large army would quickly defeat the militia on open ground. He urged Jackson to take up a defensive position behind Rodriguez Canal, the same canal reportedly pointed out to St. Geme years earlier by a French fortification strategist as a most suitable line of defense for inexperienced troops. A natural advantage lay in the fact that at that point the cypress swamp jutted toward the river, thereby narrowing the tract before the canal to about 600 yards. Furthermore, directly behind the line stood the galleried, two storied Macarty mansion, providing an excellent vantage point from which Jackson might survey the terrain in all directions.(15)

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13. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Impressions Respecting New Orleans. Diary and Sketches, 1818-1820. Ed. by Samuel Wilson, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 73.

14. Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," p. 38.

15. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 100-01, 112-13; Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, pp. 212-13; "General Carroll's Expedition," p. 51; Tatum, "Journal," p. 111; Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 300-01; DeGrummond, Baratarians,

As the Americans retired onto the Macarty property Jackson directed his engineers to cut the levee in several places, flooding the open land between his position and that of the British. The high Mississippi waters cascaded through the crevices, overflowing the plantation tracts and furnishing some security for the soldiers beginning their labors at Rodriguez Canal. Indeed, the water quickly filled the canal. In about a week's time, however, the river level fell sharply and the advantage of the inundation proved only temporary, though the affected terrain was thoroughly drenched in the interim. The device successfully retarded British efforts at reconnaissance, although by the evening of December 24 their troops had advanced to occupy the Lacoste plantation. Moreover, the flooding of the canals enabled the British to transport their heavy artillery more easily.(16) Next day Jackson ordered Morgan to move his troops across the Mississippi. One hundred were sent to occupy Fort St. Leon while the remainder were directed to ascend the right bank and post themselves opposite Jackson's force on the Flood plantation. Morgan also received directions to cut the levee at Jumonville's, just below the British camp, similar to the operation conducted upstream. The British later filled in the gap, however.(17)

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15. (Cont.) pp. 96, 108-09; Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," p. 7; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 183; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 149. Concerning his reluctance to attack, Jackson wrote: "The nature of the troops under my command, mostly militia, did not allow of offensive movements, in an open country, in presence of a numerous and well desiplined [sic] army. . . ." Jackson to Monroe, January 8, 1815. Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Presidential Papers Microfilm, Series 3, Vols. F-K, Reel 62.

16. Tatum, "Journal," p. 112; Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 113; Ellery, "Notes and Comments"; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 111-12; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 110; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," pp. 38-39; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 178; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 52.

17. Dickson, "Journal of Operations," p. 12; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 100, 111; Edward Livingston to Morgan, December 25, 1814. Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Presidential Papers Microfilm. Series 3, Vols. F-K, Reel 62.

CHAPTER IV

JACKSON'S LINE AT RODRIGUEZ CANAL

With his placement of troops behind Rodriguez Canal, coupled with the cutting of the levees to his front, General Jackson practically and philosophically embraced centuries-old tenets of defensive warfare, the realm of siegecraft and fortifications theory. The operation of "inundation"--"the art of letting water into a country, so that it shall be overflowed to prevent the approach of an enemy"--had been precisely adopted from the theoretical manuals.(1) Inundation constituted an elementary facet in the practice of "field fortification," the art of throwing up temporary defensive works as security against a foe. Field fortification differed from "permanent fortification," which comprised the erection of elaborate permanent works complete with broad moat and extensive rampart such as was used in masonry coastal fortifications in the United States and in major city defenses in Europe.(2)

Field fortification technique took advantage of natural qualities of the terrain. "Marshes, water courses, wet ditches, precipices, &c., should . . . be regarded as natural obstacles," wrote one theorist, noting that they were "not solely to be relied on."(3) The ground before Jackson possessed several of these qualities, and notably several wet, or drainage, ditches traced across the tract immediately to his front. Theorists argued that such ditches should be filled in or otherwise guarded to make certain an enemy could not ensconce himself there. At Chalmette Jackson had neither the opportunity, with the plain flooded, nor the time to take that

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1. Louis de Tousard, American Artillerist's Companion, or Elements of Artillery (2 vols; orig. pub. Philadelphia: C. and A. Conrad and Company, 1809. Reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1969), I, 507.

2. See ibid., pp. 444-45, 448.

3. Dennis Hart Mahan, A Complete Treatise on Field Fortification, with the General Outlines of the Principles Regulating the Arrangement, the Attack, and the Defense of Permanent Works (Orig. pub. 1836. Reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968), p. 64.

precaution. Furthermore, an effort to fill in the ditches using the watery mud at hand would have been fatuous, although the abundance of cane stubble in the vicinity might have been so employed with success. Theorists also recommended that "all trees, underwood, hedges, enclosures, and houses" be levelled to insure a clear field of fire for the artillery. In some respects this was to be accomplished at Chalmette.(4)

Rodriguez Canal, by its situation, offered Jackson the best means of constructing viable defenses in the shortest amount of time. The position was ideal in that it could be commanded neither from its flank nor from the rear. The canal itself provided a natural ditch beside which an intrenchment might quickly be raised. Moreover, the position could be made difficult of access and still offer security in case a retreat was warranted.(5) An intrenchment was the fundamental component of field fortification, comprising "an continued Obstacle, from behind which Men may Defend themselves with comparative safety."(6) Jackson's finished defenses along Rodriguez Canal might accurately be regarded as an artificial intrenchment formed utilizing natural, or existing, features, in this case the canal.(7)

The intrenchment consisted of several elements, principally the parapet, banquette, berm, ditch, and glacis. The parapet was basically a refined mass of earth, built of a height and thickness to protect the men behind it. Recommended height for a parapet was normally six to seven and one-half feet.

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4. Ibid., p. 65.

5. J. Jebb, Practical Treatise on Strengthening and Defending Outposts, Villages, House, Bridges, &c., in Reference to the Duties of Officers in Command of Picquets, as laid down in the Field Exercise and Evolutions of the Army (3rd Ed.; London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1848), pp. 10-11. "With a moderate share of luck, some little Slope or Broken Ground will offer itself; and some Hedge or Ditch, Bank, Wall, Road or Wood, will be found, either placed exactly as if it were there on purpose to be Defended, or a Plan could be readily arranged for turning it to some account." Ibid., p. 28.

6. Ibid., p. 1.

7. Ibid., pp. 1, 10.

Thickness varied according to the type of ordnance an enemy was expected to employ against it. If muskets were to comprise the principal opposition, a parapet 3 or 4 feet thick would suffice; if it were to withstand an assault by heavy artillery, a thickness of 18 to 24 feet would be required. Much, too, depended on the quality of soil into which the enemy's projectiles were to bury themselves. If sandy and light or clayey and thick, parapet thickness must be correspondingly adjusted. As the parapet was raised, the earth was rammed to compress it. Since Jackson's line was to withstand an onslaught from British artillery calibred as large as 24-pounders, his workmen might be expected to raise a parapet between 18 and 20 feet thick at the top and between 20 and 24 feet at the bottom along the inner edge of the canal. Interior height of the parapet was estimated at 4½ feet. Plunging surfaces were calculated to be 1 foot for each 6 feet of thickness. The interior slope was to equal 1/3 of the parapet's height, while the exterior slope, facing the ditch, was to equal 1/2 to 2/3 of that height.(8) At the inside foot of the parapet, running throughout the length of the work, a banquette was raised. Ideally the banquette measured 4½ feet wide and stood 2 feet high, its talus sloping to the interior grade. On the outside of the parapet where it joined the ditch a berm some 3 feet wide was usually constructed to prevent heavy soil of the work from sliding away. Often the berm was made with a downward slant to prevent an assaulting foe from gaining a foothold.(9) "In firm soils, the berm may be only eighteen inches to two feet wide; in other cases, as in marshy soils, it may require a width of six feet."(10) Normally, the parapet was raised from earth excavated from the ditch. The ditch for field works was calculated to be at least 9 feet wide, or wider, and 6 to 7½ feet deep. Some theorists urged a width no less than 12 feet. The scarp and counterscarp (inner and outer facing sides of the ditch) sloped inward toward the bottom, the angle of the slope again largely dependent on the type and

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8. Tousard, American Artillerist's Companion, I, 501-02; Mahan, Treatise on Field Fortification, pp. 28, 29-30, 31; Horace Fenwick, Essays on Field Fortification, intended for the Use of the Junior Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers of the British Infantry (Dublin: Richard Milliken and Son, 1833), pp. 91-93; Jebb, Practical Treatise, pp. 12.

9. Tousard, American Artillerist's Companion, I, 501, 502-03.

10. Mahan, Treatise on Field Fortification, p. 33.

weight of soil involved and whether the ditch was to contain water. Sometimes the ditch was filled with brambles or trees with sharpened limbs placed forward, termed abatis.(11) Beyond the ditch was the glacis, usually raised slightly at the edge of the ditch then gradually sloping back to the surrounding grade. The sloping edge of the glacis was arranged to conform with the slight downward angle of the top, or superior talus, of the parapet, so that marksmen might be certain of unobstructed lines of fire into the ranks of an onward rushing enemy. "Want of time," observed one theorist, "often prevents the construction of such glacis."(12)

Ideal field works such as those described were generally erected with precision and dispatch. The works were traced on the ground by engineers using pickets at the necessary distances. Workmen placed at intervals along either side of the area designated for the parapet would then begin to dig, tossing the excavated earth from the ditch and interior area into the staked zone. If manpower permitted, often two lines on each side might expedite matters and the entire labor might be executed quickly. Normally, men were placed at four-foot intervals and the number of workmen required to raise an intrenchment was determined by dividing its projected length by four. Other workmen were employed spreading and ramming the earth, building and revetting slopes, and laying gun platforms. Tools employed by the laborers consisted of spades, shovels, earth-rammers, mallets, pickaxes, saws, hatchets, and bill hooks. With such implements the earthworks were raised, trees cut down, fences re-worked, and abatis and other obstructions manufactured.(13)

When artillery was to be employed along the line or parallel, the intrenchments were modified to accomodate it through the erection of batteries, enclosed fortifications designed to facilitate the operation, as well as the protection, of the guns by sheltering their positions from the enemy. Batteries could be built either as detached units in advance of the main intrenchment or they might be built directly into

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11. Ibid.; Tousard, American Artillerist's Comparison, I, 503, 506.

12. Ibid., p. 503.

13. Jebb, Practical Treatise, pp. 14, 21-22; Fenwick, Essays on Field Fortification, pp. 180-82, 184-86, 187.

the line, although such incorporation was viewed by certain theoreticians as harmful and disruptive to the functioning of the line. Further, the most effective artillery was considered to be that which was most elevated and ordnance placed in a defense constructed primary for infantry use would accordingly have to be raised with much extra labor. Despite that, wrote Louis de Tousard, "the inconvenience which the trenches may suffer from the batteries which are placed there, is not an insuperable obstacle when there is a possibility of doing better." Tousard concluded:

> "[Batteries] are constructed sooner there [in the line] than elsewhere, because they may be begun as soon as the parallel be drawn, whereas it would be necessary to wait till the next night to place them without, and would require much more labour."(14)

Different types of batteries were determined by the nature of their anticipated use. Field batteries, for example, contained light weapons to be employed against troops and which could be moved about to meet varying circumstances. Cross batteries were meant to join one another in directing their fire against a particular target, such as an enemy battery, while direct batteries housed guns that frontally played against an opposing target, striking it at almost a right angle. Breach batteries were designed to concentrate the fire of their pieces against a point of the enemy's rampart to batter its face so that an infantry assault might storm the breach.(15)

Battery construction was somewhat similar to that for the ditch and parapet. Location of the structures was especially significant and could contribute greatly to the outcome of the contest.

> The best position . . . for artillery is on the flanks and salients of a work: because from these points the salients are best protected, and the approaches best swept; and the guns should be collected at these points in batteries of several pieces; for experience

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14. American Artillerist's Companion, I, 18-19.

15. Ibid., pp. 1, 2, 3.

> has likewise shown, that it is only by opening a heavy, well-sustained fire, on the enemy's columns, that an efficient check can be given to them. If only a few files are taken off, or the shot passes over the men, it rather inspires the enemy with confidence in his safety, and with contempt for the defences.(16)

To determine where to place the batteries artillery officers prepared prolongations of the enemy positions, a task accomplished through careful observation and calculation. Engineers then traced the structure on the ground allowing twenty feet length per anticipated gun and an inside battery width of twenty feet. Once the outline was traced and marked by pickets or tied bundles of sticks called fascines, the fatigue parties began excavating the ditch before the intended structure, tossing the earth into the spot designated for the epaulement. At each end of the battery, traverses, or flanking epaulments, were likewise traced if they were needed to protect the ordnance from an enemy's enfilading fire. Dimensions of the traverse as well as of the epaulement were the same as for the parapet elsewhere on the line. The operation generally occurred at night with workmen placed three or four feet apart shovelling from the ditch while others rammed the earth and revetted the slopes.(17) Besides the floor of the battery's interior, which must be firm and level to support a platform, the structure's primary difference in construction from that of a simple parapet lay in the cutting of embrasures, the openings through which the heavy ordnance was pointed and fired. So-called barbette batteries were designed without embrasures, the artillery pieces being raised sufficiently high to level their barrels across the superior talus of the parapet. Ideally, in embrasured batteries the bottom of the aperture was approximately 3 or 4 feet above the ground, depending on the calibre of the gun to be employed. The bottom sloped outward so that the barrel could be declined if necessary. The interior of the embrasure measured between 18 and 24 inches, again depending on the size of the weapon. The sides, or cheeks, widened toward the exterior to a distance of 7 feet to allow the gun to shift its fire to different targets as necessary.

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16. Mahan, Treatise on Field Fortification, p. 79.

17. Tousard, American Artillerist's Companion, pp. 8, 26-28; Mahan, Treatise on Field Fortification, pp. 91-92.

Generally the cheeks of the embrasures, along with the entire inner face of the battery, were revetted with sod, fascines, or gabions--wicker basket-like contrivances designed to hold earth--all of which helped keep the soil of the epaulement in place.(18) According to one early nineteenth century manualist, "the advantages of embrasures are, that the men and guns are less exposed than in a barbette battery. Their principal defects are, that they have a very limited field of fire; they weaken the parapet; and present openings through which the enemy may penetrate in an assault."(19) The earthen parapet areas between embrasures in batteries fitted for two or more pieces were called merlons. Embrasured batteries could be erected either sunken, when the object of the attack was situated at a lower plain; level, when the terrain was level; or raised cavalier fashion when the object of attack was on higher ground. If situated properly, guns in batteries built at a moderate elevation above the surrounding country should be capable of delivering projectiles with certain accuracy.(20)

To ready the battery for the placement of its component ordnance it was mandatory that the floor be firm enough to receive platforms. Much depended upon the nature of the terrain, and in marshy ground solidity was difficult to achieve without making special provisions. Tousard urged that in such instances layers of fascines and hurdles be staked into the turf to provide rigidity.(21) Although he does not specify such, it would seem that an excavation to receive the fascines would be in order. Once the floor was firmly prepared the furniture consisting of platforms for holding the guns was introduced. Platforms made of wooden planks and timbers allowed the artillery to be directed and fired with steadiness and prevented the wheels of the carriages from sinking or wearing ruts in the ground. "It has been attempted to make platforms without sleepers," wrote Tousard, "but those who have done so, always have had to repent of it, from the derangement of them."(22)

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18. Ibid., pp. 83-84; Tousard, American Artillerist's Companion, I, 1, 22, 23-24, 33.

19. Mahan, Treatise on Field Fortification, p. 86.

20. Tousard, American Artillierist's Companion, I, 4, 33, 69.

21. Ibid., pp. 53-54.

22. American Artillerist's Companion, I, 40.

Sometimes made in a trapezoidal or fan-like shape to facilitate a wider field of fire, platforms usually took a more common rectangular shape. For field artillery such as that employed on Jackson's line platforms measured 9 feet wide by 15 feet long and consisted of

> three sleepers of six-inch scantling, . . . fifteen feet long, which are laid perpendicular to the direction of the epaulement, and are covered with two-inch plank, twelve inches wide, and cut into lengths of nine . . . feet. Between the ends of the sleepers and the foot of the genouillere [epaulement], a piece of eight-inch scantling nine feet long, termed a heurter is laid; it should project about six inches above the platform. . . . The object of the heurter is to prevent the wheels from being run against the revetment, and also to give the gun its proper direction. . . .(23)

The purpose of the three sleepers was to absorb the weight of the ordnance by placing one under each wheel and one under the trail of the carriage. Sleepers were secured flush in the ground by excavating shallow trenches for them, fastening them together with cross pieces, and then picketing the whole in place. Planks were fastened crosswise to the sleepers using nails or wooden pegs, the latter to preclude the chance of causing sparks. "If the platform is for direct firing, with full charges, the tail may be made six inches higher than the front to break the recoil; in all other cases it should be horizontal."(24)

Once the batteries had been fully prepared the cannon were brought forward and mounted, usually at night, to be opened against the enemy at daybreak. Cannon tubes, or

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23. Mahan, Treatise on Field Fortification, pp. 86-87. Other theorists, including Tousard, recommended that five sleepers be laid, and that their length be 14 feet. America Artillerist's Companion, I, 40. For more on the heurter, or hurtoir, see ibid., p. 41.

24. Mahan, Treatise on Field Fortification, pp. 87-88. Once again, there existed slight differences of opinion among theorists regarding measurements. Tousard believed the planks should be "ten or twelve feet long." They were to be arranged "the first against the hurtoir, the second against the first, and so of the others." American Artillerist's Companion, I, 41-42.

barrels, were conveyed in traveling carriages usually made from oak, walnut, or chestnut. The large wheels were made from elm, beech, or hickory, and the piece was transported into battery pulled by horses. A limber was affixed to the trail, or rear extension, of the carriage, which in turn was harnessed to several of the animals. The sides of the heavy cheeks of carriages contained an assortment of hooks for carrying gunners' equipment, and the whole unit was strengthened by the addition of strip iron reinforcements at stress points. Sometimes the pieces were brought to the batteries before the platforms were finished, in which case they were shielded behind the epaulement until ready for mounting. Construction of the battery proper, aside from the earlier raising of the epaulement, required at least twenty workmen for each gun to be emplaced, not counting gunners and their assistants who would arrive with the pieces.(25) At some distance back from the batteries powder magazines were established, usually at intervals along the line so that one magazine might serve serveral batteries. Often barrels of powder were dispersed in small magazines placed at intervals of 40 or 50 yards on the line so that the contents of a central magazine would not risk destruction by a single bomb. These small line magazines were always situated 12 to 15 yards from the parapet and never opposite an embrasure. They were constructed of gabions or earth-filled bags.(26) Larger field magazines were ideally established 30 or 40 feet behind the parapet. These consisted of holes dug in the ground some 8 or 9 feet square and capable of housing up to two tons of powder. A parapet was thrown up around the magazine and a roof formed of fascines or planks topped with a thickness of earth covered the whole. "If the ground be wet, a wooden floor must be laid for the barrels to stand on."(27)

Operation of the gun batteries was the task of the gunners and their assistants. Each piece was commanded by an artillery officer who supervised a gun crew differing in number with the size of the gun to be serviced. In field batteries fourteen

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25. Ibid., pp. 25, 45-47; Albert Manucy, Artillery Through the Ages: A Short Illustrated History of Cannon, Emphasizing Types Used in America (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949), pp. 50, 53, 55.

26. Tousard, American Artillerist's Companion, I, 48.

27. Fenwick, Essays on Field Fortification, pp. 187-88.

or fifteen men accomplished specific functions, from controlling drag ropes and handspikes to cleaning the barrel between shots to loading and finally firing the gun. These tasks were accomplished in a precise, regimented manner. Heavier siege cannon above 24-pounder calibre required fewer men for servicing, since the pieces were generally too weighty to be moved easily. Thus, a 24- or 32-pounder siege cannon required only eight men--two gunners and six assistants to work the piece effectively.(28) In fulfilling its duties a gun crew responded to the following orders of the battery commander:

> Gunners and Matrosses [Assistants]! To your posts--march.
> Front - face.
> Prepare - battery!
> To - handspikes!
> Enter - handspikes!
> From - battery!
> To the knob - To the wedge! [depending on whether a metal quoin or an elevating screw was used on the cannon]
> Lay down - handspikes!
> To - spunge! Stop - vent! To - cartridge!
> Spunge - gun!
> Return - spunge! To - rammer!
> Cartridge - gun!
> Ram - cartridge!
> Shot - gun!
> Ram - shot!
> Return - rammer!
> To - handspikes!
> Enter - handspikes!
> To - battery!
> Point - gun!
> Lay down - handspikes!
> Clear - vent! Prime!
> To - lintstock! To - wedge!
> March!
> Front - face!
> Lintstock - march!
> Make - ready!
> Fire!(29)

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28. Tousard, American Artillerist's Companion, I, 297-98, 209-10.

29. Ibid., 298-304. Often experienced gun crews managed to reduce the number of commands; indeed, some were proficient

Handspikes were six-foot wooden crowbars set in iron sheaths used for moving the carriage and for raising the cannon's breech during elevation. Other artillery implements regularly utilized in batteries were the sponge, a brush or a wooden cylinder covered with lambskin and mounted on a long handle for cleaning and cooling the inside of the barrel; rammer, a wooden cylinder used for seating cartridges and shot, often attached to the opposite end of the handle containing the sponge; lintstock, a yard-long forked stick for holding slow match, the smoldering cotton rope used to ignite the charge; portfire, a paper case containing flammable materials often used during the late eighteenth century in place of slow match; portfire stock, used to ignite the priming powder, made of sheet metal about 11 inches long; drag ropes, used for maneuvering the ordnance back into position after recoil; and worm, a long-handled cleaning device consisting of a double corkscrew for removing residue from the bore of the piece after discharge. Besides these items there were a host of tools, including hammers, pliers, and gimlets. A number of large nails were kept on hand with which to spike the vents of the ordnance in case it must be abandoned.(30)

The American and British cannon in 1814 encompassed a small variety of calibres based upon the weight of their solid-shot projectiles. These were 4-, 8-, 18-, 24-, and 32-pounders. Dimensions of the shot correspondingly differed, with 12-pounder shot measuring 4.4 inches in diameter; 18-pounder 5.04 inches; 24-pounder 5.55 inches; and 32-pounder 6.1 inches. The American cannon also fired grapeshot and canister, both consisting of clusters of iron balls arranged in unit fashion, and even scrap iron in a round called a "landidage." Such missiles made a cannon function in scattergun fashion and proved an effective anti-personnel weapon, especially against massed frontal infantry assaults.

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29. (Cont.) enough to get by with only the order "charge!" between rapid successive rounds. William A. Mense, The Weapons of the Battle of New Orleans (New Orleans: The Battle of New Orleans, 150th Anniversary Committee of Louisiana, 1965), p. 27.

30. William Stevens, A System for the Discipline of the Artillery of the United States of America; or, the Young Artillerists' Pocket Companion (Albany: Websters and Skinners, 1815), p. 44; Tousard, American Artillerist's Companion, I, lxxiii.

(The British at New Orleans fired wide-ranging Congreve rockets at Jackson's men from special tube-launching devices. The rockets were innovative though somewhat inaccurate and were supposed to be psychologically intimidating. Flying through the air, they left a noisy incendiary trail and exploded on impact. Two sizes were used, 12- and 30-pounders.) Artillery also included howitzers, mortars, and carronades. The first was a kind of large-bored truncated cannon that could deliver bombs--hollow cylinders filled with powder and calibrated to explode on reaching the enemy's defenses--at fairly low trajectories. Howitzers were extremely versatile lightweight weapons whose maneuverability made them popular among artillerists. They were useful in richocheting their missiles over the ground and into enemy positions. They could be used to fire grape and canister shot in addition to bombs. Howitzers were manufactured in two principal sizes, 6-inch and 8-inch, determined by the width of the bore. Mortars sent their bombs in high trajectories to fall with murderous explosion behind enemy lines. Mortars used no carriages, rather were mounted on heavy wooden beds strengthened to absorb their vertical recoil on firing. Calibres varied, but generally mortars measured either 8-, 10-, or 12-inches across the mouth.(31)

Effective range of artillery was subject to various conditions, such as precision in aiming, elevation, and powder charge. Guns fired pointblank at a target lacked the distance obtained in elevating them. For instance, a 4-pounder could send its shot 741 feet pointblank, but its greatest range when elevated 45° was 7,419 feet. Similarly, a 24-pounder could discharge shot pointblank a distance of from 1,051 to 1,978 feet, but when elevated 45° the distance increased from 12,550 to 14,837 feet. Mortar and howitzer range could likewise be regulated by elevating the tube.(32) (Besides artillery, most of Jackson's men were armed with the Model 1795 musket, a .69 calibre piece that fired a ball measuring .64 inch in diameter. Ammunition for the musket consisted of paper cartridges containing powder and solid ball. Buck-and-ball cartridges each contained one large ball plus three smaller balls of .30 calibre and on discharge from the gun would spread in shotgun

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31. Ibid., pp. 210-20, 269-70, 2976; Meuse, Weapons of the Battle of New Orleans, pp. 35-38, 44-48.

32. J.G. Tielke, The Field Engineer; or Instructions Upon Every Branch of Field Fortification. Trans. by Edwin Hewgill (2 vols.; London: J. Walter, 1789), I, 227.

fashion. The British infantrymen employed an India pattern musket of .75 calibre, although the balls fired actually were .69 calibre.)(33)

There exists a relative dearth of information about how faithfully Jackson's officers and soldiers adhered to the tenets of field fortification when they began working on defenses along Rodriguez Canal the morning of December 24, 1814. Certainly there was military discipline and adherence to fundamental fortification procedures, but Jackson lacked a well-defined engineer corps beyond a few capable officers on his staff and perhaps among his artillery complement. Furthermore, the principal component of his army were militia, largely untrained and whose officers probably knew next to nothing of fortification technique. Nonetheless, an examination of accounts, coupled with certain educated conjecture, provides some overview about how the intrenchments and batteries were raised and how they fared and functioned through the duration of the confrontation with the British. By contrast, the role of the British artillery is quite well documented.

Contemporary descriptions by persons who were on the scene offer clues about Jackson's works. When Jackson withdrew to Rodriguez Canal he positioned his army behind it in the following manner: the artillery occupied the road, supported by the contingent of marines; to their left were arranged, in respective order, the Seventh U.S. Infantry, Plauche's Battalion of New Orleans volunteers, Lacoste's command, Daquin's Battalion of Free Men of Color, the Forty-Fourth U.S. Infantry, and Carroll's division of Tennesseans. To Carroll's left and running into the swamp along the canal were Coffee's men, 600 of whom were directed to reconnoiter the British right flank on horseback and attempt to bring back the horses lost the night before. Intending to improve his situation on the canal, Jackson sent an urgent requisition for intrenching tools to the mayor of New Orleans who delivered "Fifty spades and some mattocks." Other implements were forthcoming from residents and planters in the surrounding country, including wheelbarrows and carts. Jackson finished surveying the canal before finally deciding to fortify it. Shortly after 1 p.m. the works were commenced.(34)

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33. Meuse, Weapons of the Battle of New Orleans, pp. 39-40.

34. Andrew Jackson, "Battle of New Orleans" manuscript. Andrew Jackson Papers. Library of Congress. Presidential

The position was described variously by parties present. Advantageously situated for defensive purposes straddling a narrow defile between swamp and river, Rodriguez Canal was seen as "an old mill canal," "a ditch," or more properly "a mill race." The mill race was essentially a water chute down which the overflow of a rising Mississippi would be carried to operate a saw mill near the swamp. "The canal on which Jackson's lines were formed, had long been abandoned, having no longer any mill to turn, so that its banks had fallen in and raised its bottom, which was covered with grass, presenting rather the appearance of an old draining ditch than of a canal."(35) Viewed from the perspective of its fortification value, the position "offered both a natural and accidental advantage; a ditch already dug for a considerable distance in front, the earth of which was easily convertible into a glacis and counterscarp; and also a river on the right, to fill it with water."(36) The lack of any planned outworks signified that Jackson reasoned to take advantage of his militia troops and depend on their musketry precision over artillery. Commented Abraham Ellery:

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34. (Cont.) Papers Microfilm, Series 4, Reel 64; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 109-10. Jackson repeated his request to the Mayor for intrenching equipment and arms on December 29. Livingston to Mayor Girod, December 29, 1814. Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Presidential Papers Microfilm. Series 3, Vols. F-K, Reel 62.

35. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 145-46. See also Latrobe, Impressions Respecting New Orleans, p. 45. Parton stated that the mill was located on the levee, but this would seem to be an insufficient distance for the requisite water power to accumuate. Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 109. See also Alexander Walker, Jackson and New Orleans. (New York: J.C. Derby, 1856), pp. 309-10. Bassett stated that the canal was "twenty-five feet wide and four or five feet deep." Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 191. The width figure seems to be too great, given the testimony below of British officers and others describing the finished works.

36. Ellery, "Notes and Comments." See also Nile's Weekly Register, February 4, 1815, p. 360; and Henry C. Castellanos, "The Invasion of Louisiana. Inner History, Gathered from Contemporaneous Sources." (Typescript copy in the Louisiana State Museum library), p. 20.

> It will be recollected that in Europe their lines are principally defended by artillery; hence the necessity of flanking, at certain intervals, their principal line of defence in order to multiply the angles of the artillery fire. But here our lines were almost totally manned by militia, ignorant in a great measure, of the use of great guns and depending entirely upon their skill in shooting a musket or rifle. The artillery defence was therefore rendered subordinate to that of musketry, hence no flanking angles were formed nor auxiliary works erected, lest they should weaken the line for musketry defence, by covering the enemy in his approach and intercepting the direct fire of the troops.(37)

The canal ran back from the river at almost a right angle some 600 yards to the edge of the swamp. When Jackson gave orders to begin improvement each unit took responsibility for that segment of the line before it, each soldier working to raise a parapet from the sluggish, wet clayey soil.(38) Some sources indicate that a row of pickets was driven some distance from the edge of the canal and that the soldiers shoveled earth into the area between. "A certain situation was assigned each corps, a skreen [sic] of pickets was thrown up on the edge of a ditch . . . [and] earth was thrown up and the breast-works

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37. Ellery, "Notes and Comments."

38. Ibid., "Particulars in relation to Battle of N. Orleans"; Tatum, "Journal," p. 112. Alexander Walker wrote: "Though the great majority of them were unused to manual toil, there was no want of zeal or energy in their work. A rivalry sprung up, which could build the highest mound in front of his position or dig the ditch deepest. Each soldier claimed the mound in his front as his 'castle,' and such was the value attached to these 'castles' that the General was induced to countermand an order he had given for the whole line to incline to the left to make room for a small reinforcement, by the strong remonstrance of the soldiers, who placed a higher value on their own than their neighbor's work." Jackson and New Orleans, p. 195. The story is plausible, but is probably apocryphal. Walker gave no sources for it. Moreover, Jackson himself related that many of the men were reluctant to do physical labor almost to the point of mutiny. Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 107. Charles B. Brooks bridged these extremes in attitude in his Siege of New Orleans, p. 168.

commenced. . . ."(39) A British observer noticed that the parapet was made "of earth scraped up from the rear, and . . . revetted with planks supported by stakes."(40) Latour described the construction in some detail:

> Earth was fetched from the rear of the line and thrown carelessly on the left bank, where the earth had been thrown when the canal was originally dug. All the pales of the fences in the vicinity were taken to line [the inside of] the parapet, and prevent the earth from falling into the canal. All this was done at various intervals, and by different corps, owing to the frequent mutations in the disposition of the troops. This circumstance, added to the cold and to incessant rain, rendered it impossible to observe any regularity as to the thickness and height of the parapet, which in some places was as much as twenty

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39. "General Carroll's Expedition," pp. 51-52. See also "Diary of Levi Lee." Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville. A sketch of a cross section of the American line purportedly drawn by an unidentified British officer shows a ditch filled with water 8 feet deep and 12 feet wide at the top. On the inside edge of the ditch is what appears to be a line of pickets said to be 4½ feet tall. "Sketch of the Position of the British and American Forces during the operations against New Orleans from the 23d Decr to the 8th of Jany." Ca. 1815. Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library, Indiana University. See also what appears to be the draft for this map entitled "Plan of Battle of New Orleans" drawn by J.F. Bourgoyne, ca. 1815. Historic New Orleans Collection. Another British source stated that Jackson's men used barrels and sugar casks which were left "standing isolated, the apertures between them being filled up with mud and all sorts of odds and ends placed along the edge of the ditch . . . [a] contemptible expedient. . . ." Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 201-02.

40. Report of Captain H.D. Jones, Royal Engineers, March 30, 1815, quoted in Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," p. 54. Graphic depiction of this sort of construction using earth bolstered by pickets and palings can be seen in similar, if not identical, procedures employed in erecting the works at Fort St. Leon. See "Plan and Profiles of the Fort St. Leon at the English town. 1817." National Archives. Cartographic Archives Division. Drawer 133, Sheet 13.

> feet thick at the top, though hardly five feet high; whilst in other places the enemy's balls went through it at the base.(41)

Apparently, to raise an effective parapet the canal ditch in places had to be widened and deepened, its earth thrown up along the west edge or on the east edge where it might have formed a kind of muddy glacis. The best evidence suggests that the canal contained water, especially at first after Latour and his associates cut the levee and let the river rush in. Governor Claiborne reported such, as did others. A British officer's statement and cross-section view of the American line account for water in the ditch. Statements that the ditch was dry perhaps reflect that as the Mississippi lowered during ensuing days the water in the ditch also subsided, especially in the area of the line along the right near the river. The natural declivity of the land (and canal) toward the cypress swamp would have kept water in the ditch at that end of the line.(42) The work of deepening the ditch went on without intermission, one soldier recalling that "we were not suffered to remain one moment idle, all digging and levelling ditches, raising breastworks, fortifying and intrenching in the water 2 or 3 days together, sleeping on the wet ground without anything to cover us from the rain. . . ."(43) British sources

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41. Historical Memoir, p. 146. See also Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 184. Jackson biographer Augustus C. Buell explained that "the mode of constructing the earthwork was to make 'cribs' of small logs, cobhouse fashion, and fill them in with the heavy, damp earth from the old ditch, well packed and rammed in place." History of Andrew Jackson, I, 401. Buell's source for this information is unknown. No other source examined by the present writer contains such a description, although DeGrummond perpetuated it in Baratarians, p. 97, and in Renato Beluche: Smuggler, Privateer and Patriot, 1780-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), p. 109.

42. Ellery, "Notes and Comments"; Tatum, "Journal," p. 112; Dickson, "Sketch of the Position"; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," pp. 53-54; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 21.

43. Frank Otto Gatell, "Letters by John Palfrey and His Sons," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-

questioned months later recollected that the American ditch measured 10 to 12 feet wide and only 3 to 4 feet deep. The parapet, when finished, they reckoned from their perspective in front of the line, at 8 to 10 feet in height.(44) Given the presence of a banquette, such an estimate conformed relatively well to the theoretical model for a parapet raised 6 to 7 1/2 feet high above the grade. American sources generally agreed with the British estimates of the dimensions of the ditch--8 to 10 feet wide and 4 to 6 feet deep. One soldier reported that it contained "about a foot or eighteen inches of water, and . . . a quantity of thornbush had been cut and thrown into it." The bottom of the ditch was not palisaded, so that the presence of such abatis in places does not seem unusual.(45) A British engineer stated that "the whole length of the ditch was filled with large brambles."(46)

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43. (Cont.) April, 1961), p. 158. Parton, who did not identify his source, wrote that "the canal was deepened and the earth thrown up on the side nearest the city. The fences were torn away, and the rails driven in to keep the light soil from falling back into the canal. Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 110. Buell states that the labor was performed by slaves impressed for the purpose rather than by soldiers. "About all the soldiers did toward throwing up the lines was to stand guard over the working parties of slaves. . . ." History of Andrews Jackson, I, 402. While slaves eventually were employed on the intrenchments the initial work was indeed accomplished by the soldiers.

44. Cooke, Narrative of Events, p. 202; General Court Martial Held at the Royal Barracks, Dublin, for the Trial of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. Thomas Mullins, Captain of the 44th Regiment of Foot. . . . (Dublin: William Espy, 1815), pp. 55, 59. See also Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 111.

45. Ibid., p. 59; "A Contemporary Account of the Battle of New Orleans by a Soldier in the Ranks," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, IX (January, 1926), pp. 12-15; Hector M. Organ to Samuel Mordecai, January 19, 1815. Manuscript Division, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel hill. Yet another American account stated that the ditch was about 6 feet wide and the parapet about 4 feet high. Manuscript of M.W. Trimble entitled "Trimble's Account of the Battle of New Orleans" (copy in the library of the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park).

46. Report of Captain H.D. Jones, Royal Engineers, March 30, 1815, quoted in Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 72.

Despite the lack of engineers to closely guide the construction which, coupled with the emergency of the moment, said one observer, would "excuse any irregularity in the construction of our lines,"(47) it appears that an effort was made to have them conform to the model as much as circumstances would permit. Major Howell Tatum, Jackson's topographical engineer, stated that "proper banquets was errected [sic] to every part of this line . . . and batteries constructed at such places . . . as were deemed proper."(48) One major problem appears to have been the shallowness of the soil before encountering water. This made it necessary to pare earth from the surrounding countryside to help raise the parapet, in which case wagons would seemingly have been employed.(49)

At the left flank of Jackson's line approximately 150 yards from the swamp the straight intrenchment was interrupted by an inverted redan, a battery-like structure whose 40-foot faces jutted back to form a rentrant angle behind the canal. Little explanation was given for the existence of this anomaly in the otherwise direct line, but it appears on all contemporary maps. While so far as is known no artillery was ever emplaced there, quite possibly the redan was intended to constitute protection on Jackson's left before it was decided to extend the fortifications for a considerable distance into the swamp. There field guns were to be established; those mounted on the right face could rake the swamp, while those on the left face could sweep the field before the right of the line.(50) Only this

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46. (Cont.) Another British observer, however, stated that "three deep parallel ditches had been dug across the whole front; in rear of these was a strong loop-holed palisade. . . ." A.B. Ellis, The History of the First West India Regiment (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1885), p. 149.

47. Ellery, "Notes and Comments."

48. "Journal," p. 112.

49. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 110; Reilly, British at the Gates, p. 261.

50. See Report of Captain H.D. Jones, Royal Engineers, March 30, 1815, quoted in Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 72; S. Putnam Waldo, Memoirs of Andrew Jackson, Major-General in the Army of the United States; and Commander-in-Chief of the Division of the South (Hartford: John Russell, Jr., 1818). Typescript copy in the Louisiana State Museum library. Latour stated that the redan was necessitated by the presence near the canal of "enormous holes in the soil made impassable by their being full of water. . . ." Historical Memoir, p. 149.

indentation for the redan disrupted the line, so straight in fact that it drew criticism from persons present. "The mode of fortifying this position has . . . been condemned," wrote Ellery. "An extended straight line . . ., undeflected by any salient angles, and unflanked by any auxiliary work, being pronounced a solecism in field fortification."(51)

The inverted redan therefore offered but a modicum of relief on the line. From there Coffee's troops extended into the woods and swamp, so it was only natural that their position be refined with the extension of the intrenchment to support their position. Jean Laffite seems to have recommended such to Jackson's aide, Edward Livingston, either on December 24 or 25, who in turn urged that the canal also be lengthened "as they may otherwise turn our left. . . . Lafite [sic] says the wood may easily be marched thro all the Distance to the cypress swamp which is nearly impracticable and affords as good a point of support on the left as the river on the right."(52) Thus, over the next several days the parapet was run another 500 yards back into the swamp. For a way the earthworks continued, but grew less thick approaching the lowlands. One soldier described them as being "a little over brest [sic] high, and five or six feet wide on the top."(53) Because of the abundance of water, the parapet then became a simple barricade formed of felled trees arranged horizontally in layers along the canal with loopholes between. To maintain a clear field of fire, the woods before the log breastwork were cleared for a distance of 50 yards. Then, again guarding the flank, the breastwork turned sharply west, running somewhere between 100 and 320 yards and forming a slight salient before ending in a grove of trees deep in the swamp. Total length of Jackson's line along Rodriguez Canal from the river to the swamp was approximately 1,700 yards. Total length of the works, to include the westward running segment on the extreme left, was about 1,900

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51. "Notes and Comments."

52. Livingston to Jackson, December 25, 1814, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 125; James, Border Captain, p. 247. DeGummond, Baratarians, p. 101, wrote that Laffite personally suggested the extension to Jackson on the field, a statement not supported by known facts.

53. "A Contemporary Account of the Battle of New Orleans," p. 12.

yards.(54) Behind the center of the line--to the left of the inverted redan, probably in the area of the last battery--stood a tall pole from which flew the United States flag.(55) Facing the works, Jackson's command was apportioned approximately thusly to the left of the levee road held by the marines and artillery: Regulars and Louisiana militia, comprising 1,327 men, 575 yards; Tennessee militia under Carroll, 1,414 troops, 350 yards; and Coffee's command of 2,692 Tennesseans, 613 yards.(56) The soldiers under Coffee, stationed in the woods and swamp, had to sustain the worst conditions, often in mud knee-deep, since the ground sloped downward from the river, rendering "the position of the troops stationed in that quarter, wet and uncomfortable." "Excepting on the right of the line," stated Ellery, "little preference of position could be boasted of, as after a rain, from the center to the left, there was presented to the eye, but one continuous sheet of water."(57)

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54. Report of Captain H.D. Jones, Royal Engineers, March 30, 1815, quoted in Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 72; Waldo, Memoirs of Andrew Jackson; Abraham R. Ellery, "Plan Showing the disposition of the American Troops, when attacked by the British Army, on the morning of the 8th Jany, 1815." Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library; Border Captain, p. 262; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 133. Latour stated that a log walkway, or banquette, was constructed behind the breastwork. Historical Memoir, p. 147. Jackson later had the line measured and it was reported to him to be 1527 yards long, presumably not including the westward extension on the left. Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 73. Buell's map, in History of Andrew Jackson, indicates that the westward extension lay next to an old ditch that emptied into Rodriguez Canal.

55. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 175.

56. Ibid., Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, p. 315.

57. "Notes and Comments"' Brown Amphibious Campaign, p. 133; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 125. Brooks states that the extreme left was occupied by the Second Louisiana militia. Siege of New Orleans, p. 180. Since 1815 various forces of erosion, habitation, and levee construction have occurred to impact the historic scene at Rodriguez Canal. Although Jackson's line was never completely filled in after the campaign, the long period of occupation of the surrounding land affected

Jackson's line was weakest on the left, and probably would have been vulnerable at that point before a well-directed British attack. Once his batteries were established, however, they gave such a new dimension that a British breakthrough on the left might not have been successful.

Little information is available regarding the erection of Jackson's artillery batteries. These units, incorporated into the line, were of such potential significance that their locations were undoubtedly plotted quite early, perhaps even before Jackson's men started digging.(58) Presumably, too, these structures received more attention from the engineer officers than the rest of the intrenchments because of their special requirements. Yet details of battery construction remain obscure, even though Latour discussed various structures on the line using terminology that indicates adherence to some of the precepts of fortification. Nevertheless, using conjecture supported by knowledge of period fortification theory and the few known facts about Jackson's batteries, some idea of their appearance may be reached.

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57. (Cont.) the canal's appearance and by the start of the twentieth century much of the site had been obliterated. In 1904 the army constructed a road along the east side, apparently utilizing part of the breastworks as fill. Rex L. Wilson, "The Search for Jackson's Mud Rampart," The Florida Anthropologist, XVIII (No. 3, Part 2), p. 105. In 1957 archeologists tried to determine the precise shape of the canal, placing test trenches across it at intervals, but the project proved inconclusive. Six years later, as part of Jackson's line was being reconstructed by the National Park Service, another archeological project ensued which resulted in the excavation of a cypress log and boards likely used in the fortifications. A 6-pounder cannon ball was also recovered. Ibid., pp. 105-06, 107-08. See also, James W. Holland, "Notes on Some Construction Details of 'Line Jackson' at Chalmette" (unpublished report dated May, 1963, in the library of the Chalmette Unit of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park).

58. The incorporation of the batteries into the line is clearly evident in the contemporary engraving by Hyacinthe Laclotte, "Defeat of the British Army, 12,000 strong, under the Command of Sir Edward Packenham [sic] in the attack of the American Lines defended by 3,600 Militia commanded by Major General Andrew Jackson, January 8th 1815, on Chalmette plain five miles below New Orleans, on the left bank of the Mississippi." Prints Division, New York Public Library.

Battery No. 1, containing two 12-pounders and a howitzer, straddled the levee road, probably the firmest ground in the vicinity. The embrasured position was situated as part of the intrenchment raised behind the canal as were all of Jackson's line batteries. Allowing the specified 20 feet per field piece, the interior of the battery measured around 60 feet long by approximately 20 feet wide. The epaulement, around 7½ feet high, was probably 18 to 20 feet thick at the top, sloping to a base measuring 20 to 24 feet thick. Three embrasures cut into the epaulement reached down to approximately 4 feet from the interior floor. Their width at the inside ran 18 inches and increased gradually toward the outside where they measured about 7 feet. The cheeks of the embrasures were reportedly lined with cotton bales held in place by unknown means, although Nolte stated that iron rings of an undetermined size were used.

The floor of Battery No. 1 should have been leveled and compacted to receive its platforms and ordnance. Platforms likely measured 9 feet by 15 feet and consisted of heavy planks nailed or pegged to three heavy sleepers laid into the soil. Perhaps the rear of the platform was raised to slow the recoil of a discharging gun. Along the inside of the epaulement, about 2 feet above the surface and on either side of the embrasures, was a banquette some 4 feet wide to permit the occupants to see over the top of the work. It is unknown whether Battery No. 1 contained traverses on either side of the guns. Such devices could have helped protect the ordnance from flanking fire, which in this case might well have been appropriate on the extreme right of Jackson's line and seemingly subjected to diagonally placed British batteries on January 1. Probably the inside of Battery No. 1 was revetted with plank or fence paling, perhaps even with fascines made from sugar cane rubble.

Situated behind the parapet approximately midway between Battery No. 1 and Battery No. 2, about 73 yards from the river, was a powder magazine, the only one delineated on historical maps for the entire length of Jackson's line. This probably signified the existence of smaller (service) magazines consisting of barrels of powder that were distributed at intervals along the line. The magazine between Batteries Nos. 1 and 2 was doubtless located near the road for ready accessibility to arriving powder supplies. Specifics of construction for the magazine remain unknown. It likely was built over an area 8 or 9 feet square surrounded with a thick earthen parapet and a roof made of fascines or planks covered with earth. Likely, too, the floor of the magazine was covered with wood to help keep the powder dry.

Battery No. 2, built about 113 yards from the 1814-15 riverbank, contained a 24-pounder. Construction of this battery was undoubtedly similar to that of No. 1 except that it possessed but a single embrasure. Of three maps depicting the line, only Latour's indicated that the structure had two embrasures, even though Latour stated in his text that the unit housed but one weapon. Latour also noted that Battery No. 2 was "the most elevated above the soil," probably meaning that its platform was raised higher above the surrounding terrain than those in other batteries. The purpose for this difference was not clearly defined, although it seems possible it was elevated so that its fire could clear the levee at the right front. In fortification terminology such elevated units were called cavalier batteries. If the construction of Battery No. 2 followed the prescribed methodology, the work measured 20 feet long by 20 feet wide at the interior. The epaulement stood around 7½ feet high in front and was 18 to 20 feet thick at the top and 20 to 24 feet thick at the base (meaning, of course, that the interior of the battery stood at least 20 feet back from the edge of Rodriguez Canal). The embrasure was cut about 3 feet above the floor, measured 2 feet wide at the inside and 7 feet wide at the outside of the epaulement. Probably the cheeks of the embrasure were lined with cotton bales. The floor of the battery, perhaps inclined slightly to the rear, would have been trenched to receive three sleepers each 6 inches by 6 inches by 15 feet long. Atop the sleepers heavy 2-inch-thick planks were fastened, each measuring 9 feet long. At the front of the platform a heurter, measuring 8 inches by 8 inches by 9 feet was emplaced for the gun carriage wheels to rest against. Because of the raised floor in Battery No. 2, a banquette was perhaps not required. If a banquette existed, it would likely have been no more than 1 foot high and 4 feet wide. Because of the presumably moist earth that Battery No. 2 was raised from it seems likely that the structure was revetted with fascines or fence pales obtained locally.

Battery No. 3 and Battery No. 4 together as of January 8, 1815, contained two 24-pounders. While several sources, including Latour, indicate that only one structure was located at this point 163 yards from the river, a list prepared by Jackson's chief artillery officer, Major William MacRea, specifically accounts for two distinct units commanded, respectively, by Captains Dominique Youx and Renato Beluche.(59)

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59. "List of officers and men serving at the Batteries, with their names, rank, and Corps to which they respectively belong. Also the names of Men killed and wounded up to this date--Camp 16th Jany, 1815." Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division. Chicago Historical Society.

It seems probable that these two batteries were separated by a traverse, thereby affording the appearance of a single unit. Batteries Nos. 3 and 4, like those preceding, each measured 20 feet by 20 feet at the interior and possessed epaulements 7½ feet high, 18 to 20 feet thick at the top, and 20 to 24 feet thick at the bottom. The embrasure in each was 3 feet above the inside floor and measured 2 feet across at the inside, 7 feet at the outside. Benjamin Latrobe specifically stated that the embrasures of this work were lined with cotton bales. The floor in each unit, like in those discussed previously, contained a platform 9 feet wide by 15 feet long arranged on sleepers, and a huerter was laid at the front of each platform. Both batteries were lined with banquettes constructed of earth along the inside of the epaulement and measuring 3½ to 3 feet 9 inches high and 4 feet wide. Like other batteries on the line, Batteries No. 3 and 4 would have been revetted on the inside with planks, palings, and/or fascines. The traverse separating the interiors of the batteries from each other likely measured 18 or 20 feet thick. The remaining five batteries erected on Jackson's line by January 8 would likely have been constructed in a manner almost identical to those discussed here. As in these cases, firsthand evidence concerning the erection and operation of the batteries has not been located and conclusions necessarily must rest heavily on speculation.

Between the cypress swamp and the river the land that swept out before Jackson's men toward the British was generally level, the distant landscape dotted by plantation homes and slave quarters interspersed by orchards and broad tracts of sugar cane rubble left from harvest. Eight hundred yards from the right of the line and 150 yards from the levee stood the Chalmette mansion, behind which were located a complex of outbuildings and slave homes, the nearest structures to Jackson's front. The buildings effectively concealed the right of the line from the British. Major Hinds quartered his horsemen there. The cane field was tediously flat, broken only by an occasional bush in the intervening distance. Sedge grass, a marshy bladed plant associated with low, wet areas, grew in abundance, especially along the several drainage ditches that knifed across the terrain. One of these ditches stretched about 1000 yards from the levee road 520 yards in front of Jackson's right to a point 400 yards from where his left entered the woods. There the ditch intersected a larger double ditch running in a slight southeastward course perpendicular to the intrenchments. Another ditch ran from the levee 170 yards beyond the first, joining the same double ditch 150 yards farther from Jackson's left. The double ditch was fenced with posts and rails, apparently along its southern

side. Where the second drainage ditch connected, the fence diverged from the double ditch and ran at almost a right angle to the swamp. Because of the thick growth of sedge grass, the second ditch was nearly obscured to troops on the line except for the few bushes that grew along it.(60) A plantation road, called Center Road, traversed the field from east to west, apparently reaching Jackson's position at Rodriguez Canal approximately 150 yards south of the inverted redan and some 700 yards from the river.(61)

The land immediately adjacent on the upriver side of Rodriguez Canal was owned by Juan (Jean) Rodriguez. Situated approximately 30 yards west of the canal and 170 yards from the river was Rodriguez's house, along with several outbuildings located behind. The Rodriguez house was possibly erected by a previous landowner named Nicholas Roche between 1803 and 1805, when Roche sold the property. By the time of the Battle of New Orleans the canal bordering the tract behind

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60. Tatum, "Journal," pp. 114-15; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 132. See Latour, "Plan of the Attack and Defence of the American Lines below New Orleans on the 8th January, 1815," in Historical Memoir. It should be noted that the relative distances given by Tatum and Latour do not agree. The writer has subscribed to Tatum's figures because he was a topographical engineer who seems to have kept a diligent record of such things. Latour, moreover, has been shown to have been prone to error on numerous occasions. (It should be noted that Latour's account, comprising one of the earliest comprehensive treatments of the New Orleans campaign by a participant, must nevertheless be viewed with caution. Although the author was an engineer, he often became confused over details, especially between those in his text and those depicted on his maps. He also exhibited a tendency to be somewhat less accurate in describing events than in relating processes or methodology. Furthermore, it appears that Latour's book was initially sold by subscription and that the author purposefully over-elaborated on the exploits of men and units whose actual service did not warrant such attention. These problems therefore weaken the narrative from a historical standpoint. See Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," p. 37.)

61. Ibid.

which Jackson erected his defense had been conveyed to subsequent parties, ultimately forming part of the Chalmette tract. Although the designation "Rodriguez Canal" has been historically applied to it ever since, it is in fact a misnomer.(62)

Rodriguez, a New Orleans attorney, purchased the tract adjoining the canal on September 29, 1808. By 1814 he was operating a farm complete with milk cows, horses, chickens, and gardens. Seven slaves provided labor. Rodriguez's house was a typical structure of the period, a raised plantation house of rectangular shape with two or three rooms inside. There were two entrances at each end, and the roof was hipped and dormered. A two-level gallery was apparently built of piers and colonettes. Archeological examination has disclosed that the house measured 58 feet in length by 22 feet wide, excluding the gallery. The house stood on a brick basement about one-half story high that was likely used for storage. Plaster-covered square brick piers with molded bases and capitals probably supported the lower gallery. A finished attic, evidently used for living purposes, gave the building an additional half-story. The upper part of the house, that above the basement, was covered with boards arranged horizontally. Contemporary illustrations and descriptions suggest that the house utilized numerous features representative of Louisiana colonial plantation architecture: French doors, colonettes, arched fanlites, a gallery stairway, a double-pitched roof, and storm doors with strap hinges.

Adjoining the main house on the east, or downriver, side about 6 yards distant was an older structure described as a creole cottage. This building, large enough to serve a family, could variously have served as a guest house, an office, and

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62. Betsy Swanson, "Annotated Archival Source Listing Relevant to the Archaeological, Architectural and Historical Interpretation of the Rodriguez Plantation Buildings, Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park" (3 vols.; unpublished report dated October, 1984, in the National Park Service Southwest Regional Office, Santa Fe), I, 4-6. Today the site of the Rodriguez house is approximately 20 yards east of the west boundary of the park and 186 yards from the present sea wall.

an overseer's house. Measuring about 40 feet by 40 feet, it had a gabled roof and, like the master house, a gallery in front. It was likely built entirely of brick.(63) (Some of the outbuildings of the Rodriguez Plantation were destroyed in the ensuing battles, and claims for the damage specified that Rodriguez lost a stable and coachhouse, four slave cabins, a kitchen, and a hen house. In addition, the master house sustained $300 damage and the cottage $150 damage, while a large quantity of fence was lost,(64) presumably taken to bolster Jackson's earthworks. Furthermore, it is apparent that during the occupation of the line the two Rodriguez houses served as an observation post and tactical center for Jackson's command. While the nearby Macarty residence served as the principal American headquarters, the Rodriguez structures became an important auxiliary headquarters close to the ramparts where unit movements and placement were carefully monitored. Rodriguez later described the occupation of his property:

> During the war, my house became the national house, a military post, the headquarters [of the American command] from the moment of the arrival of the English until their retreat, and for many days thereafter, it was in possession of our army, it was the camp Jackson, the headquarters established at the line. Two very well furnished houses and a well filled wine cellar were seized and put to the use of the army. . . .(65)

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63. Ibid., II, 23-26.

64. Ibid., I, 11.

65. J. Rodriguez, Defense Fulminante contre La Violation des Droits du Peuple (New Orleans, 1827), pp. 55-56, quoted in Betsy Swanson, "A Study of the Military Topography and Sites Associated with the 1814-15 New Orleans Campaign" (unpublished manuscript dated June, 1985, in the National Park Service Southwest Regional Office, Santa Fe), pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER V

THE AFFAIRS OF DECEMBER 28 AND JANUARY 1

On Christmas Day Jackson's troops noticed that the enemy had begun erecting their own battery along the road to deal with Carolina, which since the night of the 23rd had continued to plague the British position. Two days later the British opened a number of field pieces on the sloop 800 yards away using hotshot, and in a short time the vessel was set ablaze, the crew abandoning her before the magazine exploded an hour later. The British next turned their shore battery against another craft, Louisiana, but the vessel was promptly towed out of range of the guns and anchored along the right bank.(1) The British battery that had inflicted the damage contained two 9-pounders, four 6-pounders, two 5½-inch howitzers, and a small mortar.(2)

Jackson always kept one-half of his command under arms while construction of the defenses proceeded. Workmen were drawn from his reserves. During the night of December 24 the soldiers had completed the first battery, apparently on the right of the line and scheduled to house two 6-pounder cannon under Lieutenant Samuel Spotts. Two 24-pounders also reached Jackson from New Orleans but there was no battery finished to accomodate them.(3) On the 26th a two-gun battery was established by Lieutenant Henry Latrobe a short distance to the left of the road. Jackson moved Spotts's guns to the center of the line on December 27, replacing them on the right with a

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1. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 214, xlvii-xlviii; Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 214; "General Carroll's Expedition," pp. 52-53; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 184; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, pp. 347-48, 469-70; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 53-54; James, Border Captain, pp. 249-50; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 178-79.

2. Hill, Recollections of an Artillery Officer, pp. 326-27; Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 206-07; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 10, 16. See also the sketch map on p. 11.

3. Jackson, "Battle of New Orleans." Microfilm, Series 4, Reel 64.

12-pounder and a howitzer commanded by Captain Enoch Humphreys of the artillery. Later that day a 24-pounder was added to the line. More batteries were finished, notably what was referred to as Battery No. 2 and Battery No. 3, approximately 100 yards and 150 yards, respectively, from the levee. Guns were mounted in most of the completed positions during the evening of December 27, after platforms of "stocks and boards" had been constructed for the pieces. Jackson's artillerists were aided by the crewmen of the destroyed Carolina, who availed themselves to serve the newly positioned ordnance. In addition, the Baratarians at Fort St. John were ordered forward to help operate the batteries.(4)

At dawn on the 28th Major General Pakenham, who had arrived on Christmas, conducted an advance, properly a reconnoissance in force, against the Americans. Jackson's pickets withdrew from the Chalmette buildings, after which the structures were destroyed by the American artillery, along with some on the Bienvenue property. The pickets took up a line extending from the levee to the swamp, between the intrenchments and the first drainage ditch.(5) A British

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4. Ibid.,; Jackson to James Brown, February 4, 1815. War of 1812 manuscripts. Manuscript Department, Lilly Library, Indiana University; Latrobe, Impression Respecting New Orleans, sketch map, "Field of Battle"; Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," p. 11; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 179-80; "Particulars in relation to Battle of New Orleans"; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 132; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 185. DeGrummond, Renato Beluche, pp. 112-13. For mention of platforms, see Dagmar Renshaw, Lebreton, "The Men Who Won the Battle of New Orleans," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXXVIII (July, 1955), p. 28. It is impossible to precisely delineate the arrangement of Jackson's artillery on December 28, given the available evidence. No two primary accounts agree and some offer only partial descriptions of the types of ordnance and their placement. It is not understood, for example, just what disposition was made of Spotts's two 6-pounders on the 27th when Jackson directed them to the center of his line, although Spotts's guns later appeared in Battery No. 6.

5. Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, p. 226; Tatum, "Journal," p. 117; Brown, Amphibious p. 117. The advance was originally intended for the 27th but was postponed because of delays in preparing the meat ration of the troops. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 17.

officer reported that the American defenses held nine or ten guns, nearly half of which were located on the road to counter British field pieces.(6) Actually the emplaced guns numbered five--Battery No. 1 contained a 12-pounder and a howitzer; Battery No. 2 held a 6- or 12-pounder howitzer; Battery No. 3 contained two 24-pounders.(7) By now the works were being completed by blacks acquired from plantations around New Orleans, thereby freeing the soldiers for battle.(8) Most of the men who were armed carried flintlock muskets; each had two flints and twenty-five rounds of buck-and-ball cartridges in their pouches.(9) The British approached Jackson's right in columns marching some distance along the levee road accompanied by field guns ultimately directed against Louisiana and her subordinate vessels. But Louisiana's rounds proved more accurate and the British road battery, brought up in front of the burning Chalmette house, was soon silenced, a loss also attributed to the guns on the American works and principally a newly mounted 24-pounder. Jackson's artillery further damaged the British battery constructed near the levee. In the advance, Major General Keane led troops of the Eighty-fifth, Ninety-third, Ninety-fifth, and First West India regiments along the river while Major General Samuel Gibbs commanded troops of the Fourth, Twenty-first, Forty-fourth, and Fifth West India regiments moving farther toward the right on a road leading generally from the de la Ronde house. Some 700-800 yards away from the American intrenchments Gibbs unleashed a fierce rocket attack. Jackson responded with his few guns, but they executed well with grapeshot on the enemy column. Gibbs's soldiers approached the jutting swamp while the Ninety-fifth spread out in skirmish order across the plain from Keane's position. Some of the British led by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Rennie of the Twenty-first (Fusiliers) succeeded

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6. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 21.

7. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 186; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 57-58; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 104; DeGrummond, Renato Beluche, pp. 112-13.

8. Tatum, "Journal," p. 119.

9. "Report of the army accoutrements, and ammunition of the troops, under the command of Major Genl. Andrew Jackson." Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscripts Division, Chicago Historical Society.

in penetrating the swamp on the American left, where they reportedly exchanged fire with Coffee's men until they were recalled. Keane's column, meantime, was forced to seek cover during the artillery exchange with Louisiana. Soon Pakenham recalled all his troops, desirous now of deliberating over the American position before launching an attack.(10)

During the advance the British had taken cover from the American artillery in the field to the right of the levee road. Dickson stated that they hid in "ditches, Standing Cane trash, etc."(11) The main protection must have been the second major drainage ditch away from Jackson's line, just west of the Chalmette buildings. One soldier reported that "they were hurried into a wet ditch, of sufficient depth to cover the knees, where, leaning forward, they concealed themselves

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10. This account in prepared from materials in the following sources: Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 119-21; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 20-21; G.R. Gleig, The Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans, Orig. pub. London, 1827. Reprint, Totowa, New Jersey: Roman and Littlefield, n.d.), pp. 168-69, 170; Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 207-08; Cochrane, "Narrative"; "Diary of a British Officer," in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II; William Surtees, Twenty-five Years in the Rifle Brigade (Orig. pub. 1833. Reprint, London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1973), pp. 359-361; Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 314-15; Norman Pringle, Letters by Major Norman Pringle, Late of the 21st Royal Scots Fusileers, Vindicating the Character of the British Army, Employed in North America in the Years 1814-15, from Aspersions Cast Upon It in Stuart's "Three Years in North America" (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1833), p. 12; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 225-26; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 142; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 185-86; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 324, 326; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 55-58; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 113-14, 116; Reilly, British at the Gates, pp. 274-75; DeGrummond, Renato Beluche, pp. 113-14; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 104-05, 106-07, 125.

11. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 21-22.

behind some high rushes which grew upon its brink."(12) Some men took refuge behind the burning structures, behind hedges, and in collateral ditches in the vicinity. Later, British sailors joined the artillerymen in manually retrieving the damaged and abandoned 6-pounder guns from the road and pulling them several hundred yards to the rear, a task accomplished under exposure to Jackson's ordnance. Pakenham's army withdrew by degrees to a location approximately 2200 yards from the American works. The General directed that work begin on several forward batteries to support his next approach.(13)

Pakenham's hesitancy to commit his army further testified to the opposition mounted by the Americans. Indeed, since commencing their works Jackson's men had labored incessantly and in recent days the left, weakest part of the line, had been strengthened enough to resist musket fire. Moreover, the artillery complement was sufficiently strong to do damage to the British. In this duty the Baratarians, particularly those under Captain Dominique Youx stationed in Battery No. 3, had excelled. These "veteran gunners," wrote Latour, "served their [24-pounder] piece with the steadiness and precision of men practised in the management of cannon, and inured to warfare. . . ."(14) Lieutenant Charles E. Crawley, late of the schooner Caroline, occupied one battery to advantage with his crewmen.(15) Jackson's line received reinforcements in the form of two regiments of the Louisiana Militia. The first regiment

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12. Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, p. 170. See also Berson Earle Hill, Recollections of an Artillery Officer (2 vols.; London: Richard Bentley, 1836) I, 332; A.B. Ellis, The History of the First West India Regiment (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1885), p. 151; and Surtees, Twenty-Five Years in the Rifle Brigade, pp. 359-60.

13. Ibid., pp. 21-23; Atchison Diary, Historic New Orleans Collection, p. 4. Major Forrest, "Journal of the Operations Against New Orleans in 1814 and 1815," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961), p. 118.

14. Historical Memoir, p. 122.

15. Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 226-27; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, p. 329.

arrived on the evening of December 27 and assumed a position on the right, while the second arrived the following morning in time for the British advance and drew up on the left supporting Coffee.(16) These troops experienced a good deal of action, for the British rockets were directed mainly there and the redcoated soldiers approached closest in that quarter. Those of Gibbs's soldiers in column on the north near the swamp advanced along the lower side of the double ditch, partly covered by the post and rail fence, to a point about 100 yards behind the second drainage ditch and nearest the Americans. British troops toward the center of the field advanced to occupy the second ditch. Hoping to cut off part of the former body, a sortie of 200 riflemen of Carroll's division commanded by Lieutenant Colonel James Henderson pressed ahead through the outskirts of the swamp.

As reconstructed from available evidence, it appears that Henderson was to advance to his front through the woods north of the double ditch. When he reached the place where the fence approached the swamp (about 550 yards away) the colonel would pass around it and attack the right flank of the British column moving along the double ditch. Instead, through some apparent confusion in interpreting his orders, Henderson marched forward at a right oblique, passed the fence and crossed the double ditch near its junction with Rodriguez Canal, and continued in that manner until reaching the first drainage ditch. The movement put him opposite another column of Gibbs's soldiers that had meantime occupied the second ditch, thereby exposing his command to British fire from two directions, that from the group immediately in his front and that from the group he had originally intended to attack. Furthermore, Henderson's presence on that part of the field forced the American artillery to withhold its discharges against the British advance at that point.

Major Tatum described the expedition thusly:

> Whether the Colonel properly conceived the order given (verbally) or not, cannot now be ascertained. Certain it is that, instead of advancing under cover, he obliqued to his right and formed his party near the first Ditch and fronting the enemy in the second

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16. Ibid., pp. 122-23.

at least 100 paces to the right of the column he was to have attacked, and immediately in the range of the [supporting] fire intended from the batteries. In this position, he was attacked both in front & flank. This attack was repelled with great bravery but, as may be presumed, with little effect, as his fire was altogether directed against the party covered by the Ditch. The skirmish was short, the Colonel being killed after a few rounds and three of his men cut down nearly at the same time. A retreat was instantly commenced and effected without further loss. One of the men who had fallen in this confict was discovered to be alive, shortly after the retreat was effected. He arose three times and attempted his escape, on the third attempt he kept on his legs and made towards the lines under a heavy discharge of musketry from the enemy. Major Simpson & Capt. Collins, of the division, discovering this attempt of the wounded man, leaped over the works, crossed the Ditch and ran to his assistance, accompanied by one or two privates. They reached the wounded man and conveyed him to the lines in safety under a most Tremendous discharge from the enemy's line and the column on the flank. It was as great an act of bravery as was witnessed on the lines during the siege.(17)

Most of the Tennesseans, accompanied by Choctaw Indians, managed to extricate themselves from the encounter, which seems to have occurred almost simultaneously with Coffee's engagement with the British at the far left in which he successfully repelled the assault.(18) American casualties in the December 28 affair totaled 7 killed and 10 wounded.(19)

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17. "Journal," pp. 116-17. See also, Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 317-18; "General Carroll's Expedition," pp. 53-54.

18. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 123; Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 318; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 411; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 114-16; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 105-06, 107; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 189.

19. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 123. Elsewhere Latour listed casualties of 9 killed and 8 wounded. Tatum stated that 7 were killed and 8 wounded. Roosevelt, citing "official returns," accounted for 18 American casualties. Naval War of 1812, p. 470.

British losses are unknown though most estimates put the figure at 200 in killed, wounded, and missing.(20)

In the aftermath of the encounter of the 28th both the Americans and British consolidated their positions, strove to make improvements in their defenses, and planned their further defensive or offensive strategies. Jackson sent his inspector general to check the left end of the line where the British had pressed his flank. A heavy picket guard was posted in the woods to prevent another surprise; many Tennesseans and Choctaws crept through the swampy terrain and took a toll of enemy pickets penetrating from the other side. On December 30 a party of British reconnoitring the woods encountered the American pickets and drew a volley forcing them to retire with casualties.(21) Meantime, Jackson made additions to his artillery, receiving on the 29th two 12-pounder guns from Louisiana which he directed to be placed in battery behind the levee on the right bank of the river opposite his position. A 24-pounder was later added to this marine battery which was wholly manned by sailors. This unit was capable of harrassing the British left and enfilading their columns should another advance be attempted.

Following the reconnaissance of the 28th Pakenham withdrew his force one and one-half miles (Dickson said 2200 yards) from Jackson's line, arranging it on the Bienvenue property so that the Fourth and Forty-fourth were near the wood on the right, the Twenty-first on their left, and the Eighty-fifth and Ninety-third on their left, but away from the riverbank and the destructive fire of the marine battery across the stream. The British threw up small epaulements on their

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20. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 123; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 329-30; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 108. Theodore Roosevelt placed British losses at 58. Naval War of 1812, p. 470.

21. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 127-28; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 28; Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 171-72. Off the field, Jackson ordered the Louisiana legislature closed on learning that the body was prepared to surrender all to the British, in effect declaring martial law. See Report of the Committee of Inquiry, on the Military Measures Executed Against the Legislature (New Orleans, 1814); Report of the Committee of the Senate in Relation to the Fine Imposed on Gen. Jackson: Together with the Documents Accompanying the Same (New Orleans, 1814).

left to protect their troops from these guns, which kept up a steady fire against them. They also constructed a battery made of earth-filled sugar hogsheads near the levee from which to direct fire against Louisiana, but such lightly built units were quickly penetrated by American shot. Another battery so constructed was ordered to be placed on the British left "on the high road" to be mounted with 9-pounders. A half mile ahead of the encampment to the right near the swamp, the British over several days erected two redoubts intended to protect their pickets. Other pickets ranged toward the river, often concealing themselves from view behind houses and in small ditches. These men fired on Jackson's cavalry when they sought to investigate the area between the lines on the evening of the 29th.(22) Latour later described in some detail the construction of the redoubts on the British right. As can be seen, the fortifications adhered well to theoretical concepts governing the erection of such works:

> The redoubt which stood on Bienvenu's plantation towards the wood, was of a quadrilateral form, its interior dimensions being eighty, sixty-two, one hundred and eight, and seventy feet. Two embrasures were made on the small front opposite our lines, but forming an angle with them. Each of the lateral fronts had likewise an embrasure in the middle, and that on the back had an opening twelve feet wide, serving as an entrance, and covered by a traverse within the fort. Along the intervals between the embrasures above the ground, ran banquettes raised three feet, for the musketry. The parapet, which was fourteen feet thick at the base, and nine at the summit, had battlements for the musketry on three aspects; a fosse from twelve to fifteen feet wide and three deep surrounded the redoubt. . . . Some days after, the enemy established another redoubt in advance of this, towards our lines, on the ditch separating the plantations of Bienvenu and Chalmette. This latter redoubt was smaller in its dimensions, and

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22. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 126-27; Surtees, Twenty-five Years in the Rifle Brigade, pp. 361-63; Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 171-72; Hill, Recollections of an Artillery Officer, pp. 333-34; Tatum, "Journal," p. 117; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 23, 26; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, p. 311; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 415-16; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 112.

had an embrasure in each of the angles towards our lines.(23)

By December 30 the British had begun to place their artillery to target on the American works. Pakenham and Admiral Cochrane saw the necessity for bringing forward heavy guns and ammunition from the ships to blast Jackson's line, breach his intrenchments, and follow with an infantry charge to carry them.(24) Up until that ordnance arrived the British complement consisted of two 9-pounders, four 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, two 5½-inch howitzers, and three 5½-inch mortars, besides the rocket detachment. Most of this artillery had been placed in the embrasured levee battery directed against Caroline.(25)

By the last day of December guns had been installed in the right redoubt facing Jackson's left and they opened briskly on American pickets in the area. The guns of Louisiana again responded, causing some of the enemy positioned nearer the river to take shelter in available buildings. Two naval 18-pounders were now mounted in the hogshead battery by the levee road. Other breaching batteries were under construction. The flimsy units were built of sugar casks filled with earth only one cask thick by one high, scarcely affording concealment of workers and gun crews. Moreover, some were largely open on the left, thereby exposed to American guns across the river. That night the British traced and constructed two large batteries within 700 yards of the intrenchments. One stood near the drainage ditch west of the Chalmette complex and

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23. Historical Memoir, pp. 136-37. A flesche, or redan, was proposed to be built along the ditch about midway between the redoubt and the levee road. See J.F. Bourgoyne, Plan of Battlefield, Battle of New Orleans. Map Division, Historic New Orleans Collection.

24. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 24; Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, p. 172; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 118; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 112; DeGrummond, Renato Beluche, p. 114.

25. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 10-11, 13, 23, 24; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 52-53. For a discussion of amounts of British ammunition used in the New Orleans campaign, see Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," pp. 44-45.

about 350 yards from the Mississippi; the other stood approximately 300 yards farther to the right also on the ditch. Platforms were quickly built and by dawn two 9-pounders, three 6-pounders, and two howitzers stood in the former and six 18-pounders and four 24-pounders in the latter. The batteries, built hurriedly, lacked sufficient strength to make them impregnable. Furthermore, the platforms were unsteady. As the construction proceeded, and the heavy guns were hauled into place, nearly half of Pakenham's army was posted in front to guard the laborers.(26)

On the evening of December 31 Pakenham deliberated with Cochrane, Gibbs and Keane, then issued orders for an assault on the morrow:

> When the Batteries have silenced the Enemys fire and opened his works, the position will be carried as follows.
>
> The Advance of 400 Men divided into a firing party of 100 Men, in Line, and 50 paces in rear of them the remaining 300 three deep, their Arms slung to carry fascines, the fascines are to fill the Ditch opposite the Breach, and the Column will move at close files and throw them in one Spot the fascines being lodged the Men will extend along the ditch, the firing party taking ground also the flanks.
>
> The 2d. Brigade to assault in Column of Battalions left in front 50 yards interval, not a Shot to be fired, and no obstruction should impede the head of this Column 'till Master of the Enemys Line, and such

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26. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 131; Surtees, Twenty-Five Years in the Rifle Brigade, pp. 363-64; Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 172-73; Cochrane, "Narrative"; Forrest, "Journal of Operations," pp. 118-19; Hill, Recollections of an Artillery Officer, pp. 340, 341-42; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 24, 25-26, 27, 29, 30. Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 250-51; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 154-55. Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 416-17; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," pp. 48-49, 52. Apparently Pakenham temporarily entertained the notion of conducting siege approaches against Jackson's line rolling hogsheads filled with cotton in advance of his forces. This idea seems to have been dropped. Ibid., pp. 412-13.

Troops as they may hold upon it should be charged by Corps on Entry as quickly as possible--the leading Regiments may attack by Wings, and the succeeding Ones by Battalions, when the Enemy are shaken a new formation will be made.

False attacks will be made on both flanks from the left of the 3d Brigade, and through the Wood on the right of the 2d Brigade. Major General Keanes Demonstration should not amount to a Committal unless an Evidently favourable opportunity presents itself, but every facility to overcome obstacles should be placed at Major General Keanes disposal.

Eighty British and 100 of the 5th. West India Regiment to enter the Wood in front of the redoubt on the right of the Line before day and endeavour by a small circuit to reach the left flank of the Enemys position; if they fall in with the Enemys outposts before the hour of assault, they should conceal themselves 'till the general attack, when every exertion should be made (at whatever distance) to be made (at whatever distance) to attract his attention by Firing, Bugling &c., and if circumstances actually permit, to penetrate his Rear.

Three Companies of the 4th Regiment to be formed in Column of half Companies close to the Wood in a Line with the several Columns to prevent the Enemy sortieing from his left at the time of assault, and this will seem a reserve to the flankers detached thro' the Wood.(27)

British ordnance disposed for the attack was as follows:

No. 1. Lieutenant Speer. Levee battery, two 18-pounders with facility for hot shot. To direct fire against American shipping as required.

No. 2. Captain Lempriere. Battery on levee road, two 18-pounders. To concentrate fire against batteries on Jackson's right and against the Macarty house headquarters.

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27. Charles R. Forrest, The Battle of New Orleans: A British View. The Journal of Major C.R. Forrest, Asst. QM General, Thirty-fourth Regiment of Foot (New Orleans: The Hauser Press, 1961), pp. 36-37.

No. 3. Captain Lawrence. At right of Chalmette slave quarters, approximately 350 yards from the river. Three 5½-inch mortars. To direct shells into the right side of Jackson's intrenchments, including Batteries Nos. 3 and 4.

No. 4. Captain Lane. Slightly ahead of foregoing unit, rocket battery.

No. 5. Major Mitchell and Captain Carmichael. At right of No. 3, and approximately 400 yards from the river. Breach battery of two 9-pounders, three 6-pounders, and two 5½-inch howitzers. To direct fire against the center of the American line; also against the Macarty house and Battery No. 5.

No. 6. Captain Crawford and Captain Money. Two units, one on either side of the center road roughly 800 yards from the river and about 550 yards from the American line. Six 18-pounders in one, four 24-pounder carronades in the other. To concentrate fire against Jackson's artillery in general, then direct fire against the line left of center.

No. 7. Lieutenant Crawley. To the right of No. 7, rocket battery.(28)

Battery construction and armament was supervised by Colonel Alexander Dickson, Pakenham's chief of artillery, and Lieutenant Colonel John F. Bourgoyne, supervisor of fortifications of the royal engineers. The laborious undertaking lasted until 2 a.m., with emplacement of the pieces comprising a

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28. Compiled from Dickson "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 30-31; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 59-63; Meuse, Weapons of the Battle of New Orleans, pp. 33-35; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 124-26; and Latour, "Plan of the Attack and Defence of the American Lines. . . ." For positions of the different batteries, see J.F. Bourgoyne, Plan of the Battle of New Orleans, ca. 1815. Manuscript Division, Historic New Orleans Collection. (A somewhat refined version of this plan has been attributed to Colonel Alexander Dickson. See BPRO, London. War Office, Vol. 141.) See especially Dickson's sketch map in "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 36.

wearisome, time consuming process for the sailors from Cochrane's fleet who worked alongside Pakenham's soldiers.(29)

Meanwhile, the American troops had made improvements on their line, too. Jackson had planned to establish five or six redoubts along the intrenchments but the nature of the soil and the difficulty experienced just raising batteries militated against such an enterprise. There has existed certain confusion over the number of the various batteries on the line, with most sources citing eight structures and at least one, nine. Latour, moreover, presents several discrepancies between the batteries shown on his map, "Plan of the Attack and Defense of the American Lines," and those enumerated in his text.(30) Maps drawn contemporaneously with the battles of New Orleans are essentially in agreement with Latour in regard to Batteries Nos. 1-4, although in the case of Batteries Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, there exist several variances in types of guns employed and names of battery commanders.(31)

The MacRea document cited above may come closest to presenting the state of the American artillery on January 1 and 8, 1815. This document accounts for nine regular batteries on Jackson's line and contains not only the names of occupants in individual structures but the casualties suffered in each during the encounters of December 28, January 1, and January 8, suggesting that few personnel shifts occurred among the batteries throughout this period.(32)

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29. Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 61-62. For description of the travail involved in forwarding and emplacing the artillery, see Meuse, Weapons of the Battle of New Orleans, pp. 38-39.

