### **PART II**

# HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE CIVILIAN OCCUPATION OF THE CHALMETTE BATTLEFIELD

Jill-Karen Yakubik

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#### **PART II**

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#### CHAPTER 10

#### INTRODUCTION

This report comprises an examination of the history of land use within the Chalmette Unit of Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve. In order to identify and highlight archeologically sensitive areas, particular emphasis has been given to the structural improvements that have been made over time on the park area's many and varied historic properties. 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 land ownership 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 (Figures II-1 through II-20). 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 (Figure II-1) 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 "Plan of Attack and Defence of the American Lines below New Orleans on the 8th of January, 1815" (Figure II-2) provides a great deal of detailed locational information. The variety of sizes of structures shown suggests 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 by D. G. W. Ricketts of the above Latour Map on the present landscape (Figure II-7). This 1935 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 it is utilized here only to demonstrate that the Chalmette Plantation structural complex is downriver from the present park area.
- 4) Zimpel's 1834 "Topographical Map of New Orleans" (Figure II-3) 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 Map (Figure II-4) from the 1870s (as updated in 1893-94) was also utilized to provide locational information at the Elmwood Site. The placement of the structures with respect to one another was found to be fairly accurate; however, the actual sizes of the structures shown on the map are incorrect. These difficulties are the result of the small scale of the map.
- 6) Both the 1837 and 1867 d'Hémécourt plats (Figures II-8, II-11) 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 setbacks (Figures II-6, II-18, II-19). 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" (Figure II-5) apparently is an accurate survey of the early twentieth-century features of this parcel.

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- 9) The map of the "Chalmette Back Levee District" (Figure II-14) 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 (Figures II-10, II-13, II-15, II-16, II-17, I-20). 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 (Figures II-2, II-3, II-8, II-9, II-10, II-11, II-12, II-15, II-20). 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 (Figures II-5, II-6, II-7, II-12, II-14, II-18, II-20) 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: the 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 National Military Cemetery. Because the Chalmet Plantation was first 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 discuss

Figure II-1. Barthélémy Lafon's 1808 survey of the Jean Baptiste Prevost property, which later became the westernmost sixteen arpents of the Chalmet Plantation; and the J. M. Pintard property, which became the Rodriguez Estate. Plan by Barthélémy Lafon, 1808, attached to Michel de Armas, June 14, 1813.

Courtesy New Orleans Notarial Archives.

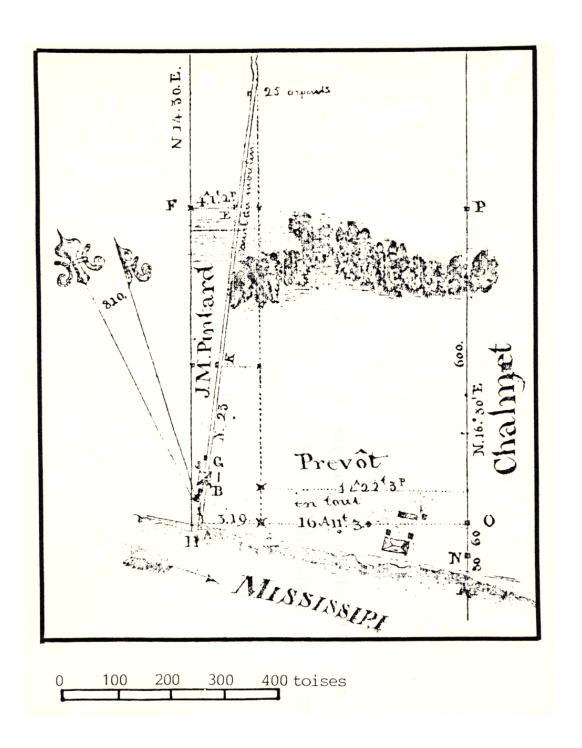


Figure II-2. Redrawn detail of A. Lacarrière Latour's "Plan of the Attack and Defence of the American Lines below New Orleans on the 8th January, 1815."

Drawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., from a copy of Latour's map in the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve.

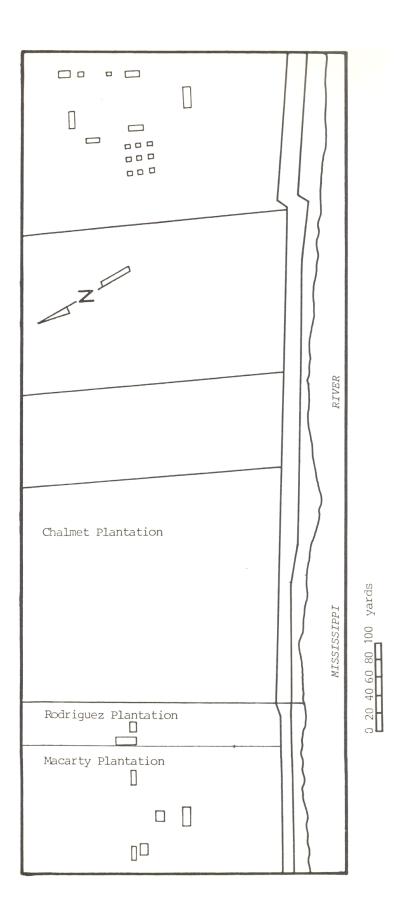


Figure II-3. Redrawn detail of Charles F. Zimpel's 1834 "Topographical Map of New Orleans and its Vicinity."

Drawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., from a copy of Zimpel's map in the Louisiana Map Collection, Special Collections, Tulane University.

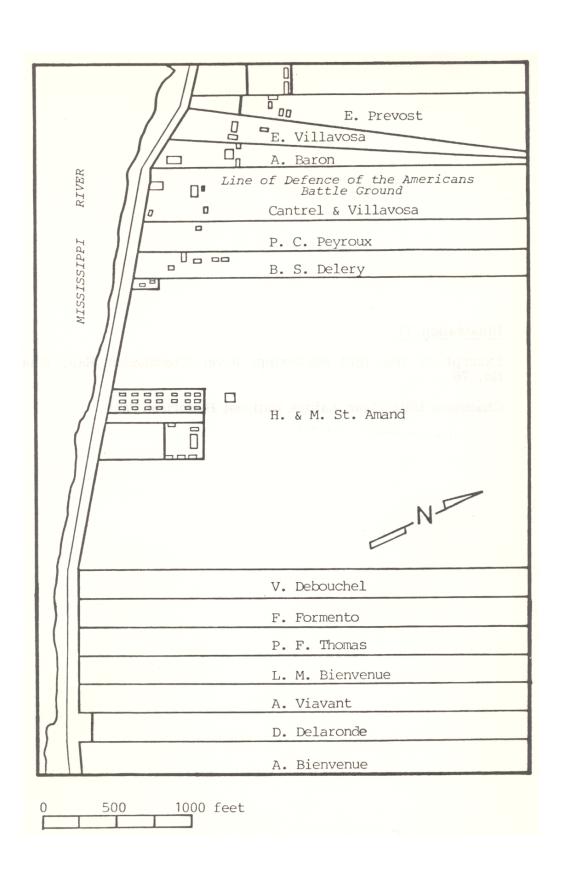


Figure II-4. Detail of the 1874 Mississippi River Commission Map "Mississippi River, Chart No. 76 (as updated in 1893-94)."

Courtesy of the Louisiana Map Collection, Special Collections, Tulane University.



Figure II-5. "Plan of Proposed Shell Road at the Chalmette Monument Ground, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 24, 1909."

Courtesy of the Office of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

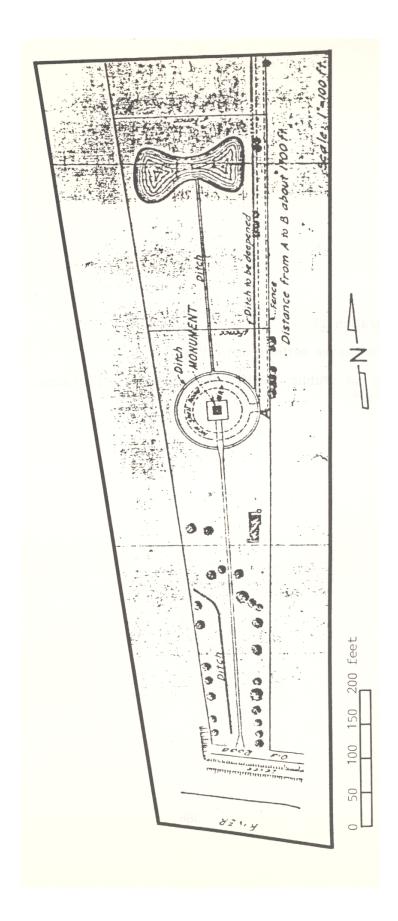


Figure II-6. Untitled 1940 levee setback map of the riverfront of the Chalmette Monument, St. Bernard Parish.