30. These are explained in Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 80.

31. Latour, "Plan of the Attack and Defense of the American Lines. . .;" Ellery, "Plan Showing the disposition of the American Troops. . . ;" William Joyes map, Filson Club Collections, Louisville, Kentucky.

32. "List of officers and men serving at the Batteries." With the exception of this listing, the previously assigned numerical designation for the batteries will be used.

Coupled with data drawn from the other aforementioned sources, this document, signed by Jackson's artillery commander, provides data about the configuration of the American artillery as of January 1, 1815. Thus, the batteries consisted of the following:

No. 1. Captain Enoch Humphreys and thirty men. Two brass 12-pounders, one howitzer. Approximately 20 yards from the river.

No. 2. Lieutenant Otho Norris and seventeen men. One iron 24-pounder. Approximately 75 yards from Battery No. 1.

No. 3. Captain Dominique Youx and twelve men. One iron 24-pounder. Approximately 40 yards from Battery No. 2.

No. 4. Captain Renato Beluche and fourteen men. One iron 24-pounder. Apparently adjoining Battery No. 3.

No. 5. (No. 4 in other accounts) Lieutenant Charles E. Crawley and sixteen men. One iron 32-pounder. Approximately 220 yards from Battery No. 4.

No. 6. (No. 5 in other accounts) Lieutenant Colonel William D. Perry and twenty-one men. One brass 12-pounder and one brass 6-pounder. (The Joyes map indicates that this battery held one 12-pounder; Latour's map indicates that it held two 6-pounders.) Approximately 180 yards from Battery No. 5 (4).

No. 7. (No. 6 in other accounts) Brigadier General Garrigues Flaujeac and ten men. One brass 18-pounder and one brass 6-pounder. Apparently adjacent to Battery No. 6 (5).

No. 8. (No. 7 in other accounts) Lieutenant Samuel Spotts and sixteen men. One 18-pounder and one 6-pounder. Approximately 200 yards from Battery No. 7 (6).

No. 9. (No. 8 in other accounts) Lieutenant Harrison and ten men. One small howitzer. Approximately 45 yards from Battery No. 8 (7).

In addition, the MacRea list accounts for a 13-inch mortar in the charge of Lieutenants Gilbert and Jules Lefebvre with

three men, although this piece apparently did not fire until January 9 after the main battle was over and then with but scant effect.(33) No guns were emplaced to the left of Battery No. 8 as the terrain there turned rapidly to quagmire incapable of supporting any type of platform.(34) Across the river Commander Patterson had mounted one 24-pounder and two 12-pounders.(35)

New Year's Day, 1815, broke over the fog-enshrouded plain. Part of Jackson's command was parading for inspection behind the works when about 9 o'clock, the fog having lifted, Pakenham's artillery opened the battle, sending salvo after salvo of rockets, shot, and grape into the American lines. But Jackson's men were not caught entirely unaware, and within a few minutes his artillerists responded with a strong barrage from both sides of the river, their rounds quickly taking effect among the British. Although Pakenham's guns, positioned on a lower plane, easily targeted on the American artillery, within two hours the advantage shifted as the flimsy British batteries of earth-filled sugar casks were knocked apart by well-aimed

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33. Ibid.; Joyes map; Ellery, "Plan Showing the disposition of the American Troops. . . ."; Latour, "Plan of the Attack and Defense of the American Lines. . . ." Tatum, "Journal," p. 133; Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," p. 31. Another contemporary accounting of American ordnance appears in "Key of the Print," published to accompany Laclotte's "Defeat of the British Army. . . ." Laclotte, who was present, listed the artillery as follows: Humphreys, two 12-pounders; Norris, one 24-pounder; Dominique and Beluche, two 24-pounders; Crawley, one 32-pounder; Perry, two 12-pounders; Garrigues, one 12-pounder; Spotts, one 18-pounder, one 14-pounder, and small howitzer. Variations of the battery complements and positions, generally derived from Latour, appear in Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 80; DeGrummond, Renato Beluche, pp. 115-16. Buell stated that the mortar was of 10-inch calibre. History of Andrew Jackson, I, 406.

34. Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," p. 32. Brown lists sixteen pieces of ordnance on Jackson's line January 1. Amphibious Campaign, p. 126.

35. Ibid.

rounds from Jackson's line. The seven-gun breach battery under Major Mitchell and Captain Carmichael was abandoned after American shot perforated its epaulement and damaged a howitzer and several carriages. Further damage was inflicted on other batteries; reportedly, five 18-pounder British guns were dismounted and had to be abandoned, while eight other guns could not be pointed because their carriages had been hit. The levee battery exchanged fire with Patterson's guns across the Mississippi, damaging the American water battery, but doing no harm to its occupants. The Louisiana hugged the shoreline out of range of the British weapons and took no part in the battle. After nearly four hours the British ran low of ammunition and the firing slackened; supplies were sent ahead from the water battery but by the time they arrived Pakenham had ordered all firing to cease.

Jackson's command suffered negligibly during the artillery exchange, most of the British rounds flying high over the line and falling harmlessly in the rear. Some reserve troops posted behind the line received injuries, and a keelboat some 200 yards beyond along the riverbank laden with military supplies was hit by British shot. The Macarty house, Jackson's headquarters behind the line, was struck repeatedly by high-flying rounds from the British river battery and the structure was severely damaged. Its galleries collapsed, forcing officers inside, including Jackson, to seek refuge in the garden. Those rounds striking the American parapet sank harmlessly into the mud, in effect strengthening the works. The British 24-pounders, moreover, were incapable of maintaining a steady fire because every recoil rolled the heavy naval carriages back off their short platforms. Yet some American guns were damaged; the 32-pounder in Battery No. 4 was struck and silenced, also the 12-pounder in Battery No. 5. The 24-pounder in Battery No. 3 sustained injury to its carriage. Further, the caissons on the right loaded with black powder were struck by rockets and exploded.

Meantime, Pakenham's infantrymen lay in ditches to the front and rear of their own batteries, prepared to assault in formation once the intrenchments were breached. Fascines and ladders had been placed in the picket redoubt on the right ready for the soldiers to claim in their advance. With the failure of the British guns, however, the opportunity for advancing never came and the infantry troops evacuated the ditches. The American artillery fire kept them stationary and removed from combat for the duration of the bombardment,

although many were hit by artillery rounds and grape shot during the dueling.(36)

On Jackson's left a British sortie of 200 men penetrated the woods and swamp as on the 28th, but Coffee's militia and the Choctaws, supported by the Louisiana militia, easily repelled it.(37) Throughout the battle Major Hinds posted his Mississippi dragoons to the right rear of the line near the levee. By 1 p.m. most of the British guns had stopped firing; two hours later the attack ended altogether and the rising smoke revealed to the Americans the extensive injury their guns had caused Pakenham. That evening Jackson ordered half a gill of whiskey for each of his men to toast their success.(38)

Casualties for the Americans in the January 1 engagement consisted of 11 men killed and 23 wounded; the British lost 31

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36. Later complaints arose over the fact that the British infantry had not been ordered to advance at the initiation of the artillery barrage and before the Americans could respond. "For more than ten minutes they did not fire a gun . . . and a whole brigade of infantry close at hand, burned to be ordered on to the assault, and with loud words demanded why they were not led on. . . . But to their utter astonishment no such order was given. . . ." Cooke, Narrative of Events, p. 211.

37. Dickson stated that this movement was a "false attack" intended to divert the Americans attention from the anticipated frontal assault. "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 38.

38. This account is based on the following sources: "Diary of a British Officer," in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 109-10; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 132-36; "Journal of an Officer, 1814-15," p. 645; Ellery, "Notes and Comments"; Labreton, "Men Who Won the Battle of New Orleans," p. 29; Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 210-11; George Laval Chesterton, Peace, War, and Adventure: An Autobiographical Memoir of George Laval Chesterton (2 vols.; London: Longman, Brown, Greene, and Longmans, 1853), I, 193-95; Laffite, Journal of Jean Laffite, p. 60; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 35, 37-38; Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 326-29; Tatum, "Journal," pp. 120-22; General Court Martial, pp. 90-91, 95; Harry Smith, Autobiography of Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith (London: John Murray, 1901. Typescript copy in the library of the Chalmette Unit,

killed and 39 wounded.(39) Following the cessation of the bombardment the British infantrymen stayed in position near the batteries to cover the removal of the guns. Louisiana, which had remained silent through the day, now opened a fire on the British troops near the river and on the battery that straddled the levee road. During the night the weather turned to rain and the ground became so muddy the soldiers and seamen had a difficult time pulling the heavy ordnance back and some cannon had to be abandoned.(40) Some officers blamed the day's setback squarely on the artillery. "Such a failure in this boasted arm was not to be expected," wrote Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, "and I think it a blot on the artillery escutcheon."(41) In truth, the British guns failed because of poorly built batteries and a dearth of ammunition, together with the fact that the American guns were heavier and better trained

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38. (Cont.) Jean Lafitte National Historical Park), pp. 4-5; "General Carroll's Expedition," pp. 56-57; "Particulars in relation to Battle of N. Orleans"; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 187-88; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 334-35; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 157-58, 159, 161; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 417-20, 422; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 64, 65-66; Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," pp. 22-23; DeGrummond, Renato Beluche, pp. 115, 117; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 113-14, 115, 116, 117; Smith, Battle of New Orleans, pp. 58-59; James, Border Captain, pp. 257-59; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 202-03, 204.

39. Tatum, "Journal," p. 122; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 135, lix; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 117-18, citing Hill, Recollections of an Artillery Officer, II.

40. Forrest, "Journal of Operations," p. 120; Tatum, "Journal," p. 122; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. cxlviii-cxlix; Hill, Recollections of an Artillery Officer, II, 5; Surtees, Twenty-Five Years in the Rifle Brigade, p. 367. For details of the withdrawal of the guns, see Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 39-40, and Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," p. 25.

41. Memoir of the Life of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1873), I, 334.

against the enemy.(42) Pakenham decided to await the arrival of two new regiments, the Seventh and Forty-third infantries, before advancing again.(43)

One feature of the January 1 battle deserves more than passing notice since it affected to some degree the performance of Jackson's artillery as well as the construction of his batteries. This was the frequently stated use of cotton bales, an element that since 1815 has assumed inordinate proportion in the folklore surrounding the Battle of New Orleans. That cotton bales were used to a certain extent in Jackson's line has been well established by both American and British contemporary sources. In just what manner they were employed is not uniformly agreed upon, however. Latour, who had an immediate and personal interest in the construction of the batteries, reported the following: "The cheeks of the embrasures of our batteries were formed of bales of cotton, which the enemy's balls [on January 1] struck and made fly in all directions."(44) The use of cotton bales in the construction of embrasures is confirmed by the British artillerist Alexander Dickson, who noted that Jackson's batteries had "the advantage of good embrasures substantially constructed of Cotton bags."(45) These two sources are significant in that they were written by participants close to the event and that each mentions the use of bales only in conjunction with the embrasures. Jackson biographer Augustus C. Buell described the bales as being used in place of gabions in constructing embrasures and traverses in the batteries, and such disposition makes sense, although Buell seemingly concocted conversation between Jackson and Latour concerning the matter.(46)

The first known mention of cotton bales being used extensively in the battery construction appears in the diary of

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42. Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," p. 56; Casey, "Artillery at the Battle of New Orleans," p. 24.

43. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 38-39.

44. Historical Memoir, p. 134.

45. "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 35.

46. History of Andrew Jackson, I, 406-07. See also, Reilly, British at the Gates, p. 280, quoting General William Carroll.

the artist and architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, whose son had served on the line. During a visit to the battlefield in 1819 accompanied by the merchant Vincent Nolte, Latrobe commented on Battery No. 2 which Lieutenant Henry Latrobe had helped build more than four years earlier:

> The battery . . . was strengthened and indeed built, by laying down a mass of Bales of Cotton, covering them with earth, piling others upon them, and thus producing perhaps a much better work than harder materials could have supplied. When the campaign was at an end, the bales were taken up, and in the place of the battery is now a pond and a gap in the line.(47)

Latrobe noted that the other batteries were similarly constructed using 200 cotton bales confiscated from merchant Vincent Nolte.(48) In 1814-15 bales were not shaped squarely as they were later in the nineteenth century. Rather they consisted of large round bags of compressed cotton measuring about 9 feet in length and 2 feet in diameter and weighing about 300 pounds each.(49) It is altogether possible that some of the batteries, especially those on the right of the line near the river and thus readily accessible to supplies of cotton, used the bales as described by Latrobe, probably as an expedient during the race to fortify and bring artillery forward around December 25-26. Most likely such use of cotton was experimental; the bales could have been interspersed in an elongated manner with layers of earth to form the epaulement as well as to revet the embrasure cheeks of the batteries.(50) It

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47. Impressions Respecting New Orleans, pp. 45-46.

48. Ibid., pp. 73-74.

49. Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 210, 270; George A. Lowry, "Ginning and Baling Cotton, from 1798 to 1898," American Society of Mechanical Engineers (1898), p. 819.

50. The British participant Cooke, writing years later, said that "large cotton bags were brought . . . to form epaulements [sic], and to flank the embrasures of the American batteries." Narrative of Events, p. 210.

is indeed possible that after being battered for days by British artillery and exposed to lengthy periods of rain while laden down with the mud of the rampart, the bales could be profitably extricated for commercial purposes.

So far as the use of bales in the embrasure construction was concerned, their value proved something less than anticipated, for according to Alexander Walker, who based his narrative largely on the testimony of participants, the bales were not only subject to being knocked out of the embrasures by enemy shot, but they caught fire and, when flying about, posed a danger to the ammunition. "Some of Plauche's battalion volunteered to extinguish the burning cotton, and, slipping over the breastwork, succeeded in doing so. . . . After this no cotton bales were ever used in the breastwork."(51) Jean Laffite, writing years after the event, also remarked that the bales caught fire and threatened the American stores of gunpowder.(52) Perhaps meaningfully, Laffite's reference was directed to the large magazine midway between Batteries Nos. 1 and 2. The combustible nature of the bales, together with their smouldering tendencies that caused blinding smoke, was

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51. Jackson and New Orleans, p. 261.

52. Journal of Jean Laffite, p. 60. Several participants discounted the use of cotton bales. "The cotton-bale story is positively untrue," remarked Brigadier General Henry W. Palfrey in 1857, more than four decades later. "I was a lieutenant. I fought behind that breastwork and if you will but consider the inflammable quality of cotton you will see how utterly impracticable such a material would be. . . . It is not impossible that a few bales found upon the plantation might have been thrown into the work to help it on; but they would of necessity have to be thickly covered with earth. Cotton-bales would be the very worst material for any work of that kind, and, as an active participant in the battle, I have no knowledge of their use." Quoted in The Sunday Dispatch (Philadelphia), February 19, 1877. William Darby also denied the use of bales in Jackson's line. Letter on Battle of New Orleans signed "Verita," January 18, 1855. Manuscript Division, Cincinnati Historical Society. Jackson himself stated many years after the battle that no cotton bales were used in his earthworks. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, III, 633.

probably the reason why Jackson ordered all bales removed from the line after the January 1 engagement.(53)

Forty years after the Battle of New Orleans the story of use of cotton bales on Jackson's line received a new slant. Vincent Nolte reported in his memoirs that Jackson had accepted a French engineer's (Latour?) suggestion for "filling up the hollowed redoubts with cotton-bales, laid to the depth of three or four, one above the other: the wooden platforms . . . were to be placed upon the cotton-bales, and there secured. . . ." Nolte repeated the concept of the use of bales for lining embrasures, adding that the procedure involved "six or eight bales fastened to the main-body of the redoubt [sic] by iron rings, and covered with adhesive earth."(54) It is not known what size the rings were or how they fastened the bale revetment to the epaulement; presumably the rings were sufficiently large to encircle a bale (bag) of cotton. Most likely the bales were laid horizontally atop each other along the embrasure walls. Nolte specifically stated that bales were employed in Battery No. 3.(55)

It is indeed unlikely that Jackson used cotton bales beneath his artillery platforms. That such a recommendation was made by a French engineer is equally improbable, for cannon thus mounted would have been unsteady and difficult to manage as the contents of the cotton bags shifted under the great weight of the pieces. Nonetheless, the myth continues and as recently as 1981 that aspect of the cotton bale story was perpetuated.(56) Evidently bales were used only to line embrasures and possibly to raise the epaulement in the batteries. Those employed in the former manner were seemingly discarded following the battle on January 1. One participant reported that the bales were "taken off the works and thrown

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53. Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, p. 111.

54. Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, pp. 215-16. See also Smith, Battle of New Orleans, p. 59.

55. Ibid., p. 216.

56. Owsley, Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands, p. 148. See also, Reilly, British at the Gates, pp. 279-80; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 104; and Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," p. 21; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," p. 53; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 119.

in the rear, where the men broke them open and used the layers of which they were composed for mattresses."(57) Nevertheless, the account of their widespread use continues to flourish in near apochryphal proportion perhaps because of the appeal of its uniquely Southern quality.

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57. John Richard Ogilvy, Kentucky at New Orleans (1828), quoted in Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 409.

CHAPTER VI

FINAL PREPARATONS

While joyous in his success following the January 1 engagement, Jackson did not allow his men to enjoy a false sense of security. The British gave no sign of retiring to their ships and Jackson realized their renewal of the attack would be only a matter of time. After the January 1 battle he received reinforcement of some 500 men of the second division of Louisiana militia from the northern part of the state. But these troops were unarmed and Jackson sent them to help raise a new line of fortifications one and one-half miles to his rear. More troops were expected momentarily. On the 2nd Jackson sent out mounted and foot patrols to ascertain enemy activities in his front.(1) He also continued the strengthening of his works, particularly those on the left where Coffee's men still maintained vigilance. When some soldiers threatened mutiny over toiling on the intrenchments beside several hundred slaves, Jackson managed to impress their officers with the value of the work and no revolt took place.(2)

The American artillery meantime kept up its play on the British position. Guns mounted on the right bank fired hotshot across the river at the Bienvenue structure while black laborers on that side worked to open a line of intrenchments from the river back into the woods similar to those at Jackson's position.(3) The major innovation to Jackson's line after the battle of January 1 occurred on the extreme right front where on the 6th a small detached flanking redoubt was begun. Tatum referred to this structure as a demi-bastion situated across Rodriguez Canal from the intrenchment. "Two Embrasures were constructed in its base to rake the Canal and

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1. Niles' Weekly Register, February 11, 1815, p. 376; Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 136; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 426.

2. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 189. Tatum implied that the refinement to the left end of the line occurred after the January 1 encounter. "Journal," p. 122.

3. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 47, 48, 50; Colonel Alabranche to Major General Jacques Philippe Villere, January 4, 1815. Villere Papers, Historic New Orleans Collection.

plane in front of the line, and two others in its face for the purpose of raking the Levee and road." A dry ditch encircled the structure from canal ready to receive water should the river rise. Two 6-pounder guns, one on a naval carriage, the other on a field carriage, occupied the redoubt and were capable of being shifted from front to flank as exigency dictated. The interior of the work was protected by some of Captain Thomas Beale's New Orleans riflemen posted behind the main line. Access was from the rear via a plank laid across Rodriguez Canal.(4)

Constructed on the advice of the engineers against Jackson's better judgment, the redoubt possessed several deficiencies, notably a very low parapet and no banquette. "It was intended to have raked the ditch, but . . . a discharge of grape or cannister [from the line] would both have alarmed and endangered the men placed behind it. . . ."(5) Furthermore, the structure interposed itself between the British and the line, thereby blocking the shots of Jackson's marksmen.(6) The structure remained incomplete by the night of January 7, when it was manned by a company of the Seventh Infantry under Lieutenant Andrew Ross. Lieutenant Dauquemeny de Marant

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4. "Journal," p. 168; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 144-45. See also "Battle of New Orleans, 8th January, 1815," Blackwood's Magazines, XXIV (September, 1828), p. 355; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 172. Meuse, Weapons of the Battle of New Orleans, p. 30. Buell stated that the levee formed the river side of the structure. History of Andrew Jackson, I, 401. Laclotte's engraving, "Defeat of the British Army . . .," indicates that the work rather straddled the levee and that, furthermore, the side facing the river was lined with fence palings, probably as an outer revetment. Laclotte places this side of the redoubt within but a few feet of the water's edge. Some writers, Walker, for example, describe the fortification as a hornwork, which it was not. Jackson and New Orleans, p. 307. Walker claimed the structure contained three embrasures (Ibid.), whereas Casey believed it contained two. Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 79.

5. Ellery, "Notes and Comments."

6. Latrobe, Impressions Respecting New Orleans, p. 43.

commanded its guns with a detachment of the Forty-fourth Infantry.(7)

Some confusion exists over this structure as represented in a sketch of the right of Jackson's line drawn a few years after the battle by Benjamin Latrobe. Latrobe shows a redoubt constructed in the rear of the line, indicating that "in order to build the redoubt, the corner of [Macarty's] garden was cut off. . . ." However, the redoubt begun on the 6th was ahead of the canal, not behind it. While Latrobe does show some disturbance to the terrain fronting the line, it is clear that his perception was that the redoubt behind the line was the work on the right that played a major role in the action of January 8. It is believed, however, that the structure described by Latrobe was actually a battery erected after January 8 on the road and below the levee, as shown on Abraham Ellery's and Thomas Joyes's maps. The configuration of this battery/redoubt aligns well with Latrobe's sketch, and it is likely it was this structure that concerned Latrobe.(8)

During the week of comparative inaction that followed January 1 the Americans also took care of routine military matters behind the intrenchments. Jackson had earlier made reassignments of troops, for example, in late December sending 200 Tennesseans plus the Fourth Louisiana Militia and a unit of Choctaws to man the Chef Menteur defenses where the British had reportedly made a feint. He also brought Lacoste's battalion from that place to assume a position between Plauche's and Daquin's men on Rodriguez Canal near the First and Second regiments.(9) The position was called by Jackson "Camp

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7. "John Coffee Order Book, 1814-1815." John Coffee Papers. Southern Historical Collection. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; National Archives. Record Group 98. Records of U.S. Army Commands, 1784-1921. Entry 73; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 173; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 79.

8. See Latrobe, Impressions Respecting New Orleans, p. 45; Ellery, "Plan Showing the disposition of the American Troops. . . ."; Joyes Map. Latour does not show this structure in "Plan of the Attack and Defence of the American lines. . . ."

9. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 114-16; James, Border Captain, p. 247; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 55; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 175.

Rodriguez," but by the troops it was known as "Camp Jackson." Some distance (about 200 yards) behind the line the reserve troops, and particularly officers, occupied what few tents were available and shanties that could be constructed of materials at hand, each one reportedly sporting "any small apology for a flag or ensign that Creole fancy or American ingenuity could hastily devise."(10) Food was in abundance, for Jackson had summarily seized what subsistence stores he needed, as well as transport vehicles, by virtue of his martial law edict.(11) Behind the rows of tents and shelters a line of sentinels was posted to keep the soldiers from leaving the area without permission.(12) Some idea of the routine and appearance of the area immediately behind the intrenchments was given by a participant from Tennessee:

> The army [was] . . . employed without intermission in strengthening their works, and their time was so taken up with watching and labouring as not to admit them to recruit their bodies which were worn with excessive toil and waking; half of the troops were acting centinels [sic] one part of the night, and the other half the other part; indeed their sleep short and interrupted as it was, could hardly have been procured at a less price than all the privations which they daily and nightly endured; for their situation was so low that their beds of earth were inundated, and sometimes entirely overflowed by the rains which fell; and part of the field the works where General Carroll's left was posted, was one continual mire, those spots alone on which the tents were pitched and some small narrow tracks excepted which intersected the mire, and that served as pathways to the breastwork.(13)

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10. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 175; Lebreton, "Men Who Won the Battle of New Orleans," p. 29; Samuel Weller letters in Courier-Journal: Louisville, February 5, 1888. Filson Club Collection; Ellery, "Notes and Comments." Ellery stated that blankets and clothing were lacking. Ibid.

11. Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 404.

12. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 175-76.

13. "General Carroll's Expedition" pp. 58-59.

The fact that some tents were set up close behind the intrenchments as mentioned above is borne out by Laclotte's depiction of the field of battle. Tents were placed in a line between the levee and the Rodriguez House. Beyond that structure more shelter tents were interspersed along the line all the way to the approximate position of the inverted redan. These tents likely afforded sheltered respite for soldiers stationed at the defenses. More specific data is thus far lacking about activities associated with the area directly behind the line, although reasoned conjecture would indicate that the muddy zone was used for the distribution of powder, rations, and other supplies; the movement of artillery and ordnance matériel by horse and by wagon into battery positions; activities involved with service of the pieces; conferences among officers; the resting of soldiers serving in the intrenchments; and the parading of relief troops into the line. Latrine pits would have been spaced intermittently along the line, perhaps 20 or more yards beyond the tents.

In front of the intrenchments nearly 500 yards away Jackson kept mounted pickets stationed to watch the British movements and to alert his command in case of another attack. Hinds's dragoons also assisted in the daily reconnaissance of the enemy when major fighting was not occurring. Occasionally they exchanged fire with the British pickets. During the principal engagements the dragoons sought a secure position away from the cannonade almost one-half mile behind the intrenchments.(14) On December 26 some American cavalry approached along the edge of the swamp then rode out on the plain approximately 450 yards away from the British position, igniting the cane rubble before withdrawing, an action that, observed Dickson, "will be to our advantage, as it clears the ground for advancing."(15) On another occasion Hinds paraded his horsemen within 200 yards of the British, an action that

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14. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 113-14; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 175-76; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, p. 321; Letter of James Kempe, January 9, 1815, as published in the Mississippi Republican, January 18, 1815. Manuscript Division, Southern Historical Collection; "Trimble's Account of the Battle of New Orleans."

15. "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 14.

resulted in several soldiers and horses being wounded.(16) Seeming to be ever the one to challenge danger, Hinds on December 30 led his men in a bold charge on British troops concealed in a broad ditch some distance before the American line. The cavalrymen bounded their horses over the incredulous soldiers, then wheeled in front of the British line and jumped back across the ditch, largely escaping a volley from its amazed occupants.(17)

One American, James H. Bradford, described the function of picket duty as well as his personal role in the opening of the episode of January 1:

> In the morning while the fog was yet thick, Brunson, James Shaw, Brashear, . . . Th. Carvey and myself, commanded by Corpl Ch. Johnson, were placed on the extreme left of the advance picket guard. Brunson [was] next [to] the swamp, next Shaw, Brashear, Carvey, and then my humble self, having a distance of about 50 yards each to ride back and forward. In a short time I discovered the enemy watching us, and in about 12 or 15 minutes he commenced . . . firing at about 120 yards distance. The first ball passed so near me as for me to feel the commotion of the air in my face. Mr. Carvey's situation became unpleasant, as all were most positively fired at him. Brashear retired to my right, so did Shaw, and I requested Mr. Carvey to do the same, as I know his mare was very slow of foot. Brunson, who is firm as a block of marble was above on my left. He stood undismayed. By this time the fog had so far cleared away that we could see the enemy's battery erected the proceeding [sic] night, about 200 yards in our front. . . . On our left we could perceive about 2000 of the enemy in motion, as we supposed, to turn our left, which was posted in the swamp, and this idea was confirmed, as we could now perceive another

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16. Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, p. 311.

17. "Trimble's Account of the Battle of New Orleans." The same account, with slightly different wording, appears in Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 332-33.

strong battery on the levee [road?]. About this moment our pickets on the left commenced firing, and Brunson's horse became so restive that he had to retire on my right. Keeping my eye on the enemy, I did not perceive that our pickets were retiring, until the enemy's battery opened directly over my head. I then turned to the right, when I found Brunson calling on us to retreat. Before I got out, the round shot, shells and rockets, were falling about me as thick as hail and yet strange as it may appear, I escaped unhurt, except what arose from my fears.(18)

On January 2 Jackson learned that the long-awaited Kentucky militia under Major General John Thomas was fast approaching on the river. The news was heartening for it gave the American commander more flexibility in the disposition of his soldiers. Already he feared the British might somehow ascend the bayous and canals to his rear and gain an advantage and he sent troops back to determine the likelihood of that scenario occurring. More British troops, it was learned, had in fact joined Pakenham's command in front of the Americans and apprehensions rose that another assault was imminent. Some of Carroll's men on January 2 went forward to reconnoiter the empty enemy batteries on the center road and became involved in a skirmish with British pickets. On January 3 a few hundred Attakapas troops reached Camp Rodriguez. Meanwhile, Jackson's artillery kept up a brisk delivery from both sides of the Mississippi, inflicting additional casualties among Pakenham's command.(19)

The Kentucky troops, more than 2,250 of them, began to reach camp January 4. These men were poorly armed, the majority being altogether without muskets. A third of them under Brigadier General John Adair took up a position supporting Carroll's Tennesseans, while the balance, all unarmed, were sent to the reserve line upstream at the Dupré

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18. Bradford to F.A. Browder, January 6, 1815. Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University.

19. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 138, 139-40, 141, 143; "General Carroll's Expedition," pp. 57-58; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 41; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 68.

Plantation. The Kentuckians at once began breaking up their flatboats, making shelters with the planks to protect them from the harsh, wet environment.(20) With the addition of the Kentucky troops, Jackson on January 5 ordered the Second Louisiana Regiment across the Mississippi to support General Morgan. Still concerned lest the British attack his rear, he also posted a company of dragoons under Captain Peter V. Ogden at the confluence of Bayou Bienvenue with Piernas Canal which, like Villeré's, approached the river, only closer to the city.(21) Jackson's artillery continued an occasional bombardment on the British posts before the line, but the enemy did not respond. Wrote a Kentucky soldier on first observing the American intrenchments: "It is impossible for me to tell how many troops there is in all, but the levee and away out to the swamps is crowded with troops."(22)

Since shortly after assuming his position on Rodriguez Canal, Jackson had taken measures to guard against surprises to his rear. One and three-quarters miles back toward the city he established a similar line of defense along Dupré's Canal which ran across Dupré's Plantation to the Mississippi. This parapet was seemingly constructed much like that at Rodriguez Canal, although presumably the works, raised largely by hundreds of slaves and civilian laborers, were less crudely built. Like the forward position, that at Dupré's transected the land between the cypress swamp and the river. Construction on the line appears to have begun on December 28, with work directed by the engineer, Lieutenant Henry Latrobe. Tatum described the operation:

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20. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 141; Thomas Joyes, "Account of Service in War of 1812," p. 6. Thomas Joyes Papers. Manuscript Division, Filson Club Collection, Louisville, Kentucky; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 190; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 423-24. About fifty Indiana volunteers from the area of Vincennes were included among the Kentucky troops. Ibid., 425-26.

21. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 143-44.

22. Letter published in Courier-Journal: Louisville, February 5, 1888. Samuel Weller Manuscripts. Manuscript Division, Filson Club Collection.

> This line . . . progressed with great rapidity and strength. A Demi Bastion on the right (at the Levey [sic]) raked the Canal in front of the Breast Works and played obliquely across the plane [sic], from the Embrazures in its base; and on the levey and obliquely over the plane from those in its face. Another battery was erected at the commencement of the swamp, at the distance of about 600 paces, which formed a cross fire with that on the Levy. A strong Bridge was thrown over the canal a few paces below the Demi Bastion by which it was protected, as also by another Battery errected [sic] on the lower works of the Mill, about 40 paces below the Bridge. The waters on this canal were from 5 to 6 feet deep, with a strong line of defense on its upper side. General Villery's [First Division, Louisiana Militia, soon after] occupied this line, and furnished the necessary Guards in, and along, the swamp for its security and protection.(23)

A British inspector later recorded that Line Dupré had "heavy artillery and a wet ditch. . . . The construction of this line is good and has a banquette parapet revetted with planks."(24) The position was supported after January 1 by additional Louisiana troops. Finally, after January 4 the majority of Thomas's and Adair's unarmed Kentuckians were encamped some distance ahead of Line Dupré and behind Piernas Canal. A picket guard was established on a bayou approximately one-quarter mile to the Kentuckians' left; three other picket guards were stationed on the edge of the swamp in advance of the Kentucky troops and some distance to the left rear of Jackson's main line. Should the British succeed in breaching and carrying his works, the Americans would fall back to Line Dupré and regroup.(25)

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23. "Journal," p. 119.

24. Report of Captain H.D. Jones, Royal Engineers, March 30, 1815. Quoted in Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 72.

25. General information about Line Dupre is from Tatum, "Journal," pp. 114, 122-23; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 136, 141; "Map Showing the Landing of the British Army its several

About one and one-quarter miles behind Line Dupré stood yet a third line of intrenchments constructed between the swamp and the river. Line Montreuil was depicted thusly:

> It is entirely different from the other two having a ditch of 12 feet broad and 6 feet cut expressly. It is well flanked. On the right is an inclined redoubt with its gorge palisaded. At 500 yards from the river is a flat bastion of brickwork for musketry only. The line continues from this to the wood. The redoubt on the right has a good command from being constructed upon the levee. The parapet on this line is in an unfinished state.(26)

Construction of Line Montreuil seems to have started after the January 1 battle; one source indicates that Jackson ordered its erection as early as December 26.(27) The line was never

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25. (Cont.) Encampments and Fortifications on the Mississippi and the Works the erected on their Retreat; also the different posts Encampments and Fortifications made by the several Corps of the American army during the whole Campaign," in ibid.; Latrobe to Major General Villere, January 7, 1815. Jacques Philippe Villere Papers. Historic New Orleans Collection; Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 217; "Trimble's Account of the Battle of New Orleans"; William James, Full and Correct Account, II, 367; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 150; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 191; Villere, Jacques Philippe Villere, p. 54; Owsley, Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands, p. 152; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 173, 193, 216-17, 219.

26. Report of Captain H.D. Jones, Royal Artillery, March 30, 1815. Quoted in Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 72.

27. J. Tanesse, "Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans," 1815. Louisiana Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans. See also B. Lafon, "Plan of the City and Environs of New Orleans," 1816. Library of Congress. Geography and Map Division.

completed.(28) If it were needed, Line Montreuil would have constituted the final defensive bulwark against the British. Beyond that position New Orleans was guarded only by derelict Fort St. Charles and a new work raised across the Mississippi by Major Latour. The latter structure, also called a redoubt, was built from an existing brick kiln around which was dug a ditch 25 feet wide. Earth from the ditch formed a parapet, while the interior perimeter of the structure was strongly palisaded. Two 24-pounders served by a magazine were placed inside to command the river and the levee road.(29)

Since the December 23 night battle Jackson had also endeavored to improve his position on the right, or west, bank of the Mississippi across from his position at Rodriguez Canal. On the 25th General Morgan with troops from English Turn first assumed a post there, establishing a line on Raguet's Canal several hundred yards ahead of Jackson's line on the opposite bank. On January 4 Morgan began intrenching along the canal for 200 yards, but the right of the remaining mile or so of intervening terrain between the river and swamp was undefended except for the canal ditch and Morgan's militia. Near the river the line was fortified with a redoubt, bastion and a redan a short distance away toward the swamp. These structures were raised to house the small artillery complement of two 6-pounders and one 12-pounder. To reinforce Morgan, Jackson sent the First and Second Louisiana regiments. As on the east bank, there was a backup position, too. Three miles below the city at Boisgervais's Canal, between December 29 and January 4, a parapet and glacis was erected by slaves under Latour's direction for the entire length of the ditch. Line Boisgervais was about one-half mile below Line Dupre on the opposite bank and included redoubts on the levee, at the center, and, apparently, near the swamp. On the 29th Commander Patterson had erected his levee battery for two of Louisiana's 12-pounders and the next night added a 24-pounder. Two additional 24-pounders and a hotshot furnace were mounted behind the levee beginning December 31 but were never fired against the British. Yet more 12- and 24-pounders

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28. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 167; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 414-15; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 190-91; James, Full and Correct Account, II, 367; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 72.

29. Tatum, "Journal," p. 123; Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 125; Latour, "Map Showing the Landing of the British Army"; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 414; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 150.

were added to the battery before January 6. Patterson's battery stood opposite Jackson's position on Rodriguez Canal and a short distance below. Manned by seamen and some of Morgan's militiamen, the guns in the levee works were successful in enfilading the British position on the east bank and hindered the soldiers in their own attempts to raise batteries. They also successfully destroyed with hotshot several more structures on the Bienvenue property during the evening of January 4.(30)

Morgan's line at Raguet Canal was eventually, on January 7, bolstered by about 200 Kentuckians who spread out between the end of the intrenchments and the swamp on the right. His inadequate protection of his right flank, together with Jackson's condoning of such a breach of common sense, suggests that Jackson hardly considered a British approach by that avenue until it was almost too late. Under this reasoning, the erection of batteries on that side was not to protect that route, but to guard against an enemy advance on the Rodriguez Canal position.(31)

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30. 30. Jackson to Morgan, December 25, 1814. Lieutenant John Peddie, "Sketch of the Position of the British and American Forces near New Orleans." BPRO, London, War Office 1, Vol. 141. David B. Morgan Papers. Manuscript Division Library of Congress; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 117, 124-25, lx-lxi, James, Full and Correct Account, II, 367; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 306-07; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 414; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 127-28; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 68-69, 76-77; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 173-74, 193, 209, 216; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 120. There appears to be some discrepancy among accounts as to the guns occupying Patterson's shore battery. Major Tatum stated that "several batteries [were] errected [sic] mounting one and two Guns each some of which were 24 lbrs., the balance 18, 12 and 9 lbrs. These batteries were errected at different places and extended near a mile from the upper to the lowest." "Journal," p. 118. There occurred considerable dispute over the propriety of Morgan's selection of Raguet's Canal against Latour's recommendations. See Historical Memoir, pp. 166-68.

31. Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, vii-viii; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 77. For a description of the perceived ill-preparedness of Morgan's militia by one who was there, see Thomas Joyes, "Defense of Kentucky Troops in War of 1812." Manuscript Division, Filson Club Collection.

By January 7 Jackson's position at Rodriguez Canal had been strengthened as much as two weeks of concentrated labor would permit. If the fortifications presented an element of sophistication through adherence to the tenets governing such construction, it probably occurred in the artillery batteries which had been laid out and supervised by engineer and artillery officers. The balance of the intrenchments were likely somewhat less than refined in the theoretical sense, giving credence to their historical image. Because of the great success of the defenses, wrote a battle participant, "this departure from the prescribed rules of field fortification in the construction of our lines may be excused. . . ."(32)

Jackson's artillery, with the exception of the advanced redoubt on the right of the line, was situated basically the same as it had been on January 1. Battery No. 1 under Captain Humphreys still contained two 12-pounders and one howitzer; U.S. artillerymen served the guns while the howitzer was manned by members of Captain Henri de St. Geme's Company of Orleans Volunteers. No. 2 contained one 24-pounder mounted on a high platform and commanded by Lieutenant Norris; this unit was served by crew members of Carolina. Battery No. 3 held two 24-pounders, one manned by Baratarians under Captain Youx and the other likewise served by Baratarians under Captain Beluche. Battery No. 4 under Lieutenant Crawley contained the 32-pounder manned by Carolina crew members. No. 5 held either a 12-pounder and a 6-pounder, two 6-pounders, or a single 12-pounder under Captain Perry; regular U.S. artillery soldiers handled the pieces. Battery No. 6 was commanded by Brigadier General Garrigue Flaujeauc and consisted of one 18-pounder and one 6-pounder served by Captain Jean Hudry's company of Orleans Volunteers. Battery No. 7, under Lieutenant Spotts contained one piece, possibly a 24-pounder, while Battery No. 8 held a 9½-inch howitzer and was commanded by Lieutenant Harrison of the artillery. Behind the right of Jackson's line was the 13-inch mortar under Captain Lefebvre, although it is not likely this weapon was used until after the battle of the 8th.(33)

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32. Ellery, "Notes and Comments."

33. Laclotte apparently employed artistic license in showing the mortar being discharged during the battle. "Defeat of the British Army. . . ." This recapitulation of the artillery is drawn from the maps cited in the earlier accounting, plus MacRea, "List of Officers and Men serving at the Batteries."

Including the two guns mounted in the advance redoubt on the right, the artillery complement presented to the British numbered fifteen or sixteen pieces. This armament was targeted in three groups, one on the levee road, one on the plain in front, and one on the edge of the swamp.(34)

Ammunition for the variety of weapons posed a problem for the Americans. For example, there was no round shot available for the 32-pounder, so that grape and scrap metal--"landidage"--had to be fired from it. Round shot for the 18- and 24-pounders was also scarce and the guns had to use grape. Canister was also used with a more distant effect than grape which tended to scatter more quickly on leaving the muzzle of the piece.(35)

Besides the artillery, hundreds of musket-armed troops also graced Jackson's line interspersed between the battery positions. At the extreme right were nearly 40 members of Beale's New Orleans volunteer company of riflemen. Between Batteries Nos. 1 and 3 stood about 440 members of the Seventh

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33. (Cont.) See also, Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 79-80; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 147-49, 150-51; Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," pp. 31-32; Meuse, Weapons of the Battle of New Orleans, pp. 28-30; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 312-14; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 173-74; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 214-15. One account states that the mortar was still in place behind the intrenchment more than three months after the battle. Diary of Samuel Mordecai, March-June, 1815. Manuscript Division. Southern Historical Collection. For a discussion of the numerous discrepancies among sources concerned with enumerating Jackson's artillery strength, with a focus on problems with Latour's account, see J. Fred Roush, "Preliminary Report of Cannon and Carriages at Chalmette, 1815" (unpublished manuscript dated June, 1955, in the library of the Chalmette Unit of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park), pp. 1-3, 5-7.

34. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 191-92.

35. Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 406; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 81; Meuse, Weapons of the Battle of New Orleans, p. 46.

Infantry. From there to Battery No. 4 was Major Plauche's battalion of New Orleans uniform companies, 315 men strong, and Lacoste's battalion of Free Men of Color, 282 strong. Between Battery No. 4 and Battery No. 5 stood 180 men of Major Daquin's battalion of St. Domingo colored troops. Between Battery No. 5 and Battery No. 6 were 350 troops of the Forty-fourth Infantry under Captain Isaac L. Baker. All of the above forces comprised a division commanded by Colonel George T. Ross. From Battery No. 6 to the left side of the inverted redan stood Carroll's 800 Tennesseans supported by almost 700 Kentuckians under General Adair. Fifty-eight marines occupied the line near Battery No. 7. The balance of the intrenchment on the left and into the swamp was manned by about 550 of Coffee's militia plus 62 Choctaw Indians. Carroll was placed in overall command of the left two-thirds of the line. Some distance behind the line and the Macarty house were groups of cavalrymen of Ogden's and the Attakapas unit, as well as 250 Louisiana militia stationed at intervals back to Piernas Canal. Hinds's dragoons were posted on Delery's Plantation far to the rear, while a company of 52 regular dragoons supported the line. A line of sentinels guarded the rear approaches 400 yards behind the intrenchments, while, as before, a strong line of pickets remained 500 yards out in front. The total number of troops on Jackson's line, including 36 Baratarians and 78 regular light artillerymen in the batteries, amounted to about 3,900 men. Those supporting the line in the rear numbered approximately 800.(36) The

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36. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 149-52; Ellery, "Notes and Comments"; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 314-15; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 173-74; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 192; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 478; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 340-42, 344; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 216; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 137. For a discussion of apparent discrepancies regarding troop disposition in Latour's account, see Reilly, British at the Gates, pp. 290-91. Ellery, who was present, praised the abilities of the Kentucky and Tennessee troops over the regulars. "Accustomed from their infancy to hunting, they become expert marksmen, and feeling safe behind their lines, freely exert their skill. Taking their own time, choosing their distance and selecting their objects, their shots generally tell; while regular troops, firing generally by platoons, in straight lines, at the word of command, and without aim, lose most of theirs. From the firing therefore of militia wth correct aim, at selected objects, and of course in various directions, a multiplied cross-fire is necessarily produced." "Notes and Comments."

breakdown of Jackson's available strength on both sides of the Mississippi was as follows:(37)

In the Main Lines of Chalmette.		
Regular Light Artillery	78	
Seventh U.S. Infantry	436	
Forty-fourth U.S. Infantry	352	
United States Marines	58	
Troop, First U.S. Dragoons	52	
Total Regulars		976
Louisiana Militia (Plauche's Battalion)	315	
Louisiana Militia (Lacoste's Battalion)	282	
Beale's City Rifles	36	
Daquin's battalion of free negroes	180	
Total Louisiana Militia		812
Carroll's Tennessee Riflemen (11 co's.)	806	
Coffee's Tennessee Riflemen (9 co's.)	546	
Adair's Kentucky Riflemen (10 co's.)	680	
Total Riflemen		2,032
Baratarians (Artillery)	36	
Jugeat's Choctaws	62	
		98
Grand total, front line		3,918
Hinds's Mississippi Mounted Rifles	150	
Ogden's Troop, First U.S. Dragoons	50	
Harrison's Battalion, Kentucky Militia	306	
Total in close reserve	506	
On the right bank of the river.		
Naval Battalion, Com. Patterson (Sailors from Louisiana and gun-boats)	106	
Kentucky Militia, Lieutenant Colonel John Davis	320	
Louisiana Militia, Major Paul Arnaud	250	
Detachments sent under General Jean Joseph Amable Humbert from left bank	300	
Total right bank	976	
Recapitulation		3,918
		506
		976
		5,400

37. From Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 247-48. These figures do not include the 500 Kentucky and Louisiana troops at Line Dupre. Ibid., I, 428.

During the watch from the line half the troops usually stood by the parapet while the other half rested in the rear. On the evening of January 7, however, Jackson ordered all his men forward and they arranged themselves in ranks four deep, the first two ready to fire while the last two loaded muskets.(38) The soldiers were enjoined by their officers not to fire at the British until they could see the whites of their eyes.(39)

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38. Thad Mayhew to "Dear Susan," January 26, 1815. Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University (see also "A Massachusetts Volunteer at the Battle of New Orleans," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, IX [January, 1926], p. 31); John A Fort to "Dear Brother," January 28, 1815, in "Historical Documents," The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XXXII (January, 1949); Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 154; Rufus King to unidentified recipient, February 11, 1815. Rufus King Collection. Manuscripts Division, New York Historical Society.

39. Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 221; Samuel Luce to parents, January 19, 1815. Manuscript Division, Filson Club Collection.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST BATTLE, JANUARY 8, 1815

British plans, indeed, called for the main thrust to be made against Jackson's line, and preparations for that assault went on accordingly. Since the encounter of the 1st repair to the damaged artillery carriages had been underway and additional ammunition supplies were forwarded from the ships. A broad field cleared of cane refuse was used to store shell and shot, and tents arrived with which to preserve powder. Meantime a battery for six 18-pounders (later four 18-pounders) was started on January 5 on the road below the British water battery for use against American vessels moving downstream as well as to support British troops crossing the river.(1) For the latter movement the British had begun extending Villere's Canal across the plain to the river, enlarging it by digging so that barges loaded with soldiers might obtain passage into the Mississippi for an attack against American defenses on the west side. Apparently Pakenham's design was to attack on January 7, but delays in widening and lengthening the canal necessitated a change in plan. British carpenters labored to build a system of locks to regulate the level of water in the canal but repairs to these mechanisms prompted further delays. It was the intelligence of the operation on Villere's Canal that motivated Jackson to send reinforcements of Kentucky militia to Morgan on the right bank.(2)

Besides the new battery on the river, British artillery preparations included the renovation of former works facing Jackson's position at Rodriguez Canal. Old Battery No. 5 was re-opened to receive four 18-pounders and four 24-pounder carronades for pounding the American artillery. Former Battery No. 2 on the levee road was likewise reconditioned.(3)

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1. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 42, 47, 48; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 68.

2. Ibid., pp. 49, 51, 53; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 144, lxi; Smith, Autobiography, pp. 6-7; Patterson to Jackson, January 7, 1815, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 132; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," pp. 64-65.

3. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 48, 55; Tatum, "Journal," p. 129; Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 224-25.

Most of the work to rebuild and outfit the batteries took place during the night of the 7th. It was a grueling and uncertain task, as often roads were easily missed in the darkness and the heavy ordnance had to be moved across ditches to the batteries.(4) In the case of British Battery No. 2, wrote a participant, "as the water sprang up at the depth of a foot or nine inches below the surface of the soft ground, the men were obliged to pare the surface for a great extent round, and to bring the shovels and spades dripping with mud to plaster on the queerest entrenchment I ever saw."(5) When this work was completed the British artillery consisted of three riverbank batteries with a total of six 18-pounders and two 24-pounders; four field guns positioned on the levee road; two 24-pounder carronades in battery on the levee road at or near the site of former Battery No. 2; and former Battery No. 5, 400 yards from the river and containing four 18-pounder and four 24-pounder cannon.(6)

Thus prepared and newly reinforced by 2000 troops under Major General John Lambert, on the evening of January 7 Pakenham issued his order of attack:

> The Troops to fall in tomorrow morning at 4 o'Clock the 2d. and 3d. Brigades will move before day break to the ground now occupied by the Picquets, an advanced Guard to consist of the 44th Regiment, and 300 of the 95th. Regiment to occupy the old Batteries.
>
> This force is to be divided into 400 to fire, 300 of whom are to be of the 44th. Regiment, and 250 to carry fascines if required. The chief attack will be made by the 2d. Brigade, advancing from the left in Column of Companies covered by the firing party, and preceded by the Soldiers who bear the fascines, when the fascines are lodged the Men who carry them will join the 44th. Regiment and commence fire.

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4. Ibid., p. 58; Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 224-25.

5. Ibid., p. 225.

6. Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 69-70.

The Light Companies of the 2d. Brigade are to be formed into Battalion, having attached to them 100 of the 1st. West India Regiment, this Corps will skirt the Wood as a protection to Genl. Gibbs Right and for his after disposal, 'till possessed of the Enemy's Lines when it will be used as a Corps of pursuit.

The Light Companies of the 7th. Royal Fusileers, 43d. and 93d. Regiments, and 100 of the 1st. West India Regiment under Colonel Creagh to be formed on Major General Keanes left, and considered as belonging to his Command.

The first Brigade will compose the Reserve, to which the 1st. West India Regiment will be attached, as also the dismounted Dragoons off duty.--The Reserve will form in front of the Huts occupied by the 93d. Regiment.

Should the Enemy be enabled to hold his ground on the Right, the attack must be to our left, of that of the 2d. Brigade, where our impression will answer both Columns, and it will be impossible for the Enemy to oblique the fire of his flanks sufficiently to enable his injuring the Columns from his whole front when close up to his works.

When the position is carried the flank Battalion to press the Enemy's Rear for half a Mile on the Receipt of instructions; A Detachment of Sappers to accompany each Column.

The Advance Guard is to carry forward with it Six long ladders with planks on them, and ten small ladders as well as the fascines, the Officer Commanding the 44th. Regiment will ascertain where these requisites are this Evening, so that there may be no delay in taking them forward tomorrow to the Old Batteries; whatever the Soldiers get in charge they must not separate from without orders.

A Rendezvous must be given to the Detachments ordered to join the 44th. Regiment on the advance--When the advance has taken up its ground

and placed a few Sentries, the Picquets should join their Corps.

E.M. Pakenham
M Genl.(7)

While the employment of ladders for bridging the ditch and gaining Jackson's parapet was acknowledged, the British plan, in fact, placed much reliance on their use. The practice was known as escalading and involved the attack of a fortified line in compact column formation rather than in an extended line facing the opponent's works. Once an advance party with fascines and ladders succeeded in surmounting the ditch and parapet the troops following would attempt to carry the defenses with musket and bayonet.(8) In the matter of Jackson's line the British intended to use plank ladders "by raising them on end, and letting them drop across the ditch . . . for the assailants to run over them."(9) The fascines were to be thrown into the ditch to provide a firm base for the ladders. According to plan, both fascines and ladders were stored in the advanced redoubt on the right front and were there to be picked up enroute to the attack by designated troops of the Forty-fourth Infantry. Clearly under the plan Pakenham was not to rely upon his artillery to open the way for his infantrymen as he had on January 1. His guns now were to help knock out Jackson's artillery while the British infantry forged ahead in a charge that would carry them beyond the intrenchments.(10)

According to Pakenham's plan, Major General Samuel Gibbs with 2,150 men would lead the principal assault on the right center of Jackson's line where Carroll's Tennessee militia lined

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7. Forrest, Battle of New Orleans, pp. 40-42. Slight differences appear in the orders presented in Forrest, "Journal of Operations," pp. 121-23.

8. Jebb, Practical Treatise, pp. 71, 87-88.

9. Cooke, Narrative of Events, p. 169.

10. General Court Martial, pp. 49-50; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 212.

the parapet behind Batteries Nos. 7, 8, and 9. While this strike occurred, Major General Keane would conduct a feint toward the river with 1200 soldiers with a demonstration intended to attract the fire of the heavier American guns. Some of Gibbs's men, meantime, would advance through the woods on Jackson's left flank, keeping Coffee's attention diverted from the attack in Carroll's front. Reserve troops numbering 1400 men of the Seventh and Forty-third regiments under General Lambert would be posted in the rear center of the field.

Leading Gibbs's column would be 300 men of the Forty-fourth charged with conveying the fascines and ladders to the ditch. They would be followed by the balance of the Forty-fourth, besides the Twenty-first and Fourth regiments (comprising the attack column), with light infantry companies from these units and men of the First West India Regiment guarding Gibbs's right flank. If Colonel Thornton across the river succeeded in turning Patterson's guns against Jackson's right, Keane's column was to bear left; otherwise he was to move to his right in support of Gibbs's main thrust. Several companies of the Seventh, Forty-third, Ninety-third, and Twenty-first (Fusiliers) under Lieutenant Colonel Rennie were to advance simultaneously along the riverbank below the levee and spike the guns in the redoubt on the American right. Much rested on good timing and coordination in the attack. And for complete success, the plan required Pakenham's command to move decisively, surprising the Americans at their ditch before any firing occurred.(11)

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11. Surtees, Twenty-Five Years in the Rifle Brigade, pp. 370-71; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 192-93; John Buchan, The History of the Royal Scots Fusiliers (1678-1918) (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1925), p. 176; "Battle of New Orleans, 8th January, 1815," Blackwood's Magazine, XXIV (September, 1828), p. 355; James, Border Captain, p. 263; Casey, "Artillery in the Battle of New Orleans," p. 29; Ritchie, " "Louisiana Campaign," p. 60; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 220-21; DeGrummond, Baratarians, pp. 130-31. At the time of the battle rumors circulated among Jackson's men that Pakenham had inspired his soldiers with the prospect of unrestricted looting in New Orleans. The matter incited a major debate over the presumed British watchword on January 8, "Beauty and Booty," a charge that British officers resolutely denied. Jackson himself believed that it was true. Nonetheless, it has survived as, if nothing

British troops arrayed on the evening of January 7 consisted of the following:(12)

Column of First Attack.
Major General Sir Samuel Gibbs.

Forty-fourth (Essex) Foot	816	
Twenty-first (Royal Scots) Fusiliers	790	
Fourth (King's Own) Foot	796	
		2,402

Column of Support or Second Attack.
Major General Sir John Keane.

Ninety-third (Sutherland) Highlanders	1,008	
Seventh Royal Fusiliers	780	
Forty-third (Monmouth) Light Infantry	862	
		2,650

Column of Reserve.
Major General John Lambert.

Eighty-fifth (Bucks) Light Infantry	560	
Eighty-ninth (Dublin) Foot (Wing)	390	
Twenty-seventh Foot en route from the landing-place (Wing)	360	
Forty-first Foot (landing), 5 companies	340	
Royal Marines (Battalion)	600	
Royal Artillery (2 batteries and 1 Rocket Battery)	318	
Ninety-fifth Rifles, 3d Battalion	546	
Fifth West India Foot (negroes)	912	
Fifth West Indian Foot (negroes)	796	
Fourteenth Light Dragoons (4 troops)	210	
Total Reserve		5,032
Grand total		10,084

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11. (Cont.) else, a sample of the rich folklore surrounding the Battle of New Orleans. See Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 255-56; Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 220; Carroll to Jackson, August 4, 1833, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, VI, 518; Sir Charles R. Vaughn to Jackson, July 14, 1838, in ibid., V, 129-30; Jackson to George Barstow, February 19, 1814, in ibid., VI, 265. See also the discussion in Reilly, British at the Gates, p. 265.

12. From Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, I, 431-32. These figures include all troops, "actually on the field or in striking distance of it," but do not encompass troops and seamen aboard British transports in the region. Ibid. For more on the British strength question, see Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 476.

Some modification of this alignment evidently occurred before the attack began, Gibbs's final command consisting of the Forty-fourth, Twenty-first, and Fourth, while that of Keane essentially comprised the Ninety-third, Forty-third, and Seventh regiments.

During the night of the 7th the British moved their barges into the Mississippi from Villere's Canal. The procedure was complicated by the fact that the new channel was not deep enough for some of the larger craft, particularly at the cut in the levee, necessitating construction of a dam to raise the water level. Pakenham succeeded in getting but a portion of his intended troops to the other side before morning, mainly the Eighty-fifth regiment under Thornton. Originally, this force was to reach the west bank three miles below Morgan's line, march up, take the works, and seize Patterson's guns, turning them against Jackson's right during the main assault.(13)

The plan proved easier to conceive than to execute. Nor was it entirely undetected by General Jackson. Latour described the increasing intimations that the British were preparing for an assault:

> With the assistance of a telescope in the upper apartment of head-quarters, we perceived soldiers on Laronde's plantation, busy in making fascines, while others were working on pieces of wood, which we concluded must be scaling ladders. The picketguards near the wood had moreover been increased and stationed nearer each other. Officers of the staff were seen riding about the fields of Laronde's, Bienvenu's and Chalmette's plantations, and stopping at the different posts to give orders. Finally, on the 7th, shortly after night-fall, we distinctly heard men at work in the enemy's different batteries; the strokes of hammers gave "note of preparation," and resounded even within our lines; and our out-posts informed us that the enemy was re-establishing his batteries: his guards were re-enforced about sunset, probably with a view to cover the movements of the troops.(14)

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13. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 57-58; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," p. 58. See also Smith, Autobiography, pp. 7-8; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 193.

14. Historical Memoir, pp. 153-54.

But Pakenham's timing was amiss. Delays in getting the barges through the canal into the Mississippi thwarted that part of the plan for attacking the west bank simultaneously with the attack on Jackson's defenses. Consequently, Thornton's west bank command was smaller than anticipated and out of position for coordinating any movement with British forces across the stream. Nevertheless, on the foggy, dark morning of January 8 Pakenham directed his forces against the Americans intrenched along Rodriguez Canal. Jackson's pickets were first to discover the advance and fell back before the surging British. A flaming Congreve rocket sent from near the river signaled the attack which opened with the British batteries facing the right of the American line sending forth roaring salvos against the Macarty house and the center of the defenses. Rockets burst overhead, but Jackson was not unprepared, and his own artillery returned the salute, led by the guns in Batteries Nos. 6 and 7. Patterson's artillery on the west bank likewise opened an enfilading fire of grape against the red-coated columns moving in semi-darkness across the plain. Batteries Nos. 1, 2, and 3 directed their guns against a British column quickly moving forward on the right. Only when the British came within a few hundred yards of the American position did gusting winds lift the fog and make them visible to Jackson's men. At one point as they came closer Jackson ordered his right batteries to cease firing so that the smoke could clear for his riflemen to take aim. At the outset of the action, amid the distant blare of British bugles, the band of the Battalion d'Orleans began playing "Yankee Doodle" and other patriotic airs as the British pressed forward. Most action on the American line seems to have occurred at either end of the intrenchment; troops posted on the center often had little fighting to do. "The battalions of Plauche, Dacquin [sic] and Lacoste, the whole of the forty-fourth regiment, and one half of Coffee's Tennesseans, had nothing to do but stand at their posts, and chafe with vain impatience for a chance to join the fight."(15)

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15. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 206. However, Tatum recorded in his "Journal" (p. 125) that the Forty-fourth Infantry played a role in repelling the initial British assault. This account of the opening action is drawn from Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 158-59; cl-cli; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 59-60; Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 221; General Court Martial, p. 41; Tatum, "Journal," p. 125; Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson,

The British column facing Jackson's right was slightly ahead of the others in the advance. Led by Colonel Rennie, it pressed forward in close order along the left of the levee, driving in the American pickets so rapidly that Humphreys's guns in Battery No. 1 had to hold back firing for fear of hitting them. As the light infantry companies of the Forty-third, Ninety-third, and Seventh regiments, along with units of the West India regiment, charged into the ditch around the advance redoubt the muskets of Jackson's men on the main line kept up a steady fire. But the redoubt was so positioned as to prevent the marksmen from having a clear field of fire, a factor that contributed to the British success in gaining the work. The rush was so complete that the American defenders in the redoubt were forced after a brief hand to hand struggle to withdraw into the main line having spiked the two guns. As Rennie, now slightly injured, led his men across the canal and up the parapet of the line, he and several others were shot and fell mortally wounded. More British tumbled into the ditch, either killed and wounded by Beale's riflemen or bayoneted by the marines. Others were captured. American militiamen and regulars of the Seventh Infantry leveled volleys of musketry from the right and left until the British occupants of the redoubt were forced to secure themselves in the ditch awaiting relief by Keane. Other members of the column retreated back down the levee road, many taking cover in the drainage ditches as Patterson's shore batteries and Humphreys's Battery No. 1 began a heavy fire directed at them. Meantime, Batteries Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 sent discharges at the British field guns hoping to dismount them.

Rennie's detachment actually comprised the advance of Keane's column of most of the Ninety-third. This column, assembled on the levee road at the British left, was supposed to support Thornton's attack across the river. When that failed to occur on schedule Pakenham directed Keane to lead his men in support of the column on the right under General Gibbs.

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15. (Cont.) pp. 338-39; "Battle of New Orleans, 8th January, 1815," p. 355; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 206-07; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, pp. 9-11; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 348-50; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 82; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, p. 232.

The survivors of Rennie's assault force therefore had no further support but for the artillery.(16)

Pakenham's main impetus lay with the attack by Gibbs's 2500-man column against the left center of Jackson's line. But this strike also failed. Gibbs's column was composed of the Forty-fourth, Twenty-first, and Fourth regiments, in that order, plus three companies of the Ninety-fifth rifles to lie down in front as a covering party. The assault, intended to be carried out close to the woods and out of range of Patterson's guns on the far shore, was led by the Forty-fourth, a reputedly undisciplined Irish unit whose commander, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Mullins, neglected to have his men pick up the required fascines and ladders at the advanced redoubt along the swamp for bridging the ditch and scaling the American works. Instead, the regiment moved 500 yards forward three or four abreast through the road gap in the old 10-gun battery of January 1.(17) When the mistake was realized, 300 men went back to retrieve the fascines and ladders, a time consuming operation at the critical moment the attack was supposed to begin. Furthermore, part of the troops got lost returning to the front, so that those farthest in advance had ladders instead of fascines, which were needed

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16. Tatum, "Journal," pp. 126-27; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 157-58; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 63-64; "Battle of New Orleans, 8th January, 1815," pp. 355-56; Walker, Jackson and New Orleans, pp. 333-35; Organ to Mordecai, January 19, 1815. Manuscript Division, Southern Historical Collection, Cooke, Narrative of Events, p. 228; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 200-01; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 234-36; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 83. At least one account denied that British troops with Rennie ever reached the main line. Cooke, Narrative of Events, p. 254.

17. See Ted Birkedal, "The Advanced Battery and the Gap" (unpublished report dated April, 1984, National Park Service, Southwest Regional Office).

first. This produced hesitancy and confusion.(18) Consequently, the British advance failed to approach the Americans closely enough before daylight revealed their presence. The soldiers also had to traverse the several waterfilled drainage ditches, each four or five feet wide, although this was apparently accomplished with ease. But as the soldiers of the Twenty-first and Fourth moved forward in column they became confused at seeing Mullins's disorderly men coming on their flanks from the rear bearing the implements that should have been well ahead. Before they could recover, the American cannon, particularly those in Batteries Nos. 6 through 8, poured forth its grape and canister into the

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18. Mullins was later court-martialed for his oversight regarding the fascines and ladders. The trial testimony disclosed that the confusion at the head of the column was not caused by the American counterattack, but by the impromptitude and negligence of Mullins. "It is my opinion," remarked one officer, "that the whole confusion of the column proceeded from the original defective formation of the 44th; the fall of Sir Edward Pakenham deprived the column of its best chance of success, and had the column moved forward according to order, the enemy lines would have been carried with little loss." General Court Martial, p. 43. For other details of the advance of Gibbs's command, and especially that part composed of the Forty-fourth, see ibid., pp. 38-41, 43, 45-49, 51-52, 58, 61, 62, 69, 73-74, 81-83, 85-86, 88-89, 96-97, 100-01, 105. On the matter of Mullins's confusion over the location of the ladders and fascines, it is entirely plausible that the terms "battery" and "redoubt" meant the same to an officer not directly concerned with the distinctions. "This mistake," wrote Cooke, "might easily have been made . . ., as redoubt and battery are synonymous." Narrative of Events, p. 248. For example, an officer sent to check on Mullins's task wrote that he arrived to find "the regt. just as day dawned. . . taking them [fascines] from the Battery [sic]. . . ." "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal," p. 59. Such imprecise use of the terms occasionally appeared in period literature about the battle. For further explanation of this critical miscommunication, see Daniel Abeel to the writer, March 10, 1984. National Park Service Southeast/Southwest Team, Denver Service Center.

uncertain ranks. Gibbs's column began laying down then doubled back on itself as the shelling and musketry opened from Jackson's intrenchments. Rather than storm the works the British obliqued left to avoid Battery No. 8, then halted, trying to fire at the line. Finally, within about 100 yards from the works, the column wavered. As Mullins's men tossed aside the ladders and sugar cane fascines the British troops began stumbling frantically toward the rear. To add to the confusion an acoustical illusion took place when "the roar of musketry and cannon seemed to proceed from the thick cypress-wood . . . , whilst bright flashes of fire [on Jackson's line] . . . were not apparently accompanied by sound."(19) An officer of the Twenty-first later recollected the assault:

> The Column advanced, composed, and perfectly steady, until we were within about 40 yards of the enemy's lines; during the time, between our leaving the advanced Battery and getting to within 40 yards of the enemy's Works, several individuals of the 44th Regiment passed to the front, on our Flank, in an hurried, and irregular manner, bearing Facines and Ladders, particularly our left flank, in groups of 3 or 4, and others individually. When we were within 40 yards of the enemy's lines, several straggling shots were fired on both Flanks, and I particularly saw one man of the 44th, throw away his Facine, and take his firelock and fire. Cheering at this time had also commenced; I went to the rear of the 21st Regiment, in order to prevent men joining them, either in cheering or firing, several musket shots passed over while I was in the rear, and the men complained of being fired on very much by the rear; I returned in a few minutes to the head of the column and found it checked, and a great many men of the 4th and 44th intermixed with the head companies of our Regiment, which they said had fallen back on

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19. Hill, Recollections of an Artillery Officer, II, 11. For additional information relating particularly to the formation and location of Gibbs's column during the advance, see Mullins, General Court Martial, pp. 36, 51, 93, and passim; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 63; Tatum, "Journal," p. 125; and Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 249, 251.

them; the head of the column was at this time in considerable confusion. . . .(20)

Fearful at the turnabout, Gibbs saw his commands go unheeded and he sought out Pakenham who was in the rear. The commander rode out on a charger, hat in hand, and tried to encourage the troops to turn back. As he reached a point at the head of the column near the woods Pakenham's horse was shot out from under him and he received a wound. Mounting another, he was struck immediately by a round of grape and was conveyed to the back lines dead or dying. The spot where Pakenham fell was probably between 20 and 40 yards from the American fortifications, based upon knowledge of how close the British advance reached before withdrawing. Contemporary reports stated that the British did not proceed much farther after Pakenham was shot.(21) In any event, the attack now collapsed, the men staggering in disorganized rout back across the plain. Some of the Fourth and Twenty-first men sought shelter in the ditches and swamp or lying flat in the sedge grass. The Forty-fourth was severely damaged in the attack which lasted all of twenty minutes. Back at the first ditch Gibbs managed to rally the troops of the Fourth and Seventh infantry regiments and they moved ahead, now without the encumbrance of their knapsacks. This time some British soldiers reached the canal before the American works but could not surmount the defenses. Again the Americans filled the air with grape and canister, cutting huge swaths through the oncoming ranks while the riflemen delivered volley after volley of fire into the flanks of the advance. The cannon resounded across the field like thunder as the guns and rockets blazed forth a furious spectacle of light. Wounded British soldiers writhed in agony on the ground, their screams punctuating the morning air. Many soldiers died before the precisioned musketry of Carroll's Tennesseans. Gibbs himself received a

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20. General Court Martial, pp. 55-56.

21. General Court Martial, pp. 42-43; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 62-63. General Lambert wrote that Pakenham was hit "on the crest of the glacis." Lambert's account quoted in Latour, Historical Memoir, p. cli. Latour's map, however, indicates that Pakenham fell 250 yards from Jackson's line. Another account stated that Pakenham was killed about 100 yards from the American works. "A Contemporary Account of the Battle of New Orleans by a Soldier in the Ranks." pp. 12-15. See also, Abeel to writer, March 10, 1984, which makes a case for both Pakenham and Gibbs being wounded 50 yards from the American works.

mortal wound but 20 yards from the ditch. Major Tatum described the destruction thusly:

> He [the enemy] approached the lines almost in the face of our 18 lb. battery, and gave to that battery and another, containing a Howitzer, still further to our left, an opportunity of raking the right of his column compleatly; and also a favorable opportunity to rake him on his left with a 12, 4 [?] & 6 lbr., and at a greater distance, by a 32 lb. battery. As he approached with this column a tremendous fire was opened upon him from these batteries, the militia and part of the 44 U.S. Infantry. The effect was astonishing. The enemy were broken three, several times, halted, closed column and advanced again and finally entered the canal with their front platoons. Such destruction of men, for the time it lasted, was never before witnessed.(22)

When the confused advance of Gibbs's command became apparent to General Keane, that officer determined against moving to support the force of Colonel Rennie attacking Jackson's right. He instead put his troops, principally the Ninety-third Highlanders, 950 strong and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Dale, in motion to bolster Gibbs's left flank. From his covered position in the second ditch between the British batteries Keane led his men in a gentle oblique movement toward Gibbs's column, then approaching the right center of Jackson's line. The maneuver was disastrous because the American artillery, especially Battery No. 5, unleashed heavy barrages into the diagonally moving force and Keane's men began falling in droves. Colonel Dale was hit and killed immediately. The failure of the highlanders to turn the battle seems to have caused the advance to collapse altogether. After Keane was badly wounded in the neck near the American ditch the men of both commands began falling back amid a rain of grape and musket balls. Dickson recalled the event:

> At first the Musquetry fire was scattered along the [American] line, it then became more general, but not so great and incessant as might have been expected from a line so well manned, the fire of Artillery was heavy, and kept up with the Utmost vigour. When I got near the Old 10 Gun Battery the Musquetry fire slackened and seemed to recede on the Enemies left,

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22. "Journal," p. 125.

from which I thought the line was carried, but the occasional discharge of a Gun from that quarter convinced me I was deceived in my hopes, although I still was inclined to think some impression had been made, but on going a little further I heard Sir Edward Pakenham was badly wounded, and immediately after-wards I met the troops coming back in numbers and in great Confusion, the first Brigade at the Same time however advancing in good order; At this period I saw the Field Artillery on my left slowly retiring, I immediately rode up to them and learnt from Capt. Carmichael that he had moved forward agreeable to the order, taken up a position, and opened as soon as the Musquetry fire Commenced, but that he had Scarcely fired five Rounds a Gun, when the Columns that attacked broke at the head, and such numbers of men came in front of his Guns, that he was obliged to cease firing, and being under a Most heavy fire without the power of returning it, he had thought it best to fall back.(23)

The battle was over in little more than two hours, the field littered with hundreds of dead and dying while numbers of British deserters entered Jackson's line.

During the fighting Jackson maneuvered his support troops to be ready in case the British succeeded in carrying his works. Hinds's cavalry moved from behind Macarty's house to the rear of Coffee's command near the swamp at the time of the second British assault to make certain the left could not be turned. Jackson had also moved 600 Kentuckians into position between Coffee's right and Carroll's left, thereby adding substantially to his complement of veteran marksmen. Some of the Kentucky troops had to be ordered to remain behind the parapet, so eager were they to take risks that many of them rashly stood atop the defenses exposing themselves to the foe. While the main attack raged in front, Coffee's men successfully repelled another attempt by the British, this time by the light infantry units of the Second Brigade with 100 men of the Fifth West India regiment, to turn the left by penetrating the swamp.(24)

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23. "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 60-61.

24. Numerous sources were drawn upon for the essentials of the main British attack. For additional details, see Report of Major General Lambert, January 10, 1815. BPRO, London. War

During the fighting Major General John Lambert had stayed in the rear with the reserve First Brigade consisting of the Seventh Fusiliers and the Forty-third regiment besides the First West India regiment. Cautiously, Lambert now advanced to a point 250 yards from the American works where he was met by the reeling commands of Gibbs and Keane falling back without order. Seeing that there was no possibility of pressing ahead, Lambert ordered the army back to a position of security beyond range of the American guns.(25)

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24. (Cont.) Office 1, Vol. 141; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 154-57 (Latour stated that the attack lasted one hour. Ibid., p. 157); Tatum, "Journal," pp. 125-27; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 60-61, 63, 64; Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 221-22; General Court Martial, pp. 39, 41, 83; James Kempe letter in Mississippi Republican, January 18, 1815. Southern Historical Collection; Niles Weekly Register, February 11, 1815, p. 378; Pringle, Letters by Major Norman Pringle, p. 4; Gab Winter to William Willis, January 12, 1815. Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University; Louis de Tousard to John Clement Stocker, January 9, 1815. Manuscript Division, Historic New Orleans Collection; "A Contemporary Account of the Battle of New Orleans," p. 11; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815"; Buchan, History of the Royal Scots Fusiliers, p. 176; Ellis, History of the First West India Regiment, p. 155; "Battle of New Orleans, 8th January, 1815," p. 356; Benson J. Lossing, "Defense of New Orleans," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, XXX (December, 1864; May, 1865), pp. 168-86; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 194-96; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, II, 20-21, 25-26, 427-28, 429-30; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 189-91, 194-99; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 350-53, 355-56; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 83ff; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 140-59; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," p. 71; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 232-37, 241; Reilly, British at the Gates, pp. 298-305. See also previously cited maps by Latour, Ellery, and Joyes, plus Alexander Dickson's sketch plan in "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 62. Laclotte's "Defeat of the British Army. . . ." engraving is also useful in showing optimum British troop movements.

25. Lambert's report in Latour, Historical Memoir, p. cli; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 64-65; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," pp. 61-62. Cooke believed that ultimate success would have been assured had Lambert attacked with the reserve troops. Narrative of Events, p. 255.

As the smoke cleared following the retirement of the British, the men in the American intrenchments were greeted by a bloody spectacle. The entire plain on the left front of the line lay strewn with the dead and wounded. Some of the latter managed to stand up and run to the rear or into the American position where they surrendered. "A space of ground," wrote Latour,

> extending from the ditch of our lines to that on which the enemy drew up his troops, two hundred and fifty yards in length, by about two hundred in breadth, was literally covered with men, either dead or severely wounded. About forty men were killed in the ditch, up to which they had advanced, and about the same number were there made prisoners.(26)

Despite the retreat of the enemy with severe losses, Jackson continued an artillery bombardment until 2 p.m. Able British troops now posted themselves in the several drainage ditches to guard against a sortie by the Americans.(27)

While the attack on the east bank of the river proved disastrous, the British achieved some success across the Mississippi despite initial delays. Having reached the opposite bank, Colonel Thornton advanced his 560-man column upstream along the levee in the direction of General Morgan's line. The British boats, hugging the shoreline, moved upstream protecting Thornton's right flank while sending loads of grape shot toward the American position. The British encountered the badly armed Louisiana command of Major Paul Arnaud, driving them back from their front until they fell in with 170 Kentuckians under Colonel John Davis situated about a mile before Morgan's line at Mayhew's Canal. Arnaud drew up his command in line with the Kentucky troops and together the soldiers sent a volley into Thornton's men, causing them to open ranks in line formation and charge the American advance post. Morgan, seeing this attack, called on his men to fall back. Arnaud's command dashed into the woods on their right, while the Kentuckians retired toward Morgan's line on Raguet Canal.

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26. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 159-60.

27. Ibid.; Jackson to Monroe, January 13, 1815, in ibid., pp. liv-lvi.

Thornton pressed the attack, directing the Eighty-fifth to extend over the field and sending troops to skirt the woods. The seamen were ordered to move ahead on the road fronting the riverbank, while the marine unit formed in reserve behind the Eighty-fifth. In that formation Thornton advanced amid a shower of grape and canister from the river battery. Commander Patterson hastened to turn his six 12-pounders and three 24-pounders toward the advancing British, and Morgan readied his command of 700 to meet the enemy from behind the inadequate defenses. The General then ordered his soldiers to shoot, but the volley was uneven and Thornton's troops quickly responded with their own. At this, the Kentucky militia pulled away from the canal and began a headlong retreat up the river, followed shortly by the Louisiana troops of Colonels J.B. Dejan, Alexander DeClouet, and Zenon Cavalier posted near the stream. Before long the retreat became a disorganized rout, many Kentucky soldiers charging into the woods and swamps to escape the onrushing British. Unable to fire for fear of hitting Morgan's men, Patterson quickly ordered his guns spiked and batteries abandoned by the sailors, who moved after the retreating command. During the fighting a number of the British were killed and wounded, Colonel Thornton among the latter. But the troops pushed on toward New Orleans, routing Morgan again at Jourdan's Canal and yet again at Flood's Canal. The Americans finally stopped at Boisgervais Canal where the earthen defenses were improved and where Morgan had found some dragoons to help him stem the retreat. Other reinforcements under General Jean Humbert began to arrive from the east bank. Most of the Kentuckians had by this time, however, fled into the woods leaving the Louisianians to defend the Boisgervais works. The British decided against assaulting this position and awaited instructions from across the river. Besides taking the flag of the First Louisiana, Thornton's command captured Patterson's spiked weapons, and the armament of Morgan's line, including a howitzer taken from the British at Yorktown thirty-four years earlier.(28)

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28. British records accounted for one 10-inch howitzer, two 4-pounder cannon, three 24-pounders, three 12-pounders, six 9-pounders, and one 12-pounder carronade captured by Thornton's command. "Return of the Ordnance taken from the Enemy by a Detachment of the Army acting on the Right Bank of the Mississippi under the Command of Colonel Thornton." BPRO, London. War Office 1, Vol. 141.

Jackson, meanwhile secure in his victory on the opposite shore, feared that the British success over Morgan on the west bank would jeopardize his position once Patterson's guns should be unspiked and trained against the American right at Rodriguez Canal. But that eventuality never occurred, for Lambert, unable to provide reinforcements, ordered the west bank command to withdraw. That night the American's regained their west bank lines and Patterson unspiked his artillery. But the retreat of the Americans, and particularly the Kentuckians, reportedly enraged Jackson, who told the Secretary of War that those troops "ingloriously fled" from the enemy. The episode precipitated a lively debate in the press that lasted for years and cast a shadow over the role of the Kentuckians at New Orleans. A court of inquiry convened shortly after the battle cleared most of the militia leaders of blame and laid much criticism on Morgan for his defenses and troop disposition which contributed to the defeat. Yet the stigma haunted the Kentuckians and they remained bitter toward Jackson ever after.(29)

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29. For further details of the west bank action, including the controversial performance of the Kentuckians, see Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 164-66, 168-76, 231-32, cxxxii, clii, clvi-clix, clxii-clxiii, xliv-xlvi, lxi-lxiv; Tatum, "Journal," pp. 127-28; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 65-67; James, Full and Correct Account, p. 549; Brigadier General Robert McCansland to Jackson, January 28, 1815. Ferdinand J. Dreer Autograph Collection. Manuscript Division, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Morgan to Jackson, January 8, 1815. Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division, Chicago Historical Society; Joyes, "Defense of Kentucky Troops." Joyes Papers. Filson Club Collection; Thomas Joyes, "Account of Service in War of 1812," pp. 6-7, in ibid.; "Report of Colonel Thornton," January 8, 1815. BPRO, London. War Office 1, Vol. 141; Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 180-81; Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 223; Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 135; Morgan to Jackson, January 8, 1815, in ibid.; Orleans Gazette and Commercial Advertiser, May 31, 1817, quoting Morgan, letter to editors of the Lexington Reporter (Kentucky); "An Account of the Battle by New Orleans by John Nixon, Adjutant of the First Regiment of La. Militia" (typescript copy in the Louisiana State Museum Library); Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 198-201; Roosevelt Naval War of 1812, pp. 478-79, 483-85; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, II, 36-39; Meuse, Weapons of the Battle of

With the refusal of General Lambert to commit his rescue forces or to provide reinforcements to the west bank column Jackson's victory was assured. After the American guns fell silent over the plain before Rodriguez Canal hundreds of the prostrate British rose from among the dead and wounded to descend on Jackson's line in surrender. With no time to pull back his artillery, Lambert decided to wait until night when his men might spike the 18- and 24-pounders in the front batteries and dump the powder and shot into the waterfilled ditches. Meantime, most of his command edged closer to the woods or took cover in the ditches, some remaining for as long as five hours, until some orderly withdrawal could take place, usually by rising in squad formation and retreating in a crouch while on the run. Some of the Ninety-third troops along with the Fifth West India regiment were sent to the left to cover that exposed flank. Jackson refused to accept Lambert's request for a truce as long as the British operation proceeded across the river. Flags passed between the commands through the afternoon until 4 p.m., after which Jackson renewed his cannonade, shortly to include mortar fire from the weapon on his right, besides that of five new gunboats placed under cover of the riverbank.(30)

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29. (Cont.) New Orleans, pp. 32-33; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," pp. 68-69; James, Border Captain, pp. 267-68; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 138; Reilly, British at the Gates, p. 288; Brown, Amphibious Campaign, pp. 150-51; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 77, 81, 84, 86; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 238, 242-43, 246.

30. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 176-78, lii-liv; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 69-70, 71; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," pp. 62, 64; Cooke, Narrative of Events, pp. 238, 240-41; Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 222; "Battle of New Orleans, 8th January, 1815," p. 357. James, Border Captain, p. 267; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 364-65; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 84; Brooks, Siege of New Orleans, pp. 247, 249-50. For the exchange of notes between Jackson and Lambert, see Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 133-34, 138-39. Whereas most sources cited here indicate that Lambert identified himself to Jackson on January 8 as commander-in-chief of the British forces, Jackson's own correspondence indicates that final determination of Lambert's status occurred on the 11th. Ibid., p. 139.

Many of Jackson's men went over the parapet after the retreat to assist the wounded British into their lines, often using planks and discarded ladders to transport the injured soldiers. The operation was attended with certain risk, for British marksmen in the first ditch tried to disuade the Americans from removing the wounded. During the afternoon a company of Daquin's Free Men of Color advanced to rid the ditch of these British, a mission that succeeded despite several casualties.(31) Some Americans now ventured over the plain picking up muskets and other articles scattered over the ground. Reported one observer:

> When we first got a fair view of the field in our front, individuals could be seen in every possible attitude. Some laying quite dead, others mortally wounded, pitching and tumbling about in the agonies of death. Some had their heads shot off, some their legs, some their arms. Some were laughing, some crying, some groaning, and some screaming. There was every variety of sight and sound. Among those that were on the ground, however, there were some that were neither dead nor wounded. A great many had thrown themselves down behind piles of slain, for protection.(32)

British losses had, indeed, been exceedingly high. Jackson's inspector general, Colonel Arthur P. Hayne accounted for 700 killed, 1400 wounded, and 500 captured.(33) The Medical Director of the British Army later reported that 381 British soldiers had been killed on the field and that 477 others died of wounds received, making a total of 858 killed. Total wounded numbered 2,468, bringing the grand total of British casualties to 3,326.(34) Yet another estimate placed British

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31. Tatum, "Journal," pp. 127, 130; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 163-64.

32. "Contemporary Account of the Battle of New Orleans," pp. 14-15. See also, Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 208-09.

33. Hayne to Jackson, January 13, 1815, in Latour, Historical Memoir, p. lvi.

34. Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, pp. 40-41.

losses at 1971 killed and wounded.(35) These casualties moreover, included "one lieutenant general, two major generals, eight colonels and lieutenant colonels, six majors, eighteen captains, and fifty-four subalterns."(36) On the right bank of the Mississippi British losses stood at 120 killed and wounded.(37) American casualties in the main British attack were remarkably low, reportedly 6 killed and 7 wounded. Across the river 1 man had been killed and 5 wounded, making the total American loss that day 7 killed and 12 wounded.(38)

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35. Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 365-66; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 196-97; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 139. On the question of British casualties, never satisfactorily resolved, see also Tatum, "Journal," p. 130; Buchan, History of the Royal Scots Fusiliers, p. 177; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 483, 485-86; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 103.

36. Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 197.

37. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 175. While the commonly accepted folklore of the battle credits the huge British casualties to the performance of Carroll's, Coffee's, and Adair's militia, analytical evaluation of the evidence strongly suggests that it was Jackson's artillery rather than the backwoodsmen who won the day. This includes knowledge of high casualties in British units known to have been beyond musket range during the fighting. Most accounts stated that Coffee's men actually fired little during the battle and Latour noted that the units under Plauche, Daquin, Lacoste, plus most of the Forty-fourth Infantry withheld fire. Furthermore, although British medical personnel mentioned few instances of casualties caused by artillery fire, they had no knowledge that the Americans were firing grape and canister whose wounds resembled those from musket balls and buckshot. See Reilly, British at the Gates, p. 307; Casey, "Artillery at the Battle of New Orleans," p. 36.

38. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. 175; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 365-66; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 139. Tatum wrote that Jackson lost 11 men killed and 23 wounded on the left bank and 2 killed, 16 wounded, and 19 missing on the right bank. "Journal," p. 130. See also Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. lix-lx; Jackson's papers account for 13 killed, 39 wounded, and 19 missing in action, these figures including losses on both sides of the river. Jackson, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, p. 143.

The most practical explanation for these light casualties is that the British were unable to penetrate the fortifications and their artillery was once again trained too high to seriously threaten the troops behind the line. The British guns, wrote an American, "have done no harm to our troops, the bursting of their bombs in our works has been of no effect."(39)

Burial of the British dead proceeded on the early afternoon of January 9 following Lambert's accession to Jackson's demand that reinforcements from neither army should be sent to the west bank. Indeed, Lambert informed Jackson that his troops across the Mississippi had been recalled. Under an arrangement worked out with Jackson at the time of the armistice, all of the dead lying between Rodriguez Canal and the first drainage ditch about 400 yards away would be delivered by the Americans to the upper side of the ditch "at the edge of the sedge grass." Those dead found in the swamp above a prolongation of the ditch were likewise turned over by the Americans. The British were responsible for burying all these dead, plus those lying below the ditch, in two hours' designated time, although the burials in fact lasted well into the evening. More than 300 dead British were thus turned over at the demarcation line by the Americans, and Jackson's officers tending to this duty noticed that many dead also existed across the ditch. At the same time some wounded British prisoners were escorted across the ditch and into the enemy lines, there to be exchanged for American prisoners. After dark a torchlit ceremony was held during which the British fatalities were interred in shallow muddy graves.(40)

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39. Stuart O. Landry, Side Lights on the Battle of New Orleans (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Company, 1965), p. 50. See Claiborne to Kentucky Governor Shelby, January 9, 1815. Miscellaneous Manuscripts. Manuscript Division, New York Historical Society.

40. Tatum, "Journal," pp. 130-32; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 233; Reid and Eaton, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 354, 356-57. The consensus among historians is that the British buried most of their fatalities. At one point, however, Jackson wrote Lambert, January 8, that "the dead on the field beyond the line [ditch], . . . you can inter. Those within that line shall be intered [sic] by my troops." Andrew Jackson Papers. Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Presidential Papers Microfilm, Series 3, Vols. F-K, Reel 62.

Location of the burial places of the British dead has never been precisely determined, except that they occurred somewhere beyond the first drainage ditch. One source stated that the bodies were "Buried in the Battery . . . hastily erected on New Years eve," probably meaning the position straddling the center road (British Batteries Nos. 6 and 7).(41) Such a location seems logical since it required transporting the dead only a short distance directly to the rear. Another source, however, while noting that "the ditch along the levee was the grave of numbers," also remarked that he did not visit "that part of the field where the British buried (nominally) the greatest number of their dead. . . ."(42) There were accounts, too, that indicated that the dead were "thrown by dozens into shallow holes, scarcely deep enough to furnish them with a slight covering of earth."(43) And an officer reported preparing a mass grave into which he threw about 200 bodies.(44) It is clear that the burials were slight gestures because of the nature of the terrain. The bodies were straightened "and the great toes tied together with a piece of string."(45) Most were barely covered with earth and during the ensuing weeks as the weather turned warm the bodies putrefied and their stench pervaded a broad area. "Every light puff from the eastward which passes over the field brings

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41. Gab Winter to William Willis, January 12, 1815. Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University.

42. Diary of Samuel Mordecai, March-June, 1815.

43. Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, p. 182.

44. Smith, Autobiography, p. 12. Yet another likely location for British burials was in the area of the headquarters at Villere's mansion. Here many of the wounded British died and, reportedly, were interred. Some confirmation of this place as a burial site appeared in The Daily Picayune (New Orleans), January 18, 1891. According to the paper, a drainage ditch excavated in the immediate vicinity a few years previous had disclosed numerous artifacts. "Belts and swords were brought up by the spades, and more relics are constantly being found. A year ago a sword came back from the grave. Bullets, around which the bodies have turned to dust, are shaken from the sides of the [ditch] stream. . . ."

45. Ibid.

evidence with it that the bodies are still here," wrote one chronicler.(46) By summer the situation concerned residents of New Orleans who feared an outbreak of pestilence brought on by the mouldering British dead.(47) Probably periodic flooding did much to alleviate such concerns, along with the passage of time. It seems likely that most of the original burials were made in the part of the battlefield adjoining the woods, indeed, in the area of the aforementioned British batteries.(48)

While the interments proceeded on January 9, British naval vessels on the lower Mississippi tried to make their way past Fort St. Philip to assist Pakenham's operation below New Orleans. Since early December British craft plied the waters at the river's mouth and had occupied the works at The Balize. Fort St. Philip had been refurbished according to Jackson's specifications and during the middle of December Major Walter Overton took command of the garrison, composed of approximately 400 men of the regular artillery and infantry, plus several units of local militia. One gunboat took station in the river near the post. On January 9 several British craft, including two mortar vessels, approached Fort St. Philip and initiated a long-range bombardment that lasted over the next eight days, killing 2 Americans and wounding 7. Overton fired back with his artillery, consisting of twenty-nine 24-pounders,

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46. Niles' Weekly Register, July 15, 1815, p. 348.

47. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, II, 233.

48. Brooks stated that the dead soldiers were placed in ditches on Bienvenue's property and that the officers' remains were taken to the rear and buried at Villere's plantation. General Coffee's men had already buried some British in the vicinity of their line position before word of the general plan reached them. Those interred were not exhumed. The bodies of Pakenham, Gibbs, and Rennie, were disembowled and interred in barrels of rum for conveyance to England. Siege of New Orleans, pp. 253-55; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 139. In 1933 archeological excavations were conducted along what was believed to be the drainage ditch in search of the British burial ground. More excavations took place in the area between the British and American positions, but no evidence of the interments was found. Wilson, "Search for Jackson's Mud Rampart," p. 10.

two 32-pounders, one 6-pounder, two howitzers, and one 13-inch mortar, but the British stayed out of range. On the 17th the Americans opened an effective mortar fire that prompted the British to give up the attempt and sail downstream to the Gulf. Throughout the encounter the guns on the lower river instilled certain apprehension among Jackson's men. "We have heard a heavy cannonade to day in that direction," wrote a soldier. "If they should pass that fort, all our efforts here I am afraid will be unavailing. . . ."(49) As a precaution Jackson caused a new water battery to be erected about 50 yards behind the right of his line at Rodriguez Canal. This battery mounted four 24-pounders and was completed under the supervision of an engineer named Blanchard. Across the stream Morgan undertook a new line of defense while Patterson began work on another battery on the levee, this one higher up than his earlier batteries though armed with the weapons removed from them. With the withdrawal of British shipping from in front of Fort St. Philip, however, the need for these new batteries passed.(50)

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49. Dudly Avery to Mary Ann, January 16, 1815. Avery Family Papers, Folder #1, 1796-1815. Manuscript Division, Southern Historical Collection.

50. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 188-91; lxix-lxxi; Tatum, "Journal," pp. 132-33; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, pp. 92-93. Rumors circulated among the British army that Fort St. Philip was destroyed by an explosion and that the British navy would soon arrive up the river. Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 74; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," p. 76. The battery erected behind Jackson's right contained thirty-one men, according to Lieutenant Colonel MacRea, "List of officers and men serving at the Batteries." Ellery indicated that this battery faced its embrasures landward rather than toward the river. "Plan Showing the disposition of the American Troops. . . ." The battery is also depicted on the Joyes map.

CHAPTER VIII

AFTERMATH

Even while the battle raged on the river below, the British army under Lambert was making preparations to leave. Following the battle of January 8 the army withdrew one and one-half miles back from Jackson's position, but the American guns, radically elevated, continued their harassing fire. Commander Patterson mounted 12- and 24-pounders at his batteries between the 10th and 13th of January and soon he began erecting levee batteries opposite Lambert's encampment. As Cooke reported:

> Thus, night and day, were we harassed by danger against which there was no fortifying ourselves. Of the extreme unpleasantness of our situation it is hardly possible to convey any adequate conception. We never closed our eyes in peace, for we were sure to be awakened before many minutes elapsed, by the splash of a round shot or shell in the mud beside us. Tents we had none, but lay, some in the open air, and some in huts made of boards, or any materials that could be procured. From the first moment of our landing not a man had undressed excepting to bathe; and many had worn the same shirt for weeks together. Besides all this, heavy rains now set in, accompanied with violent storms of thunder and lightning, which lasting during the entire day, usually ceased towards dark, and gave place to keen frosts. Thus were we alternately wet and frozen: wet all day, and frozen all night. With the outposts again there was constant skirmishing. With what view the Americans wished to drive them in I cannot tell; but every day were they attacked, and compelled to maintain their ground by dint of hard fighting. In one word, none but those who happened to belong to this army can form a notion of the hardships which it endured and the fatigue which it underwent.(1)

The British Forty-fourth regiment meanwhile began preparations to retire altogether, including the laying of a fascine-corduroyed road from the head of Villeré's Canal to and along Bayous Mazant and Bienvenue to expedite the passage of troops, ordnance, and equipment over the marshy terrain.

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1. Narrative of Events, pp. 185-86.

This labor was completed by the royal engineers and 300 men. Bridges also had to be built over the numerous subsidiary streams emptying into the principal bayou. On the 11th a rainstorm accompanied by thunder and lighting impeded the work. The road was finished on the night of January 17. Previously, on the 11th the wounded had left, and on the 13th, 14th and 15th the West India regiments, the Forty-fourth regiment, and the Marines departed. During the night of the 14th a party of Americans came through the woods, took some blacks from de la Ronde's, and caused an alarm among the British pickets, but no engagement ensued.(2)

Throughout this post-battle period the British sent a stream of flags into Jackson's line. In some instances the enemy's approaches were unwarranted, and on the 15th Jackson issued strict guidelines affecting future communications with Lamberts' command:

> The Major General has observed the irregularity, with which the Guards in front of the line have done their duties, particularly of late when on approach of a flag from the enemy, the officers of the Guards have on different occasions received the flag without the authority or knowledge of the General in Chief. Such proceedings, if not at once removed will produce difficulties and defeat of the Genls view should he have determined not to have received the flags received by the officers of the Guards.
>
> The Major General directs that in future when a flag make its approach it shall be the duty of the officer of the Guard nearest it, to advance and prevent it from approaching too near our line, and wait for one of the Generals Staff officers who will receive any communications--at which time the officer of the Guard will return to his post, and the Guards should not be dismissed untill the departure of said flag. No persons shall be permitted to pass the Guard without leave from the Major General, for the

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2. "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-15," p. 70; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 74; Casey, Louisiana in the War of 1812, p. 94; Forrest, "Journal of Operations Against New Orleans in 1814 and 1815," pp. 124-25; Cochrane, "Narrative of the British Attack on New Orleans." The last two sources are practically identical in phraseology respecting the British preparations for departure.

execution of this order the officers of the Guard shall be held responsible.(3)

On January 16, amid the daily American bombardment, Lambert prepared for his imminent departure, reportedly requesting Jackson to care for the seriously wounded British soldiers he was forced to leave behind. On the 17th he and Jackson, through their intermediaries, agreed on provisional articles, shortly ratified, for effecting the release of American prisoners held aboard British ships in exchange for British prisoners held by the Americans. Sixty-three Americans were turned over at the demarcation ditch on the 18th, most of whom had been captured during the night battle of December 23.(4) On the 17th the withdrawal began and by the following night when most of the infantry pulled out the road constructed by the engineers had deteriorated into a muddy recess. "Every step sank us to the knees," wrote one soldier who watched a comrade completely disappear in the muck.(5) Thus, under a dense fog on a dark night Lambert's army stole away, covered by a rear guard of pickets who stayed behind until just before dawn of the 19th. The British had been forced to spike six 18-pounders on the levee that they were unable to transport to the ships. The order of the regiments' withdrawal was as follows: Twenty-first, Fourth, Ninety-third, Eighty-fifth, Ninety-fifth, Forty-third, and Seventh. At the confluence of Villere's Canal with Bayou Mazant the engineers had erected a redoubt to guard the retreat.

Jackson had no certain knowledge of the British retirement until the fog lifted about 8 o'clock the next morning. He sent detachments of Hinds's cavalry and light troops to watch and report on the enemy movement and to harrass the rear guard. But the British had reached the head of the canal by then and were protected by the swampland as well as by the redoubt on Bayou Mazant. Other works had been erected farther on. At

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3. General Order, January 15, 1815. National Archives, Record Group 98. Records of U.S. Army Commands, 1784-1921. Entry 73.

4. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 179-80, 207, lxiv, lxxxii, clxvii; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," p. 77; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," p. 77; Tatum, "Journal," p. 133; Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 260.

5. Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, p. 188.

the junction of Bayous Jumonville and Mazant stood an epaulement. Three-quarters of a mile ahead at the confluence of Bayous Mazant and Bienvenue was another breastwork occupied by rear guard pickets. Near the fisherman's huts a mile from Lake Borgne yet another work had been started to contain some 1000 troops. This work was left incomplete. On visiting the vacated British camp, Jackson's staff found numerous damaged cannon as well as the wounded men who were conveyed to New Orleans.(6)

With the British withdrawal there was no further need to keep all of Jackson's men at Rodriguez Canal, and on the 19th the majority moved back closer to New Orleans leaving a picket guard in the old defenses. Next evening a brief action took place on Lake Borgne where a party of American soldiers and seamen succeeded in capturing fifty-four British army and navy personnel. Over the next few days the Americans captured a schooner and several small boats.(7) Despite such inconveniences, Lambert's army continued its withdrawal to the fleet some sixty miles away, finally completing the operation on the 27th. But bad weather kept the British vessels at anchor for more than a week. On February 7 the fleet anchored off Dauphin Island and the army disembarked for a needed recuperation. Shortly the British moved on to Mobile, ending their disastrous southern campaign on a note of success with the capture of Fort Bowyer on Mobile Point, which surrendered February 12. Soon thereafter news of the end of the war arrived and all hostilities between the British and Americans ceased.(8)

With the final withdrawal of the British from before New Orleans an air of celebration gripped the region and city. On

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6. For the British withdrawal see Gleig, Campaigns of the British Army, pp. 185-87; Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana," pp. 79-81; Tatum, "Journal," pp. 134-35; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 184-86, lxvii, clxvi-clxvii; Latour, "Map Showing the Landing of the British Army. . . ." Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 224; "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," pp. 78-79; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, II, 46-47; Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, pp. 368-69.

7. Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, II, 47; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 180-82.

8. Latour, Historical Memoir, p. lxxxvii; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 203; Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812, p. 488.

January 21 Jackson issued an appreciative address to his forces and two days later a general thanksgiving was held in New Orleans with Jackson feted with parades and festivities for his triumph.(9) The revelry did not signal an end to vigilance and defensive efforts, however. Besides the new breastwork begun on the 10th by Morgan's men across the river on Jourdan's plantation, Jackson had directed Morgan to destroy all homes and fences in his front that potentially could interfere with troop movements should another attack occur. Morgan was also warned to keep his men from ravaging the neighborhood "to the disgrace of our country."(10) On the 14th reinforcements of militia reached the west bank command. Across the river Jackson's men remained in position on Rodriguez Canal, the batteries continuing their daily cannonading of the British encampment. Many American soldiers, having been exposed to the cold wetness for weeks, came down with dysentry and fever and some deaths occurred. To keep his men in a military posture Jackson gave orders against "spiritous liquors" being allowed in camp.(11)

Two days after the British army retired via Bayous Mazant and Bienvenue Jackson began disposing his forces to prevent its return. He directed his officers at Bayou Lafourche, at the Temple in Barataria, and at the junction of Bayou Tigauyon with Lake Pontchartrain to keep alert for signs of the enemy. He placed the Second Louisiana on Villeré's plantation while a detachment of Kentuckians occupied Lacoste's tract. On the 21st most forces were withdrawn from Rodriguez Canal leaving only the Seventh Infantry to guard the artillery and ammunition. Most of the remaining Kentuckians retired to Line Dupré where they assisted in the completion of a battery and parapet. The Tennesseans encamped above the city at Avart's plantation. The field artillery at Rodriguez Canal, except for the two guns in the forward right redoubt, were removed along

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9. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 198-99, clxxxii-clxxxv.

10. Joyes, "Account of Service in War of 1812," p. 7; Jackson to Morgan, January 10, 1815. Louisiana State Museum Library; Butler to Morgan, January 11, 1815. David B. Morgan Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 179, 204; "Journal of an Officer, 1814-1815," p. 646.

11. National Archives, Record Group 98. Records of U.S. Army Commands, 1784-1921. Entry 73; Buell, History of Andrew Jackson, II, 52.

with the Forty-fourth Infantry to New Orleans. Plauche's volunteer battalion returned to the city, too. Jackson also caused a battery, called Fort Villeré, to be erected at the head of Villeré's Canal and at the junction of Bayous Mazant and Bienvenue. Construction was supervised by Lieutenant Latrobe. Bayou Bienvenue was also to be obstructed. Pickets were stationed in a redoubt at Bayou Phillepon above Piernas Canal near where the Kentucky troops pitched their tents. Still more works were erected on Regio's canal at Terre-aux-Boeufs at English Turn and on Bayou Boeuf near Lake Levy. Work on the redoubt at Chef Menteur and Bayou Sauvage continued. Reinforcements of 450 Mississippi volunteers also arrived. On the 22nd a party of Thomas's Kentuckians under Colonel de la Ronde encountered British pickets at Bayous Mazant and Jumonville whose cannon mounted on barges sent grape into them without effect. De la Ronde prudently retired, however.(12)

Still security conscious despite his preparations, Jackson on January 24 directed his engineers, Latour and Tatum, to range over the country and determine "fit points for establishing forts or placing obstructions."(13) Skirmishing with British outposts continued over the next few days and on the 25th one of Hinds's dragoons was killed and two more wounded in an action near Bayou Bienvenue. The defensive precautions lasted into February. Work proceeded on the fortifications on the Chef Menteur Road, near LaBretoniere's plantation, where the ditches had to be deepened. One hundred negro slaves from Orleans Parish were employed in the task, with their owners receiving payment for their labor. One hundred more were recruited to help finish Line Montreuil below the city.(14) In the aftermath of the fall of Fort Bowyer, and

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12. Latour, Historical Memoir, pp. 197-98, 202-04, 224-25; John Coffee Order Book, 1814-1815. Coffee Papers, Southern Historical Collection; General Order, January 20, 1815. N.A., R.G. 98. Entry 73; Joyes, "Account of Service in War of 1812," p. 9; "Journal of an Officer," p. 646; "General Carroll's Expedition to New Orleans," pp. 71-72; Diary of Levi Lee, 1813-31, Tennessee State Library and Archives; DeGrummond, Baratarians, p. 146;

13. Jackson to Latour and Tatum, January 24, 1815. Jackson Papers. Manuscript Division. Chicago Historical Society.

14. Order Book Louisiana Militia, Jan. 28th, 1815 to Feb. 27th 1827. (Typescript in the Louisiana State Museum Library), pp. 8, 9, 18-19, 20, 22, 25, 31, 32.

with news of the end of the war, however, work on these defenses ceased.

There were several reasons for the American victory at New Orleans. Perhaps the overriding factor was the execution of Jackson's artillery, although this explanation may detract too much from the contributions of his various militia units and especially those from Kentucky and Tennessee. Jackson himself believed that the ultimate victory rested with the night battle of December 23 which impeded the British approach sufficiently to allow him ample time to erect fortifications. "Heaven," he wrote, "interposed on our behalf."(15) Perhaps, too, British mistakes brought on Pakenham's disaster more than did American firepower. Admiral Cochrane specified several contributory problems, including the vast distances over which supplies had to be routed from the ships; the difficulty in obtaining intelligence of the Americans' situation; difficulties in operating over an inhospitable terrain in weather detrimental to success; and a prepared and resourceful enemy who constructed a line impossible to turn. These were the obstacles to British triumph, despite Cochrane's assertion that "there never was an expedition better planned; nor to a certain degree better executed."(16) Strategically, British thinking was sound; tactically, however, it failed, and in British circles controversy over the reasons for the failure swirled vigorously for generations. Why was a frontal attack made against Jackson's line? Why was no greater effort made to turn Jackson's left? And why was the troubled Forty-fourth regiment directed to lead the final, fatal assault?(17) Latour attributed the British loss to their failure to "sacrifice the regularity of their movements to promptitude and celerity." Pakenham's men, he said, should have charged with bayonets rather than marching in step. "It is well known that agility is not the distinctive quality of British troops."(18) In sum, Pakenham's direction of

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15. Jackson to James Brown, February 4, 1815. Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, VI, 447. See also Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 108.

16. "Narrative." See also letter signed "Verita" January 18, 1855. Manuscript Division. Cincinnati Historical Society.

17. Rowland, Andrew Jackson's Campaign Against the British, p. 359; Ritchie, "Louisiana Campaign," p. 60

18. Historical Memoir, p. 160.

the whole affair drew criticism if not outright condemnation from his own men. "I cannot help saying that I have been disappointed in him," remarked an officer who served under Pakenham and who believed the General should have delayed the attack when it became obvious that Thornton's movement to the west side had been stymied. "I never supposed that any front attack would have commenced till we were firmly fixed on the opposite bank."(19) Finally, it has been suggested that the British troops, having met reversal on two previous occasions, December 28 and January 1, were psychologically prepared for defeat by the time they advanced in earnest on January 8.(20) The conclusion is indeed plausible and could in fact be the single most dominant factor for Pakenham's defeat.

The outcome of the battle had profound implications for Jackson personally and for the country as a whole. As "Hero of New Orleans," Jackson's fame endured and in 1828 he was elected President, largely because of the symbolism he engendered as spiritual embodiment of the nation derived from his New Orleans experience. Though slow to comprehend the evolving military situation around him, Jackson instinctively had melded an army of disparate ethnic and social elements--French, Indians, backwoodsmen, blacks--and set them working toward a shared objective, the defeat of the British. That action and the dissemination of news of the cohesiveness of these groups helped break down the cultural and social barriers that had heretofore affected the region and contributed to a commonality of purpose previously unknown. The event at New Orleans re-inspired the nation with confidence and instilled pride in its arms, lately embarrassed during the British invasion of Maryland and Virginia.(21) All in all, the Battle of New Orleans contributed significantly in directing the course of the United States, both in 1815 and for a long time thereafter.

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19. "Sir John Maxwell Tylden Journal, 1814-1815," p. 67. See also, Adams, "Battle of New Orleans," pp. 197-98.

20. Brown, Amphibious Campaign, p. 130.

21. Adams, "Battle of New Orleans," p. 193; Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 205; Lindsey, Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun, pp. 25-26.

CHAPTER IX

THE BATTLEFIELD AND ENVIRONS IN LATER YEARS

In the decades following the Battle of New Orleans the site of the January 8 encounter became a local and regional attraction for visitors. Although the property remained in private ownership and for many years lacked any form of official recognition, it nonetheless represented an important epic in American history whose significance was immediately apparent. The battle site commanded a great amount of attention, particularly as the concept of "Jackson Day"--January 8--became standardized in later years. Because of the early interest generated, there exist numerous first-hand accountings that provide evidence of the later appearance and condition of the battlefield property.

One of the earliest such renderings was that of Samuel Mordecai, who visited the scene on April 22, 1815, less than four months after the battle. Mordecai located the area of the British encampment by "observing a line of small spots among the clover where fires had been kindled."

> At one place the ditch [of a battery?] still retained a bloody stain and the smell was extremely offensive. I have since learned that the enemy made a breastwork here of hhds [hogsheads] of sugar--which probably caused the appearance and smell. The house in which the British headquarters were held, was perforated with cannon balls. Many of these must have been sent from the Caroline and other vessels, which greatly harrassed the enemy.(1)

Two days later Mordecai was ushered over the American part of the field by several battle participants. He noted that "the house in which Genl Jackson established headquarters . . . bore many marks of the enemy's balls. One remained half buried in a position wall over his bed."(2)

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1. Diary of Samuel Mordecai, March-June, 1815. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

2. Ibid.

The earliest known changes in the appearance of the battleground were reported by the artist and architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe during a visit in 1819. Latrobe, whose son had served as an engineer officer and had helped erect the batteries on the right of Jackson's line, noted that the river had already eroded away part of that end of the position to include that on which the advance redoubt stood. Latrobe took the occasion to prepare a significant sketch map of the right end of the line as it appeared in 1819, as well as two drawings showing relative positions of existing structures to the line.(3) The line, wrote Latrobe, "is now visible only as the somewhat elevated bank of a narrow canal from the Mississippi to the swamp."(4) Comparing Jackson's feat with that of Hannibal over the Romans, Latrobe commented that

> this ditch and something of a bank extending from the river road to the swamp will probably remain for many years, because the ditch serves as a plantation drain. But the soluble quality of the earth and the exceedingly heavy rains of the climate would otherwise, in a few years, destroy every vestige of a work which saved the city and the whole country of the delta from conquest.(5)

A few years later, in 1825, a German visitor walked along the line, but was clearly more intrigued with the area mansion houses than with learning the rudiments of the battle. Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach registered his interest in the homes along the river which, he noted, were almost universally built behind a garden about 100 yards in length with an entrance walkway lined with carefully manicured laurel and China trees. Most of the homes were two-storied with galleries and piazzas.(6) Bernhard saw the Macarty house headquarters of Jackson as well as the British headquarters at Villeré's, which he described as "not very large and . . . not very much

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3. Impressions Respecting New Orleans, p. 74.

4. Ibid., p. 43.

5. Ibid., p. 46.

6. Travels through North America, during the Years 1825 and 1826 (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Carey, 1828), I, 65.

ornamented." Behind the house were two brick structures, one containing a sugar mill, the other sugar boiling apparatus. Stables and cabins for house servants stood nearby, while huts for the field slaves stood some distance away. Bernhard also remarked on the changing course of the Mississippi, which during the years since the battle had inclined to the right leaving the Villeré mansion farther back from the bank.(7)

Changes were less perceptible in the area of the January 8, 1815, battle some distance upstream. In 1827 Andrew Jackson briefly returned to the scene of his triumph, but his biographer described nothing of the appearance of the battlefield at the time.(8) One of the better descriptions of the ground was provided by Joseph H. Ingraham, who came to New Orleans in the early 1830s. Ingraham's observations were extensive but offered nonetheless a contemporary view that additionally remarked on an element of the post-battle society that had evolved near the site:

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7. Ibid., pp. 65-66, 68, 69. Bernhard gave a description of the sugar-making process at Villeré's, which because of its significance to the battlefield area, is presented here: "The whole is surrounded by cane fields, of which some were then brought in, and others all cut down. A field of this description must rest fallow for five years, and be manured, before being again set out in plants. For manure, a large species of bean is sown, which is left to rot in the field, and answers the purpose very well. The cane is commonly cut in December, and brought to the mill. These mills consist of three iron cylinders, which stand upright, the centre one of which is put in motion by a horse-mill underneath, so as to turn the other by crown-wheels. The cane is shoved in between these, and must pass twice through to be thoroughly squeezed out. The fresh juice thus pressed out, runs through a groove into a reservoir. From this it is drawn off into the kettles, in which it is boiled, to expel the watery part by evaporation. There are three of these kettles close together, so as to pour the juice when it boils from one to the other, and thus facilitate the evaporation of the water. The boiling in these kettles lasts one hour; one set gives half a hogshead of brown sugar." Ibid., p. 69.

8. Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, III, 139-40.

Following our guide a few hundred yards . . . down the river-road, we passed on the left hand a one story wooden dwelling-house situated at a short distance back from the road, having a gallery, or portico in front, and elevated upon a basement story of brick, like most other houses built immediately on the river. This, our guide informed us, was "the house occupied by General Jackson as head-quarters: and there," he continued, pointing to a planter's residence two or three miles farther down the river, "is the mansion-house of General, (late governor, Villere) which was occupied by Sir Edward Packenham as the head-quarters of the British army."(9)

"But the battle-ground--where is that sir?" we inquired, as he silently continued his rapid walk in advance of us.

"There it is," he replied after walking on a minute or two longer in silence, and turning the corner of a narrow, fenced lane which extended from the river to the forest-covered marshes--"there it is, gentlemen,"--and at the same time extended his arm in the direction of the peaceful plain, which we had before observed,--spread out like a carpet, it was so very level--till it terminated in the distant forests, by which and the river it was nearly enclosed. Riding a quarter of a mile down the lane we dismounted, and leaving our horses in the road, sprang over a fence, and in a few seconds stood upon the American breast-works. . . .

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9. The house pointed out by the guide conforms more closely to the Rodriquez House, which during the battle was closely adjacent to Jackson's line. Jackson had his headquarters in the Macarty house some distance to the rear of the line. Apparently there existed confusion among local inhabitants over the proper headquarters site, an error that seemingly was perpetuated for decades. A battle participant who visited the Macarty house in 1838 noted "cannon-balls still embedded in its walls, where the owners had in their enthusiasm, caused them to be gilt, in the year 1822." Nolte, Fifty Years in Both Hemispheres, p. 217.

The rampart of earth upon which we stood, presented very little the appearance of having ever been a defence for three thousand breasts; resembling rather one of the numerous dikes constructed on the plantations near the river, to drain the very marshy soil which abounds in this region, than the military defences of a field of battle. It was a grassy embankment, extending, with the exception of an angle near the forest--about a mile in a straight line from the river to the cypress swamps in the rear; four feet high, and five or six feet broad. At the time of the battle it was the height of a man, and somewhat broader than at present, and along the whole front ran a fosse, containing five feet of water, and of the same breadth as the parapet. This was now nearly filled with earth, and could easily be leaped over at any point. The embankment through the whole extent is much worn, indented and, occasionally, levelled with the surface of the plain. . . .

We walked slowly over the ground, which annually waves with undulating harvests of the rich cane. Our guide was intelligent and sufficiently communicative without being garrulous. He was familiar with every interesting fact associated with the spot, and by his correct information rendered our visit both more satisfactory and agreeable than it otherwise would have been.

"Here gentilhommes, j'ai finde some bullet for you to buy," shouted a little French mulatto at the top of his voice, who, among other boys of various hues, had followed us to the field, "me, j'ai trop--too much;" and on reaching us, this double-tongued urchin turned his pockets inside out and discharged upon the ground a load of rusty grape-shot, bullets, and fragments of lead--his little stock in trade, some, if not all of which, I surmised, had been manufactured for the occasion.

"Did you find them on the battle-ground, garcon?"

Iss--oui, Messieurs, me did, de long-temps."

I was about to charge him with having prepared his pockets before leaving home, when Mr. C. exhibited a grape shot that he had picked from the dark soil in which it was half buried. I bought for a piccaiune, the smallest currency of the country, the "load of grape," and we pursued our walk over the field, listening with much interest to the communications of our guide, conjuring up the past scenes of strife and searching for balls; which by and by began to thicken upon us so fast, that we were disposed to attribute a generative principle to grape-shot. We were told by our cicerone that they were found in great numbers by the ploughmen, and disposed of to curious visitors. On inquiring of him if false ones were not imposed upon the unsuspecting, he replied "No--there is no need of that--there is an abundance of those which are genuine."

"I'm got half a peck on un to hum, myself, I'se found," exlaimed a little negro in a voice that sounded like the creaking of a shoe, bolting off at the same time for the treasure like one of his own cannon-balls. What appalling evidence is this abundance of leaden and iron hail strewed over the field, of the terrible character of that war-storm which swept so fearfully over it. Flattened and round balls, grape of various sizes, and non-descript bits of iron were the principal objects picked up in our stroll over the ground.

The night was rapidly approaching-for we had lingered along on this interesting spot--and precluded our visit to the oaks, to which it had been our intention to extend our walk; and as we turned to retrace our steps with our pockets heavy with metal, something rang to the touch of my foot, which, on lifting and cleansing it from the loam, we discovered to be the butt-piece of a musket.(10)

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10. Joseph Holt Ingraham, The South-West (2 vols.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835), I, 198-99, 201, 204-06.

Contemporary information regarding the battlefield also came in the mid-1840s from other visitors to the scene. Often, however, the impulse was to wax patriotic rather than descriptive. One commentator, noting the dearth of any monument at the site, observed that "if there is no lofty structure of granite or marble, to perpetuate the glorious achievement, it has a holier, a more enduring memorial in the heart of every true American. . . ."(11) In 1846 a British tourist reported that the levee was in process of being strengthened along the riverfront, "for the Mississippi is threatening to pour its resistless current through this battle-ground, as, in the delta of the Ganges, the Hoogly is fast sweeping away the celebrated field of Plassy."(12)

More substantive depiction came in the account of a militia soldier bound for the Mexican War whose regiment encamped at Chalmette. "The plain itself is a magnificent place for the marshalling of large bodies of men. . . . The entrenchments are still visible tho the peaceful pursuits of agriculture are fast obliterating the lines. . . ." He reported that the British dead were located on the field where Pakenham had formed his troops for opening the assault, an act, he said, that typified "the sublimity of bravery."(13) A Mississippi soldier who also stopped at Chalmette enroute to Mexico in July, 1846, described his regiment's encampment on ground recently vacated by volunteers from Kentucky and Ohio:

> Our tents were pitched on the ground where the British lines were drawn up on the 8th [of January, 1815], but we had a full view of the ground upon which the Americans were stationed, and as it was surveyed by the eye, the recollections of that celebrated battle where American arms achieved such a splendid victory, seemed to arouse every heart and nerve every arm for the conflicts . . . we confidently anticipate.

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11. B.M. Norman, Norman's New Orleans and Environs: Containing a Brief Historical Sketch of the Territory and State of Louisiana, and the City of New Orleans. . . . (New Orleans: Published by the author, 1845), p. 200.

12. Charles Lyell, A Second Visit to the United States of North America (2 vols.; London: John Murray, 1849), II, 156.

13. Charles T. Harlan to "Dear Julia," July 19, 1846. Eugene C. Barker History Center, University of Texas, Austin.

Despite torrential rains the Mississippians remained at Chalmette for two days until severe flooding finally forced them out of their tents. On July 17 they abandoned the Chalmette site for drier quarters in New Orleans.(14)

Historian Alexander Walker probably offered the most specific description of the battle scene at mid-century. Jackson's line, wrote Walker in 1855,

> becomes more distinct as it approaches the swamp, the ground near the river having been more exposed to the action of the plow and the tramp of men and cattle. The river having caved some hundred or two feet, the line of the levee has been slightly changed, and the road has worn away the mound and the vestiges of the redoubt on the extreme right.(15)

Walker described the area of the British attack as:

> an unbroken level, usually when not in cane, covered with a luxuriant growth of stubble or weeds, and cut into numerous small ditches. Solitary live oaks, reverently spared by the plowman, loom out grandly at long distances apart from the grey or brown plain.(16)

The swamp appeared much the same as it had in 1815, still protruding in the manner which had facilitated the British approach. That stretch of the line occupied by Coffee's Tennesseans remained largely intact forty years after the battle.(17) The Macarty house, surrounded by pruned cedar, cypress, and orange trees, had changed little, and was still "scarred in many places with marks of the severe cannonade."(18)

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14. Jeffersonian (New Orleans), July 20, 1846.

15. Jackson and New Orleans, p. 308.

16. Ibid., p. 309.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., pp. 308-09. Apparently the battlefield area was referred to locally as "Jacksonburgh." "Plan of Levee Ward and Drainage District No. 1." 1851 or 1852. National Archives, Record Group 77. Cartographic Archives Division, M 53-2.

During the Civil War the old Chalmette lands again served as an encampment area, first for Confederate, then Union, troops. One soldier, Private Elisha Stockwell, Jr., of Company I, Fourteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, observed that the battlefield, "a dead-level piece of land with ditches every few rods square," had previously been used for truck gardening.(19) Descriptive renderings on the grounds seem to have become scarcer later in the century as attention commonly focused on structures in the vicinity related to the battle. The Macarty house, it was noted, was "changed and modernized" by 1891.(20) But the most attention seems to have been lavished on the old British headquarters at Villeré's, downstream from the January 8, 1815, battleground. By 1885 the structure was in decay, its doors and window panes removed and weeds growing on its roof.(21) A few years later the house was described as having been built of the "choicest timber" with hand-forged nails and hinges.

> The doors and shutters are of solid cypress and the large and curiously shaped hinges of wrought iron. The same fanciful hinges are on the low doors between the connecting rooms. . . . There are virtually no rear rooms . . ., but on the side facing the woods is the long dining-room, which connects with the parlor facing the river. . . . The arrangement of the rooms has been little disturbed. In the corner towards the city facing the river is the bedroom the general [Pakenham] occupied. . . . One of the main charms of the . . . [parlor] was the large open fireplace. . . .(22)

A short distance from the Villeré house stood the so-called Pakenham Oak, a tree that, according to legend, sheltered the British commander before he died. Pakenham's entrails were

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19. Private Elisha Stockwell Sees the Civil War. Ed. by Byron R. Abernathy (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 155.

20. The Daily Picayune (New Orleans), January 18, 1891.

21. Historical Sketch Book and Guide to New Orleans and Environs (New York: Will H. Coleman, 1885), p. 177.

22. The Daily Picayune, January 18, 1891.

supposedly interred at the base of the tree along with the bodies of several other officers killed in the January 8 battle. In 1886 some bones from these burials were recovered with pieces of belts identifying the remains as British officers. Five years later the tree was described as being 12 feet in diameter and "of interest outside of its mortuary significance."(23)

By the turn of the century visitors came to the New Orleans battlefield via electric streetcar to Jackson Barracks and then by carriage or foot along the river to the site.(24) There they saw an unfinished monument, the eroded embankment of Jackson's line, and the broad field across which the British advanced.(25) By then, however, the resources, intermixed with homes and pathways utilized by the local populace in routine daily activities, were beginning to experience the threats to their integrity which ultimately impacted them so severely at mid-century. As early as 1905 a New Orleans newspaper prophesied of the historic terrain:

> But a few generations from now and careless persons engrossed in the absorbing occupation of getting on in the world will pass you by and never know the story your soil holds. Men will sweat and toil and fight for industrial supremacy in your midst, where Old Hickory, in a rain of bullets and blood, drove the British back to the river. . . .(26)

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23. Ibid.

24. The Picayune's Guide to New Orleans (New Orleans: The Picayune, 1900), p. 79.

25. Battle of New Orleans Scrapbook, Louisiana State Museum Library.

26. The Times-Democrat (New Orleans), October 16, 1905.

CHAPTER X

THE CIVIL WAR EARTHWORKS AT CHALMETTE

Forty-six years after the British attack on New Orleans the scene at Chalmette once more hosted military activity. At the outbreak of the Civil War Confederate authorities in Louisiana saw great need in protecting the port city from an invasion by Union troops and early in 1861 they began formulating defensive plans for that purpose. But while events unfolded in the East, defenses along the Mississippi were generally neglected, despite the admonitions of prominent officers like Brigadier General Pierre G.T. Beauregard. Only in September, 1861, when Major General Mansfield Lovell took command of Confederate Military Department No. 1 did preparation of the defenses at New Orleans begin in earnest.

The fortifications around the city constituted what authorities termed the outer and inner lines of defense. The former consisted of Forts Jackson, St. Philip, Pike, Macomb, and Livingston--all relatively large permanent masonry structures, besides some earthen fortifications that stood along the various watercourses surrounding the city. The inner line, started in July, 1861, comprised mostly temporary earthworks thrown up at strategic points along the waterways and at railheads closer in to New Orleans. Under Lovell's direction this system was refined mostly in the area of the swamps and bayous adjoining both sides of the Mississippi. Erected according to the tenets of field fortification, the earthworks stretched for broad distances at right angles to the stream, generally terminating at the water's edge in large batteries each capable of mounting several heavy cannon.(1) The generalities of the interior line were discussed by Lovell as follows:

> Commencing at the swamp on the west side of the river, about 4½ miles below Algiers, this interior line extended across the firm ground of the right bank of the river, and from the right bank at a point just opposite across the dry ground, to a swamp which

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1. Jerome A. Greene, The Defense of New Orleans, 1718-1900 (Denver: National Park Service, 1892), pp. 136, 139-41.

> occupied the space between it and Gentilly Ridge, where the line extended across the ridge to the adjoining swamp. It was resumed at the various points of firm ground on the railroad, canal, and roads, when they issued through the swamp in rear of the city, towards Lake Pontchartrain. Above the city it also extended from the swamp to the left bank of the river again, and from the opposite side it ran along the Barataria Canal from the bank of the river to the swamp above Algiers. The total length of the intrenchments on this line was more than 8 miles, and, when completed, it, in connection with the swamp, put New Orleans in an impregnable position so far as regarded any attack by land. [When finally finished] it mounted more than sixty guns, of various calibers, and was surrounded by wide and deep ditches.(2)

More specifically, the inner line of defense consisted of a line of entrenchments for infantry and artillery across Gentilly Ridge; a similar line running between the swamp and the river at Chalmette; another line opposite Chalmette, called McGehee, also running between the swamp and the river; a line above New Orleans on the right bank, again running from swamp to stream, called the Barataria line; another line of earthworks on the left bank 1½ miles above the suburb of Carrollton, termed the Victor line; an earthen battery and cognate works defending the Carrollton Railroad at Lake Pontchartrain; and a battery along the road between Bayou St. John and New Orleans. Several smaller works were planned but never commenced.(3)

The line at Chalmette represented the major Confederate defensive position between the lower river forts and New Orleans. Begun soon after General Lovell assumed command, the Chalmette line touched the Mississippi at a point immediately

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2. "Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry, Assembled at Jackson, Miss.," The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (73 vols., 128 parts. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. VI, p. 560.

3. Testimony of Major General M.L. Smith, April 22, 1863. War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. VI, 582.

below the present national cemetery where a breakwater was erected to protect the bank from erosion.(4) The Chalmette line took the configuration of a disjointed multi-saliented earthwork paralleling the length of a four-foot water-filled ditch for a distance of roughly 2,250 yards at right angles to the river.(5) At the riverward end of the entrenchments the Confederates mounted ten 32-pounders which were intended to act in concert with a like number of 42-pounders at Line McGehee across the stream in providing a stiff cross fire against ascending vessels. "The lines," wrote Lovell, "extend to the swamp on each side, and have flanking arrangements for thirty-two pound carronades to sweep the whole point."(6) Built initially to thwart an attack by land forces, the Chalmette and McGehee lines geared for a stout defense in the spring of 1862 as Flag-Officer David G. Farragut's naval fleet made ready to assault from the Gulf of Mexico via the Mississippi. By late April changes in the disposition of ordnance in the two works brought the number of guns planned for Chalmette to twelve and those for McGehee to twenty. Urgent redistribution of ten 42-pounders for use by the navy, however, reduced the ordnance components at Chalmette and McGehee to five and nine guns, respectively.(7)

Union efforts to gain military control of the Mississippi culminated in Farragut's advance on New Orleans in April, 1862. Strengthened Confederate positions at Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip offered some hope of stemming the approach of the Union fleet, but a sustained attack by Commander David D. Porter's mortar boats weakened the defenses. Early on the morning of April 24 the Federal vessels began passing the river

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4. Ibid., p. 585. According to Smith's testimony, "a large brick fire-proof magazine [was] erected below the city and inclosed with substantial walls, with a railroad leading from it to the river. . . ." Ibid.

5. "Chalmette Lines, Left Bank." NA, Cartographic Archives Division, Drawer 133, Sheet 67½.

6. Lovell to Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin, December 5, 1861, in Confederate States of America. Correspondence Between the War Department and General Lovell, Relating to the Defences of New Orleans (Richmond: R.M. Smith, 1863), p. 19.

7. "Report of Brigadier General M.L. Smith, May 6, 1862," in War of the Rebellion, Series I, Volume VI, 553.

forts amidst a prolonged bombardment by Confederate guns. Most of the craft survived intact and pushed on upstream to capture the city, dispersing various Confederate vessels enroute. All efforts by the Southerners to check the advance failed; at English Turn blasts from the warships drove the rebels into the adjacent swamps.

Still hoping to protect the city, General Lovell had directed Brigadier General Martin L. Smith, commanding at Chalmette, to raise volunteers who might attempt boarding and capturing Farragut's ships. Only 100 men agreed to take the risk and the plan was dropped.(8) Instead, an effort to repel the Union approach was made by the batteries at Chalmette and McGehee. But even in that attempt, the chance for success was scant. More than half of the ammunition projected for the batteries had been removed and placed aboard an ironclad steamer, Louisiana, which was eventually destroyed.(9)

The confrontation occurred at about midday, April 25. Farragut's steamers in passing English Turn had encountered ships with cotton cargoes ablaze set adrift to float down the river, evidence that New Orleans was in process of abandonment. As the Federal ships approached Chalmette the swollen stream afforded them a commanding view of the works situated several feet below on the plain. The ships advanced in two columns. One, Cayuga, was far ahead of the others and drew a steady fire from the Chalmette and McGehee batteries for fifteen minutes before Farragut passed by in Hartford and opened with fierce broadsides of shell, grapeshot, and shrapnel causing the Confederates to pull back from their guns and seek refuge. Two other vessels, Pensacola and Brooklyn, followed suit so that after twenty minutes of bombardment by the Union fleet the land batteries, now devoid of any hope for response,

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8. Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War in the United States of America (2 vols.; Hartford: Thomas Belknap, Publishers, 1874), I, p. 323. These volunteers under Brigadier General Buisson marched forward to Chalmette accompanied by the airs of bandsmen. They apparently remained at that place to assist the Confederate occupants. Historical Sketch and Guide to New Orleans, p. 179.

9. "Report of Facts" in Record of Court of Inquiry of Major General Mansfied Lovell, 1863. War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. VI, 640.

were abandoned by their defenders. During the exchange, Pensacola and Oneida wrought the most destructive fire against the Chalmette position and were followed by the succeeding vessels in Farragut's fleet.(10)

The part of the warship Brooklyn in the encounter was detailed by her commanding officer:

> On the morning of the 25th of April, as the fleet was proceeding up the river, at about a quarter-past 11 o'clock, two batteries were discovered, one on our starboard bow, and the other almost directly ahead. Signal was made . . . to prepare for action. At this time the flag-ship was the leading vessel, the "Brooklyn" was the second in the line, and the "Iroquois" third; the others were astern, and somewhat scattered. A few minutes after your signal the "Cayuga" passed the "Brooklyn," and so close as to compel me to hail and request her commander not to force me out of my station. She pushed on, and even passed the flag-ship.
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> About noon, being then one and a quarter miles distant from them, the batteries opened a raking fire upon us. The fire of starboard [Chalmette] battery was immediately responded by this ship, then about half a cable's length astern of the "Hartford," and twenty-one shots from our 80-pounder rifled gun were rapidly, and with remarkable precision, thrown into it, only two of these shots failing to take effect. A few minutes afterward the "Brooklyn," then steaming at the rate of ten knots, by the sudden shearing off and slowing down of the "Hartford," for the purpose of engaging the enemy, necessarily sheered in shore, which brought her up within one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the port-hand battery, and so as to obstruct the fire of the "Hartford." The "Brooklyn" then opened fire with grape and canister,

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10. Lossing, Pictorial History of the Civil War, I, 323; Alfred T. Mahan, The Gulf and Inland Waters. The Navy in the Civil War. Vol. III (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883), p. 85; "Report of Commander S. Phillips Lee, U.S.S. 'Oneida,'" April 25, 1862, in David D. Porter, The Naval History of the Civil War (New York: Sherman Publishing Company, 1886), p. 205.

stopped her engines, and, lying within less than one hundred yards of the river bank, delivered two other broadsides, which completely drove the enemy pell-mell from their guns and from the field.(11)

The unequal action, wrote one participant, "scarcely deserves the name of a battle."(12) A few shots were leveled by men on shore armed with muskets, but they soon withdrew under fire of Union marines.(13) At McGehee where Brigadier General Smith commanded were three companies to operate the nine guns, plus one company of trained sharpshooters. At Chalmette Brigadier General Buisson was in charge of a company of the Twenty-second Louisiana Volunteer Infantry under Captain Patton; a company recently arrived from Fort Pike at Chef Menteur under a Lieutenant Butler; one unit of the Beauregard Battery of Artillery, plus two infantry battalions there for instruction but positioned to guard against an attack on the position by land. Total number of troops on both sides of the river stood at more than 1,000.(14) The defenders occupying the works at Chalmette and McGehee were resigned to the outcome of the engagement and fought Farragut's ships "through a sense of duty, but without any expectation of success."(15)

The McGehee battery (commanded by Colonel Pinkney) was first to fire against the Union fleet, the discharge followed

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11. "Report of Captain Thomas T. Craven, U.S.S. 'Brooklyn,'" April 26, 1862, in ibid., p. 203. For details of Cayuga's maneuvering during the affair, see "Report of Lieutenant Commander N.B. Harrison, U.S. Gunboat 'Cayuga,'" April 25, 1862, in ibid.

12. "Report of Commander John DeCamp, U.S.S. 'Iroquois,'" May 3, 1862, in ibid., p. 208.

13. Ibid.

14. "Report of Brigadier General M.L. Smith," May 6, 1862, in War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. VI, 553; Testimony of Major General Smith, April 23, 1863, in ibid., p. 585.

15. "Report of Brigadier General M.L. Smith," May 6, 1862, in ibid., p. 553.

promptly by rounds from the Chalmette unit. The bombardment from shore lasted until the ammunition at hand was exhausted, the men, wrote Smith, "displaying a coolness and intrepidity that was gratifying, especially . . . [those] who then for the first time in their lives discharged a heavy gun."(16) Once satisfied that further resistance was futile, and ammunition having run out, the troops were permitted to withdraw back from the river along the entrenchments. One man was killed and another wounded during the engagement with the Union war vessels.(17)

During the evacuation of the posts surrounding New Orleans following Farragut's arrival, the guns, implements, and camp equipage at Chalmette and McGehee were abandoned to the enemy. General Lovell was later subjected to a court of inquiry regarding his performance during the fall of New Orleans. Records indicate that he did not order the withdrawal from Chalmette and McGehee and that it was accomplished on the authority of General Smith because of the condition of his command and supplies following the fight with the Federal ships.(18)

Federal troops occupied New Orleans and environs following Farragut's success and the Confederate evacuation. To ensure the security of the city against the possibility that the rebels might return, Union soldiers now took station at all

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16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Testimony of Major General Smith, April 23, 1863, in ibid., p. 585; "Report of Facts" in Record of Court of Inquiry of Major General Mansfield Lovell, 1863, in ibid., p. 641. See also Confederate States of America, Correspondence Between [sic] the President, War Department and Governor T.O. Moore, relating to the Defences of New Orleans (Richmond: R.M. Smith, 1863), p. 116. On April 30, 1862, Lovell had written: "I hear ridiculous stories about the fall of New Orleans. . . . We fired our last round of powder at Chalmette, but they had a ship for each of our guns and we were overpowered by main strength." War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. VIII, 804. An attempt was made on April 28 to retrieve articles left behind at Chalmette, but little remained by the time Confederate work parties arrived. Ibid., p. 818.

strategic military points in the vicinity. The overall New Orleans command belonged to Major General Benjamin F. Butler and, later, Major General Nathaniel P. Banks. In January, 1863, an administrative realignment brought the Chalmette position under command of Brigadier General Thomas W. Sherman. His division included a first brigade under Brigadier General Neal Dow, part of which consisted of the Twenty-eighth New York Volunteer Infantry commanded by Colonel Cowles and stationed at Chalmette.(19) That the region should remain invulnerable to Confederate counterattack was underscored the following July when a board of defense, consisting of five ranking officers, recommended numerous changes in existing regional security measures. Besides urging that 5,000 federal soldiers be sent to garrison New Orleans, the board proposed construction of floating batteries as well as erection of a number of fortifications at significant transportation junctures.(20) Furthermore, they wrote:

> there should be a citadel large enough for a garrison of 5,000 troops, the line of parapet about 1,250 yards long, a field work of high relief, with a revetted scarf, the site to be chosen by the chief engineer [of the department], in the vicinity of the Chalmette line. The works constructed by the rebels should be allowed to remain. . . . A road of communication should be made from the citadel to the Gentilly road.(21)

Such an elaborate defensive work was never built. Instead, the intrenchments at Chalmette remained essentially as erected by the Confederates. Perhaps the best representation of the state of the works appeared in a diagram evidently prepared in late 1863 or early 1864 by Captain John C. Palfrey

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19. Special Orders No. 13, Headquarters Department of the Gulf, January 13, 1863. War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. XV, 646.

20. For location of the Union fortifications, see Department of the Gulf Map No. 5, "Approaches to New Orleans," February 14, 1863. Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891-95).

21. War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 26, Part I, 677.

of the Engineer Department. The diagram exhibits the length of the Chalmette works from the riverbank to the swamp, roughly 2,170 yards. At distances of from 40 feet to 700 feet behind the works and paralleling them was a ditch 4 feet wide. Immediately in front of the intrenchments was a fosse, or water-filled ditch, measuring at different places between 20 and 46 feet wide. The earthworks followed the theoretical manuals, embracing throughout their length the components of counterscarp, scarp, berm, parapet, and banquette. There was a sally port opening about 830 yards from the river and another some 830 yards farther inland through which the Mexican Gulf Railroad passed. The parapet measured about 8 feet high at the inside of the superior talus (top), while the banquette and battery floor stood approximately 4 feet above ground level. Cannon emplacements were arranged on either side of each sally port, while other battery positions were established elsewhere on the line. The ditch was kept filled with water by a canal adjoining at the northernmost end, while a dam erected in the ditch some 500 yards from the river kept the water entrapped, completing the defense. Overall configuration of the works was of two gentle eastward-jutting protrusions each arranged with multiple salients to prevent an enemy assault by land. Total length of the zigzagging entrenchments was 7,226 feet.(22)

During 1864 the aggregate troop strength at Chalmette fell drastically. In June only 201 men were stationed there and in Proctorville on Lake Borgne to guard the approach to the city by that route.(23) The Chalmette portion of this defense comprised 1 officer and 79 men of the Thirtieth Massachusetts Volunteers.(24) Within three months the Chalmette post was occupied by black soldiers of Company H, Twentieth U.S. Colored Troops, commanded by Captain Elijah S. Curry.(25)

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22. "Chalmette Lines. Left Bank." Dated February 17, 1864. National Archives, Cartographic Archives Division. Drawer 133, Sheet 67½.

23. Major D.C. Houston to Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, June 4, 1864. War of the Rebellion, Series I, Vol. 34, Part 4, p. 214.

24. Enumeration of troops stationed in the Department of the Gulf, June 9, 1864. Ibid., p. 278.

25. Roster of Department of the Gulf, Agusut 31, 1964, commanded by Major General E.R.S. Canby. Ibid., Series I, Vol. 41, Part 2, p. 972.

By December, however, the force there consisted of two companies of the Thirty-fourth Indiana Volunteer Infantry.(26)

Other administrative and strength changes occurred in 1865 as the Union occupation of New Orleans continued. During the first weeks of the year the Chalmette post became headquarters for the Sixteenth Army Corps, commanded, ironically enough, by Major General Andrew Jackson Smith. Consequently, in late February the post was garrisoned by the entire Eleventh Wisconsin, Thirty-third Illinois, Twenty-sixth Indiana, and Sixth Minnesota volunteer infantry regiments.(27) It was anticipated that these troops would take part in a field campaign scheduled to begin in the region.(28) Accordingly, in late February the first brigade departed aboard a steamer for Dauphin Island in Mississippi Sound. The 124th Illinois Volunteer Infantry reported for duty at Chalmette on February 27 and, attached to the first brigade, shortly left to join the balance of the command at Dauphin Island.(29)

As might be expected, the confinement of such a large number of troops to the area behind the entrenchments posed problems, especially when bad weather struck. On February 24 Brigadier General John McArthur notified headquarters that his command was "in a sinking condition. If compelled to remain long where they are, contending with the water and mud of Chalmette, they will disappear." McArthur applied to the commander of Jackson Barracks nearer the city for the use of

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26. Ibid., Part 4, p. 848.

27. General Orders No. 1, Headquarters Sixteenth Army Corps, February 22, 1865. Ibid., Vol. 48, Part I, p. 942. General Orders No. 16, Headquarters First Division, 16th Army Corps, February 22, 1865. Ibid.; Special Orders No. 61, Headquarters Southern Division of Louisiana, February 22, 1865. Ibid., p. 943. For staff officer assignments to Headquarters, Sixteenth Army Corps, see General Orders No. 2 in ibid., p. 955.

28. Major John Hough to Brigadier General John McArthur, et al, February 23, 1865, in ibid.

29. McArthur to Commanding Officer First Brigade, February 27, 1865, in ibid., p. 991; Special Orders No. 43, Headquarters First Division, 16th Army Corps, February 27, 1865, in ibid.

quarters in which to house his soldiers.(30) Throughout the first few weeks of March the flooding continued, requiring commanders to impress citizens into service for the purpose of repairing the levees. The bad weather ultimately caused problems among the troops camped at Chalmette, as noted by Major General Stephen A. Hurlbut:

> The wretched waste and destruction by the troops at Kenner and Chalmette of the picketts and fascines renders both those points [along the river] very dangerous. I am compelled by overwhelming evidence to believe that the most utter recklessness, both of public and private rights, has characterized the troops which have occupied Chalmette especially. Plunder, pilfering, and robbery committed by them are already the subject of heavy reclamations.(31)

In late April the rising Mississippi forced a breach in the levee opposite Chalmette. As before, citizens were directed by military officers in repairing the crevasse.(32)

After the Civil War ended the camp at Chalmette continued to be used for the assembly of troops from diverse regional points for purposes of maintaining order in the Reconstruction South. In June, 1865, to that end, men of the Fourth Army Corps under Major General David S. Stanley, late of the Army of the Cumberland, began arriving at Chalmette where they received supplies and equipment from a depot established in New Orleans.(33) A company of the Twentieth U.S. Colored

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30. McArthur to Hough, February 24, 1865, in ibid., pp. 963-64.

31. Hurlbut to Lieutenant Colonel Christian T. Christensen, March 16, 1865. Ibid., p. 1191.

32. Sherman to Colonel Samuel B. Holabird, April 28, 1865. Ibid., Part 2, pp. 230-31.

33. Colonel Charles G. Sawtelle to Major General Montgomery C. Meigs, December 13, 1865. Ibid., Vol. LIII, p. 607.

Infantry was also posted there to "perform such escort and other duties as may be required at that point."(34)

Shortly thereafter the military occupation at Chalmette ceased altogether when the former Confederate earthworks were abandoned.(35)

Thereafter the Chalmette entrenchments represented a silent vestige of the brief struggle there in 1862 and the solidifying occupation by Union forces until the war's end. In 1864, after the national cemetery was established adjoining them, part of the works comprising the sally port nearest the river had to be demolished. During the early 1880s the works remained, but the ditches were "covered with green sluggish water, giving sustenance to flags and bulrushes."(36) This situation continued into the twentieth century, when the eroding works were featured in a photographic essay by an area newspaper.(37) By then the ditches had likely been filled

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34. Special Orders No. 198. Headquarters Southern Division of Louisiana, June 26, 1865. Ibid., Vol. 48, Part 2, p. 995. The "Camp Chalmette Fortifications" appear graphically in "New Plan of the City and Environs of New Orleans, Jefferson and Carrollton," 1865. Map Division, Library of Congress.

35. No troops were present at Chalmette in 1866 or during the immediate years subsequent. Instead, small complements were retained at nearby Jackson Barracks and at Department of the Gulf headquarters in New Orleans. Report of the Secretary of War, 1867 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), pp. 472-73; Report of the Secretary of War, 1868 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), pp. 203, 758; Report of the Secretary of War, 1869 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), p. 160.

36. "Mississippi River immediate vicinity above and below New Orleans." Ca. 1864-65. National Archives, Record Group 77. Cartographic Archives Division, Z 336; W.E. Pedrick, New Orleans As It Is (Cleveland: William W. Williams, 1885), p. 15.

37. "Present Day Scenes on Famous Field of the Battle of New Orleans." Undated, unidentified newspaper, ca. 1905, showing "Military entrenchments on battlefield of New Orleans just below national cemetery." Battle of New Orleans Scrapbook, Louisiana State Museum Library, p. 1.

in by erosion or purposely as a precaution against disease. Aerial photographs taken in April, 1943, reveal that an 800-foot segment of the intrenchments paralleling the Chalmette National Cemetery had been lost.(38) The remaining segments extending from the river back across Highway 46 were intact as late as May 31, 1951. By January, 1954, however, virtually all of the fortification line lying between the highway and the Mississippi River had been obliterated with construction of the Kaiser Aluminum facilities. In 1964 only a portion still existed north of the highway, and today that area comprises a housing subdivision.(39) The old Confederate works at Chalmette are now gone.

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38. National Archives. Cartographic Archives Division. Record Group 373. Records of the Defense Intelligence Agency. Spot 5A-930, Exp. 55, April 20, 1943.

39. Ibid., Spot F-10933, Exp. 107, May 31, 1951; ibid., Spot C-8381, Exp. 23 (M-83), Jan. 6, 1954; Louisiana Air National Guard Photo 10-10-009. Chalmette Unit of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park.

CHAPTER XI

SETTLEMENT AND OCCUPATION OF THE CHALMETTE PROPERTY

by
Jill-Karen Yakubik

A. A Note on Sources

This chapter comprises an examination of the history of land use and of landownership of park properties, with the exceptions of the René T. Beauregard property, and of the post bellum and twentieth century history of the Military Cemetery. Particular emphasis has been given to structural improvements to the properties, to identify and to review archeologically sensitive areas.

It should be noted at the onset that primary source archival research on historic St. Bernard Parish is encumbered by the fact that most of the conveyance and other court records from the parish were destroyed in a fire ca. 1883. As a result, many important successions and judicial court records were lost, and key conveyances crucial to establishing complete chains of title often are not available.

The approach utilized herein was to investigate the title history of a property to obtain background information on landownership and land use. Subsequent research provided additional historical detail on specific properties and individuals. Archival research was undertaken at the Louisiana Collection, Special Collections, and Southeastern Architectural Archives of the Howard Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University; at the Historic New Orleans Collections; at the New Orleans Public Library; at the Louisiana State Museum; and at the Office of Public Works of the State of Louisiana in Baton Rouge. The research files of the distinguished historic architect Samuel Wilson, Jr., who generously provided them for our use, were especially valuable.

A particularly important source of information on former standing structures has been historic map data. The maps which have been utilized for this study, as well as their relative reliability, may be summarized as follows:

1) The 1808 Barthelemy Lafon survey of the Jean Baptiste Prevost property (Illustration 14) gives the appearance of being a carefully rendered plan, however, the scale of the

structures shown appears to be both too large and too close to the river. Consequently, it is believed that this map has little utility for the location of archeological structural remains.

2) Latour's 1815 "Plan of the Battle of New Orleans" (Illustration 15) provides a great deal of detailed locational information. The variety of sizes of structures shown suggest that their scale may be fairly accurate, and their relative positions to one another also appear reasonable in terms of Louisiana plantation layout. It is believed, then, that this plan can be used to approximate the location of former standing structures.

3) The map "Survey of Battlefield Embraced in the Engagements of December 23, 1814 and January 8, 1815, Constituting the Battle of New Orleans" consists of a projection of the above Latour Map on the present landscape (Illustration 20). This map has been demonstrated to be inaccurate in respect to the relationship between the present course of the river and the location of former standing structures, and is only utilized here to demonstrate that the Chalmette Plantation structural complex is downriver from the present park area.

4) Zimpel's 1834 "Topographical Map of New Orleans" (Illustration 16) has been shown to be extremely accurate. This map was utilized to locate archeological remains at both the New Orleans General Hospital Site and the Elmwood Site. In both cases, the placement of the structures, as well as their relative size, was demonstrated to be accurate within a few feet. However, the section of the map showing the Chalmette area is shown drawn at a smaller scale than that used for the above mentioned sites. Consequently, it is likely that the map is less reliable for predicting former structure locations in the park.

5) The Mississippi River Commission maps (Illustration 17) from the 1870s were also utilized to provide locational information at the Elmwood site (Goodwin, Yakubik and Goodwin 1983). The placement of the structures with respect to one another was found to be fairly accurate, however, the actual size of the structures shown on the map is incorrect. These difficulties are the result of the small scale of the map.

6) Both the 1837 and 1867 d'Hemecourt plats (Illustrations 24 and 22) can be relied upon as fairly accurate surveys. However, most of the structural improvements extant in the park area during the 1860s are not shown on the 1867 plat. Nonetheless, they should provide accurate representations of parcel boundaries.

7) A number of the maps included in this report are twentieth century surveys for levee set backs (Illustrations 19, 25, 31, and 32). As such, they can be considered extremely accurate, and their relatively large scale increases their reliability. They also include presently extant landmarks which allow them to be tied into the present landscape.

8) The "Plan of Proposed Shell Road at Chalmette Monument Ground" (Illustration 18) apparently is an accurate survey of the early twentieth century features of this parcel.

9) The map of the "Chalmette Back Levee District" (Illustration 27) is taken from a USGS quad map, and thus is based on aerial photographs. The accuracy of this map, therefore, should be good.

10) Several of the maps used herein include no structural information, rather they merely illustrate property boundaries and landownership (Illustrations 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, and 33). These maps are accurate for their purpose, and should be helpful for delineating areas of high probability.

A cautionary note should be interjected here. First, time, space, and financial constraints necessitated the redrawing and rescaling of several maps (Illustrations 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, and 33). The fact that these have been submitted to a second drafting reduces their accuracy somewhat. Since most of these maps are drawn on a small scale, any additional error, however slight, can drastically affect the maps' reliability for predicting the locations of structural remains. Consequently, copies of the original maps should be obtained and utilized whenever possible. Also, several of the maps (Illustrations 18, 19, 20, 25, 27, 31, and 33) were obtained from microfilm copies, which also affects the scale of the maps. In all cases where the scales of the maps appeared questionable as a result of map reduction or enlargement, the scales were redrawn utilizing measurements from smaller scale surveys. Finally, while many of the above maps may seem accurate upon inspection, the actual utility of each map remains unknown until tested against the archeological record.

The properties investigated here include two distinct plantations: Rodriguez Plantation, on which the Chalmette monument and property to the west of the Rodriguez Canal presently are located, and the Chalmet Plantation, the present location of land east of the canal up to and including the Chalmette Military Cemetery. Since the Chalmet Plantation first was subdivided in 1832, these subdivided parcels are discussed

individually after that date. Finally, the archeological implications of the results of this historical research effort are discussed.

B. The Rodriguez Plantation

Immediately upriver from the Chalmet Plantation was the small tract of land that became known as the "Rodriguez Plantation." The nineteenth century history of this property may be viewed archivally in a sequence of land tenure that was closely related to the Battle of New Orleans and to subsequent recognition of the historic importance of that event. This parcel of land was owned in 1790 by Espiritus Liotaud and Augustus Faure, who subsequently sold it to Pierre Denis de la Ronde. In 1800, the tract was purchased by Laurent (or Lorenzo) Sigur from Pierre Denis de la Ronde.(1) The downriver, adjoining sixteen arpents, which became known as "Chalmet Plantation," had been purchased by Sigur in 1798. In March, 1802, Sigur sold the small upriver parcel to Nicholas Roche. Three years later, Roche sold the property to Jean Baptiste Drouillard. The act of sale for this transaction describes the property as comprising three and one half arpents front on the river, and it included a residence, a mill, and other unspecified structures.(2) Wilson suggested that the mill enumerated in this act of sale, which was located on the Rodriguez Canal, was built ca. 1800, during Sigur's ownership of the property.(3) This structure, but not the residence, is recorded on the 1808 Lafon plat (Illustration 14).

Drouillard held the property for just over one year, and then he sold the lowermost one half arpent river front portion to Jean Baptiste Prevost, owner of the adjoining downriver plantation.(4) It was Prevost who commissioned the Lafon survey (Illustration 14). Prevost sold the property four months later to Dame Eliza M. Pintard, who was acting as agent

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1. P. Pedesclauf, June 12, 1806. New Orleans Notarial Archives (NONA), New Orleans, Louisiana; Samuel Wilson, Jr., Plantation Houses on the Battlefield of New Orleans (New Orleans: The Battle of New Orleans, 150th Anniversary Committee of Louisiana), pp. 18-19.

2. P. Pedesclaux, December 21, 1805, NONA.

3. Wilson, Plantation Houses, n.p.

4. P. Pedesclaux, March 28, 1807, NONA.

for her husband, J.M. Pintard.(5) Again, the property was sold a short time later to the notary John Lynd; two days later, Lynd sold the property to Daniel Clark, the Louisiana Territory's representative to Congress.(6) Clark was an active land speculator in Louisiana during this period.

Clark sold the property to Jean Rodriguez, a New Orleans attorney, on September 29, 1808. This act of sale described the property as:

> One half arpent of land fronting the river with all its buildings and dependencies situated at four miles from this city, below and shown on one side of the residence of Mr. Guillermo Brown and on the other side that of Mr. Edouard Macarty, with a depth of eighty-one and in conformity with the act of sale of Mr. Pierre Denis de la Ronde to Mr. Laurent Sigur, the said half arpent of land forming an angle opening and always following the canal. . . .(7)

John Dimitry, a writer for the Illustrated Visitor's guide to New Orleans, recounted a conversation with General John L. Lewis on the subject of Rodriguez and of his house:

> Dimitry: Who owned this house in 1814-'15?
> Lewis: An old Spanish lawyer named Rodriguez.
> Q: What did Rodriguez do in those days?
> A: He spoke broken English, and practised, with notable success, civil law.
> Q: What became of him afterwards?
> A: He died--still speaking broken English--on his own place.(8)

Thus, Rodriguez was the owner of this property during the Battle of New Orleans. During this period, the property probably served as a country retreat, since the tract was too

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5. P. Pedesclaux, July 10, 1807, NONA.

6. P. Pedesclaux, June 23, 1808, NONA.

7. P. Pedesclaux, September 29, 1808, NONA.

8. J. Curtis Waldo, Illustrated Visitor's Guide to New Orleans (New Orleans: J. Curtis Waldo, 1879).

small to support sugar agriculture profitably. Nevertheless, the property was referred to as a plantation, suggesting that some agricultural activities may have been undertaken there. The residence is shown in Laclotte's print "Battle of New Orleans," where a two story, one room wide structure with a columned gallery on the building's front is shown. On the downriver side of the house, a single storied wing was present. A hole is shown on its roof in the Laclotte print, as is a four-columned gallery across the wing's front. Latour's Plan of the Battle of January 8, 1815, also shows the Rodriguez house (Illustration 15). Beside that house is another small building, but it is detached, rather than being an attached wing as shown on the Laclotte print.

After the war, Rodriguez made a claim to the U.S. government for losses sustained as a result of the Battle of New Orleans. This document sheds further light on the possible function of the small wing adjoining the main residence. This claim states that the stable, coach-house, four slave cabins, a hen house, a pigeon house and the kitchen were "entirely destroyed," while the residence and "an adjoining building" were only damaged. Thus, it appears that this structure was not a kitchen, since it had been demolished. In addition, Rodriguez placed a large claim for the damage or loss of movables, including books; possibly the structure served as a library.(9)

Despite Dimitry's report to the contrary, Rodriguez did not die on the property, and after the Battle of New Orleans he sold it to Dame Marguerite Verret. The consideration for this 1817 sale was $7,500.00, or $2,500.00 more than Rodriguez had paid for it nine years earlier.(10) This suggests that any damage sustained by the residence during the Battle of New Orleans probably was repaired prior to the 1817 sale. However, no structures were referenced specifically in the 1817 transaction:

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9. Ted Birkedal to the writer, 1984.

10. P. Pedesclaux, May 7, 1817, NONA.

> To Mrs. Marguerite Verret, wife, having separate property, of Mr. Solomon Prevost, residing in this parish, . . . accept as buyer for her and her heirs, a land situated at about four miles below this city, on the left side of the river, together with all the buildings thereon, without retaining any of them, said land having half and arpent fronting on what used to be the old levee, eighty arpents in depth, bounded on one side by the property of Mr. Montgomery before Edmond Macarty, and on the other by Mr. Pierre St. Amand before Ignace Delino, following the canal which is on this property. . . ."(11)

In 1819, Benjamin H.B. Latrobe made a sketch of the area which showed a number of changes in the residence. The gallery was enclosed by blinds, and a dormer window was added to the hipped roof front. The adjoining single storied wing appeared substantially the same as recorded previously in the 1815 Laclotte print. Dame Verret, the wife separate in property from Salomon Prevost, presumably resided at least part time in the house at Rodriguez Planation. She held the property until her death, at which time ownership passed to her son, Edouard Prevost. although the date of Madam Prevost's death has not been established, map evidence indicates that she died prior to 1834. Illustration 16 shows the property under Prevost's ownership. The residential structure and attendant buildings seen in the Latour plan again are portrayed. Two additional structures also are shown on the property; these may have been barns. Prevost subsequently held the property until his death. On March 7, 1849, the Second Judicial District Court ordered the sale of Edouard Prevost's property; the purchase price was $4,500.00, indicating that the property may have deteriorated during the period following Dame Verret's death.

Etienne Villavaso, a resident of St. Bernard Parish and owner of the adjoining downriver parcel, purchased the property after Edouard Prevost's death.(12) Villavaso sold the property in 1852 to Pierre Bachelot for $5,000.00 It is possible that Bachelot took up residence on the property, since he was

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11. Ibid.

12. F. Percy, April 25, 1849, NONA.

listed as a resident of St. Bernard parish three years later on the date of his sale of the property to the state of Louisiana. At that time, the property was described as:

> A certain portion of land with all and singular improvements thereon . . . situated in the Parish of St. Bernard about four miles below the city, and on the left bank of the River Mississippi, having in French measure ninety-one feet ten inches front on said river and running back between side lines opening in such manner as to give a width of two and a half arpents at the distance of fifteen arpents from the said River and from this point running back between two side lines, one of which closes seven feet eight inches so as to give a width of 443 feet on the rear line at the distance of eighty arpents from the said river, the whole bounded on the upper side by the property of Madam Widow Lombard, and on the lower side by that of Mr. Martin M. Villavaso and in conformity with a plan drawn by A. d'Hemecourt on the twenty-eighth day of December 1851.(13)

This purchase was authorized by an act of the Louisiana legislature, entitled: "An Act for the Relief of the Association for the Jackson Monument and for the Erection of a Memento Upon the Battle Ground of the Eighth of January, 1815," which was enacted on February 26, 1852.

The residence at Rodriguez Planation still was standing at the time of the acquisition of the property by the state of Louisiana. However, during the late nineteenth century it fell into "the shabbiest of ruins."(14) Possibly because of its deteriorated state, it was not depicted on the 1874 Mississippi River Commission map (Illustration 17). Based on a contempoary woodcut, Wilson described the structure at the end of the nineteenth century as:

> . . . a small, raised structure erected on a fairly low brick basement. A gallery with chamfered wood columns extended downriver to the east. The

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13. T. Guyol, February 19, 1855.