Courtesy of the Office of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

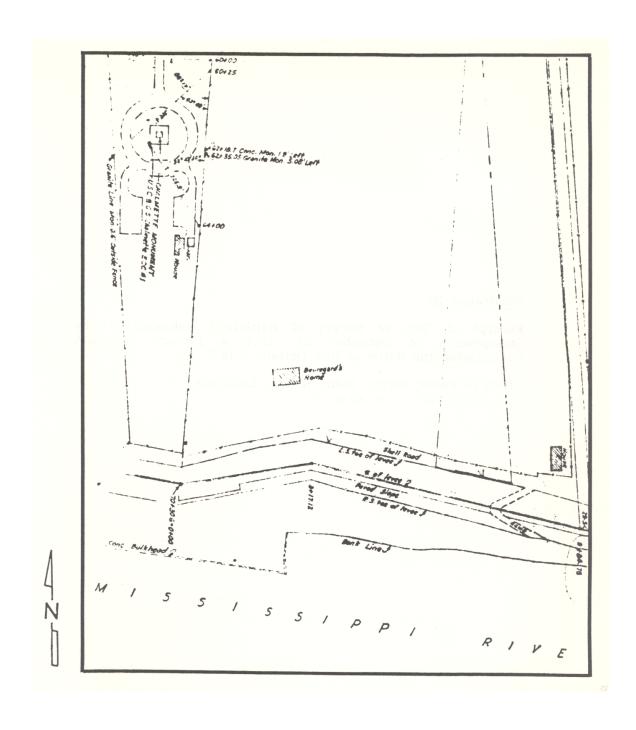
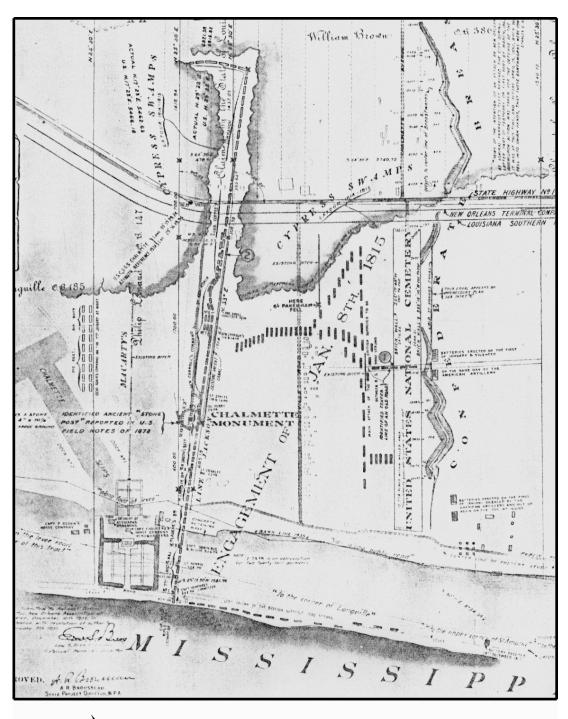


Figure II-7. D. G. W. Ricketts's "Map of Survey of the Battlefield Embraced in the Engagements Fought on December 23, 1814, and January 8, 1815 Constituting the Battle of New Orleans Showing the Positions of the Opposing Forces," 1935.

Courtesy of the Office of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Layout and enhancements by Judy Kesler, National Park Service.



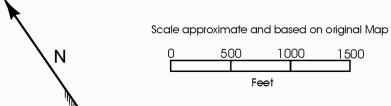


Figure II-8. Redrawn detail of Allou d'Hémécourt's 1867 "Plat of the Battleground Plantations."

Drawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., from a copy of d'Hémécourt's map at the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve.

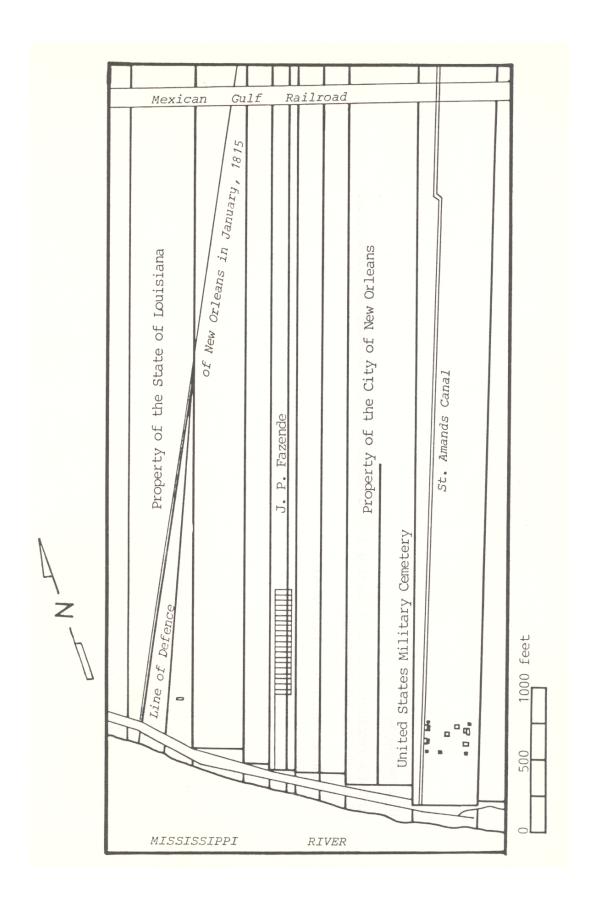


Figure II-9. Artist's reconstruction of a missing 1831 "Plan of the Subdivision of the St. Amand Plantation" by Allou d'Hémécourt.

Drawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc. Original once attached to C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

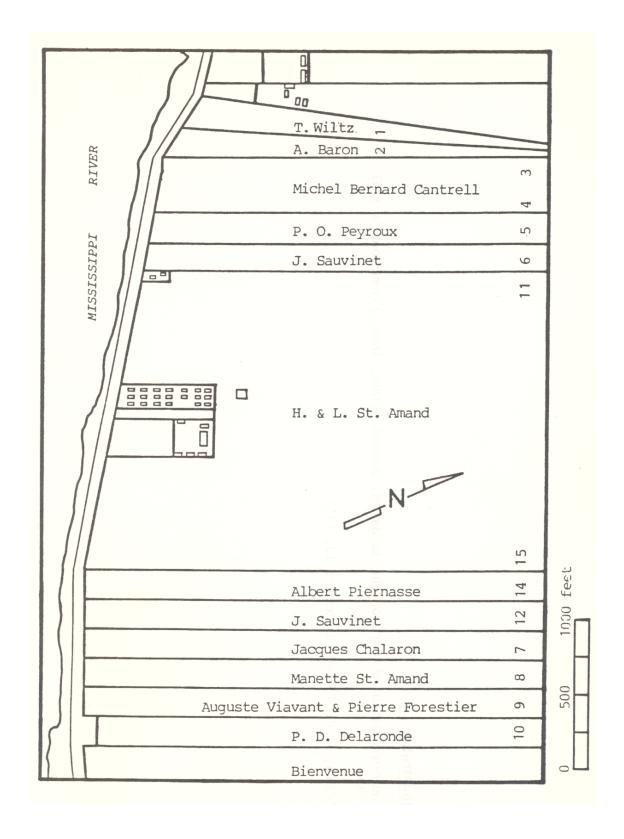


Figure II-10. Redrawn detail of Allou d'Hémécourt's 1841 "Plan of the Louis St. Amand Plantation."

Drawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., from the d'Hémécourt plan attached to C. V. Toulon, December 13, 1841, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

Wanette St. Amand  J. Dominguez  Manette St. Amand  We. A. Paillet  E. Villavaso  Manette St. Amand  Manette St. Amand  Manette St. Amand  Manette St. Amand  Manette St. Amand						-			
Z Jaoni mguez	Vve. Antoine Paillet	Manette St. Amand	Manette St. Amand	Vve. A. Paillet	E. Villavaso	Mde. Esnauld Quelquejeu	Manette St. Amand	Manette St. Amand	
182' 182'	120,		7	182					 N

Figure II-11. Redrawn detail of Allou d'Hémécourt's 1837 "Plan of the St. Amand Plantation."

Drawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., from d'Hémécourt's map in Plan Book 79, p. 6, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

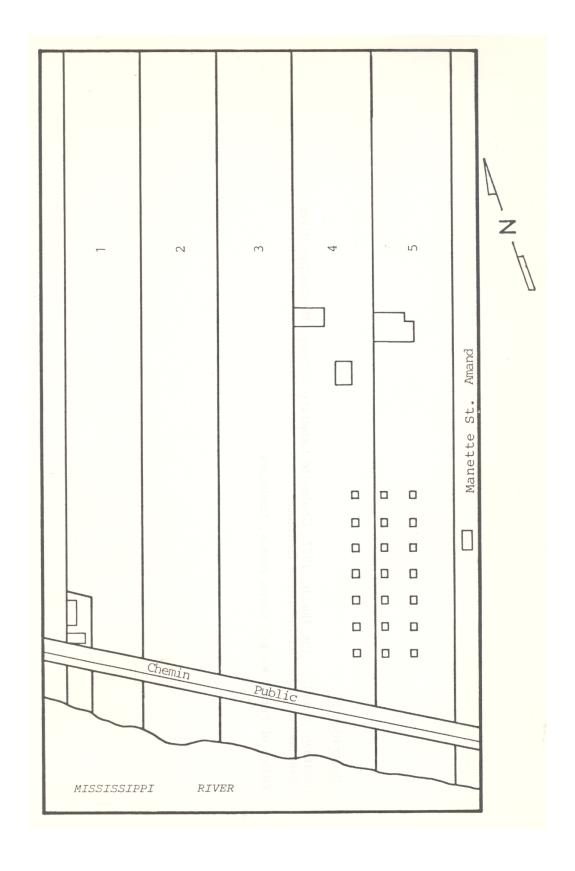


Figure II-12. Redrawn detail of the 1927 map entitled "Chalmette Cemetery Survey," Mississippi River Commission, Lake Borgne Levee District.

Drawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., from the original in the Office of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

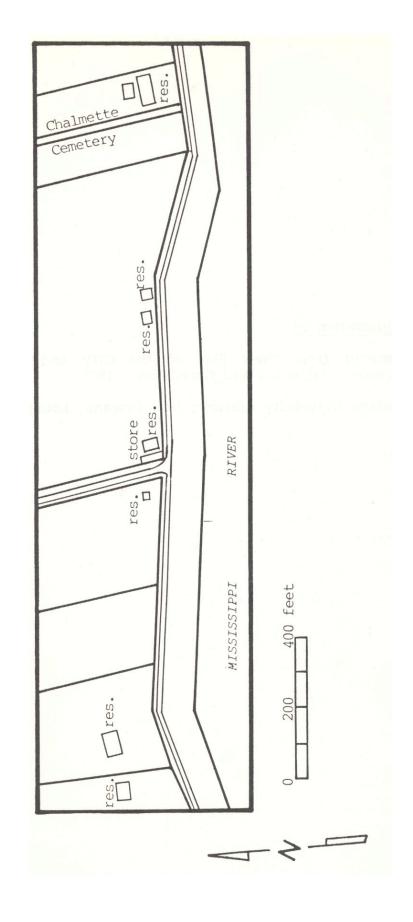


Figure II-13. Detail from the 1867 map "New Plan of the City and Environs of New Orleans, Jefferson and Carrolton."

Courtesy Louisiana Map Collection, Special Collections, Tulane University.

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1500

3000 feet

Figure II-14. "Map of Chalmette Back Levee District, March 1949."

Courtesy of the Office of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

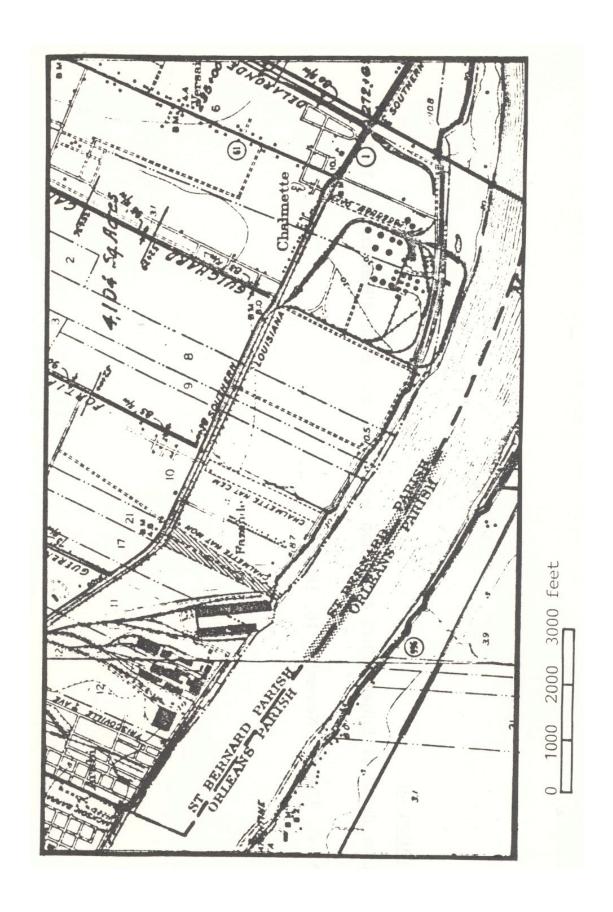


Figure II-15. Redrawn detail of Edgar Pilié's "Plan of Fazende Property," which was based on d'Hémécourt's plan of the same land area in 1878.

Drawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., from an original plan attached to the Notarial Act of C. Theard, November 16, 1888, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

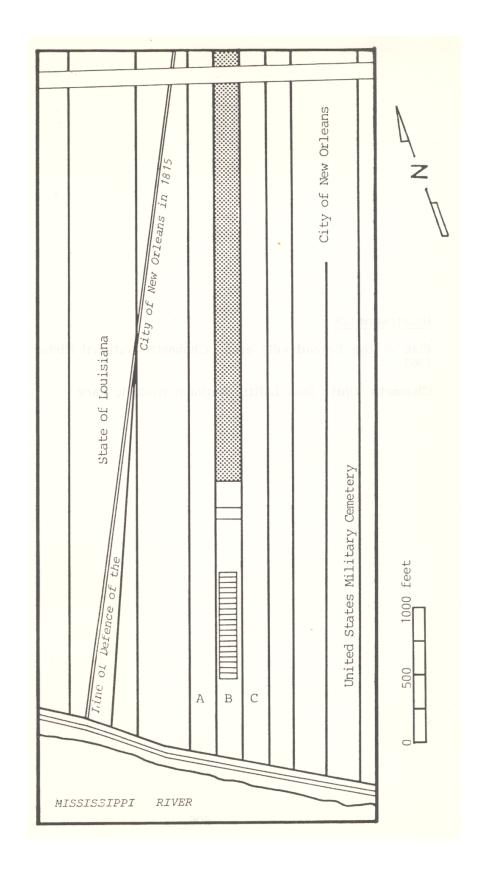


Figure II-16. "Plan of the Fazendeville Area, Chalmette National Historical Park, 1963."

Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve.

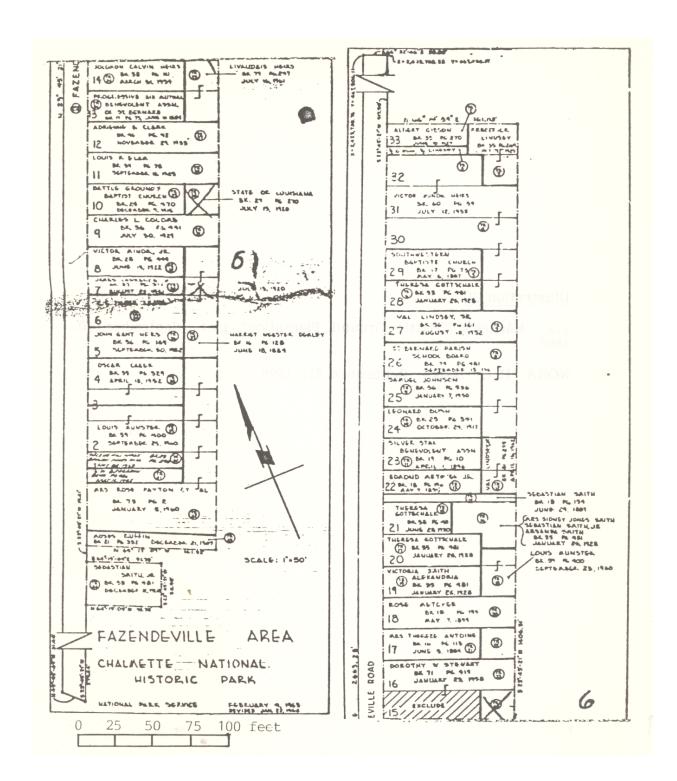


Figure II-17. Plan of the Battle Ground Plantation, J. L. Hardee, 1896, attached to H. C. Leake, Sept. 21, 1896.

Courtesy New Orleans Notarial Archives.

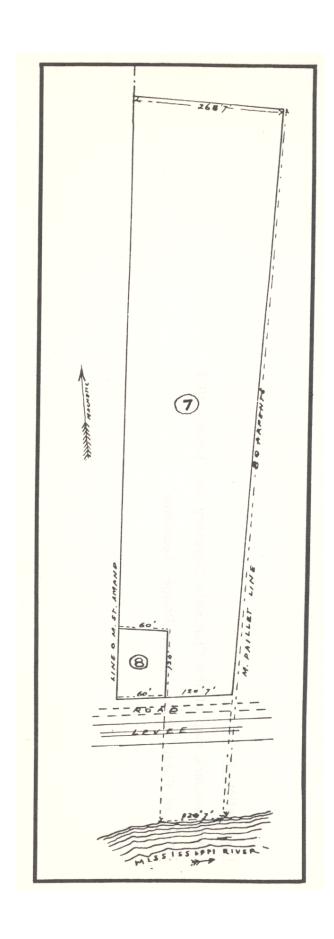


Figure II-18. "Chalmette Cemetery New Levee." Levee setback map dated 1927.

Courtesy of the Office of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

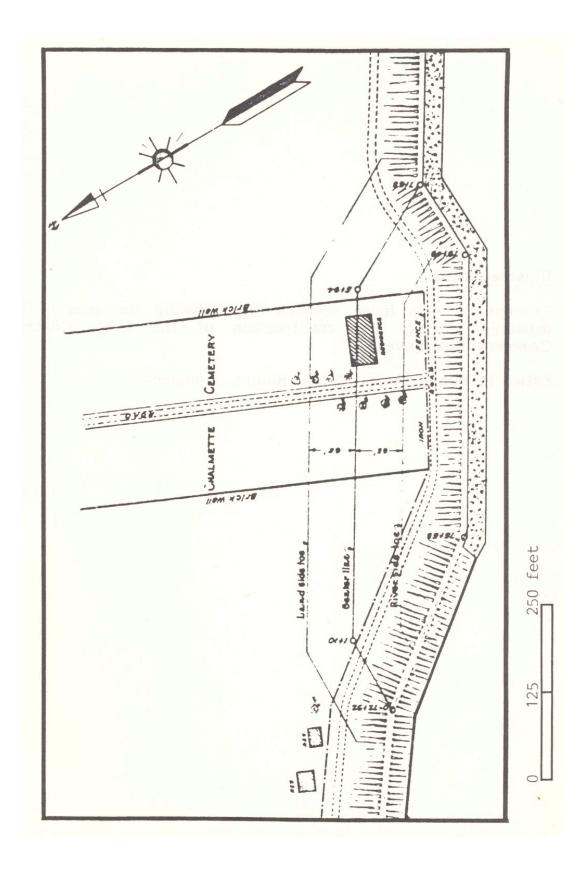


Figure II-19. Excerpt of a 1928 levee setback map, "Chalmette Cemetery New Levee," showing the area of land impacted during the construction of the U.S. Chalmette Cemetery New Levee.

Courtesy of the Office of Public Works, State of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

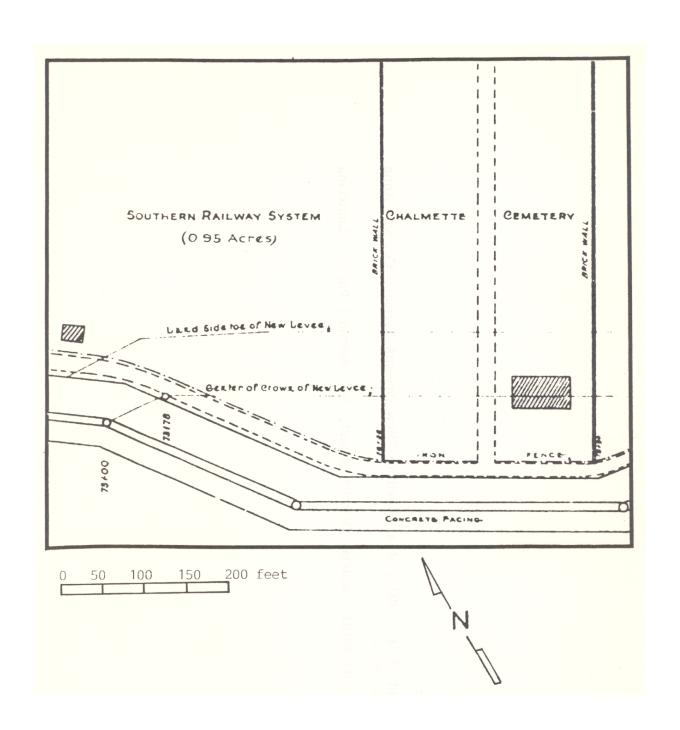


Figure II-20. Redrawn detail of the 1902 plat attached to the "New Orleans Terminal Co. vs. Anna Jacks McMillan, et al.," No. 601, Twenty-Ninth Judicial District Court.

Redrawn by R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc., from the original in the St. Bernard Parish Courthouse.

	-					
Chalmette Monument	Capt. L. Jacks	J. M. Couget	J. B. Esnard	T. L. Bertrand	National Military Cemetery	N
Alice Cenas Beauregard	-	Fazendeville		. New Orleans Collection	rive designs proposed for the Chatt	250 500 feet

## **CHAPTER 11**

## THE RODRIGUEZ PLANTATION

Immediately upriver from the Chalmet Plantation was the small tract of land that became known as the "Rodriguez Plantation." The 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. 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 fronting on the river, and it included a residence, a mill, and other unspecified structures.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> This structure, but not the residence, is recorded on the 1808 Lafon plat (Figure II-1).

Drouillard held the property for just over one year, and then he sold the lowermost one-half arpent riverfront portion to Jean Baptiste Prevost, owner of the adjoining downriver plantation. It was Prevost who commissioned the Lafon survey (Figure II-1). Prevost sold the property four months later to Dame Eliza M. Pintard, who was acting as agent for her husband, J. M. Pintard. Again, the property was sold a short time later to the notary John Lynd; two days later, Lynd

<sup>1</sup> P. Pedesclaux, June 12, 1806, New Orleans Notarial Archives, 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.

<sup>2</sup> P. Pedesclaux, December 21, 1805, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, Plantation Houses, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> P. Pedesclaux, March 28, 1807, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>5</sup> P. Pedesclaux, July 10, 1807, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

sold the property to Daniel Clark, the Louisiana Territory's representative to Congress. 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...<sup>7</sup>

John Dimitry, a writer for the *Illustrated Visitor's Guide to 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 practiced, with notable success, civil law.
- Q: What became of him afterwards?
- A: He died—still speaking broken English—on his own place.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, Rodriguez was the owner of this property during the Battle of New Orleans. In this period, the property probably served as a country retreat, since the tract was too 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 "The Defeat of the British Army12,000 Strong . . ." (Figure I-8), 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 Attack and Defence of the American Lines below New Orleans on the 8th of January, 1815" (Figure II-2)

7 P. Pedesclaux, September 29, 1808, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>6</sup> P. Pedesclaux, June 23, 1808, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>8</sup> J. Curtis Waldo, Illustrated Visitor's Guide to New Orleans (New Orleans: J. Curtis Waldo, 1879), pp. 16-17.

also shows the Rodriguez House. Beside the house in Latour's plan is another small building, but it is illustrated as detached, rather than being an attached wing as shown on the Laclotte print.