> western end of the front gallery was protected by louvered jalousies. The house was only one room in width with two semi-circular fan light French doors opening onto the front gallery. A single dormer overlooked the river from the double pitched, hipped shingle roof. It was a typical small plantation house of the period.(15)

It should be noted that the single story wing no longer was extant in 1879.

The Rodriguez house was torn down before the end of the century, and during the 1890s money was appropriated for the construction of a house for the caretaker of the Chalmette monument, the latter having been begun during the 1850s. This residence is illustrated in Illustration 18. The structure remained in existence at least until 1940 (Illustration 19). By this time, there was also a small garage adjacent to the structure.

Work on the monument was not completed by the state of Louisiana, and on May 24, 1907, the Secretary of State of Louisiana transferred jurisdiction over the property to the United States Government. The United States Government appropriated $25,000.00 for the completion of a monument to the memory of soldiers who fell during the Battle of New Orleans.(16)

To recapitulate, at the end of the Spanish period, the Rodriguez plantation was part of a larger holding owned, successively, by the partners Liotaud and Faure, by Pierre Denis de la Ronde, and by Laurent Sigur. The land was undoubtedly used at this time as an indigo plantation. The Rodriguez property remained part of a parcel which was three and one half arpents front on the river, until Jean Baptiste Prevost purchased one-half arpent of the land, probably with the intention of operating the mill on the property, in 1807. This small parcel, too tiny for monocrop agriculture, changed hands many times until purchased by Jean Rodriguez in 1808 for use as a residence. Rodriguez sold it after the Battle of

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15. Wilson, Plantation Houses, p. 35.

16. Benjamin Ory, May 24, 1907, NONA.

New Orleans, and it then remained in the Prevost family until 1849. State governmental jurisdiction over the property began in 1852, and the U.S. government completed the monument and took control of the property in the early years of the twentieth century.

C. The Chalmet Plantation

The plantation that became known as "Chalmette Plantation" measured slightly over twenty-two arpents front on the Mississippi River. The nineteenth century history of this property may be viewed archivally in a sequence of land tenure that illustrates not only trends in the settlement and economic history of the region, but also that provides insight into changing lifeways of the period. The lowermost six arpents of the twenty-two-plus-arpent front plantation can be traced directly to the early French Colonial Period. This portion of the plantation granted to or purchased by Francois Philippe de Marigny prior to 1728, was a larger tract that included the other portions of the Chalmette plantation for which no direct chain of title from the French colonial period survives today.(17) After Marigny's death, his landholdings in the area passed to his widow, Marie Madeleine Le Maire, who married the Chief Engineer of the Louisiana colony, Captain Ignace Francois Broutin.(18) Ownership of these lands eventually passed to Marigny's son, Antoine Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville. the census of 1770 recorded Antoine Philippe's ownership of ten arpents of land, fifty slaves, sixty head of cattle, fourteen horses, one hundred sheep, twelve hogs, and two muskets.(19)

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17. Wilson, Plantation Houses; Samuel Wilson, Jr., "The Rene Beauregard House: An Architectural Survey Report" (unpublished manuscript dated 1956, National Park Service Southwest Regional Office, Santa Fe).

18. Charles V.G. Maduel (comp.), Census Tables for the French Colony of Louisiana from 1699 through 1737 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1972), p. 142.

19. J.K. Voorhies (comp.), Some Late Eighteenth Century Louisianians: Census Records, 1758-1796 (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1973), p. 221.

On July 13, 1794, Antoine Philippe's widow sold ten arpents of land to Charles Antoine de Reggio.(20) Reggio subsequently sold six arpents of this ten arpent parcel to Ignace de Lino de Chalmet in 1805. The property conveyed was described as having been located about 1.75 miles below New Orleans, bounded on the lower side by lands of Antoine Bienvenu and on the upper side by lands owned by Laurent Sigur.(21) De Lino (or Delino) de Chalmet was the grandson of Marie Madeleine Le Maire and of Broutin.(22)

The other sixteen arpent parcel of what became Chalmet plantation appears to have formed part of the Marais concession.(23) However, as noted previously, no direct chain of title remains to demonstrate this original land tenure. Reeves states that part of this property was owned during the early Spanish colonial period by Francois Pascalis de La Barre, yet there is no direct evidence of this.(24)

Nonetheless, this area may be characterized using data from the 1770 census. During the Spanish period (1769-1803), indigo was the major crop in the area, followed by sugar, maize, and rice. Lumbering also was a common occupation. Cattle comprised the primary stock, although sheep were plentiful. Hogs and horses were relatively scarce. Domesticated fowl included turkey, geese, chicken, ducks, and pigeons. The substantial wealth of the area's occupants can be judged from the three to one ratio of slaves to owners.(25) These data present a general impression of a relatively wealthy resident planter population below New Orleans during the years before the turn of the eighteenth century.

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20. F. Rodriguez, July 13, 1794, NONA.

21. P. Pedesclaux, February 9, 1805, NONA.

22. Wilson, Plantation Houses.

23. Ibid.

24. William D. Reeves, De La Barre: Life of a French Creole Family in Louisiana (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1980), p. 42.

25. Voorhies, Some Late Eighteenth Century Louisianians, pp. 250-53.

The fact that indigo was the chief crop in the area is not surprising. France had encouraged the production of indigo in the Louisiana colony, and this policy was continued during the Spanish period. Indigo was a particularly labor efficient crop; one slave could plant and tend two acres of the plant and still have ample time to attend to his own provisions.(26) Each plantation generally had its own indigo processing facility, since the manufacture of dye from indigo was relatively easy and required no expensive machinery. The cut plant was placed in a vat called a "steeper," and the indigo then was covered with water until fermentation occurred. the liquid by-product then was drawn off into another vat called a "beater," where it was agitated much like the churning of butter. A precipitate was formed in the solution by adding lime water. The water was drawn off, and the indigo solids were placed in cloth bags to dry.(27)

Pedro de Marigny de Mandeville, a Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, acquired the sixteen arpents in question from Louis Boisdore late during the Spanish period. On February 10, 1798, Marigny de Mandeville exchanged this parcel for another with Laurent Sigur, a captain in the Spanish militia. That transactions specified that:

> The Sieur Sigur sells to Monsieur Marigny the land . . . from the line of Monsieur Daunoy Treme and the fortification of the city, the said vendor reserving all the rights on the portion which has been withdrawn by Monsieur de Carondelet, former Governor of this Province, in order to establish the fortification, as well as the land situated at Gentilly which he has sold to Monsieur Reano. . . .(28)

The only improvements noted on the transferred property at this time were fences and "small huts." The land acquired by Marigny later was subdivided into the Faubourg Marigny.

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26. Jack D. Holmes, "Indigo in Colonial Louisiana and the Floridas," Lousiana History, VIII (1967), p. 340.

27. Ibid., p. 344.

28. N. Broutin, February 16, 1798, NONA.

Beginning in the 1790s and continuing into the early nineteenth century, major change took place in Louisiana's economy. The impetus to this change was the economic failure of indigo production. By the 1790s, indigo was becoming unprofitable. In terms of production costs, Louisiana's indigo could not compete in the world market with indigo produced in India. Indigo also was susceptiable to insect blights, and it was sensitive to the weather. Consequently, crop losses could be severe. Furthermore, the crop exhausted the soil. And, an increase in the price of slaves in Louisiana made it difficult to obtain the labor necessary for indigo production on the plantations. Finally, the terrible smell of indigo production attracted disease-carrying insects, and the production of indigo polluted the streams between Pointe Coupée and the Yazoo River.(29) During the 1790s, the cotton gin was invented, and Etienne de Bore developed a process enabling the commercially successful production of sugar from cane. Cotton and sugar rapidly became Louisiana's two major money crops.

During this period, Sigur made a number of improvements to the property he had acquired from Marigny, including outfitting it for production of the new cash crop. When he sold the property in 1805 to Jean Baptiste Prevost, a judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Orleans, the property was a fully functioning sugar plantation, complete with a great house, a sugar house, a refinery, a storehouse, slave cabins, and a variety of outbuildings and attendant structures. Thirty-five slaves (Table 1) also were conveyed in this sale, as were horses, pigs, about fifty sheep, wagons, plows, and other agricultural implements. The price of the sale was $50,000.00.(30)

Illustration 14 depicts the property during Prevost's ownership. The great house and two garconnieres are shown facing the river, and behind the residence two smaller buildings were present. It appears that the scale of these structures is not accurate, so their precise historic location also is somewhat suspect. However, their former location either was in the area of the present military cemetery, or, as is more likely, they were located immediately downriver.

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29. Holmes, "Indigo in Colonial Louisiana," pp. 346-48.

30. P. Pedesclaux, June 12, 1805, NONA.

Table 1: Slaves Conveyed in 1805 Sale of Land to Jean Baptiste Prevost (P. Pedesclaux, June 12, 1805, NONA)

		Age
Jean-Baptiste	digger	17
(Fandango)	digger	35
(Douilha)	digger	25
Jupiter	builder	30
Sans Chargrin	builder	30
Fazau	blacksmith	40
Elie Toussaint		45
Francois		50
Lucie	mulatta	45
Polidon	laborer	40
Remy	foreman	45
Lubin		40
Banadarme	digger	35
Jean	digger	30
Antoine	digger	30
Ret ( )	blacksmith's aid	30
Lucielle		20
Cupidon	digger	30
Laurent	builder	30
Augustine	gardener	30
Coffe		45
Francois	servant	11
Jeanne	milkmaid	38
Victoise	head laundry woman	36
Coijoie	laundry woman	30
Suzan	cook	40
Marie Laville	laundry woman	40
Denise	gardener	28
Marie	chickenyard negress	28
Julie		20
with her child Charlotte		7
Rosalie	ironing woman	
and her son Vincent		2
Marcelline		
Parullemeur		6
Annette		5

Three years later, Prevost sold the plantation to William Brown, the collector of customs for the port of New Orleans.(31) During his ownership of the property, Brown registered his claim to the land with the United States government:

> William Brown claims a tract of land, situated on the east side of the Mississippi in the County of Orleans, containing sixteen arpents, eleven toises, and three feet in front with a depth extending back as far as Lake Borgne and bounded on the upper side by land of J.M. Pintard and on the lower by land of Chalmet Delino. . . . It appears that the front and first depth of forty arpents of this land was actually inhabited and cultivated on the 20th day of December, 1803, and for more than ten consecutive years prior thereto. So much the Board confirms, but rejects the claim to the remaining extension of depth.(32)

Brown's operation of the plantation was short-lived and less than successful:

> William Brown the collector has ran off, and taken with him a large sum of public money.(33)

> There is no longer room to doubt the villainy of William Brown the collector; he arrived at the Balize on board of the vessel called the Kingston on the afternoon of the 16th instant, and having obtained a pilot, put to sea on the same evening.(34)

Brown's hasty departure appears to have resulted in part from the overextension of his financial resources:

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31. P. Pedesclaux, March 21, 1808, NONA.

32. Walter Lowrie and Walter Franklin (eds.), American State Papers, Class VIII, Public Lands (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834), p. 281.

33. Governor W.C.C. Claiborne to Secretary of State Robert Smith, November 17, 1809, cited in Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House."

34. Claiborne to Smith, November 26, 1809, cited in Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House."

> [Brown's] purchase of a sugar plantation and of so many negroes, I was [convinced] would involve him, and I thought it probable, that he would ultimately become a public defaulter. -
>
> But I never supposed that a man who had given no previous symptoms of depravity would at once have covered himself with Infamy.(35)

The United States filed suit against William Brown (#2324 on the docket of the Superior Court for the Territory of Orleans). Unfortunately, that suit has been lost. Nevertheless, the net result was the acquisition of the property by the United States. On March 15, 1811, Phillip Grymes, the Attorney General of the United States, sold the property to Thomas H. Williams for $1.00, "for use and benefit of the United States."(36) Prior to this sale, on June 11, 1811, Grymes had arranged for the property to be sold to Charles Mynn Thruston, known as the "fighting parson of the Revolution," and to Henry Daingerfield, Thruston's son-in-law. The two purchased the plantation from the agent T.H. Williams for $44,000.00, and Thruston took up residence there even before the act of sale was passed before the notary on April 24, 1813.

Thruston died at and was buried on his St. Bernard plantation in 1812. After his death, the plantation was advertised for sale:

> There is on this land the following buildings: to wit, a very pretty house with a story, American construction style, and very livable; another house located near the first, very livable and in good condition. Moreover, there are kitchens with ovens, a chicken yard, negro cabins, latrines, wells, stables and a good carriage house for two carriages. None of these buildings suffered from the last hurricane.(37)

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35. Claiborne to President Thomas Jefferson, January 12, 1810, in Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House."

36. M. de Armas, March 15, 1811, NONA.

37. Louisiana Courier, May 3, 1813.

On June 14, 1813, Henry Daingerfield and Thruston's heirs sold the plantation to Ignace Delino de Chalmet for $65,000.00. The plantation was described as comprising sixteen arpents, eleven toises, and three feet front on the Mississippi. This purchase brought Chalmet's holdings to a total of more than twenty-two arpents front. Twenty-five slaves also were purchased at that time.(38) Sometime after this purchase, Chalmet moved his family to the great house on the new, upriver parcel.(39)

The British occupied the Chalmet plantation on December 27, 1814. Jackson subsequently ordered all buildings on the plantation destroyed. The destruction of these buildings left the Chalmet family with a small house on Bourbon Street in New Orleans. Shortly thereafter, on February 10, 1815, Chalmet died. His widow, in filing Chalmet's succession, stated that:

> . . . all the furniture and papers belonging to the said succession and which were located on the plantation where her said late husband dwelt, have been reduced to ashes by the fire wich the American General judged necessary to have set to the principal house, and other establishments which were located on the said plantation, for the defense of Louisiana against the English.(40)

Illustration 15 depicts the Chalmet Plantation at the time of the battle. The complex of structures there included the great house (nearest the river), slave quarters, and various other buildings. One of the larger structures near the quarters area no doubt was the sugar house. It is likely that the Chalmet great house (Illustration 15) was the same structure as the Prevost residence (Illustration 14). Illustration 20 displays a projection of the Latour map on the contemporary landscape. As stated above, this map is unreliable in regard to the placement of structures with respect to the present course of

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38. M. de Armas, June 14, 1813, NONA.

39. Francis F. Wilshire, "The Rene Beauregard House" (unpublished report dated 1952 in the library of Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park).

40. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 7.

the river. However, the structures are clearly located downriver of the present park boundaries. Thus, remains associated with the Chalmet occupation are not expected within the project area. Furthermore, it is not likely that remains from previous occupations will be represented, since the major habitation and activity areas of the latter probably are the same as those mapped on the Chalmet Plantation.

Chalmet's half brother, Pierre Denis de la Ronde, owned the plantation immediately downriver. De la Ronde also held a mortgage on the Chalmet plantation,(41) and he filed suit against Chalmet's widow and heirs (#1306, First Judicial District Court). De la Ronde purchased the plantation when it was offered at a sheriff's sale on February 20, 1817.

Two months later, de la Ronde sold the property to two brothers, Hilaire and Louis St. Amand, who were free men of color and residents of New Orleans. The lowermost six arpents of the plantation extended back to the lake, while the upper parcel had a "known" depth. The property was bounded above by the Rodriguez parcel, and the two properties were separated by the Rodriguez canal. The property below was the plantation of Antoine Bienvenu. No description was given in the act of sale of any structures or improvements on the property, since the St. Amands had visited the plantation and were "content and satisfied with the same and do not desire a more ample description."(42) However, it is unlikely that any of the structures previously standing there survived the fires set by General Jackson's troops.

The price of this sale was $55,000.00. Instead of paying cash, the buyers signed over to de la Ronde six notes by Pierre St. Amand, a resident of St. Charles Parish. Pierre St. Amand pledged his plantation in St. Charles Parish as security for his notes. It is likely that Pierre was Louis and Hilaire's brother. The St. Amand family apparently included several wealthy plantation and slave-owning free men of color; in addition to land holdings in St. Charles Parish, the St. Amand

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41. N. Broutin, October 24, 1814, NONA.

42. M. de Armas, April 28, 1817, NONA.

family was connected with the 120-arpent Rigaud plantation on Grand Isle.(43)

In fact, free colored families such as the St. Amands were not uncommon in antebellum Louisiana. Throughout this period, Louisiana benefited economically from a relatively large population of free people of color.(44) The free colored population grew by three means: manumission of slaves; immigration of free blacks, primarily from the West Indies; and from natural reproduction. Although relatively few slaves were freed during the French period, the mechanism for doing so was established early in the French Code Noir. With some exceptions, free people of color enjoyed the same economic privileges as whites. However, free men of color could be reduced to slavery for aiding runaway slaves, whereas whites were merely fined for such activities. The Spanish expanded the means by which a slave could be freed. The most notable of these was "self purchase."(45)

The beginning of the American period in Louisiana coincided with slave insurrections in Haiti. From 1804 to 1809, Louisiana's free colored population more than doubled as free blacks fled the violence in Haiti. One result of this wave of immigation was the creation of federal laws restricting free black immigration and manumission. Free men of color were forbidden to serve in the militia, and they were denied the right to vote or to hold political office.

Nevertheless, Louisiana's free colored population continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century. The census of 1852 listed 242 free people of color as large, medium or small planters. A few owned very large sugar and cotton plantations where labor was provided by negro slaves. In 1830, there were 212 slave-owning free men of color in the rural parishes of

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43. C. Pollock, May 8, 1832, NONA; Betsy Swanson, Historic Jefferson Parish from Shore to Shore (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Company, 1975), p. 160.

44. David Connel Rankin, " The Forgotten People: Free People of Color in New Orleans, 1850-1870" (unpublished doctoral dissertation dated 1976, Johns Hopkins University), pp. 40-41.

45. Ibid., p. 42.

Louisiana, and twenty-five of those owned 20 to 75 slaves. Most owned three to five slaves. This widespread ownership of slaves by free men of color underscores the identification of free colored planters with their white counterparts. The wealthy elite among the free men of color "espoused the ideology of the planter class."(46)

It is significant that the St. Amands bought the large St. Bernard parish property at a time when sugar production was increasingly rapidly in south Louisiana. Sugar production was not feasible for small planters, because of the large capital investments it required. According to Mark Schmitz,(47) in 1860 the average investment in sugar producing machinery on a Louisiana plantation was $9,900.00. This contrasts sharply with a $830.00 average investment for equipment on a cotton plantation. Sugar yielded a nine percent return, whereas cotton's return averaged about seven percent.(48)

The planting cycle on sugar plantations began with the preparation of the soil and the planting of the cane in late January or early February. Corn also was planted in March and April, and peas and potatoes were planted in May and June. As in the case of cotton cultivation, field hands continued to hoe the crops until they were "laid by" around July 4. From then until the harvest, slaves gathered wood for the fuel needed in sugar production; levees were repaired, and ditches were cleaned. Harvesting of the crop began in October, and work continued virtually twenty-four hours a day until harvesting. Sugar production was completed in late December or early January. During this time, cane was cut and milled, seed cane was put up, and the ground was plowed.(49)

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46. Ibid., p. 160.

47. Mark Schmitz, Economic Analysis of Antebellum Sugar Plantations in Louisiana (New York: Arno Press, 1977), p. 108.

48. Joe Gray Taylor, Louisiana (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 9176), p. 67.

49. J. Carlyle Sitterson, Sugar Country: The Cane Sugar Industry in the South, 1753-1950 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), p. 112.

Structures usually found on residential plantations included a great house, kitchen, offices, garconnieres, pigeonniers, and carriage houses. The overseer had his own house, and the slaves lived in whitewashed, one or two-room cabins set in rows. Often there was a separate kitchen where the slaves' food was prepared.(50) Barns, stables, storage sheds, and privies also were present on sugar plantations. The major industrial structure and major investment on a sugar plantation was the sugar house. In the early nineteenth century, these structures generally were made of wood; by 1850, most sugar houses were constructed of brick. Sugar houses generally were 100-150 feet long and about 50 feet wide.(51) The mill usually was powered by a steam engine. The mill was used for expressing juice from the cane, and it usually was housed within the sugar house, although detached structures for the mill also were utilized on Louisiana plantations.(52) The most common method of cane juice clarification and evaporation was the open pan method. This method involved the use of a set of four kettles of decreasing size called, respectively, the grande, the flambeau, the syrup, and the battery. The kettles were set into a masonry structure usually about thirty feet long by seven feet wide, within which was the furnace and the flue for conveying heat to the kettles. The furnace was under the battery, and an ash pit would have been outside of the sugar house, adjacent to that structure. Both coal and wood were used to fuel the furnaces. The flue, at the opposite end of the kettle set, would have turned a right angle to the set and passed to the outside of the sugar house where it connected to the chimney.(53)

After the clarification and evaporation of the cane juices, they were emptied from the battery into shallow wood troughs, or coolers, and the sugar granules formed as the juice cooled. The coolers were ten to twelve feet long, four feet wide, and eighteen inches deep.(54) There usually were about sixteen

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50. Ibid., p. 92.

51. Ibid., p. 137.

52. Samuel Wilson, Jr., to the writer, 1983.

53. Sitterson, Sugar Country, p. 141.

54. T.B. Thorpe, "Sugar and the Sugar Region of Louisiana," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, VII (1853), p. 763.

coolers in a sugar house.(55) After the completion of granulation, the sugar and molasses in the coolers were packed into hogsheads, or barrels of approximately 1,000 pounds. The packing was done in the purgery, a room in the sugar house containing a large cement cistern overlain by timbers on which the hogsheads were placed. The hogsheads had holes in the bottom through which the molasses could drain into the cistern, leaving the granulated sugar.(56) A cane shed for storing cane as it was brought in from the field usually was attached to the sugar house on the same end as the mill.(57)

Thus, the St. Amands had both equipment and building expenses when they took ownership of the property in question. It may be assumed that the St. Amands had to rebuild the plantation's standing structures. In 1822, the St. Amands contracted to have a canal built to Bayou Bienvenu. The contract for this work was specific and detailed:

> . . . to be ten feet wide and four feet deep in all its length to begin from the back fence which now stands near the wood and to run down as far back as to reach Bayou Bienvenu in a straight direction, each side of the canal to be parallel and at an equal distance from both the side lines of said plantation . . . the parties will throw two feet of earth coming out . . . digging on side of the canal nearer the city and make therewith a causeway or levee to be two feet wide all along the canal, the other eight feet of earth on the other side of the canal as to have on that side of the canal a space at least two feet clear and free of said earth. Also, the mechanics will build a small house near the said back fence where the canal is to begin for them to live in during all the time they shall be working on the canal . . . everyone [of the workmen] . . . shall keep off from the dwelling house, outhouses, yard and negro camp [of the St. Amands] . . . and shall not meddle, nor have any intercourse or communication with the slaves and the workmen. . . .(58)

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55. Sitterson, Sugar Country, p. 143.

56. Thorpe, "Sugar and the Sugar Region," p. 763.

57. Sitterson, Sugar Country, p. 137.

58. M. de Armas, June 6, 1822, NONA.

Illustration 21 shows the location of this canal, as well as the location of the St. Amand plantation complex. As was the Chalmet plantation complex, the St. Amand complex was located downriver from the present park area (Illustration 21). It is not unlikely that the St. Amands utilized the foundations of the Chalmet plantation structures; such reuse of structural remains is common in the New Orleans area.(59)

Louis and Hilaire borrowed more than $22,000.00 for construction on their property from their sister Marie Manette St. Amand. They also borrowed a like amount from another sister, Genevieve.(60) These debts were capitalized by mortgages on the St. Amand brothers' land, described as "a plantation made into a sugar refinery."(61) By 1832, the St. Amands found it necessary to subdivide and offer part of their plantation for sale to repay debts totaling more than $70,000.00.(62) The sale was advertised in the Louisiana Courier, March 7, 1832:

> Ten arpents of the Plantation of Messrs. Hilaire and Louis St. Amand five miles below New Orleans, and known by the name of Battle Ground. Of these ten arpents, six are situated at the upper limit of the plantation on the side of the city--the two first arpents contiguous to the boundary of Mr. Edward Prevost's property, reach only fifteen arpents more or less in depth; and the four other arpents go to 80 arpents in depth. The four arpents at the lower limit are contiguous to the plantation of Antoine Bienvenu. They are entitled to the double concession of eighty arpents and conformably to the act of sale of Mr. Denis de la Ronde, reach as far as Lake Borgne. The sellers do not warrant this prolongation. On the

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59. See, for example, R. Christopher Goodwin and Jill-Karen Yakubik, "Data Recovery at the New Orleans General Hospital Site, 1 OR 69" (unpublished manuscript dated 1982 submitted to the Division of Archeology, Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism, State of Louisiana).

60. F. de Armas, June 3, 1824, NONA

61. F. de Armas, August 3, 1825, NONA.

62. C. Pollock, June 8, 1832, NONA.

six arpents of the upper part is found the line of defense of the American Army in 1815, and on the four arepnts of the lower part are the four majestic oaks, where all those who come to visit the field of battle generally end their walk.

The auction sale took place on March 23, 1832. Despite their original intention to offer only ten arpents of the plantation for sale, twelve lots of one arpent each, six at each limit of the plantation, were sold. A plan of the subdivision was drawn by d'Hemecourt, and Louis and Hilaire deposited it in the offices of the notary Carlisle Pollock:

> And being desirous to grant unto the said purchasers all proper facilities for the conveyances which they have this day made to them respectively for the lots by them respectively purchased at said sale, the said appearers have produced and delivered unto me notary the afore recited plan . . . this day made before me have been at the request of said appearers deposited in the margin of this minute in this my current register. . . .(63)

Unfortunately, this plat has been lost. However, by utilizing the property descriptions given in the acts of sale, along with Zimpel's 1834 map of New Orleans and environs, it has been possible to reconstruct d'Hemecourt's plat (Illustration 22). The lot numbers assigned each of the parcels indicate that the lots numbered 11 and above were subdivided and sold as an afterthought, since they appear out of sequence. It is unlikely that any structures were present on the lots sold at that time. Rather, any such structures probably were constructed immediately after the subdivision sale. Thus, the reconstruction shown in Illustration 22 only shows structures on lands not formerly part of the Chalmet, or St. Amand, plantation, and those on land retained by Hilaire and Louis St. Amand. The plantation complex built by the St. Amands included a large quarters area, behind which the sugar house probably was located, as well as a great house surrounded by garconnieres, offices, a kitchen, and other attendant structures (Illustrations 16 and 22).

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63. C. Pollock, april 10, 1832, NONA.

Table 2 shows the purchasers of the lots during the 1832 sale; the plots acquired are shown in Illustration 22. Illustration 16, Zimpel's plan, which was drafted in 1833, suggests that structural improvements on the various lots were undertaken rapidly after the 1832 sale. Comparison of Illustrations 16 and 22 also shows that some of the properties changed hands shortly after the sale. For example, papers relating to the settlement of debts show that Joseph Sauvinet sold lot 12 to Frederick Formento almost immediately after the sale described above.(64) Since they were not incorporated as part of the park, the lowermost six parcels are no longer of concern here.

The subdivision and sale of the St. Amand holdings brought Louis and Hilaire a total of $73,600.00. This allowed them to pay off most of their debts. Three days later, Joseph Sauvinet released the brothers from their debt to him, and their sister Genevieve did likewise.(65) Nevertheless, Louis and Hilaire continued to owe their sister Manette over $18,000.00. Perhaps to settle this remaining debt, Manette purchased Louis' one-half share in the remaining plantation. Zimpel's 1834 plan shows "H. and M. St. Amand" as owners of the property (Illustration 16). To facilitate this sale, Louis and Hilaire divided the slaves they held together on the plantation. Table 3 shows the results of this division. Since Louis' share was valued higher than Hilaire's, the former paid the latter $1,000.00. It also was noted in this partition that the St. Amand brothers owed one obligation of over $9,000.00 in favor of Hilaire's wards Louis Ovide and Marie Mirthee St. Amand.(66) Clearly, the St. Amands still were having financial difficulties at that date.

In 1834, one of the auctioned lots, lot 6, was reacquired by Louis St. Amand. That lot apparently was sold by Sauvinet back to Hilaire St. Amand, who died in 1833. The property

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64. C. Pollock, May 8, 1832, NONA.

65. C. Pollock, March 26, 1832, NONA.

66. C. Pollock, February 18, 1833, NONA.

Table 2: Purchasers of Lots at the Public Auction on March 23, 1832 (C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, NONA)

Lot 1	Theophile Wiltz	$3,700
Lot 2	Alexander Baron	3,700
Lot 3	Michel Bernard Cantrell	7,300
Lot 4	Michel Bernard Cantrell	7,900
Lot 5	Pierre Oscar Peyrous	6,900
Lot 6	Joseph Sauvinet	6,200
Lot 7	Jacques Chalaron	6,100
Lot 8	Marie Manette St. Amand	5,900
Lot 9	Auguste Veavant & Pierre Forestier	7,600
Lot 10	Pierre Denis de la Ronde	6,200
Lot 12	Joseph Sauvinet	6,000
Lot 14	Albert Pierna	6,100

Table 3: Division of Slaves between Louis and Hilaire St. Amand in 1833
(C. Pollock, February 18, 1833, NONA)

To Louis St. Amand	Age	
Petite Louis	40	$ 500
Louis	39	500
Gros Louis	42	700
George, a mulatto	36	700
(Tiauba)	35	500
(Medor)	30	200
Petite Baptiste	16	500
Marie Noel	30	400
Marie Anne	40	500
Julie, daughter of Marie Anne	16	300
Belisaire, son of Marie Anne	13	200
Jacques	44	400
Bernard	11	200
Pierre Bonaparte	35	800
(Fine)	14	300
Hyacine	8	200
		$6,900

To Hilaire St. Amand		
John	24	$ 600
Pitou	35	500
Noel Perry	40	500
(Iales), a mulatto	38	1,500
Isadore	32	400
Noel Franchonette	40	300
Petit Ben	18	600
Marie Joseph	36	500
Charles	14	300
Etienne	12	200
		$5,900

(Illustrations 16 and 22) then was sold to Louis Bartholemy Chauvin Delery.(67) Delery sold it to Dame Celeste Destrehan, the wife of Prosper Marigny, shortly thereafter. Louis St. Amand purchased the parcel, including buildings and improvements, from Dame Destrehan.(68)

As indicated by the name "Battle Ground" Plantation,(69) the area was recognized as an important historic landmark, and visited by travelers to the New Orleans area. One such visitor was Harriet Martineau, who came to the site of the battle of New Orleans subsequent to the St. Amand subdivision:

> We were taken to the Battle ground, the native soil of General Jackson's political growth. Seeing the Battle ground was all very well; but my delight was in the drive to it, with the Mississippi on the right hand, and on the left gardens of roses which bewildered the imagination. . . . One villa, built by an Englishman, was obstinately inappropriate to the scene an climate;--red brick, without gallery, or even eaves or porch,--the mere sight of it was scorching. All the rest were an entertainment to the eye as they stood, white and cool, amidst their flowering magnolias, and their blossoming alleys, hedges, and thickets of roses. In returning, we alighted at one of these delicious retreats, and wandered about, losing each other among the thorns, the ceringas, and the wilderness of shrubs. We met in a grotto, under the summer-house, cool with a greenish light, and veiled at its entrance with a tracery of creepers. . . . The canes in the sugar grounds were showing themselves above the soil; young sprouts that one might almost see grow. . . . The Battle-ground is rather more than four miles from the city. We were shown the ditch and the swamp by which the field of action was

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67. Samuel Wilson, Jr., to the writer, 1984.

68. O. de Armas, November 28, 1834, NONA.

69. Louisiana Courier, March 7, 1832.

bounded on two sides, and some remains of the breast-work of earth which was thrown up.(70)

Louis died several years after Hilaire. Unfortunately, the Civil Court records in New Orleans do not contain the successions of either brother. However, the partition of Louis' real property in 1841 among his three surviving sisters is recorded. This document shows that by the time of his death, Louis' land was reduced to two one-arpent tracts, one of which was the parcel purchased from Dame Destrehan in 1834. A plat of this partition shows that by 1841, much of the former plantation of Louis and Hilaire was in the possession of two of their sisters: Manette, and Felicite Orsol, widow of Antoine Paillet. This no doubt resulted from the settlement of the St. Amand brothers' debets to their siste Manette, as well as from the earlier settlement of Hilaire's estate.

As shown in Illustration 23, each of three surviving sisters received two-thirds of an arpent as a result of this partition. The act also specified that the "house, the buildings, the negro cabins, and other dependencies" were located on lot 4, which was partitioned between Manette and Genevieve.(71) Illustration 24 shows that these structures actually were on both lots 4 and 5. It also shows that the great house complex was downriver on the land held by Manette, and that the house referred to in the act probably was the overseer's dwelling. During these proceedings, Manette acted as attorney-in-fact for her sisters living in St. Landry Parish and in France.

The property descriptions for the partitioned parcels also are notable, as the properties are measured off of the public road rather than the river:

> One of said lots, bounded, according to said map, on one side by the property of Eulalie Peyroux, and on the other by that of the said Manette St. Amand, designated on said map under No. One, measuring 180

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70. Harriet Martineau, Restrospect of Western Travel (2 vols.; London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), II, 155-57.

71. C.V. Toulon, December 13, 1841, NONA.

> feet fronting on the public road. . . . And the other lot, designated on said map as No. 4, measuring 182 feet fronting on the public road . . . plus the rights of the succession of said Louis St. Amand to the Batture which exists before said two lots and which do not appear on the plan. . . .

This indicates that by 1841 the public, or levee road was a significant feature in the landscape. Unfortunately, no details as to its construction could be found.

By the end of 1841, then, all of what had been the Chalmet plantation had been divided into small tracts, none of which was large enough for profitable cane cultivation. These tracts subsequently were used for residential purposes, for gardens, and for commercial uses. The ownership and use of these subdivided parcels is discussed below.

1. Lot 1: The Alice Cenas Beauregard Parcel

Lot 1 of the subdivision of Louis and Hilaire St. Amand's plantation (Illustration 22) was purchased by Theophile Wiltz on April 10, 1832.(72) Wiltz did not retain ownership for long, and the following January he sold it to Auguste and Etienne Villavaso for $3,900.00.(73) Illustration 16 shows the structural improvements to the property during Villavaso's ownership; these probably included a residence and two attendant structures. Unfortunately, at this point in the property history there is a break in the chain of title for lot 1, probably due to the loss of early St. Bernard parish conveyance records. The next owner recorded for the property was Mrs. Celeste Cantrelle; the Cantrelle and Villavaso families were related. Members of both families are recorded as owning the adjoining downriver property during the mid-1800s. In addition, Lise Cantrelle, the granddaughter of Michel Cantrelle of St. James Parish, married Etienne Villavaso.(74) Thus, it may be assumed that Celeste Cantrelle received the property

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73. C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, NONA.

73. Conveyance Office Book (COB) 11, Folio 340, Orleans Parish.

74. T. Seghers, December 17, 1834, NONA.

from Villavaso, probably after 1849 when the latter purchased the Rodriguez tract.(75)

Octave Cantrelle, the administrator of the succession of Celeste Cantrelle, sold the property to Jose Antonio Fernandez Lineros in St. Bernard parish on September 24, 1866. The year before, Fernandez Lineros had purchased the adjoining downriver parcel, lot 2, from the Michel B. Cantrelle family. This latter parcel included the structure that would become known as the Beauregard House, and it was there that Fernandez Lineros made his home. Fernandez Lineros both expanded and renovated this residence during the late 1860s.

Fernandez Lineros' fortunes declined during the 1870s, and in 1873 he sold lot 1 to Carmen Ribas, the wife separated in property from Auguste Lesseps. Ribas was a relative, since Fernandez' wife was Carmen Lesseps. The consideration for the sale was $4,000.00.(76) The Lesseps family resided in Plaquemines Parish, rather than on the property acquired from Fernandez Lineros.

Two years later, Ribas sold the parcel to her son, Auguste Lesseps, Jr., for $4,000.00.(77) During his ownership, Auguste evidently let the property decay, since nine years later, at the date of its sale to A.E. Livaudais, the property brought only $2,500.00.(78) Livaudais sold the property one year later to Octave Toca for the same price.(79) On September 24, 1888, Toca sold the property to the wife of the owner of the Beauregard House, Rene T. Beauregard.(80) Beauregard was the son of the Confederate General P.G.T. Beauregard. This purchase of lot 1 enabled the two lots to be

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75. F. Percy, April 25, 1849, NONA.

76. G. Le Gardeur, February 27, 1873, NONA.

77. G. Le Gardeur, April 13, 1875, NONA.

78. G. Le Gardeur, June 25, 1884, NONA.

79. P.A. Conrad, June 25, 1885, NONA.

80. E.A. Peyroux, September 24, 1888, NONA.

rejoined, as they had been during Fernandez' ownership. The two lots remained in the possession of the Beauregard family until 1904, when both parcels were sold to the New Orleans Terminal Co. The consideration for this sale was $9,500.00, a $6,500.00 increase over its price of sixteen years before.(81) Illustrations 17 and 25 suggest that one small residential structure survived on lot 1 into the twentieth century.

2. Lot 2: The R.T. Beauregard Parcel

Lot 2 was sold to Alexander Baron (Illustration 22) by the St. Amands.(82) This is the parcel on which the Beauregard House still stands. Its history has been described thoroughly in Francis Wilshin, "The Rene Beauregard House" (1952), and in Samuel Wilson, Jr., "The Rene Beauregard House" (1956).

3. Lots 3, 4, and 5: The Battle Ground Saw Mill

Lots 3 and 4 of the St. Amand plantation, each one arpent front by eighty arpents in depth, were purchased by Michel Bernard Cantrelle, a member of one of the first families of St. James Parish. The lots (Illustration 22) were purchased for $7,300.00 and for $7,900.00, respectively.(83) Zimpel's 1834 plan of New Orleans and vicinity shows that although the property title was held by Cantrelle, the property was utilized both by Cantrelle and by Villavaso. In fact, Villavaso and Cantrelle also were related. It was during this period of land tenure that the "Battle Ground Saw Mill" was established and began operation. Illustration 16 shows the structures on the Cantrelle and Villavaso lots; the two largest structures probably represent the mill and warehouse, while the smaller structure that fronts the public road was probably an office.

Michel Martin Villavaso received this property from the succession of Michel B. Cantrelle in 1845, along with slaves and certain bank shares. Cantrelle's succession was opened in

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81. H.G. Dufour, November 28, 1904, NONA.

82. C. Pollock, april 10, 1832, NONA.

83. Ibid.

St. James parish, and the property was purchased there by Villavaso from Joseph Cantrelle. Prior to this purchase, Villavaso possessed an undivided one-quarter share of the two properties.(84) The record of this former act was destroyed by fire, as was the record of a 1868 Sheriff's Sale ordered by the Second Judicial District Court in the matter of the succession of Marie Josephine Cantrelle, the wife of Michel Martin Villavaso (#584). The result of this latter sale was the purchased by Charles Dahlgren of the "Battle Ground Saw Mill," which, by that time, also included lot 5. The consideration for this sale was $30,500.00.(85)

Lot 5 originally had been purchased by Pierre Oscar Peyroux, a New Orleans merchant, from Louis and Hilaire St. Amand for $6,900.00 (Illustration 22). On March 16, 1835, Peyroux sold the property to Constance Peyroux, along with 132 shares of stock in the Citizens Bank of Louisiana, for $18,000.00.(86) On February 16, 1844, the Citizens Bank of Louisiana brought suit against Constance Peyroux.(87) The Citizens Bank of Louisiana held a mortgage against lot 5; in addition, Constance Peyroux had taken additional loans against her stock. After she refused repayment of these notes, a writ of Fieri Facias was ordered and the property was sold at a Sheriff's Sale to Marie Aimie Caraby, the wife of Pierre Oscar Peyroux.(88) Caraby then sold the property to Michel Martin Villavaso on March 31, 1853, for $3,590.00.(89) The great reduction in the value of the property in the twenty years following subdivision suggests that much of the original value of the property derived from stands of timber, and that structural improvements, if any, were relatively insignificant assets. This hypothesis is supported by Illustration 16, which shows only one small structure on the property.

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84. C. Boudousquie, December 30, 1846, NONA.

85. J. Strawbridge, June 26, 1868, NONA.

86. T. Seghers, March 16, 1835, NONA.

87. #23107, First Judicial District Court, Parish of Orleans.

88. Ibid.

89. A. Boudousquie, March 31, 1853, NONA.

When the saw mill property was sold during settlement of the succession of Marie Josephine Cantrelle, the property measured three arpents front by eighty in depth. Illustration 26 shows the three arpents tract about the time of Cantrelle's death. Improvements to the property included a large steam-driven saw mill, which also had a grist and flour mill and a lathe. There was a storehouse for corn, a forge, a house for the engineer, a house for the clerks, and housing for the mill's employees. There was a large hospital on the site, and a substantial residential complex that included a very large great house, a kitchen, two pigeonnaires, servants quarters, a wash house, a coach house, a hen house, and privies.(90) It should be added that the sawmill was very successful, and that it was patronized by prominent New Orleans architects such as James Gallier, Jr., who ultimately married the Villavasos' daughter.

Dahlgren, who purchased the sawmill property and shares of stock in the Citizens Bank of Louisiana at the Sheriff's Sale following the death of Marie Cantrelle, sold both in 1868 to Mary A.C. Packwood for $30,500.00, his original purchase price.(91) Packwood donated both the stock and the property to Sarah Ainsworth Packwood, the wife of Dr. Richard Packwood.(92)

Once again, the property was held only for a short time, and Packwood sold it, along with remaining shares in Citizens Bank, to Mary Atkins Lynch in January, 1871. The price of this sale was $22,500.00, indicating devaluation in the stock, the real property, or both.(93) It is possible that the sawmill had not been maintained adequately during this period of rapid change in ownership.

Mary Atkins Lynch, the wife of John Lynch, the Surveyor General of Louisiana, sold the Battle Ground Sawmill to the Board of Control of Louisiana Agricultural and Mechanical

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90. "Note for the inventory of the Succession of the late Marie Josephine Cantrelle, spouse of Michel Martin Villavaso," in Samuel Wilson, Jr., to the writer, 1984.

91. J. Strawbridge, June 26, 1868, NONA.

92. Ibid.

93. O. Moral, January 28, 1871, NONA.

College on March 30, 1875, for $20,555.00.(94) The following June, an advertisement in the New Orleans Times solicited proposals for buildings to be erected on the site. This suggests that few of the structures formerly located on the property survived into the 1870s. At that time, then, the name for the property, the "Battle Ground Sawmill," no longer described the property per se, but rather referred to its history.

Structures were not built on the property by the college, though, and the Citizens Bank of Louisiana, which held many of the Agricultural and Mechanical College's mortgages during the period brought suit against the school.(95) The bank acquired the property at public sale on October 1, 1881. In November of that year, the bank sold the property for $10,000.00 to Lycurgus Holt Wooten.(96) In June, 1885, Wooten sold the property to Pamela Rentrop, the wife of Dr. John Rhodes. The Rhodes were separate in property, according to a judgment by the District Court for the Parish of St. Mary in 1873. Both resided in Caldwell Parish.(97) Illustration 17, dated 1874 but drafted during the 1890s, shows the property under Pamela Rhodes' ownership. A fenced yard is shown surrounding what probably were the Rhodes residence and two dependencies. Five small buildings are shown immediately upriver from the residential complex. some, if not all of these were built during the operation of the mill by Cantrelle and Villavaso. These smaller structures were located on lot 3, and no improvements are shown on lot 5.

In 1896, Captain LaFayette Jacks of Plaquemines Parish brought suit against Dr. John Rhodes before the Twenty-Second Judicial District Court of the Parish of St. Bernard (#453). At that time, the Rhodes were residents of St. Bernard. Dr. Rhodes had borrowed money from Captain

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94. A. Hero, March 30, 1875, NONA.

95. See R. Christopher Goodwin, Jill-Karen Yakubik, and Peter A. Gendel, "Historic Archeology at Star and Bourbon Plantations" (unpublished manuscript dated 1983 submitted to the Corps of Engineers, New Orleans District, Contract No. DACW29-83-M-0521).

96. A. Pitot, Jr., November 30, 1887, NONA.

97. J. Eustis, June 26, 1885, NONA.

Jacks, mortgaging his wife's property as security. Since Rhodes could not meet his debt, the property was seized and sold at a Sheriff's Sale on November 14, 1896, for $7,000.00.(98)

Jacks later donated the property to his daughter, Anna Jane, the wife of James M. McMillan.(99) However, in 1903 the New Orleans Terminal Company, formerly known as the New Orleans and San Francisco Railroad Company, decided to build a terminal for the handling of its export and import business in St. Bernard parish. The tract for the terminal was to extend from the "lower side of the New Orleans Belt and Terminal Company, known as "Chalmette," to the lower limits of the City of New Orleans.(100) The Jacks property was part of this area, which comprised:

> A certain tract of land known as the "Battle Ground Saw mills," together with all the buildings and improvements thereon . . . situated in the Parish of St. Bernard in this state on the left bank of the Mississippi River at about 3/4 of a mile below the City of New Orleans, measuring three arpents front on the said Mississippi River by eighty arpents in depth between parallel lines, and composed of three lots designated by the numbers three, four, and five on a plan drawn by A. d'Hemecourt . . . each of said lots has one arpent front on said river, three being bounded on the upper line by the lot Number two, now the property of R.T. Beauregard, to which it is continguous as far as the point marked "D" on said plan and thence to its rear line by the Prevost Plantation now owned by the State of Louisiana, and known as "Chalmette Monument Property," . . . and lot number five being bounded . . . on the lower side by the property formerly belonging to H.C. Delery and now to Fazende Lane and by the property now owned by Jean Marie Couget. . . .(101)

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98. COB 19, Folio 72, St. Bernard Parish.

99. G. Le Gardeur, June 23, 1899, NONA.

100. #601, Twenty-ninth Judicial District Court, Parish of St. Bernard.

101. COB 20, Folio 241, St. Bernard Parish.

Structures on the property consisted of a frame building where the overseer apparently resided, and several small outbuildings. Illustration 25 shows a small residence in a grove of pecan trees on the property. This may represent the frame structure mentioned above.

Anna Jacks agreed to sell the property to the New Orleans Terminal Company, but her asking price was high. The New Orleans Terminal Company petitioned the Court that

> [the] petitioner cannot agree with the owners of said property as to the price to be paid for the purchase thereof, and the said Mrs. Anna J. McMillan cannot make title thereto on account of the dangers resulting from the possible revindication of this said donation at the death of the donor. . . .(102)

The company requested that the property be expropriated, and that the owners be paid for any damages resulting from the expropriation. The court found in avor of the plaintiffs, and Anna and Captain Jacks were paid $27,500.00 for the property.(103) The New Orleans Terminal Company almost immediately leased sixteen acres of the land to Vincent and Paul Guerra for the calendar year 1904.(104)

4. Lot 6: Fazendeville

The chain of title for Lot 6 is unclear for the first half of the nineteenth century. It was numbered Lot 6 and sold to Joseph Sauvinet in 1832 by the St. Amand brothers (Illustration 22),(105) but it almost immediately was returned to Hilaire St. Amand. The latter died in 1833; as Zimpel's 1834 map indicates, the tract was sold to Louis Bartholemy Chauvin Delery soon after (Illustration 16). At that time, a new house stood on the property. It had six apartments, five of them

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102. #601, Twenty-ninth Judicial District Court, Parish of St. Bernard.

103. H.G. Dufour, December, 7, 1903, NONA.

104. COB 20, Folio 280, St. Bernard Parish.

105. C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, NONA.

with fireplaces (Sam Wilson, personal communication 1984). Illustration 16 indicates that there were at least four other structures. The property passed to Celeste Destrehan, wife of Prosper Marigny, and it was repurchased by Louis St. Amand in 1834.(106) The property devolved to the possession of Felicite Orsol, the widow of Antoine Paillet, in 1841, at the partition of Louis St. Amand's estate among his three sisters and heirs (Illustration 23).(107) However, Felicite only received two thirds of the property at this date, while the other third was adjudicated to Manette St. Amand. The latter undoubtedly had control of the property, since, as noted previously, she was attorney-in-fact for Felicite, who resided in St. Landry Parish. The next indication of ownership dates from 1854, when the entire one arpent tract, including the parcels of both Felicite and Manette, is listed as part of the succession of Jean Pierre Fazende, a free man of color who was a resident of New Orleans and who died in Plaquemines Parish. Fazende's wife pre-deceased him; she was Catiche Paillet, Felicite's daughter. In the absence of positive documentation, Catiche Paillet appears to have received two-thirds of the property from her mother, and the other or lowermost third either through purchase or from her mother's prior inheritance of the parcel from her Aunt Manette.

Fazende's succession provides every indication that a inventory of his estate was taken, but it is not included in the probate record.(108) His son, Jean Pierre Fazende, a New Orleans grocer, received the parcel as part of his inheritance when the estate was settled ca. 1857.(109) There is no indication that the younger Fazende took any interest in the property prior to the late 1860s, when he had that portion of his property nearest to the river subdivided (Illustration 21). He began selling the lots in the 1870s. Illustration 17 shows that residences were constructed on these lots before the end of the nineteenth century, and Illustration 27 demonstrates that

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106. O. de Armas, November 20, 1834, NONA.

107. C.V. Toulon, December 31, 1841, NONA.

108. #7849-7958, Second District Court, Orleans Parish.

109. COB 16, Folio 160, St. Bernard Parish.

these were extant until relatively recently. The following year he sold the back portion of his property to Joseph Altamar Fazende, a New Orleans baker, for $1,200.(110)

This latter tract was turned over rapidly during the next few years. J.A. Fazende sold it in March, 1887, to Henry Thoele, a New Orleans grocer, for $350.00.(111) The following year, Thoele made a profit of $150.00 when he sold the land to Jayme Frigola.(112) Frigola then sold the property to Jean Marie Couget in 1894.(113) Couget held the property until 1904 when she sold it to the New Orleans Terminal Co.(114) The property was described as improved; its location was specified:

> At about three arpents above the U.S. Military Chalmette Cemetery, and forming part of the property known as "Fazende's property" and which Fazende's property is designated by the letter B on a plan drawn by A.J. d'Hemecourt (viz Illustration 28, shaded section) . . . on 20th March 1878, now in the possession of P.A. d'Hemecourt . . . siad tract of land measures 191'10" front on a line parallel with the public road, said line being at a distance of 2031'10" from the fence at the public road and having a depth of 13315'2". . . .(115)

The property was located between those of Wooten (upriver side) and Hager (downriver side).

The vast majority of development took place, however, on the southern tract which included the "Fazendeville" subdivision. Illustration 25 shows that in 1927

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110. COB 16, Folio 160, St. Bernard Parish.

111. F. Zengel, March 19, 1887, NONA.

112. C.J. Theard, October 16, 1888, NONA.

113. C.J. theard, January 11, 1894, NONA.

114. H.G. Dufour, December 16, 1904, NONA.

115. Ibid.

there was a house to the west of Fazendeville Road, to the south (riverward) of the subdivision. This was the residence of Harry Colomb.(116) This structure probably was built during the twentieth century, since it is not shown on the 1874 Mississippi River Commission Map (Illustration 17). Colomb's house stood at least until 1940 (Illustration 19). Across the road from Colomb's house was another residence and a store (Illustration 29); no further information on these structures could be found, but they had been extant at least from the 1890s. This area is presently occupied by the St. Bernard Sewage Treatment Plant.

The Fazendeville subdivision survived well into the twentieth century as a black residential community (Illustration 27). This property was acquired and incorporated into the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park (Figure 16).(117)

5. The Old Battle Ground Store

This one arpent tract originally was numbered "11" in the 1832 St. Amand subdivision, but it was not sold at the auction sale (Illustration 22). Instead, it remained in the possession of the St. Amands. In 1833, Manette St. Amand bought her brother Louis' one half share of the property.(118) In July of 1833, Manette and Hilaire St. Amand sold a small portion of this tract to Joaquim Dominguez for $1,000.00 (Figure 10):

> That piece or parcel of ground situate, lying and being part of the said Parish of St. Bernard, about five miles below the city, on the left Bank of the River Mississippi having french measure of sixty feet front on the public road by one hundred and twenty feet commencing at the upper limit of the plantation belonging to said sellers, where it adjoins land belonging to Mr. Delery and running downriver for a

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116. Ted Birkedal to the writer, 1984.

117. Papers relating to the acquisition of Fazendeville, in the files of the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park.

118. C. Pollock, February 18, 1833, NONA.

distance . . . together with all the improvements of said thereon, and all right of said Sellers to the Batture in front of said lot.(119)

After Hilaire's death in 1833, Manette became sole owner of the remainder of this tract; she held it until at least 1841 (Illustration 23). Subsequently, Dominguez acquired the property from her estate.(120) However, all the improvements to the property were on the tract Dominguez purchased in 1833. Illustration 16 (lot 11 and 11 (lot 1) shows that two structures were located on this property at least as early as the 1830s.

After Dominguez died, an inventory of his estate was made by the Second Judicial District Court of St. Bernard. Unfortunately, that record was destroyed in the courthouse fire. However, other records indicate that a family meeting was called in 1856 for the benfit of the deceased's minor children: Joaquim, Gilbert, Hypolite, and Oneida. At this time, it was decided to adjudicate the property to Dominguez's widow, Marie Estopinal, for the price given in the inventory, that is, $5,000.00 for the two lots and $150.00 for the furniture. Clearly, the Dominguezs' were in residence on the property at this time, and they apparently continued to live there.(121) On August 30, 1867, Estopinal sold the property to Mrs. Clara Menttel Bitterwolf for $3,900.00.

Xavier Bitterwolf and his wife, Clara, were separate in property by judgment of the Fifth District Court of New Orleans on October 18, 1856. However, it seemed that they both had ownership in this property, since in 1871 they sold both parcels to John Smith.(122) Smith sold the property to Peter Henry Grun of New Orleans in 1878.(123) Grun sold the larger portion of the property, which was unimproved, to Gottlieb Christian Friedrich Grun in February of 1880, but then

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119. C. Pollock, July 24, 1883, NONA.

120. A Dreyfous, August 30, 1867, NONA.

121. Ibid.

122. A Dreyfous, March 20, 1871, NONA.

123. A Dreyfous, March 22, 1878, NONA.

rescinded the sale the following November.(124) Two years later, Peter Henry Grun sold the property to John Hager, Sr., a manufacturer's agent in New Orleans.(125)

Hager apparently took up residence on the property, and opened a store there. On his death, the property became vested in his widow, Mary Baden, and his children: John Jr., William, Adolphe, robert, George, and Mary, the wife of Frank Kraemer. Rather than undertake the expense of a partition, Hager's heirs held a compromise sale in 1896 where this St. Bernard property came into the possession of John, Jr., and William Hager.(126) The Hager brothers subsequently offered the property for sale:

Business Stand
Garden & Timber Land
The Celebrated
"Old Battle Ground Store"

> This property is one of the best patronized stores in St. Bernard parish. It contains a large store, one room, kitchen, and two small storerooms downstairs, and four plastered rooms above. There is a fine stable, chicken-house and all other building. The property fronts on the Mississippi River for 197 feet, and runs back to a depth of eighty arpents. Twenty-eight acres are clear, and twelve under cultivation; the balance finely timbered with maple and cypress. There are about three acres of standing corn, okra, and young sweet potatoes. The property is further enhanced by five fig trees, fifteen pecans, peach, orage, plum, and grapes. The water supply is drawn from a fine well, curbed and bricked, and cisterns. The Port Chalmette and Shell Beach Roads run through the property. Only one mile from the slaughter house, and one from the new and growing port of Chalmette.(127)

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124. J. Cohn, February 5, 1880, NONA.

125. A. Dreyfous, March 30, 1880, NONA.

126. F. Dreyfous, July 22, 1896, NONA.

127. Hunter C. Leake, September 21, 1896, NONA.

Illustration 17 shows two structures on this tract; these undoubtedly are the store and an outbuilding. It seems that the store did not survive into the twentieth century. Although a store is shown in Illustration 25, it is adjacent to the Fazendeville road, and therefore is located on Lot 6, the Fazendeville tract, and thus upriver from the site of the Battle Ground Store. The property was sold to John B. Esnard, a New Orleans lottery agent, on August 26, 1896, and a plat was attached to this act of sale (Illustration 30).(128) On September 21, 1903, the property was acquired by Louis L. Stanton, Jr., who subsequently sold this and other lands to the New Orleans Terminal Co.(129)

6. The Bertrand Tract

Louis St. Amand died sometime prior to the end of 1841, leaving three heirs: Manette St. Amand, Genevieve St. Amand, and Felicite Orsol. Genevieve was the wife of Jacques Julien Charles Claude Quelquejue; Manette acted as her attorney-in-fact because the former resided in France. Felicite Orsol presumably was half-sister to the St. Amand siblings. She was the widow of Antoine Paillet, a free man of color, and she lived in St. Landry Parish.(130)

The partition of Louis's estate among his sisters included a plat showing the landholdings of each (Illustration 23). This plat shows that lot 2 (Illustration 24) was in the possession of the widow of Antoine Paillet (Illustration 23) in 1841, and she probably received it as part of Hilaire St. Amand's succession after 1833. She continued to hold this property in absentia until her death, and it was part of her succession which was settled in St. Landry Parish in 1869. There, the probate court ordered Thomas L. Maxwell, Sheriff of Orleans Parish, to auction the widow Paillet's property.(131)

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128. Ibid.

129. COB 20, Folio 209, St. Bernard Parish; COB 20, Folio 251, St. Bernard Parish.

130. C.V. Toulou, December 13, 1841, NONA.

131. J. Duvigneaud, December 10, 1896, NONA.

The lot was acquired by Juan Fernandez at the estate sale on July 26, 1869. The property was described as being one arpent front on the Mississippi River, by a depth of eighty arpents. The property was bounded on the upper side by the land belonging to the heirs of Joaquim Dominguez, and on the lower side by the land of Charles Rixner.(132)

Fernandez's wife, Marie Salvant, died in St. Bernard Parish, and on December 21, 1893, the 22nd Judicial District Court for St. Bernard placed her estate, including her husband's St. Bernard Parish property, in possession of her heirs. "Building and improvements" of unspecified types were located on the property at this date, although no structures are shown on the 1874 Mississippi River Commission Map, which was drafted in the 1890s (Illustration 17).(133) The only structures that were built on this property, according to map data, are two twentieth century residences (Illustrations 25 and 31), one of which was removed in 1927 (Illustration 32).

Fernandez did not long survive his wife, however, and on May 16, 1896, his children and heirs were placed in possession of his estate.(134) Later that same year, Josephine Fernandez, the wife of Jean Baptiste d'Auterive, Juana Fernandez, the wife of John Hier, Eve Fernandez, the wife of Louis Bollinger, Philomena Fernandez, the wife of (Enguerand) d'Auterive, and Innocented Fernandez, the widow of Anthony Frenchus sold to Thomas Leo Bertrand, a resident of Plaquemines Parish, the one by eighty tract of land they had inherited from their parents.(135) In 1903, the property was purchased by L.L. Stanton, who subsequently sold this and other property to the New Orleans Terminal Company.(136)

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132. Ibid.

133. Succession of Marie Salvant, wife of Jean (Juan) Fernandez, #407, Twenty-Second Judicial District Court, St. Bernard Parish.

134. Succession of Juan Fernandez, #455, Twenty-second Judicial District Court, St. Bernard Parish.

135. J. Duvigneaud, December 12, 1896, NONA.

136. COB 20, Folio 233, St. Bernard Parish; COB 20, Folio 251, St. Bernard Parish.

7. The National Military Cemetery

This parcel, which measured slightly less than three arpents, remained in the possession of the St. Amands after the 1832 partition. It included the land on which a residence and slave quarters complexes stood (Illustrations 16 and 22). Louis St. Amand's undivided half of this property passed to his sister Manette in 1833.(137) Later that year Hilaire died. It was probably at the time of settling of Hilaire's succession that the three approximately one arpent parcels that became the military cemetery were purchased/inherited by different individuals. The parcel which was the farthest upriver of these three, lot 3 in Illustration 24 had no structure on it, and came into the possession of Etienne Villavosa, one of the owners of the Battle Ground Saw Mill. The adjacent property, lot 4 in Illustration 24, included a plantation house and several slave cabins. This came into the possession of Louis St. Amand. Lot 5 in Illustration 24 included slave cabins and may have been the sugar house. This came into the possession of Manette St. Amand. In 1841, both Villavosa and Manette still held their respective lots (Illustration 23). Louis St. Amand's one arpent tract had been partitioned between his two sisters, with Genevieve Quelquejue receiving the upper two thirds arpent, and Manette receiving the lower one-third arpent (Illustration 23). As stated before, Genevieve lived in France, and Manette was her agent in Louisiana, and had control over both of these tracts. Since she also possessed the adjacent downriver property (Illustration 23), which included the St. Amand great house complex (Illustration 16), it is probable that Manette continued to manage this land as a farm, as indicated by her listing as a "gardener" in the 1842 New Orleans City Directory.

The next indication of the ownership of these properties occurs in 1859, when J.G. Bienvenue, a New Orleans notary public, sold all three properties to Charles Rixner. Two years later, on November 11, 1861, Rixner sold these three lots, measuring a total of about two and two thirds arpents, to the City of New Orleans. The property was eighty arpents deep, and was bounded by the properties of the Widow Paillet, and the late C.V. Hurtubise.(138) The price of the sale was $11,520.00. As no conveyances in Orleans Parish record a sale

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137. C. Pollock, February 18, 1833, NONA.

138. C.E. Fortier, November 11, 1861, NONA.

by Manette St. Amand, or sale to J.G. Bienvenue, we must assume that the intervening conveyances were lost in the St. Bernard Parish Court House fire.

Illustration 21 shows the present park area in 1867. The land which composed the lots marked "United States Military Cemetery" and "Property of the City of New Orleans" included Lots 3, 4, and 5 (Figure 11). Clearly, the three lots have been bisected, hence, that lot mark as the "Property of the City of New Orlens" (Illustration 21) is comprised of lots 3 and the western half of 4 (Illustration 24), while the cemetery parcel is comprised of the eastern half of lot 4 and lot 5 (Illustration 24). Thus, the sites of the St. Amand slave quarters, overseers' house, and industrial complex, lie within the present boundaries of the park, and the majority of the cabins and the postulated "sugar house" are within the present site of the military cemetery. The remains of the St. Amand great house complex can be seen downriver from the Military Cemetery (Illustration 24).

Illustration 17 shows these properties at the end of the nineteenth century. four structures are shown on the cemetery tract; these included the cemetery caretaker's house and dependencies.(139) This former structure remained in existence until 1928, when a levee set back removed the southernmost portion of the cemetery (Illustrations 25 and 32).

Three structures were on the property owned by the City of New Orleans in the late nineteenth century (Illustration 17). None of these are related to the St. Amand structures formerly located on lot 4 (Illustration 24). One of the two southernmost structures apparently was a powder magazine that had been extant at least since 1872.(140) A plat of the property from this date shows the magazine as the only structure on the parcel. However, directly to the north of the powder house was a cemetery used by the Freedmen's Bureau for the burial of black soldiers.(141) The remaining two structures shown on the 1874 Mississippi River Commission map (Illustration 17), therefore, must have been constructed at the close of the

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139. Ted Birkedal to the writer, 1984.

140. Carl Gaines to the writer, 1984.

141. Ibid.

nineteenth century, and are undoubtedly functionally associated with the magazine and/or the cemetery.

8. Summary of Twentieth Century Consolidation

The majority of lots from the original Chalmet plantation ultimately became the possession of the New Orleans Terminal Company in the first few years of the twentieth century, except Fazendeville, and the National Military Cemetery, here including the property formerly listed as belonging to the City of New Orleans (Illustration 33). The company had the intention of bulding terminals on the site, and acquired these extensive landholdings for that reason. In 1949, the New Orleans Terminal Company sold the properties in Lots 1 through 5 (Illustration 22) to the State Parks Commission of Louisiana for $100,000.00.(142) By the end of the year, the State Parks Commission of Louisiana turned the property over to the U.S. government.(143)

The downriver parcels that had been acquired by the New Orleans Terminal Company were sold to Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation in 1953.(144) Kaiser Aluminum later donated this property to the U.S. government.(145) With the acquisition of the Fazendeville subdivision, all the property from the Rodriguez plantation to the National Cemetery came under government control.

D. Discussion and Archeological Potential

Despite gaps in the documentary record of the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, a fairly complete history of occupation of the area has resulted from this research effort. Three major periods are recognized: the early period, prior to ca. 1835, is characterized by an emphasis on plantation agriculture. Indigo plantations were typical of

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142. Watts K. Leverich, March 14, 1949, NONA.

143. P.M. Flanagan, November 28, 1949, NONA.

144. COB 57, Folio 283, St. Bernard Parish.

145. COB 85, Folio 435, St. Bernard Parish.

the area in the colonial period. With the beginning of the American period, sugar cultivation was rapidly adopted. The exception to this pattern is the Rodriguez tract, which, although referred to as a "plantation," was too small for monocrop agriculture.

The second period, ca. 1835-1900, postdates the breakup of all of the St. Amand plantation land included in the park holdings (which presumably occurred after Hilaire St. Amand's death in 1833). During this second period the area exhibited a surprisingly diverse range of occupations, including country estates (such as the R.T. Beauregard house and lot), "tract" housing (Fazendeville), commercial endeavors (the Old Battle Ground Store), and industrial development (the Battle Ground Saw Mill). During the third period (post 1900), the area was consolidated by the New Orleans Terminal Company, and later by the National Park Service.

Two major occupations can be identified during the Plantation period: the Chalmet plantation and related structures (Illustration 15) and the St. Amand plantation and related structures (Illustrations 16 and 24). Unfortunately, nothing is known about the structural improvements to the land during the colonial period. However, the kinds of remains likely to be recovered from plantation occupations can be inferred. Residential areas on plantations included the great house, the overseers house, and the slave quarters. These areas were not necessarily adjacent to each other; for example, a quarters area next to the great house would have housed domestics, while quarters for field hands would have been near the sugar mill. If viewed archeologically, these areas would consist primarily of structural remains and of habitation refuse such as ceramics, glass, faunal remains, etc. Areas of animal husbandry, such as stables and barns, might be recognized archeologically by tools, tack, and other hardware associated with stock, including remains of a blacksmithing activities. Industrial areas of the plantation would be associated with more massive structural remains, tools, machinery parts, and the by-products of manufacturing such as bagasse.

We may summarize the archeological potential of the park as follows:

1. It has been hypothesized that the Rodriguez house standing at the time of the Battle of New Orleans was

damaged, and was later replaced with a second structure.(146) Nothing has been recovered in the documentary record to support this hypothesis. The similarity between the structures shown in the Latour 1815 plan (Illustration 15) and the Zimpel 1834 map (Illustration 16) suggest this was not the case. However, the later structure may have been constructed on the foundation of the earlier Rodriguez house. This was a common occurrence in the New Orleans area.(147) Also, the archeological evidence tends to support this hypothesis.(148)

2. Structural remains associated with the Chalmet plantation were located downriver from the National Military Cemetery, (Illustrations 15 and 20). Consequently, there is little possibility of recovering remains from this occupation within the park.

3. The St. Amand great house complex also was located downriver from the cemetery. The plantation quarters, lesser residential structures, and the industrial area of the site were located within the present Military Cemetery, the southern portion much of which has been lost as a result of a levee setback ca. 1982 (Illustrations 16, 24, 32, and 33). Therefore, the likelihood of recovery of remains from the St. Amand plantation within the park is not great.

4. Archeological remains associated with residential structures are anticipated between the Rodriguez canal and the Beauregard House. One structure, possibly dating from the 1830s, survived on Lot 1 until the early twentieth century (Illustrations 16, 17, 22, and 25).

5. Industrial remains associated with the Battle Ground Saw Mill would be expected to occur in the area between the

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146. Ted Birkedal to the writer, 1983.

147. Goodwin and Yakubik, "Data Recovery at the New Orleans General Hospital Site, 16 OR 69."

148. Jill-Karen Yakubik, "Analysis of Historic Remains from Archeological Testing at the Site of the Rodriguez House, Chalmette National Historic Park" (unpublished report dated 1983, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park).

Beauregard House and the St. Bernard Sewage Treatment Plant (Lots 3, 4, and 5) on (Illustration 24). These remains would be concentrated nearer to the Beauregard downriver property line, since Lots 3 and 4 were the first to be developed (Illustration 16). Late nineteenth century habitation refuse, including remains from the Rhodes occupation, also may occur within this area.

6. The late nineteenth and twentieth century habitation remains of Fazendeville would be on the east side of Fazendeville Road, north of the St. Bernard Sewage Treatment Plant. To the west of Fazendeville Road would be the twentieth century remains of Harry Colomb's residence.

7. Two structures stood on the Old Battle Ground Store lot at least as early as 1833 (Illustration 16). These survived throughout the nineteenth century (Illustration 17). Their location would have been immediately downriver from the eastern property line of the Fazendeville tract. The site of these structures is likely to contain the only surviving remains of the St. Amand plantation occupation (Illustrations 16 and 24). It also is expected to contain later nineteenth century habitation refuse, and the remains of the Old Battle Ground Store.

8. Military remains are expected from the lot immediately to the west of the present cemetery. Two as of yet undefined structures from the late nineteenth century were also located in this area; it is suggested that these were also martial in nature. There is a possibility of recovering remains from the St. Amand plantation along the eastern boundary of this lot as result of its proximity to the plantation quarters, lesser residential complex, and industrial center.

Thus, the park property potentially includes a variety of different archeological remains. It is unfortunate that probably the most significant archeological remains, those from the St. Amand slave/overseer residential and industrial complexes have little potential for recovery due to their location within the Military Cemetery property, part of which has already been impacted by a levee setback. Virtually nothing is known about the material culture of Louisiana's free people of color. The St. Amand plantation, because of the circumstances of its history, would have provided the remains of an ante-bellum plantation owned and operated solely by free blacks. Examination of the remains of the slave residential area could

have provided information on the diet and material culture provided to slaves of black masters. However, the possibility of recovering such material should not be entirely excluded, since some areas within the cemetery as it exists today have not been disturbed by burials.(149) There also may be remains just beyond the western wall of the cemetery in the adjacent lot.

Similarly, the remains on the Old Battle Ground Store lot also would be significant, since the only other structures from the St. Amand plantation within the park itself were located here (Illustrations 16, 22, and 24). These probably were residential structures for either slaves or a watchman, positioned to enable the overseeing of the upriver plantation lands. Again, this area should provide information on life on a black owned plantation. Less important late nineteenth century residential and commercial remains would also be recovered.

It has been suggested above that the former property of the City of New Orleans, immediately west of the present cemetery may include remains from the St. Amand plantation. This area also is significant as it was the site of military activity after the Battle of New Orleans, as evidence by the powder magazine. This structure may date to the Civil War, and other military activity from this period may be revealed on this site. Also, the black military cemetery potentially could provide forensic data for an interesting comparison to remains of black slaves that have been recovered, such as those recently unearthed in the Vieux Carre in New Orleans. Finally, the documentary history for this area was scantier than for any other area within the park. Archeological investigation here would supplement our limited knowledge of land use in this area.

The Fazendeville area, north of the St. Bernard Sewage Treatment Plant, is potentially significant because of its unusual history. It was a black community begun during the reconstruction period by a free man of color. Material and dietary remains would provide an interesting contrast to both those from ante-bellum slaves and Reconstruction period whites. Development of the community could be examined diachronically, and at the present time, it would still be possible to collect oral history on the area.

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149. Ted Birkedal to the writer, 1984.

Finally, the remains of the Battle Ground Saw Mill are interesting since they potentially can provide information on the ante-bellum industrialization of the suburban New Orleans area. The potential for further documentary research on this area is also good, as many of the city's noted architdcts patronized the mill.

The documentary record of the property which today is the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, demonstrates that the area had a wide variety of land uses since its initial settlement. Originally a colonial plantation, it became one of the larger plantations owned by free men of color during the early nineteenth century. Recognition of the area's historic significance as the site of the Battle of New Orleans occurred during the mid-nineteenth century, when the Rodriguez Plantation was purchased as the site for the monument, and the Military Cemetery was established. The remainder of present park land continued in use for residential, commercial, and industrial purposes until the early twentieth century. While much of this history is important in a state or local context, the cultural resources of national significance at Chalmette remain those connected with the Battle of New Orleans.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHALMETTE MONUMENT

High above the ground on which the Battle of New Orleans was fought stands an Egyptian obelisk 100 feet 2½ inches tall whose purpose is to commemorate the soldiers who fought there during the waning days of the War of 1812.(1) Yet the monument itself is almost as storied as the men and event it memoralizes. The history of the monument began in 1839, twenty-four years after the Battle of New Orleans, when a group calling itself the Young Men's Jackson Committee was organized for the purpose of building a suitable Memorial to Andrew Jackson and his men.(2) Although the committee was founded under a very complex constitution and began to raise funds in support of its project, these efforts failed.(3) One year later, however, while preparing to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle, another formalized body invited the former war hero and president to join in the celebration of remembrance. General Jackson accepted the invitation and arrived in New Orleans aboard the steamer Vicksburg on January 8, 1840, amidst great fanfare.(4)

On the same day a large throng gathered at the battlefield to see the former president and witness his participation in the laying of the cornerstone for a planned memorial at the site. But confusion in making the arrangements prevailed, and much to the crowd's disappointment and the organizers' chagrin, Jackson did not appear at the battlefield. Consequently, local arrangers were assailed the following day in the press when it reported:

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1. Fred J. Roush, Chalmette National Historical Park Louisiana (Washington: National Park Service, 1958), p. 47.

2. Leonard V. Huber, The Battle of New Orleans And Its Monument, (New Orleans: Louisiana Landmarks Society, 1983), p. 12.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

> [the enormous crowd came in] steamboats, towboats, railroad cars, coaches, cabs, cabriolets, hacks, horses, wagons, sand carts, go carts, hand carts, drays, dugouts, in short every description of land carriage and water craft. There were big bugs in buggies, and little niggers on foot, in short all orders were there, marching in most admired disorder to the battlefield and like "him of France" when they got there they right-faced home again [because] . . . there was no Jackson and no cornerstone.(5)

Jackson finally appeared at the battlefield two days later on a dreary, cold, winter day; whether he ever actually took part in a ceremony to lay a cornerstone for a future commemorative monument is still a matter of debate.(6) According to New Orleans historian John Smith Kendall:

> A day after the departure of General Jackson (he left on January 13) it was ascertained that the Battleground Committee had chartered a steamboat and that a piece of granite with the inscription "Eighth of January, 1815" cut upon it was put aboard and taken to the scene of General Jackson's victory. . . . The stone was then placed, fixed or laid in some spot, position or situation, we don't know which, or what, by three or four gentlemen, all there were on board. Whatever the object was, whether they were hoaxed themselves, or tried to hoax others, is more than we can say. Time will tell the story.

Kendall concluded that "there was no ceremony whatever in connection with the laying of the cornerstone of a monument intended to commemorate one of the greatest battles in history. . . ."(7) To date, no evidence of the alleged cornerstone has been found at the battlefield site. Perhaps its existence has become confused with that of a cornerstone Jackson laid in the Place d' Armes on January 13, 1840, the day he left New Orleans. When Jackson died five years later, numerous tributes were given in New Orleans to memoralize him.

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5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, pp. 12, 13.

7. Ibid.

Yet the local press carried no word of renewed plans for a commemorative monument at the battle site.(8)

At least one proposal for a monument was generated by Jackson's friend, Jesse Duncan Elliott, who shortly before Jackson's death recommended a memorial to the general's victory over the British in 1815.(9) It is not known if Elliott's plan proceeded after Jackson died.

Interest in erecting a suitable memorial did not diminish with the passing of General Jackson. In January, 1851, New Orleans Mayor A. D. Crossman convened a public meeting for the purpose of erecting such a memorial.(10) That forum gave birth to the Jackson Monument Association whose members besides the mayor included Governor Joseph Walker, Lieutenant Governor Jean Baptiste Plauche, and Louisiana Secretary of State Charles Gayarre, along with the recorders of the three municipalities, Joseph Genois, James H. Caldwell, and Pierre Seuzeneau.(11) The group decided to raise funds for two memorials--one in Jackson Square and the other at the battlefield site.(12)

During its first six months of existence the Association succeeded in raising only slightly more than $4,000. A subsequent appeal to the Legislature (Act of February 29, 1852), brought official recognition to the Association along with appropriations of $10,000 for an equestrian statue in Jackson Square and $5,000 for a battlefield monument.(13) On March 18, 1852, the legislature authorized the governor to purchase

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8. Ibid, p. 13.

9. Elliott to Jackson, June 4, 1845, in Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, VI, 413.

10. Alcee Fortier, Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form. 3 vol. (Np, Century Historical Association, 1914), I, 195.

11. Huber, Monument, p. 13.

12. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 195.

13. Ibid.

"from the owners of the land a tract one arpent square on the line of the intrenchments occupied by Jackson's men on January 2, 1815" as a suitable site for the battlefield monument.(14) Nearly three years elapsed, however, before the transaction was consummated when the state purchased from Pierre Bachelott a tract known as the Chalmette Plain on which to erect the Jackson Monument. The cost of the property was exactly $5,000.(15)

Following acquisition of the land on Chalmette Plain, the Association began the selection of an appropriate design for the memorial structure. The Association addressed the issue in its 1855 Annual Report to the Legislature:

> The Association are of the opinion that in order to carry out in a proper manner the manifest design of the State, that a shaft or column of at least 120 feet in height should be erected on the Battle Field, so as to form a conspicuous point of attraction and elevation which could be discerned at a distance of many miles and thus strike the beholder and always bring to mind the great event that occurred on that memorable spot.(16)

The report also stated that an undertaking of such magnitude was far beyond the financial means of the Association and the members reminded the Legislature that a decision must be made as to what further committments the state would agree to make to see the matter brought to fruition.(17)

Although the precise site for the battlefield monument was not selected until October, 1855, in April of that year, the

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid, pp. 195, 196.

16. Huber, Monument, p. 16.

17. Ibid.

Association started its review of final design submissions.(18) A design submitted by the Cook Brothers, who operated the Bellville Iron Works in nearby Algiers, proposed a 75-foot-high bronzed cast-iron structure. This proposal was quickly rejected by the Association.(19) Another proposal, consisting of four different designs was submitted jointly by Newton Richards and John Stroud and Company, both local stone dealers.(20) The designs were drawn to scale on a single sheet. All were patterned after Egyptian obelisks. One shaft had a crenelated parapet. Another lacked the parapet, but stood 150 feet tall with steps at the base and an ornamental

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18. "Minutes of the Association." As recorded in the Assocation's Minutes for October 30, 1855: "Mr. Crossman, on behalf of the committee appointed to visit the Battle Ground, in order to lay off a location for the proposed monument submitted the following report which, on motion, was unanimously adopted.

"The undersigned would respectfully report; that agreeably to a resolution of the Board, Gen. J.B. Plauche, P. Senzeneau and A.D. Crossman. J.H. Caldwell and Joseph Genois, concurring, visited the Battle Ground on the 19th of October, 1855, accompanied by Newton Richards and John Stroud, contractor, and the Messrs. D.D. d'Hemecourt, surveyors; and that after due consultation to fix the distance from the river at four arpents for the erection of the monument in commemoration of the glorious victory achieved by the American Army over the English on the 8th of January, 1815."

(Signed) A.D. Crossman

19. Huber, Monument, p. 16. Newton Richards, the man who had designed the winning submission, learned his craft while working in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1831, at age twenty-six, he arrived in New Orleans and founded his stone business soon thereafter. His prolific energy quickly enamored the local business community, leading one local newspaper to state that he had "infused new life into our mechanics, builders and property owners." He was quickly befriended by Mayor Crossman and diligently worked with the Association, almost from its inception, in the efforts toward erecting the two monuments.

20. Ibid.

door on each side. The other two designs were similar, but proposed smaller monuments.(21)

Following much discussion, Association members formally adopted the submittal by Richards and Stroud and Company on May 30, 1855.(22) The winning plan called for a marble shaft 150 feet high, 16 feet 8 inches square at the base above the foundation, and 12 feet 6 inches square at the apex.(23) (Constructed dimensions at the base were revised to 14 feet 2 inches square).(24) Bids were subsequently requested and the only bidder, Richards and Stroud, was officially awarded the contract on August 30, 1855.(25) In accordance with the contract, payments for the prescribed work were to be scheduled as follows:

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21. Ibid, pp. 16, 19. In Newton Richards's time (the early Victorian age) many architects designed buildings in classical Graeco-Roman, Gothic, and, occasionally, Egyptian styles. Of the three types, the Egyptian was better adapted to monuments than houses and Richards wisely chose the clean, spirelike obelisk as most suitable. Egyptian obelisks were usually of monolithic pieces of granite and their lofty, imposing appearance had so impressed later Europeans that they patiently removed them from Egypt and laboriously re-erected them in such cities as Rome, Paris, London and Istanbul.

22. Ibid, p. 14, 15.

23. Ibid, p. 19.

24. Roush, Chalmette National Historical Park, p. 47.

25. Huber, Monument, p. 19.

1st	When the excavation is made and the timber for the foundation laid	$ 1,000
2nd	When the brick work of the foundation is built from bottom six feet high	3,900
3rd	When the brick work of the foundation is built to its height, ready to commence the shaft upon	3,900
4th	When the shaft of the monument is built up to the height of at least fourteen feet, frontices, cornices, and stairway included	5,000
5th	For the next two sections of fourteen feet in height, $4,000 each	8,000
6th	For the next six successive sections of fourteen feet in height, $4,500 each	27,000
7th	When the last section, of sixteen feet in height which completes the work, and the doors, steps and everything is finished, the balance, viz . . .	$ 8,200
	Total	$57,000(26)

By early 1856 the foundation work was completed and awaited construction of the superstructure. According to the Association's official report to the Legislature, the first three construction milestones had been met by the contractor and the commensurate payments made by the Association. Unfortunately, however, progress on the project thereafter began to wane. As previously noted, the Association had been charged with erection of the equestrian statue of Jackson in Jackson Square as well as of the monument on Chalmette Plain. Work on both projects began with an available treasury of nearly $60,000. Total cost of the statue in Jackson Square was more than $33,000, and by the time work was to commence on the Chalmette monument's superstructure little more than $12,000 remained, a sum far less than that required to complete the specified work.(27)

Because Association reports to the Legislature ceased in 1856,(28) it is difficult to determine precisely what happened after that date. Work continued intermittently on the project as

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26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., p. 20.

28. Ibid.

evidenced by accounts from the local press which provide some data about progress on the monument over the next several years. Soon after the statue in Jackson Square was finished the Daily Picayune noted that "Erection of the monumental obelisk on the Chalmette battle plains was being rapidly prosecuted; there was material on the ground for about sixty feet of the intended 150-foot shaft of white marble. . . ."(29)

In 1857 the Legislature appropriated $15,000 more for the Chalmette monument, but by February , 1859, this, too, was almost gone. Reported the Daily Picayune:

> With $3,100.00 available and $31,000.00 needed, Chalmette Battle Ground monument commissioners were suggesting that more ground was available than was required and that part be sold to pay for laying out the grounds and making enclosures.(30)

Nonetheless, after completion of the 1859 contract, no further work was accomplished on the project for a long time. Sketches of the monument made at least as late as 1873, show it as incompleted, topped off with a temporary wooden roof.

The lack of readily available funds to complete work on the monument was the most significant factor to the near demise of

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29. Ibid, p. 22. In 1906 George Stroud, a son of one of the original contractors, who possessed documents concerning the erection of the monument, told a reporter for the Picayune:

> The work . . . was suspended [probably in 1856] for lack of funds, but by order of the [Monument] Association . . . the contractors were notified April 2, 1857, to resume their work, [a directive] coupled with the statement that the Association had sufficient funds at its disposal to build the monument up to fifty-six feet, at which time the work was stopped, and the payment then due was made March 2, 1859. The builders ceased work after the shaft itself was 56 feet 10 inches above the line at which the top of the step would meet it; this step or base, if completed, was about 12 feet 6 inches above the natural surface. (Total height above ground level -- 69 feet 4 inches.)

30. Ibid.

the project prior to the Civil War. A major reason for the dearth of funding support was that many of the Association's leaders died during this period and were not replaced. Governor Walker died in 1855, Chairman Crossman in 1854, and General Plauche in 1860; no one filled the vacancies to continue the lobbying efforts.(31) Furthermore, the outbreak of war and its concomitant hostilities doubtless stalled the project, as did the turmoil of twelve years of postwar reconstruction in the South.(32)

Thus, nearly fifty years after inception of the project only an "unfinished stump" stood on the Chalmette Plain as a painful reminder of the state's failure to complete it.(33) During that hiatus from activity, persons occasionally raised the issue to public consciousness. A Civil War soldier, Private Elisha Stockwell, noted the dilapidated condition of the unfinished monument and recorded his observations in his field diary:

> We went into camp a little below New Orleans on General Jackson's old battlefield where the Battle of new Orleans was fought in the War of 1812. It had been used for truck gardening. It was a dead-level piece of land with ditches every few rods square for the water to settle away. It was, I should guess, fourteen feet lower than the Mississippi River. It rained several days while we were here, and the ditches were full of water for a week. We had our pup tents staked to the ground so had to lay on the ground. . . .
>
> There was a monument a little way from camp to commemorate the battle. It was built of brick. It was round, about twelve feet across at the ground, and I don't remember how high, but it was over one hundred feet [sic]. An iron stair inside wound to the top. It was a sightly place at the top. The monument wasn't finished, and there were a lot of bricks around there.

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31. Ibid, p. 22.

32. Ibid, p. 25.

33. Ibid.

> Some boys in another company got some of them and built a Dutch oven of them, using mud for mortar.(34)

Some twenty years later another visitor described the memorial:

> Upon the site stands a monument of marble about sixty feet high, upon a brick foundation, fifteen feet wide at its base. An iron staircase winds around a circular brick column to the top. Small slits to admit light, but not convenient for purposes of observation, occur at intervals. The top is covered with warped boards, and some of the top stones are fallen. A general air of decay prevails about the structure. The approach appears to be through private grounds, but access is willingly given.(35)

And the January 18, 1891, edition of the Daily Picayune carried the following commentary on the "neglected and forsaken Jackson Monument":

> A grateful government and its people began its erection. There were imposing ceremonies. Distinguished men were present and eloquent speeches were declaimed. The popular heart was stirred to enthusiasm. A single but stately structure was begun. Then a busy people forgot and the monument stands a broken column, dank and ivy grown. Of all Louisiana's illustrious sons who assisted in the dedication, Judge Charles Cayarro [Gayarre] is the only survivor. His dimming vision rests upon the glories of the past and in that mediance of recollection the marble of the monument "searce half made up" in all unsulled.(36)

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34. Stockwell, Private Elisha Stockwell Sees the Civil War, pp. 155-156.

35. W.E. Pedrick, New Orleans As It Is (Cleveland: William W. Williams, 1885), pp. 14, 15.

36. The Picayune, January 18, 1891, as reprinted in The Picayune's Guide to New Orleans (New Orleans: The Picayune, ca. 1894).

The seemingly ill-fated project provoked some complaint from the public. In August, 1890, a disgruntled visitor to the area vented his displeasure to the Times-Democrat:

> Having recent occasion to accompany a party to the monument, I cannot refrain from an expression of disgust as a result of the trip. The approach from the river is through a narrow lane, so grown up in weeds and underbrush that even the narrow footpath is almost impassible for ladies by reason of this growth, reaching to eight or ten feet in height. The cultivated field, which formerly left a reasonable open space about the base of the monument, has been extended until its fences are now within twenty-five feet of same and the entire inclosure surrounding the monument is filled with weeds and rank vegetation eight or ten feet high, and without even footpaths by which the structure can be approached.
>
> I believe the ground is public property, and have a recollection of reading that it is in charge of Tulane University, or some other similar public institution. Can you not, in the name of common decency invoked by the innate patriotism of every American, inaugurate some reform in existing conditions or, failing in this, wage such a war upon the negligent authorities who permit so flagrant an outrage as will result in a public sentiment sufficiently strong to force them to their duty to the country and this community?
>
> The revenue derived from the lease of this property must be used for some purpose. At least a portion of it should be used for cutting down the weeds grown and otherwise making the place at least accessible if not presentable. Yours,
>
> AN ADMIRER OF ANDREW JACKSON.(37)

Even the state was embarassed by its role in the failure. In 1885 the Legislature passed legislation "agreeing to cede . . . the property to the federal government," with provision that it

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37. Times-Democrat, August 23, 1890.

finish the remaining 45 feet within five years.(38) Yet the federal government took no immediate action, although it held local title to the grounds and monument between 1888 and 1893.

In 1893 the recently formed Louisiana Society United States Daughters 1776 and 1812, through the efforts of its president, Mrs. Mathilde A. Bailey, assumed a keen interest in the monument.(39) That initial interest, which soon became a crusade reaching not only to the state capitol but to the halls of Congress and to the White House, had stemmed from a letter that appeared in one of the New Orleans papers.(40) Writing of the event, the group's historian, Mrs. Edwin X. deVercus, remembered that

> some time in the year 1893, a letter was published in one of the local newspapers, calling attention to the neglected condition of the Chalmette battle ground and the unfinished monument. It was then that the United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812 conceived the idea to take up this work as their special privilege, believing that this society should be the proper guardian of the battle ground upon which had raged one of the most valiant conflicts in American history.(41)

The Daughters began corresponding with Governor Murphy J. Foster about the matter. Governor Foster, along with state Senator Albert Estopinal and Louisiana Attorney General M.J. Cunningham, became initial champions of the Society's cause. On June 10, 1894, Senator Estopinal introduced a bill that would place the state's interest (which had reverted back from

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38. Huber, Monument, p. 26. Confederate Veteran, 1902, p. 535.

39. Other members were Mrs. R. C. Hadden, Mrs. Felicite Cayoso Tennent, Mrs. Lelia M. Harper, Mrs. V. A. Fowler, Mrs. Lelia Forman, Mrs. George A. Rice, and Mrs. Dora A. Miller. Huber, Monument, p. 26.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

the federal government) into the hands of Mrs. Bailey and "her little band of seven patriotic women."(42) To make the transaction legal, the Daughters meantime became a duly chartered organization under the laws of the state of Louisiana.(43)

With successful passage of Senator Estopinal's bill, the state presented the new owners of the unfinished monument two appropriations of $1,000 each. Recorded Mrs. deVercus:

> with this [money] and the meager revenue derived from the sale of pecans, wood and the rental of pastures [the Society] built a keeper's lodge, cleared and drained the grounds, placed an iron fence and gate across the front, repaired old fences and put up new ones where necessary, built a mound for the monument, replaced twenty-one iron steps inside and placed a temporary top until such time as they could complete the Chalmette Monument.(44)

After these repairs were made and the grounds were cleaned up, the Daughters' attention turned to raising the necessary funds to complete the unfinished work. The first fund raising

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42. Confederate Veteran, 1902, p. 535. Soon after the Louisiana Society United States Daughters 1776 and 1812 was organized the members erected a small stone monument near what is today the southwest corner of the Chalmette Unit. Located some distance behind the remnant of Rodriquez Canal, the loving cup-shaped monument memorializes the role of Samuel Spotts in the New Orleans campaign. On its east face is inscribed:

IN MEMORY OF MAJOR SAMUEL SPOTS [SIC]
U.S.A.
WHO SHOT THE FIRST GUN AT THE BATTLE OF
NEW ORLEANS, JAN. 8, 1815. THIRD REGIMENT
SEVENTH BATTERY ARTILLERY CORP.
BORN NOV. 30, 1788 IN PHILADELPHIA PA.
DIED JULY 11, 1833 IN NEW ORLEANS
LOUISIANA.

43. Facts About Chalmette Monument And Its Caretakers, The Louisiana Society USD 1776 And 1812 (Np, Nd) p. 8.

44. Huber, Monument, p. 26.

proposal offered by Mrs. Bailey called for the Society to issue public bonds, redeemable on a yearly basis with funds derived from rental of portions of the 160 acres that surrounded the monument. While this idea originally met with great favor from the membership, it soon appeared untenable and after much discussion the Daughters decided not to follow through with it.(45)

Subsequent fund raising efforts initiated by the Daughters apparently were successful. In 1896 the Society commissioned the architectural firm of Faurot and Livaudias to prepare plans and specifications and to request bids for completion of the monument.(46) Consequently, three bids, ranging between $6,800 and $7,282 were received, prompting Livaudias to note that the funds were insufficient for the work to be done.(47) The Daughters minutes reflected that "the bids were not satisfactory" and were not accepted.(48) Once again it appeared that, despite some private donations, efforts of the Daughters to raise sufficient funds to ensure completion and perpetual care of the monument were doomed to fail.

In 1902, Mrs. John B. Richardson, who had succeeded Mrs. Bailey as Daughters president, followed up on a suggestion given her by the Honorable Robert Broussard, and prevailed upon Louisiana Legislator Clement Story to introduce a bill that would again cede the unfinished monument and surrounding grounds to the United States Government with renewed hopes that it might complete the monument and return ownership to the Society.(49) Over the next five years proponents of the effort, including Representative Adolph Meyer, labored faithfully until the last day of the congressional session in 1907, when Congress appropriated $25,000 to complete the monument.(50)

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45. Confederate Veteran, 1902, p. 535.

46. Huber, Monument, p. 28.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.; Confederate Veteran, 1902, p. 535.

50. Huber, Monument, p. 29.

The catalyst for securing final congressional approval was a report prepared in 1906 by Alfred F. Theard, a civil engineer, who at the behest of the Daughters conducted a personal inspection of the structural condition of the unfinished monument. In later recounting this event, Theard wrote:

> About three years ago, at the request of one of my personal friends and of the ladies who form the membership of the United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812, I made an investigation of the then existing conditions at the Chalmette Monument. I studied closely the conditions under which the work had been planned and partly executed, and thereafter submitted a written report covering the result of my investigation and making some suggestions as to the continuance of the work. These suggestions were submitted to and approved by these ladies. I never even suspected at the time that I was about to put myself in a peck of trouble.
>
> What I had done was done because of my sympathy with those who were striving to make this monument a fitting tribute to the memory of the heroes of 1815, and I felt honored to have been called upon to help along this good cause. But the friendship of the gentleman who had spoken to me made him look upon my work as though through a magnifying glass, and he so impressed the ladies with the importance of my suggestions that my report was used as one of the documents to solicit federal aid and to support the strong case admirably presented to Congress by their association. Within fourteen months after the first investigation, I think in March, 1907, Congress appropriated the sum of $25,000 to cover the entire cost of the improvement recommended. The victory which was won proved the influence of the distinguished ladies who had helped this cause, had gone to Washington, appeared before the committee of Congress, and, by an eloquent appeal, obtained a favorable report and finally secured this appropriation which made the work possible.(51)

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51. Alfred F. Theard, "Work on Completing Chalmette Monument," Association of Engineering Societies. XLIII (September, 1909), p. 89.

The legislation appropriating the funds also required the Secretary of War to appoint a three-member commission to oversee the selection of a suitable design to finish the monument. On completion, care of the structure and the surrounding grounds was to be entrusted to the Daughters.(52)

Shortly after passage of the legislation, Captain James F. McIndoe, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, was appointed superintendent of the project to complete the monument.(53) McIndoe immediately hired Theard as project Engineer,(54) and in early July Theard began a complete structural investigation of the unfinished monument. Theard's account of his work contains many particulars governing the early construction and completion of the monument and is quoted at length below:

> [I] commenced a thorough investigation of the actual conditions at the monument. Considering it absolutely necessary from a professional standpoint, I had, at my own expense, excavations made, and exposed the entire west side of the foundations down to the bottom. I desired to ascertain the exact condition of these foundations before attempting to increase the load then carried. Of course I felt reasonably safe, because this unfinished shaft, built within a few hundred feet from the river, had withstood the fury of the elements for over fifty years,--quite a severe test, particularly for the parts exposed to the weather. And if any signs of settlement were apparent, they were so slight that they need not be considered. . . .

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52. U.S. Congress. House. A bill to accept from the State of Louisiana a cession of territory known as the "Chalmette Monument Place," in the parish of Saint Bernard, of that State, and to provide for the completion of the monument thereon, and for other purposes. H. Report No. 4950. 59 Cong., 1 sess., June 16, 1906.

53. Fortier, Louisiana, I, 196.

54. Huber, Monument, p. 29

The design selected [in 1855] . . . , while less elaborate and expensive than the most costly, was undoubtedly, in my opinion, the most appropriate and the most beautiful. It consisted of a plain shaft, 142 ft. high, resting on five steps, each 2 ft. high, and starting about 2 ft. 6 in. above the natural surface of the ground; the shaft to be 16 ft. 8 in. square at the base, and 12 ft. 6 in. at the top; the base of the shaft on the four faces to have corniced projections surmounted with sculptured emblems; one of these to serve as an entrance to a spiral stairway leading to a chamber at the top; the stair being lighted by small openings at regular intervals; both shaft and base to be faced with marble.

The work had been partly erected and a careful examination confirmed me in the belief that what was done had been done in accordance with the specifications annexed to the original contract, and with a view of the carrying out of the work as originally contemplated. Indeed, the foundations, as specified, were to consist of a double floor of 8-in. timbers laid transversely 54 ft. square; then a thickness of 20 ft. of brick work, 53 ft. square diminished by gradual offsets of 2 ft. 6 in. each, at every 2 ft. above the natural suface, to a square of 22 ft. at a point 3 in. below the marble facing of the shaft.

I copy the original specifications for this item:

A flooring of timber is to be laid in the bottom of the excavation to start the brickwork upon. It is to be 54 ft. square, formed of two courses of sound timbers, each to be 8 in. thick, one course to be laid transversely across the other and to be fastened at every alternate crossing, both courses, with tree nails of 1½ in. diameter. The pieces of timber all to be straight, laid close together and thoroughly rammed down to a solid, even and level bearing and the joints, interstices if any, thoroughly filled with mortar in each course as it is laid. The cross timbers will be laid under the longitudinal timbers on one side and upon them on the opposite side of the foundation, so that the long timbers may all cross each other at all the four corners of the foundation. The timbers to an extent of 12 ft. square in the center of the floor are to be disconnected from the surrounding ones.

I have read this particular description because I wanted you to note the peculiar provision for any future movement or settlement by this independent platform, 12 ft. by 12 ft., in the center of the square area.

The shaft was 56 ft. 10 in. above the line at which, the top of the step would meet it; this step or base being, if completed, about 12 ft. 6 in. above the natural surface. From the natural level to this point, a mound extended around the base of the monument, with a diameter of about 185 ft. At the foot of the mound was a ditch which drained the entire plot. At the top of the shaft the very crude wooden cover (an ordinary flooring on five pieces of 4 in. by 12 in. laid crosswise) showed conclusively that neither the designer nor the Jackson Monument Association ever intended to leave the work at this point. The large mound which covered the entire base had been placed there, a few years before 1906, not to form part of the ultimate structure, but merely to serve as a protection for the uncompleted base, and no doubt accomplished its purpose.

I was pleased to find the foundations in a perfect condition. The timbers were in a remarkable state of preservation. . . .

The first two or three courses of brick had been exposed to the weather for a long time before the mound was placed over them and the mortar was either entirely removed from the joints or crumpled into a soft powder, but when these three outside courses were removed the brickwork was in a perfect condition. The marble facing of the shaft was very much soiled from its long exposure to dust and rain. The visitors to the Chalmette Monument, perhaps through a desire of becoming famous by their close, very close, association with this monument, or probably through their craving for the slow destruction of all monuments,--these visitors, numbering hundreds of thousands, were responsible for the miserable condition of the interior of this historic shaft.

Using 108 lb. per cu. ft. of masonry, and 50 lb. per cu. ft. of timber, I figured that the foundations carried a load of nearly 2000 tons, or about 1350 lb.

> to the square foot, exlusive of the wedge of dirt which formed the mound. I estimated that I would add approximately not over 200 lb. per sq. ft. to the load, and I concluded this was perfectly safe under the conditions found. The total load actually carried is 4 375000 lb. or very nearly 1500 lb. per sq. ft.(55)

Based upon Theard's 1906 report and construction documents prepared subsequently, a construction contract was awarded to Captain Milton P. Doullut, who commenced work in January, 1908.(56)

As previously indicated, a major design concession had to be made in Theard's final recommendations when compared to Richards's earlier proposal. Theard had determined that while the height of the monument could be increased, it could not be increased to the 150 foot mark originally proposed in Richards's design. Theard's revised design called for a maximum height of approximately 100 feet, the result of which caused the somewhat shortened appearance of the completed monument. This "squattiness" results from the fact that a true obelisk incorporates a height of nine-to-ten times its width at the base.(57) By this formula, the Chalmette Monument should be 126-140 feet high (nine-to-ten times its approximate 14-foot width at the base) rather than its actual 100 feet 2½ inches.

Doullut's contract called for completion of all specified work within one year. He subcontracted with Victor Huber, a monument contractor, to face the entire structure with marble. That subcontract proved no easy task to fulfill as the original marble quarry in Tuckahoe, New York, was no longer in operation. Fortunately, Tuckahoe marble had been used extensively in other building projects in the New Orleans area, and Huber was able to salvage enough to complete the work. White Georgia marble was used for building the original steps around the base and for lining the observatory. The contract also provided for the interior iron steps to be continued up to

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55. Theard, "Work of Completing Chalmette Monument," pp. 91-93.

56. Ibid; Huber, Monument, p. 31.

57. Ibid., p. 30.

the observation level which was to contain twelve bronze grilled openings with glazed sashes.(58)

Doullut completed his work on the monument near the end of 1908 when it was accepted by the War Department. Shortly thereafter a bronze tablet was installed inside the monument bearing the following inscription:

> Monument to the memory of the American soldiers who fell in the Battle of New Orleans at Chalmette, Louisiana, January 8th, 1815. Work begun in 1855 by Jackson Monument Association. Monument placed in custody of United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812 on June 14, 1894. Monument and grounds ceded unto the United States of America by the State of Louisiana on May 24, 1907.
>
> Completed in 1908 under the provisions of an Act of Congress approved March 4th, 1907.(59)

Theard was obviously pleased with the monument's completion, a feeling he later shared with his engineering colleagues when he told them:

> I will say that the work was done well, and, in my opinion, the monument, so far, is completed in a fit and appropriate way, and that it will forever be a credit, not only to those who have planned and designed it; not only to those who have generously contributed to its erection; not only to him in whose honor it was erected, the gallant and respected American, Andrew Jackson; not only to those who have lost their lives in the great battle which it commemorates; but that it will, as well, become the pride of these good ladies, who, by their indefatigable zeal, patriotism, devotion and respect for the achievements of their forefathers, succeeded in getting this great monument completed after it had been abandoned and nearly forgotten.(60)

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58. Ibid., pp. 31, 33; Louis Torres, Tuckahoe Marble: The Rise and Fall of an Industry, 1802-1930 (Harrison, New York: Harbor Hill Books, 1976), p. 38.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

Although the monument was at last completed, specific provisions to enhance the landscaping around it had not yet been made. This oversight concerned Theard, and he later suggested that, if sufficient land could be acquired, a 100 foot-wide roadway be contructed between the monument and the Chalmette National Cemetery. Should such a proposal be determined impossible, Theard further suggested that a road lined with stone walkways be built to connect the monument and the existing public road.(61)

Theard estimated that the overall construction cost for the monument was around $65,000.(62) Documented costs, not including the $5,000 for land acquisition, were as follows:

Paid to contractors to Feb. 20, 1856	$ 9,161.00
Money remaining after completion of Jackson Square statue and used for Chalmette monument	12,153.00
State appropriation of 1857	15,000.00
	36,314.00
Federal appropriation of 1907 to complete monument	25,000.00
Total Cost	$61,314.00(63)

After seventy frustrating years the Chalmette monument, at long last, was finished with appropriate celebration. The March 17, 1909 Daily Picayune gave an account of the event:

> Keys of the Chalmette Monument were presented yesterday afternoon to Mrs. Victor Meyer, President of the United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812 by Lieutenant Colonel [Lansing] Beach, United States Engineer, under whose supervision the final work of the completion of the monument by the United States

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60. Ibid.

61. Theard, "Work of Completing Chalmette Monument," pp. 98, 99.

62. Ibid., p. 93.

63. Huber, Monument, p. 34.

Government has been made. Colonel Beach made a short address in which he complimented the patriotic women on their efforts to appropriately commemorate the heroes of Chalmette and he took much pleasure in handing to them the keys of the monument of which they are now the official custodians.

The little ceremony of yesterday places the United States Daughters of 1776-1812 in charge of the monument, whose maintenance they will be responsible for under the agreement.

The following letter was received by Mrs. Meyer from Secretary Wright of the War Department:

War Department
Washington, March 15, 1909.

Madam: The act of Congress providing for the completion of the monument to the memory of the American soldiers who fell in the battle of New Orleans in the War of 1812 contains the following provision:

"That when said monument is completed the responsibility for maintaining the same and keeping the grounds surrounding it shall remain with the United States Daughters of 1776 and 1812, free of any expense or responsibility on the part of the Government of the United States."

Pursuant to the foregoing, I have the honor to inform you that the monument is now completed and hereby committed to the charge and keeping of the organization.

An acknowledgement of the receipt thereof is requested. Very respectfully.

LUKE E. WRIGHT
Secretary of War.

Theard's concerns over the landscaping around the memorial went unheeded for some time. Completion of the monument, however, did not silence critics on this issue as witnessed by the following exchanges that appeared in the local press as late as 1911.(64)

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64. New Orleans Item-Tribune, March 2, 1911.

"What is that, a lighthouse?" the tourist asked, gazing up at the imposing shaft erected by some one to mark the spot whereon Andrew Jackson won his victory over the British in 1815.

"I don't know." replied one who stood near. "Here on the door we see U.S. raised in a brass tablet. As I came up the walk from the levee I noticed several signs which ordered 'no trespass.'"

"I'll take a shot at it anyway," said the man with the kodak. "Perhaps someone in New Orleans can tell me what it is."

Whoever makes his way afoot from the terminus of the Levee and Barracks car line at the plant of the American Sugar Refinery to the Chalmette field and monument does so at the cost of much walking and inconvenience.

First he sees a sign which says in effect: "This road is private property." Persons using it will be prosecuted, Forsaking the road he mounts the levee. He stumbles over half a dozen iron pipes, climbs several bridges and if he is lucky reaches the open levee after hardships.

Thinking he has won his freedom he proceeds down the levee until he comes to the Frisco terminals. The terminals consist of a "slip" [present Chalmette slip] which, it is said, will hold seven ships. The slip cuts across the levee. The problem is, how to get on the other side.

With difficulty the pedestrian has to make his way around the slip in order to reach his objective point on the lower side. He is compelled to walk on the top of massive concrete walls, about two and a half feet in width, making a circular detour, which brings him the distance of several squares out of the way before he strikes the river front again.

The shaft referred to is none other than the Chalmette monument, which was erected in the forties [sic] to mark the place where the great battle in which Jackson conquerred [sic] the British was fought. The shaft was originally erected by private

subscriptions on land owned by the state of Louisiana. A number of years ago the control of the monument passed into the hands of the Daughters of 1776-1812. . . .

The best access from New Orleans to the Chalmette monument by vehicle at the present time is the rear shell road, which one must take and travel down as far as Fazendeville Lane. Chance proceed in the direction of the river, leaving only, a short run up to the monument. This round-about way for autos or other vehicles was caused by the changing of the public highway several years ago from the front to the rear, owing to the construction of the Chalmette slip. The front public road is closed to traffic, under a St. Bernard police jury ordinance, from Friscoville avenue to a short distance below Port Chalmette, where the rear shell road again joins the public road along the river front. Pedestrians afoot are not molested in using the closed road, but they have many obstructions to contend with before reaching the monument.

New Orleans, Feb. 18, 1911.

Editor Picayune: The writer has long been impressed by the vast importance of the battle fought just ninety-six years ago on the field at Chalmette in defense not only of New Orleans, but of the entire country. Had the American army suffered defeat the city would have shared the fate of Badajos and Roderigo, and the barbarous scenes that accompanied the capture and sack of those cities, with the massacre of their garrisons, would inevitably have been re-enacted by the same men upon this fair shore, and it is more than likely that notwithstanding the recently enacted treaty, the British programme would have been carried out, comprehending as it did the reduction by their three fleets of all our coast cities, and the loosing of the Indian tribes upon the inhabitants of the interior. The immediate results of the enemy's defeat was the utter demoralization of the "Wellington Heroes," who had never before known defeat, the withdrawal of fleets and armies and the beginning of the withdrawal of all garrisons from the gulf to the Canadas, while England for the first time recognized the fact that the colonies had passed from her grasp forever and a new nation had been born into the world. Besides these facts, the battle itself

was one of the deadliest and briefest recorded by history, with the fewest casualties upon the side of the victors.

These consideration[s] should serve to make the place notable to every particular, and it was with the expectation of finding a full record of the significant facts borne upon the monument and upon the surface of the place that the writer recently visited the place of combat. Instead of a broad, level and well-kept road leading direct to the monument, he found that after he left the street railway he had yet two miles to walk over a very indifferent road. Further on he found an immense sugar mill thrusting itself close across the way and prohibiting trespass under pains and penalties beyond a slip, or bay, leading inland from the river, designed no doubt for the convenience of trading and unloading boats, but compelling two tired pedestrians to walk an extra half mile to get around it and climb up and down several steep stairways to surmount certain buildings of the company. Arrived at the grounds, the pilgrim is confronted by sign-boards warning him not to trespass at his peril; but leaving him in doubt as what may be regarded as trespass. Once at the foot of the monument one finds it shapely, well constructed and of good material, but otherwise the most profoundly ignorant monument one has ever encountered. It knows nothing of the tremendous tragedy enacted under its shadow; it gives no excuse for its being. If the exterior remains anything it is only to him who has the key in the iron door that churlishly keeps out the inquirer not so provided. It is said that the monument stands on the spot where was planted our flag on the red day in history. But where was the battle line? Is yon shallow ditch all that remains of the famous Rodriguez Canal, or did it follow the line framed by those willows? Where stood the redoubt that was carried and held by the daring enemy for a brief period? Where was placed batteries No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3. Ah! one dimly remembers that No. 3 was manned by the red-shirted Baratarians who fought like their father, the devil, on that tremendous day. One also remembers that away to the left, placed partly to the swamp to prevent the enemy from turning our flank, was Coffey's [sic] hardy Tennesseans, standing in mud and water, but regarding it not, intent only upon doing their part in

the action. One remembers, too, that over yonder the gallant Pakenhem, who tried to stop the barbarities of his men at Roderigo, fell mortally wounded, was carried to the rear and died not long afterwards, etc. But these are dim memories of the written record. Why does not this tall, voiceless statue, with its four faces for inscriptions, telling the story afresh upon the very spot where it was dramatized? Why are there no markers to show where the different bodies of riflemen and batterymen stood that day? Why do not the nearby barracks furnish daily guards to prevent defacement (some worthless ass has written his name at large on one of the facets) and to prevent trespass, assist the pilgrim and incidentally imbibe some of the aspirations of the place? Why is there not a good, broad road leading straight to the ground where the battle was fought, and where may stand the monument inscribed on all its sides with story that cannot be better taught than here. Is it the state or city government that is at fault? Respectively,

JOHN H. TAYLOR
Crawfordsville, Ind.

And in response the Daughters wrote:(65)

It was with unbounded astonishment and intense annoyance that the U.S.D.'s 1776 and 1812 read the article of the Chalmette Monument contained in the Item of the 2d instant, an article unequalled for misstatements of facts, gross inaccuracies and lack of justice to those who deserve so well of Louisianians by having removed what the Item itself styles a standing reproach to the community, and which Gov. Foster, at the time, called "The disgrace of Louisiana."

The ladies who composed the society of the U.S.D. 1776 and 1812, in 1893 had their attention called to the desolate condition of the monument, commenced by private subscriptions, on land bought by the State for the purpose, by an indignant letter

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65. New Orleans Times-Democrat, ca. March 10, 1911. Vertical File, Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library.

from the Rev. Mr. Mallard. The first president, of her own initiative, wended her way to the neglected spot and found, after hunting some time, a stout "pieux" fence, intended to keep out sentimental pilgrims, and keep in the droves of cattle that luxuriated in the rail grass.

A four-foot lane, hedged on either side by the "pieux" fence, was churned and trampled by the droves of cattle that daily found their way to pastures beyond. A thousand feet of this "via" dolorosa was by the help of the interstices of the "pieux" fence, at last ended, when to the left stood, in all its ignominy, the unfinished and abandoned "Chalmette Monument."

How depict the ruin of this splendidly planned shaft, destined by the progenitors to speak of the valor of the American troops, and which then was only eloquent of the sordid greed of those into whose hands it had fallen!

Roused by this terrible-condition, the first president laid the matter before her associates, with the result that the society petitioned the Governor and Legislature to put in their keeping the sad spot.

In order that this could be legally done, on April 17, 1894, the society was incorporated, and began its labor of love, the restoration of the monument.

Senator Estopinal, then dean of the State Senate, became the active sponsor for the society, and finally on June 16, notified the president that, by Act No. 6, the society had been put in possession.

The society has never appealed to the general public for funds, and has done all its work with rents from the pasturelands, donations from interested outsiders, among them D. H. Holmes and Mr. McLelland, and finally, by an appropriation of $1000, obtained by the first president from the Legislature, this sum being the first State funds ever intrusted to women. . . .

Finally, Mrs. John H. Richardson, Mrs. Bailey's successor as president, . . . at the suggestion of Hon. Robert Broussard, induced Mr. Clem Story, in 1902, to introduce a bill ceding to the United States the monument and grounds, with the hope that eventually Congress might appropriate an amount sufficient to complete it.

Gen. Adolph Meyer and Senator Foster labored faithfully to that end, but without results, until the last day of the session of 1907, when Senator Foster succeeded in having the bill passed in the Senate, and at the eleventh hour Gen. Meyer rushed it through the House, the opposition to it having at the last moment, being withdrawn, this undoubtedly being due to the appearance of Mrs. W. O. Hart before the Libraries Committee. Gen. Meyer having succeeded in calling this committee in special session, in order to hear Mrs. Hart.

It would be useless to enter into the details of the work done, from the turning over of the first spadeful of earth by Mrs. Hart, president to the surrendering of the key of the completed shaft to Mrs. Victor Meyer, Mrs. Hart's successor to the presidency, by Col. Lansing H. Beach, the representative of the United States.

Now to the Item's other criticisms. The Society of the U.S.D.'s 1776 and 1812 cannot undertake to instruct all the ignoramuses who may find their way to the monument if they cannot decipher the inscription wrought over the iron gateway, leading into the grounds, "Chalmette Monument," nor supplement their historical knowledge, if those words convey no meaning.

The U. S. on the bronze doors of the monument are the sign manual of the United States, the only inscription allowed on the doors of all national monuments.

The warning to vehicles is put there for the especial purpose of preventing reckless drivers from plowing up the lawns and destroying the schillinger walks put down at much expense, by the society and not by the United States.

If those who complain that the doors are kept locked could appreciate the vandalism of the "visitors," the least of which was the breaking of the glass in the bronze doors, they surely would consider it a very little effort if their purpose was legitimate to ask and return the key to the portress.

As to the obstructed road leading to Chalmette, the society fails to see how it can be held responsible for the Frisco slips, or the St. Bernard police jury who gave the Frisco the power of obliterating the levee road and substituting the road at the back, and the society would thankfully hail a restoration of the old order of things.

Until then we hope that this short and, we trust satisfactory, expose of the position of the U.S.D.'s 1776 and 1812, will be considered in ample reply to the Item.

The nature and extent of any improvements in access to the monument, and the landscaping around it that might have been made as a result of these and similar laments is not fully known. Evidently, some improvements were made under the Daughters and others prepared to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, and to formally dedicate the monument six years after its completion. On January 9, 1915, The New Orleans Morning Star gave a vivid account of the previous day's grand celebration, attended by descendants of battle participants, representatives of the United States and British governments, and several thousand spectators:

Down on the historic Plains of Chalmette, on the very spot where the great Battle of New Orleans was fought one hundred years ago, there was unveiled on this Friday, January 8, the splendid monument that commemorates the events and which will tell to ages yet unborn how the "raw," but brave and patriotic American troops defeated the trained men, who had conquered Napoleon, and how with this victory, they laid the foundation for that century of peace which this Century celebration so forcefully emphasizes.

The dedication of the monument, whose erection commenced by the State of Louisiana over a half century ago, was [observed] through the earnest efforts of a patriotic organization of women, the

daughters of 1776-1812, who formed the special event of the first day's program. It was one of the most impressive ceremonies ever witnessed by this city, and stirred with patriotic ardor the hearts of the thousands who witnessed it.

The day began with the firing of a salute of twenty-one guns from the head of Canal street at 8:20 o'clock Friday morning--the very hour when the last cannon shot was sent across the American ramparts in pursuit of the retreating British one hundred years ago. Immediately, after the reception of distinguished guests in the Mayor's parlors the special river steamers bearing the official guests of honor, members of the Louisiana Historical Society and the Daughters of 1776-1812 moved off the head of Canal street for the Battlefield of Chalmette. The steamer Hanover carried the official guests and the steamer Samson, the patriotic order of 1776-1812, composed only of lineal descendants of the heroes of the battles of 1776-1812.

A crowd, estimated at more than 14,000 persons, massed on the Chalmette field to witness the events. Every transportation medium--boat, train and street car--was taxed to the utmost capacity by the crowd, and there were hundreds left behind.

The Seventh Infantry's "Escort to the Colors" proved one of the most interesting events of the elaborate program at the battlefield.

January 8, 1815, following the retreat of the British, the "Fighting Seventh," which played a big part in the battle, went through the "Escort to the Colors" on the Chalmette field. Every year since this regiment has observed the ceremony on the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. The repetition of the beautiful service on the centennial of the battle, on the very spot where the Seventh Infantry won its greatest military honors, thrilled every man who took part or merely looked on.

The speakers and invited guests occupied a stand directly in front of the monument. School children of St. Bernard and New Orleans stood on the steps of the monument. To the left, in another stand, was the orchestra and the leaders of the

school children's chorus. Patriotic airs were played or sung between each number of the program.

A thousand rifles flashed in the sunlight and came to position at port arms; a vast sea of humanity moved by one impulse uncovered heads in reverent homage; from a thousand youthful throats swelled the strains of "America." Three gunshots gave the signal, and the Stars and Stripes moved gracefully up the halyard to the summit of the stone obelisk that commemorates Andrew Jackson's victory over the British one hundred years ago.

The Chalmette Monument to this glorious achievement of American arms at last had been dedicated. A moment later, in token of recognition of the century of peace between English-speaking peoples, the British flag was raised on the monument.

The ceremonies began with the solemn invocation by the Rev. Geo. H. Cornelson, Jr.

Hon. Luther Hall, Governor of Louisiana, greeted the visitors in the name of the State in the following felicitous manner:

"This day, one hundred years ago, was fought the last battle between the United States of America and Great Britain. We are assembled on that battlefield, hallowed by the heroic blood of the brave men who fell in the memorable conflict, not to speak of the glories of war, but to commemorate the one hundred years of peace that has reigned uninterruptedly between these great nations. We are here to rejoice that a century has passed in peace between them and that the ties of friendship are growing stronger as time rolls on.

"It is not for me to dwell on the story, but to give salutation to all on this occasion. I extend to you, in the name of the State of Louisiana, most cordial greeting."

At the conclusion of his remarks the Governor introduced Hon. T.P. Thompson as the master of ceremonies.

Mr. Thompson, in turn, presented Mrs. M.H. Stem, of the United Daughters of 1776 and 1812, who delivered an address of welcome. She represented the descendants of the men who heard the last shot fired in anger between the English speaking nations.

Responding in the name of the President of the United States, Andrew J. Peters, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, gave expression to the official attitude of the country with regard to the celebration of the peace centenary. The Government of the United States, he told the English and Canadian delegates, joins with Louisiana in glorifying a century of uninterrupted peace. In the name of President [Woodrow] Wilson he expressed the wish that the peace with our English cousins may never be broken.

King George's special ambassador, Hon. H.T. Carew-Hunt, British Consul General at New Orelans, responded for his sovereign.

Medals in replica of the gold medals struck off by Congress in 1815 in recognition of the Treaty of Ghent, were presented by Gaspar Cusachs, president of the Louisiana Historical Society, to Mr. Peters and Mr. Carew-Hunt as the official representative of President and King.

After the medals were presented, the representatives of the heads of the two nations clasped hands, while the orchestra played "Hands Across the Seas."

J. Allison Swanson read a centennial poem by Rexford J. Lincoln, poet-laureate of the Louisiana Historical Society.

Judge Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Ky, the orator of the day, next introduced, had for his subject "Andrew Jackson." Mr. Wilson made a deep impression.

Hon. William C. Dufour told the story of the part played by native-Louisianans in the Battle of New Orleans.

Mrs. William Gerry Slade, of New York, president general of the Daughters of 1812, spoke briefly upon the order.

An evergreen wreath was placed on Jackson's tomb [?] by the Ladies' Hermitage Association of Nashville, Tenn., represented by Miss Louise G. Lindsley and Mrs. C. Durris, past regents. A memorial urn, donated by Mrs. Martha Spotts Blakeman, was presented by Miss Ethelyn Richardson. The commemorative tablet to be placed on the monument by the Louisiana Historical Association was read by Mrs. Helen Pitkin Schertz.

The unveiling of the Chalmette Monument was the culminating ceremony of the afternoon.

Five daughters of soldiers who took part in the battle conducted the ceremony--Mrs. Virginia R. Fowler, Mrs. Elizabeth Reden Hackney, Mrs. Lelia Montan Harper, Mrs. Alexander Keene Richards and Mrs. Felicie Gayosa Tennent.

With the Seventh Regiment drawn up at "port arms," the school children and the orchestra rendering "America," and all heads reverently uncovered, the American flag of 1815 was hoisted to the top of the monument. A moment later the British flag of 1815 likewise was raised in token of the century of peace since the battle. The incident was an inspiring one.

Benediction by Rabbi Max Heller concluded the exercises from the platform, the program then being turned over to the Seventh [Infantry] Regiment, United States Army.

Drawn up in company front position beside the monument, more than 700 strong with the regimental band playing, the Seventh Regiment went through the beautiful ceremony of "Escort to the Colors." The band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," while the Stars and Stripes and the regimental flag were paraded before the men, the company commanders being massed beside Major H. E. Ely, regimental commander.

At the close of the escort, the adjutant of the regiment Read [sic] to the men that part of the regimental history pertaining to the Battle of New Orleans. Major Ely then addressed the men personally.

Each year the ceremony is carried through by the regiment on the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, but this year, being the centenary of the battle, and the scene the battlefield, the event was an extraordinary one for the regiment.

As the regiment was standing on the ground where it won its greatest glory, Major Ely opened his remarks with a description of the battlefield and pointed out the spot where the Seventh was stationed exactly one hundred years before.

"Our annual celebration of the Battle of New Orleans is not only for its commemoration, but to draw the attention of you members of the Fighting Seventh to the creditable performance in the past," said Major Ely, with a view to instilling into your minds that sense of duty, honor and courage the regiment expects of every man. "Your commander expects that when you are called upon in the future you will strive to cause these glorious incidents in the history of the Seventh to be equaled or even excelled."

The firing of a salute of one hundred guns, one for each year of the century, concluded the program.(66)

Unfortunately, however, the grand feeling of accomplishment that must have fallen over the Daughters on that day in 1915, did not last as long as they and their supporters no doubt expected that it would. Because nearly fifteen years later, in November, 1929, the Daughters reluctantly informed the Secretary of War that they could no longer afford to maintain the site.(67) Whether that decision reflected the economic state of the times or just the instability of the Daughters organization remains unclear. In any event, on December 12, 1929, Congressman James O'Connor introduced a bill calling for the establishment of the monument as a National Park under the jurisdiction of the War Department.(68)

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66. New Orleans Morning Star, January 16, 1915.

67. Huber, Monument, p. 35.

68. Ibid., p. 36.

O'Connor's efforts proved successful and on June 2, 1930, Congress approved the following amendment to the Act of 1907:

> To provide that hereafter the responsibility for maintaining the monument and keeping the grounds surrounding it shall rest with the government of the United States; and there is hereby authorized to be appropriated from time to time, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary for such expenses.(69)

Thus, once again, as had so often occurred during the turbulent history of the monument, a celebration took place on the battleground to mark the momentous event. Tradition required the press to be present, and it responded with the following account of the proceedings:

> The care and upkeep of Chalmette Monument has been transferred to the United States War Department.
>
> Maintenance of the obelisk that stands on the site where American troops under Major-General Andrew Jackson withstood the attack of a superior force of picked British regulars under the leadership of General Edwin [sic] Pakenham, who was killed in the fight, is transferred to the government by an act signed June 4 by the president.
>
> With fitting ceremonies at the base of the monument that rises to a height of 152 feet [sic], the United Daughters of 1776 and of 1812, who have had the custody of the war memorial for 36 years, receiving it in 1894 as an unfinished attempt to mark one of Louisiana's most historic spots, will transfer their right of custody to the United States government.

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69. Natural Military Park, National Park, Battlefield Site and National Monument Regulations. (Washington: Office of the Quartermaster General, 1931), p. 70.

And the ceremony will mark the final step in a long struggle to erect and care for a "monument to the memory of the American soldiers who fell in the battle of New Orleans at Chalmette, La., January 8, 1815."

The United States government now has the upkeep of Chalmette Monument and Chalmette National Cemetery, where two soldiers of the War of 1812 sleep their last sleep, and where 13,392 veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic are buried.

The monument and the two graves are fit reminders of the heroic defense of "Old Hickory," the brilliance of the American campaign being told in the list of casualties, British, 2137; American, 71.

Today the monument stands several hundred yards beyond the Orleans parish line, in St. Bernard parish, a fitting reminder of the valor of "Old Hickory" and his men.

A shell road leads from the highway to the 142-foot shaft, rising from a 10-foot base that is covered with marble ashlar. The white road circles the structure. Speading oaks strung with Spanish moss, flank its sides. The walls are broken with 12 grilled bronzed openings that from the ground look like slits.

Entrance is gained through a large bronze door. A spiral stairway leads to the observatory at the top of the structure. It is lined with panels of Georgia marble. On the tower wall is a plaque dedicating the memorial to the soldiers who fell at the Battle of New Orleans.

A peace broken only by the song of birds, and the whistle of a steamboat going down the Mississippi river, which is about 300 yards away, has followed the din of battle of 115 years ago. The heavy sweet scent of magnolia blossoms is wafted where the acrid odor of powder smoke once filled the air. But the memory of the smoke and the din will live with Chalmette monument.(70)

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70. Times-Picayune, June 15, 1930.

Three months later, on September 16, Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley officially accepted custody of the monument from Mrs. Mary P. Tennent, Daughters president, and for the third time in its history custody of the Chalmette Monument was transferred to the government of the United States.(71) This time, however, unlike the transactions of 1885 and 1907, the agreement stipulated no reverter clause.

In June, 1931, the federal government awarded a contract in excess of $10,000 for improvement of the grounds around the monument.(72) On August 10, 1939, the Chalmette Monument was formally designated a National Historical Park and was subsequently tranferred to the jurisdiction of the National Park Service.(73) Forty years later, with the establishment of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, Chalmette National Historical Park was incorporated as a unit of the larger entity for administrative and management purposes.

Throughout its history the monument on the battlefield sparked a resurging local and regional interest in the patriotic aspects of Jackson's victory. For many years the Seventh U.S. Infantry sponsored festivities at the site. The anniversary of the battle was observed as a legal holiday in Louisiana.(74) The annual onsite observances varied over the years, often depending on weather conditions each January. Yet each was significant for instilling in the celebrants the meaning of Jackson's success and for contributing to feelings of regional and national pride. The January 18, 1891 edition of The Daily Picayune carried the following account of the seventy-sixth anniversary celebration:

> On its recent anniversary bent and grizzled veterans in the garb of citizens, and youthful soldiers, yet untried, all the gaudy trappings of the parades of peace, marched through a drenching rain to do honor

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71. Times-Picayune, September 17, 1930.

72. Times-Picayune, June 5, 1931.

73. Huber, Monument, p. 36.

74. Item-Tribune, January 8, 1933, p. 12.

to the day. For a week before sunshine brightened the paths and avenues of the battlefield, and many pilgrimages were made to the shrine where the lads of Louisiana and the "hunters of Kentucky" withstood the charge of a gallant army.(75)

The most celebrated anniversary observance occurred in its centennial year when both President Woodrow Wilson and Admiral George Dewey were invited to attend events which included a three-day schedule and a reenactment of the battle. Wilson was unable to attend and sent assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew J. Peters to represent him.(76) The following schedule of events suggests how grandiose the annual celebrations had become by 1933:

> The formal celebration of the victory will begin at 11 a.m. Sunday in Jackson square, the square through which General Jackson made his triumphal march. The ceremonies are under the auspices of the Chalmette chapter, Louisiana United States Daughters of 1812, of which Mrs. Howard H. Bull is president. Wreaths will be placed on General Jackson's monument in the square and a salute will be fired by the 156th infantry. Brigadier General Allison Owen will be master of ceremonies and Chief Justice Charles A. O'Neill will be the principal speaker. The police band will provide music. A reception will follow in the chapter's rooms, 619 St. Peter street.
>
> An important speaker at the ceremonies will be Major-General Lytle Brown. The Rev. Nicholas Richtor, rector of the Mount Olivet Episcopal church, Algiers, will also speak. The invocation will also be given by the Very Rev. L. F. W. Lefvbre of St. Louis Cathedral. Mrs. H. H. Bull, president of the Chalmette chapter, Daughters of 1812, will preside.
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> At 2 p. m. Sunday Orleanians will gather on Chalmette field in St. Bernard, the scene of the famous battle, for the celebration sponsored by the New Orleans chapter of the Reserve Officers' association of the United States. During the

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75. Picayune's Guide to New Orleans, n.p.

76. Battle of New Orleans Scrapbook, pp. 101, 119.

ceremonies rose petals will be dropped on the battlefield from an American Airways airplane chartered by the Daughters of 1812.

The ceremonies will open with a parade of the various divisons of the Untied States Marines, the Army service and Reserve corps, veterans' organizations and their auxiliaries from the St. Bernard highway entrance to the field to Chalmette monument where the speakers' program will take place. The national salute will be fired from the levee in front of the monument by a battery of the 141st Field Artillery, Louisiana National Guard.

Charles F. Buck, Jr. will be the principal speaker. Others on the speakers' program are Colonel Pierce T. Murphy, Auxiliary, U. S. A. chairman of the celebration; the Rev. Albert J. Biever, S. J. pastor of the Church of the Holy Name of Jesus, who will give the invocation; Rabbi Louis Binstock of Temple Sinai., who will give the benediction, and Captain Charles L. Nourse, chaplain of the Reserve officers, who will lead a prayer in memoriam to the dead of both armies. A feature of the ceremonies will be the presentation at 3 p. m. of a replica of the flag of the original 13 colonies to the Chalmette chapter, Daughters of 1812, by the Reserve officers in recognition of the women's work.

A chorus of 200 children of the St. Bernard public schools will sing patriotic songs accompanied by the New Orleans Public Service, Inc. band. Field music will be furnished by the Veterans of Foreign Wars' drum and bugle corps. A detachment of Marines will fire a rifle salute and a Marine bugler will sound "taps" to close the ceremonies.

For the ceremonies at Chalmette the St. Claude bus will extend its services to the monument and a detail of 14 highway officers will attend the automobile traffic. Ample parking space will be provided.

The victory will be celebrated at 7 p. m. Sunday at a meeting of the Ladies' auxiliary to Deutsches Haus at the clubhouse, Cleveland avenue and Galvez street. Mrs. Idabel Giefers will deliver an address on the battle and patriotic music will be rendered by

Mrs. F. G. Waile, Miss Claire Presas and Miss Almeta Watermeir.

The Louisiana Historical society [sic] will hold its annual banquet commemorating the battle at 8 p.m. Sunday at La Louisiane restaurant. State and city officials, members of the consular corps and other notables will attend, according to E. A. Parsons, president. J. B. Donnes is in charge of reservations.

The part the Negro soldiers played in General Jackson's victory will be commemorated by New Orleans Negroes Sunday. The Negroes will place wreaths on Jackson's monument at 8 a. m. and at 8 p. m. exercises will be held at the Craig public school, St. Philip and North Villere streets. George Doyle, chairman of the celebration, is a descendant of Captain Charles Fouoret, who was commissioned by Governor Claiborne and who commanded a company of "free men of color" under Jackson. There will be a number of speakers.(77)

Similar celebrations apparently continued through the 124th anniversary in 1939.(78) Thereafter the yearly observances declined, perhaps because the National Park Service had assumed control of the monument. On January 8, 1965, a celebration was held at the monument to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the Battle of New Orleans.(79)

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77. Item-Tribune, January 8, 1933.

78. Battle of New Orleans Scrapbook, pp. 91, 92

79. Battle of New Orleans Sesquicentennial Celebration, 1815-1965.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NATIONAL CEMETERY

For more than a century the Chalmette National Cemetery has stood along the Mississippi River on land that today comprises part of the Chalmette Unit of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park. The cemetery contains the dead of several conflicts, including the War of 1812 and the Civil War. Like other features in the park unit, it has changed significantly through the years, impacted by increased urbanization of the country around New Orleans and by efforts to control the Mississippi. Nonetheless, the cemetery remains an integral part of the history of the region and, as such, affords a rich interpretive experience for area visitors.

Chalmette National Cemetery land ownership can be traced back to the 1830s plantation holdings of Louis St. Amand.(1) The acreage contained slave cabins and possibly a sugar house.(2) Upon the death of St. Amand, the land was divided among a number of individuals, and by 1859, the holdings were consolidated in those of J.G. Bienvenue when these lots were purchased by Charles Rixner. On November 11, 1861, ownership of these lots was transferred to the city of New Orleans for a purchase price of $11,520.00.(3) In May, 1864, the City of New Orleans ceded approximately thirteen and one-half acres to the U.S. Government for use as a cemetery.(4) The ground was clear, low and flat, and was protected from inundation by a levee on the Mississippi. During the Civil War the area served as a bivouac ground for

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1. C. Pollock, February 18, 1833. New Orleans Notarial Archives (NONA), New Orleans, Louisiana.

2. D'Hemecourt's 1837 plan of St. Amand Plantation. NONA.

3. C.E. Fortier, November 11, 1861. NONA.

4. Captain Charles Barnard to Colonel Charles H. Tompkins, April 28, 1868. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 692; and, Second Lieutenant Isaac O. Shelby to Quartermaster General, May 27, 1876. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette Folio 109, vol. 12.

Confederate and Union troops and later was used as a refugee camp for slaves freed by the advancing Union forces.(5) During this period it became a burial ground for former slaves, black hospital patients, and Union and Confederate troops.(6)

Upon acquisition of the property in 1864, Captain Nathaniel S. Constable commenced work on landscaping the grounds. This included leveling part of the Confederate fortifications, demolishing buildings on the land, and laying out the cemetery. Initial burials in the cemetery composed the dead from local hospitals up until 1866. During 1867 and 1868 some 7,000 interments were made from cemeteries at Cypress Grove No. 2, Camp Parapet, Algiers, and Metairie Ridge, Louisiana, as well as from Ship Island, Mississippi.(7) By 1867 the cemetery was divided into 107 squares; it had a well-drained central avenue and cross drains located between the squares. Rosebushes were planted to border the squares. The central avenue was surfaced with shells, but the crosswalks dividing these squares were not dressed in any way. The drains diverted water into swamps northeast of the site. The cemetery formed a rectangle 250 feet wide by 2375 feet long with its south end fronting the river. A 6- to 8-foot-high picket fence enclosed an older portion of eight acres, while a more recent acquisition of five acres next to the river was not enclosed.(8) The grounds were described as "beautifully laid out" and appropriately situated.

> The associations and memories connected with this spot render it the most fitting location that could have been selected in the vicinity of New Orleans for a national cemetery; the ashes of our gallant dead, who fell in the late rebellion, mingling with those of the brave defenders of 1815; the same ground thus becoming the receptacle of the dust of two generations of heroes.(9)

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5. Barnard to Tompkins, April 28, 1868. NA, RG 92.

6. Shelby to Quartermaster General, May 27, 1876. NA, RG 92.

7. Report of the Secretary of War, 1868 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 955.

8. Barnard to Tompkins, April 28, 1868. NA, RG 92.

9. Report of the Secretary of War, 1868, p. 955-56.

Captain Charles W. Folsom in an 1867 inspection of the cemetery recommended that more shrubs and trees be obtained, a flagstaff be erected, and that the internment of civilians on the cemetery ground cease. He discovered that among the 12,500 interments were a number of civilian burials and he feared that Chalmette National Cemetery would become a pauper's graveyard.(10) Captain Charles Barnard, in charge of operations at Chalmette, sought to implement Folsom's recommendations. As part of these efforts, Christopher J. Larigan, in charge of landscaping at Chalmette, requested permission to purchase the following trees and shrubs:

12	Tallow Trees	2	Pittosporum
12	Viburuum	2	Spiraea
1	Magnolia fuscata	2	Magnolia purpusa
2	Olea fragrant	2	Laurus mundi
2	Deodara (in pots)	24	Assorted Roses (in pots)

2 Hibiscus (1 single-1 double).(11)

Larigan hoped that this purchase would "relieve the barren and monotonous appearance of the ground."(12) Shell was obtained to complete the surfacing of the walkways, and a building in front of the cemetery was torn down. The practice of permitting civilian burials terminated after May, 1867.(13) Also during the year, brick-lined drains were constructed on each side of the main shell road. Heavy rains had collapsed the sides of the original drains, necessitating the change.(14)

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10. "Report of an Inspection Made of Cemeterial Operations at New Orleans, Louisiana," May 17, 1867. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 281.

11. Larigan to Barnard, May 21, 1867. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette. File 977/1867.

12. Ibid.

13. Barnard to Major Charles G. Sawtelle, June 15, 1867. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File B1264.

14. Larigan to Barnard, July 23, 1867. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, File A569.

The city of New Orleans formally donated the cemetery land to the United States on May 26, 1868.(15) That same year Captain Barnard summarized the appearance and condition of the cemetery thusly:

> [It is] laid out in the shape of a rectangle, or right angles parallelogram, having a frontage of 250 feet on the Mississippi River, and is 2.317 feet in depth. An avenue 16 feet wide and 2.317 feet long, with six (6) circles forty (40) feet in diameter at regular intervals, divides the Cemetery into two equal parts. This avenue is shelled and is perfectly smooth and hard; a neat brick drain running the entire length of the Cemetery has been built on each side. The ground is laid out in squares and walks, the latter are four (4) feet wide and are shelled; the squares are each 54½ by 48 feet and are made to contain 96 graves. In the centre of the Cemetery and within the third circle from the entrance a terraced mound has been raised and a handsome flag staff erected. The graves are all marked with suitable headboards properly numbered. Young Cedar, Arbor vitae, and Magnolia trees have been planted on each side the main avenue for half its length; a weeping willow will be placed on each side the entrance. Considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining a sufficient supply of trees and shrubs, but it is hoped that enough can be procured to form a continuous row on each side the avenue for the entire length, if this can be accomplished it will present a beautiful vista. If practicable the whole Cemetery will be surrounded with trees, a space of six (6) feet having been set off between the outermost row of graves and the line of the fence, for that purpose.
>
> At the Entrance of the Cemetery a plot of ground has been set apart as a flower garden it is handsomely laid out in walks and beds and planted with ornamental trees, shrubs, and flowers of choice

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15. United States Military Reservations, National Cemeteries and Military Parks (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 133.

> variety, which blossom luxuriantly and present a most beautiful and pleasing appearance. At the second Circle of the main avenue another flower garden of similar design and equal beauty extends across the entire width of the grounds; rose trees are also planted at intervals on each side of the main avenue for a portion of the distance.(16)

As of 1868 the cemetery contained the remains of 11,309 United States soldiers; meantime, the bodies of nearly 7,000 civilians were exhumed and reinterred in the Freedmens' cemetery adjoining the site.(17) Also, construction began on a new "receiving tomb" for the bodies of officers awaiting transportation to northern cities. Plans got underway to build a permanent lodge for the superintendent because the temporary one was in poor condition.(18) In addition, a flagstaff had been erected and two thirds of the graves had received wooden headboards painted with black lettering. The remaining graves were marked only by numbered wooden stakes.(19) Also in 1868 the Ladies Benevolent Association of New Orleans received permission to have the remains of all Confederate soldiers removed from the cemetery.(20)

Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas completed an inspection tour of Chalmette National Cemetery on December 12, 1868, and reported the following details:

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16. Barnard to Tompkins, April 28, 1868. NA, RG 92.

17. Ibid. By 1873 the number of interments had increased to 11,938 (6,658 known remains and 5,280 unknown). Report of the Secretary of War, 1873 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), p. 201.

18. Report of the Secretary of War 1870 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 956.

19. Barnard to Tompkins, May 18, 1868. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries.

20. Lieutenant Colonel James A. Ekin to Major General John M. Schofield, December 7, 1868. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, File B994.

> Sufficient space has been reserved in the rear of the [cemetery] ground for future interments from the garrison of New Orleans. A permanent lodge of brick has been erected near the front gate, and a place secured for ornamentation. The old fences around three sides of the ground have been replaced by a strong paling fence, and a neat iron railing with gate, on the front line, was in course of construction. In the spaces on the front within the gate are mounds on which small cannon are mounted, and balls arranged around them giving a very pleasing effect. One-third of the walks are covered with shells; shells for the remainder can readily be obtained, and I judge at no great cost. The graves are all sodded. . . . At first the drainage was indifferent, but by leveling the old line of fortification, and using the earth, the ground in the rear has been raised considerably, and the water is drained off to the east in the swamp. In ordinary stages of water in the Mississippi River, the graves are perfectly dry. The grounds are greatly beautified with an abundance of flowers and shrubbery.(21)

The brick lodge noted by Thomas was likely built to replace an old frame structure near that location. On February 1, 1869, the Deputy Quartermaster General notified Lieutenant Colonel Charles H. Tompkins that "the old building recently occupied by the Super of the National Cemetery at Chalmette" would be sold at public auction. And in April "the old frame building in front of the National Cemetery" was turned over to one Abraham Boster for the sum of sixty dollars.(22)

Another inspection of the cemetery in February, 1871, revealed its deteriorating condition along with several changes:

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21. U.S. Congress. Senate. Report of the Inspector of National Cemeteries. Ex. Doc. No. 62. 41 Cong., 2 sess., 1870, pp. 51-52.

22. Deputy Quartermaster General to Tompkins, February 1, 1869. NA, RG 92. Entry 1039. Press copies of "Miscellaneous" Letters Sent Relating to Barracks and Quarters. Sept. 1867-Apr. 1869. 3 vols., III, 318; Deputy Quartermaster General to Brevet Brigadier General B. Myers (?), April 20, 1869, in ibid., p. 539.

Head-boards, or stakes, have been placed at all the graves, but most of them are in very bad condition. Many have rotted off and fallen down. The stakes were never dressed or painted, and most of the head-boards are now free from paint and look badly.

The whole number of burials is 12,262, as follows:

	Known.	Unknown.
White	5,156	5,307
Colored	1,622	187
Total	6,778	5,484

The lot is inclosed by an iron fence in front and rear, and by a wooden picket fence on the sides, in good order. An Osage-orange hedge was planted last fall just inside the fence. The mock-orange of the South (Lauro cerasus) would have been better in this locality, I think.

The drive is bordered on each side by a row of trees, arbor vitae and magnolia (Grandiflora) alternating. Two handsome flower-gardens, one on each side of the drive and opposite each other, divide the lot into two parts. These gardens were formerly the front of the cemetery, before it was enlarged.

A flag-staff stands on a small mound near the center of the old part, the drive dividing and passing around it. Formerly there were three other similar mounds, but they have been removed, though the circular drives around them remain unchanged.

The lodge is a new brick structure containing three rooms, having projecting roof and piazza all around. There is a cistern attached to it. The privy and out-houses are arranged with better taste than usual at the cemeteries. The stable is outside of the fence, in front of the southeast corner of the cemetery.

There are some handsome ornamental plats about the lodge, and evince great care and good taste by those in charge.

Four guns are planted vertically on their bases, in handsome masonry, at equal distances along the front, a few feet inside the fence. At the opposite (west) end is a tomb, or vault, for receiving the

remains of such as it may be desirable to bury elsewhere.

The drive divides and passes around this tomb.

Three laborers are employed all the time, at 840 [dollars] per month. Two mules and two carts are also employed constantly.(23)

In 1872 New Orleans surveyor, W.H. Bell drew a plan of the cemetery showing a powder magazine situated approximately 600 feet back from the Mississippi River and just west of the cemetery. Three hundred feet behind this structure was the freedmen's cemetery. South of the freedmen's cemetery was the national cemetery occupying an area of 250 feet by approximately 2,400 feet.(24) By 1873 the freedmen's cemetery had been abandoned.(25) Nature continued to reclaim this graveyard, and in 1876 the area was purchased by the Louisiana State Agricultural and Mechanical College. College officials requested that the government remove the remains of all Union soldiers and freedmen from the abandoned cemetery.(26) The Quartermaster General sent Second Lieutenant Isaac O. Shelby to investigate the matter. Shelby concluded that the vast majority of graves were those of freedmen. "There may be some Union soldiers buried there, and there probably are, but there is nothing to indicate [which are] their graves and it would be impossible to find them in the large mass of graves."(27) The federal government took no further action on the matter.

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23. U.S. Congress. Senate, Report of the Inspector of National Cemeteries. Ex. Doc. No. 79. 42 Cong., 2 Sess., 1872, pp. 61-62.

24. W. H. Bell "Plan of Chalmette National Cemetery," March 19, 1872. Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library,

25. Major Judson D. Bingham to Captain William B. Hughes, June 6, 1873. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, File 1110.

26. H. Bonzano to Alonzo Tofts, April 21, 1876. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 4210.

27. Shelby to Quartermaster General, May 27, 1876. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette.

In Superintendent P.P. Carroll's annual report for 1873 he mentioned that the superintendent's lodge consisted of three rooms of equal size. At each end of this structure was built ground galleys six feet wide and twenty feet long with balustrades placed around them. The back part of the lodge was enclosed with a six-and-one-half-foot-high lattice fence. Also during the year lightning struck the flagstaff, necessitating its replacement.(28) The major construction project comprised enclosing the cemetery with two brick walls on the sides and with iron fences and gates at the front and back. A contract was let to Edward H. Burton and William Seymour on August 26, 1873, for completing this work at a cost of $3.35 per linear foot.(29) Civil Engineer James Gall staked out the line of the brick wall in September and Burton and Seymour began construction work.(30) The brick walls were completed in December, but the Chalmette superintendent complained that the iron gate did not meet government specifications.(31) The contract was finally approved in May, 1874.(32)

The 1874 report on the Chalmette National Cemetery commented:

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28. Carroll to Quartermaster General, June 30, 1873. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, File 1918.

29. Contract with Burton and Seymour, August 26, 1873. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, Conract File.

30. Gall to Major General Montgomery C. Meigs, October 4, 1873. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette.

31. Carroll to Captain John G. Leefe, October 22, 1873. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 4022.

32. Gall to Colonel Andrew Jackson McGonnigle, March 7, 1874. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette.

It is inclosed by a new brick wall on the sides and by a light iron fence on the ends.

The main entrance is in the center of the river front. A drive 16 feet wide extends from it to the center of the opposite end, where there is a gate-way, but no outlet. A receiving-vault is placed in the roadway at this end, and the return drive passes around it. This drive is covered with shells, and has a good ditch on each side, revetted with brick set in cement. The drive is also bordered by a row of trees on each side. The new flag-staff stands on a very small mound in front of the main entrance. Formerly the flag-staff stood on a small circular mound in the central avenue, and there were also three other similar mounds in this drive, but they have all been leveled, though the circular plats remain, the drive dividing and inclosing them. Formerly the front of the cemetery was about two hundred yards in the rear of the present front, and the flower-gardens then established still remain, and divide the cemetery into two parts, the portion between these gardens and the river being the addition.

The lodge is situated near the main entrance. It is a one-story brick building, 51 by 21 feet, containing three rooms, with a piazza on the east and west sides, the roof projecting over the piazzas. The lodge is not convenient nor ornamental, and is rendered more unsightly by having a kitchen partitioned off on the back piazza. One of the new style of lodges would be much more appropriate here. There are some handsome flower-beds about the lodge; also four gun-monuments set in masonry.

More trees and shrubbery are needed in this cemetery. The magnolias have mostly died. The evergreens (cedars and arbor-vitae) are doing very well. The Osage-orange hedge is poor.

The front fence is place[d] several feet inside the Government boundary and formerly a stable was placed outside, almost in front of the lodge; but it was burnt down accidentally. A new one has been erected inside the inclosure; and it and the wood yard and out-buildings are screened from the drive by a lattice-fence, which is to be covered with honeysuckle. This is a great improvement.

The grounds are so badly proportioned that they cannot be laid out with any variety of forms. Most of the ground on each side of the drive is divided into

uniform rectangular plats, 54 by 48 feet, by paths 4 feet wide.(33)

In February, 1874, a committee from the Joseph A. Mower Post of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) in New Orleans requested permission from the army to erect a monument at the cemetery to honor Union soldiers buried there.(34) Permission was granted and the post began fund raising efforts. Superintendent Carroll of Chalmette National Cemetery described the design of the monument in the following terms:

> The column or shaft of the monument now erected in the Cemetery is eight feet six inches high (or long), and three feet six inches in diameter. It is N[ew] H[ampshire] granite, fine grain and dark gray. This shaft rests on a piece of the same material, six inches thick, and three feet ten inches in diameter. The projection of this latter piece is not sufficient, so it is to be taken out and replaced by one to give a projection of six or eight inches, so that it will hold a row of shot. The base or foundation is made of artificial stone work and raises [sic] three feet above the level of the drive so that the whole stands twelve feet above the level of the drive. The column or shaft is to be surmounted with a drum presenting the sticks crossed and held in the cords denoting silence, with the snares loosen [sic] as a sign that it has finished its last tatoo. The surroundings at base of the shaft is in the form of a triangle (equilateral). Each point of the angle stands out 10 feet from the shaft. The triangle is formed of coping made of artificial stone and stands about twelve inches above

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33. U.S. Congress. Senate, Report of the Inspector of National Cemeteries. Ex. Doc. No. 29, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1874, pp. 74-75.

34. John M. Poukin to Leefe, n.d. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 1865. During this period the Timothy O. Howe camp of the G.A.R. also existed, but no evidence has been located to indicate its role, if any, in the erection of the monument. Other G.A.R. posts were later established in New Orleans.

the drive. From the top of this coping [to] the base of the shaft the space is filled in, graded and sodded, with an octagon shaped cap of artificial stone surrounding the base of the granite. Resting on the points of the angles and pointing out from the column will be located twelve pound cannon, which will be spiked and muzzled, with a shot resting on each side. All the artificial stonework is to be removed and replaced with granite. The column is to be raised up six feet above the level of the drive, and the foundation made of brick and cement.(35)

Construction of the monument was delayed because of fraud perpetrated by the contractor and because the G.A.R. post lacked sufficient funds to build it until 1882. The monument then became a focal point for G.A.R. ceremonies each Memorial Day.(36)

In 1874 Superintendent Carroll complained that the superintendent's lodge was damp and unfit for habitation.(37) Secretary of War William Worth Belknap concurred and ordered a new lodge constructed.(38) However, the contract for the work was not awarded until August, 1880, with construction to take

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35. Carroll to Lieutenant F. Bacon, November 17, 1875. NA, RG 24, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 2792.

36. Henry W. Fowler to William Wright, August 2, 1877. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette; Inspection of Chalmette National Cemetery, February 3, 1882. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 302; James S. Zacharie, New Orleans Guide (New Orleans: F. F. Hansell and Brothers, Ltd., 1893), p. 138.

37. "Annual Report of the Conditions, Work done, Improvements made at Chalmette National Cemetery for the fiscal year ending 30th June 1874." NA, RG 92, General Correspondence. National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette.

38. Report of the Secretary of War, 1874. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 212.

place between September and December of that year.(39) The superintendent's lodge was specifically designed to meet climatic conditions of the Mississippi delta area.(40) Specifications for the lodge included the following general description:(41)

> The building, 52 feet 1 inch long by 20 feet 7 inches wide, to be of brick, two stories in height; each story to be subdivided into two rooms and a central hall, and each to be 11 feet 7 inches clear in height; the whole to be surrounded by a porch 10 feet wide and one story in height.

More changes in the cemetery occurred during the late 1870s. In 1875 all the wooden grave markers were replaced with marble ones. Also in that year planning began on replacing the remaining portions of the wooden fence with brick and stone.(42) In November of 1878 the Quartermaster Department completed drawings for a rostrum to be constructed at Chalmette National Military Cemetery. The contract for the work was awarded on February 4, 1879, to Charles Hense, who agreed to have the work completed by May of that year. The structure measured thirty feet by twenty feet and had a stairway located on either side. The main floor was elevated five feet above the ground surface. The foundation was constructed of hard red bricks set with lime-and-sand mortar. Steps were of cutstone. The raised platform floor was enclosed by a 2-foot-8-inch-high railing with eight-foot-tall ionic columns

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39. Contract between Quartermaster General and James Freret, August 11, 1880. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 1117.

40. Report of the Secretary of War, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), p. 150.

41. "Specifications for Superintendent's Lodge at Chalmette National Cemetery," ca, 1880. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence Specifications. Complete specifications for the lodge appear in Appendix B.

42. "Lieutenant-Colonel O. A. Mack," Army and Navy Journal, XII, No. 35 (April 10, 1875), p. 555.

placed every ten feet. The whole was topped by a latticework roof of a pergola appearance.(43)

By 1882 a brick wall enclosed the cemetery on the east and west sides; fences stood on the north and south sides. The main entrance to the cemetery was from the river road. The road in the cemetery grounds was a shell covered drive sixteen feet wide with deep brick gutters on the sides. The shell covering ended in the center of the cemetery with the remainder of the north portion of the road covered with sod. The road looped around the G.A.R. monument which was then on a circular mound in the center of the cemetery. Near the north entrance the drive circled the red brick receiving vault which had four iron guns placed in front of it. Between these two circles was a third about 200 feet from the main entrance, on which stood the flagstaff. Near the second entrance to the cemetery stood a cluster of buildings, including the lodge. In addition,

> a few feet north of this lodge is a brick building containing dining room and kitchen. Outside of the kitchen is a wooden water tank. These buildings are in good order except slight repairs are needed on windows of the lodge.
>
> East of the kitchen is a wooden building containing stables, tool house and shed. A wooden tank is near this shed. These tanks receive the drainage of the roofs.
>
> A latticework fence runs from the kitchen to the stable, cutting off the view of the stable yard.
>
> Some distance north of the stable and east of the avenue is a rostrum of the usual pattern. The vines growing over it are looking well.(44)

Construction appropriations for 1883 included funding for a 132-foot-long wharf. A cluster of piles were driven near it to

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43. Contract between Quartermaster General and Charles Hense, February 4, 1879. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, File 199.

44. "Chalmette National Cemetery 1st Class, Inspected, February 3, 1882". NA, RG 92, General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 302.

afford protection from floating debris. Total cost of this project was $1,000.(45) The next year Major James W. Scully, inspecting the cemetery, found that driftwood being washed against the wharf was threatening the structure. He suggested that the problem be alleviated by driving a series of piles from the head of the wharf to the levee in the form of a triangle, thus preventing the debris from damaging the dock.(46)

In his report, Major Scully noted that the cemetery had a lodge, brick kitchen, brick privy, frame privy, a frame storage and stable building, and two wooden cisterns. He found that 350 graves still had wooden stakes instead of headstones and recommended that the stakes be replaced as soon as possible.(47) During 1884 the remains of 134 Confederate soldiers were removed from the cemetery to be reintered at Cypress Grove.(48) A representative of the Department of the Gulf of the Grand Army of the Republic wrote a letter to the Quartermaster General informing him that a railroad spur line was opened to Lake Borgne and that the railroad company would grade a route to the cemetery provided the government constructed a more ornate north entrance.(49) Quartermaster General Samuel B. Holabird replied that the army did not intend to change the entrance to the cemetery. He stated his belief

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45. Lieutenant Colonel Richard N. Batchelder to Quartermaster General, September 25, 1883. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, 906 card.

46. "Report of Inspection of National Cemetery at Chalmette, Louisiana, April 18, 1884." NA, RG. 92. General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Inspection Department File.

47. Ibid.

48. Unidentified note, July 19, 1884. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette Note 1884.

49. Charles A. Thiel to Quartermaster General Samuel B. Holabird, May 2, 1884. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette.

that the Mississippi River and levee road would remain the main points of access to the cemetery.(50)

Nonetheless, some road improvements were made during the 1880s. In 1885 a bill was introduced in Congress to construct a shell road between Jackson Barracks and Chalmette National Cemetery. Reportedly, the existing road was in such poor condition that it discouraged visitation:

> Visitors who, because of relationship or a desire to pay a tribute of respect to the Union dead who now lie sleeping in that cemetery, are deterred from so doing because of the condition of the road leading thereto. Then, too, the soldiers who die at the United States barracks are deprived of the usual and dignified solemnity attendant on military funerals. Instead of marching with orderly and measured tread, the soldiers of the escort are to be seen, Indian file, jumping over the bogs, ruts, and holes in the road.(51)

Congress approved the roadway and on November 6, 1886, an agreement was entered into between contractor Robert McNamara and the United States Army for the construction of a shell wagon road between Jackson Barracks and Chalmette National Cemetery.(52) The roadway, completed in 1887, was used until 1905. During the latter year the New Orleans Terminal Company sought to close the river road as they planned to extensively develop the river bank area. The army agreed to the road closure on condition that a fifty-foot extension be made to the rear of the cemetery grounds, extending to the right of way boundary of the Louisiana Southern Railway. A thirty-foot corridor was also to be built to provide access to the cemetery via a new shell road behind

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50. Holabird to Scully, June 12, 1884. NA, RG 92. General Correspondence National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette.

51. U.S. Congress. Senate. In the Senate of the United States. Report No. 1272, 49 Cong. 1 sess., June 2, 1886.

52. Contract with Robert McNamara, November 12, 1886. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Contracts File 2546.

the railroad. Once these conditions were met, the river road was abandoned. The land transfer occurred in 1910.(53)

An inspection of the cemetery was completed by William H. Owen in 1886. Owen found the grave markers to be in generally good condition.(54) Little besides maintenance work was conducted at the cemetery over the next several years. In 1888 it was designated a post cemetery for the convenience of local garrisons.(55) Next year inspector Major James Gilliss found that the rostrum required rehabilitation as it was in a decayed state. He further recommended that the existing frame stable and tool house be replaced by a brick building.(56) This work was apparently undertaken in 1890, when the rostrum was given a metal roof, its brick foundation was repaired, and the decayed wooden members were replaced. The frame stable was removed and a brick stable and privy constructed.(57)

An unusual incident occurred in 1890 when trouble broke out between the black and white Grand Army of the Republic posts during Memorial Day ceremonies. National G.A.R. Commander-in-Chief Wheelock G. Veazly created a commission to study the problem and provide a solution. It was decided to allow each post to have use of the cemetery ceremony for one half day to conduct Memorial Day activities.(58)

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53. U.S. Congress. House. New Roadway to Chalmette La., National Cemetery. H. Doc. No. 221, 59 Cong., 1 sess., December 15, 1905.

54. Owen to Batchelder, April 23, 1886. NA, RG 92, National and Post Cemeteries, File 795.

55. Report of the Secretary of War, 1888 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 588.

56. Gilliss to Quartermaster of the Army, November 29, 1889. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette.

57. Edward M. Main to Major James W. Scully, February 18, 1890. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette.