After the war Rodriguez made a claim to the United States 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 henhouse, a pigeon house, and the kitchen were "entirely destroyed," while the residence and "an adjoining building" were only damaged. Thus, it appears that this damaged, but surviving, structure was not the kitchen, since the latter had been fully demolished. In addition, Rodriguez placed a large claim for the damage or loss of movables, including books; possibly the structure had 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. 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:

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

<sup>9</sup> 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" (2 vols.; unpublished report dated October 1984, in the National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office, Santa Fe Library) I, pp. I.11, I.16-I.18, I.32-I.56.

<sup>10</sup> P. Pedesclaux, May 7, 1817, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

before Ignace Delino, following the canal which is on this property. . . . <sup>11</sup>

In 1819, Benjamin H. B. Latrobe made a sketch of the area which showed a number of changes in the residence (see Figure III-4). The gallery was enclosed by blinds, and a dormer window had been 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 Solomon Prevost, presumably resided at least part time in the house at Rodriguez Plantation. 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. Figure II-3 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. 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 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

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> F. Percy, April 25, 1849, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

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.<sup>13</sup>

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 Plantation was still 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." Possibly because of its deteriorated state, it was not depicted on the 1874 Mississippi River Commission Map (Figure II-4). Based on a contemporary 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 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 Figure II-5. The structure remained in existence at least until 1940 (Figure II-6). By this time, there was also a small garage adjacent to the house.

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

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<sup>13</sup> T. Guyol, February 19, 1855, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>14</sup> Waldo, Illustrated Visitor's Guide to New Orleans, 1879, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson, Plantation Houses, p. 35.

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 in 1807, probably with the intention of operating the mill on the property. 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 New Orleans, and it then remained in the Prevost family until 1849. State governmental jurisdiction over the property began in 1852, and the United States government completed the Chalmette Monument and took control of the property in the early years of the twentieth century.

<sup>16</sup> Benjamin Ory, May 24, 1907, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

## **CHAPTER 12**

## THE CHALMET PLANTATION

The plantation that became known as "Chalmette Plantation" measured slightly over twenty-two-arpents front on the Mississippi River. The history of this property illustrates not only trends in the settlement and economic history of the region, but also provides insights into the changing life-ways that emerged on the outskirts of New Orleans over the last 250 years. 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 François Phillipe 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. After Marigny's death, his land holdings in the area passed to his widow, Marie Madeleine Le Maire, who married the Chief Engineer of the Louisiana colony, Captain Ignace François Broutin.<sup>2</sup> 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 10 arpents of land, 50 slaves, 60 head of cattle, 14 horses, 100 sheep, 12hogs, and 2 muskets.<sup>3</sup>

On July 13, 1794, Antoine Philippe's widow sold ten arpents of land to Charles Antoine de Reggio.<sup>4</sup> Reggio subsequently sold six arpents of this tenarpent 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 the lands of Antoine Bienvenu and on the upper side by lands owned by Laurent Sigur.<sup>5</sup> De Lino (or Delino) de Chalmet was the grandson of Marie Madeleine Le Maire and of Broutin.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Wilson, Jr., *Plantation Houses On the Battlefield of New Orleans* (New Orleans: The Battle of New Orleans 150th Anniversary Committee of Louisiana); Samuel Wilson, Jr., "The Rene Beauregard House: An Architectural Survey Report" (unpublished manuscript dated 1956, National Park Service Intermountain Support Office, Santa Fe Library).

<sup>2</sup> Charles V. G. Maduel, *Census Tables for the French Colony of Louisiana from 1699 through 1737* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1972), p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> J. K. Voorhies, *Some Late Eighteenth Century Louisianians: Census Records, 1758-1796* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1973), p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> F. Rodriguez, July 13, 1794, New Orleans Notarial Archives, New Orleans, Louisiana.

<sup>5</sup> P. Pedesclaux, February 9, 1805, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, Plantation Houses, p. 39.

The other sixteen-arpent parcel of what became Chalmet Plantation appears to have formed part of the Marais concession. 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. 8

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. 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.

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. <sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> William D. Reeves, *De La Barre: Life of a French Creole Family in Louisiana* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1980), p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> Voorhies, Some Late Eighteenth Century Louisianians, pp. 250-53.

<sup>10</sup> Jack D. Holmes, "Indigo in Colonial Louisiana and the Floridas," Louisiana History VIII (1967), p. 340.

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.<sup>11</sup>

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. The 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. 12

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.

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 susceptible 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 Coupee and the Yazoo River. 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.

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 344.

<sup>12</sup> N. Broutin, February 16, 1798, New Orleans Notarial Archives .

<sup>13</sup> Holmes, "Indigo in Colonial Louisiana," pp. 346-48.

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 sugarhouse, a refinery, a storehouse, slave cabins, and a variety of outbuildings and attendant structures. Thirty-five slaves (Table II-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.<sup>14</sup>

Figure II-1 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.

Three years later, Prevost sold the plantation to William Brown, the collector of customs for the Port of New Orleans. 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. <sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> P. Pedesclaux, June 12, 1805, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>15</sup> P. Pedesclaux, March 21, 1808, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>16</sup> Walter Lowrie and Walter Franklin (eds.), *American State Papers, Class VIII, Public Lands* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834), p 281.

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.<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup>

Brown's hasty departure appears to have resulted in part from the overextension of his financial resources:

[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.<sup>19</sup>

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." Prior to this sale, Grymes had arranged with Williams to re-sell the property 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 Thomas 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.

. . .

<sup>17</sup> Governor W. C. C. Claiborne to Secretary of State Robert Smith, November 17, 1809, cited in Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House."

<sup>18</sup> Claiborne to Smith, November 26, 1809, cited in Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House."

<sup>19</sup> Claiborne to President Thomas A. Jefferson, January 12, 1810, in Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House."

<sup>20</sup> M. de Armas, March 15, 1811, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

Table II-1: Slaves Conveyed in 1805 Sale of Land to Jean Baptiste Prevost (P. Pedesclaux, June 12, 1805, New Orleans Notarial Archives)

		<u>Age</u>
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	chicken yard negress	28
Julie		20
with her child Charlotte		7
Rosalie	ironing woman	
and her son Vincent		2
Marcelline		
Parullemeur		6
Annette		5

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.<sup>21</sup>

On June 14, 1813, Henry Daingerfield's and Thruston's heirs sold the plantation to Ignace de Lino de Chalmet for \$65,000.00. The plantation was described as comprising 16 arpents, 11 toises, and 3 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.<sup>22</sup> Sometime after this purchase, Chalmet moved his family to the great house on the new upriver parcel.<sup>23</sup>

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:

... 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 which 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.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Louisiana Courier, May 3, 1813.

<sup>22</sup> M. de Armas, June 14, 1813, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>23</sup> Francis F. Wilshin, "The Rene Beauregard House" (unpublished report dated 1952, in the library of Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve).

<sup>24</sup> Wilson, "Rene Beauregard House," p. 7.

Figure II-2 depicts the Chalmet Plantation at the time of the battle. The complex of structures 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 sugarhouse. It is likely that the Chalmet great house (Figure II-2) was the same structure as the Prevost residence (Figure II-1). Figure II-7 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 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, <sup>25</sup> 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." 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 slaveowning free men of color; in addition to land holdings in St. Charles Parish, the

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<sup>25</sup> N. Broutin, October 24, 1814, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>26</sup> M. de Armas, April 28, 1817, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

St. Amand family was connected with the 120-arpent Rigaud Plantation on Grand Isle <sup>27</sup>

In fact, free colored families such as the St. Amands were not uncommon in ante-bellum Louisiana. Throughout this period, Louisiana benefited economically from a relatively large population of free people of color. The free colored population grew by three means: manumission of slaves; immigration of free blacks, primarily from the West Indies; and 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."

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 immigration 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 African American slaves. In 1830, there were 212 slave-owning free men of color in the rural parishes of Louisiana, and 25 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." <sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> C. Pollock, May 8, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives; Betsy Swanson, *Historic Jefferson Parish from Shore to Shore* (Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican Publishing Company, 1975), p. 160.

<sup>28</sup> 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.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

It is significant that the St. Amands bought the large St. Bernard Parish property at a time when sugar production was increasing rapidly in south Louisiana. Sugar production was not feasible for small planters because of the large capital investments it required. According to Mark Schmitz, in 1860 the average investment in sugar-producing machinery on a Louisiana plantation was \$9,900.00. This contrasts sharply with an \$830.00 average investment for equipment on a cotton plantation. Sugar yielded a 9 percent return, whereas cotton's return averaged about 7 percent.

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. Also, corn 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 the harvest was done. 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.<sup>33</sup>

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. 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 sugarhouse. In the early nineteenth century, these structures generally were made of wood, but by 1850, most sugarhouses were constructed of brick. Sugarhouses generally were 100 to 150 feet long and about 50 feet wide. 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 sugarhouse, although detached structures for the mill also were utilized on Louisiana plantations. As

<sup>31</sup> Mark Schmitz, *Economic Analysis of Antebellum Sugar Plantations in Louisiana* (New York: Arno Press, 1977), p. 108.

<sup>32</sup> Joe Gray Taylor, Louisiana (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1976), p. 67.

<sup>33</sup> J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Sugar Country: The Sugar Industry in the South, 1753-1950* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1953), p. 112.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>36</sup> Samuel Wilson, Jr., to the writer, 1983.

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 30 feet long by 7 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 but adjacent to the sugarhouse. 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 sugarhouse where it connected to the chimney.<sup>37</sup>

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 10 to 12 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 18 inches deep.<sup>38</sup> There usually were about sixteen coolers in a sugarhouse.<sup>39</sup> 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 sugarhouse 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.<sup>40</sup> A cane shed for storing cane as it was brought in from the field usually was attached to the sugarhouse on the same end as the mill.<sup>41</sup>

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 the 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

<sup>37</sup> Sitterson, Sugar Country, p. 141.

<sup>38</sup> T. B. Thorpe, "Sugar and the Sugar Region of Louisiana," Harper's New Monthly Magazine VII (1853), p. 763.

<sup>39</sup> Sitterson, Sugar Country, p. 143.

<sup>40</sup> Thorpe, "Sugar and the Sugar Region," p. 763.

<sup>41</sup> Sitterson, Sugar Country, p. 137.

canal nearer the city and make therewith a causeway or levee to be two feet wide 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 . . . . <sup>42</sup>

Figure II-8 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 (Figure II-8). It is not unlikely that the St. Amands utilized the foundations of the Chalmet Plantation structures; such re-use of structural remains was common in the New Orleans area. 43

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. These debts were capitalized by mortgages on the St. Amand brothers' land, described as "a plantation made into a sugar refinery." 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. 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

<sup>42</sup> M. de Armas, June 6, 1822, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>43</sup> See, for example, R. Christopher Goodwin and Jill-Karen Yakubik, "Data Recovery at the New Orleans General Hospital Site, 16 OR 69" (unpublished manuscript dated 1982 submitted to the Division of Archeology, Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism, State of Louisiana).

<sup>44</sup> F. de Armas, June 3, 1824, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>45</sup> F. de Armas, August 3, 1825, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>46</sup> C. Pollock, June 8, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

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 six arpents of the upper part is found the line of defense of the American Army in 1815, and on the four arpents 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 10 arpents of the plantation for sale, 12 lots of 1 arpent each, 6 at each limit of the plantation, were sold. A plan of the subdivision was drawn by d'Hémécourt, 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. . . . <sup>47</sup>

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'Hémécourt's plat (Figure II-9). 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 Figure II-9 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 sugarhouse probably was located, as well as a great house surrounded by garconnieres, offices, a kitchen, and other attendant structures (Figures II-3, II-9).

Table II-2 shows the purchasers of the lots during the 1832 sale; the plots acquired are shown in Figure II-9. Figure II-3, Zimpel's plan, which was drafted in 1833, suggests that structural improvements on the various lots were

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<sup>47</sup> C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

undertaken rapidly after the 1832 sale. Comparison of Figures II-3 and II-9 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. 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 payoff most of their debts. Three days later, Joseph Sauvinet released the brothers from their debt to him, and their sister Genevieve did likewise. Nevertheless, Louis and Hilaire continued to owe their sister Manette over \$18,000.00. Perhaps to settle this remaining debt, Manette purchased Louis's one-half share in the remaining plantation. Zimpel's 1834 plan shows "H. and M. St. Amand" as owners of the property (Figure II-3). To facilitate this sale, Louis and Hilaire divided the slaves they held together on the plantation. Table II-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. 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 (Figures II-3, II-9) then was sold to Louis Bartholemy Chauvin Delery.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> C. Pollock, May 8, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>49</sup> C. Pollock, March 26, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>50</sup> C. Pollock, February 18, 1833, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>51</sup> Samuel Wilson, Jr., to the writer, 1984.

<sup>52</sup> O. de Armas, November 28, 1834, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

Table II-2: Purchasers of Lots at the Public Auction on March 23, 1832 (C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives)

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 II-3: Division of Slaves between Louis and Hilaire St. Amand in 1833 (C. Pollock, February 18, 1833, New Orleans Notarial Archives)

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
200	1-	\$5,900
		42,500

As indicated by the name "Battle Ground" Plantation, the area was recognized as an important historic landmark and was visited by travelers to the New Orleans area.<sup>53</sup> 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 and 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 summerhouse, 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 bounded on two sides, and some remains of the breast-work of earth which was thrown up.<sup>54</sup>

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's real property in 1841 among his three surviving sisters is recorded. This document shows that by the time of his death, Louis's land was reduced to 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' debts to their sister Manette, as well as from the earlier settlement of Hilaire's estate.

As shown in Figure II-10, each of three surviving sisters received twothirds of an arpent as a result of this partition. The act also specified that the

<sup>53</sup> Louisiana Courier, March 7, 1832.

<sup>54</sup> Harriet Martineau, Restrospect of Western Travel (2 vols.; London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), II, pp. 155-57.

"house, the buildings, the negro cabins, and other dependencies" were located on Lot 4, which was partitioned between Manette and Genevieve. Figure II-11 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. 1, measuring 180 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 . . . . <sup>56</sup>

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 were 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.

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<sup>55</sup> C. V. Toulon, December 13, 1841, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

# LOT 1: THE ALICE CENAS BEAUREGARD PARCEL

Lot 1 of the subdivision of Louis and Hilaire St. Amand's plantation (Figure II-9) was purchased by Theophile Wiltz on April 10, 1832.<sup>57</sup> Wiltz did not retain ownership for long, and the following January he sold it to Auguste and Etienne Villavaso for \$3,900.00.<sup>58</sup> Figure II-3 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.<sup>59</sup> Thus, it may be assumed that Celeste Cantrelle received the property from Villavaso, probably after 1849 when the latter purchased the Rodriguez tract.<sup>60</sup>

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's 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's wife was Carmen Lesseps. The consideration for the sale was \$4,000.00.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> 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

<sup>57</sup> C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>58</sup> Conveyance Office Book (COB) 11, Folio 340, Orleans Parish.

<sup>59</sup> T. Seghers, December 17, 1834, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>60</sup> F. Percy, April 25, 1849, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>61</sup> G. Le Gardeur, April 13, 1875, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

brought only \$2,500.00.<sup>63</sup> Livaudais sold the property one year later to Octave Toca for the same price.<sup>64</sup> On September 24, 1888, Toca sold the property to the wife of the owner of the Beauregard House, Rene T. Beauregard.<sup>65</sup> Beauregard was the son of the Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard. This purchase of Lot 1 enabled the two lots to be rejoined as they had been during Fernandez's ownership. The two lots remained in the possession of the Beauregard family until 1904, when both parcels were sold to the New Orleans Terminal Company. The consideration for this sale was \$9,500.00, a \$6,500.00 increase over its price of sixteen years before.<sup>66</sup> Figures II-4 and II-12 suggest that one small residential structure survived on Lot 1 into the twentieth century.

# LOT 2: THE R. T. BEAUREGARD PARCEL

Lot 2 was sold to Alexander Baron (Figure II-9) by the St. Amands.<sup>67</sup> 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), in Samuel Wilson, Jr., "The Rene Beauregard House: An Architectural Survey Report" (1956), and in Jerome Greene, *Historic Resource Study, Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve* (1985).

# LOTS 3, 4, AND 5: THE BATTLE GROUND SAWMILL

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 (Figure II-9) were purchased for \$7,300.00 and for \$7,900.00, respectively. Eight 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 (II-3). In fact, Villavaso and Cantrelle also were related. It was during this period of land tenure that the "Battle Ground Sawmill" was established and began operation. Figure II-3 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.

<sup>63</sup> G. Le Gardeur, June 25, 1884, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>64</sup> P. A. Conrad, June 25, 1885, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>65</sup> E. A. Peyroux, September 24, 1888, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>66</sup> H. G. Defour, November 28, 1904, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>67</sup> C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

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 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. The record of this former act was destroyed by fire, as was the record of the 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 purchase by Charles Dahlgren of the "Battle Ground Sawmill," which, by that time, also included Lot 5. The consideration for this sale was \$30,500.00.