58. Veazly to Secretary of War Redfield Proctor, May 19, 1891. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries.

In 1892 the enclosing walls of the cemetery were extended to the new roadway and the old front iron fence removed and reset, the latter at a cost of forty-five dollars.(59) The Corps of Engineers constructed a new levee between the Mississippi and the cemetery entrance in 1893.(60) On Memorial Day, 1893, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Grand Army of the Republic jointly held ceremonies at the gravesite of Joseph Lawlor during which a granite obelisk was dedicated in his memory. United States Commissioner William Wright paid for the Lawlor monument.(61) The following year members of the United States Mexican War Veterans and the General Andrew Jackson Garrison Post 35, Army and Navy Union, requested Commissioner Wright to have a monument dedicated to Colonel William Wallace Smith Blass, along with Blass's remains, brought from the Girod Cemetery to the Chalmette National Cemetery. The veteran groups hoped to better protect the monument by having it, and Blass's remains, relocated in the national cemetery.(62)

Little further construction took place during the late 1890s and early 1900s. In June, 1896, the government awarded a contract for the erection of a brick outbuilding to serve as a stable, toolroom, carriage house, and water closet. The building was one and one-half stories high. It was L-shaped and measured 53 feet by 30 feet and 16 feet by 19 feet. The building was completed in 1897.(63) Over the next few years work at the cemetery consisted of routine maintenance. In 1911 a new gate and a brick wall were constucted around the tract earlier transferred by the New Orleans Terminal Company.

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59. Report of the Secretary of War, 1892 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), pp. 365, 484.

60. Report of the Secretary of War, 1893 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 324.

61. The Daily Picayune, May 31, 1893.

62. The Daily Picayune, June 16, 1894.

63. Captain Evan H. Humphrey to Superintendent, Chalmette National Cemetery, March 1, 1909. NA, RG 92, General Correspondence, National and Post Cemeteries, Chalmette, File 252830; and, Report of the Secretary of War, 1897 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897).

Cost of the work was $5,479.20.(64) Four years later the driveway at Chalmette National Cemetery was resurfaced at a cost of $950.00.(65) Repairs made to the superintendent's lodge in 1916 and 1917 cost $744.00.(66)

The cemetery grounds remained essentially the same until the Lake Borgne Basin Levee Board, along with the Mississippi River Commission and the Corps of Engineers, proposed a new levee set-back construction of which would impact approximately two hundred feet of the cemetery property. Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis in 1928 asked Congress to grant a right of way for the levee through Chalmette National Cemetery and to authorize spending $32,000 to remove 572 graves and relocate certain facilities including the caretaker's lodge. Congress approved the measure for completion in fiscal year 1929. Most of the cemetery structures were lost in the resultant construction, and the remains of more than 400 Union dead were relocated in a single mass grave in the southeast part of the cemetery.(67) After the removal of the caretaker's lodge and outbuildings, the present brick lodge (now used as Chalmette Unit administrative headquarters), along with a carriage house (now used as a garage) and a maintenance building, was constructed. A small temporary building erected in the 1950s to contain equipment during work on the Beauregard House is on the cemetery grounds and is used as a "black powder hut"

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64. Report of the Secreatry of War, 1911 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 265.

65. Report of the Secretary of War, 1915 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), p. 332.

66. Report of the Secretary of War, 1916 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), p. 332; and Report of the Secretary of War, 1917 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 288.

67. U.S. Congress. House. Right of Way Through Chalmette National Cemetery, H. Report No. 1159, 70 Cong. 1 sess., 1928; U.S. Congress. House. Chalmette National Cemetery, La., Communication of the President of the United States Transmitting Supplemental Estimate of Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1929, For the War Department, Amounting to $32,000 for Chalmette National Cemetery, La., H. Doc. No. 156, 70 Cong., 1 sess., 1928.

for park interpreters. In 1956 the G.A.R. Monument was moved to the River Terminal Circle at the south end of the cemetery.

Burials in the Chalmette National Cemetery include casualties and veterans and their dependents from other conflicts besides the Civil War. These include the Mexican War, Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, and Viet Nam. Although officially closed to interments since 1945, occasional exceptions to that policy have permitted burials of veterans and war casualties. Administratively, the cemetery continued under jurisdiction of the War Department until August 10, 1933, when it was transferred to the National Park Service. On August 10, 1939, Chalmette National Cemetery became part of Chalmette National Historical Park.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RENE BEAUREGARD HOUSE

The Rene Beauregard House is located on the site of the Battle of New Orleans. Built approximately eighteen years after the battle, the house therefore has no historical association with that historic encounter. Moreover, the house has practically no other historical significance beyond a remote association with the famous Confederate hero General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard. His son, René Toutant Beauregard, after whom the house is named, lived in it from 1880 to 1904. The value of the house rests not on any historical significance but on its architectural merits: it is a very fine example of a Louisiana plantation house of the ante-bellum period. Further, it represents a way of life and standard of living that characterized the sugar plantation owner in the New Orleans area.

Few early descriptions of the house exist, and those are brief and provide only a general sketch of the architectural fabric. The Notarial Archives of New Orleans Parish and St. Bernard Parish provided valuable and interesting data on the land, but contained little information on building contracts or inventories of real and personal property of occupants of the house.

Studies of the house have been undertaken over the years by the National Park Service. The first two, one prepared in 1938, the other in 1948, were relatively brief and were based on secondary works.(1) Two other studies, one in 1952 by Francis F. Wilshin, and the other in 1956 by historical architect Samuel Wilson, Jr., were far more comprehensive and were based largely on primary sources. Wilson's study is well documented, and provided the basis for the 1957-58 restoration

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1. An informal report was also prepared by Roy E. Appleman, entitled, "Chalmette National Battlefield Site: Inspection Report and Recommendations," 1938, in park files; a second informal study was undertaken by Dawson A. Phelps, entitled, "The Beauregard House," enclosure to memorandum from Phelps to Superintendent, Chalmette National Historical Park, November 19, 1948.

of the Beauregard House to its present appearance.(2) In the absence of specific documentation, particularly that dealing with descriptions of the house, considerable reliance was placed in this study upon comparative historical and architectural evidence of ante-bellum plantation houses on the Mississippi River. By matching such information with the existing architectural fabric of the Beauregard House, certain inferences can be drawn.

The Chalmet Plantation, upon which the Beauregard House was later built, stood about five miles downstream from New Orleans in St. Bernard Parish. It was situated on the left bank of the Mississippi River, fronting for a distance of 22 arpents, 3 toises, and 3 feet on the river.(3) The plantation was owned by Ignace de Lino de Chalmet, whose name, always spelled without the final "te," became synonymous with the battlefield itself. The Beauregard House occupies a site that at the time of the battle was near the upper part of the Chalmet plantation in an area known in colonial times as Point St. Antoine, so named because of a bend in the river a few thousand feet below the house.(4)

In 1817, in default of a mortgage, Chalmet's heirs transferred the plantation to Chalmet's half brother Pierre Denis

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2. Francis F. Wilshin, "The Rene Beauregard House." (Unpublished report dated December 31, 1952, in the library of the Chalmette Unit); Samuel Wilson, Jr., "Rene Beauregard House: Architectural Survey Report." (Unpublished report dated 1956 in the library of the Chalmette Unit).

3. One arpent is equal to 0.85 acres and one toise is equal to 2,1315 yards or 1.945 meters. See conveyance, Hilaire and Louis St. Amand to Alexander Baron, Act of Carlisle Pollock, Notary Public, April 10, 1832, Notarial Archives, St. Bernard Parish, translated from the French, in Notarial Archives, Parish of Orleans (NONA).

4. For a complete history of the land from the colonial period to 1817, see Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," pp. 1-8. See also Wilson, The Battle of New Orleans: Plantation Houses on the Battlefield of New Orleans (New Orleans: The Battle of New Orleans, 150th Anniversary Committee of Louisiana, 1965), pp. 39-48.

de la Ronde for $55,000. De la Ronde immediately sold the property to the brothers Hilaire and Louis St. Amand.(5) In 1832 the brothers agreed to sell part of their land, and to do this they subdivided their plantation into five lots as shown on a March, 1832, map drawn by Allou d'Hemecourt, a New Orleans surveyor. Lot No. 2, an area of more than six arpents, was sold to Alexander Baron for his mother-in-law, Mrs. Madeleine Pannetier, widow of Guillaume Malus. One year after this purchase, Baron transferred the title to his mother-in-law.(6) A notice of sale in a newspaper described the property as follows:

> On Friday the 23d inst. at 12 o'clock at Hewlett's Coffee House, will be sold,--10 arpens of the Plantation of Messrs. Helaire and Le [sic] St. Amand five miles below New Orleans, and known by the name of Battle Ground. Of these ten arpens six are situated at the upper limit of the plantation on the side of the city--The two first arpens contiguous to the boundry of Mr. Edward Prevost's property, reach only 15 arpens more or less in the depth; and the four other arpens go to 80 arpens in depth. The 6 arpens at the lower limit are contiguous to the plantation of Antoine Bienvenu. They are intitled [sic] to the double concession of 80 arpens, and conformably to the act of sale of Mr. Denis de la Ronde, reach as far as Lake Borgne. The sellers do not warrant this prolongation. On the 6 arpens of the upper part is found the line of defence of the American Army in 1815, and on the 4 arpens of the lower part are the four majestic Oaks, where all those who come to visit the field of battle generally end their walk. The proximity of the city, and the improvements of the lower part in commerce and

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5. This transaction is cited in Conveyance, Hilaire and Louis St. Amand to Alexander Baron, Act of Carlisle Pollock, April 10, 1832.

6. Ibid. The transfer of land from Baron to the widow Malus is cited in a later conveyance known as Donation, Annette Malus to Lucien Malus, Act of Lucien Hermann, Notary Public, September 29, 1848, bk. 48, fol. 221, NONA.

> industry, are a sure warrant to capitalists and speculators that they will place their funds advantageously,--Those lots would suit for brickyards, sawmills, and gardens.(7)

Neither the notice of sale nor the act of conveyance made any references to improvements or to existing structures on this lot. If there had been improvements, it would have been logical to mention them.

After the Widow Malus died in 1835, the property was transferred to her son Francois Malus, and to her daughter, by then the widow of Baron. In 1848 the latter transferred her interest in the property to a second brother, Lucien Malus. In this conveyance reference was made for the first time to "buildings and improvement erected" on the property, but without any description.(8) The property remained in the Malus family until 1856, when it was sold to Caroline Fabre, widow of Michel Bernard Cantrelle. The act of conveyance mentioned buildings but contained no descriptions.(9) In the 1830s the Cantrelle family, in joint partnership with Michel Martin Villavaso, operated a steam sawmill close to the land Madame Cantrelle eventually purchased. The Cantrelles also bought Lots Nos. 3 and 4 of the St. Amand tract, adjacent to Lot No. 2, which was purchased the same day by Alexander Baron. The sawmill was well known in this area, and since it existed about the same time that Baron purchased Lot No. 2, it is a fair assumption that any house or structure built on that lot was constructed with timber from the sawmill. Architects and builders purchased materials from the sawmill. The well known James Gallier and his son James Gallier, Jr., were customers of the sawmill, and the younger Gallier even married Villavaso's daughter Rose Aglae.(10)

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7. Louisiana Courier, March 27, 1832.

8. Donation, Annette Malus to Lucien Malus, Act of Lucien Hermann, September 29, 1848.

9. Credit Sale, Francois and Lucien Malus to Caroline Fabre, Widow of Michel Bernard Cantrelle, Act of Amadee Ducatel, Notary Public, April 11, 1856, Notarial Archives, St. Bernard Parish, translated from the French, in NONA.

10. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," pp. 11-12.

Madame Cantrelle lived on the land purchased from the Malus family up to the conclusion of the Civil War, and in 1866 she sold it to a Spaniard by the name of Jose Antonio Fernandez y Lineros. The sale included the dwelling and all outbuildings. The notice of sale described the property as follows:

> Splendid Summer Retreat Five Miles Below New Orleans, fronting the Mississippi River and one mile from Dauphine Street cars.
>
> That Splendid Summer Retreat, situated in the parish of St. Bernard, in this State left bank of the Mississippi, heretofore forming part of the Hilaire and Louis St. Amand plantation, about five miles below the city of New Orleans, designated the No. 2 [lot] on plan drawn by Allou d'Hemcourt, said portion of ground measures 204 feet 10 inches front to the Mississippi river, or the line AB of said plan, and running in depth between two lines closing at a point to the letter D--2748 feet 9 inches on the upper limits of the line No. 1, and 2834 feet 6 inches on exterior limits of the No. 3, together with all buildings and improvements thereon, which consist of a beautiful two-story brick building, slate roofed, containing three rooms on the ground floor, and three on the first story, gallery front and rear, pantry, cabinets, etc., brick kitchen, stables for six horses, carriage house, hayloft, negro quarters, etc., also a splendid orchard, containing every variety of rare fruit trees and vegetables, a beautiful flower garden, containing the choicest plants to be found.(11)

Fernandez immediately enlarged his property by purchasing the adjoining Lot No. 1, adding five acres and thereby bringing his total holdings to twenty acres.(12) With the advent of the 1870s and the depression that gripped the nation his fortunes took a noticeable decline. In 1873 he was forced to sell Lot No. 1, and three years later his wife won a judgment against him

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11. Credit Sale, Mrs. Caroline Fabre, Widow of Michel Bernard Cantrelle, to J.A. Fernandez y Lineros, Act of Amadee Ducatel, Notary Public, July 5, 1866, bk. 9, fol. 180, NONA; Notice of sale, unidentified newspaper, attached to conveyance, in ibid.

12. Wilshin, "The Rene Beauregard House," p. 36.

transferring the property to her name.(13) In 1880 Mrs. Carmen Lesseps Fernandez placed the land on the market. The notice of sale described it as follows:

> Positive Sale of Bueno Retiro, A delightful Suburban Residence, Farm and Orangery, on the city side of the Mississippi River, and less than a mile below the United States Barracks and the terminus of the City Horse Car Railway.
>
> [The tract] measures 208 feet 10 inches front on the public road, with batture rights on the Mississippi River by a depth of 2834 feet on the lower side dividing it from the State Agricultural College, and 2784 feet on the upper side dividing it from the property of A. Lesseps, Esq. The width is irregular converging to a point.
>
> The property is improved by a substantial two-story Brick Mansion, and other dependencies, such as stabling and poultry houses, laborers' quarters, shaded by a magnificent lawn of magnolia and oak trees. The land is exceedingly rich and productive, and under cultivation for vegetables and flowers. The Orchard Contains a fine assortment of fruit trees, comprising Orange, Mespilus, imported Pears and Pecan Trees, besides a large variety of Figs, Grapes, etc., thrifty and bearing, within half an hour's drive of the centre of the city, a steady demand and market for all that can be produced, and a house of superior comfort and advantages of scenery renders the property desirable, not only for permanent residence, but as an investment of great prominence and productiveness.(14)

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13. Act of Gustave Le Gardeur, Notary Public, February 27, 1873, NONA; Credit Sale, Mrs. Carmen Lesseps, wife of Jose Antonio Fernandez y Lineros, to Rene T. Beauregard, Act of James Fahey, Notary Public, June 1, 1880, bk. 14 fol. 230, Notarial Archives, Parish of St. Bernard.

14. New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 27, 1880.

The purchaser of the property in June 1880 was René Toutant Beauregard, eldest son of the Confederate hero General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard.(15) With this purchase the property enjoyed its longest period of uninterrupted private ownership. Two years later, Beauregard granted the Mississippi Terre Aux Boeufs and Lake Railway Company a right-of-way across the northern limits of his property, and in 1888 he repurchased Lot No. 1 from Octava Toca, enlarging his holdings.(16)

By this time, the total area began to undergo a change with the introduction of heavy industry. This in turn forced changes in the levee, with resultant alterations to property lines facing the river. As a result, a number of stately cypress trees were removed from the Beauregard lawn.(17) Reacting to the pressures of these changes, in 1904 Beauregard sold his property to the New Orleans Terminal Company for $18,000. The act of sale described his property as follows:

> A certain tract of land situated in the Parish of St. Bernard, in the State of Louisiana, on the left bank of the Mississippi River, about one mile below the City of New Orleans, known as the Buen Retiro Place, and measuring according to a sketch annexed to an act of sale by Mrs. Carmen Fernandez to the present vendor before James Fahey, Notary Public, June 4, 1880, Two hundred and four feet, ten inches (204' 10") front on the public road with batture rights on the Mississippi River by a depth of Two thousand eight hundred and thirty-four feet, six inches (2834' 6") on the lower side line dividing it from the State Agricultural College, and Two thousand seven hundred and forty-eight feet, nine inches (2748' 9") on the upper side line dividing it from the property of A. Lesseps, the width being irregular and converging to a point; together with all

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15. Credit Sale of Mrs. Carmen Lesseps, June 6, 1880.

16. Book of Mortgages, Parish of St. Bernard, No. 11-B, p. 207; Act of E.A. Peyrous, Notary Public, September 24, 1888, Notarial Archives, Parish of St. Bernard.

17. Wilshin, "The Rene Beauregard House," p. 45.

> and singular the buildings and improvements thereon and all appurtenances, rights, ways, privileges, and servitudes thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining.
>
> Being the same property acquired by the present vendor from Mrs. Carmen Fernandez by the act before James Fahey, Notary Public for the Parish of Orleans, dated June 4th, 1880, registered in the Parish of St. Bernard in Conveyance Book #14, folio #230.(18)

In 1948 the railroad company transferred the property to the state of Louisiana, and in the following year it became part of the National Park System.(19)

There is no known documentation that establishes the original construction date of the Beauregard House. In fact, there is no known documentation that would unequivocally establish that the existing structure is without doubt the original building. These questions, as well as the dates of succeeding remodelings of the house, must be answered largely through inference. In the first place, architectural features of the house should provide some indication of the construction dates. Secondly, other plantation houses in Louisiana can provide evidence of existing similarities. Finally, the few written documents that are available, albeit inconclusive, can provide some degree of probability as to the original date of construction.

In the absence of adequate documentation, the history of the house, i.e., date of original construction, data on its architect and builder, description of its early and later designs, has been enshrouded in mystery and cloaked in a veil of misinformation. Seldom if ever has the house been presented in its true perspective. Popular writers, as well as serious students of architecture, have accepted half-truths. It was not until recent years, after Messrs. Wilshin and Wilson prepared

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18. Conveyance, Act of H. Generes Defour, Notary Public, November 28, 1904, bk. 20, fols. 451 and 452, NONA.

19. Act of Watts K. Leverich, Notary Public, March 14, 1949, bk. 52, fol. 459, NONA.

their studies, that many fabrications about the house were seriously questioned. The origin of these falsehoods stemmed from a number of newspaper articles written by John Coleman in the 1920s and 1930s, and more recent authors have been content to accept them without question.(20) These writers, some of them very reputable, stated that the house was built in 1840, but there is no evidence to support this thesis. On the contrary, there is sufficient proof to show that the existing house was constructed as early as 1833-34.

Prior to 1848 the Notarial Acts, in describing the sale of land upon which the Beauregard House now sits, made no reference to structures or improvements on the land. This is especially evident in the notice of sale that appeared in the Louisiana Courier on March 7, 1832, in which the specific plot of ground is described without reference to structures of any kind. If there had been a structure of significant proportions on the grounds, it would have been mentioned since it would have increased the land's value and salability. Hence, one would have to conclude that if any structures were built, they were constructed after 1832. In fact, the notice of sale, in referring to the adequacy of the land for commercial purposes, states that "those lots would suit for brick-yards, saw-mills, and gardens."(21) This statement, particularly the reference to the gardens, is an indication that no structures, at least of any sizable dimensions, were on the land.

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20. John P. Coleman, "Fine Old New Orleans Mansions: Stately Bueno-Retiro, Now in State of Decay," New Orleans Estate, September 1924; Clarence John Laughlin, Ghosts Along the Mississippi: An Essay In the Poetic Interpretation of Louisiana's Plantation Architecture (New York: Bonanza Books, 1961), Plate 55; Joseph Frazer Smith, White Pillars: Early Life and Architecture of the Lower Mississippi Valley Country (New York: W. Helburn, Inc., 1941), p. 204; Natalie Scott and William Philip Spratling, Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana (New York: Wm. Helburn Co., 1927), p. 159; Italo William Ricciuti, New Orleans and Its Environs: The Domestic Architecture 1727-1870 (New York: W. Helburn, Inc., 1938), Plate 43.

21. Louisiana Courier, March 7, 1832; Conveyance, Hilaire and Louis St. Amand to Alexander Baron, Act of Carlisle Pollock, April 10, 1832.

A New Orleans surveyor named Allou d'Hemecourt measured the tract of land owned by the St. Amand brothers in March 1832, dividing the land into five lots. Lot No. 2, as indicated, was sold to Alexander Baron. Although this map is cited in almost all the acts of conveyances pertaining to this property, it has never been found. In 1833 Charles F. Zimpel produced a topographical map of New Orleans and vicinity in which he depicted the St. Amand subdivision. Instead of showing Lot No. 2, Baron's name is given. What is important about this map is that it shows the Baron lot with four symbols representing structures.(22) Two of these symbols, rectangular in shape, are much larger than the other two, which are squares. Unfortunately, the symbols are so small that it is difficult to obtain any accurate measurement. Nevertheless, one of the larger symbols is on the approximately spot now occupied by the Beauregard House. The two small squares are located about where the outdoor kitchen and stables once stood in relation to the Beauregard House. The only question rises around the second of the two large rectangular symbols, which is located to the southeast, close to the levee. There is no record of its origin, its purpose, or when it was torn down. One fair supposition is that it may have been the slave quarters. In his 1948 study, Dawson A. Phelps wrote that the structures on this map were probably erected by the St. Amand brothers before 1832 to increase the property's value.(23) This is hardly likely, for if improvements had been made at this time they would have been mentioned in either the conveyance or the notice of sale, but this was not the case.

Logic would seem to dictate that prior to 1832 there were probably no structures on Lot No. 2, because it was only a small part of a much bigger estate. For the St. Amand brothers to have constructed buildings of the size indicated on the Zimpel map, including the Beauregard House, simply to make the property more appealing seems unlikely in view of the fact that Alexander Baron purchased the lot for the relatively small sum of $3,700.

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22. "Topographical Map of New Orleans and Its Vicinity," by Charles F. Zimpel, dated March 1834 but copyrighted on September 4, 1833. Historic New Orleans Collection.

23. Phelps, "The Beauregard House," p. 11.

The property purchased by Baron in 1832 remained in the Malus family until 1856. The conveyance transferring the property from Baron's widow to her nephew, Lucien Malus, for the first time provided some indication of structures on the land. The act stated: "Together with one undivided half or morty [sic] of and to all and singular the Buildings and Improvements thereon erected. . . ."(24) Thus, there is written evidence indicating there were buildings on Lot No. 2 after 1832. Together with the Zimpel map, this is conclusive proof that buildings existed on the lot between the years 1833 and 1848. It is logical to assume that since Baron purchased the lot for his mother-in-law it was intended for residential purposes and, therefore, a house similar in size and floor plan to the existing Beauregard House was probably constructed around 1833. This is, therefore, the approximate date of construction of the Beauregard House.

Existing architectural features of the house support this date rather than a later one. These reveal that the present design is not the original one. There is clear evidence that drastic alterations were made to the house in later years, changes that could lead the inexperienced layman to conclude that the existing house is an entirely new one. Samuel Wilson disavowed this theory, however, concluding that although the existing features of the house are not the original, the basic structure nevertheless remains. Although the style of the present structure is essentially Greek Revival, there are many features, which are in the French Colonial tradition, a style that was common in early Louisiana plantation architecture but that was fast disappearing by 1840. It was not likely that a French Colonial house would have been built in 1840 or later.

The architect of the original structure remains unidentified, a mystery that has led some writers, on the flimsiest of evidence, to speculate that it might have been James Gallier, Sr. There are several reasons why Gallier, Sr., could not have designed the Beauregard House. First, a construction date of about 1833 for the house would have excluded Gallier, who did not arrive in New Orleans until 1834. Second, neither his autobiography nor his manuscripts refer to the construction of a plantation house in St. Bernard Parish. Finally, assuming

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24. Donation, Annette Malus to Lucien Malus, Act of Lucien Hermann, September 29, 1848.

that the original house was French Colonial rather than Greek Revival, it would be difficult to link Gallier, Sr., to the former style during a period when he was strongly associated with Greek Revival. Only if the house were originally Greek Revival could we possibly conclude that Gallier was the architect. All evidence seems to point otherwise.

Other circumstances also led other people to believe that Gallier, Sr., was the architect. But again, the evidence is so speculative that such a deduction seems unjustified. Gallier's son, James Gallier, Jr., himself a prominent architect, married the granddaughter of Caroline Fabre, widow of Michel Bernard Cantrelle, who owned the Beauregard House from 1856 to 1866. Because of this relationship, some have concluded that Gallier, Sr., was the architect. Although Gallier, Jr., may have been responsible for later changes to the house, it is illogical to conclude that because he married Madam Fabre's granddaughter, his father must have designed the structure. Thus, all conclusions pointing to Gallier, Sr., as architect of the Beauregard House have little support. If Gallier, Sr., were not the architect, who then was? It may be that the designer of the original French Colonial plan was a relatively unknown architect, perhaps even a builder who knew designs well. As in so many instances in the United States in that period, builders frequently designed their own projects, possibly with the help of draftsmen who were frequently in their employ.

As earlier noted, the Beauregard House was originally built in the French Colonial style prevalent in Louisiana during the French occupation and through the first quarter of the 19th century. The meager evidence points to a construction date of about 1833, too early for it to have been built in the existing Greek Revival style. (While Greek Revival was enjoying widespread popularity as early as 1820 in the northeast, especially in New York City, it did not become popular in New Orleans until 1840.) Moreover, Samuel Wilson's studies in the 1940s and 1950s of the Beauregard House showed that the structure had undergone several remodelings over the years, drastically changing the original appearance of the house. More importantly, he found evidence in the interior fabric of the house indicating that the original structure had been in the French Colonial style.

A change as drastic as this was not unusual in Louisiana. Many plantation homes were built in the French Colonial style and were remodeled over the years to resemble the very popular Greek Revival architecture. As a result, many of these

homes were neither completely French Colonial nor Greek Revival but a combination of the two. The Beauregard House was perhaps more fortunate in this respect in that its transition from one style to the next was so smoothly effected that this dichotomy is not clearly evident. Perhaps this was attributable to the high level of skill of the architect or builder who made these changes. The list of plantation homes originally built in the French Colonial style that later underwent considerable change is indeed long. Among these were the Hermitage and the Macarty plantation. Both were of an earlier period than the original Beauregard House. The architect Benjamin Latrobe described one of these houses in 1819 as "of the usual French plantation houses of the first class, and I think by far the best kind of house for the climate, namely a mansion surrounded entirely by a portico or gallery of two stories."(25)

One student of Louisiana architecture described the French Colonial style prevalent in the New Orleans area as follows:

> Along the whole distance from New Orleans to Baton Rouge was a succession of most elegant villas, mostly in the French and Italian style of architecture, many of them on a scale of great magnificence. The residences were usually large, roomy and commodious, and a large space was always devoted to the duties of hospitality. A room or two for invited guests, or the strange wayfarer, was not the uncommon appendage of a planter's house. . . . A peculiarity of their plantation residences, and, by the way, one which proved of superior advantage over the homes of our Northern farmers, was the broad, airy and lofty galleries, that rested on massive stuccoed columns and encircled the four sides of the habitation, instead of the pretentious porches so frequently seen at the North. The rooms were, therefore, thoroughly ventilated and cool, freely admitting the summer breezes wafted from the lake and the Mississippi River, and afforded ample room to the little ones during the rainy season to romp and play. The basement, converted in summer into a spacious dining

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25. Wilson, Plantation Homes on the Battlefield of New Orleans, p. 26.

room, was oftentimes the coolest portion of the house. . . .(26)

Although describing some of the later Greek Revival features of the Louisiana plantation houses, another student of architecture noted similar features in the French Colonial style. Thus, in speaking of the Beauregard House, he said:

> Architecturally, the house forms another important step in the evolution of Louisiana architecture from the Colonial style. The great cement-covered brick columns which supplanted the original squattish brick columns below and wooden colonettes above, and then appeared in a single colonnade, are here presented at the next stage of development--a second identical colonade was created at the rear of the home. The floor plan is that of the second stage, however: three rooms wide, and one deep, with a hall absent. All the rooms front and rear, open onto the galleries.(27)

Unfortunately, there are no detailed descriptions of the Beauregard House during the early period of ownership, that is, during the Baron-Malus or Cantrelle periods. However, Alexander Walker, writing a series of articles in 1855 on the Battle of New Orleans, noted that:

> The scene of these events has experienced slighter changes in the last forty years than the arena of any similar occurences in this land of change and progress. . . . There is a handsome villa, quite ancient too in its aspect, standing near the road in the centre of the lines and about a hundred yards from the ditch. This, however, has been built since the war. Chalmette's buildings, which were destroyed by the Americans to give full play to their artillery, were at least two hundred yards in the rear of this edifice. All else is as it was in 1815.(28)

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26. Henry C. Castellanos, New Orleans as It Was: Episodes of Louisiana Life, (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing Co., 1961), p. 178.

27. Laughlin, Ghosts Along the Mississippi, Plate 55.

28. New Orleans Daily Delta, 1855, cited in Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 12.

Walker referred to the "ancient" aspects of the Beauregard House in 1855. T.K. Wharton, a friend of Walker, speaking of the Hurst plantation, which was built in 1832, only one year before the Beauregard House, said that it was "one of those old plantation houses which are fast disappearing."(29) References to "ancient" and "old" can only mean an old style of architecture, which had to be French Colonial.

Thus, in all probability the house was originally built in the French Colonial style. Further evidence, though meager, has established some specific details of the house when it was first built. In an advertisement of sale in 1866 it was described as follows:

> That Splendid Summer Retreat, situated in the Parish of St. Bernard, in this State, left bank of the Mississippi river, heretofore forming part of the Hilaire and Louis St. Amant [sic] plantation, about five miles below the City of New Orleans, designated by the No. 2 on plan drawn by Allou d'Hemecourt . . . together with all the buildings and improvements thereon, which consist in a beautiful two story brick building, slated roof, containing three rooms on the ground floor and three on the first story, gallery front and rear, pantry, cabinets, etc., brick kitchen, stables for six horses, carriage house, hay loft, negro quarters, etc., also a splendid orchard containing every variety of rare fruit trees and vegetables, a beautiful flower garden, containing the choicest plants to be found.(30)

This advertisement described the house as a two-story brick building with a slate roof and a gallery in front and rear. Describing the interior, it noted only that each floor contains three rooms. Despite its brevity, this description permits comparison of the structure with later or existing conditions thereby allowing come conclusions concerning the original appearance of the house in 1833. Samuel Wilson not only agreed with the 1866 description but has provided a rather complete, though conjectural, picture of what the house

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29. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 13.

30. Notice of sale, unidentified newspaper attached to Credit Sale, Mrs. Carolina Fabre to J.A. Fernandez y Lineros, Act of Amadee Ducatel, July 5, 1866.

probably looked like during the years 1833-56. His observations on the textural fabric led him to distinguish between the structure's early style (French Colonial) and its later style (Greek Revival). He discovered that the brick which appeared under the stuccoed cement had been painted red. It was a common practice to paint the exterior of brickwork red in New Orleans to protect the soft, poorly burned, locally made brick from the weather. After 1840 references to red-painted brickwork were seldom found. Wilson believed that this is a strong argument in dating the construction of the house around 1832.(31)

Wilson explained other changes that took place over the years, revealing how the house may have looked when it was first built. For example, he discovered (and this can readily be seen by the layman) that the roof had been altered and the six dormers rebuilt or moved to a higher level on the roof, as evidenced by the fact that beneath each dormer on the supporting rafter there are triangular notches where the windowsills of the old dormers were set. As for changes in the roof, there is proof that the present curved roof was originally straight. The main evidence supporting this opinion is a series of regularly spaced nail holes along the upper surface of each rafter indicating where earlier roof sheathing had been removed. The pitch of the roof was changed when the existing heavy Greek Revival cornice was added and the lower part of the roof was raised to accommodate its additional height. Raising the roof in this manner required that the dormers be placed in a higher position along the roofline.(32)

The existing monolithic columns on both the front and rear of the house do not appear to be original. Wilson referred to a photograph taken around 1890 showing the old brick kitchen just northwest of the Beauregard House. In front of this small building appear four square columns on high bases supporting the overhanging roof. Wilson was convinced that the original columns of the Beauregard House consisted of a double row of square columns--one on the first level, made of bricks, similar to the columns on the old kitchen, but painted red like those of the Avondale plantation, and a second row on the upper level made of turned wood. This double row of columns, would have

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31. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," pp. 16, 22-23.

32. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

been more the style, and hence appropriate, to receive the thin cornice that the house seems to have had originally.(33)

After making a thorough study of the house and speculating upon some of the later changes that occurred, Wilson made a sketch of his conception of the original structure. The result was a house that resembled the French Colonial style rather than the existing Greek Revival architecture.(34)

The interior of the house may be generally surmised from the brief description of it given in the 1866 advertisement of sale and from an examination of the fabric itself. There were three rooms below and three above. Today there are four rooms below and three above. A staircase accounts for one room above and one below. It is apparent that this staircase did not exist in the original house. Access to the upper floor then was probably by means of the outside galleries as was usually the case in the French Colonial plantation houses. There were probably six fireplaces, one in each room, which merged into two brick flues in the attic, which in turn united into a single chimney above the rooftop. These two flues in the attic resembled an inverted Y.

As in the case of the house itself, there seems to be practically no evidence to describe the landscape of the original structure. At the time that Alexander Baron bought Lot No. 2 for his mother-in-law in 1832 it was still known as part of the "Battle Ground" where the Battle of New Orleans was fought. The notice of sale made no reference to the property's landscape other than that it was part of a plantation. If any sugar or other products were grown, it is not clear. Visitors apparently came to visit the site where the battle was fought. The Widow Malus and her heirs must have made some improvements to the land, but exactly what they were may never be known.

The Beauregard House underwent several changes over the years, but the major ones may be classified into three periods

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33. Photograph of the Beauregard House, ca. 1890, Cenas Collection, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans; Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 17.

34. Ibid., following p. 19.

according to the house's ownership at the time: Madame Cantrelle period (1856-66); Fernandez y Lineros period (1866-80); and René Beauregard period (1880-1904). The restoration of the structure as an ante-bellum plantation house has stressed the Madame Cantrelle period. Since documentation and more positive evidence is lacking, this period, understandably, has overlapped into the late 1860s. Although homes such as the Beauregard House that were originally French Colonial in style took on a different appearance as Greek Revival grew in influence, they retained many of their basic characteristics. In some cases the transformation was rather sudden in others it was more gradual. The change that overtook the Beauregard House seems to have occurred swiftly.

A. Madame Cantrelle Period (1856-66)

It was probably not until the Cantrelles purchased the house that the first major alteration was undertaken, a change that gave the structure its Greek Revival character. The only two sources of evidence that exist--one in 1855 just prior to this period, the other in 1866--give some clue as to the changes that occurred during the years in between. In 1855 Alexander Walker referred to the house as "a handsome villa, quite ancient."(35) It is illogical to suppose that he would have referred to the house as "quite ancient" if it had undergone major alterations to the Greek Revival style, a mode of design quite recent in New Orleans. Instead, this was probably an appellation given to a house that was indeed old both in style and age.

In the notice of sale that appeared in 1866, the house was described as a "Splendid Summer Retreat . . . which consist[s] of a beautiful two-story brick building, slate-roofed, containing three rooms on the ground floor and three on the first story, gallery front and rear. . . .(36) While on the surface this description does not indicate that the house was significantly different from the original construction, it was probably during this period of occupancy that the house underwent radical changes in its appearance. As Wilson stated, "It would indeed

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35. Wilson, "Rene Beuaregard House," p. 12.

36. Notice of sale, unidentified newspaper attached to Credit Sale, Mrs. Caroline Fabre to J.A. Fernandez y Lineros, Act of Amadee Ducatel, July 5, 1866.

have required major surgery."(37) Still, this was not an unheard of occurrence in Louisiana, and Wilson cited several examples of plantation houses that were originally built in the French Colonial style but that were later renovated in the Greek Revival style leaving few traces of the original fabric of the building.(38)

The monumentality and simplicity of the Greek Revival style gave many of these former French Colonial houses very stately appearances. The double row of columns (the upper row usually consisting of wood and the lower row consisting of squattish square columns of brick) were converted into monolithic brick columns extending the full two stories. These columns often surrounded the house on all four sides, but frequently, as at the Beauregard House, existed only on the two main sides. They often were topped with Doric or Ionic capitals supporting the overhang roof that sheltered the second-floor gallery. In the case of the Beauregard House, the old columns were most likely replaced with monolithic ones (eight in front and eight in the rear), rebuilding the cornice and dormers, and changing the roofline.(39)

The exterior of these houses frequently differed in details depending on their size and extravagance. If the columns were of brick, they were sometimes plastered over, and if the house were originally constructed of brick, the latter was plastered and sometimes scored to resemble stone. In the French Colonial style the brick would have been painted red and pencilled. In the case of the Beauregard House, this Greek Revival feature came in two separate stages, and in this sense the transformation to Greek Revival was more gradual.

The original structure, as in most houses of the early period, had a staircase on the outside at one end of the gallery. It was usually of a simple design and led directly to a handsome doorway at the front of the house on the second floor. At the Beauregard House the staircase was at the rear

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37. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 17.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., pp. 17-18; Wilson, Plantation Houses on the Battlefield of New Orleans, pp. 49-51.

of the house at one end of the gallery. During the Cantrelle period the interior staircase was built, thereby reducing the size of the two rooms on the east, which in the original house matched these on the west. The original outside staircase was probably removed when the galleries were altered to receive the new columns.

The major differences found on the interior of a house between the French Colonial and the Greek Revival styles lay not so much in the arrangement of rooms as in the details of windows, doorways, fireplaces, mouldings, and cornices. In the Greek Revival style, mantels were sometimes made of marble and other times of delicately carved wood. The plaster cornices and center rosettes of the major rooms were of Greek derivation. Door and window casings were treated alike, wood paneling being used between the windowsills and the floor. In many of the more elaborate plantation houses, door mouldings and window casings were elegantly inscribed with leaves and garlands. The Greek Revival style of the Beauregard House lacked much of this elegance; instead, many of its architectural details, both on the interior and exterior, were of a simple variety.

The interior floor plan, except for the addition of the staircase, probably looked substantially as it did in former days, but perhaps added details were more in the Greek Revival style, however simple it might have been. Wilson attributed the remodeling done during the Madame Cantrelle ownership to James Gallier, Jr., because he was married to Madam Cantrelle's granddaughter and was also then at the height of his career in New Orleans--a logical person to design a house in the Greek Revival style.(40) Whether Gallier, Jr., was the architect of these later changes is difficult to say, but certainly in the absence of more adequate documentation, this theory seems plausible.

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40. Wilson, Plantation Houses on the Battlefield of New Orleans, pp. 49-51.

B. Fernandez y Lineros Period (1866-80)

When Jose Fernandez y Lineros, otherwise known as the Marquis de Trava, purchased the property in 1866, he called the house "Bueno Retiro."(41) Fernandez was born in Malaga, Spain. An educated man, he was undoubtedly familiar with the famous seventeenth-century palace of Buen Retiro in Madrid; hence, the probable origin of the name associated with the Beauregard House.(42)

After Fernandez bought the house he made several major changes to it.(43) The principal one at this time was the addition of a two-story brick wing at the west end, probably because he needed more room after the birth of his child, Fernando Francisco Jose Fernandez, on January 29, 1866.(44) The new wing had a flat roof and one room on each floor, each exactly the same depth as the rooms in the original house. The addition was constructed with eight-inch brick walls. It was at this time that the entire house, including the wing, received an exterior coating of stucco, scored and painted to resemble stone courses. Although the brickwork of the addition was not bonded into the original brickwork of the house, the stucco markings appear to have been laid out continuously over both areas. It is because of these construction features that the period of this remodelling can be approximated.

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41. New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 27, 1880.

42. Architecturally, there is no connection between the Beauregard House and the palace of Buen Retiro; Fernandez y Lineros apparently named his house Buen Retiro for sentimental reasons. See George Kubler and Martin Soria, Arts and Architecture In Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 22-23; Yves Bottineau, Living Architecture: Iberian American Baroque (London: Macdonald & Co., 1971), p. 1969.

43. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 18.

44. Batismal Records, St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, and letter, Mary D. Impastato to Dr. George Roffalovich, July, 1969, cited in Wilshin, "The Rene Beauregard House," pp. 36-37.

At the same time that the wing was added, the upper rear gallery was enclosed in glazed casement windows set above wood panels between the columns. It was also at this time that the shafts of the columns, originally only of whitewashed brick, were covered with stucco. This was proved by an examination of the way in which the gallery windows were set into the stucco.(45) The interesting, almost circular, exterior staircase in the rear gallery was probably also constructed at this time. Evidence of all these changes was found when Wilson restored the house for the National Park Service during 1957-58.(46) Some alterations to the interior of the house would have occurred at this time, but they probably involved only replacement of the wooden fireplace mantels and other less obvious details. Much of this, however, is supposition.

Samuel Wilson has reflected on the possibility that James Gallier, Jr., may also have been responsible for the remodelling done at this time because he was related to Fernandez's wife, Caroline Fabre. "If James Gallier, Jr. had made the first alterations in 1856 as previously suggested, the alterations of 1866 would have been a logical extension of his earlier work" stated Wilson. He went one step further in his rationale: "The change from the house as it probably was first built in 1832 to what it was on the completion of the alterations of 1866 was so complete that if Gallier was responsible for them, it was not surprising that he should be considered as the architect of the house."(47)

C. René Beauregard Period (1880-1904)

In 1880 Mrs. Jose Fernandez, who earlier had been awarded the property in a judgment against her husband, decided to sell it. In June it was sold to René Toutant

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45. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 19.

46. Ibid., p. 18; Wilson, Plantation Houses on the Battlefield of New Orleans, p. 69. See also Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) drawings of 1934 for many of the details of this remodelling. Copies in the National Park Service Denver Service Center.

47. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 19.

Beauregard for the relatively small sum of $4,100.(48) For several years afterward no major alterations seem to have been made on the house. Extant photographs depict the house as it appeared during the Fernandez period. Later, a two-story frame wing was added onto the east end of the structure. It was probably about this time that the old brick kitchen disappeared. The new wing was out of character with the rest of the house, its designer obviously possessing little architectural skill.(49)

Other than this wing, no visible alterations were made to the exterior of the house. On the other hand, there might have been some changes made to the interior. An exhibit in the Beauregard House, which is now being used as a visitor center for the National Park Service, contains a silver coin dated 1853 and two small pieces of tile--one red, the other blue. The exhibit states that the coin, placed under the hearth tiles for good luck, helped to establish the year of construction of the fireplace. Obviously, such a conclusion is misleading, since construction of the fireplace could have taken place anytime after 1853. Wilson believed that the tile was probably used in remodelling the hearth during the Beauregard period of ownership and not in the 1850s as the exhibit suggests.(50) Thus, although there were some changes made to the interior, in the absence of further evidence it is difficult to say what they were. In all probability, as in the case of the fireplaces, the changes involved minor architectural details and not major alterations.

In 1904, as a result of the many industrial changes affecting the Chalmette area, the Beauregards sold their land to the New Orleans Terminal Company. In the following years the

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48. Credit Sale, Mrs. Carmen Lesseps to Rene T. Beauregard, Act of James Fahey, June 4, 1880. Eight years later the property was expanded to include Lot No. 1, adjoining Lot No. 2, bought from Octava Toca for $3,000. See Act of E.A. Peyrous, September 24, 1888, Notarial Archives, Parish of St. Bernard.

49. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 19.

50. Louis Torres to Samuel Wilson, Jr., March 31, 1975; Wilson to Torres, April 11, 1975.

railroad company used the house for various purposes, and it was once occupied by tenant caretakers. During World War I it was used to quarter American troops preparing to embark for Europe.(51)

As long as the house was used as some form of habitation, it was maintained at some reasonable level of preservation. In 1934, at the time it was recorded by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), the house was still in fairly sound structural condition, although abandoned.(52) Not long after, however, both wings collapsed and vandals destroyed the interesting arched chimney in the attic as well as many brick walls on the interior and exterior and fireplaces. Almost all the woodwork was torn out and destroyed. Fortunately, the acquisition of the house and property by the state and its transfer to the National Park Service in 1949 saved it from total destruction.(53)

During 1957-58, under the direction of Samuel Wilson, the Beauregard House was stabilized, preserved, and partially restored at a cost of approximately $100,000.(54) The house was adaptively restored to serve as a visitor center for Chalmette National Historical Park. With the exception of the stucco, the exterior was restored to its approximate appearance of 1856-66. The exterior stucco, it will be recalled, was placed on the building during the Fernandez period (1866-80). It was not considered feasible to remove the stucco and restore the original brick because when the stucco was applied, the brick

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51. Conveyance, Act of H. Generes Dufour, November 28, 1904; Wilshin, "The Rene Beauregard House," p. 49.

52. While considerable interest was being generated toward the preservation of the Beauregard House during these years, several descriptions of the structure appeared in various publications some of which were as follows: Smith, White Pillars; Scott and Spratling, Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana; Laughlin, Ghosts Along the Mississippi.

53. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 19; Act of Watts K. Leverish, March 14, 1949.

54. "Facts About Beauregard House (visitor center)," note card in park files.

was severely hacked in order to provide a bond for receiving it.(55) The interior was adaptively restored to house exhibits on the Battle of New Orleans and to facilitate other visitor services. Work involved removing the original grooved cypress floors on the first story and replacing them with one-inch-thick Georgia marble. Two of the rooms on the upper level were combined for better visitor circulation when viewing the exhibits.

D. The Landscape

When Alexander Baron purchased Lot No. 2 in 1832 there were references only to the existence of a plantation. Neither the notice of sale nor the act of conveyance said anything about what was grown on this lot. It was only in 1848 when the Widow Baron donated her interest in the property to her brother, Lucien Malus, that something was said about the existence of "buildings and improvements" on the land. It is a fair assumption to say that soon after the house was built in 1833 "improvements" in the landscape probably followed, for it is difficult not to imagine a French Colonial structure in New Orleans without an attractive landscape as well.

The first specific evidence of a formal landscape surrounding the Beauregard House appeared in the 1866 notice of sale, when the property was sold to Jose Antonio Fernandez y Lineros. The notice referred to a "splendid orchard, containing every variety of rare fruit trees and vegetables, a beautiful flower garden, containing the choicest plants to be found."(56)

Little more was apparently said about the landscape until 1880, when an advertisement of sale described the structures as being "shaded by a magnificent lawn of magnolia and oak trees." Moreover, it depicted the land as being "exceedingly rich and productive, and under cultivation for vegetables and flowers." The notice of sale elaborated even further, stating that "the orchard contains a fine assortment of fruit trees, comprising orange, mespilus, imported pears and pecan trees, besides a large variety of figs, grapes, etc., thrifty and

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55. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 19.

56. Notice of sale, attached to conveyance, Credit Sale, Mrs. Caroline Fabre, July 5, 1866.

bearing."(57) In the 1880s, changes made to the levee forced changes in the property line of the Beauregard House, which reportedly forced the owners to remove many cypress trees from the lawn. Thus, the cypress was another species found on the property.(58)

The written evidence appears to be fairly abundant to prove that the Beauregard House was blessed with an attractive formal landscape. Even lacking this evidence one could hardly imagine this home, both as a French Colonial structure and later as a Greek Revival plantation house, without an attractive landscape to match its beauty. Nevertheless, in the absence of early illustrations, it would be difficult to determine precisely in what manner the property was landscaped.

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57. New Orleans Daily Picayune, March 27, 1880.

58. Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 45. For further details on the history and architecture of the Beauregard House, see Louis Torres and Curtis Lester, Historic Structure Report. Administrative, Historical, and Architectural Data and Historic Furnishings Study of the First Floor, Chalmette National Historical Park, Rene Beauregard House (Denver: National Park Service, 1978).

IDENTIFIED SITES AND STRUCTURES, CHALMETTE UNIT, JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

The following listed sites and structures represent the significant known cultural resources reposing within the boundaries of the Chalmette Unit. Specific information about each is encompassed in the body of this report.

1. Rodriguez Canal.
2. Site of American intrenchments and artillery batteries.
3. Site of Rodriguez Plantation complex.
4. Site of British advance batteries of January 1, 1815.
5. Site of British attacks of December 28, 1814; January 1, 1815; and January 8, 1815, including the sites of Centre Road and the several drainage ditches that traversed the field.
6. Chalmette Monument.
7. Spotts Marker.
8. Site of Confederate earthworks. (While the site of most of the intrenchments proper lies beyond the east wall of the national cemetery, part of the area of occupation of the works was within the present park boundary.
9. National Cemetery.
10. G.A.R. Monument.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This Historic Resource Study seeks to identify and evaluate those cultural resources most closely associated with the history of the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park. With this document as a basis, the following projects are recommended to further enhance the historical record and to aid in the interpretation of the site to the public.

1. A study of the uniforms, equipment, and appearance of the different units that served at New Orleans in 1814-15. Although parts of this study might be included in the histories of individual units mentioned below, it is recommended that the data on uniforms and equipment be presented comprehensively in a separate study.

2. An intensive search for documentary information about the role of the Rodriguez House during the battles of 1814-15. Some pertinent material has surfaced recently, necessitating a concentrated effort to precisely ascertain the manner in which the house was used by the American forces.

3. Conduct research on the New Orleans campaign in British archives. Although copies of official British war records are available in the Library of Congress, other British repositories on the national and local levels should yield additional record sources concerning the campaign of 1814-15. It is likely that these repositories contain personal letters, journals, diaries, and maps that bear significantly on the military and naval history of the British expedition to America.

4. An in-depth study of the British and American artillery at New Orleans to precisely delineate the configuration of the opposing ordnance and batteries on the battlefield during the engagements of December 28, 1814; January 1, 1815; and January 8, 1815. This study should consider the American artillery component from a regional perspective to best determine the size, availability, and location of guns at Jackson's disposal throughout the campaign.

5. An intensive study of the action of January 8, 1815, on the west bank of the Mississippi. This action, while overshadowed by the battles occurring across the Mississippi, was nonetheless important to developments on the east bank. Indeed, had events gone as Pakenham intended, the west bank action might have proved the undoing of Jackson's position on the east bank. Sites on the west bank should be identified to

ensure the accurate incorporation of those military movements in the interpretation of the Battle of New Orleans.

6. An in-depth treatment of the participation of Choctaw Indians in the New Orleans campaign. This should include an examination of the circumstances under which the Indians were recruited, a discussion of specific operations they took part in, along with a determination of any Government benefits that might have accrued to them for their service. It might also be useful to see what the modern Choctaws' oral traditions reveal of the martial services of their ancestors.

7. A detailed history of British and American naval operations during the New Orleans campaign, to include the role of the British supply vessels, navigation of the waters around New Orleans for a radius of 200 miles, and the British naval assault on Fort St. Philip, January 9-17, 1815.

8. Individual histories of the various units, British and American (regular, militia, and volunteer) that served in the New Orleans campaign of 1814-15.

9. Biographical studies of the several prominent leaders in the Battles of New Orleans. These individuals enjoyed careers preceding and, in some cases, following the battles; many officers made significant contributions to British and American military history in other quarters and for purposes of interpretation their entire lives should be treated. Such information will provide additional perspective into facets of human motivation that may have influenced decisions concerning the conduct of the various battles, thereby illuminating the record. Other than Andrew Jackson, whose life and military career are perhaps adequately documented, candidates for biographical treatment might include Generals Edward M. Pakenham, Samuel Gibbs, John Keane, John Coffee, William Carroll, and John Adair, and Commodore Daniel T. Patterson.

10. A study based on archival sources of land transfers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries affecting the Rodriguez property.

11. A study of the plantations in the immediate vicinity of the battlefield, namely those of Macarty, Rodriguez, Chalmette, Bienvenue, de la Ronde, Lacoste, and Villeré. The land encompassed by these tracts figured more or less decisively in the engagements of December 23 and 28, 1814, and January 1 and 8, 1815. A detailed study would identify the historic scene and buildings that might have been appropriately utilized by

the opposing forces and would contribute to a broader understanding of events in the area adjoining the park unit.

12. A study of the modern community of Fazendeville, which existed on the Chalmette plain until 1964. This study should employ both historical and sociological data to discuss the evolution of this all-black community on the battlefield, as well as to assess the economic and social conditions under which its inhabitants lived. It might also address any social and/or political pressures that contributed to the demise of Fazendeville in the 1960s.

APPENDIX A

List of the officers and men serving at the Batteries, with their names, rank, and Corps to which they respectively belonged. Also the names of Men killed & wounded up to this date. Camp 16th Jany 1815.

1st Battery	Captn Humphrey		Artillery
"	2d Lieut Elgin		"
"	Wm Blanchard		Volunteer
"	Caleb Mimby		Sergeant Adjt.
"	Isaac Wiley		" "
"	Richd Stevenson		Corporal
"	Clark Baten		"
"	Adam Spid		Artificer
"	John Atwell		Private
"	Jonathan Barber		d°
"	William Cassidy		d°
"	Thomas Cissna		d°
"	Josiah Davis		d°
"	Edward Durgan		d°
"	John Fhemar		d°
"	William Love		d°
"	Samuel McGee		d°
"	David King, Music		d°
"	Alexander Holmes,	Artificer	d°
"	Samuel Mayne	d°	d°
"	Lewis Brothers	d°	d°
"	John Baptiste	d°	d°
"	John Chapple	Volunteer	
"	William Emerson	d°	d°
"	Bisqueet	d°	d°
"	Francis Dequine	Private--Capt.	St. James
"	Francis Dibeck	d°	d°
"	Daniel Kayne	Corporal--7th	Infantry
"	Mark Hart	Private	d°
"	Martin Duncan	d°	d°

Killed and Wounded.

"	James Campbell--Artificer--Capt. Humphrey		Killed 28th Dec. 1814.
"	Robert Donnigan--Private	d°	Killed 1st Jany 1815
"	John Bridwell	d°	d° Killed 8th d°
"	John Roe	d°	d° Wounded 1st d° d°
"	William Welch--Artificer--Capt. Wollstoncraft.		Killed 28th Dec 1814
"	William Carroll--Vollunteer		Killed 1st Jany 1815.

2nd Battery, Commanded by 1st Lieut. Norris of the Navy.

"	Erasmus Watkins	Master
"	E. Brean	Volunteers
"	Samuel Holoman	Seaman
"	L. Murray	D°
"	P. Short	D°
"	John Graham	D°
"	John Hartman	D°
"	George May	D°
"	James Evans	D°
"	James Burns	D°
"	John Shupton	D°
"	William Whitehouse	D°
"	John Calwell	D°
"	William Blake	D°
"	D. McCloud	D°
"	J. Edwards	D°
"	L. Linson	Boy

Killed on the 1st Instant--Christian Sileson, Carpenter.

3d Battery, Commanded by Captain Dominique

Jean Lulan	Chef de piece
Etieme Tour	Seaman
Jean Sapia	D°
Jratrian	D°
Baptiste Plauche	D°
Pierre Brulor	D°
Barthelemy	D°
Lauriat	D°
Jacques Alain	D°
Joarmy	D°
Mackerie	D°
Sterling	D°

Wounded on the 1st Vincent Gamby--Lortalot Sellegrin[?] Canon, Michel Monson, Sean Boutin

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4th Battery, Commanded by Capt. Beluche.

Christophe, chef de piece	
Manuel Domingo	Seaman
Andre Serresol	do
Joseph Terrabonne	do
Jean Jnard	do
Baptiste Merle	do
Jacque Canon	do
Dominique Larabot	do
Bertrand	
Ferrand	
Francois Vetuais	
Francois veau Luisant	
Jean	
Rainaud Isenard	

5th Battery, Commanded by Lieut. Crawley (Navy).

	Wm Livingston	master's mate
	John F. Pitot	midshipman
	John Osborn	boatswain mate
	John Fulton	qr master navy
	John Hall	Seaman
	Samuel Mastmas[?]	do
	Henry Roble	do
	Thomas Brown	do
	John Armstrong	do
	Levy Ewell[?]	do
	Charles Cook	do
	Abm Dunmore	do
	John Williams	do
	David Evans	private 44th Infy
	Wm Pickering	do do
	Robert Jackson	do do

Killed, Manuel Peres, 44th Infy. John Winstrom
four volunteers--name unknown
Levi Heathcoch--Seaman--Wounded
John Armstrong--Seaman--44th Regt D°
John Grey D° D° D°

6th Battery, Commanded by LC Perry
3d Lieutenant Kerr

Corporal	John Newell	Capt. Humphrey	Artillery
Private	David Rutherford	D°	D°
"	William McCullogh	D°	D°
	William Dougherty		
"	Evan Sneed	D°	D°
"	Francis Rigsby	D°	D°
"	Hugh Maston	D°	D°
"	James Buckley	D°	D°
"	Samuel Garish	D°	D°
"	Martin Lanoire	D°	D°
"	William Burrows	D°	D°
"	William Wayne	Corporal	Marines
"	Henry Graff	Private	D°
"	James Strange	D°	D°
"	Roderick Doherty	D°	D°
"	Thomas Gilmore	D°	2d Infy
"	Wm Johnson	D°	44th Infy
"	Saml Rowen	D°	D°
"	Vincent	D°	D°
"	Wm Davis	D°	7th Infy

Slater [T. Pater?] Killed on the 1st Inst.

7th Battery commanded by Brigadier General Garrique Flaujac

2d Lieutenant Bertel	
Jean Guerin	Private
Jean Vadil	do
Louis Ayat	do
Louis St. Germain	D°
Charles Lee	D°
Pierre bibart	D°
Louis Miniche	do
Pierre Rabic	do
Nicole	do

8th Battery commanded by 2d Lieut. Samuel Spotts Artillery

3d Lieutenant Louis Chaureau		
Wm B. Jenkins	Sergt	Artillery
Benjamin Wilcox	do	do
Robert Pancost	Artificer	do
John W. Fancier	do	
Thomas Hutchinson	Musician	do
Richard Walker	Private	do
Thaddeus Stevenson	do	
Wm Bolke [?]	do	
John Lightel	do	
John Williams	do	
Edward Eulen	do	
John DuRoudeau [?]	do	
Robert Nelson	do	
James Black	do	
Albort Gill	Hostler [?]	

Killed on the 8th Inst. James Mac
Wounded on the 8th James Ferral

9th Battery Commanded by Lieut. Harrison of the Artillery.

Corporal Joseph Marsh	44th	Infantry
Private William Preston	7th	D°
" Thomas Adams	D°	D°
" James Maloy	D°	D°
" Jessey Holly	D°	D°
" Fleet Potts	D°	D°
" William W. Callob private	7th	Infantry
Thomas Green D°	D°	
John Cherrington D°	D°	
George Brand D°	D°	

10th (or 1st Battery on the river,) Commanded by
Lieut. Barbrir De Bellevere of the Marines

John Hauckey	Sergeant	Marines
George Povic	Corporal	D°
Thomas Burke	Private	D°
Stephen Foster	D°	D°
Jonathan Hattan	D°	D°
Henry Spears	D°	D°
Jacob Browers	D°	D°
Jacob Attiback	D°	D°
Joseph Lewis	D°	D°
John Shaun	D°	D°
Michael Durf	D°	D°
John Benner	D°	D°
Bernard Lavivierre	D°	D°
Hezekiah Parner	D°	D°

11th (or 2d Battery on the river) Commanded by Charles R. Blanchard, Engineer

Charles Winn, Midshipman--Commanding one Gun

Captain David Roberts	D°	D°
Captain Griffin	D°	D°
Captain Leeds	D°	D°
Lieut. Montagut	Marine Corps	
Sergeant Rico	"	"
Corporal McClinton	Marines	
Corporal Shean	D°	
Music. Grasfield	D°	
" Read	D°	
Private Joseph Bell	D°	
" David Davis	D°	
" Thomas McDonald	D°	
" John Tinks	D°	
" Samuel Johns	D°	
" Patrick Avei	D°	
" Bob Roberts	D°	
" William Strichling	D°	
" Peter Searey	D°	
" Grant Stiles	D°	
" George Pentecost	D°	
" John Russell	D°	
" William Evans	D°	
" Archibald Gillis	D°	
" Tagrus Handerson	D°	

" Jacob Montgomery D°
" John Kelly D°
" Alexander Williams D°
" Frederick Little D°

Lt. Chauvereu Liurten
artillery. actg adjt

At the Bomb [mortar]

Lt Gitteint Engineer
Lt Lefevre
" Lessrilleris [?]
" Dubois
Sergt Malley of the 7th Infantry

Wm Macrea
Lt Col Artillery

APPENDIX B

SPECIFICATION
FOR
SUPERINTENDENT'S LODGE
AT
CHALMETTE NATIONAL MILITARY CEMETERY
NEAR NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA. [1880]*

The building, 52 feet 1 inch long by 20 feet 7 inches wide, to be of brick, two sotries in ehight; each story to be subdivided into two rooms and a central hall, and each to be 11 feet 7 inches clear in height; the whole to be surrounded by a porch 10 feet wide and one story in height.

The general arrangement is clearly explained by the drawings, upon which the necessary dimensions are figured.

EXCAVATION.

Necessary excavations to be made for foundation of piers and chimney-stacks; also trenches for drain-pipes; lay 8-inch vitrified drain-pipes from down spouts of roof to cistern wherever necessary, and cover the same when completed.

FOUNDATION.

All foundations to commence 18 inches below the natural surface of the ground, and to be of the dimensions and form as shown by drawings, with suitable footings; to be built of hard, well-burnt brick laid in cement mortar, resting upon a continuous bed of cement concrete 6 inches thick, and to be carried up true and plumb to the level of the first-story floor, 5 feet 6 inches above surface of ground; the top course of the foundation for the

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*NA, RG 92. General Correspondence. Specifications.

building to be leveled off and one course of slate laid thereon. Above the ground the foundation for the building and porch will consist of a series of segmental arches resting on piers, as shown on drawings.

WALLS.

The exterior wall to start at first-story floor, 5 feet 6 inches above surface of ground, and to be 15½ inches thick throughout its height; to be built hollow, with an inside furring of brick, one-half brick in thickness, leaving a space of 2 inches between its inner face and the body of the wall, which will be one brick thick, as per accompanying sketch.

The wall to be faced with first quality red brick, all laid in white mortar with close joints. The partition walls to be built of good red brick laid in lime mortar, and to be one brick thick.

CUT STONE.

All the piers of the porch to be capped with cut stone-4 inches thick; the imposts of first-story windows and outside door to be of cut stone 4 inches thick, all to be as shown on drawing. The sills of all the windows and outside doors to be of cut stone 4 inches thick, of suitable length, with not less than 11-inch wash.

FACINGS.

Facings to first-story windows and outside doors to be 2 inches.

CHIMNEYS.

The fire-places and chimneys, each with two flues, properly pargeted, scraped, and with thimbles, flanges, and plates for stove-pipes in second story, to be as shown on drawing; to commence 18 inches below surface of ground, to be carried up above the roof and properly capped; the topping-out to be of good red brick laid in whte mortar.

FIRE-PLACES.

Fire-places to be cased and hearths laid with hard red brick, and fitted with suitable grates.

OUTSIDE STEPS.

The front and rear steps, front ground to porch level, to be as shown on drawing; to be built of had-burnt brick laid in cement mortar; the treads to be of hard paving brick laid on edge.

PLASTERING.

All interior walls, partitions, and ceilings lathed; to be plastered with three coats of best quality lime, sharp sand, and hair mortar. The last coat to be hard finished.

CARPENTER'S WORK.

Timber.

Floor joists for both stories to be 3x10", ceiling joist of second story 2x8", all to be placed 16 inches between centers. Floor joists to be trussed with two rows of cross bridging.

Rafters.

The rafters for the building to be 2x6", framed on the ceiling joists and properly braced with inch boards. The rafters for porch to be 2x6", placed 24 inches between centers.

Windows.

In lower story, 6 circular-headed windows, with box frames, having 1¼-inch pulleys and hanging stiles, and double sash 17 inches thick; lower sash with 4 lights and upper sash 6 lights, as shown on drawings. In upper story, 8 segment-headed windows, with similar frames and sash, each sash with 4 lights, all to be hung with proper cord and weights, and to be provided with proper brass sash-locks. The outside doors to have a transom, fan-shaped, as shown on drawing.

All the windows in second story to be provided with outside Venetian blinds, 1½ inches thick, to be of hard pine, and to open in the center, with proper inside and outside fastenings; the lower panel to have movable slats. Pediments to have ventilating windows, as shown on drawing.

Doors.

Each room to have one door opening from the hall, as shown on drawing; each to be double faced, with 4 panels, 1½ inches thick, hung with 3½-inch butts, and fastened with 6-inch mortise locks and white mineral furniture. Front and rear hall doors to be as shown on drawings, 1 3/4 inches thick, double faced, and double hung with 5-inch butts, and provided with 6-inch mortise locks, plated furniture, bolts, and night-latches. Closet doors to be single faced, 1½ inches thick, and provided with proper locks and knobs.

Closets.

Closets to be provided for and set up when shown on drawing, and furnished with proper shelving, books, and fixtures.

Floors.

All floors to be of best quality 5-4 seasoned hand pine, tongued and grooved, blind-nailed and laid in courses; to be free from knots or defects, mill-worked and smooth. All floors to be deafened by at least 4 inches of lime mortar.

Stairs.

To be as shown on plan; to consist of one flight with winders; the tread of 5-4 hard pine, to be tongued, glued, and blocked to the risers 4-4 thick, with molded nosings and returns. The rail to be 3¼ inches molded and 2¼ inches turned ballusters, with 9-inch turned newel-post, all to be of black walnut, oiled and rubbed. The rail with ballusters and posts to continue around the well in second story.

Mantels.

All open fire-places to be provided with plain stone or marbleized slate mantels.

Porch.

To be as shown on drawing; flooring to be laid with 5-4 marrow hard pine plank, tongued and grooved, mill-worked and smooth, blind-nailed, and laid on 2x* joists resting on wall and foundation arches, with one of bridging in center. Ceiling of roof to be covered with 4-4 narrow pine plank.

Trimmings.

All windows and doors to be trimmed on the inside with jambs, head-casings, and plain beaded architraves. The rooms and halls to have 10-inch wash-boards, with 2½-inch sub and a 2-inch molding.

Roof.

Roof of porch and dwelling to be sheathed with 4-4 boards laid with close joints and well nailed to rafters, and covered with best quality cypress shingles, showing not over 4½ inches to the weather, and provided with the necessary look-outs for cornices.

IRON WORK.

Provide for and set up in position, as shown on drawing, 28 cast-iron Ionic Corinthian columns, 9 inches diameter at neck and 10 feet in height; to be furnished by the United States.

Also provide and set up wrought-iron railing, with ornamented cast-iron newel-post, to front and rear, steps, as shown on drawing.

TINNING.

Step-flash around all chimneys; provide for and set up all necessary guttering and spouting from both roofs, connecting spouting with the 8-inch vitrified drain-pipes to cistern.

GLAZING.

All windows and transoms to be glazed with best American glass; to be well bedded, bradded, and back-puttied.

PAINTING.

All the inside and outside work necessary to be painted to have 3 coats of white lead in boiled oil; color to be slected by the Engineer. Doors to be grained, either in walnut or oak, if desired.

CLEANSING.

All rubbish of every kind to be removed during the progress of the work, when necessary, and on the completion of the building the premises to be left broom clean.

MATERIAL AND WORKMANSHIP.

All materials used in the building to be of the best quality of their several kinds, and the work done in a neat, substatial, and workmanlike manner, conforming in every respect, both in form and dimensions, to bhe drawings herewith annexed and to these specifications.

All labor and material that may be necessary for the proper completion of the building, which may not have been mentioned and described in these specifications, shall be done and the same furnished as though mentioned therein, so as to form a complete and thoroughly constructed building, ready for immediate occupation.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

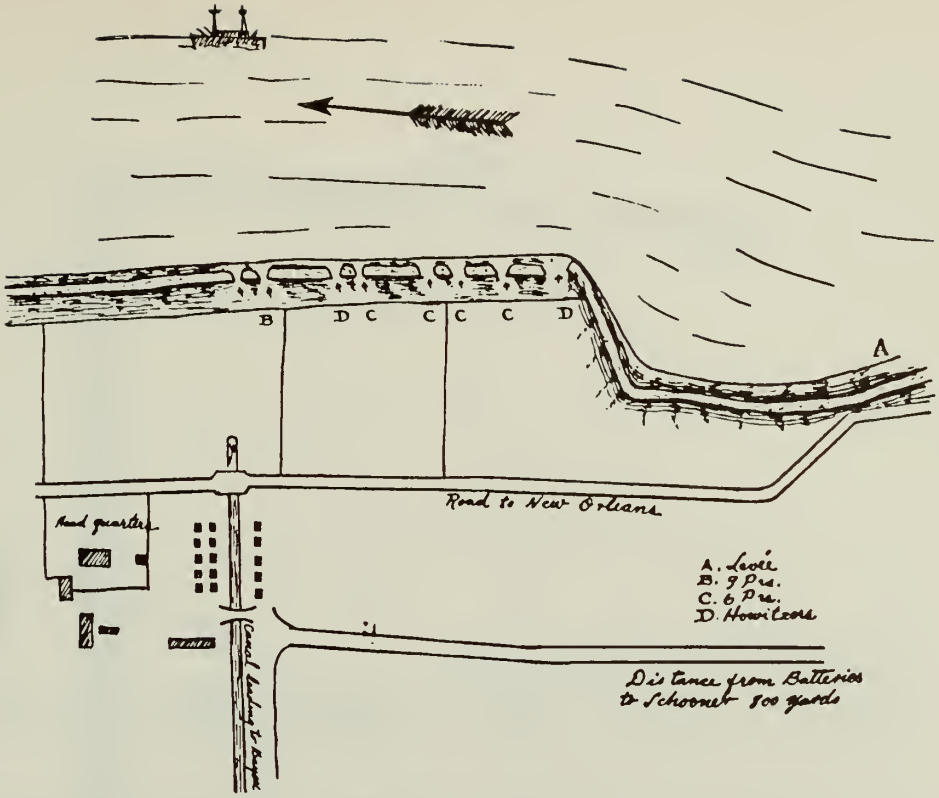
Illustration 1

Sketch maps prepared by Alexander Dickson.

Top: Location of battery erected on the riverbank by the British during the night of December 25-26, 1814.

Bottom: Location of the battery installed by the British along the levee road on the edge of the Chalmette plantation.

From Alexander Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana, 1814-1815," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961).


B
D C
C
C
C
D
A
Road to New Orleans
Road quarters
Canal leading to Bayou
A. Levée
B. 9 Pds.
C. 6 Pds.
D. Howitzers
Distance from Batteries to Schooner 800 yards

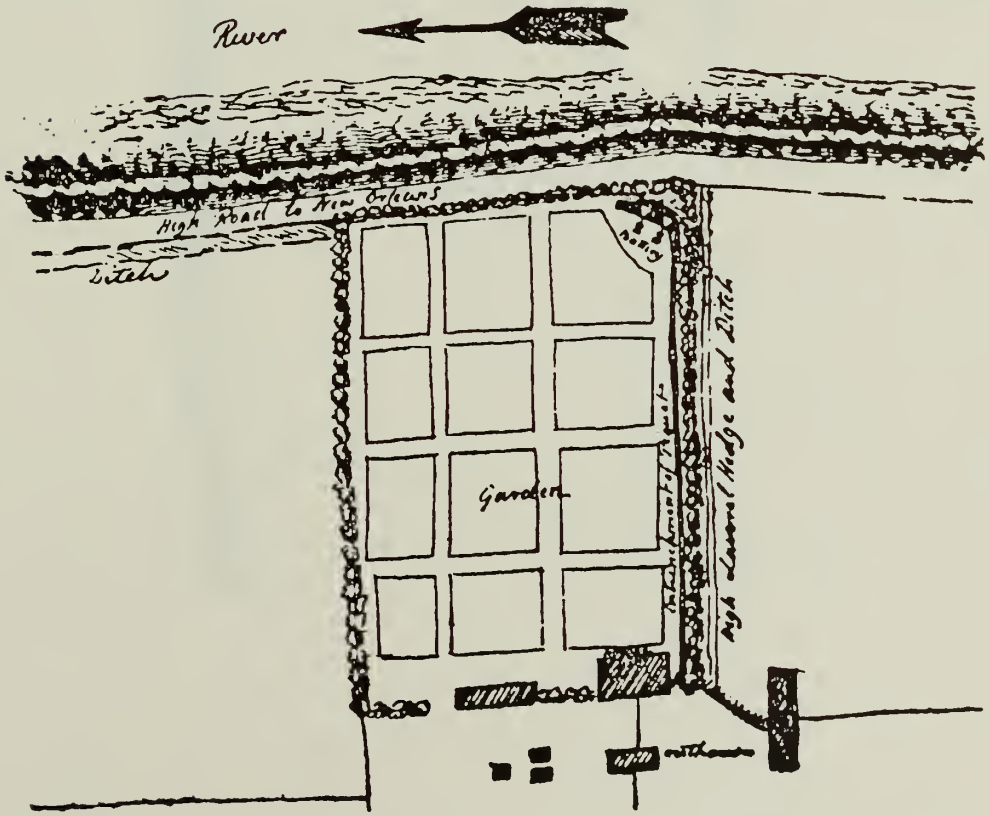

River
High Road to New Orleans
Ditch
Garden
High Causeway Ridge and Ditch

Illustration 2

Sketch map of the location of British batteries established by January 1, 1815.

From Alexander Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana, 1814-1815," Lousiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961).

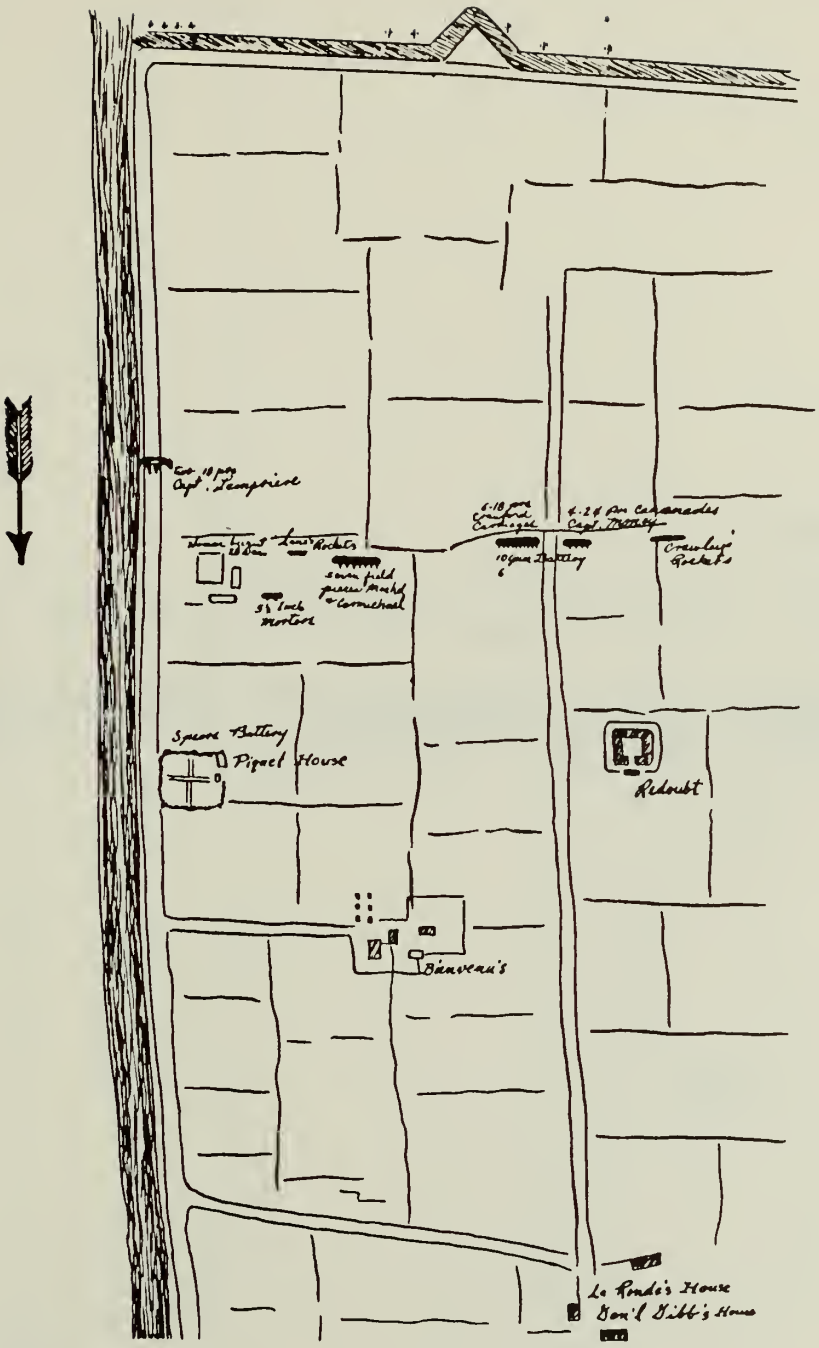

Capt. Dempriere
Rockets
Spanish Battery
Piquet House
Redoubt
Bonveau's
Le Ponde's House
Don'l Gibb's House

Illustration 3

"Plan of the Attack and Defense of the American Lines," January 8, 1815, by A. LaCarriere Latour.

From Historical Memoir of the War in West Florida and Louisiana in 1814-15 (original publication 1816; reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964).

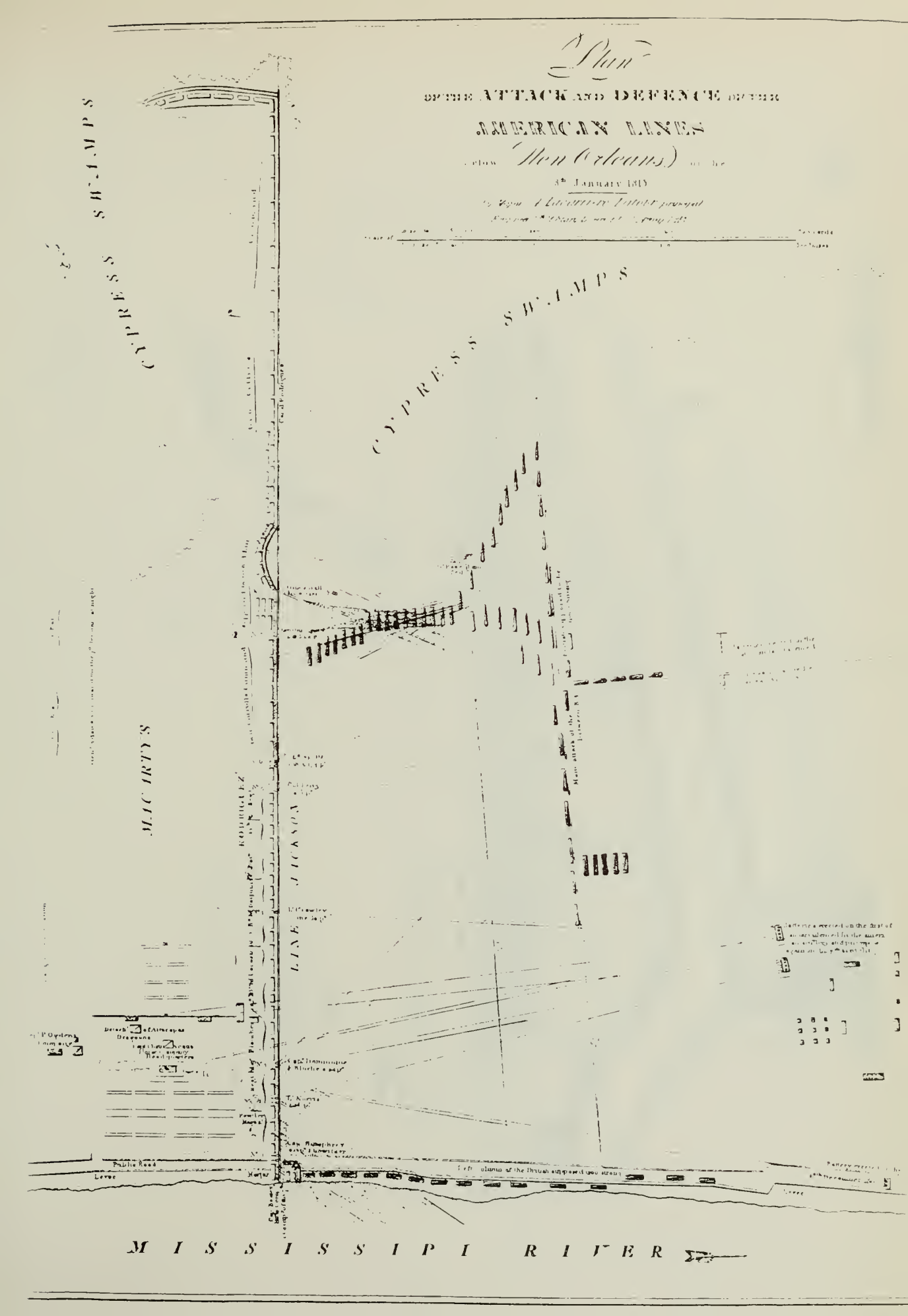

Plan
OF THE ATTACK AND DEFENCE OF THE
AMERICAN LINES
(below New Orleans)
8th January 1815
CYPRESS SWAMPS
CYPRESS SWAMPS
MACARTY'S
LINE JACKSON
Public Road
Levee
MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Illustration 4

"Sketch of the Position of the British and American Forces during the operations against New Orleans from the 23d Decr to the 8th of Jany." This British map has been attributed to various authors, among them Lieutenant John Peddie and J.F. Bourgoyne.