Lot 5 originally had been purchased by Pierre Oscar Peyroux, a New Orleans merchant, from Louis and Hilaire St. Amand for \$6,900.00 (Figure II-9). On March 16, 1835, Peyroux sold the property to Constance Peyroux, along with 132 shares of stock in the Citizens Bank of Louisiana, for \$18,000.00.71 On February 16, 1844, the Citizens Bank of Louisiana brought suit against Constance Peyroux. 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. Caraby then sold the property to Michel Martin Villavaso on March 31, 1853, for \$3,590.00.74 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 Figure II-3, which shows only one small structure on the property.

When the sawmill property was sold during settlement of the succession of Marie Josephine Cantrelle, the property measured three-arpents front by eighty in depth. Figure II-13 shows the three-arpent tract about the time of Cantrelle's death. Improvements to the property included a large steam-driven sawmill, 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

<sup>69</sup> C. Boudousquie, December 30, 1846, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>70</sup> J. Strawbridge, June 26, 1868, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>71</sup> T. Seghers, March 16, 1835, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>72 #23107,</sup> First Judicial District Court, Orleans Parish.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>74</sup> A. Boudousquie, March 31, 1853, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

complex that included a very large great house, a kitchen, two pigeonnaires, servants' quarters, a wash house, a coach house, a henhouse, and privies.<sup>75</sup> 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 Villavaso's 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. Packwood donated both the stock and the property to Sarah Ainsworth Packwood, the wife of Dr. Richard Packwood.

Once again, the property was held only for a short time, and Packwood sold it, along with the 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.<sup>78</sup> 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 College on March 30, 1875, for \$20,555.00.<sup>79</sup> 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, however, 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.<sup>80</sup> The

78 O. Moral, January 28, 1871, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>75 &</sup>quot;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.

<sup>76</sup> J. Strawbridge, June 26, 1868, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> A. Hero, March 30, 1875, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>80</sup> 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).

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.<sup>81</sup>

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. The map in Figure II-4, which is dated 1874 but was actually drafted during the 1890s, shows the property under Pamela Rhodes's ownership. A fenced yard is shown surrounding what probably were the Rhodes's 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 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.

Jacks later donated the property to his daughter, Anna Jane, the wife of James M. McMillan. 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." The Jacks property was part of this area, which comprised

A certain tract of land known as the "Battle Ground Sawmills", 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

<sup>81</sup> A. Pitot, Jr., November 30, 1887, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>82</sup> J. Eustis, June 26, 1885, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>83</sup> COB 19, Folio 72, St. Bernard Parish.

<sup>84</sup> G. Le Gardeur, June 23, 1899, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>85 #601,</sup> Twenty-Ninth Judicial District Court, St. Bernard Parish.

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 contiguous 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. <sup>86</sup>

Structures on the property consisted of a frame building where the overseer apparently resided and several small outbuildings. Figure II-12 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 . . . . <sup>87</sup>

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 favor of the plaintiffs, and Anna and Captain Jacks were paid \$27,500.00 for the property. The New Orleans Terminal Company almost immediately leased sixteen acres of the land to Vincent and Paul Guerra for the calendar year 1904. The New Orleans Terminal Company almost immediately leased sixteen acres of the land to Vincent and Paul Guerra for the calendar year 1904.

87 #601, Twenty-Ninth Judicial District Court, St. Bernard Parish.

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<sup>86</sup> COB 20, Folio 241, St. Bernard Parish.

<sup>88</sup> H. G. Dufour, December 7, 1903, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>89</sup> COB 20, Folio 280, St. Bernard Parish.

# 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 (Figure II-9), 90 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 (Figure II-3). At that time, a new house stood on the property. It had six apartments, five of them with fireplaces. 91 Figure II-3 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. 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 (Figure II-10).<sup>93</sup> 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 predeceased 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 an inventory of his estate was taken, but it is not included in the probate record. His son, Jean Pierre Fazende, a New Orleans grocer, received the parcel as part of his inheritance when the estate was settled ca. 1857. 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 (Figure II-8). He began selling the lots in the 1870s. Figure II-4 shows that residences were constructed on these lots before the end of the nineteenth century, and

<sup>90</sup> C. Pollock, April 10, 1832, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>91</sup> Samuel Wilson, Jr., to the writer, 1984.

<sup>92</sup> O. de Armas, November 20, 1834, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>93</sup> C. V. Toulon, December 31, 1841, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>94 #7849-7958,</sup> Second District Court, Orleans Parish.

<sup>95</sup> COB 16, Folio 160, St. Bernard Parish.

Figure II-14 demonstrates that 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 \$1,200.96

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 \$350.00.97 The following year, Thoele made a profit of \$150.00 when he sold the land to Jayme Frigola.98 Frigola then sold the property to Jean Marie Couget in 1894.99 Couget held the property until 1904, when she sold it to the New Orleans Terminal Company.100 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 (see Figure II-15, shaded section) . . . on 20th March 1878, now in the possession of P. A. d' Hemecourt . . . said 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". . . . <sup>101</sup>

The property was located between that 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. Figure II-12 shows that in 1927 there was a house to the west of Fazendeville Road, to the south (riverward) of the subdivision. This was the residence of Harry Colomb. The structure probably was built during the twentieth century, since it is not shown on the 1893-94 update of the 1874 Mississippi Commission Map (Figure II-4). Colomb's house stood at least until 1940 (Figure II-6). Across the road from Colomb's house was another residence and a store (Figure II-12); no further information on

<sup>96</sup> COB 16, Folio 160, St. Bernard Parish.

<sup>97</sup> F. Zengel, March 19, 1887, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>98</sup> C. J. Theard, October 16, 1888, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>99</sup> C. J. Theard, January 11, 1894, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>100</sup> H. G. Dufour, December 6, 1904, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ted Birkedal to the writer, 1984.

these last two structures could be found, but they had been extant at least from the 1890s. This area is presently occupied by the St. Bernard Parish Sewage Treatment Plant.

The Fazendeville subdivision survived well into the twentieth century as an African American residential community (Figure II-14). This property was acquired and incorporated into the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve (Figure II-16). 103

# 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 (Figure II-9). Instead, it remained in the possession of the St. Amands. In 1833, Manette St. Amand bought her brother Louis's one-half share of the property. In July of 1833, Manette and Hilaire St. Amand sold a small portion of this tract to Joaquim Dominguez for \$1,000.00 (Figure II-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 distance . . . together with all the improvements of said thereon, and all right of said Sellers to the Batture in front of said lot. <sup>105</sup>

After Hilaire's death in 1833, Manette became sole owner of the remainder of this tract; she held it until at least 1841 (Figure II-10). Subsequently, Dominguez acquired the property from her estate. However, all the improvements to the property were on the tract Dominguez purchased in 1833. Figure II-3 shows that two structures were located on this property at least as early as the 1830s.

<sup>103</sup> Papers relating to the acquisition of Fazendeville, in the files of the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve.

<sup>104</sup> C. Pollock, February 18, 1833, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>105</sup> C. Pollock, July 24, 1883, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>106</sup> A. Dreyfous, August 30, 1867, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

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 benefit 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 Dominguez family was in residence on the property at this time, and they apparently continued to live there. 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. Smith sold the property to Peter Henry Grun of New Orleans in 1878. Grun sold the larger portion of the property, which was unimproved, to Gottlieb Christian Friedrich Grun in February of 1880, but then rescinded the sale the following November. Two years later, Peter Henry Grun sold the property to John Hager, Sr., a manufacturer's agent in New Orleans.

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, when this St. Bernard property came into possession of John, Jr., and William Hager. The Hager brothers subsequently offered the property for sale:

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> A. Dreyfous, March 20, 1871, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>109</sup> A. Dreyfous, March 22, 1878, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>110</sup> J. Cohn, February 5, 1880, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>111</sup> A. Dreyfous, March 30, 1882, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>112</sup> F. Dreyfous, July 22, 1896, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

# 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 buildings. 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, orange, 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. 113

Figure II-4 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 Figure II-12, 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 (Figure II-17).

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 Company. 115

<sup>113</sup> Hunter C. Leake, September 21, 1896, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid

<sup>115</sup> COB 20, Folio 209, St. Bernard Parish; COB 20, Folio 251, St. Bernard Parish.