Lilly Library, Indiana University

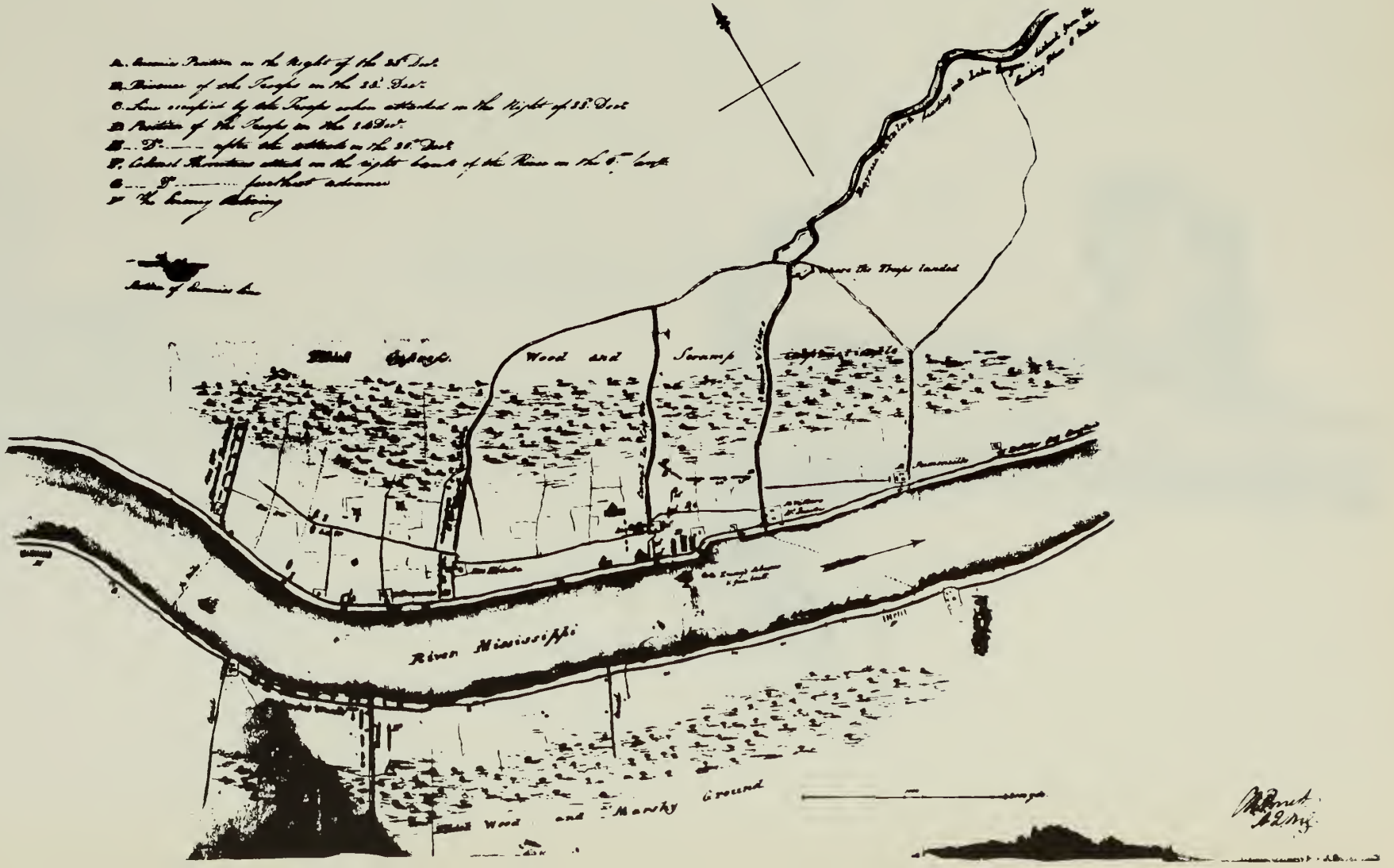

Sketch of the Position
of the British and American Forces
during the operations against New Orleans
from the 23d Dec. to the 8th of Jan.
A. American Position on the Right of the 28th Dec.
B. Advance of the Troops on the 23d Dec.
C. Line occupied by the Troops when attacked on the Night of 28th Dec.
D. Position of the Troops on the 28th Dec.
E. Do. of the the attack on the 28th Dec.
F. Colonel Thornton attack on the right bank of the River on the 6th Inst.
G. Do. Do. farthest advance
H. The heavy Battery
Where the Troops landed
Wood and
Swamp
River Mississippi
Wood and
Marshy
Ground

Illustration 5

Abraham R. Ellery's map of Jackson's line as it appeared January 8, 1815.

New York Public Library

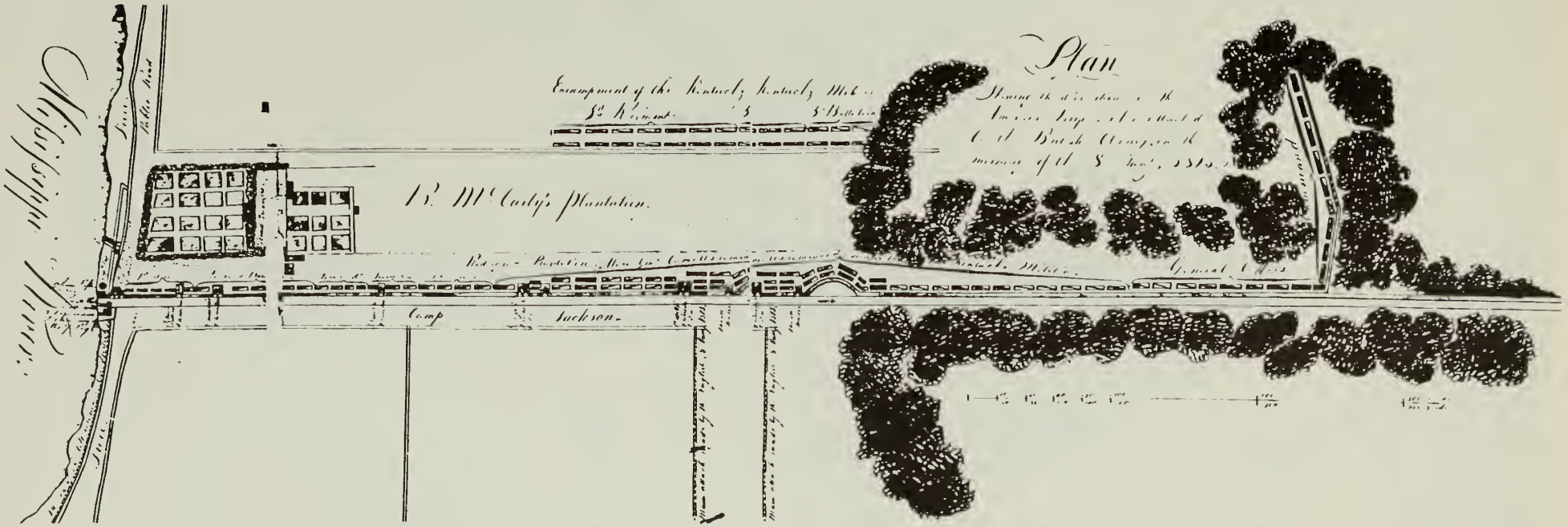

Plan
Encampment of the Kentucky Kentucky Mil
Mr. McCarty's Plantation.
Camp Jackson.
General Office

Illustration 6

Map showing location of Line Montreuil, excerpted from "Plan of the City and Suburbs of New Orleans," 1815, by J. Tanesse, City Surveyor.

Louisiana Collection, Tulane University Library



Illustration 7

Map of the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, redrawn from Alexander Dickson's sketch, with action as follows:

1. Flank battalion led by Lieutenant Colonel Jones attacking through wood.

2. Major General Gibbs's column.

3. Major General Keane's column.

4. Reserve under Major General Lambert advancing in support.

5. Flank battalion of Colonel Rennie attacking redoubt.

From Alexander Dickson, "Journal of Operations in Louisiana, 1814-1815," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January-April, 1961).

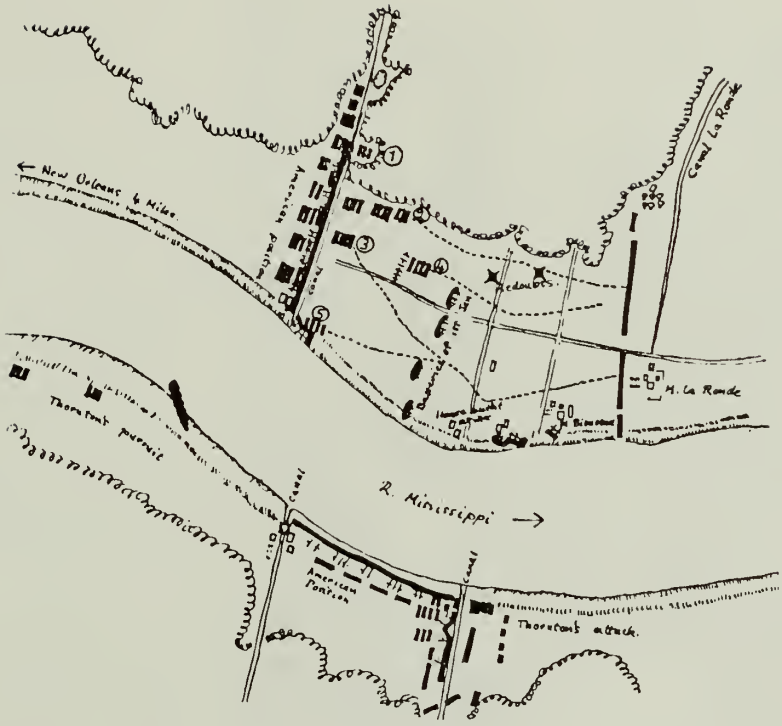

← New Orleans 4 Miles
Canal La Ronde
M. La Ronde
R. Mississippi →
Canal
American Position
Canal
Thornton's attack.

Illustration 8

Hyacinthe Laclotte's view of the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815. Engraved by Debucourt.

New York Public Library



Illustration 9

Key to the Hyacinthe Laclotte view of the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815. (See preceeding page.)

Historic New Orleans Collection



Key of the Print

Representing the Attack made by the *British Army*, under Sir *Edward Packenham*, on the lines of *Intrenchment* of the *American Army*, commanded by *Major General Andrew Jackson*, in the plain of *Chalmette's* plantation, on the left bank of the *Mississipi*, five miles east of *New-Orleans*.

Extract from the Report of the American Army

On the 8th *January* 1815, at day-break, the *British Army*, 12,000 strong, attacked in two columns the *Intrenchment* of camp *Jackson*, defended by 3,600 men. The right of the enemy was mowed down by a continual fire of artillery and musketry; the left reached the line; a few officers and soldiers penetrated into the unfinished redoubts on the bank of the river, and there found their graves. That day decided the fate of *New-Orleans*. The enemy, after experiencing the loss of their commander in chief, part of their *General Staff* and a large number of their soldiers in killed, wounded, and prisoners, abandoned their heavy artillery, and recommended their wounded to the generosity of the *Conqueror*.

American Army.

N° 1—2. *Line* of *Intrenchment* of 1000 yards long, prolonged in the wood to the distance of 600 yards.

3. Advanced redoubt at the head of the line, on the bank of the river, defended by two pieces of artillery, supported by the riflemen and a company of the 2d regiment.

4 *Company* of riflemen, Captain *Beale*; and a company of the 7th regiment.

5. *Captain Humphrey*, two 12 pounders.

6. *Major General Andrew Jackson*, commander in chief, and his *Staff*.

7. *Lieutenant Norris*, one 24 pounder, *Major Plauche's* batallion composed of the company of grenadiers, *Captain Roche*, of the chasseurs, *Captain Guibert*; of the boulans, *Captain Major St. Gême*; of the franes *Captain Hudry*, and of *Captain White's* company.

8. *Captains Dominique* and *Bluche*, two 24 pounders; *Major Lacoste's* batallion, formed of the men of colour of *New-Orleans*, and *Major Daquin's* batallion, formed of the men of colour of *St. Domingo*, under *Major Savary*, second in command.

9. *Lieutenant Crowey*, one 32 pounder of the 44th regiment, *Colonel Ross*.

10. *Colonel Perry*, two 12 pounders.

11. *General Garrigue*, one 12 pounder.

12. *Lieutenant Spotts*, one 18 pounder, one 14 pounder, and a small howitzer.

13—14. Divisions of *General Carrol* and *General Adair*, composed of *Tennessee* and *Kentucky* militia, and farther in the wood, *General Coffee's* division.

15. *Captain Chauveau's* cavalry and the dragoons of the Attakapas

16. The house of *Macarty's* plantation, head quarters.

17. The house of *Rodrigues's* plantation.

British Army.

A. B. The *British Army*, divided in two columns, during the attack made on the line of *Intrenchment* of *General Jackson*.

C. The right column of the *British Army*, principal attack, commanded by the *General in Chief*

D. *Death* of the *General in Chief*, Sir *Edward Packenham*.

E. F Left column of 1,500 men strong commanded by *Colonel Renee*.

G. *Colonel Renee*, killed upon the *Intrenchment*.

H. Battery erected on the 1st of *January* 1815, silenced by the *American Artillery*, and erected again on the 7th in the night.

I. Battery hidden by the right column.

L. Redoubt made with earth, 600 yards farther, a similar redoubt

M Ruins of the buildings of *Chalmette's* plantation

N. 910 yards from the line, on the public road, was an uncovered battery

Certificate

New Orleans July 1815

The Subscribers certify, that M. *Hyacinthe Laclotte's* View of the Battle of the 8th of January 1815, gives an accurate plan of the ground, and of the attack and defence; and that all the local objects in the View are delineated with the greatest fidelity and therefore consider his *picture* as highly valuable, not only for the genius and spirit of the representation but for the accuracy of the plan.

G. J. Ross, Colonel 44th regiment.
William Mccrabb Lieut Colonel Artillery
H D. Peire, Major 44th regiment.
J. B. Plauche, Major
St. Gême, Cap. Major
P Lacoste, Major
Louis Daquin, Major
A Lacarrigue-Latour, principal Engineer 7th military district.
Brigadier General Humbert.
Edward Livingston.
A Dauzat du Castera, Aid de Camps to Major General
A L Duncan, Andrew Jackson
J. A Gayoso.

The above named were the only Superior Officers of the Army residing at New-Orleans at the time the drawing was completed.

Clef de la Gravure

Représentant l'Attaque faite par l'*Armée Anglaise*, sous le commandement de sir *Edward Packenham*, sur la ligne de *Retranchement* de l'*Armée Américaine*, commandée par le *Major-Général Andrew Jackson*, dans la plaine de l'habitation *Chalmette*, sur la rive gauche du *Mississipi*, à cinq milles est de la *Nouvelle-Orléans*.

Extrait du Bulletin de l'Armée Américaine.

Le 8 *Janvier* 1815, au point du jour, l'*Armée Anglaise*, forte de 12,000 hommes, attaqua sur deux colonnes le *Retranchement* du camp *Jackson*, composé de 3,600 hommes; la droite de l'ennemi fut criblée par un feu continuel d'artillerie et de mousqueterie; la gauche atteignit la ligne: un petit nombre d'officiers et de soldats pénétrèrent dans la redoute au bord du fleuve, ils y trouvèrent leur tombeau. Cette journée décida du sort de la *Nouvelle-Orléans*. L'ennemi, après avoir éprouvé la perte de son Général en chef, d'une partie de son état-major, et d'une très-grande quantité de soldats tués, blessés, ou prisonniers, ne songea plus qu'à fuir, abandonnant sa grosse artillerie, et recommandant les blessés à la générosité du *Vainqueur*.

Armée Américaine.

N° 1—2. Ligne de *Retranchement* de 500 toises de long, prolongée de 300 toises dans le bois.

3. Redoute avancée à la tête de la ligne au bord du fleuve, défendue par deux pièces d'artillerie, soutenue par les carabiniers et une compagnie du 7e régiment.

4 Compagnie des carabiniers, Capitaine *Beale*, et une compagnie du 7e regiment.

5. *Capitaine Humphrey*, deux pièces de 12.

6. Le *Major-Général Andrew Jackson*, Commandant en chef, et son *Etat-Major*.

7. *Lieutenant Norris*, une pièce de 24; le bataillon du *Major Planché*, composé de la compagnie des grenadiers, *Capitaine Roche*; des chasseurs, *Capitaine Guibert*; des boulans, *Capitaine-Major St. Gême*; des francs, *Capitaine Hudry*; et de la compagnie du *Capitaine White*.

8 *Capitaines Dominique*, et *Bluche*, deux pièces de 24. Bataillon du *Major Lacoste*, composé des hommes de couleur de la *Nouvelle-Orléans*, et le bataillon du *Major Daquin*, composé des hommes de couleur de *Saint-Domingue*, commandé en second par le *Major Savary*.

9. *Lieutenant Crowey*, une pièce de 32 du 44e régiment. *Colonel Ross*.

10. *Colonel Perry*, deux pièces de 12.

11. *Général Carrigue*, une pièce de 12.

12. *Lieutenant Spotts*, une pièce de 18, une de 14, et un petit obusier.

13—14. Divisions des *Généraux Carrol* et *Adair*, composées des milices du *Tennessee* et *Kentucky*; et, dans la prolongation dans le bois, la division du *Général Coffee*.

15. Compagnie de cavalerie du *Capitaine Chauveau*, et des dragons des *Attacapas*.

16. Maison de l'habitation *Macarty*, servant de quartier-général.

17. Maison de l'habitation *Rodrigues*.

Armée Anglaise.

A. B. *Armée Anglaise*, divisée en deux colonnes, au moment de l'attaque sur la ligne de *Retranchement* défendue par le *Général Jackson*.

C. Colonne droite des *Anglais*, et principale attaque commandée par le *Général en Chef*.

D. Mort du *Général en Chef* sir *Edward Packenham*.

E. F. Colonne de gauche, forte de 1,200 hommes, commandée par le *Colonel Renee*.

G. Le *Colonel Renee*, tué en montant à l'assaut.

H. Batterie élevée le 1er *Janvier* 1815, démontée par l'*Artillerie Américaine*, et relevée dans la nuit du 7 au 8.

I. Batterie couverte par la colonne droite.

L. Redoute construite en terre; à 300 toises plus loin une pareille redoute.

M. Ruine des établissemens de l'habitation *Chalmette*.

N. A 455 toises de la ligne, sur le chemin, étoit une batterie découverte.

Certificat.

Nouvelle-Orléans, le 6 Juillet 1815

Les Soussignés certifient que la Vue de la Bataille du 8 Janvier 1815, par M. *Hyacinthe Laclotte*, est un Tableau exact du Champ de Bataille et de l'Attaque et Défense, et que tous les objets locaux tracés sur ce Tableau sont rapportés avec la plus grande fidelité; en conséquence, ils considèrent son Tableau comme très-important, non-seulement pour le talent qu'il y a montré, mais aussi pour l'exactitude du plan.

G. J. Ross, Colonel du 44e regiment.
H. D. Peire, Major du 44e
William Macrabb, Lieut. Colonel d'Artillerie.
J. B. Plauche, Major.
St. Gême, Capitaine Major.
Pierre Lacoste, Major.
Louis Daquin, Major.
A Lacarrigue-Latour, Ingenieur principal du 7e district militaire.
Humbert, Brigadier-général.
Edward Livingston.
A Dauzat du Castera, Aides-de-Camp du General
A. L. Duncan, Andrew Jackson.
J. A. Gayoso.

Les noms ci-dessus sont ceux des seuls Officiers Supérieurs qui se trouvoient à la Nouvelle-Orléans, lorsque le Tableau fut achevé.

Illustration 10

A section of "Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity," by Charles F. Zimpel, 1834, showing the battlefield area of 1814-15.

Library of Congress

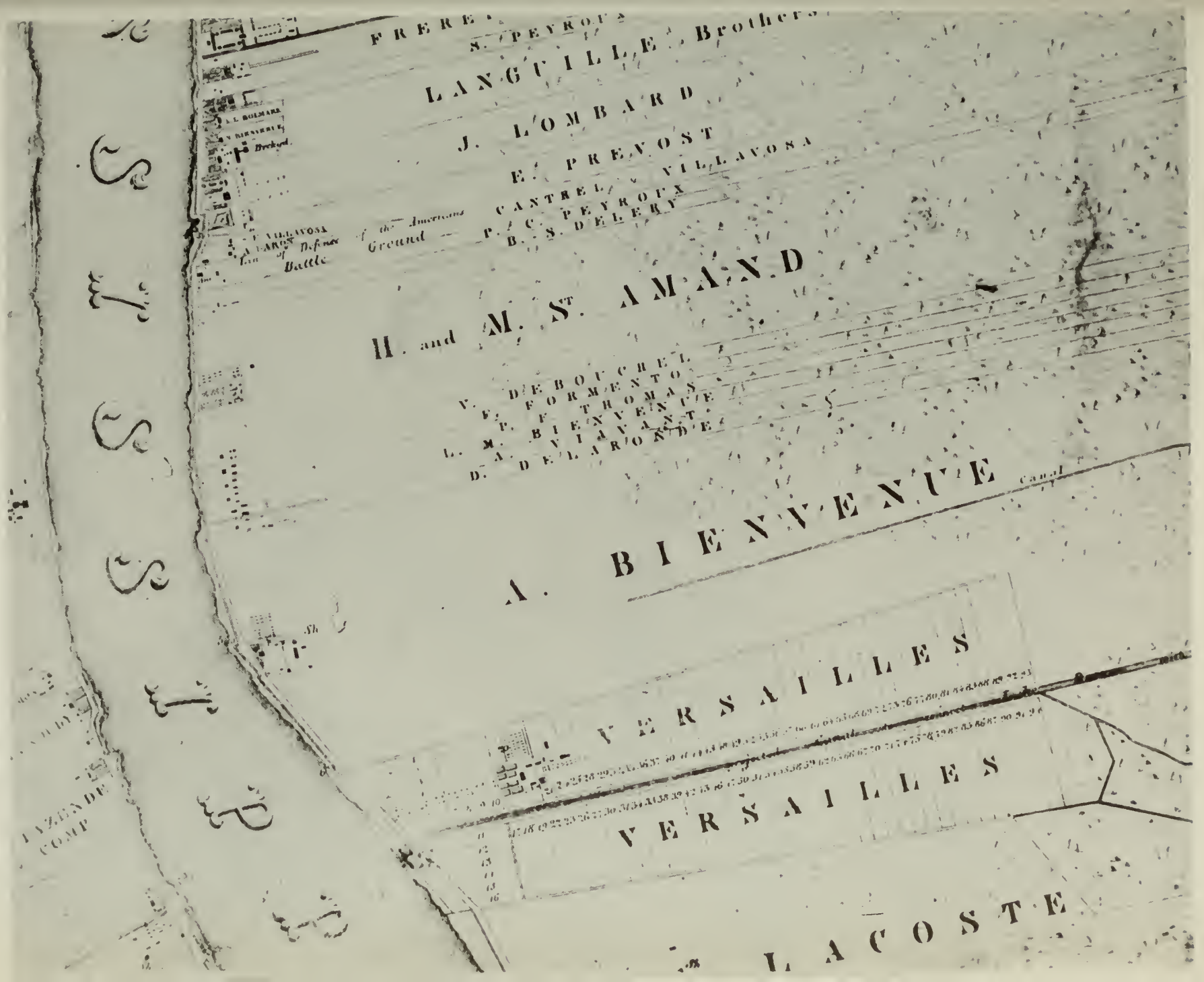

FRERE
S. PEYROUX
LANGUILLE Brothers
J. LOMBARD
E. PREVOST
CANTREL
VILLAVOSA
P. C. PEYROUX
B. S. DELERY
H. and M. ST. AMAND
V. DEBOUCHEL
F. FORMENTO
P. TROMAS
M. BIENVENUE
A. VIAVANT
D. DELARONDE
A. BIENVENUE
Canal
VERSAILLES
VERSAILLES
LACOSTE
Battle
Ground
Defence
Breckel

Illustration 11

Map showing location of the Chalmette and McGehee fortifications, 1862-63.

From Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1819-95), Plate XC, 1.

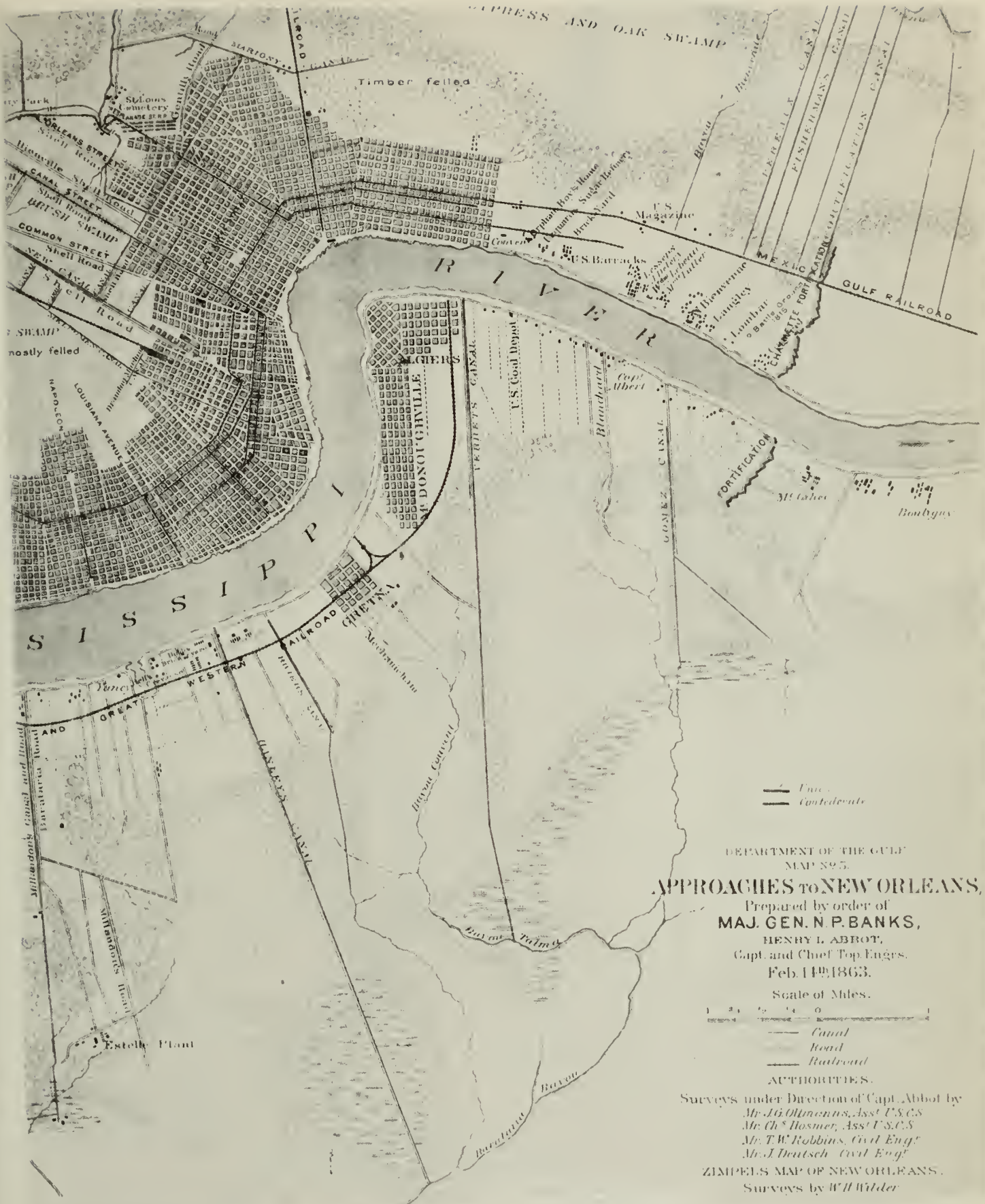

CYPRESS AND OAK SWAMP
Timber felled
Shell Road
ORLEANS STREET
CANAL STREET
COMMON STREET
BRITISH SWAMP
Shell Road
Shell Road
nostly felled
RIVER
MISSISSIPPI
ALGIERS
DONOUGHVILLE
FERRETS CANAL
U.S. Coal Depot
Capt Albert
Blanchard
GOMEZ CANAL
FORTIFICATION
Mc Ghee
Boutyes
U.S. Magazine
U.S. Barracks
Vessels
Langley
Lambar
GULF RAILROAD
MEXICAN
FISHERMANS CANAL
CRESCENT CITY CANAL
GRETNA
RAILROAD
WESTERN
GREAT
Meschacebe
Bayou Cutoff
Bayou Teche
Estelle Plant
Barataria
Union
Confederate
DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF
MAP № 5.
APPROACHES to NEW ORLEANS,
Prepared by order of
MAJ. GEN. N. P. BANKS,
HENRY L. ABBOT,
Capt. and Chief Top. Engrs.
Feb. 14th 1863.
Scale of Miles.
Canal
Road
Railroad
AUTHORITIES.
Surveys under Direction of Capt. Abbot by
Mr. J.G. Oltmanns, Asst U.S.C.S
Mr. Ch.s Rosmer, Asst U.S.C.S
Mr. T.W.r Robbins, Civil Engr
Mr. J. Deutsch Civil Engr
ZIMPELS MAP OF NEW ORLEANS.
Surveys by W.H Wilder

Illustration 12

Diagram of the Civil War earthworks at Chalmette, 1864. Note buildings along the riverfront.

National Archives

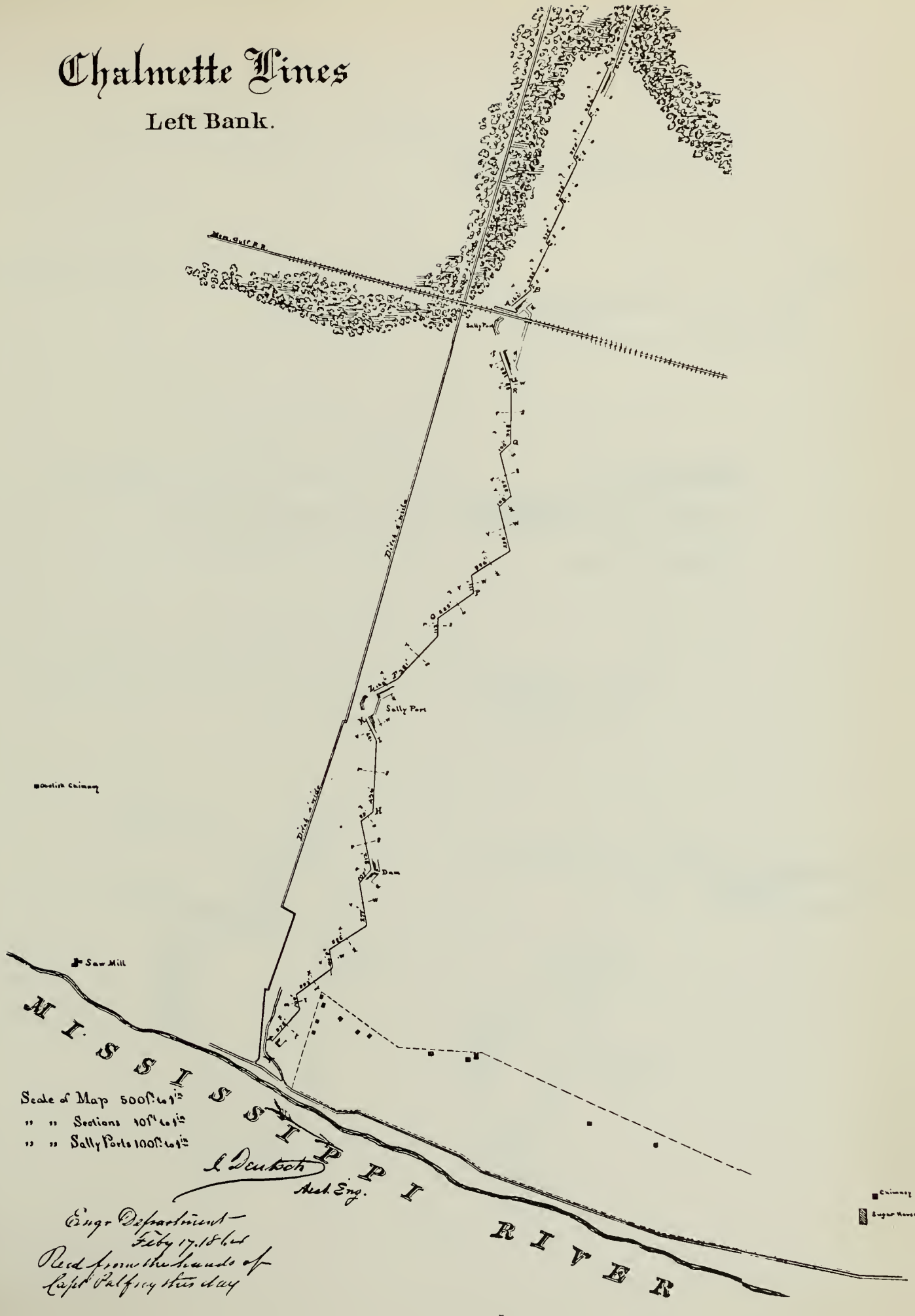
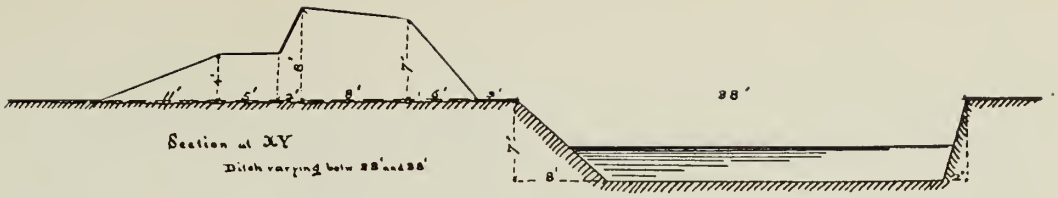

Chalmette Lines
Left Bank.
Miss. Gulf R.R.
Ditch & Bridle
Sally Port
Ditch & Bridle
Dam
Saw Mill
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
Scale of Map 500 ft to 1 in
" " Sections 10 ft to 1 in
" " Sally Ports 100 ft to 1 in
L Duncan
Asst. Eng.
Engr Department
Feby 17. 1862
Rec'd from the hands of
Capt Palfrey this day

Illustration 13

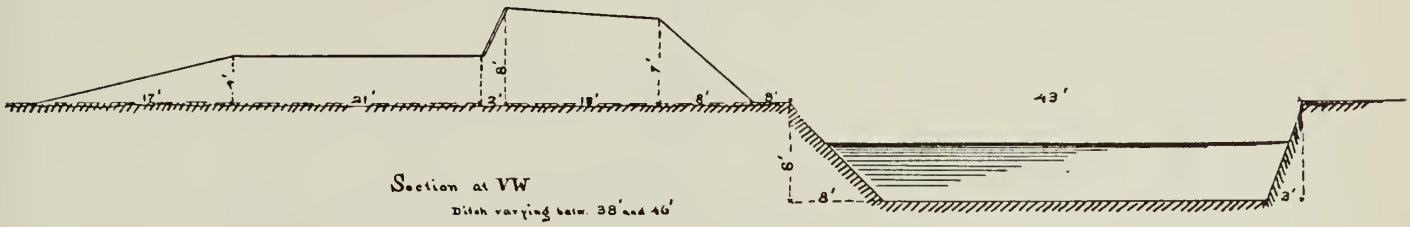
Profiles of the Civil War earthworks at Chalmette, 1864.

National Archives



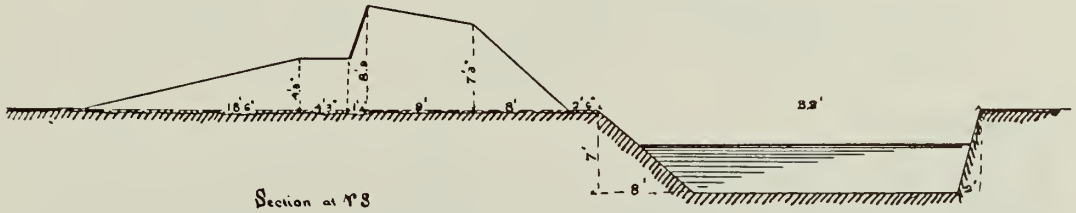
Section at XY

Ditch varying betw. 28' and 38'

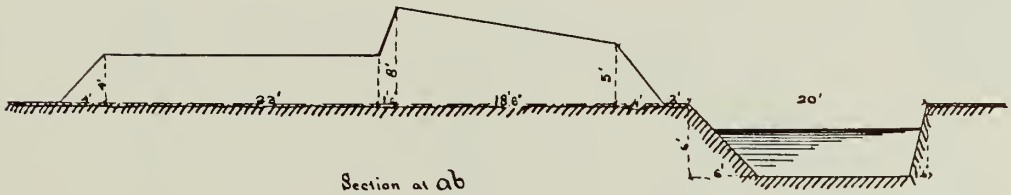


Section at VW

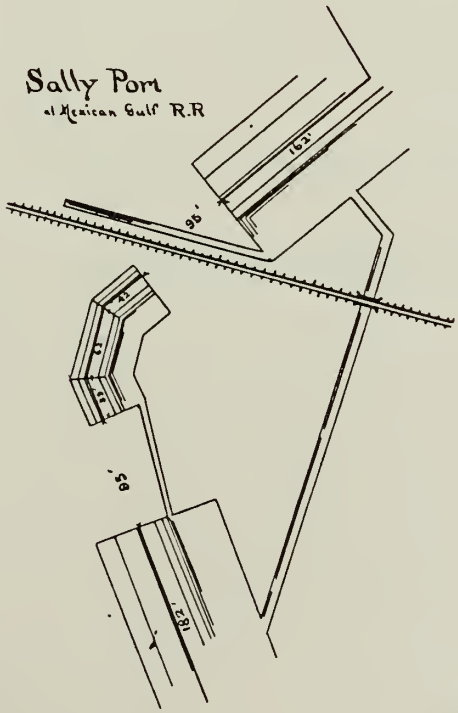
Ditch varying betw. 38' and 46'

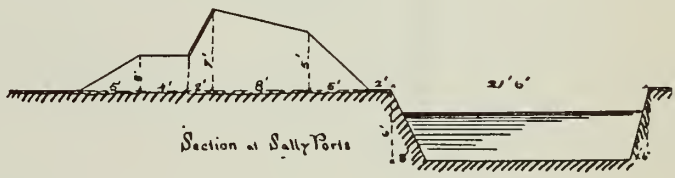


Section at PS



Section at ab





Section at Sally Ports

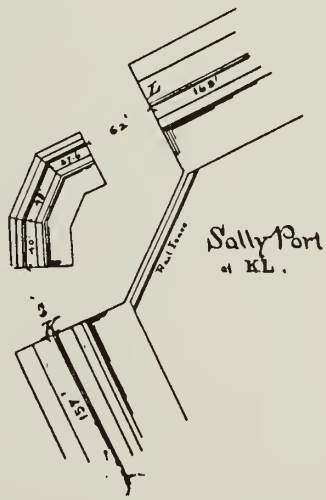


Illustration 14

Barthelemy Lafon's 1808 survey of the Jean Baptiste Prevost property which later became the westernmost 16 arpents of the Chalmet Plantation; and the J.M. Pintard property which became the Rodriguez Plantation.

New Orleans Notorial Archives (NONA), P. Pedesclaux, June 6, 1813

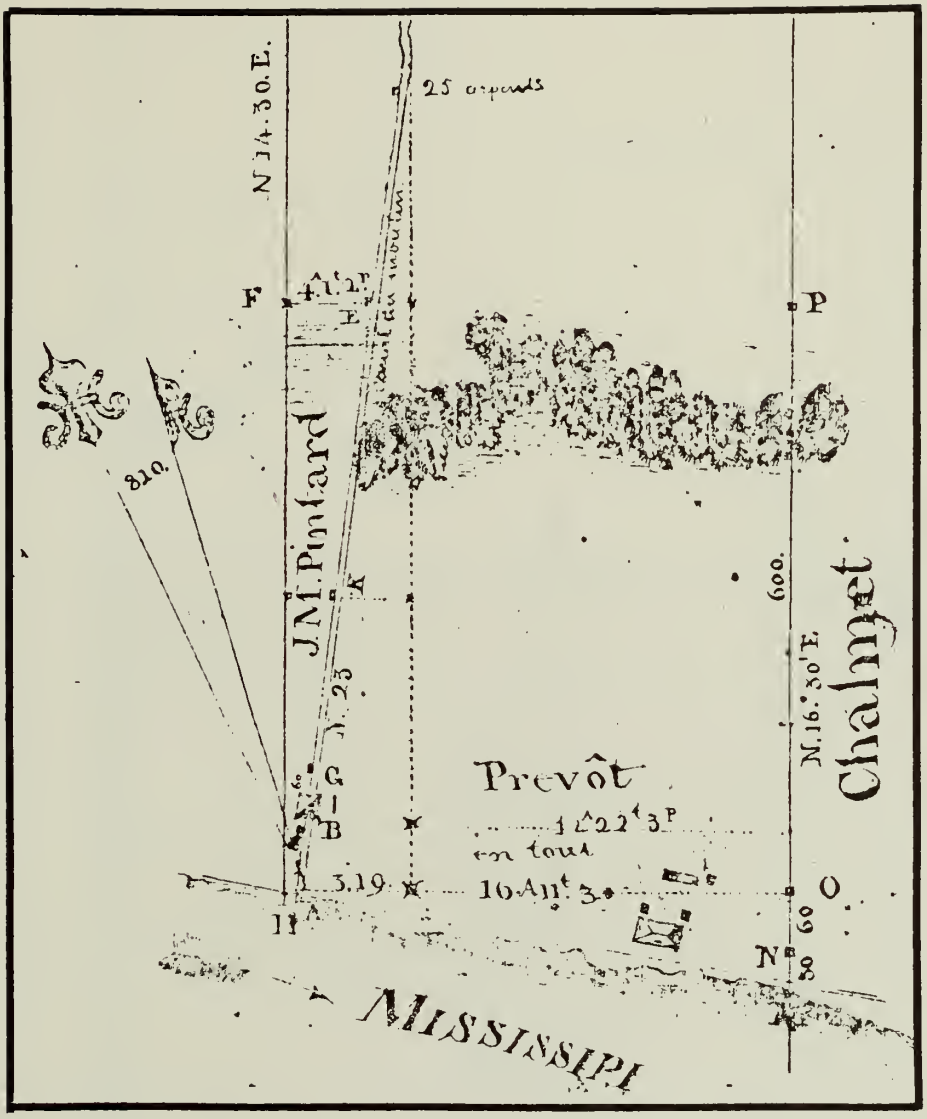

N 14.30.E.
25 arpents
F
4.1.2P
E
P
J.M. Pinard
810
K
23
609
N.16.30.E.
Chalmet.
G
B
Prevôt
1.22.3P
en tout
16.Arp.3
3.19
O
11
A
N
MISSISIPI
0 100 200 300 400 toises

Illustration 15

Redrawn detail of Latour's Plan of the Battle of January 8, 1815.

Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historic Park

N
RIVER
Chalmet Plantation
MISSISSIPPI
Rodriguez Plantation
Macarty Plantation
0 20 40 60 80 100 yards

Illustration 16

Redrawn detail of Zimpel's 1834 "Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity".

University Library, New Orleans, Tulane, Louisiana

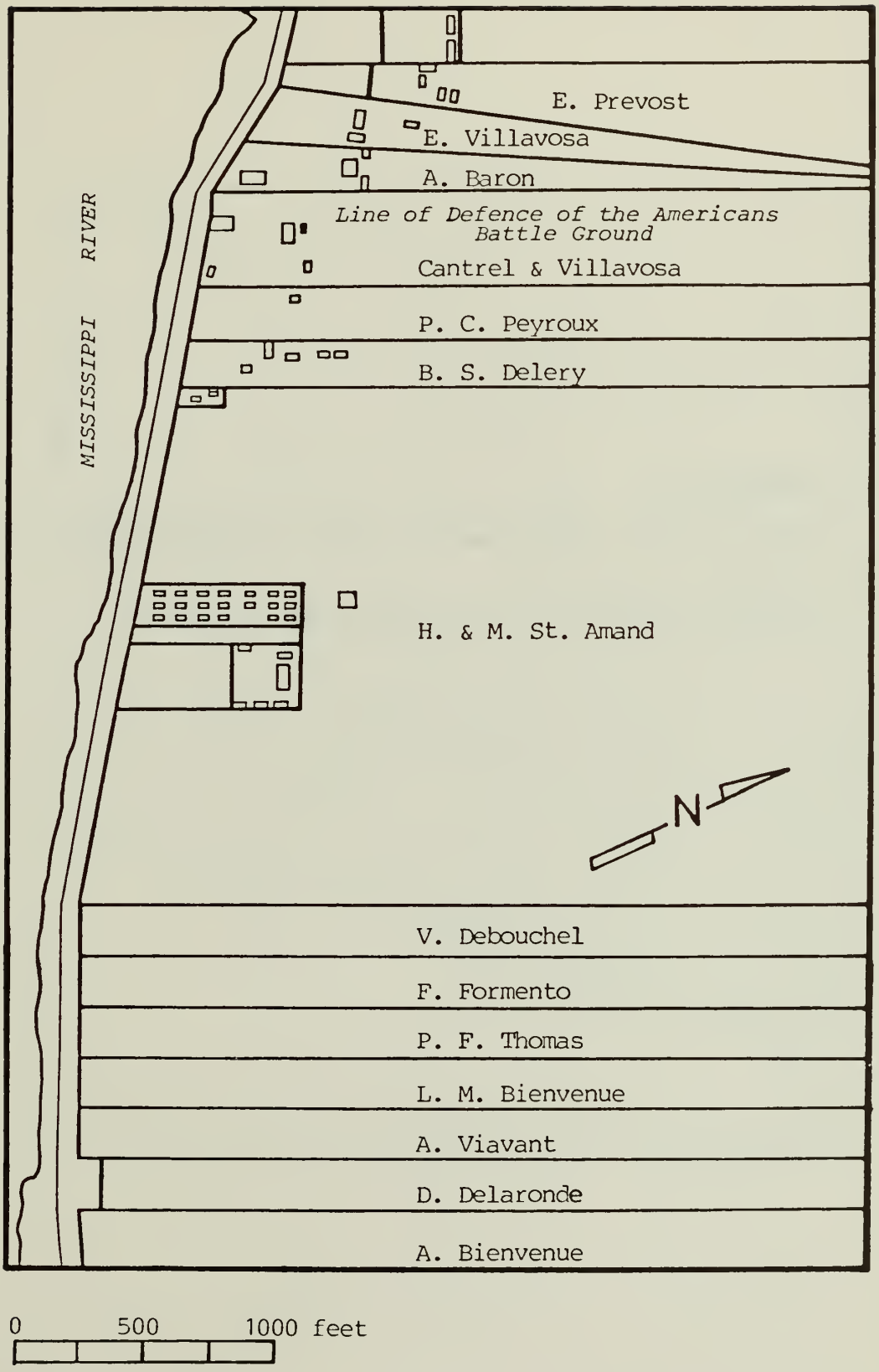

E. Prevost
E. Villavosa
A. Baron
Line of Defence of the Americans
Battle Ground
Cantrel & Villavosa
P. C. Peyroux
B. S. Delery
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
H. & M. St. Amand
N
V. Debouchel
F. Formento
P. F. Thomas
L. M. Bienvenue
A. Viavant
D. Delaronde
A. Bienvenue
0
500
1000 feet

Illustration 17

Excerpt of the 1874 Mississippi River Commission Map, Chart No. 76.

Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park

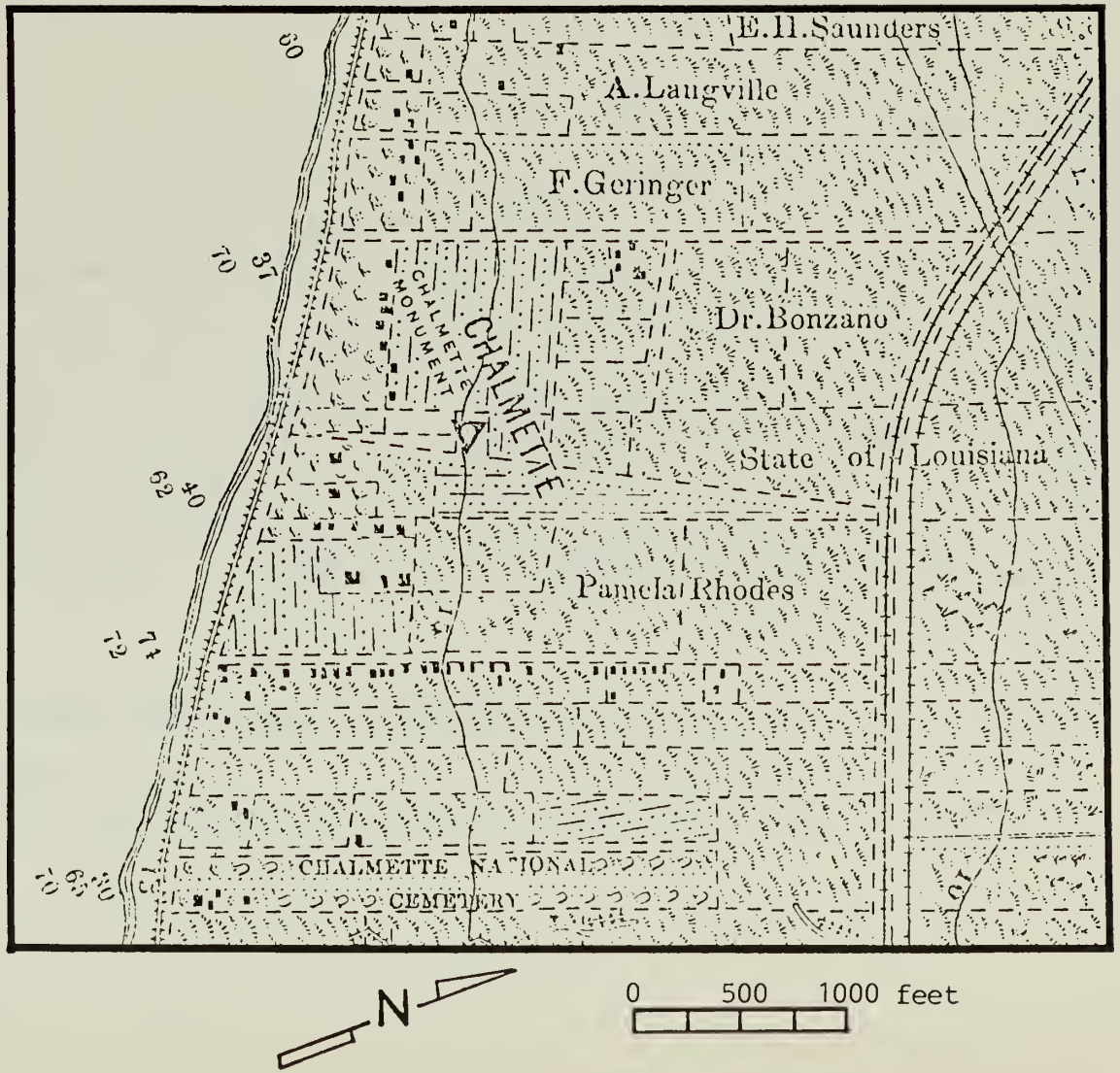
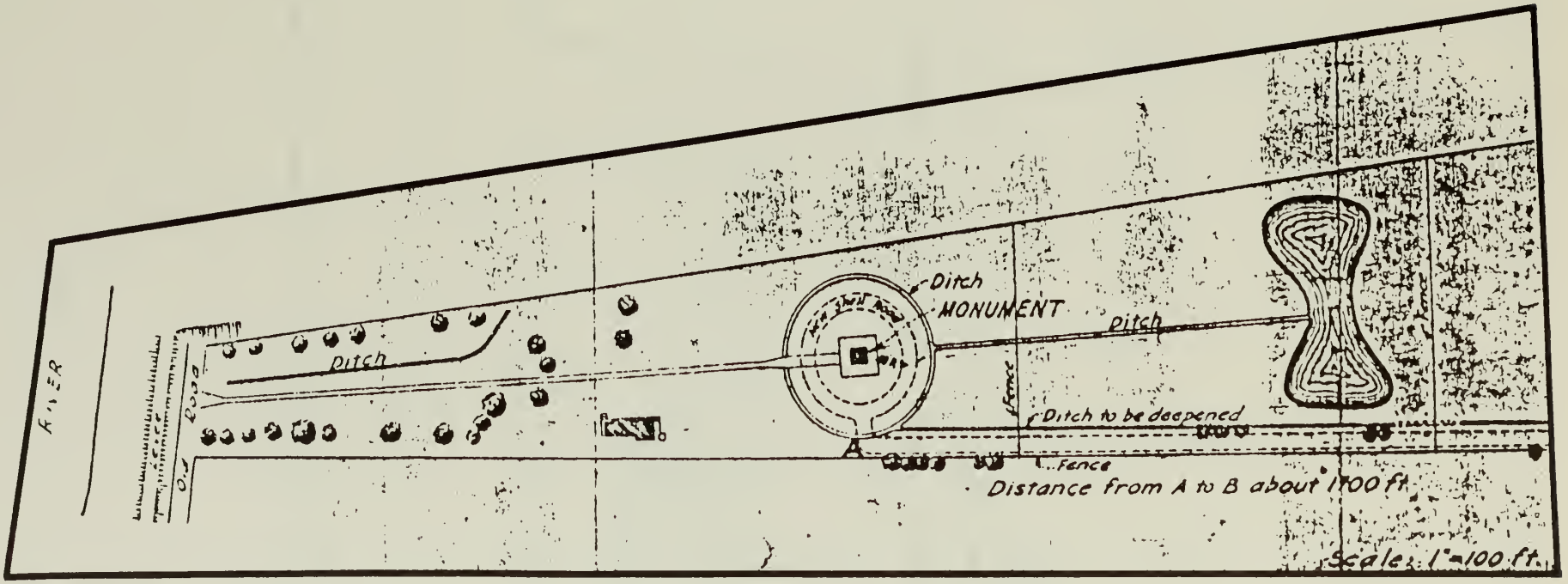

E.H.Saunders
A.Laugville
F.Geringer
Dr.Bonzano
State of Louisiana
Pamela Rhodes
CHALMETTE MONUMENT
CHALMETTE
CHALMETTE NATIONAL CEMETERY
N
0 500 1000 feet

Illustration 18

"Plan of Proposed Shell Road of the Chalmette Monument Ground, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 24, 1909."

Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge, Louisiana



0 50 100 150 200 feet

N

Illustration 19

Untitled levee setback map, 1940.

Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. No scale available.

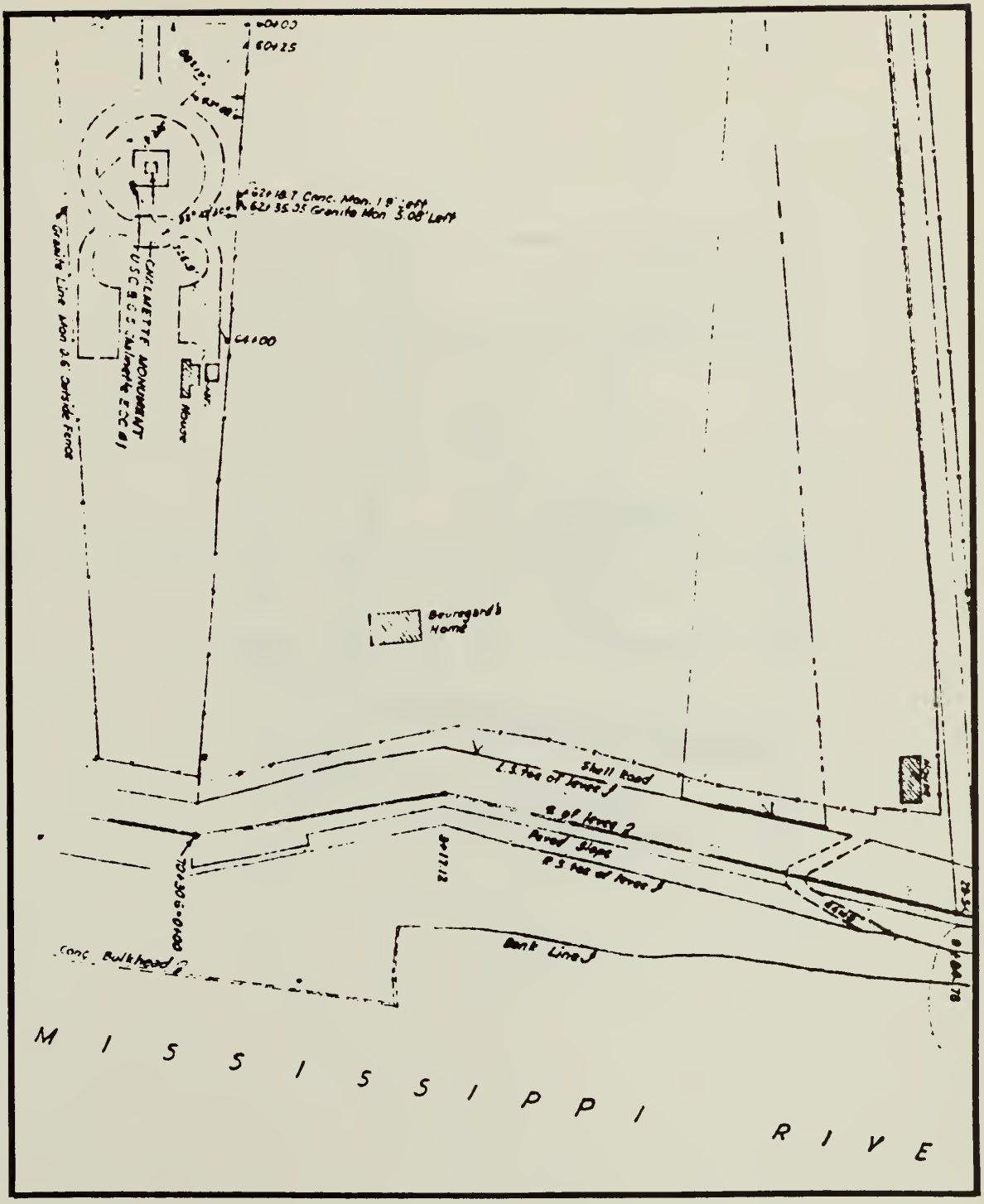
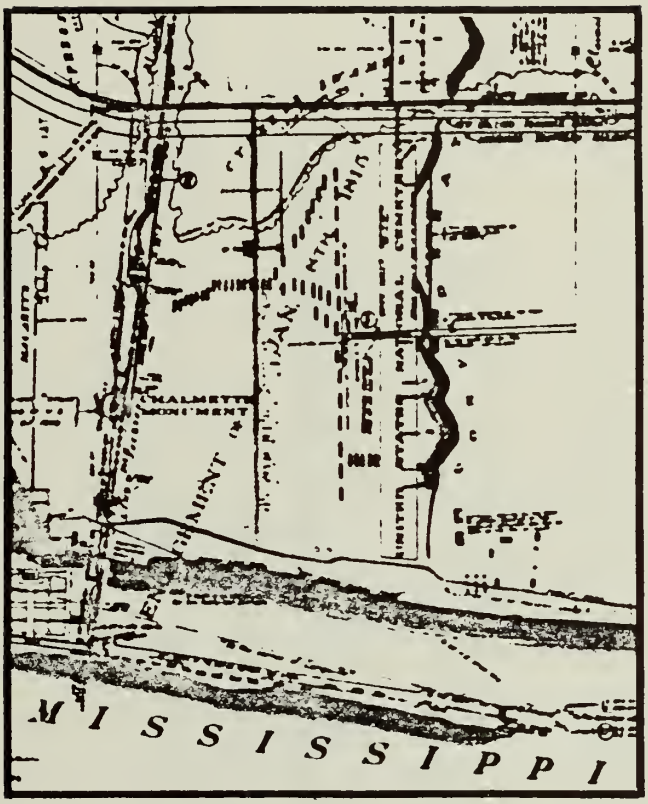

Granite Line Mon 2.6' Outside Fence
CHALMETTE MONUMENT
USCGS Station 4 E.C. #1
Bourgard's Home
Shell Road
E.S. toe of levee
C.L. of levee
Road Slope
W.S. toe of levee
Bank Line
Conc. Bulkhead
MISSISSIPPI RIVE

Illustration 20

Excerpt of "Map of Survey of Battlefield Embraced in the Engagements of December 23, 1814 & January 8, 1815 Constituting the Battle of New Orleans." 1935.

Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge, Louisiana


MISSISSIPPI

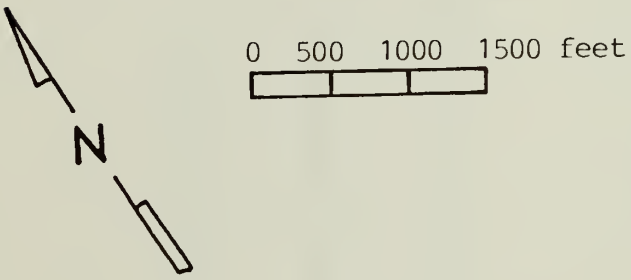

0 500 1000 1500 feet
N

Illustration 21

Redrawn detail of d'Hemecourt's 1867 plat of the battleground plantations.

Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park

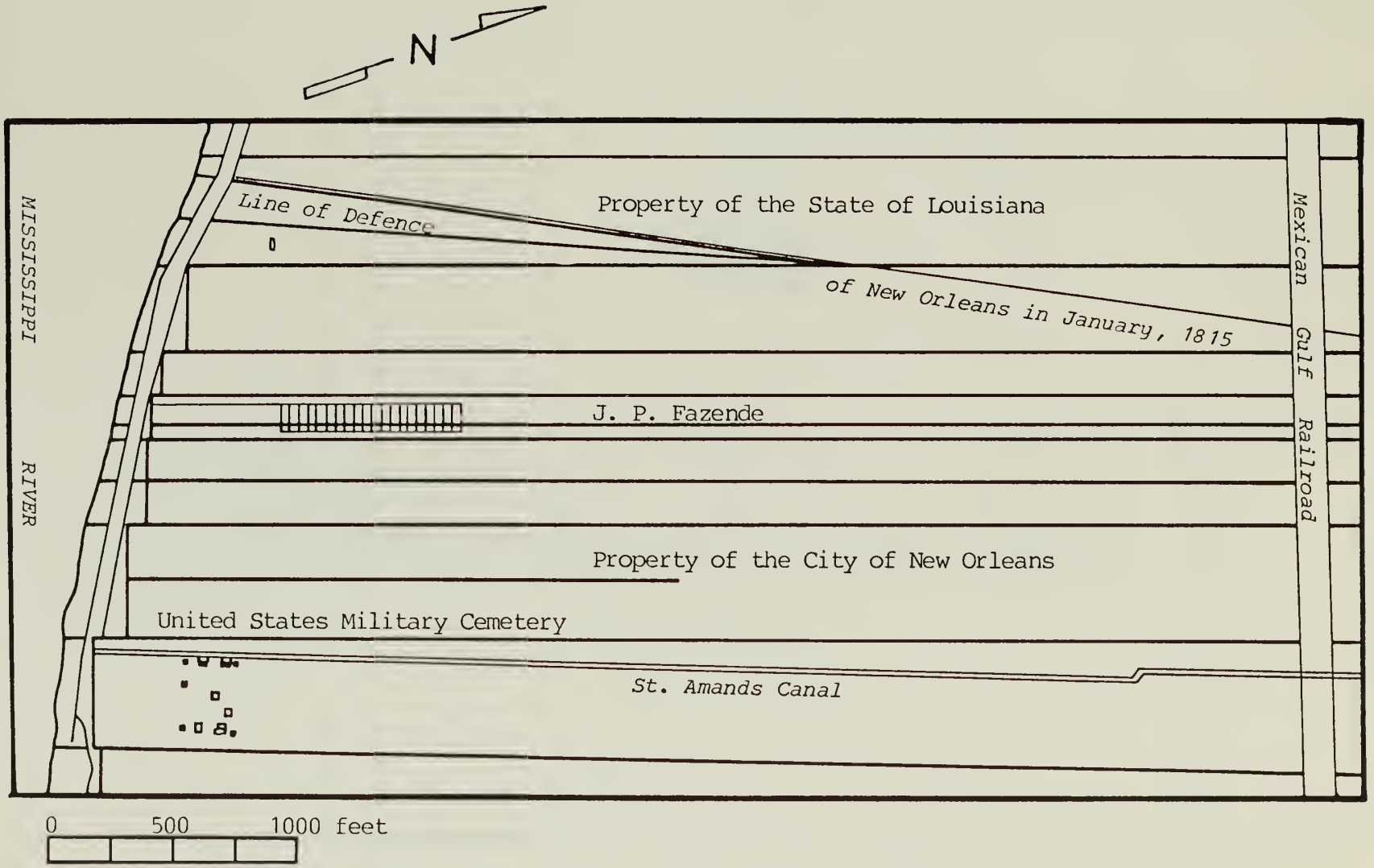

N
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
Line of Defence
Property of the State of Louisiana
of New Orleans in January, 1815
Mexican Gulf Railroad
J. P. Fazende
Property of the City of New Orleans
United States Military Cemetery
St. Amands Canal
0
500
1000 feet

Illustration 22

Artist's reconstruction of a missing 1831 d'Hemecourt Plan showing the subdivision of the St. Amand Plantation.

C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, NONA

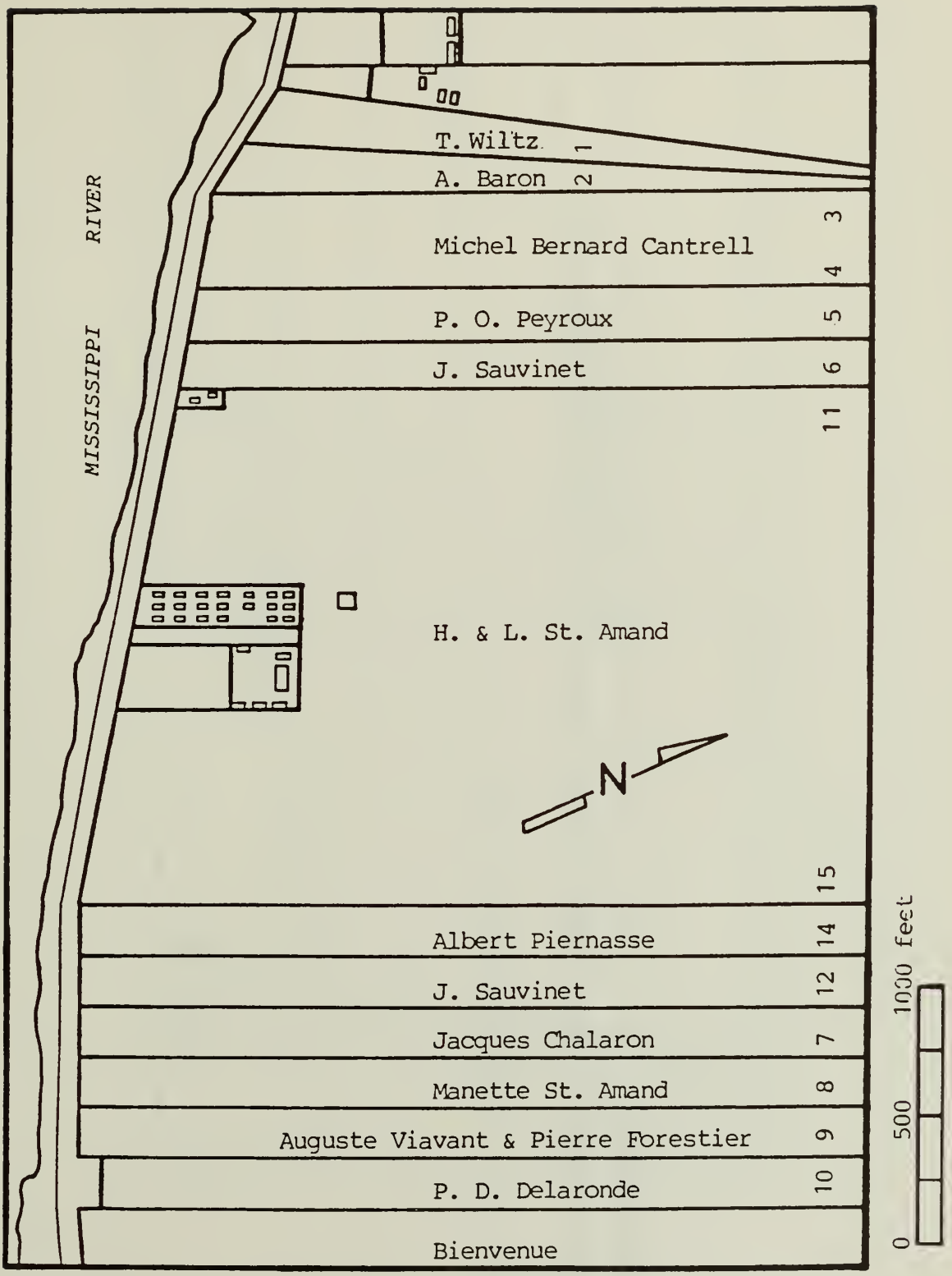

MISSISSIPPI RIVER
T. Wiltz 1
A. Baron 2
Michel Bernard Cantrell 3 4
P. O. Peyroux 5
J. Sauvinet 6
11
H. & L. St. Amand
N
15
Albert Piernasse 14
J. Sauvinet 12
Jacques Chalaron 7
Manette St. Amand 8
Auguste Viavant & Pierre Forestier 9
P. D. Delaronde 10
Bienvenue
0
500
1000 feet

Illustration 23

Redrawn detail of part of the Louis St. Amand estate, from d'Hemecourt's 1841 Plan.

NONA, C.V. Toulon, December 13, 1841

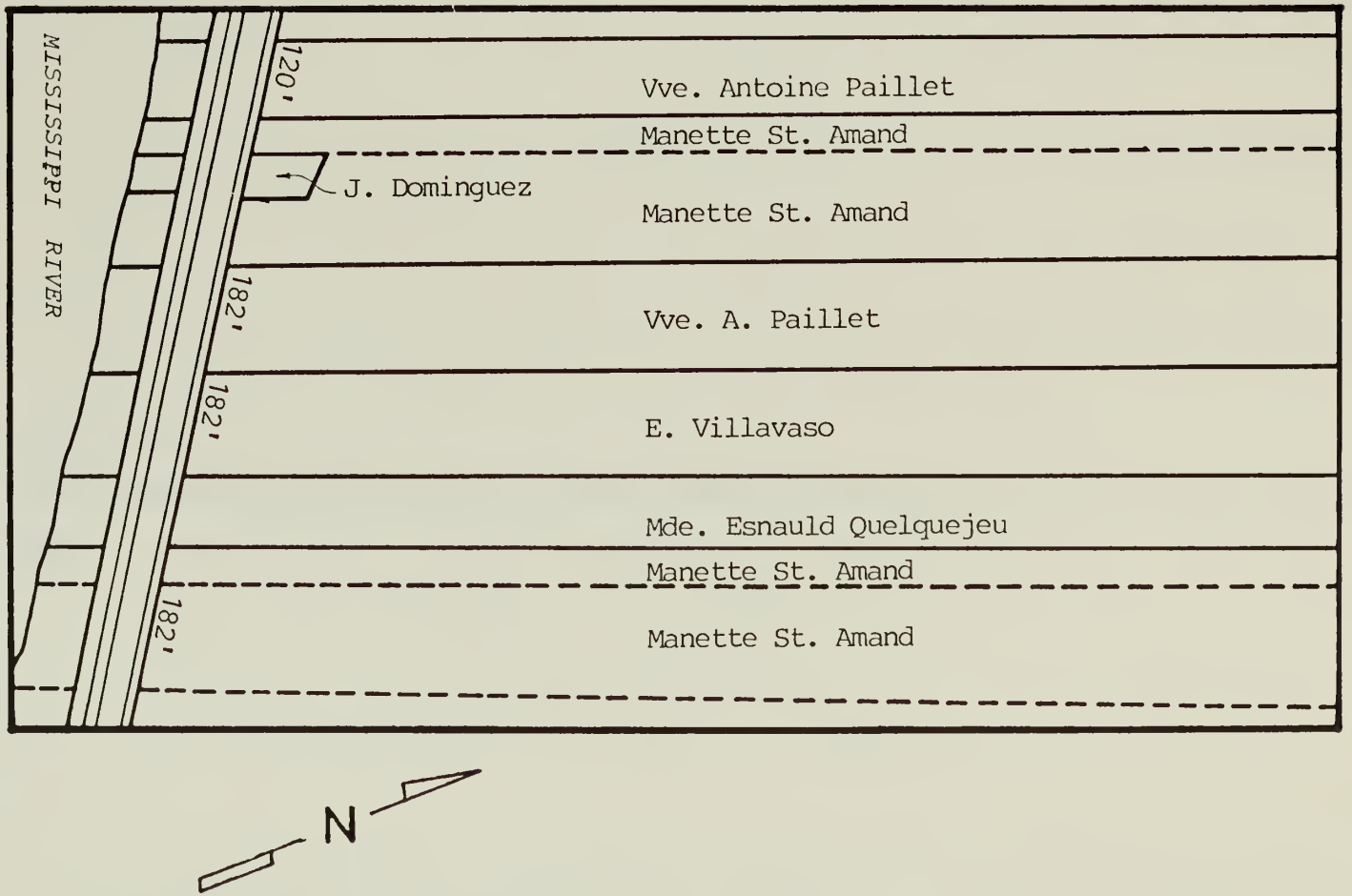

MISSISSIPPI RIVER
120'
182'
182'
182'
Vve. Antoine Paillet
Manette St. Amand
J. Dominguez
Manette St. Amand
Vve. A. Paillet
E. Villavaso
Mde. Esnauld Quelquejeu
Manette St. Amand
Manette St. Amand
N

Illustration 24

Redrawn detail of d'Hemecourt's 1837 plan of the St. Amand Plantation.

NONA, Plan book 79, p. 6

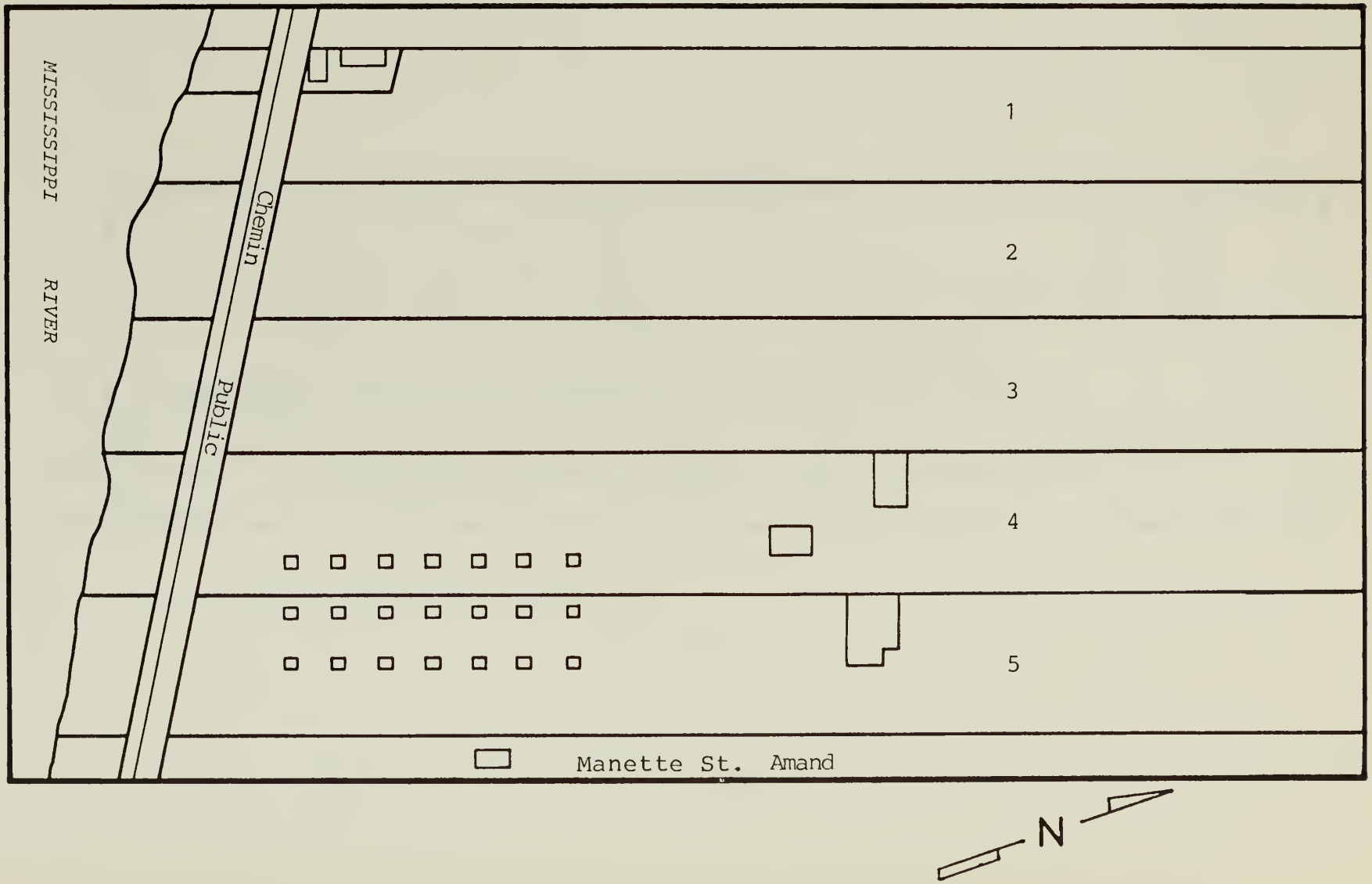

MISSISSIPPI RIVER
Chemin Public
1
2
3
4
5
Manette St. Amand
N

Illustration 25

Redrawn detail of the March, 1927, Chalmette Cemetery Survey, Mississippi River Commission, Lake Borgne Levee District.

Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

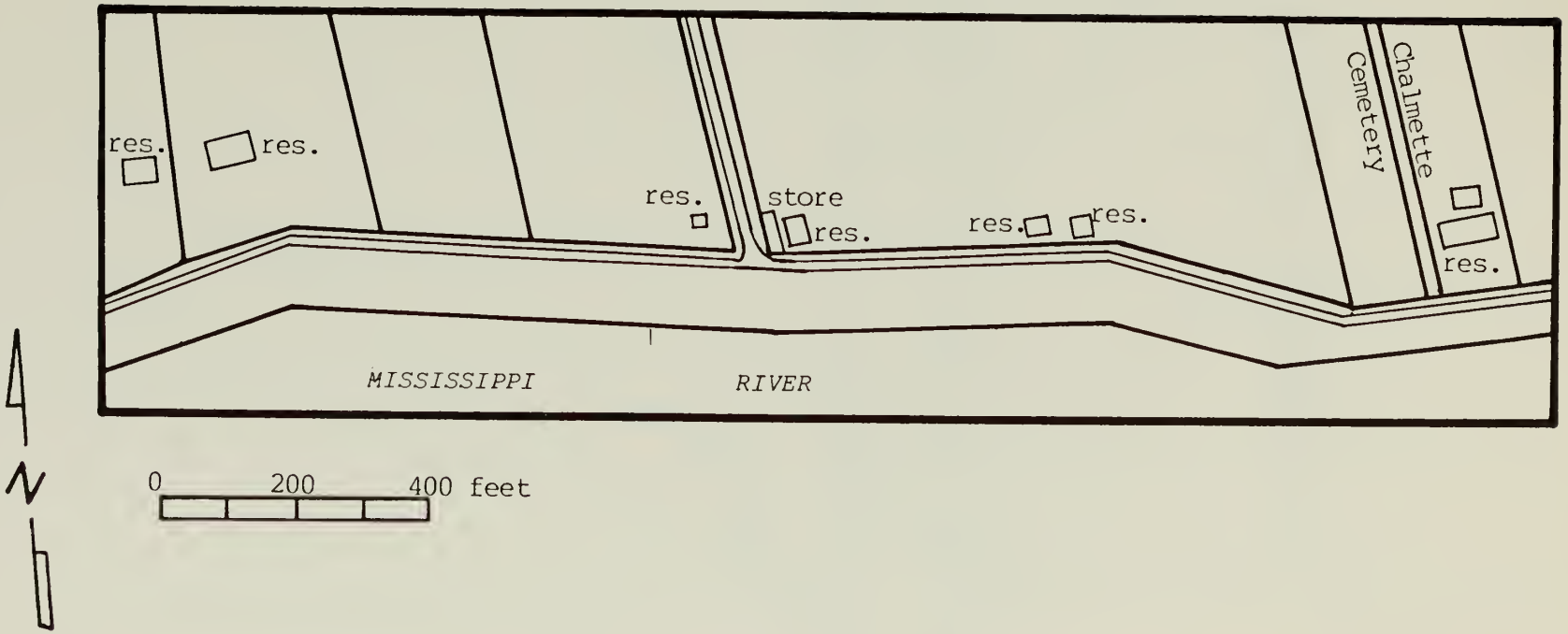
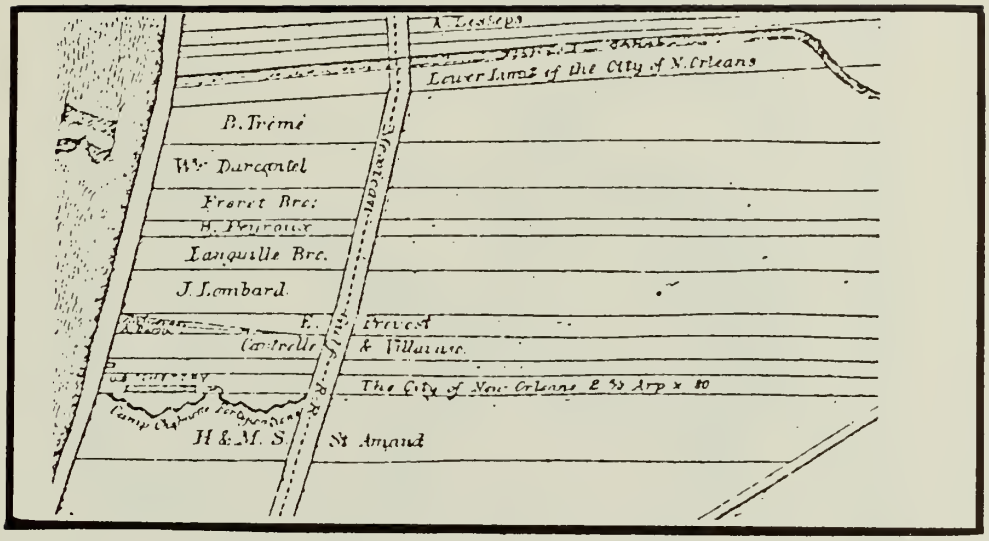

res.
res.
res.
store
res.
res.
res.
Cemetery
Chalmette
res.
MISSISSIPPI
RIVER
N
0
200
400 feet

Illustration 26

Excerpt from "New Plan of the City and environs of New Orleans, Jefferson and Carrollton," 1867.

Tulane University Library, New Orleans, Louisiana



N

0 1500 3000 feet

Illustration 27

Map of Chalmette Back Levee District, March, 1949.

Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

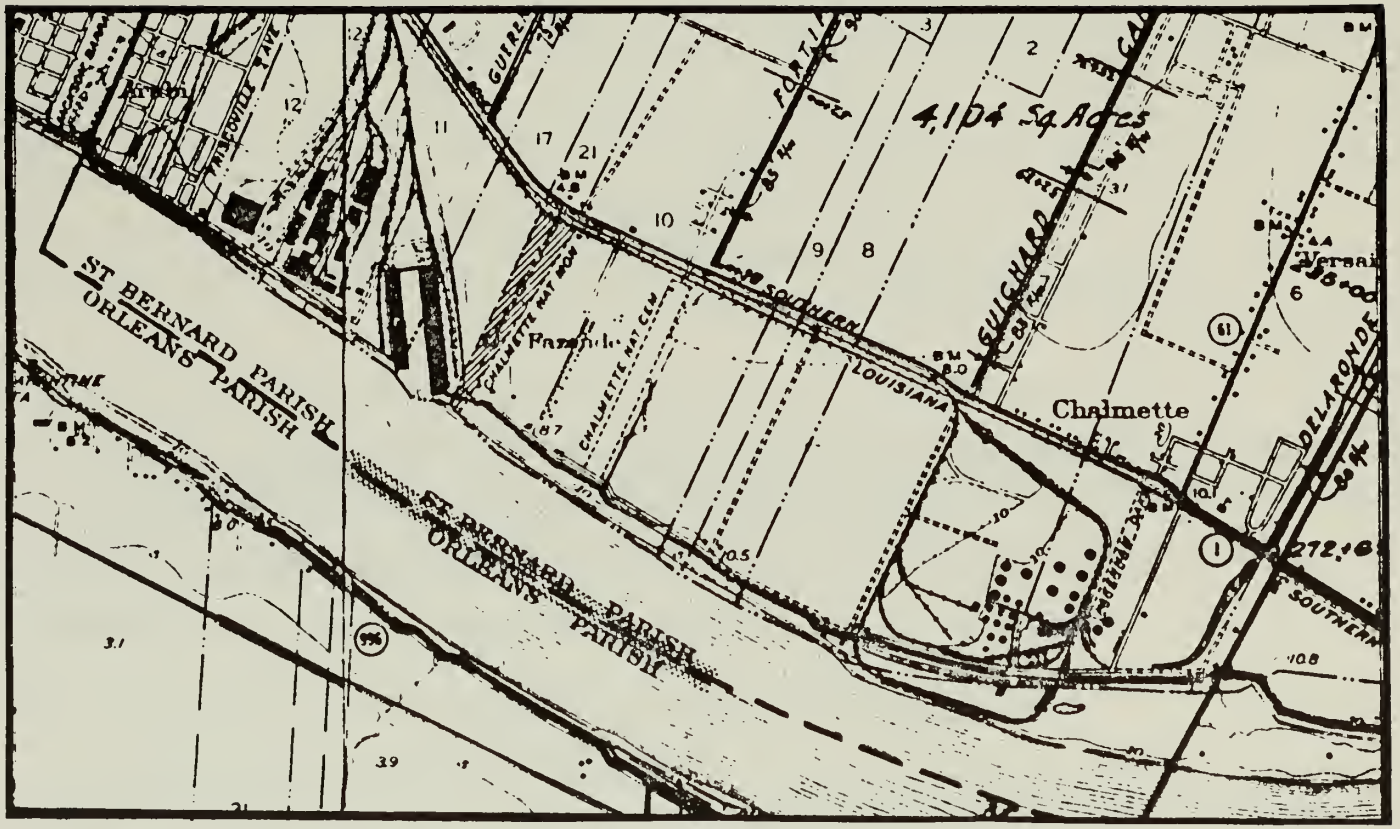

4104 Sq Acres
ST BERNARD PARISH
ORLEANS PARISH
ST BERNARD PARISH
ORLEANS PARISH
Chalmette
LOUISIANA
SOUTHERN
DELARONDE
SUGHARD
CHALMETTE PLANTATION
CHALMETTE NAT CEM
0 1000 2000 3000 feet

Illustration 28

Redrawn detail of Edgar Pilie's 1888 plan which was based on d'Hemecourt's 1878 Plan.

NONA, C. Theard, November 16, 1888

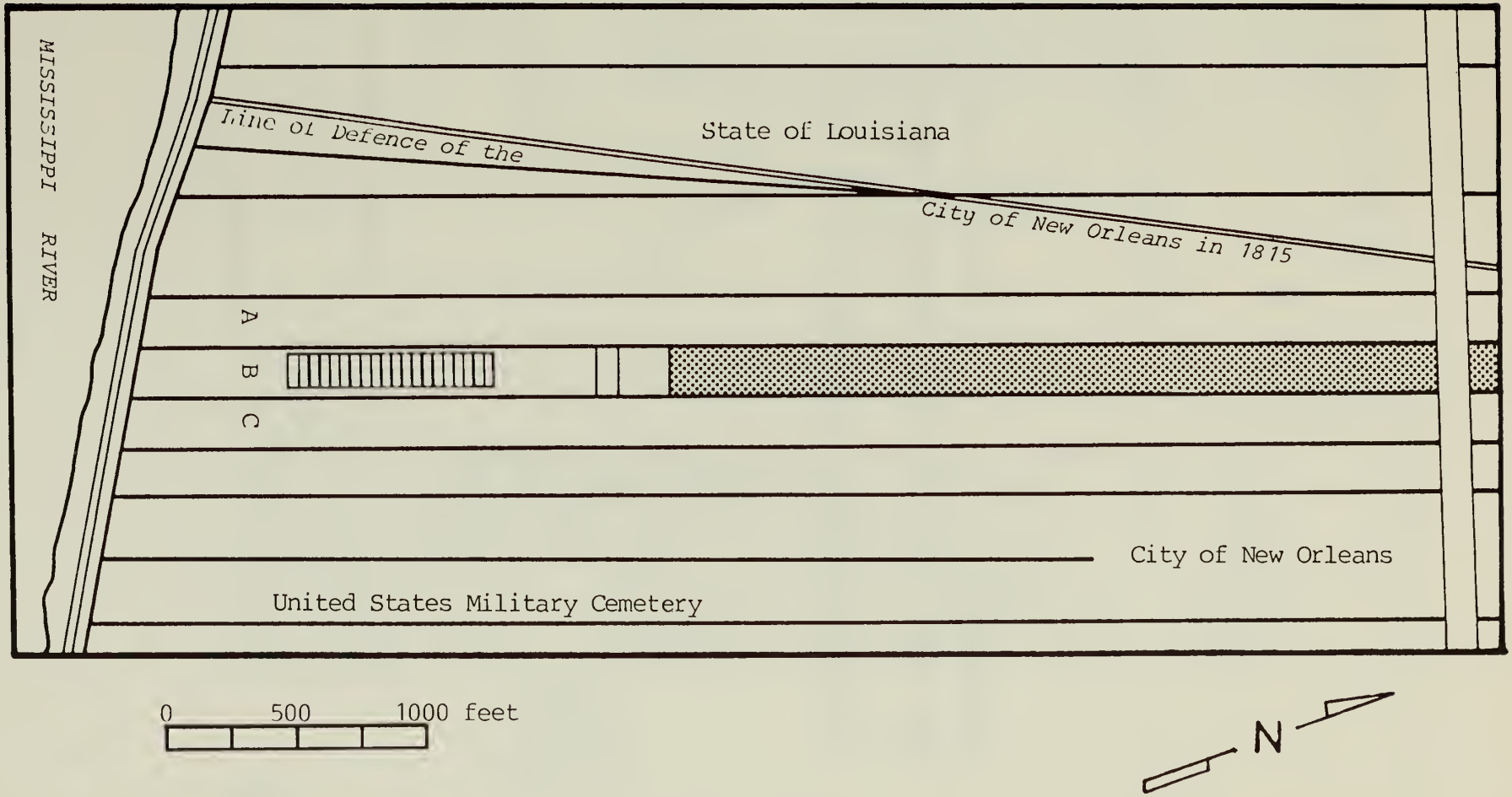

MISSISSIPPI RIVER
Line of Defence of the
State of Louisiana
City of New Orleans in 1815
A
B
C
City of New Orleans
United States Military Cemetery
0
500
1000 feet
N

Illustration 29

Plan of the Fazendeville area, Chalmette National Historic Park, 1963.

Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historic Park

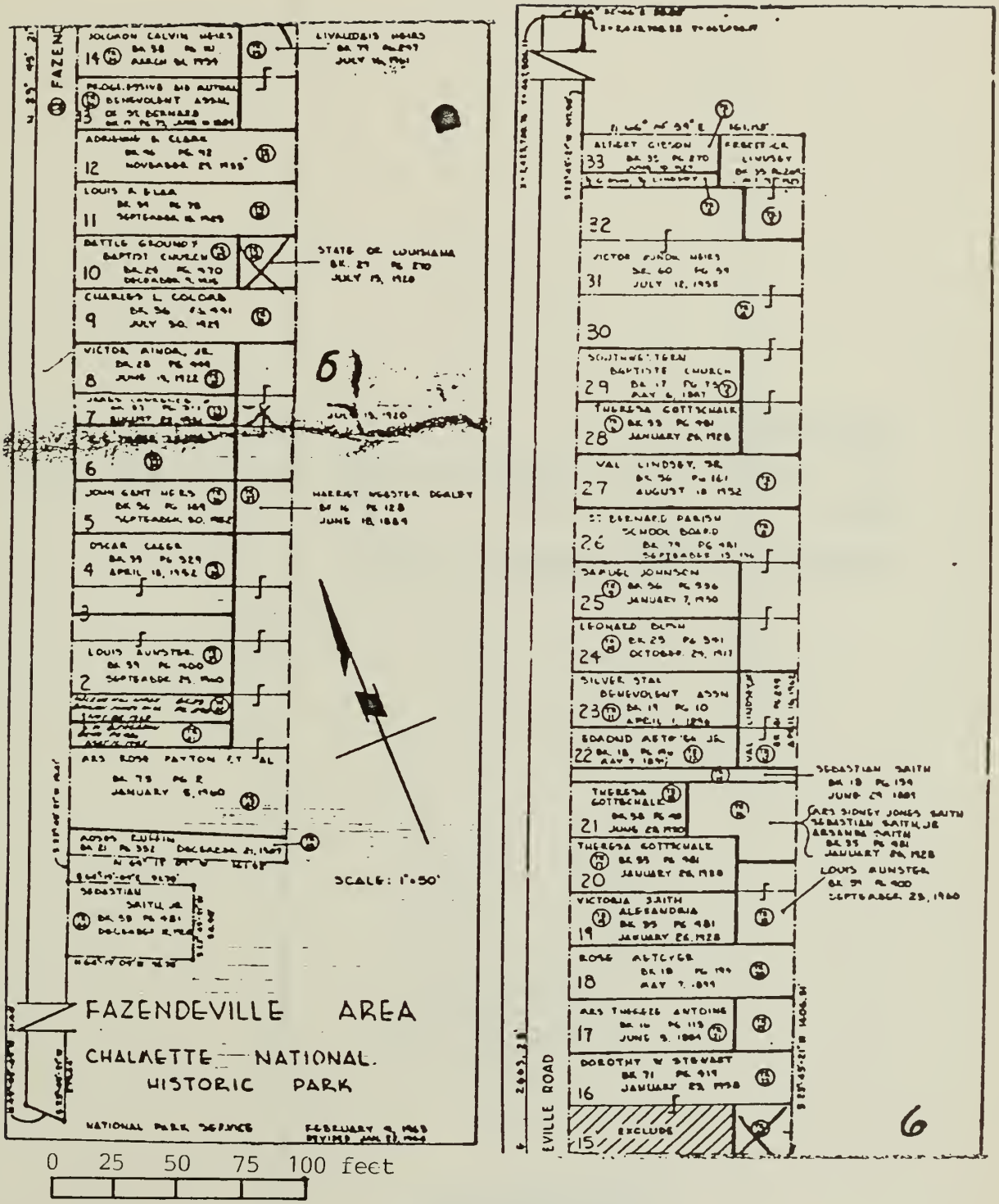

FAZENDEVILLE AREA
CHALMETTE — NATIONAL
HISTORIC PARK
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
FEBRUARY 9, 1965
REVISED JUNE 22, 1965
SCALE: 1"=50'
0 25 50 75 100 feet
FAZENDEVILLE ROAD
6
6
SOLOMON CALVIN HEIRS
LIVAUDAIS HEIRS
PHILOSOPHIAN BENEVOLENT ASSN.
ADELAIDE A. CLARK
LOUIS A. BLAU
BATTLE GROUND BAPTIST CHURCH
STATE OF LOUISIANA
CHARLES L. COLOMB
VICTOR AINOA, JR.
JOHN GANT HEIRS
HARRIET WEBSTER DEALEY
OSCAR CAGGA
LOUIS AUNSTER
MRS. ROSE PATTON ET AL
AGNES CURTIN
SEBASTIAN SMITH, JR.
ALBERT GIBSON
FRANCES A. LINDSEY
VICTOR AINOA HEIRS
SOUTHWESTERN BAPTISTE CHURCH
THERESA GOTTSCHALK
VAL LINDSEY, SR.
ST. BERNARD PARISH SCHOOL BOARD
SAMUEL JOHNSON
LEONARD DUNN
SILVER STAR BENEVOLENT ASSN.
EDMOND ASTORGA JR.
THERESA GOTTSCHALK
THERESA GOTTSCHALK
VICTORIA SMITH ALESSANDRIA
ROSE ASTORGA
MRS. THERESE ANTOINE
DOROTHY W. STEWART
EXCLUDE
SEBASTIAN SMITH
MRS. SIDNEY JONES SMITH
SEBASTIAN SMITH, JR.
ALESSANDRA SMITH
LOUIS AUNSTER

Illustration 30

J.L. Hardee's "Battle Ground Plantation" plat, September 10, 1896.

NONA, H.C. Leake, September 21, 1896

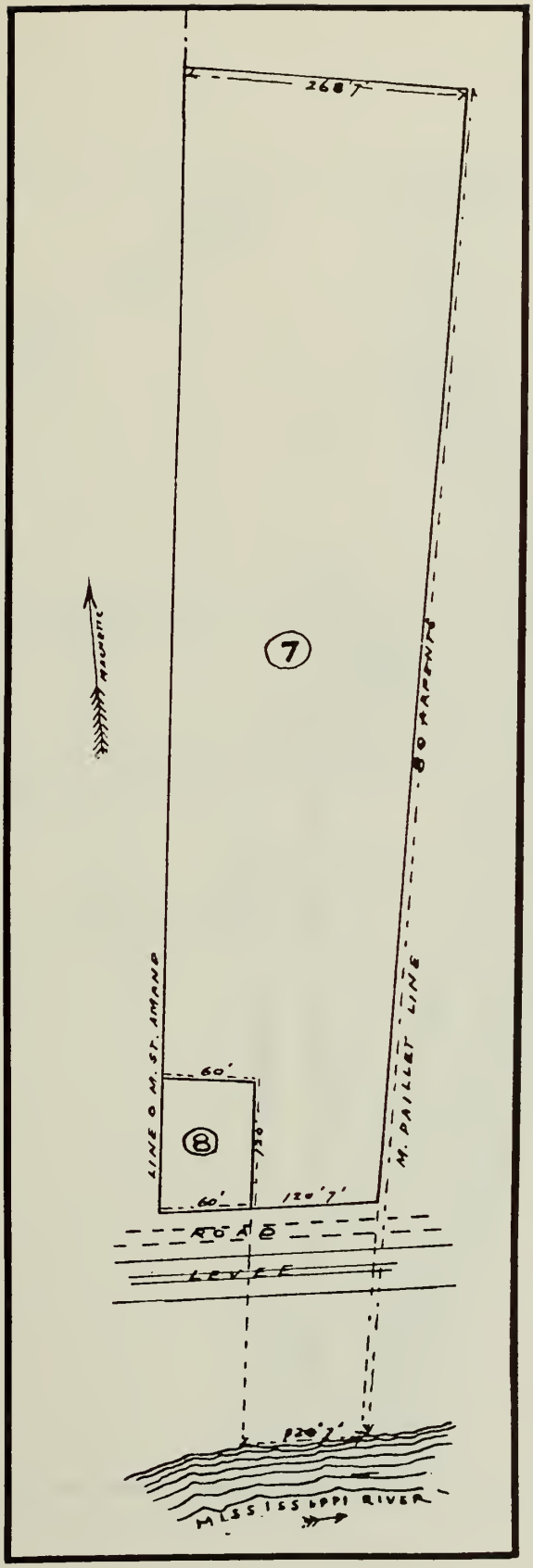

268'
7
8
60'
730'
60'
120'7'
LINE O M. ST. AMAND
M. PAILLET LINE
80 YARDS
ROAD
LEVEE
120'
MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Illustration 31

Levee setback map of the Chalmette Cemetery New Levee, 1927.

Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

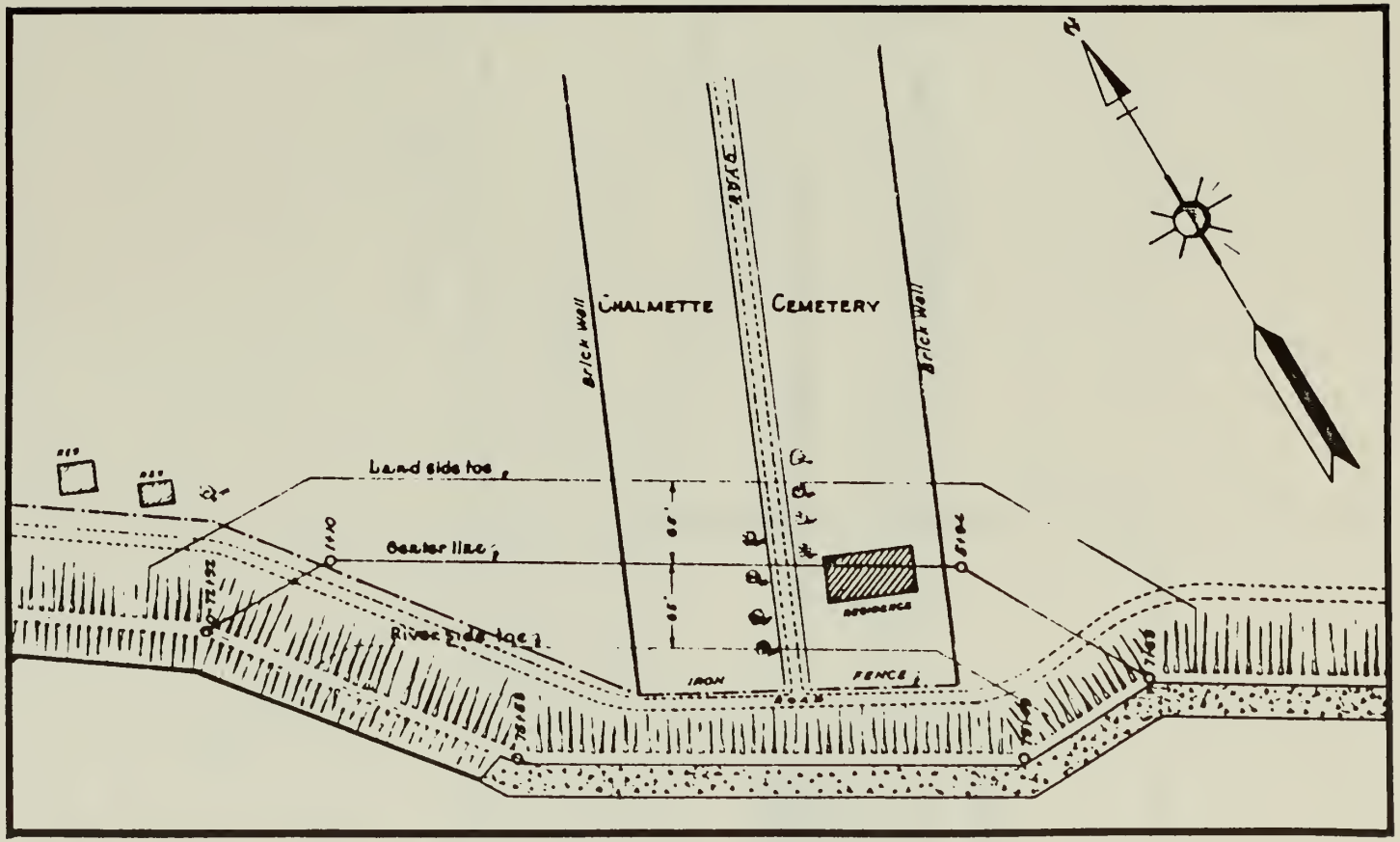

CHALMETTE CEMETERY
BRICK WALL
BRICK WALL
LEVEE
Land side toe
Center line
River side toe
IRON FENCE
RESIDENCE
N
0 125 250 feet

Illustration 32

Excerpt of 1928 levee setback map showing the area of land impacted during the construction of the U.S. Chalmette Cemetery New Levee.

Office of Public Works, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

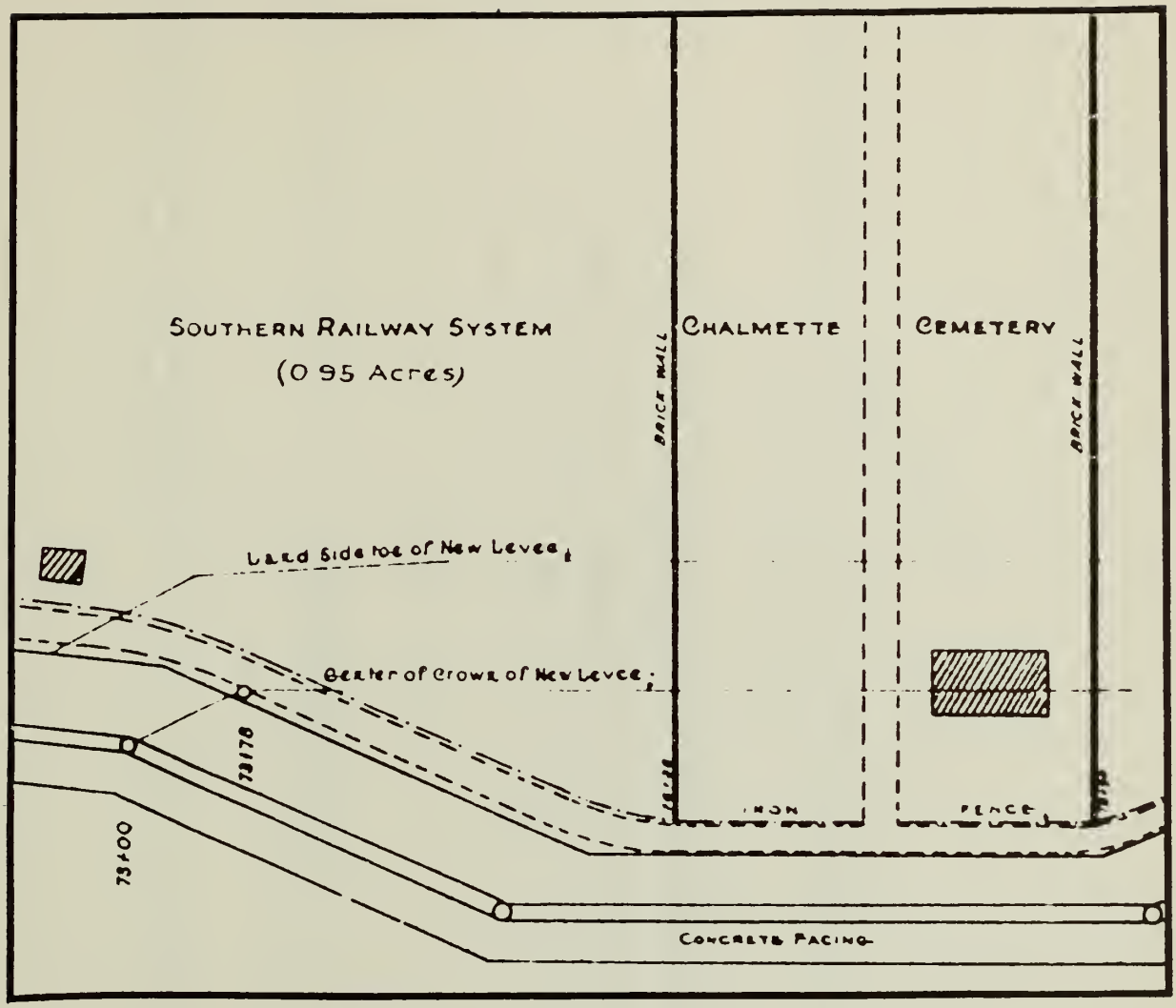

SOUTHERN RAILWAY SYSTEM
(0 95 Acres)
BRICK WALL
CHALMETTE
CEMETERY
BRICK WALL
Land Side toe of New Levee
Center of Crown of New Levee
73178
73+00
IRON
FENCE
CONCRETE PACING
0 50 100 150 200 feet
N

Illustration 33

Redrawn detail of the 1902 plat attached to "New Orleans Terminal Co. vs. Anna Jacks McMillan, et al".

No. 601, Twenty-Ninth Judicial District Court, St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana

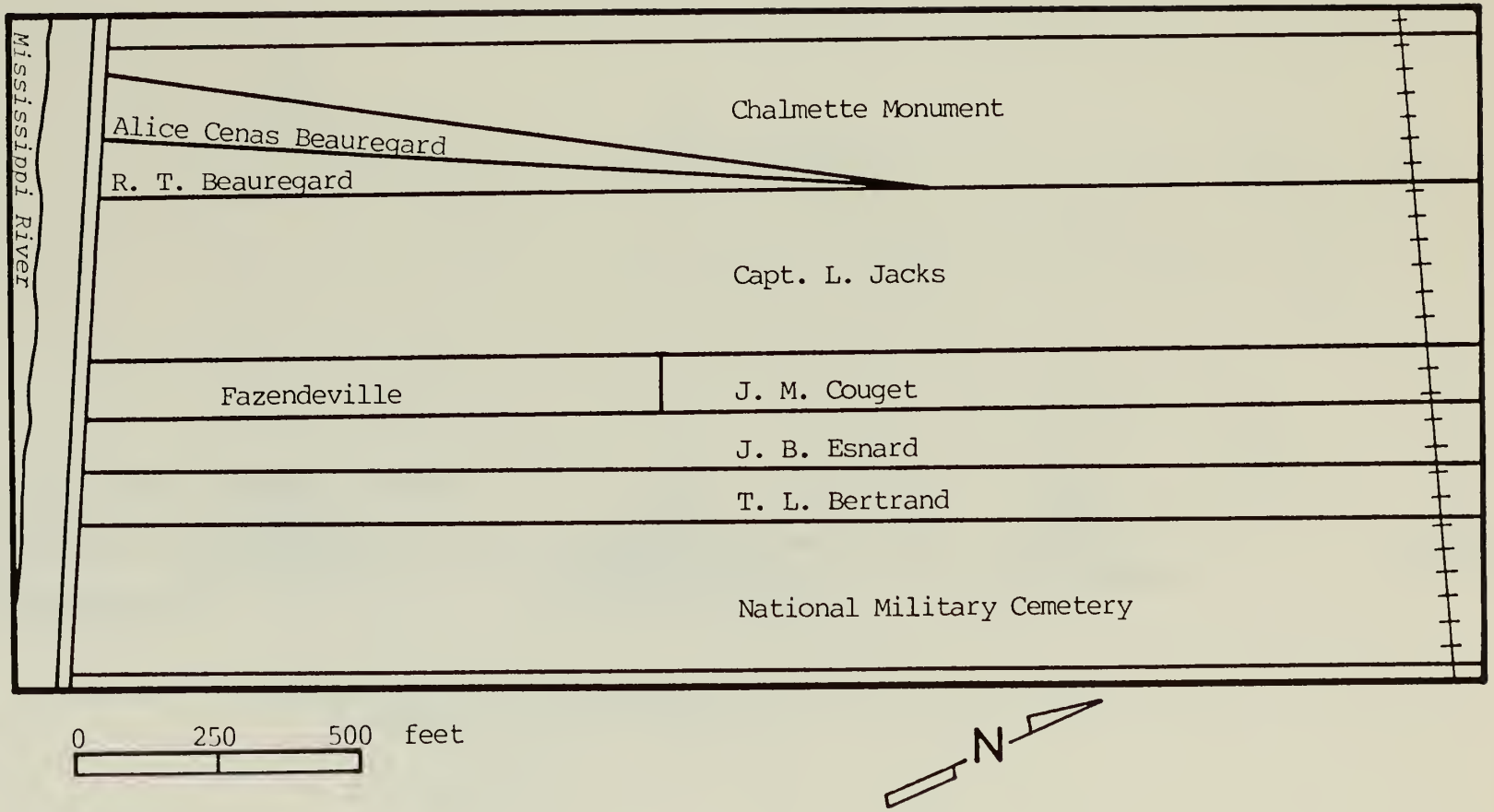
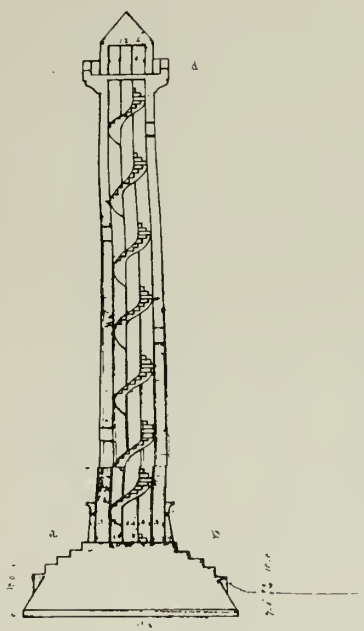
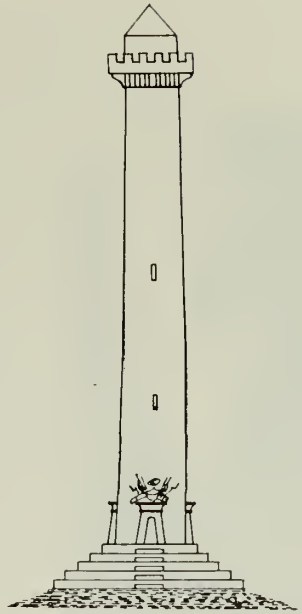

Mississippi River
Chalmette Monument
Alice Cenas Beauregard
R. T. Beauregard
Capt. L. Jacks
Fazendeville
J. M. Couget
J. B. Esnard
T. L. Bertrand
National Military Cemetery
0
250
500
feet
N

Illustration 34

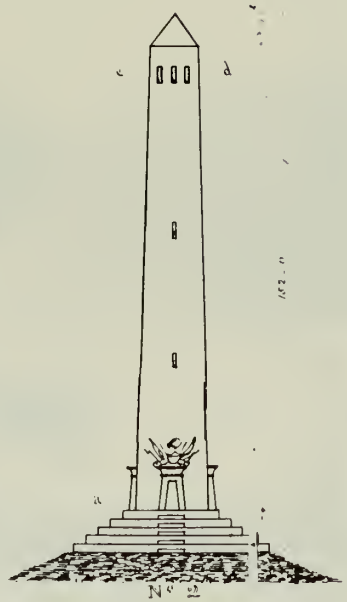
Alternative designs proposed for the Chalmette Monument, 1855.

Historic New Orleans Collection

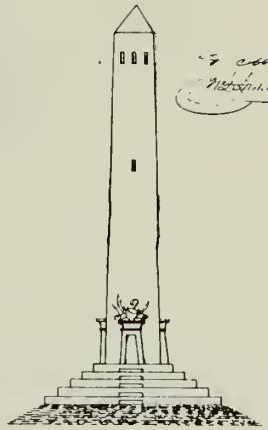




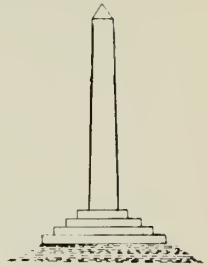
No 1



No 2



No 3



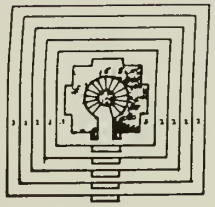
No 4

No 2. Accepted by the Jackson Monument Association
on the 30th May 1855.

Signed = J B Plauché
A C Cuzeaux
A Sauvé
James H Caldwell
P Sengenet

To the Commissioners
of the Jackson Monument Association
New Orleans March 19th 1855

Respectfully
(Signed) Newton Richards
Sc



Horizontal Sections
through a.b.

Illustration 35

The uncompleted Chalmette Monument, 1873.

Sketched by J. Wells, Champney and published in Edward King, The Great South (Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1875).

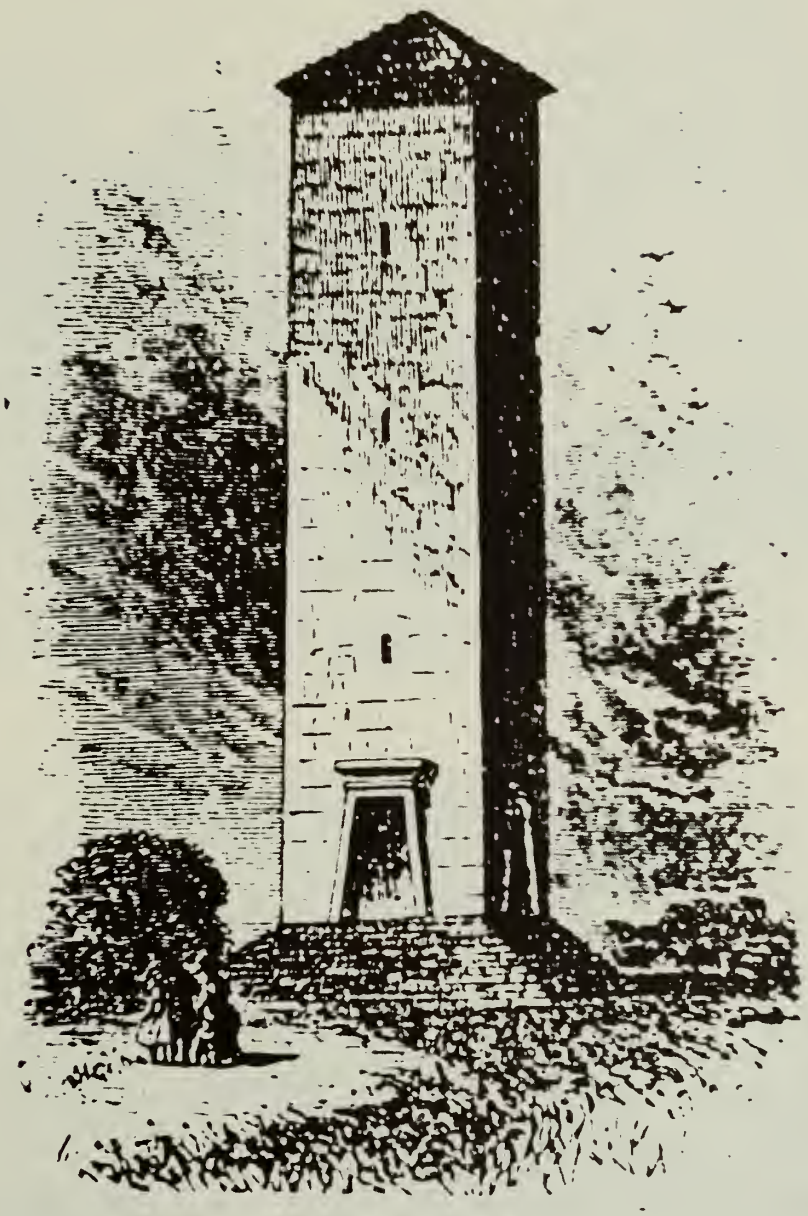


Illustration 36

Top: View of the Macarty plantation home, 1861.

Bottom: The battleground area, showing Rodriguez Canal and the unfinished Chalmette Monument, 1861.

From Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1868)



MACARTÉ'S, JACKSON'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

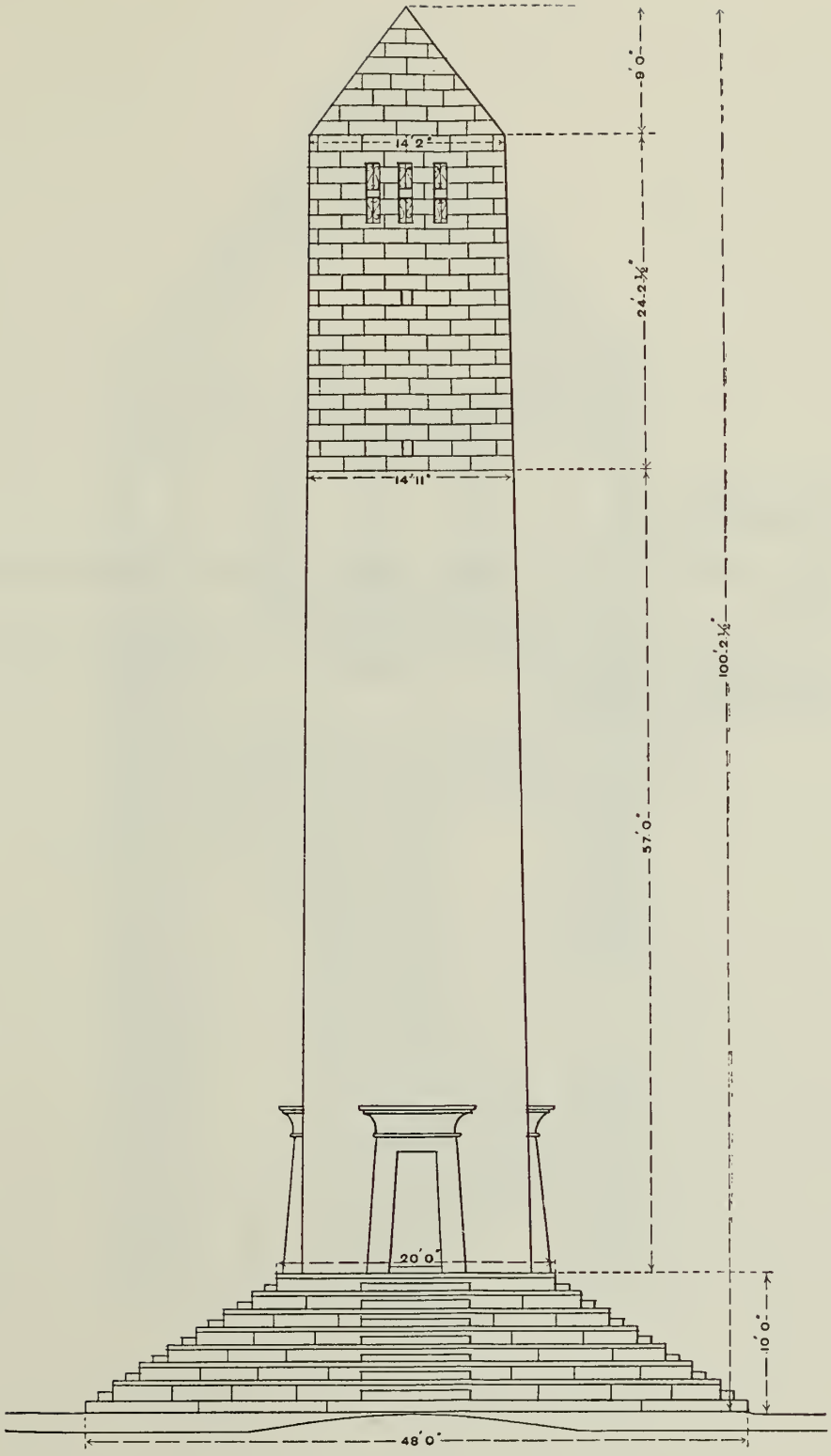


REMAINS OF RODRIGUEZ'S CANAL, NEW ORLEANS.

Illustration 37

Diagram of Chalmette Monument, showing proposed addition, 1907.

From Alfred F. Theard, "Work of Completing the Chalmette Monument" (1907)

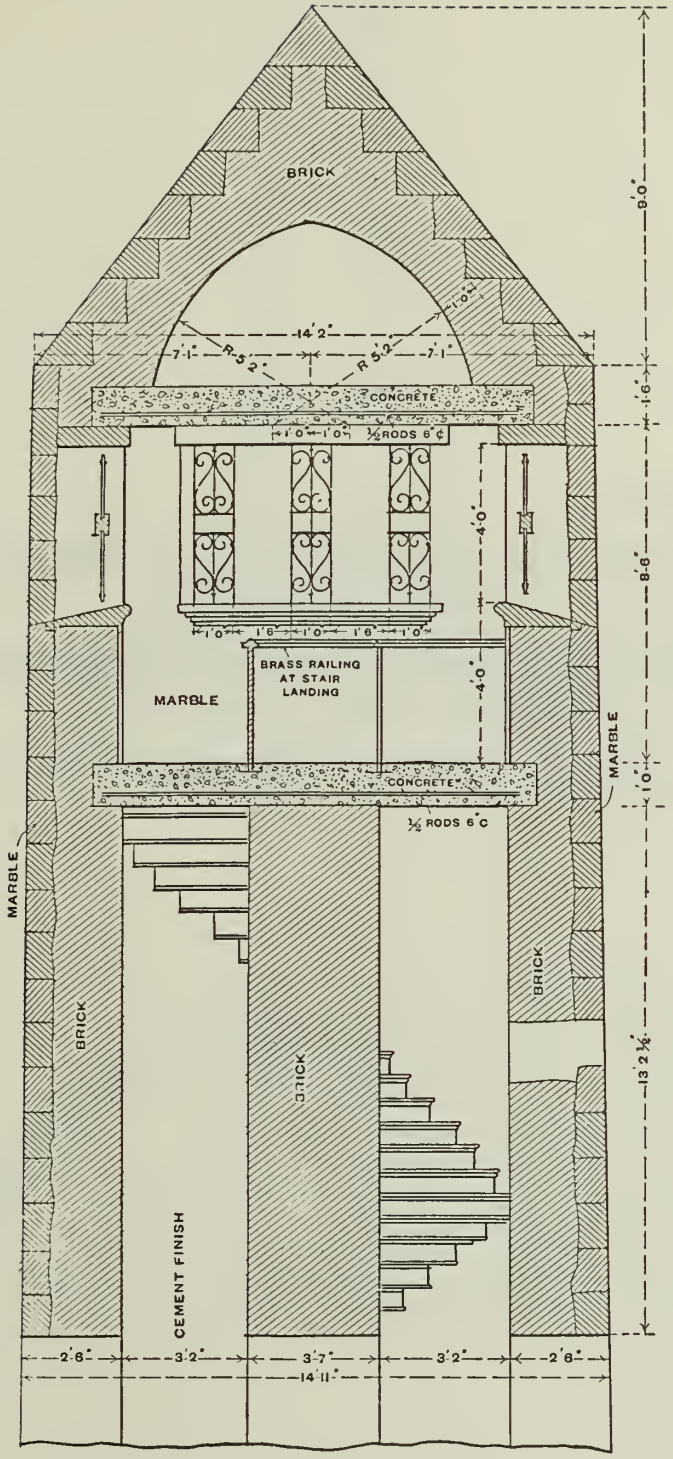


FRONT VIEW, SHOWING NEW WORK.

Illustration 38

View of interior of new section of the Chalmette Monument, 1907.

From Alfred F. Theard, "Work of Completing the Chalmette Monument" (1907)



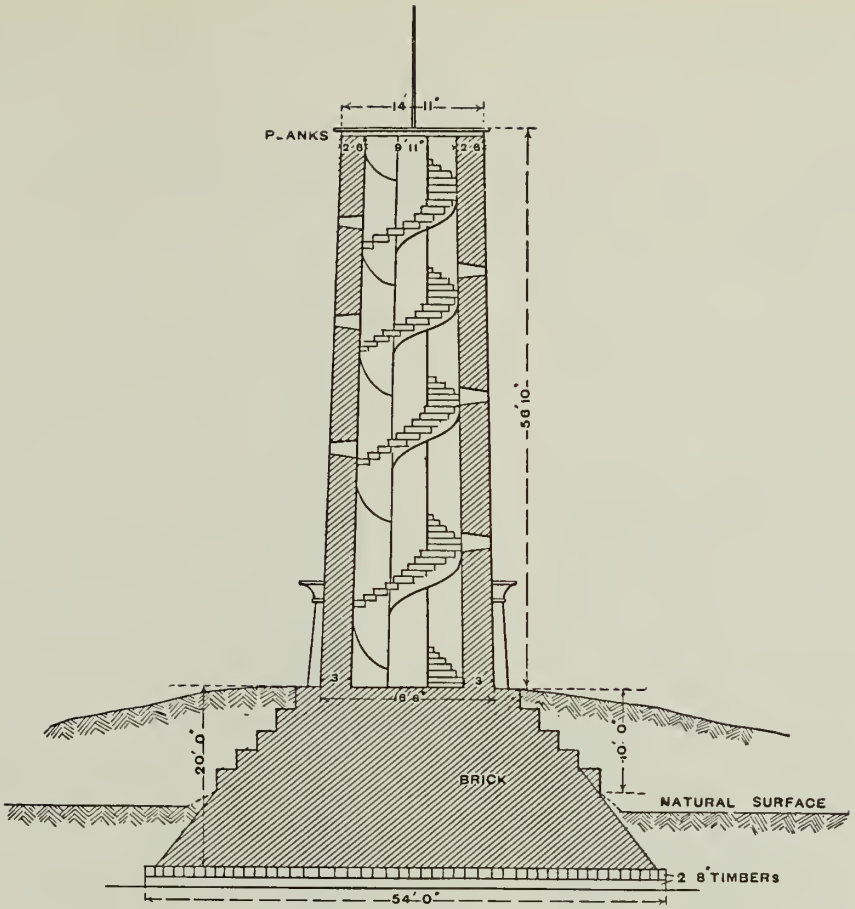
New Work, Section on Center Line of Shaft.

Illustration 39

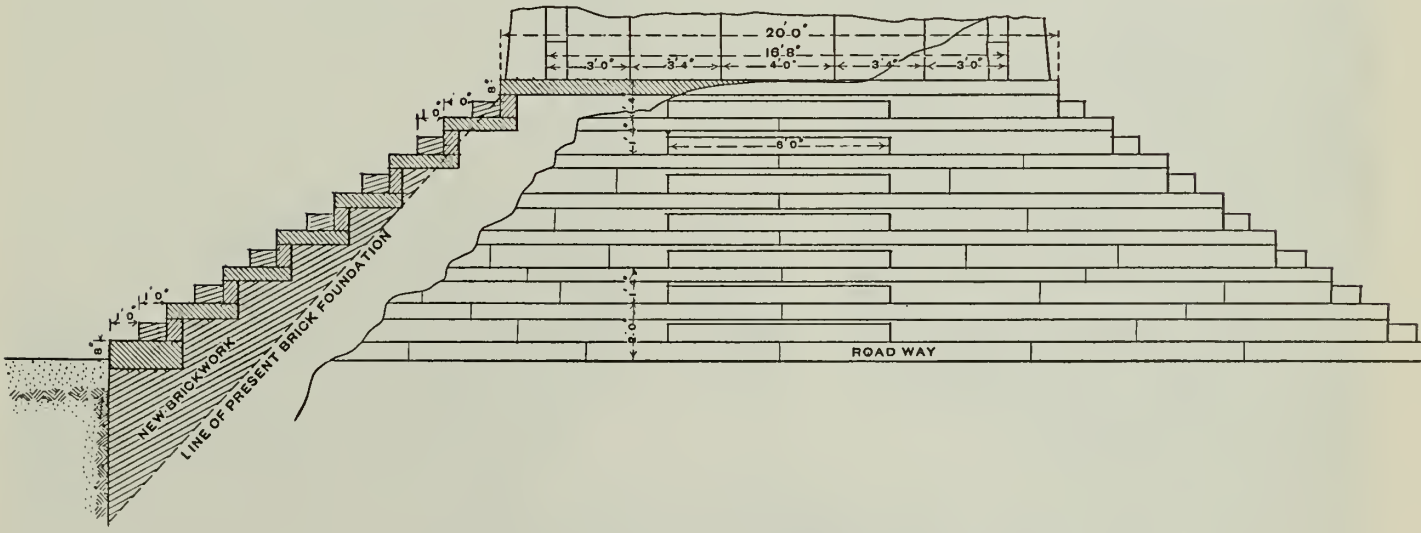
Top: Diagram of Chalmette Monument before completion in 1907-08. Note lighting rod at top.

Bottom: Diagram showing structural changes made in the base of the monument, 1907-08.

From Alfred F. Theard, "Work of Completing the Chalmette Monument" (1907).



Section of Monument as it was.



Part Elevation and Section of Base as Altered.

Illustration 40

Chalmette Monument as it appears today.

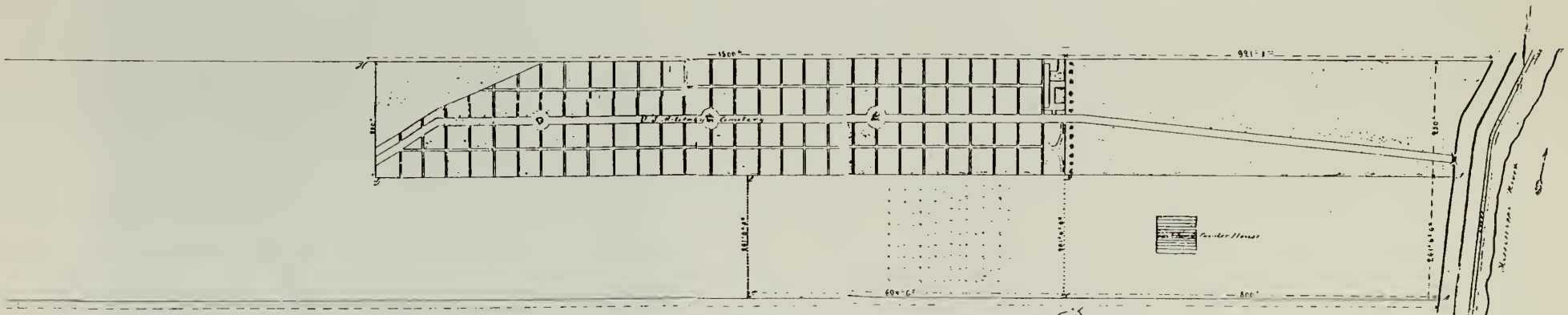
National Park Service



Illustration 41

Plat of Chalmette National Cemetery, 1872, showing location of Freedmen's Cemetery and Magazine.

New Orleans Public Library



Plan

J. B.

A a A S. S. set containing about 5 1/4 acres
A S S. S. East containing about 4 1/2 acres
J J A A S. S. East containing about 60 1/2 acres
J A A S. S. East containing about 16 acres

City Surveyors Office
New Orleans March 19. 1879.

City Surveyor

Illustration 42

The G.A.R. Monument, Chalmette National Cemetery.

Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park



Illustration 43

View of Chalmette National Cemetery, ca. 1965.

National Park Service



Illustration 44

Rene Beauregard House, ca. 1890, showing the brick kitchen with brick columns at extreme right.

Lousiana State Museum

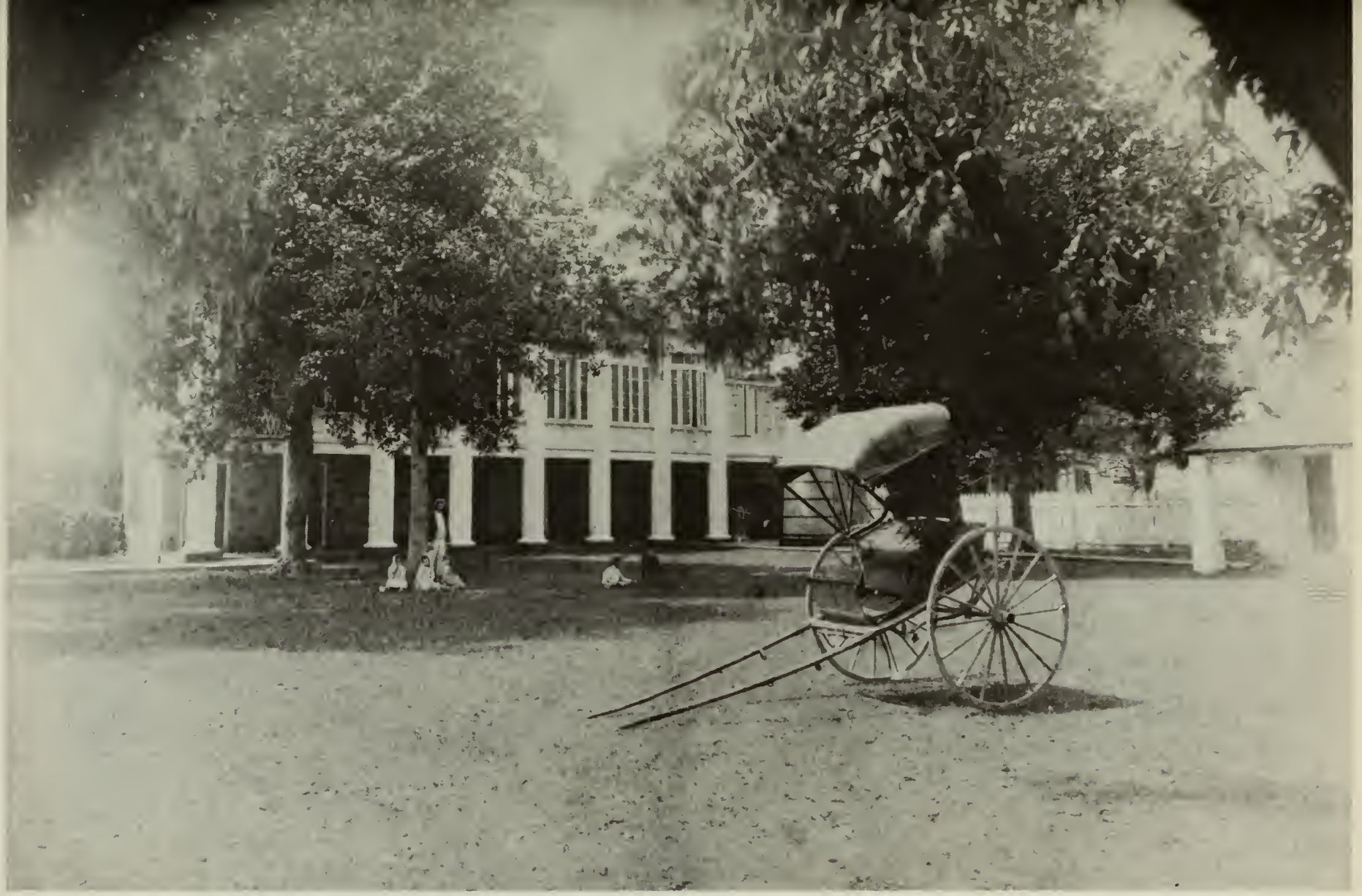
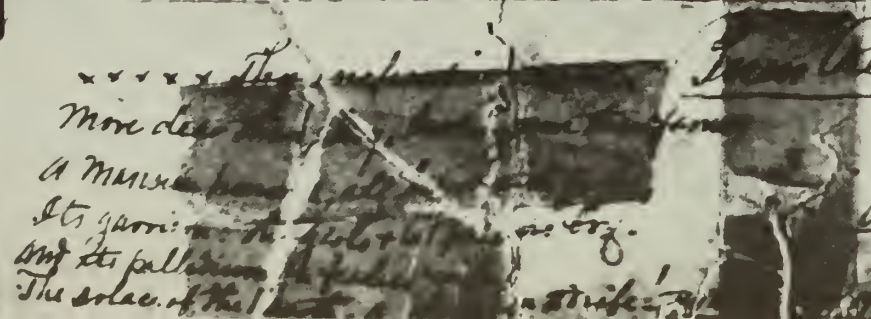


Illustration 45

Rene Beauregard House, ca. 1896-98.

Louisiana State Museum





Parish of St Bernard's

Old Home in 1896 or 1898

Alice & Hilda held by the servants

Illustration 46

Rene Beauregard House, ca. 1930, showing east and west wings.

Louisiana State Museum



Illustration 47

Rene Beauregard House ca. 1960, following restoration by the National Park Service.

National Park Service



Illustration 48

View showing the Beauregard House, a reconstructed segment of Jackson's line, and the Chalmette Monument.

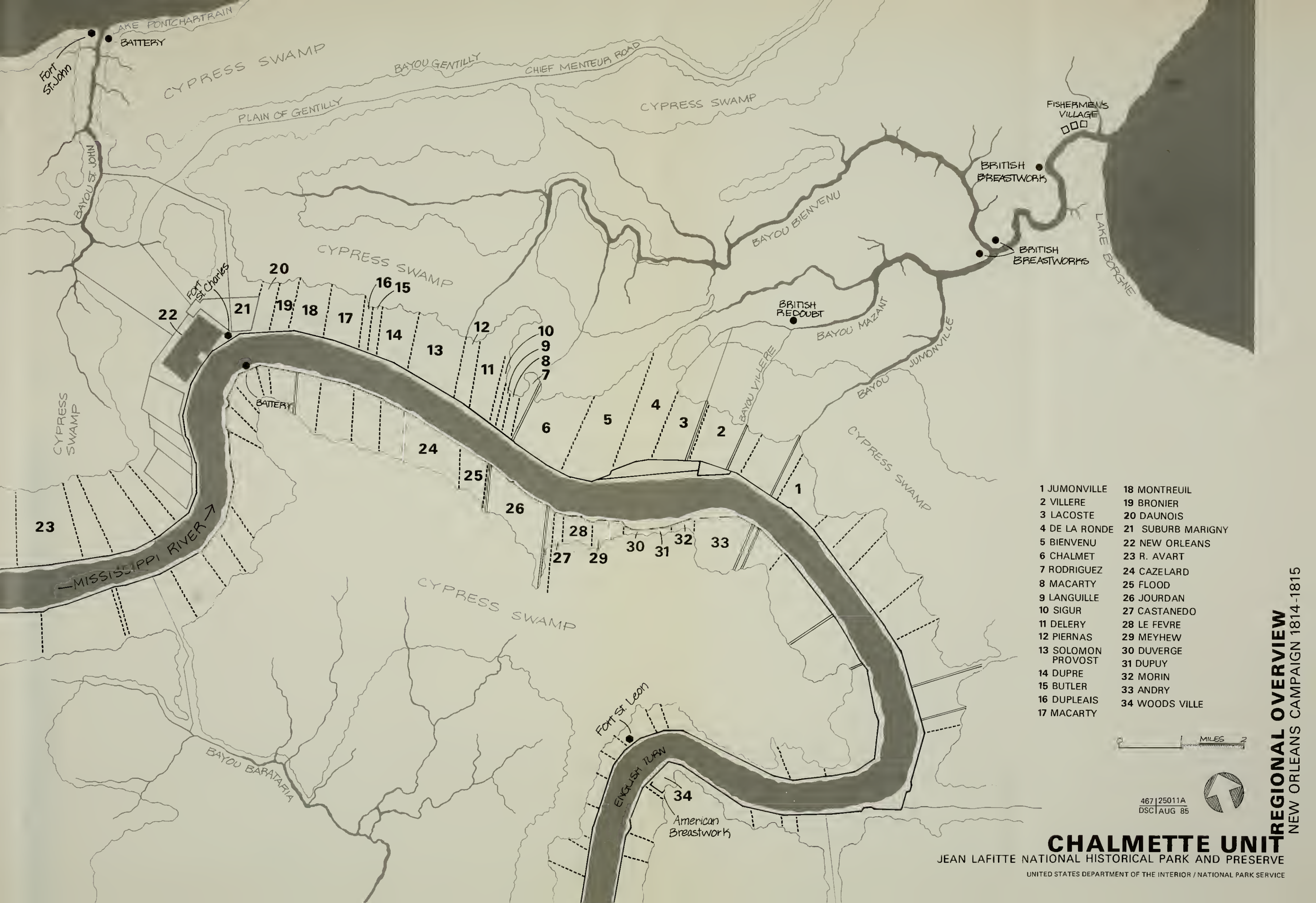
National Park Service



MAPS

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

1. Regional Overview



REGIONAL OVERVIEW
NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814-1815

CHALMETTE UNIT
JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

2. The Seat of War

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY

WEST FLORIDA

MOBILE

PENSACOLA

Pensacola Bay

Mobile Bay

FORT BOWYER

Dauphin Island

Lake Pontchartrain

FORT PETITE COQUILLES

Malheureux Island

Cat Island

Ship Island

Gentilly Plain

NEW ORLEANS

FORT ST. LEON

Lake Borgne

Swamp

English Turn

Chandeleur Islands

LOUISIANA

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

GULF OF MEXICO

Barataria Bay

FORT ST. PHILIP

OLD FORT BOURBON

Grand Terre

BALIZE

Mouths of the Mississippi

0 25 MILES 50

467 | 25010A
DSC | AUG 85

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

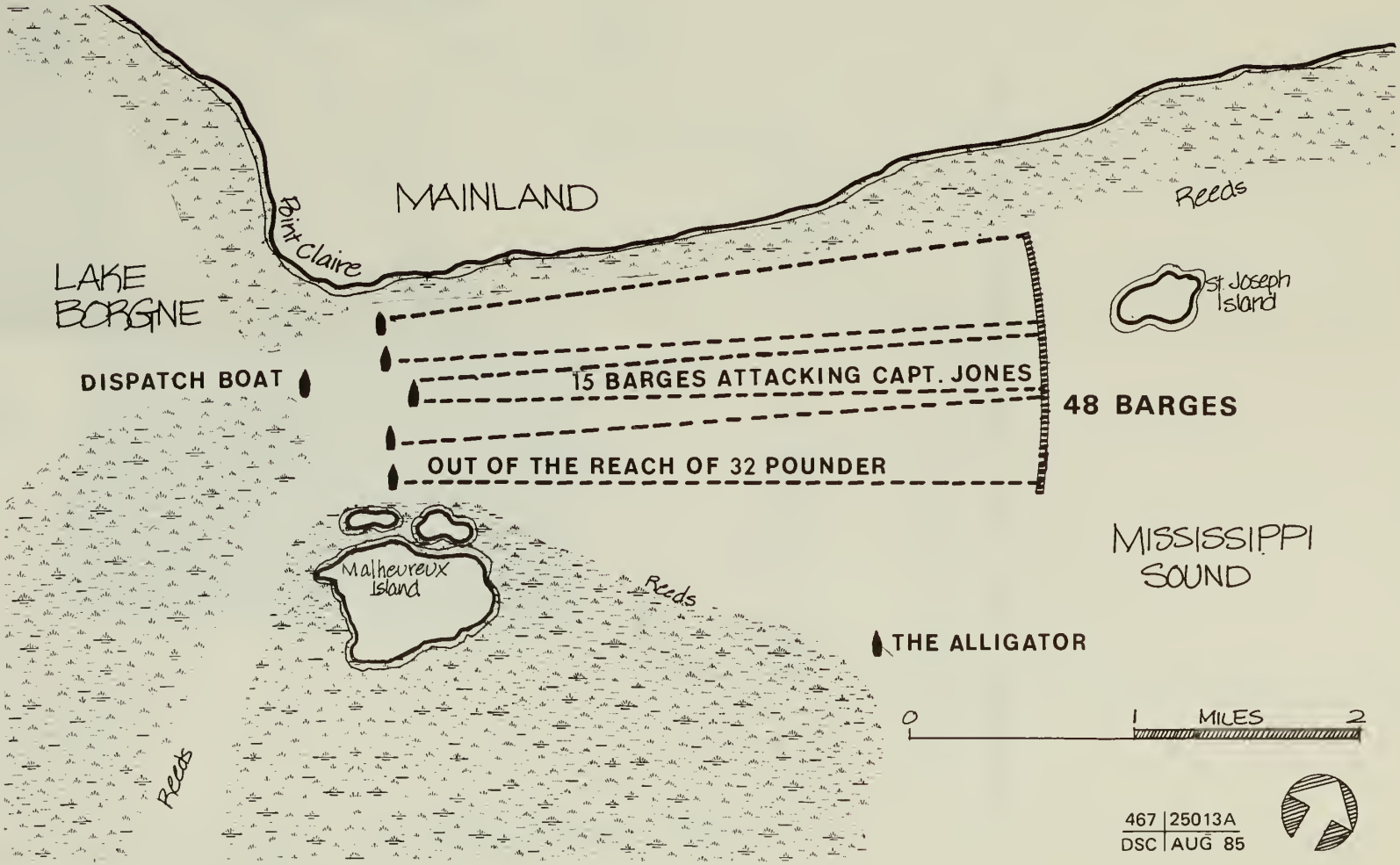
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

THE SEAT OF WAR

NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814—1815

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

3. Battle of Lake Borgne, December 14, 1814



BATTLE OF LAKE BORGNE, DECEMBER 14, 1814

NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814-1815

TROOP MOVEMENT

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

4. Night Battle of December 23, 1814

CYPRESS SWAMP

BEALE'S RIFLEMEN

POSITION OF MISSISSIPPI DRAGOONS

CANAL

ARRIVING BRITISH TROOPS

93rd REGIMENT

VILLERÉ CANAL

JUMONVILLE CANAL

LACOSTE PLANTATION

21st Fusiliers

VILLERÉ PLANTATION

British Reserve Troops 4th Regiment

KEANE'S HEADQUARTERS

JUMONVILLE PLANTATION

LINE OF COFFEE'S ADVANCE

DE LA RONDE CANAL

DE LA RONDE PLANTATION

Coffee's Final Position

British Encampment

OLD LEVEE

British Advance Guard Routed

British 44th & 95th Regiments

LEVEE ROAD

INITIAL BOMBARDMENT
SCHOONER CAROLINA

JACKSON'S POSITION AT OPENING OF ENGAGEMENT

Artillery, 7th Infantry, Marines, 44th Infantry, Plauche Dupuy Choctaws

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Schooner Carolina When Destroyed-Dec 27 1814

APPROXIMATELY 200 YARDS

467 | 25005A
DSC | AUG 85

NIGHT BATTLE OF DECEMBER 23, 1814

NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814-1815
TROOP MOVEMENT

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

5. Encounter of December 28, 1814

CYPRESS SWAMP

CYPRESS SWAMP

CARROLL'S TENNESSEANS

COFFEE'S TENNESSEANS

44th INFANTRY

RENNIE WITH 21st FUSILIERS

HENDERSON'S ATTACK

BOCKET Unit

DOUBLE DITCH (Tentative Location)

CENTER ROAD

GIBBS'S ADVANCE WITH TROOPS OF THE 4th, 21st, 44th & 5th WEST INDIA REGIMENTS

RODRIGUEZ CANAL

RODRIGUEZ HOUSE

MACARTY HOUSE

3

2

1

Line of American Pickets

1st DITCH (APPROX.)

Troops of 95th Regiment in Skirmish Formation

2nd DITCH (APPROX.)

CHALMETTE PLANTATION (BURNED RUINS)

Field Entrenchments

KEANE'S ADVANCE WITH TROOPS OF THE 85th, 93rd, 95th & 1st WEST INDIA REGIMENTS

AREA OF BIENVENU PLANTATION

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Gun Fire From Louisiana

LEVEE ROAD

BATTERY EMPLACEMENT

- AMERICAN
- BRITISH

APPROXIMATELY 200 YARDS

467 | 25006A
DSC | AUG 85

ENCOUNTER OF DECEMBER 28, 1814

NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814-1815

TROOP MOVEMENT

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

6. Artillery Engagement of January 1, 1815

CYPRESS SWAMP

CYPRESS SWAMP

TENNESSEANS & CHOCTAWS

BRITISH SORTIE (Conjectural Route)

DOUBLE DITCH (Tentative Location)

CENTER ROAD

BRITISH INFANTRY PREPARED FOR ASSAULT

Batteries Likely Built Partly of Cotton Bales

MISSISSIPPI DRAGOONS

MACARTY HOUSE

RODRIGUEZ HOUSE

RODRIGUEZ CANAL

1st DITCH (APPROX.)

Infantry Prepared For Assault

2nd DITCH (APPROX.)

CHALMETTE PLANTATION (BURNED RUINS)

AREA OF BIENVENU PLANTATION

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

LEVEE ROAD

BATTERY EMPLACEMENT

AMERICAN

1 HUMPHREY
2-12 PDRS
1 HOWITZER

2 NORRIS
1-24 PDRS

3 YOUX/BELUCHE
2-24 PDRS

4 CRAWLEY
1-32 PDRS

5 PERRY
1-12 PDRS
1-6 PDRS

6 GARRIGUES
1-18 PDRS
1-6 PDRS

7 SPOTTS
1-18 PDRS
1-6 PDRS

8 HARRISON
1 HOWITZER

BRITISH

[① SPEER
2-18 PDRS

[② LEMPRIERE
2-18 PDRS

[③ LAWRENCE
3-5½" MORTARS

[④ LANE
ROCKETS

[⑤ MITCHELL/CARMICHAEL
2-9 PDRS
3-6 PDRS
2-5½" HOWITZERS

[⑥ CRAWFORD/MONEY
4-24 PDRS
6-18 PDRS

[⑦ CRAWLEY
ROCKETS

REDOUBT (APPROXIMATE LOCATION)

APPROXIMATELY 200 YARDS

467 | 25007A
DSC | AUG 85

ARTILLERY ENGAGEMENT OF JANUARY 1, 1815

NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814-1815
TROOP MOVEMENT

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

7. Engagement of January 8, 1815



BATTERY EMPLACEMENT

AMERICAN

1 HUMPHREY
2-12 PDRS
1 HOWITZER

2 NORRIS
1-24 PDRS

3 YOUX/BELUCHE
2-24 PDRS

4 CRAWLEY
1-32 PDRS

5 PERRY
1-12 PDRS
1-6 PDRS

6 GARRIGUES
1-18 PDRS
1-6 PDRS

7 SPOTTS
1-18 PDRS
1-6 PDRS

8 HARRISON
1 HOWITZER

BRITISH

8 BATTERY

REDOUBT (APPROXIMATE LOCATION)

APPROXIMATELY 200 YARDS

467 | 25008A
DSC | AUG 85

ENGAGEMENT OF JANUARY 8, 1815

NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814-1815
TROOP MOVEMENT

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

8. British Attack on the West Bank, January 8, 1815

CYPRESS SWAMP

MISSISSIPPI RIVER

LINE BOISGERVAIS

CANAL

JACKSON'S LINE

AREA OF MAIN BRITISH ATTACK

VILLERE'S CANAL

WHERE THORNTON'S TROOPS LANDED

BRITISH BARGES

PATTERSON'S MARINE BATTERY

THORNTON'S ATTACK WITH MARINES & 85th REGIMENT

FLOOD'S CANAL

JOURDAN'S CANAL

MORGAN'S LINE

RAGUET'S CANAL

CYPRESS SWAMP

APPROXIMATELY 1,000 YARDS

467 | 25009A
DSC | AUG 85

BRITISH ATTACK ON THE WEST BANK, JANUARY 8, 1815

NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814-1815
TROOP MOVEMENT

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Troop Movement Map, New Orleans Campaign, 1814-1815

9. Bombardment of Fort St. Philip, January 9-17, 1815

BOMBARDMENT OF FORT ST. PHILIP, JANUARY 9-17, 1815

NEW ORLEANS CAMPAIGN 1814-1815

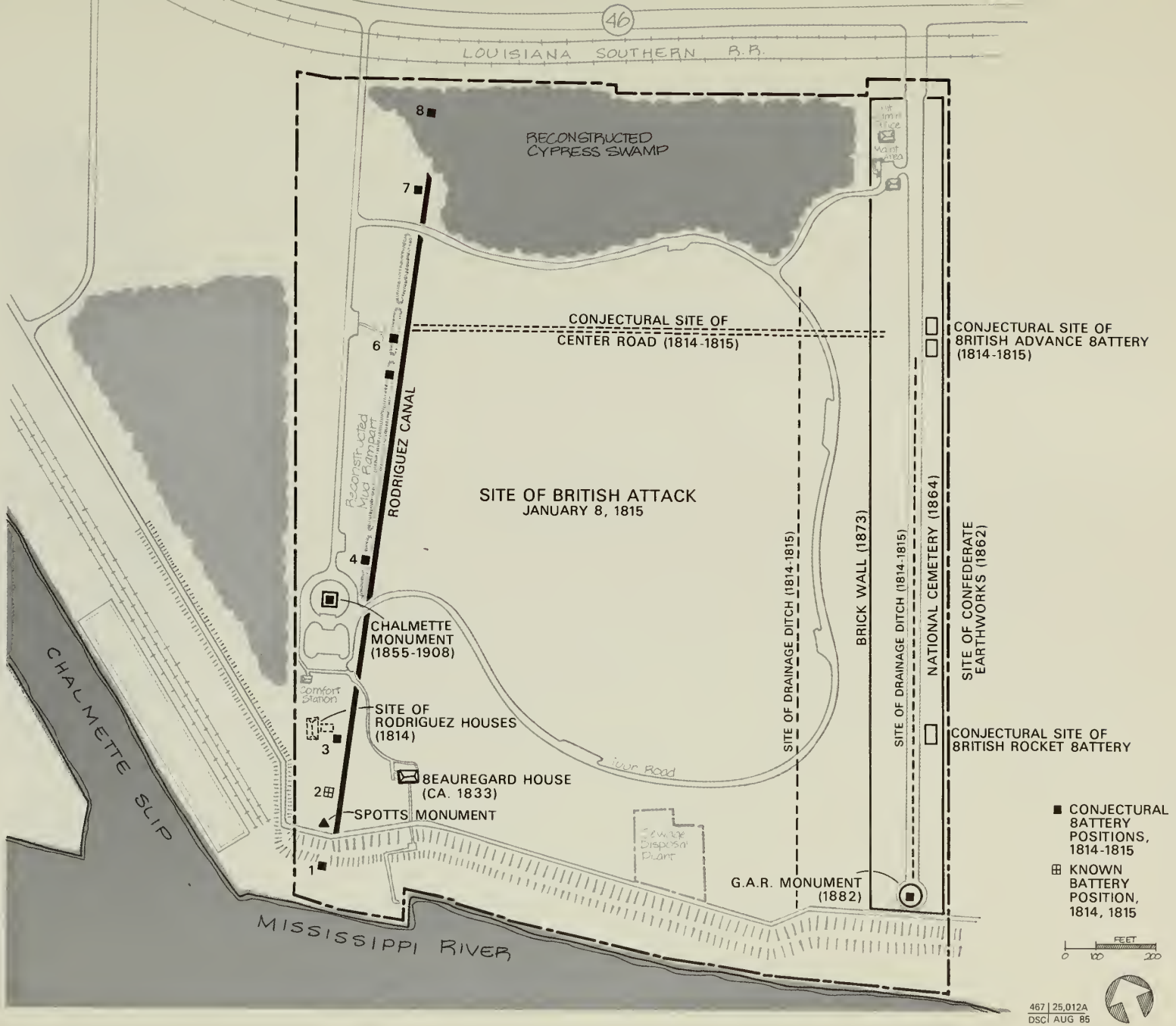
TROOP MOVEMENT

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Historical Base Map, Chalmette Unit,
Jean Lafitte National Historical Park



HISTORICAL BASE MAP

CHALMETTE UNIT

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AND PRESERVE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR / NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

Publication services were provided by the graphics staff of the Denver Service Center. NPS D-34 August 1985