# 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. 116

The partition of Louis's estate among his sisters included a plat showing the landholdings of each (Figure II-10). This plat shows that Lot 2 (Figure II-11) was in the possession of the widow of Antoine Paillet (Figure II-10) 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. 117

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. 118

Fernandez's wife, Marie Salvant, died in St. Bernard Parish, and on December 21, 1893, the Twenty-Second 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 (Figure II-4). The only structures that were built on this property, according to map data, are two twentieth-century residences (Figures II-11, II-18), one of which was removed in 1927 (Figure II-19).

<sup>116</sup> C. V. Toulon, December 13, 1841, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>117</sup> J. Duvigneaud, December 10, 1896, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Succession of Marie Salvant, wife of Jean (Juan) Fernandez, #407, Twenty-Second Judicial District Court, St. Bernard Parish.

Fernandez did not long survive his wife, however, and on May 16, 1896, his children and heirs were placed in possession of his estate. 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. In 1903, the property was purchased by L. L. Stanton, who subsequently sold this and other property to the New Orleans Terminal Company.

# 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 (Figures II-3, II-8). Louis St. Amand's undivided half of this property passed to his sister Manette in 1833. Later that year, Hilaire died. It was probably at the time of the 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 Figure II-11, had no structure on it and came into the possession of Etienne Villavaso, one of the owners of the Battle Ground Sawmill. The adjacent property, Lot 4 in Figure II-11, included a plantation house and several slave cabins. This came into the possession of Louis St. Amand. Lot 5 in Figure II-11 included slave cabins and may have contained the sugarhouse. This came into the possession of Manette St. Amand. In 1841, both Villavaso and Manette still held their respective lots (Figure II-10). 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 (Figure II-10). As stated before, Genevieve lived in France, and Manette was her agent in Louisiana and had

<sup>120</sup> Succession of Juan Fernandez, #455, Twenty-Second Judicial District Court, St. Bernard Parish.

<sup>121</sup> J. Duvigneaud, December 12, 1896, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>122</sup> COB 20, Folio 233, St. Bernard Parish; COB 20, Folio 251, St. Bernard Parish.

<sup>123</sup> C. Pollock, February 18, 1833, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

control over both of these tracts. Since she also possessed the adjacent downriver property (Figure II-10), which included the St. Amand great-house complex (Figure II-3), 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. Bienvenu, 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. 124 The price of the sale was \$11,520.00. As no conveyances in Orleans Parish record a sale by Manette St. Amand or sale to J. G. Bienvenu, we must assume that the intervening conveyances were lost in the St. Bernard Parish Courthouse fire.

Figure II-8 shows the present park area as of 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 II-11). Clearly, the three lots have been bisected; hence, the lot marked as the "Property of the City of New Orleans" (Figure II-8) is comprised of Lot 3 and the western half of Lot 4 (Figure II-11), while the cemetery parcel is comprised of the eastern half of Lot 4 and Lot 5 (Figure II-11). Thus, the sites of the St. Amand slave quarters. overseer's 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 greathouse complex can be seen downriver from the Military Cemetery (Figure II-11).

Figure II-4 shows these properties at the end of the nineteenth century: four structures are shown on the cemetery tract; these include the cemetery caretaker's house and dependencies. 125 This former structure remained in existence until 1928, when a levee setback removed the southernmost portion of the cemetery (Figures II-12, II-19).

Three structures were on the property owned by the City of New Orleans in the late nineteenth century (Figure II-4). None of these are related to the St. Amand structures formerly located on Lot 4 (Figure II-11). One of the two

<sup>124</sup> C. E. Fortier, November 11,1861, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>125</sup> Ted Birkedal to the writer, 1984.

southernmost structures apparently was a powder magazine that had been extant at least since 1872 and most probably dated to the Civil War. 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 powderhouse was a cemetery used by the Freedmen's Bureau for the burial of African American soldiers. The remaining two structures shown on the 1893-94 edition of the 1874 Mississippi River Commission Map (Figure II-4), therefore, must have been constructed at the close of the nineteenth century and are undoubtedly functionally associated with the magazine and/or the cemetery.

#### 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 (Figure II-20) including the property formerly listed as belonging to the City of New Orleans. The company had the intention of building 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 (Figure II-9) to the State Parks Commission of Louisiana for \$100,000.00. By the end of the year, the State Parks Commission of Louisiana turned the property over to the United States government.

The downriver parcels that had been acquired by the New Orleans Terminal Company were sold to Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation in 1953. <sup>130</sup> In 1960, Kaiser Aluminum donated this property to the United States government. <sup>131</sup> Once the last remaining lots of the Fazendeville subdivision had been acquired in 1965, all the property from the Rodriguez Plantation to the National Military Cemetery, with the exception of the small inholding occupied by the St. Bernard Parish Sewage Treatment Plant, came under government control.

<sup>126</sup> Carl Gaines to the writer, 1984.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Watts K. Leverich, March 14, 1949, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>129</sup> P. M. Flanagan, November 28, 1949, New Orleans Notarial Archives.

<sup>130</sup> COB 57, Folio 283, St. Bernard Parish.

<sup>131</sup> COB 85, Folio 435, St. Bernard Parish.

# **CHAPTER 13**

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Despite gaps in the documentary record of the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, 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 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 mono-crop 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 first 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 (Figure II-2) and the St. Amand Plantation and related structures (Figure II-3, II-11). 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 overseer's 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 guarters 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 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. Nothing has been recovered in the documentary record to support this hypothesis. The similarity between the structures shown in the Latour 1815 plan (Figure II-2) and the Zimpel 1834 map (Figure II-3) 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. Also, the archeological evidence tends to support this hypothesis.
- 2) Structural remains associated with the Chalmet Plantation were located downriver from the National Military Cemetery (Figure II-2, II-7). Consequently, there is little possibility of recovering remains from this occupation within the park.
- 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 National Military Cemetery, the southern portion much of which has been lost as a result of levee setbacks over the years (Figures II-1, II-11, II-19, II-20). Therefore, the likelihood of recovery of a large portion 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 (Figures II-1, II-3, II-9, II-12).

2 R. Christopher Goodwin and Jill-Karen Yakubik, "Data Recovery at the New Orleans General Hospital Site, 16 OR 69" (unpublished manuscript dated 1982, submitted to the Division of Archeology, Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism, State of Louisiana).

<sup>1</sup> Ted Birkedal to the writer, 1983.

<sup>3</sup> 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 submitted to Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve).

- 5) Industrial remains associated with the Battle Ground Saw Mill would be expected to occur in the area between the Beauregard House and the St. Bernard Parish Sewage Treatment Plant (Lots 3, 4, and 5 on Figure II-11). These remains would be concentrated nearer to the Beauregard downriver property line, since Lots 3 and 4 were the first to be developed (Figure II-3). 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 Parish 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 (Figure II-3). These survived throughout the nineteenth century (Figure II-4). 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 (Figures II-3, II-11). 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 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 some surviving remains from the St. Amand Plantation along the eastern boundary of this lot as a 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 African American 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.<sup>4</sup> There also may be surviving features or other remains in the adjacent lot to the west, just beyond the western wall of the cemetery.

Similarly, the remains of 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 (Figures II-3, II-9, II-11). 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 an African American-owned plantation. Less important late nineteenth-century residential and commercial remains would also be recovered in this same land parcel.

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 evidenced by the powder magazine. This structure dates to the Civil War, and other military features and materials from this period may also be revealed on this site. Also, the African American military cemetery potentially could provide forensic data for an interesting comparison to remains of African American slaves that have been recovered, such as those recently unearthed in the Vieux Carre in New Orleans. Finally, the documentary history for this area in and around the Chalmette National Military Cemetery was scantier than for any other area within the park. Archeological investigation here would supplement our limited knowledge of land use in this sector.

The Fazendeville area, north of the St. Bernard Parish Sewage Treatment Plant, is potentially significant because of its unusual history. It was an African American community, begun during the Reconstruction Period by a free man of color, that survived well into the second half of the twentieth century. Material and dietary remains would provide an interesting contrast to both those from antebellum 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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<sup>4</sup> 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 architects patronized the mill.

The documentary record of the property which today makes up the Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, demonstrates that this area had a wide variety of land uses since its initial settlement. Originally the site of a colonial plantation, the greater portion of the land area 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 National Military Cemetery was established. The remainder of the present park lands 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 major national significance at Chalmette remain those connected with the Battle of New Orleans.

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